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THE DAUGHTERS OF HENRY III

by

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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

This thesis examines Henry III and Eleanor of Provence's three daughters: Margaret, Beatrice and Katherine. It is a comparative study of their lives and relationships with their parents, arguing that the English king and queen cared greatly for the welfare and prosperity of their daughters from birth. These close family bonds continued after the daughters' marriages and departures for their husbands' courts, and both Henry and Eleanor continued to be strong influences in their daughters' adult lives. This study contributes to the historiography concerning the role of medieval royal daughters. It demonstrates that Margaret and Beatrice were not forgotten about by their natal family following their nuptials but, rather, these relationships continued, and their new marital families were quickly integrated within the larger English royal family. Henry's parental concern for his daughters also strongly influenced his politics. In marriage, Henry was prepared to forego alliances if he did not feel that his daughters would be suitably provided for as wives that befitted their status as the English king's daughters. Similarly, these concerns continued into married life, as Henry and Eleanor intervened in the minority government of Scotland when they felt that Margaret's rights and liberties were being infringed. Henry and Eleanor's strong, emotional attachment to their daughters is most apparent in the short life of Katherine, whose death caused her parents inconsolable grief, demonstrating that parents formed strong attachments to their infant children and were not prepared for their deaths. This thesis adds to our understanding of the lives of royal women, as well as Henry III as a king and as a father. Moreover, it demonstrates the interconnectivity of familial concerns and politics in the thirteenth century.

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The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the award of a three-year Graduate School Scholarship from Canterbury Christ Church University. The Royal Historical Society also kindly provided me with a generous Research Expenses Grant which permitted me to undertake archival research in Paris. I am indebted to my supervisors, Professor Louise Wilkinson and Dr Michael Bintley, for their unwavering guidance and support throughout this process. I would also like to thank Professor David Carpenter, Dr Judith Everard, Professor Lindy Grant, Dr Emily Guerry, Dr Kathleen Neal and Dr Paul Webster for providing me with feedback or responding to my queries. Dr Jessica Nelson and Dr Sally Dixon-Smith also provided me with copies of their theses which have proved invaluable to this study.

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Abbreviations

<i>AD</i>	<i>Archives Départementales</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Annales Monastici</i> , ed. H.R. Luard (London: Longman, Rolls Series, 1864–9), 5 volumes
<i>Articles</i>	<i>Articles ordained by King Henry VII for the regulation of his Household in A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household</i> (London, 1790)
<i>BL</i>	British Library
<i>CChR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls</i> (London: HMSO, 1903–8), 3 volumes
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> (London: HMSO, 1900–38), 16 volumes
<i>CDPF</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents Preserved in France</i> , ed. J.H. Round (London: HMSO, 1899)
<i>CDRS</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1881–8), 4 volumes
<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Volume I: Edward I, 1272–1307</i> (London: HMSO, 1911)
<i>CLR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Liberate Rolls</i> (London: HMSO, 1916–64), 6 volumes
<i>CM</i>	<i>Chronica Majora</i> , ed. H.R. Luard (London: Longman, Rolls Series, 1872–83), 7 volumes
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i> (London: HMSO, 1893–1913), 8 volumes
<i>CR</i>	<i>Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III</i> (London, 1902–75), 14 volumes

<i>Fine Rolls</i>	<i>Fine Rolls of Henry III</i> : available online as part of the <i>Henry III Fine Roll Project</i> at http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/calendar.html
<i>Flores</i>	<i>Flores Historiarum</i> , ed. H.R. Luard (London: Longman, Rolls Series, 1890), 3 volumes
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica</i> , ed. T. Rymer (London, 1816)
Fordun	Johannis de Fordun, <i>Chronica Gentis Scotorum</i> , ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871)
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationer's Office
<i>Layettes</i>	<i>Layettes du Trésor des Chartes</i> (Paris, 1863–1902), 4 tomes
<i>Letters</i>	<i>Royal and Other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III</i> , ed. W.W. Shirley, (London: Longman, 1862–6), 2 volumes
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>Preuves</i>	<i>Memoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclesiastique et civile de Bretagne</i> , ed. Dom. H. Morice, Tome I (Paris: Charles Osmont, 1742)
PROME	<i>The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, Volume II: Edward I 1294–1307</i> , ed. P. Brand (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012)
TNA	The National Archives

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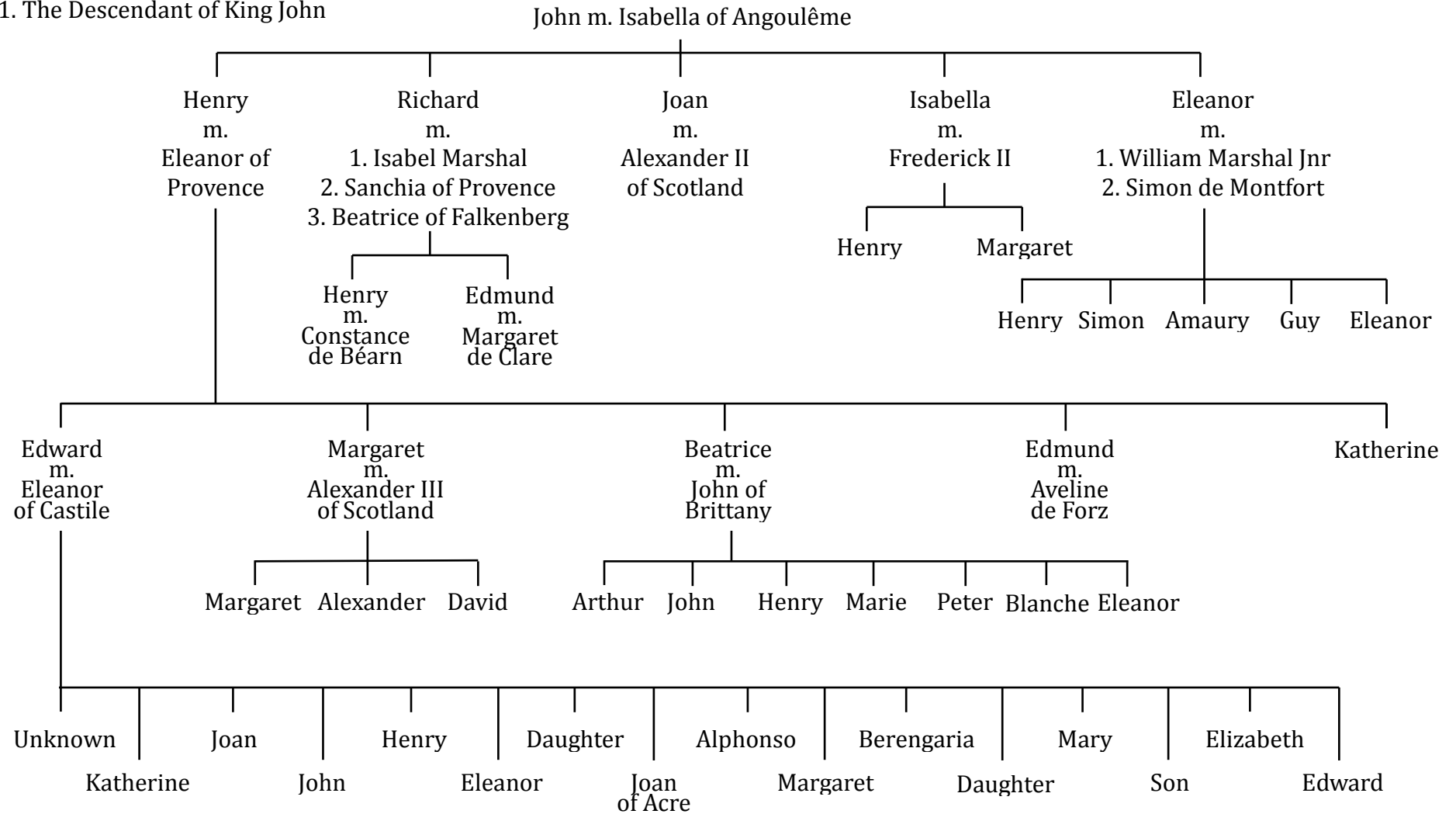
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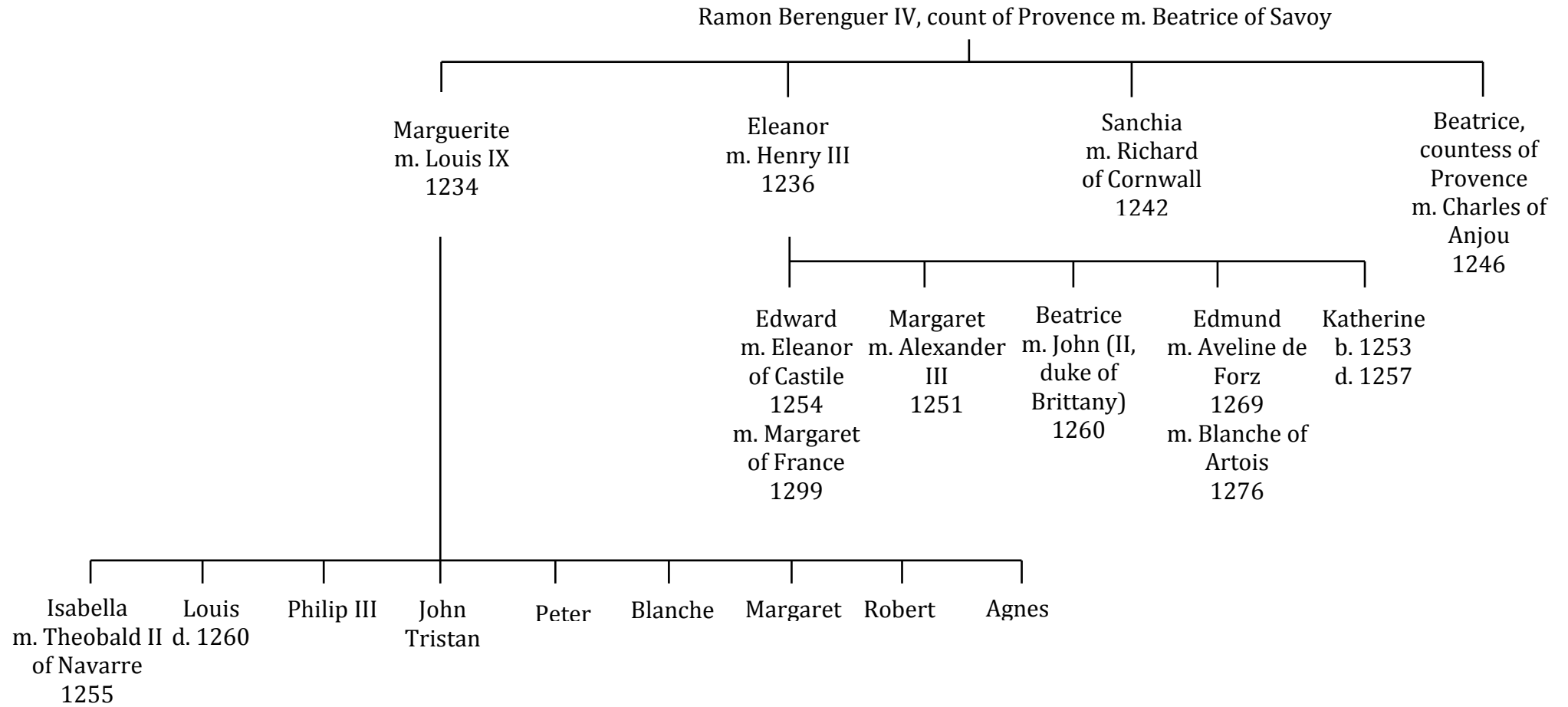
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Family Trees

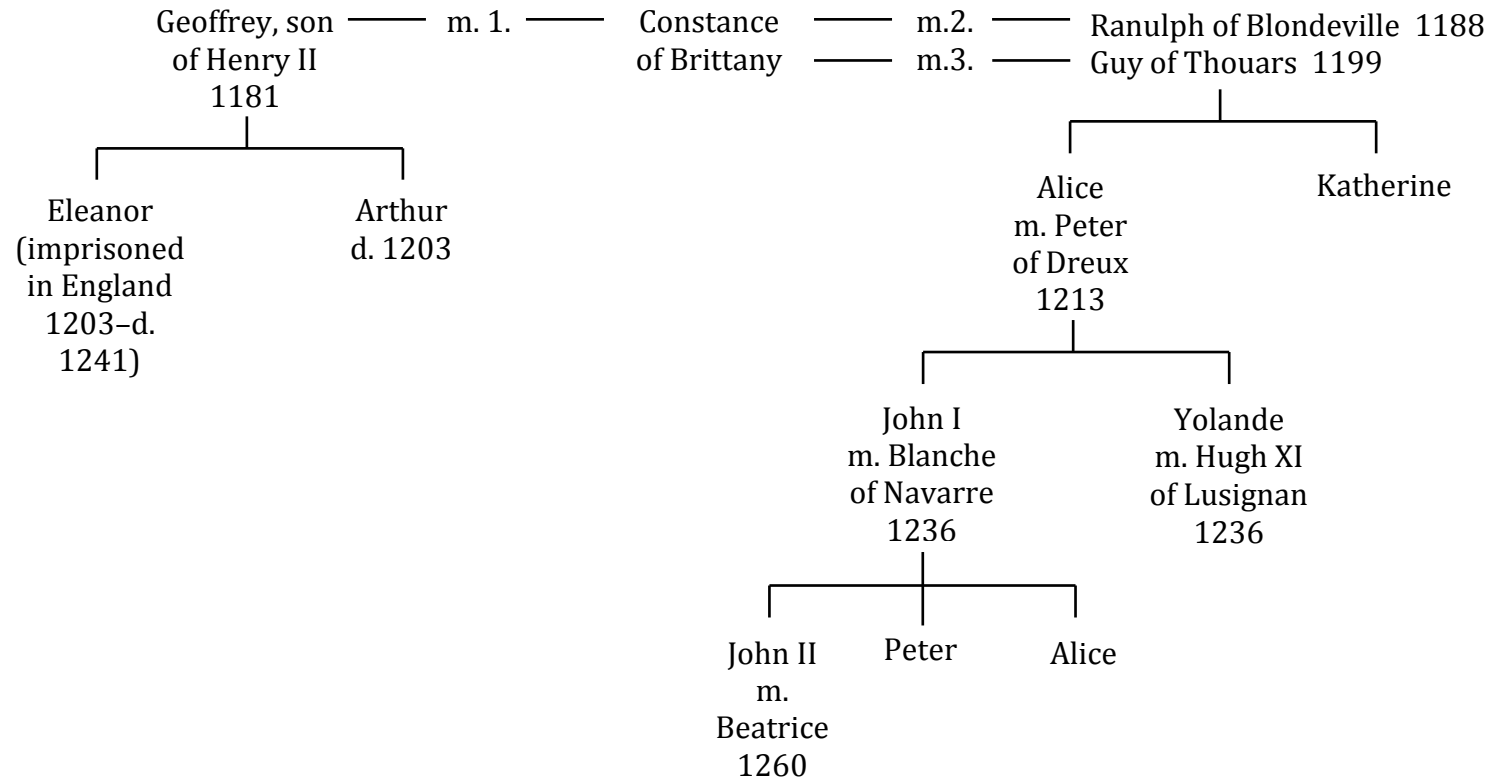
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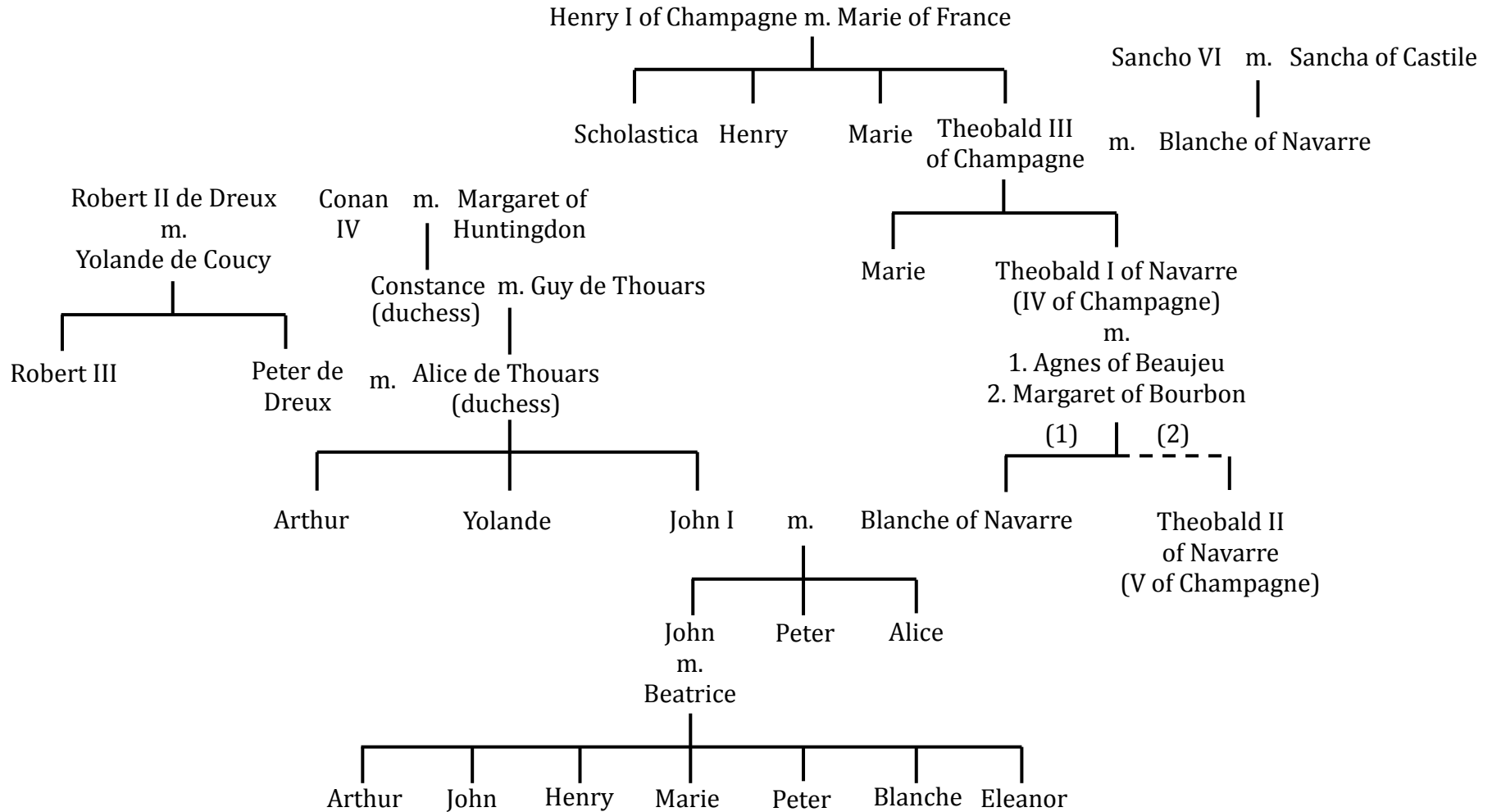
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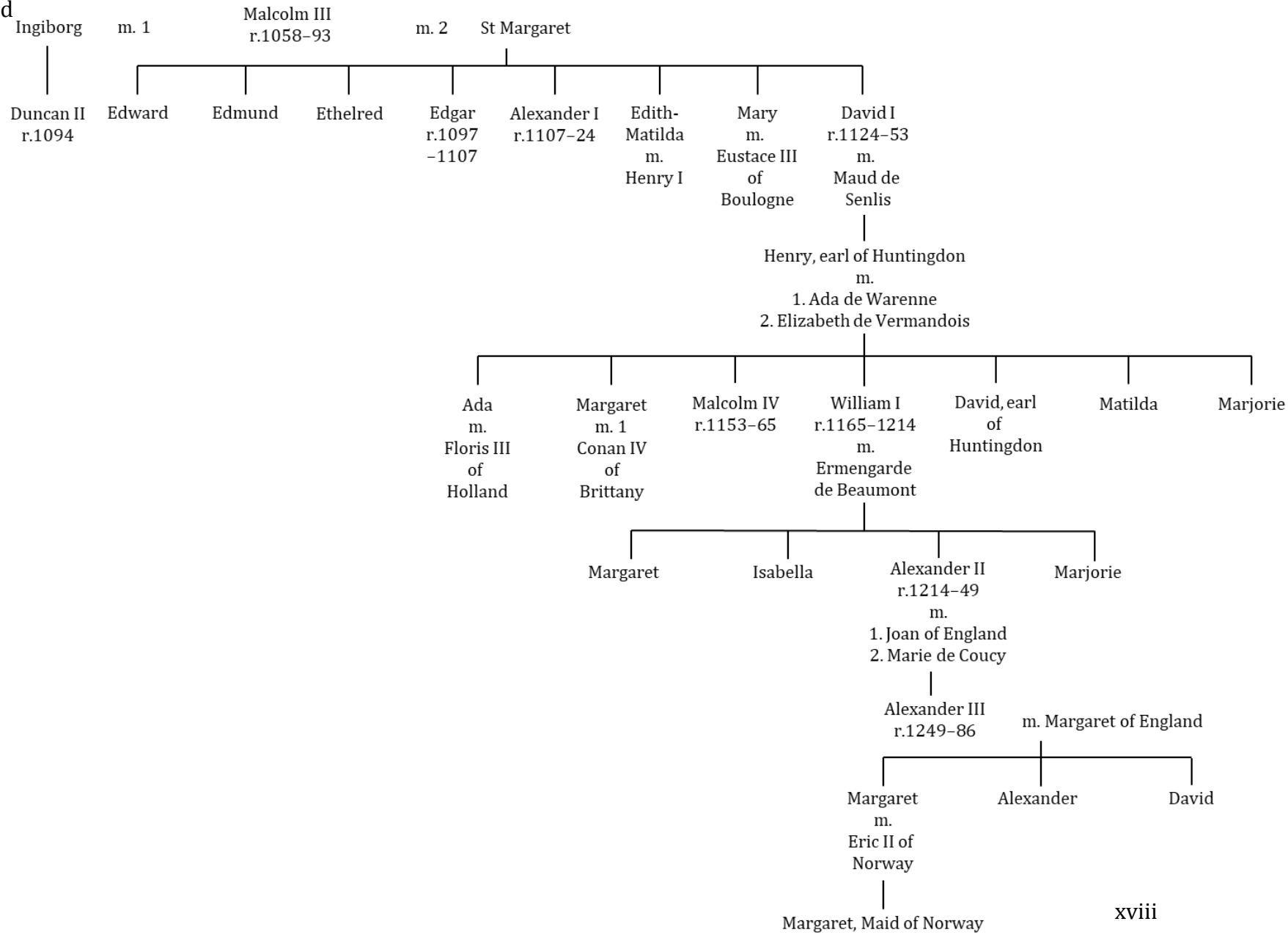
4. Dukes of Brittany



5. House of Brittany-Champagne



6. Kings of Scotland



Note on Names

The names used in this thesis have been anglicised as far as possible. The only exceptions being individuals where the vernacular version is widely used, such as Louis IX or Alphonso X. Marguerite of Provence is preferred to the anglicised Margaret, so as not to cause confusion between the French queen and Henry's daughter.

Introduction

Historiography and Methodology

On 4 August 1255, Henry III wrote to his keeper of Wark castle, Northumberland, instructing him to prepare for his impending arrival. Henry informed Robert de Ros that he firmly resolved to visit northern parts as the king wished to see the king of Scotland and Margaret, the king's daughter and consort of the said king of Scotland, who the king had not seen for a long time, and desired to do so with all his heart.¹ This letter close emphasises Henry's affection for his daughter, Margaret. Having married and departed for Scotland over three years earlier, Henry greatly desired to see his daughter again to such an extent that he headed to the northern border of England in order to facilitate a family reunion. This order reveals the close attachment Henry had formed to Margaret in childhood and suggests that he missed having her near. Both Henry and his wife, Eleanor of Provence, forged tight bonds with their children from birth and these ties continued as they grew older, married and left England. As such, evidence of the English king and queen's emotional attachment permeate the contemporary records of government and chronicle accounts. This thesis focusses on the relationship between Henry III, Eleanor of Provence and their three daughters: Margaret, Beatrice and Katherine. It explores how parental affection shaped Henry's political actions, and influenced the lives of Margaret and Beatrice.

The study of affection, in the sense of familial rather than romantic love, has received limited scholarly investigation, despite the recent growth of the study of the history of emotions.² Colette Bowie's examination of the ties between Henry II, Eleanor of Aquitaine and their daughters indicates that there may have been stronger emotional ties within the Angevin family than has previously been acknowledged. Nevertheless, these ties appear to have been politically motivated, predicated on

¹ *'Quia rex firmiter proponit partes adire boreales causa videndi regem Scocie et Margaretam, filiam regis, consortem predicti regis Scocie, quos per longa retroacta tempora rex non vidit, et quos summo cordis desiderio rex videre desiderat, mandatum est Robert de Ros quod castrum suum de Werk regi accomodet ad vina regis et alia victualium necessaria ibidem reponenda et reservanda ccontra adventum regis': CR 1254–1256, 216.*

² For the study of love see: J.C. Moore, *Love in Twelfth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972).

family solidarity, or consciousness of heritage, rather than affection.³ This thesis argues that Henry III and Eleanor of Provence's actions and relationships with their daughters were shaped and directed by their care and concern.

The main aspect of royal emotion that has received considerable attention is that of anger. John Joliffe spent a chapter of his book on Angevin kingship discussing the uses of displays of the king's *ira et malevolentia*, the king's anger and malevolence.⁴ Joliffe shows how the angry outbursts of Henry II, Richard I and King John were an integral part of kingship in the twelfth century, where the king's anger was as unquestioned as the wrath of God.⁵ According to Joliffe, at a time when monarchy was constitutionally weak, the display of the king's strength upon his subjects through anger (through harrying and the setting aside of trial, law and convention) helped to ensure the security of the crown.⁶ In Rosenwein's edited collection, anger received a much fuller examination of its uses, representation and the attitudes towards it at all levels of society in the Middle Ages.⁷ The essays reveal that medieval society was emotionally sensitive and adaptive, and therefore anger was an important aspect of social lives and could be used to affect change, especially at elite levels of society.⁸ Although anger was a sin, it held a privileged place in governance, used as a political statement to exert the ruler's will on his subjects.⁹ The demonstration of the king's emotions was an important part of his rulership.

These studies of anger in the Middle Ages outline the receptiveness and role of royal displays of feelings and sentiments, particularly angry outbursts, in medieval society. Paul Hyams, however, suggests that the thirteenth century welcomed a new aspect of restraint in kingship. Hyams argues that the rage effectively used to govern by Henry III's Angevin predecessors, as demonstrated by Joliffe, was no longer accepted. As such, Henry was influenced more by courtesy or *deboneté*.¹⁰ This argument is based on the themes of Henry's artistic patronage, as explored by Paul

³ C. Bowie, *The Daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 13, 184, 208.

⁴ J.E.A. Joliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963), ch.4.

⁵ Joliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, 98.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 88, 104, 108–9.

⁷ *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.H. Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

⁸ Rosenwein, 'Introduction' in *Anger's Past*, 1–6 (3).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰ P. Hyams, 'What Did Henry III of England Think in Bed and in French about Kingship and Anger' in *Anger's Past*, 92–124.

Binski. Binski has shown that how Henry implemented a decorative scheme in the Painted Chamber at Westminster which illustrated the moral nature of his kingship.¹¹ There was an exhortation to charity, alongside a representation of an episode from the Life of St Edward the Confessor of the granting of a ring by the king to St John the Evangelist, disguised as a beggar.¹² There were also depictions of virtue overcoming vice, largesse suppressing greed and grace overwhelming rage, in addition to truth and fortitude.¹³ These images suggest that Henry perhaps sought to be a more giving, just and fair king than his ancestors had been, evident in the consideration he showed his daughters which influenced his actions and diplomacy.

The previous studies of anger can inform my exploration of affection and parental concern or anxiety, as many of the approaches used, and treatment of the source material, can be applied to my study. In following Jolliffe's theory that emotional outbursts of fury or rage were important means of exerting control and dominance, namely the personal will and rule of the king,¹⁴ could other emotional displays be used for different purposes? If rage was perceived as a key element of statecraft or political behaviour, did other emotions such as affection or displays of favour also influence medieval politics and diplomacy? Jolliffe argues that angry outbursts were 'recurrent moods of statecraft when nerves lay closer to the surface than they do today and conventions of restraint were weaker', suggesting that emotional reactions, other than anger, could have been used and effected manifestations of the king's will.¹⁵ Moreover, Gerd Althoff argues that friendship could be shown through feasting, hostility by cursing, the king's determination to go to war with raging anger, or his mildness with a flood of tears.¹⁶ Therefore, the 'expression of emotions should thus be read as social interactions'; emotions should not be read in isolation but rather have specific functions.¹⁷ Much of the scholarship on royal emotion has focussed on having the king's displeasure and losing his favour. This study, in comparison, seeks to explore being in the king's favour and having his

¹¹ P. Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1986), 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, 35, 40.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 40–1.

¹⁴ Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, 100.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁶ G. Althoff, 'Ira Regis: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger' in *Anger's Past*, 59–74 (60, 74).

¹⁷ B.H. Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context* 1 (2010), 1–32 (20).

affection and thus its effects upon individuals, particularly his daughters, regarding their influence and agency.¹⁸ It analyses Henry's actions that can be read to be demonstrations of his affection towards his daughters, as well as those that resulted from his parental concern or anxiety, which stemmed from their emotional attachment.

Joliffe makes an important point in his study of Angevin anger in that, while we may consider angry displays to be unworthy of royalty, to contemporaries these actions were specifically royal and understood to be part of a king's strength, part of the rule by king's will.¹⁹ For Joliffe, the king's *ira et malevolentia* was 'the dynastic habit of power, a kind of prime force of Angevin monarchy' which permitted strong kingships despite monarchy being constitutionally weak.²⁰ A king ruled by passion rather than by office which did not comprehend rationalised absolutism. Instead it allowed him to act by will, allowing him to subvert law and convention.²¹ The allowance of the king's rage and violence gave it substance, with favour and disfavour becoming legitimate elements in the persona of the king.²² The use of anger serves as a reminder that, although the kingship of Henry III may have been susceptible to the impositions of the barons during the 1260s, royal government remained a very personal affair.

It is possible to read emotion in the written sources as emotions are performative. They are feelings that manifest themselves, either verbally, with the use of emotionally explicit words, or physically, through the use of body language, following mental appraisal of the situation that prompts them.²³ It is the outward manifestation of feeling that has left its mark on the contemporary source material, which shows that Henry demonstrated his feelings openly and his affection for his family members, particularly his children. Henry and Eleanor of Provence delighted in their children to such an extent that their parental love and concern radiates from

¹⁸ The term 'agency' has been used in this thesis to mean the ability to act to influence or provoke an outcome.

¹⁹ Joliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, 98–100.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 108–9.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 87–8.

²² *Ibid.*, 95.

²³ C. Peyroux, 'Gertrude's *furor*: Reading Anger in an Early Medieval Saint's Life' in *Anger's Past*, 36–55 (41); J. Plamper, *The History of Emotions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 252, 261, 269; B.H. Rosenwein, 'Thinking Historically about Medieval Emotions', *History Compass* 8 (2010), 828–42 (830).

the full range of sources of this study, from the government financial records to chronicles.²⁴

These mannerisms of medieval communication were bound up with demonstrative function. Stephen White reasons that 'emotions are often performed *publicly* instead of being shared among intimates or expressed in isolation'.²⁵ Therefore, the episodes of emotional outbursts in the chronicles, such as the accounts provided by Paris, depict how the king's emotions manifested themselves outwardly and how they were perceived. Matthew Paris' chronicle is an excellent source for reading Henry III's emotions and sentiments as his writings and narrative, more generally, are full of human interest and emotion. The *Chronica Majora* includes many episodes of outbursts of feelings and sentimentality, which further our understanding of the strong bond between Henry and his kin.

Although the chancery and exchequer material does not necessarily convey the king's emotional state as explicitly as the chronicle accounts, it does not mean it is impossible to read emotion in the royal records of government. Jolliffe reads the king's anger not only in narrative accounts, but also in the royal records, particularly the pipe rolls. These sources include more explicit references to the king's rage, namely in the recording of payments being made to succour the king's anger.²⁶ Similarly, Hyams shows how Henry III's enthusiasm for his artistic patronage can be seen in the 'keen, very personal choice of adjectives' used in his orders recorded on the chancery rolls.²⁷

A close reading of these administrative records can help to discern Henry's feelings towards certain individuals. In addition to the slightly more explicit mentions of Henry's feelings, his sentiments can also be perceived in how people were addressed in these administrative records. Certain documents, such as charters, have been dismissed by other scholars as sources of emotion, because of the formulaic nature of their composition. For example, in charters and other government records, sons and daughters were often addressed as 'our most beloved son (or daughter)'.²⁸ There has been a reluctance to view these phrases as legitimate expressions of true

²⁴ M. Howell, 'The Children of King Henry III and Eleanor of Provence' in *Thirteenth Century England IV*, eds P. Coss, and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 57-72 (61).

²⁵ White's emphasis: S.D. White, 'The Politics of Anger' in *Anger's Past*, 127-52 (139).

²⁶ Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, 103.

²⁷ Hyams, 'Kingship and Anger', 96.

²⁸ 'karissimi filii nostri'; 'karissima filia nostra'.

feelings. Nonetheless, Catherine Cubitt stresses that, although these phrases are formulaic and ritualistic, they do not necessarily mean that the emotions were not genuine.²⁹ Xavier Hélyary similarly discusses the contradictory nature of *litterae de statu* (or letters concerning health). He views the affective sincerity of these letters as being tempered by their rigid, formulaic style, that hampers our ability to trust their emotional sentiment.³⁰ Even so, adhering to formulae should not absolve letters of true feeling and affection, and I believe the addresses go beyond a mere exchange of courtesies. Moreover, in the letters examined in this thesis, the salutations used were often elaborated upon or added to, going beyond the formula and as such can be perceived as a much more feasible marker of genuine emotion.

These records of royal government are also useful in trying to uncover Henry's emotional motivations; the impetuses behind his actions. The grants, gifts and privileges bestowed upon his daughters were part of the performance of Henry's affection. Although they were not necessarily recorded with any mention of emotion or sentiment, these interactions can reveal much about the relationship between the king, queen and their daughters. Perhaps previous study has witnessed these commodifying transactions as cold ones, and as reason to declare that parents cared little for their daughters.³¹ In exploring the sentiment behind the cost, however, these exchanges can be also seen as indicators of feeling.

When addressing and identifying emotion in the past it is necessary to be aware of the issues of whether medieval emotions resemble our own experience of emotions. Catherine Peyroux rightly highlights the importance of appreciating the variants of patterns in the language and interpretation of emotions geographically, as well as through time.³² Emotions need to be appreciated within their wider contexts. It is also important to acknowledge that emotions manifest themselves both internally and externally, and therefore much of this study can only be based on the outward expression of these feelings; when emotion caused some sort of visible effect noted by the chroniclers or expressed in writing and conveyed by royal scribes. When

²⁹ C. Cubitt, 'Introduction to the History of Emotions: A Debate', *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001), 225–7 (226).

³⁰ X. Hélyary, 'Les Liens Personnels entre les Cours de France et d'Angleterre sous le Règne de Philippe III, 1270–85' in *Thirteenth Century England XII*, eds J. Burton, P. Schofield and B. Weiler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 75–89 (82).

³¹ See below 29–32.

³² Peyroux, 'Gertrude's *furor*', 42.

exploring the medieval material, Rosenwein appropriately cautions that the authorship may not necessarily represent exactly how an emotion was originally felt, but rather how it was perceived by those recording the events.³³ Therefore, it is important to appreciate that many of the written documents regarding Henry's emotional outbursts may record the author's perceptions of them, and not necessarily Henry's intentions. Nevertheless, understanding how contemporaries viewed the relationship between Henry, Eleanor and their children is beneficial.

The study of emotions is therefore a useful approach as it permits a closer examination of individuals, their relationships and motivations. As outlined by Peyroux,

When we write histories of the past in which feeling is omitted, we implicitly disregard fundamental aspects of the terms on which people act and interact, and we thus deprive ourselves of important evidence for the framework of understanding in which our subjects conducted the business of their lives.³⁴

By exploring emotion in the records and chronicles of Henry's reign we can better understand the reasons and motivations not only behind his interactions with his daughters, but also his wider political actions. Therefore, the interactions between Henry III and his daughters, namely the gifts they received, the choice of staff appointed as care-givers and the rights secured on their behalf, can all be read to signal Henry and Eleanor of Provence's emotional attachment to their daughters, particularly their parental concern to see that their children were suitably provisioned and protected throughout their lives.

In order to demonstrate that Henry and Eleanor's parental affection stemmed from birth and continued to develop throughout the daughters' childhood and into adult life, this thesis follows the lifecycle model. Pauline Stafford was one of the first to examine how gender shaped the lives of early medieval royal women.³⁵ Stafford reveals how early medieval queens' power, roles and influence changed according to the stage of their lifecycle. As these royal women transitioned from daughter to wife and mother, as well as potentially into widowhood, they acquired new roles and functions in the political, cultural and social life of court. It was because of their

³³ Rosenwein, 'Thinking Historically', 834.

³⁴ Peyroux, 'Gertrude's *furor*', 54.

³⁵ P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1983).

familial roles within a web of dynastic relationships, as members of important aristocratic families, as daughters, sisters, wives and mothers, that these women were able to exert authority.³⁶

Since Stafford, other historians have similarly studied the importance of family and the effects of the lifecycle on medieval women. Susan Johns applies Stafford's gendered, life cycle framework to her examination of twelfth-century Anglo-Norman noblewomen. Johns argues that 'women's power was constructed through the family in their role as wife or widow, and was thus tied to the life cycle'.³⁷ She shows that the portrayal of noblewomen and their agency in the chronicle accounts differed depending on the stage of their life cycle and society's perceptions of appropriate behaviour at these life stages. Therefore wives were expected to be obedient and widows chaste.³⁸ Moreover, countesses could access and participate in lordship as indicated by the attachment of their seals to charters as both wives and widows. While a noblewoman's level of activity may have changed as they progressed through the life cycle, their functions did not.³⁹ Kimberley LoPrete similarly finds that the agency of Adela, countess of Blois (d.1137) was also not restricted by her sex. She argues that Adela's status, life stage and family circumstances bore greater influence on her ability to wield power.⁴⁰ As a wife, Adela exercised co-lordship of a number of counties alongside her husband, before exercising sole lordship in widowhood.⁴¹ In her role as regent for her son, she ensured and enhanced the stability, security and integrity of these territories for her son to inherit.⁴² LoPrete argues that the extent of Adela's authority and her impact on political life depended on the time, place and circumstances of the several family groups (natal, affinal and conjugal) to which she belonged.⁴³ The importance of family and the life cycle was also integral to the position of the queen. Theresa Earenfight demonstrates that much queenly power

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 116.

³⁷ Susan Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Realm* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 53.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 13–25.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 53–75.

⁴⁰ K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c.1067–1137)* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 74–101.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 126–56.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 435.

stemmed from her position as an important intermediary between her natal and affinal families.⁴⁴

Although the life cycle model holds many benefits in exploring gendered topics and their impact on the lives, relationships, influence and agency of medieval women, the prevalence of its use has drawn criticism. Margaret Howell derides the much-used framework but without offering an alternative.⁴⁵ In fact, her examination of English and French royal women in the mid-thirteenth century follows much of this framework, exploring how gender conditioned the different stages of the lives of these royal women. Howell highlights the gendered differences between male and female experiences of marriage including disparities in age and the viewing of brides, as well as the key role of motherhood and the increased property rights of widows.⁴⁶ The use of the life cycle model is necessary in this study of Henry III's daughters as it permits the comparative examination of Henry and Eleanor's parental affection and attachment throughout their daughters' lives, as well as demonstrating how the daughters' relationships with their natal families, and their roles at the English royal court, developed as they transitioned through the life stages.

The examination of the births and childhoods of Henry and Eleanor's five children indicates that each child was welcomed in to the world with great joy and pageantry. Additionally, royal parents were greatly involved in aspects of their children's welfare, upbringing and education. As such, this study contributes to the discussion of the level of parental involvement in the upbringing of royal children. Ralph Turner believes that the primary function of noblewomen was to bear heirs (rather than to raise offspring) and consequently, medieval mothers were more disengaged and uncaring towards their children than their modern counterparts. As a result, children were left to the care of wet nurses.⁴⁷ John Parsons, however, disagrees and instead proposes that the use of wet nurses by royal mothers was necessary because of the itinerant nature of kingship and queenship. Nevertheless,

⁴⁴ T. Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), ch.3.

⁴⁵ M. Howell, 'Royal Women of England and France in the mid-Thirteenth Century: a Gendered Perspective' in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, eds B.K.U Weiler and I.W. Rowlands (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 163-82 (168).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 166-70, 173-4.

⁴⁷ Ralph Turner attributes the rebellion of Henry II's sons against their father to their upbringing: R.V. Turner, 'The Children of Anglo-Norman Royalty and Their Upbringing', *Medieval Prosopography* 11 (1990), 17-44 (23).

the great distances parents could be from their children did not mean that they were uncaring.⁴⁸ The child-rearing practices of the late-thirteenth-century English royal family, including the creation of households for the royal children, with carefully selected staff charged with the upbringing and education of these infants, reveal the concern and interest royal parents took in their children and their wellbeing.⁴⁹ My examination of Henry and Eleanor's upbringing of their children follows Parsons. The establishment of households for each child, with a number of well-selected, trusted attendants, often from the king and queen's own households, in addition to provisions (both spiritual and material) for the children, indicates that the English king and queen were concerned for their children's welfare. Their parental concern permeates from the numerous orders recorded in the chancery and exchequer material that sought to provision the children in their infancy.

Another aspect of childhood which has been associated with discussions of parental attachment concerns the infant mortality rates of the Middle Ages. The high incidence of child and infant deaths has been used to suggest that medieval parents did not form strong attachments to their children until they had survived this dangerous period. As part of their re-evaluation of medieval childhood, Lorraine Attreed and Shulamith Shahar have stressed the emotional attachment of parents to their children. According to Attreed death was ever present in the medieval world, yet 'preparedness for death does not mean that love was not risked or present'.⁵⁰ Shahar develops the point further, in that parents were both emotionally and materially invested in their children and as a result, the death of a child was a traumatic experience for its family.⁵¹ Nevertheless, Sara Cockerill continues with the rather outdated thinking that parents did not form attachments to their children, arguing that Edward I and Eleanor of Castile formed stronger emotional attachments to adults than their children, mourning the death of Henry III much more than the

⁴⁸ J.C. Parsons, "'Que nos in infancia lactauit': the Impact of Childhood Care-Givers on Plantagenet Family Relationships in the Thirteenth and early Fourteenth Centuries" in *Women, Marriage and Family in Medieval Christendom: Essays in Memory of Michael M. Sheehan*, eds C.M. Rousseau and J.T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1998), 289–324 (291, 293).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 295–6.

⁵⁰ L. Attreed, 'From Pearl Maiden to Tower Princes: Towards a New History of Medieval Childhood', *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), 43–58 (46).

⁵¹ S. Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990), 149–55; see also C. Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 60.

death of their son and heir John, as 'children could be replaced'.⁵² My examination of the short life and death of Katherine, aged three and a half years old, demonstrates that Henry and Eleanor were not prepared for the death of their youngest child. The grief they exhibited when she died was so profound that it was documented by the chronicler Matthew Paris, and alongside the burial and obsequies, indicate that Henry and Eleanor had formed strong attachments to Katherine and her death was a great loss for which they deeply mourned.

Although Katherine did not survive infancy, Margaret and Beatrice did. As such, much of their childhood was spent in education, training them for the roles they would be expected to undertake as wives of lords and princes. In the studies of medieval childhood, the instruction of girls does not feature prominently. Nicholas Orme's survey of the education of English kings and the aristocracy is primarily concerned with the formal education of noble boys; the instruction of young royal and aristocratic girls is only discussed briefly. Orme stresses that the education of ladies was less formally organised than for their male counterparts, and predominantly centred on informal, oral and visual instruction from their mothers and mistresses.⁵³ Orme's treatment of the education of noble girls mirrors the material used for his study in that 'the education of noble ladies emerges less clearly, for we see it too often through the eyes of men'.⁵⁴ Male authors of handbooks and manuals on children's education focussed on male education, but when they did concern themselves with the education of girls, they emphasised their preference for the teaching of virtue, chastity and modesty.⁵⁵ Shahar also focuses on these virtuous traits of female education. She discusses how the education of girls emphasised the prevention of harmful influences to ensure chastity and obedience.⁵⁶ Boys were trained for office, whereas the education of girls focussed on the instruction of proper conduct or pastime skills required of an ideal lady.⁵⁷

Due to the less structured nature of the education of royal and aristocratic women, Turner believes that parents paid little attention to their daughters. He

⁵² S. Cockerill, *Eleanor of Castile: The Shadow Queen* (Stroud: Amberley, 2014), 170, 179.

⁵³ N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: the Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066–1530* (London: Methuen, 1984), 141, 213.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 86–93, 106–7.

⁵⁶ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 174.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 220–2.

argues that because daughters were betrothed and married at a young age, their parents had no need to take a personal interest in their upbringing, as their education would be undertaken at their husbands' courts.⁵⁸ Parsons, however, disputes that daughters were ignored. He emphasises the necessity of cultivating relationships with daughters, if families wished for them to serve their natal family's interests in marriage, and mothers were key in this role.⁵⁹ Parsons also goes as far to say that royal daughters were indulged by their parents in thirteenth-century England.⁶⁰ This thesis demonstrates that the English king and queen were very closely involved in their daughters' childhoods. The examination of the education of Henry and Eleanor's children shows that both sons and daughters were incorporated and instructed in aspects of courtly and religious life from a young age. Moreover, it indicates that Turner's model of female education, taking place at the court of their betrothed, does not necessarily fit for Henry's daughters. Despite being potentially betrothed at the age of four, Margaret did not depart for Scotland until after her marriage and was instructed in courtly practices in England. Similarly, Beatrice did not marry until the much older age of 17 and was instructed in aspects of intercession, patronage and diplomacy by her mother at Westminster.

As their education sought to prepare these royal women for their married lives, the prospect of marriage loomed large as they grew older. Judith Green has argued that, in this role, medieval women were 'counters to be used in political bargains, in concluding alliances, in ending hostilities'.⁶¹ By the twelfth century, the marriage of children had become a regular occurrence as part of peace treaties or truces to help cement alliances.⁶² The political repercussions of the marriages of many of Henry III's female relatives have been studied. Jessica Nelson's thesis on Scottish queenship examined the two English brides who became queens of Scotland: Henry's sister and daughter, Joan and Margaret. Joan's marriage was used to help secure peace between England and Scotland, following the outbreak of hostilities,

⁵⁸ Turner, 'Children', 328. See also, Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 220–1.

⁵⁹ J.C. Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150–1500' in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. J.C. Parsons (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), 63–78 (69, 74–5).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 70–1.

⁶¹ J. Green, 'Aristocratic Women in Early Twelfth-Century England' in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth Century Renaissance*, ed. C.W. Hollister (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 59–82 (62).

⁶² M. Aurell, 'Stratégies Matrimoniales de l'Aristocratie (IX^e–XIII^e siècles)' in *Marriage et Sexualité au Moyen Age*, ed. M. Rouche (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), 185–202 (196).

whereas Margaret's marriage was used to re-establish the Anglo-Scottish alliance which had ended with Joan's death and Alexander II's second marriage to a Marie de Coucy.⁶³ The impact of the Scottish kings' marriages on relationships between Scotland, England and France have similarly been discussed by Melissa Pollock, as subsequent marriages saw the Scots' king allied to the English, then the French, before reverting back to the English king.⁶⁴ Louise Wilkinson has examined the marriages of Henry's other sisters, Isabella and Eleanor. Isabella's marriage to the Emperor Frederick II was made in the hopes of securing a Staufen ally against the French in his attempts to recover lost territories on the continent.⁶⁵ Eleanor's first marriage was to William Marshal junior with the clear political aims of preventing the earl's marriage to a foreigner, as well as securing financial support for the cash strapped crown.⁶⁶ Her second marriage was also politically motivated, binding Simon de Montfort, one of the king's leading counsellors, closer to the crown.⁶⁷ Most recently, I have discussed the role of Beatrice's marriage as part of the reconciliation with France and Brittany.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, none of these studies have examined the role of affection in these diplomatic alliances. Parsons has shown how mothers, in particular, took great care to protect, inform and prepare their daughters for marriage. Although women were pawns exchanged by their male relatives for political gain – and as such could be married at a very young age – care appears to have been taken to ensure brides were of a more suitable age to begin conjugal relations and bear children, as well as being fully prepared for their roles as cultural ambassadors, diplomatic envoys and intercessors.⁶⁹ In studying the marital negotiations, as well as the preparations and provisions made for their departure to their husbands' courts, Henry and Eleanor's parental concern for their daughters' welfare becomes apparent. Although Henry

⁶³ J. Nelson, 'From Saint Margaret to the Maid of Norway: Queens and Queenship in Scotland, circa 1067–1286' (King's College London: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2006), chs 6, 8.

⁶⁴ M.A. Pollock, *Scotland, England and France after the Loss of Normandy, 1204–1296* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), 105–32, 160–8.

⁶⁵ L.J. Wilkinson, 'The Imperial Marriage of Isabella of England, Henry III's sister' in *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship*, eds L. Oakley-Brown and L.J. Wilkinson (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 20–36 (24).

⁶⁶ L.J. Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort: A Rebel Countess in Medieval England* (London: Continuum, 2012), 20.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶⁸ A.S. Armstrong, 'Sisters in Cahoots: Female Agency in the Marriage of Beatrice of England and John of Brittany', *Journal of Medieval History* 44 (2018), 439–56.

⁶⁹ Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters', 65–8, 74–5.

sought to secure key European allies with a number of potential marriages discussed for Beatrice, it was his concern to ensure his daughter would be suitably provided for as a wife, as the daughter of a king should, that caused some alliances to breakdown. Moreover, Beatrice played a key role in the negotiations for her marriage to the heir to the duchy of Brittany, helping to secure the support of those involved, making her more than a pawn in her father's matrimonial diplomacy. Henry and Eleanor's parental affection strongly influenced the marriages they secured for their daughters.

These marriages brought prestige, increasing Henry's political standing overseas, but also emphasise the political significance of royal women. Once married, these women as queens and great ladies became important intermediaries between their natal and marital families. Much of the agency of elite women in the Middle Ages was the result of their central position within a large web of dynastic relationships. Stafford argues that membership, through birth and marriage, to important royal and aristocratic families allowed women to exert authority.⁷⁰ Familial bonds were also one of the primary motivators of Eleanor of Provence's actions. According to Howell, Eleanor pushed her way through constitutional revolution and later civil war, guided by her sole aim of ensuring the success and wellbeing of her family.⁷¹ Eleanor's political role was heavily shaped and motivated by her family ties: as wife and queen to Henry, as mother of the heir and as a daughter of the Provençal count. Earenfight also shows that kings' wives in the high Middle Ages were at the intersection of two families, linking them and placing queens at the centre of cross-European networks of power.⁷² Lindy Grant similarly shows how Blanche of Castile's power was dependent on her relationships with her male kin, namely her husband and son, determining her roles as queen consort, queen mother and regent.⁷³ Most recently, Kathleen Neal demonstrates the importance of family ties, particularly through women, to trans-Channel diplomacy during the 1290s and in attempts to secure peace.⁷⁴ Royal women, and especially queens, held an influential place at the heart of

⁷⁰ Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, 116.

⁷¹ M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 153.

⁷² Earenfight, *Queenship*, 177.

⁷³ L. Grant, *Blanche of Castile* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), chs 3, 4, 5.

⁷⁴ K. Neal, "'Through the Queens of France It was Quickly Accomplished': Royal Women and Intra-familial Diplomacy in Late Thirteenth-Century Anglo-French Relations' (Forthcoming). I would like to thank Kathleen for allowing me to read this article in advance of its publication.

a network of politically important and powerful families, from which they could obtain considerable agency.

How queens wielded this authority continues to be a key aspect of historical investigation. The idea that the increased bureaucratisation of royal government in the mid-twelfth century marked the decline of queenly authority, as advocated by Marion Facinger, has been roundly refuted.⁷⁵ Instead, historians have argued that queens continued to have considerable scope for action. John Carmi Parsons and Margaret Howell show that Eleanor of Castile and Eleanor of Provence were able to participate in court life by embracing their gendered roles. The two Eleanors channelled their personal and ceremonial routes to the king, adopting Marian imagery, emphasising their motherhood and intercessory functions, to cultivate legitimate roles as queens of England.⁷⁶ The role of medieval motherhood was the subject of a collection of essays, with a number focussing on elite mothers.⁷⁷ Parsons' essay argues that medieval society allowed greater political leeway to a royal mother than a wife, based on Marian intercessory agency, and as such a queen could reap immense political profit from motherhood.⁷⁸ Miriam Shadis' examination of the French queen Blanche of Castile, similarly outlines the importance of patronage, motherhood and landholding as sources of female power.⁷⁹ It was Blanche's role as mother that particularly enhanced Blanche's agency. She was appointed as regent by Louis VIII and was closely associated and involved in the rule of her son Louis IX.⁸⁰ It was the fusion of these roles as daughter, wife and mother that permitted Henry's daughters a role at the English court and in wider European diplomacy. Their marriages brought peace and ensured close ties between England and Scotland, as well as England and Brittany. One of the hopes for the marriage between Margaret and Alexander III of Scotland was that their child, Henry III's grandson, would inherit

⁷⁵ M. Facinger, 'A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France 987–1237', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968), 1–48 (35–7).

⁷⁶ J.C. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), 45–50, 56–8; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England*, ch.11.

⁷⁷ *Medieval Mothering*, eds J.C. Parsons and B. Wheeler (London: Garland Publishing, 1996), see, in particular, essays by Parsons, Marjorie Chibnall, Lois L. Huneycutt, Kimberley A. LoPrete and Miriam Shadis, which explore the relationship between elite mothers and their children.

⁷⁸ J.C. Parsons, 'The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood' in *Medieval Mothering*, 39–61 (54).

⁷⁹ M. Shadis, 'Blanche of Castile and Facinger's "Medieval Queenship": Reassessing the Argument' in *Capetian Women*, ed. K. Nolan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 137–61.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 141, 144

the Scottish throne, creating an even stronger bond between the two kingdoms.⁸¹ Margaret in her dual role as wife and daughter was able to intercede with her father, becoming a conduit between England and Scotland. The daughters' importance to these network of alliances is most apparent in their deaths. It was only following the demise of both Margaret and Beatrice that the familial ties which had strengthened diplomatic links began to unravel.

As is apparent from the above discussion, much of the historiography concerning the agency of women in the Middle Ages concerns either queens or aristocratic women. This examination of powerful medieval women has expanded with a resurgence of scholarly interest in royal daughters; the women who were trained to become queens and countesses through marriage. The study of these royal women commenced in the mid-nineteenth century with the publication of Mary Anne Everett Green's multi-volume study of English princesses.⁸² Green sought to recreate the personal histories of these royal women, and as a result her biographies are heavily influenced by their Victorian ideals and morals. As such, Green presented these English princesses as characters worthy of admiration and respect, in both their public and private lives.⁸³ Nevertheless, Green's biographies remain the most substantial work on royal daughters. It has only been recently, within the last decade, that historians have begun to critically reassess these individuals to demonstrate the roles, influence and agency of royal daughters beyond their functions as mere pawns in the medieval diplomatic marriage market. In her examination of the marital career of Isabella de Coucy, Jessica Lutkin emphasises the political influence of Edward III's eldest daughter. Lutkin shows that despite the string of failed engagements, and a rather unsuccessful marriage, Isabella was a wealthy and important figure at her father's court.⁸⁴ While Lutkin studied an individual daughter, who 'exemplifies the significant role the daughter of a king could play' due to her late, but unsuccessful, marriage and subsequent return to court,⁸⁵ Bowie has most recently undertaken a

⁸¹ Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 236.

⁸² M.A.E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest* (London: Henry Colburn, 1857), 6 volumes.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, i, viii.

⁸⁴ J. Lutkin, 'Isabella de Coucy, Daughter of Edward III: The Exception who Proves the Rule' in *Fourteenth Century England VI*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 131–48 (140–4).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 132.

comparative examination of a group of daughters: the daughters of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine.⁸⁶ In doing so, Bowie has emphasised the importance of the relationships the daughters forged with their natal family, which strongly influenced their patronage practices and dynastic commemoration as adults.⁸⁷ This thesis builds on Bowie's findings. It shows that Henry III's family was similarly tight knit, stemming from a childhood when all the siblings were raised together at Windsor in an atmosphere of adoration, and continued into adulthood, strongly influencing their personalities, roles and functions at the heart of the English royal court as adults.

Sources

Chronicles

For the study of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence's daughters, this thesis utilises a number of contemporary English, Scottish and French chronicles and annals, which chart the key moments in the daughters' lives. The principal authority for the mid-thirteenth century was Matthew Paris (c.1200–1259), who built upon the work of his predecessor at St Albans, Roger of Wendover (d.1236), the leading chronicler of the early years of Henry's reign. Wendover was a monk and historian who wrote his chronicle, *Flores Historiarum*, between 1220 and his death in 1236.⁸⁸ From the year 1202, the *Flores* is independent of other sources.⁸⁹ It covers important aspects of Henry's reign such as the events following John's death and Henry III's attempts to wrest control of his government. Wendover's chronicle was then used by and strongly influenced his successor, Matthew Paris, in his *Chronica Majora*.⁹⁰ The *Chronica Majora* is a very detailed narrative account of the reign of Henry III between c.1236 and 1259, written almost contemporaneously with events.⁹¹ After 1259, the chronicle was then continued in a much less comprehensive manner in two versions: one written at Westminster, another continued at St Albans. These continuations chart the final years of Henry III's reign and the early years of Edward's rule.

⁸⁶ Bowie, *Daughters of Henry II*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁸ *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard (London: Longman, Rolls Series, 1890); R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 21, 28.

⁸⁹ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307* (London, 1974), 359.

⁹⁰ *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard (London: Longman, Rolls Series, 1872–83).

⁹¹ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 356, 359.

The *Chronica Majora* is a key source for this study because Matthew Paris provides the most detailed account of court events. Moreover, Paris' writings are also full of human interest and emotion. His chronicle includes many episodes of outbursts of feelings and sentimentality, which further our understanding of the strong bond between Henry and his kin.

Matthew Paris can be considered a useful source for life at the Henrican court as he was a member of the Benedictine community at St Albans, which brought him into close contact with key political figures. Paris had a variety of friends and informers who provided him with a wealth of information and documentation which he used in his chronicle. These informants included members of the royal family. He knew Henry III and the king appears to have provided him with useful information.⁹² Richard of Cornwall was one of Paris' chief informants and Eleanor of Provence, the dedicatee of his history of Edward the Confessor, gave the chronicler a gift of cloth.⁹³ Paris also had information regarding events at court and elsewhere related by others close to the king. Vaughan believes Isabella, countess of Arundel, informed Paris of her interview with the king in 1252.⁹⁴ Isabella and Matilda, countess of Winchester, both loaned books and had others written for them by Paris.⁹⁵ Similarly, Paris appears to have been welcomed to court on a number of occasions, witnessing events first hand, as demonstrated by the level of detail he often includes in his accounts. For example, in 1247, Matthew Paris attended the feast of Edward the Confessor, where Henry III ordered him to write a full account of the events in his chronicle for posterity, in a conversation recorded by the chronicler.⁹⁶ Likewise, in 1251, Paris' accounts of the dedication of the church of Hayles and the marriage of Margaret to Alexander III suggest he was an eye-witness.⁹⁷ Matthew Paris was evidently welcomed at court, potentially for the purposes of accurately recording events at court.

⁹² Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 13.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹⁵ R. Reader, 'Matthew Paris and Women' in *Thirteenth Century England VII*, eds M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 153–9 (157).

⁹⁶ '*Supplico igitur et supplicando praecipio, ut te expresse et plenarie scribente haec omnia scripto notabili indelebiter libro commendentur, ne horum memoria aliqua vetustate quomodolibet in posterum deleatur*': CM, iv.644–5; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 3.

⁹⁷ Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 4.

Paris also had close connections to royal administrators, most notably John Mansel, one of Henry III's chief councillors, and Alexander Swereford, a baron of the Exchequer. It is from the latter that Vaughan believes was Paris' main source of documentary material included in his writings.⁹⁸ Paris obtained a number of charters and letters, otherwise lost or unrecorded, which he included in his *Liber Additamentorum*.⁹⁹ Clanchy suggests that Mansel, Swereford and other administrators may have 'leaked' some of these records to Paris for the purposes of recording them for posterity, as monastic chronicles were viewed by officials, including Edward I in his appeals for records to strengthen his claims to Scotland in 1291, as official records.¹⁰⁰

When using Matthew Paris' chronicles, however, it is necessary to read his accounts critically and to be aware of their shortcomings. Vaughan has highlighted a number of failings in the chronicler. Namely, that Paris was outspoken and voiced his opinions throughout his works. He was highly prejudiced against royal interference in the Church and strongly pro-English, and these sentiments colour his writings.¹⁰¹ Additionally, his works contain some historical and linguistic inaccuracies, as well as elements of faulty copying; he occasionally embellished the documents he inserted into his narrative, rather than reproducing them verbatim.¹⁰² Nonetheless, these points should not detract from the extraordinary usefulness of Matthew Paris' writings as a source, as his *Chronica Majora* is by far one of the most comprehensive contemporary accounts of the thirteenth century. Historians have sought to test the veracity of his accounts. M.T. Clanchy sought to verify the accuracy of a number of political speeches the chronicler attributed to the king. Clanchy compared the speeches related in his chronicles to other accounts and finds the chronicler to be well informed.¹⁰³ Staniland also compared Paris' account of the marriage of Margaret to the record material and finds that these documentary sources support his claims of

⁹⁸ Ibid., 15, 17, 18.

⁹⁹ B. Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the Writing of History', *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009), 254–78 (256).

¹⁰⁰ M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 3rd ed. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 103, 172.

¹⁰¹ Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 143.

¹⁰² Ibid., 130, 133.

¹⁰³ M.T. Clanchy, 'Did Henry III have a Policy?', *History* 53 (1968), 203–16.

the grandeur of the occasion.¹⁰⁴ Paul Hyams also believes that the emotional outbursts of the king recorded by Matthew Paris can be considered accurate. In discussing the angry outbursts related by Paris, Hyams argues that the chronicler would have perceived it to have been his duty to relate the episodes of angry confrontation, especially against his nobles, and point out the dangerous consequences he perceived of these actions.¹⁰⁵ When reading the chronicles of Matthew Paris critically, using his material alongside other accounts and documentary sources, Paris proves a useful source for the inner goings on at court. As a result of his contacts with the court, Matthew Paris' chronicle is invaluable as a source of information regarding Henry's daughters. Paris records the births of all of Henry and Eleanor of Provence's children, as well as the extravagance of Margaret's marriage to Alexander III of Scotland, and Henry's subsequent intervention in Scottish politics as a result of the marriage. Furthermore, the *Chronica Majora* provides the only account of Henry and Eleanor's reaction to the death of their youngest daughter, Katharine.

The accounts of the St Albans' chroniclers can be verified and supplemented by other monastic chronicles and annals.¹⁰⁶ The *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds* sheds light on Henry's relationship with the monastery and the reasons behind the name of his second son, Edmund.¹⁰⁷ Between 1265 and 1301 it was written almost contemporaneously with events and is therefore of great value for looking at the latter stages of Henry's reign. Before 1265, the chronicle was written by John de Taxter, who was possibly an eyewitness of the battle of Evesham.¹⁰⁸ The writers of the St Edmunds chronicle, like Matthew Paris, were similarly well informed about events at court, as Henry III visited the abbey.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the Winchester and Waverley annals provide brief accounts, but again were written fairly contemporaneously with events of Henry's reign.¹¹⁰ Some other later chronicles,

¹⁰⁴ K. Staniland, 'The Nuptials of Alexander III of Scotland and Margaret Plantagenet', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 30 (1986), 20–45.

¹⁰⁵ Hyams, 'Kingship and Anger' in *Anger's Past*, 92–124 (120–1).

¹⁰⁶ Antonia Gransden describes Henry III's reign as the 'heyday' of the monastic chronicle: Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 404.

¹⁰⁷ *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212–1301*, ed. A. Gransden (London: Nelson, 1964).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, xvi, xvii, xix.

¹⁰⁹ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 395.

¹¹⁰ *Annales Monasterii de Wintonia* and *Annales Monasterii de Waverleia* in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard (London: Longman, Rolls Series, 1864–9), volume 2; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 411–4.

written during the reign of Edward I, are also relevant as they contain sources or information no longer extant elsewhere. The *Lanercost* chronicle, using Richard of Durham's chronicle of 1201–1297, details an otherwise unrecorded meeting between Edward and Margaret, queen of Scotland, at Haddington following the suppression of the baronial rebellion.¹¹¹ This study also uses the annals of the houses of Tewkesbury, Worcester, Dunstable, Osney and Burton, and the royalist, Thomas Wykes' chronicle.¹¹² Similarly, Nicholas Trivet's *Annales*, continued and supplemented by William Rishanger in his chronicle, provide information on the end of Henry's reign and the beginning of Edward's.¹¹³

In addition to these English histories, this thesis draws on other European chronicles that provide different accounts of English events, as well as helping to chart the lives of Margaret and Beatrice after their marriages. The chronicle of Melrose is another interesting source for Henry's reign.¹¹⁴ It was produced by the monks of Melrose abbey, situated in the Scottish borders, en route to Edinburgh, and is consequently well informed of Anglo-Scottish events. The chronicle covers the period between 735 and 1270, and relates details of Margaret's life as Alexander III's queen-consort. The later Fordun's *Gesta Annalia* and Bower's *Scotichronicon* supplement the Scottish material.¹¹⁵ For Beatrice's marriage and life in Brittany, as well as information regarding Anglo-French relations, the more hagiographic history of Louis IX, the *Vie de Saint Louis*, written by his trusted advisor Jean de Joinville is also of use.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1839); Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 496.

¹¹² *Annales de Theokesberia; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia; Annales Prioratus Dunstaplia; Annales Monastici de Oseneia; Annales de Burton; Chronicon Vulgo Dictum Thomae Wykes* in *AM*.

¹¹³ Nicholas Trivet, *Annales*, ed. T. Hog (London, 1845); William Rishanger, *Chronica*, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1865).

¹¹⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1835).

¹¹⁵ Johannis de Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871); Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, eds S. Taylor and D.E.R. Watt with B. Scott, Volume 5 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987).

¹¹⁶ Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin (Poitiers: Classiques Garnier, 1998).

Records of Royal Government

Chancery and Exchequer Records

Documents produced at the chancery encompass a range of subjects including the prerogatives of the crown, aspects of diplomacy, revenue and the judiciary. From the reign of King John, during the chancellorship of Hubert Walter, the chancery began to record all outgoing letters on rolls, or at least it was during this period that these rolls began to be referenced.¹¹⁷ Individual grants and orders were recorded on these rolls which were kept and served government as an official register. Recipients would pay to have their royal grants recorded in them.¹¹⁸

The most formal royal grants were issued as Latin charters. Charters were public letters issued by the donor, the king, recording grants, confirmations of lands, privileges, dignities, offices, liberties and pensions to individuals and corporations, civil and ecclesiastical.¹¹⁹ Charters would be enrolled on the charter rolls.¹²⁰ Letters patent were open documents sent to beneficiaries with the king's seal attached to the bottom.¹²¹ They encompassed subjects of grants and rights, as dealt with in charters, but also issues of a judicial and administrative nature.¹²² The patent rolls record the issue of letters patent.¹²³ Letters patent are only distinguishable from charters in formula, not necessarily in effect; charters had witness lists, whereas letters patent were often attested by the king himself.¹²⁴ Letters close were sent missives that were meant for private consumption, namely for the addressee. These letters often conveyed orders or instructions but could similarly be dealing with subjects ranging from international diplomacy to matters regarding the royal household. As a result, letters close were sent rolled or folded up and sealed closed, unlike letters patent

¹¹⁷ Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 94, 105.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹¹⁹ *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, volume I (London: HMSO, 1903), v; Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 87.

¹²⁰ The charter rolls are kept at TNA, C 53: Charter Rolls. These rolls for Henry III and Edward I's reign have been published as English calendars: *Calendar of the Charter Rolls* (London: HMSO, 1903–8), 3 volumes.

¹²¹ Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 93.

¹²² *CChR*, I, v.

¹²³ The patent rolls are kept at TNA, C 66: Patent Rolls. The patent rolls covering the years 1216–1232 have been printed in two volumes of Latin transcripts: *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III* (London: HMSO, 1901–3). The rest of the patent rolls for Henry III's and Edward I's reigns have been printed as English calendars: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* (London: HMSO, 1893–1913), 8 volumes.

¹²⁴ *A Description of the Patent Rolls in the Tower of London*, ed. T.D. Hardy (London, 1835), 5, 9.

which were sent open.¹²⁵ As they were dispatched from the chancery, letters close were enrolled on close rolls.¹²⁶ Some letters close, originating from outside the chancery, such as letters sent by Beatrice to her father from Brittany, also exist in their original form.¹²⁷

Other chancery letters of a more financial nature include the writs of liberate, allocate, computate and computabitur. These letters close were orders for money to be paid out of the treasury, the granting of allowances to be made for officials presenting their accounts at the Exchequer, orders for the reckoning of accounts and instructions for the reimbursement of money spent on behalf of the king.¹²⁸ The chancery originally recorded the issue of these writs on the close rolls, but from 1226 they were enrolled on separate rolls, the liberate rolls.¹²⁹ Similarly, fines, or promises of money, made to the king in exchange for concessions or royal favour were recorded in the fine rolls.¹³⁰

Documents produced at the Exchequer concern royal revenue. The pipe rolls record the process of audit at the Exchequer, recording the accounts of the farms of the counties, namely the income from the king's lands. The pipe rolls also record allowances or permitted expenditure undertaken by the sheriff on behalf of the king, as well as outstanding debts owed to the crown and records of the collection of taxation.¹³¹

¹²⁵ Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 93.

¹²⁶ The close rolls are kept at TNA, C 54: Close Rolls. Full Latin transcripts of the close rolls of Henry III's reign have been printed: *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati* (London: Record Commission, 1833–4), 2 volumes; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III* (London, 1902–75), 14 volumes. The close rolls for Edward I's reign have been printed as English calendars: *Calendar of the Close Rolls* (London: HMSO, 1900–8), 5 volumes.

¹²⁷ Letters surviving in their original form, rather than enrolled, are located in the series TNA, SC 1 Special Collections: Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and the Exchequer.

¹²⁸ D.A. Carpenter, 'The English Royal Chancery in the Thirteenth Century' in K. Fianu et D. J. Guth (eds), *Ecrit et Pouvoir dans les Chancelleries Médiévales: Espace Français, Espace Anglais* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997), 25–53 (28–9).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 27. The liberate rolls are kept at TNA, C 62: Liberate Rolls. English calendars of the liberate rolls have been printed for Henry III's reign: *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls* (London: HMSO, 1916–64), 6 volumes.

¹³⁰ The fine rolls are kept at TNA, C 60. They have also been digitised and translated online as part of the *Henry III Fine Roll Project* at <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/calendar.html>.

¹³¹ R. Cassidy, 'The 1259 Pipe Roll' (King's College London: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2012), 12. The pipe rolls are kept at TNA, E 372: Pipe Rolls. The pipe rolls for Henry III's reign largely remain unprinted. Only the second through eighth years, the fourteenth year and the twenty-sixth year have been published: *The Great Roll of the Pipe* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1972–2012); *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Third* (London: Oxford University Press, 1918). Richard Cassidy included a transcription of the pipe roll for the 43rd year in his doctoral thesis: Cassidy, 'The 1259 Pipe Roll'.

The records of the chancery and exchequer are important sources for this study as they record Henry's actions on behalf of his children, including the numerous gifts that he gave to his daughters and their husbands. These documents also reveal details concerning all aspects of the daughters' marriages, such as the financial arrangements made regarding their dowries and dowers. Additionally, these records offer evidence of the intercessory powers of Henry's daughters. Many gifts, pardons and favours were made at the request of Margaret and Beatrice. These documents assist with the exploration of the influence that Henry's daughters were permitted at court and how their roles developed as the sisters grew older and married, as well as the new networks and households the daughters accrued as wives. The personal letters that also exist between Henry and Beatrice elucidate her life on the continent and the father-daughter bond. Following her departure for Brittany in 1261, Beatrice sent four extant letters to her father, expressing her desire to remain informed of events in England.¹³² Further understanding of Beatrice's married life is revealed through two letters sent by her mother-in-law to her father.¹³³ The contents of these letters are integral to this study as they provide glimpses of Beatrice's life, as well as Henry and Eleanor's relationship with her, following her marriage and departure for Brittany, a period of her life that is otherwise poorly documented.

Household and Wardrobe Accounts

The household and wardrobe accounts record aspects of royal expenditure, patronage and the material culture of the court. The household rolls of Henry III are the first to survive for any English king and record the day-to-day expenses of running the king's household, showing the costs of daily provisions and royal hospitality.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, the survival of these records is rather fragmentary. The rolls do not exist as a series of sequential rolls which document expenditure throughout Henry's reign. Only one almost complete membrane and fragments of two further membranes document the household expenses for the tenth year of Henry's

¹³² SC 1/2/151-4.

¹³³ SC 1/2/192-3.

¹³⁴ D.A. Carpenter, 'The Household Rolls of King Henry III of England (1216-1272)', *Historical Research*, 80 (2007), 22-46 (22).

reign.¹³⁵ The sole complete roll that exists is for the forty fourth year of Henry's reign.¹³⁶ It is of extraordinary value as it covers the period that Henry spent in France, at the court of Louis IX, ratifying the Treaty of Paris (1259), as well as the marriage of Beatrice to John of Brittany. Two rolls of the household of Eleanor of Provence also survive and detail the queen's household expenditure in 1252 and 1253.¹³⁷ They detail the queen's expenses when she was apart from the king and are the first of any English queen to survive and illustrate the place of the queen at the Henrican court, including aspects of her patronage, intercession, piety and charity.

The wardrobe accounts record money as well as items, such as rings and cloth, which passed through the royal wardrobe. The wardrobe was the financial and administrative office that had responsibility for the king's daily needs, as well as storing equipment and treasure.¹³⁸ The records produced by the wardrobe, like the household accounts, were produced for the purposes of the audit at the Exchequer and document the personal expenses of the king.¹³⁹ Carpenter believes that two household rolls were probably drawn up each regnal year: one for the purposes of a daily audit and a second copy for the audit at the exchequer.¹⁴⁰ As part of the processes of the exchequer, these particular documents received would be used and the key figures and totals would be recorded on the pipe rolls.¹⁴¹ It is because of their delivery into the exchequer that these individual accounts from the Household and Wardrobe survive today, as part of the exchequer series of documents at the National Archives.¹⁴²

The household and wardrobe accounts for Henry III's reign are rather fragmentary. The wardrobe and household accounts exist in greater number for Edward I's reign than Henry III. Clanchy has demonstrated that the thirteenth

¹³⁵ The fragments of the household account for the tenth year of Henry III's reign have been published: *Roll of Divers Accounts for the Early Years of the Reign of Henry III*, ed. F.A. Cazel (London, 1982). Other membranes survive from the 46th, 50th and 55th years at TNA: C 47/3/6; E 101/667/50; C 47/3/43/14.

¹³⁶ E 101/349/27. For discussion of the extent household rolls of Henry III, see Carpenter, 'Household Rolls', 23–5.

¹³⁷ E 101/349/16, 22. For discussion of the household rolls of Eleanor of Provence, see Carpenter, 'Household Rolls', 44–5.

¹³⁸ *The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*, ed. B.L. Wild (London: Pipe Roll Society, 2012), xi.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, xiii.

¹⁴⁰ Carpenter, 'Household Rolls', 23.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 29. The wardrobe accounts of Henry III have been published: *Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*. The particulars remain unpublished and are kept at TNA, E 101: King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various.

century witnessed a period of increased writing in the administration of royal government. As a result more documents are extant for Edward I's reign than for any previous period.¹⁴³ The household and wardrobe accounts survive not only in far greater number, but also for a wider range of subject material. For example, a number of accounts survive for the households of Edward I's children, whereas there are no separate accounts regarding the expenditure of the households of Henry's children.¹⁴⁴ The greater survival of material from Edward's reign suggests two things about the nature of record keeping during the thirteenth century. Firstly, that the administrative processes of the chancery and exchequer continued to develop with regard to the accounting of the royal wardrobe and household, and that more records were produced as a result. Secondly, that these types of records were retained in greater number, not necessarily enrolled elsewhere in such detail, during Edward I's reign, indicating that we may have lost a level of detail in the accounts which would be retained later that century. How these documents were produced and used are suggested in the records themselves, such as the household account of Edward's son, Henry, which has a vertical line drawn from top to bottom through each membrane.¹⁴⁵ This line could indicate that the account of Edward's son's household was drawn up to be sent to the Exchequer as part of its audit, and was then enrolled elsewhere, resulting in the particular roll being crossed out. Similarly, the ring account of Eleanor of Provence opens with a reckoning of all the rings that remain in the wardrobe from the previous account, which no longer exists.¹⁴⁶ The disparity in number of survivals between the reigns of Henry and his son suggest that we may have lost a substantial amount of detail regarding the royal household and wardrobe of Henry III.

From the extant household and wardrobe records we can discern some of the personnel attached to the households of the royal family. These accounts also shed light on the individuals who were entrusted with the care of the king's children and those who attended on the queen and her daughters. They reveal the value Henry placed on these servants and their role in the maintenance and well-being of the royal family.

¹⁴³ Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 44.

¹⁴⁴ The expenditure accounts of Edward's children: E 101/350/15-17; E 101/352/8, 16.

¹⁴⁵ E 101/350/17.

¹⁴⁶ E 101/349/26.

Scottish and Breton Records

This study also draws on the records of royal and ducal administration in Scotland and Brittany. Although limited in number in comparison to the English material, these documents show the extent to which the daughters' upbringings and natal family retained influence over their lives following their marriages and departures from England. The use of these documents, in conjunction with native chronicles, allows a greater understanding of Henry III's daughters' affinal homes and lives. Many of the records of the government of Alexander III have been printed in the *Acts of Alexander III* and the *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*.¹⁴⁷ These volumes include letters and writs detailing the correspondence between the Scottish couple and the English king. The documents also reveal the actions of Margaret as queen-consort, her access to power and means of patronage. The Scottish exchequer accounts for 1264–6 have also been published, allowing for a snapshot of the Scottish audit process, which permits comparisons to be made with its English counterpart.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, the cartularies of Scottish monasteries such as Scone and Dunfermline show Alexander's commemoration of his wife following her death.¹⁴⁹

The main source of Breton material comes from the Archives Départementales Loire-Atlantique, which hold the charters of the dukes of Brittany. The series E 114 contains original documents sent between the dukes and the English crown, including letters which had been despatched from the English chancery, and enrolled within the English government records. These are supplemented by the printed *Actes de Jean I^{er}* which include further exchanges between Henry and John I, Beatrice's father-in-law.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, following the restoration of the earldom and honour of Richmond to John of Brittany in 1268, the *Register of the Honour of Richmond* also contains details of Beatrice and John's activities as countess and earl.¹⁵¹ Numerous

¹⁴⁷ *Regesta Regum Scottorum Volume IV Part I: The Acts of Alexander III, King of Scots 1249–1286*, eds C.J. Neville and G.G. Simpson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, Volume I, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1844).

¹⁴⁸ *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, eds J. Stuart and G. Burnett, Volume I (Edinburgh: General Register House, 1878).

¹⁴⁹ *Liber Ecclesie de Scon* (Edinburgh, 1843); *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (Edinburgh, 1842).

¹⁵⁰ *Actes de Jean I^{er}: Duc de Bretagne (1237–1286)*, ed. M. Lèmeillat (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014).

¹⁵¹ *Registrum Honoris de Richmond* (London, 1722).

charters and writs of the French king, Louis IX, have also been published in *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*.¹⁵² These include diplomatic and financial exchanges between the French and English kings, and the duchy of Brittany, and shed light on the negotiations for Beatrice's marriage, including the apportioning of dowry and dower, and her life in Brittany.

Literary Sources

This thesis also uses instructional texts, handbooks and *vitae* to uncover further the contemporary expectations of royal female behaviour and emotions from which parallels to Henry III's daughters can be made. For example, the contemporary record material sheds very little light on the rituals and practices of medieval childbearing, however, handbooks for the running of the king's chapel and household reveal the processes of later medieval royal pregnancy which can inform our understanding of Eleanor of Provence's experiences.¹⁵³ Moreover, many texts relate the education and upbringing of children, and especially male noble children. Some of these texts also include chapters concerning the education of daughters. Vincent of Beauvais' *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, despite being primarily concerned with male children, contains chapters on the education of girls, included at the request of Marguerite of Provence who commissioned the work in c.1247.¹⁵⁴ Another interesting literary source comes from the hagiographic genre. *The Life of Isabelle of France* written by Agnes of Harcourt provides much of our knowledge of the only sister of the French king, Louis IX. The *Life* contains details and anecdotes regarding the various intricacies of family life within the French royal family, such as the relationship between the royal siblings from which comparisons can be made with the childhoods of Henry and Eleanor's children.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes* (Paris, 1863–1902), 4 tomes.

¹⁵³ *Liber Regie Capelle*, ed. W. Ullman (London: Cambridge University Press, 1961); *Articles ordained by King Henry VII for the regulation of his Household in A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household* (London, 1790), 107–33.

¹⁵⁴ Vincent of Beauvais, *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, ed. A. Steiner (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1939); Earenfight, *Queenship*, 128.

¹⁵⁵ *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt* ed. S.L. Field (Indiana, 2003), 21–3.

Structure

The wide range of source material used for this study permits a thorough examination of the lives of Margaret, Beatrice and Katherine. Each chapter focusses on a different stage of the lifecycle, from childhood, marriage and motherhood through to the end of their lives. As Katherine, Henry and Eleanor's youngest daughter, failed to reach adulthood, dying at the age of three and a half, she encompasses just two of these life stages: childhood and death. Therefore her birth is examined in relation to her siblings in chapter one, but discussion of her short life is reserved for a separate chapter (six), which also considers her death and its impact on her parents.

Chapters one and two study the births and childhoods of all five of Henry and Eleanor of Provence's children. These chapters reveal the great joy and ceremony with which each child was welcomed into the world and the royal nursery at Windsor, investigating the circumstances of their upbringing as well as those who were appointed and charged with their care and education. The records show not only that there were gendered distinctions in the upbringing and education of Henry and Eleanor's sons and daughters, but also differing treatment between first- and second-born sons and daughters. As daughters were often married, or at least betrothed, at a young age, it has often been understood that the bulk of their education was completed at the court of their husbands.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, Margaret and Beatrice provide interesting test cases as Margaret was married aged eleven, whereas Beatrice was not married until much later, at the age of seventeen. Following this theory, it would suggest that Margaret was educated at the royal court of Scotland and that Beatrice was educated in England. The examination of their childhoods, however, demonstrates that from an early age, both received training in aspects of female courtly roles and agency. It emphasises the gendered nature of the children's educations as the daughters were introduced to the world of patronage, largesse and intercession. Moreover, Maurice Powicke concedes that medieval kings and queens had little 'time to give to their children, but Edward and his brothers and sisters grew up in an atmosphere of domestic affection'.¹⁵⁷ These chapters support Powicke's

¹⁵⁶ See above 31-2.

¹⁵⁷ F.M. Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), II.691.

assertion, revealing that Henry and Eleanor loved their children and were concerned about their welfare and upbringing. The English king and queen's emotional attachment remained strong as the daughters reached adulthood, married and left the familial home. These ties and childhood experiences greatly shaped the rest of their lives, both in terms of the nature of their relationships with their parents and siblings as adults, but also their personalities.¹⁵⁸

Chapter three progresses through the lifecycle, examining the end of the daughters' childhoods as they became politically important and were proffered as brides, betrothed and then married. It was at this stage of their lives that contemporaries and historians alike have discussed most. Nevertheless, as LoPrete rightly cautions, if a daughter was expected to foster her natal family's interests in a new court of household, she would need to identify with them.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, it is important to understand the emotional and political contexts of these nuptials. The marriages should not be viewed in isolation from the rest of their lives. Chapter three explores the matches Henry lined up for his daughters, namely the alliances he hoped to secure through his daughters' wifely influence and intercession. It examines the terms of the marital pacts and how Henry took care to ensure that both Margaret and Beatrice would be suitably provided for in marriage, as befitted their station as daughters of a king. Henry sought to make favourable matches to European princes, which secured allies, but also kept both daughters in close proximity. That their daughters were geographically close ensured that Eleanor and Henry stayed in fairly regular contact with both their daughters. Moreover, both daughters were married in lavish wedding ceremonies with feasts that were arranged to display the magnificence of the English royal family. The daughters were then provided with large trousseaux and entourages in order to set up their own households in their new marital homes. Nevertheless, as is evident from the negotiations for Margaret and

¹⁵⁸ Michael Prestwich believes Edward's close bond with his parents as a child resulted in his strength of character, which he attributes to Edward's formidable mother. In comparison, Howell suggests the protective and directive love which made Margaret so dependent on her parents, especially during the early years of her marriage, was to breed a rebel in Edward: M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 122–3; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 104. Thus Henry and Eleanor's loving, and perhaps overbearing, parenting had different influences and outcomes regarding the personalities of their children.

¹⁵⁹ K.A. LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois as Mother and Countess' in *Medieval Mothering*, eds J.C. Parsons and B. Wheeler (London: Garland Publishing, 1996), 313–33 (315).

Beatrice's marriages, both daughters were not treated uniformly, despite a number of similarities. Each was married with a different type of dowry, Margaret's in cash and Beatrice's in land. Henry also had mixed results in securing his daughters' dower rights, should either daughter be widowed. Furthermore, the example of Beatrice proves useful in the further exploration of the roles of royal daughters in their marriages. For most of her marital career, Beatrice conformed to that of a political counter being pushed around the medieval marriage market. Yet, once negotiations progressed for her eventual marriage to John, heir to the duchy of Brittany, Beatrice's role shifted. Alongside her mother, Eleanor, Beatrice played a diplomatic role in obtaining her dower rights and the appanage of her husband, as well as in securing the favour of her future in-laws.

Chapter four examines the adult lives of Margaret and Beatrice, becoming wives and mothers, a queen and a countess. It explores the evolving nature of familial bonds as both women became key diplomatic and cultural ambassadors for Henry after their marriages, but also remained beloved members of his immediate family circle. This chapter argues that Henry's enduring affection for his daughters allowed these women continued influence and agency with the English king. Furthermore, after these marriages Henry continued to play an important role in his daughters' lives, beyond the diplomatic interactions normally attributed to these relationships. Henry was strongly involved in Scottish politics during the mid-thirteenth century to secure the interests and rights of his young daughter as queen of Scots. The daughters also remained in frequent contact with their parents following their departure to their spouses' courts. They exchanged letters of a more personal than diplomatic nature, in addition to swapping gifts and returning to England on a number of occasions. Moreover, Margaret and Beatrice's husbands were quickly integrated into the English royal family and treated like sons.

Neither Margaret nor Beatrice survived their husband and as such did not enjoy a period of widowhood. Chapter five, therefore, explores the deaths of Margaret and Beatrice, and the legacies they left behind. Both Margaret and Beatrice passed away in 1275 and in studying the records of their deaths and commemoration much can be garnered about their relationships with their mother, brothers and husbands. Furthermore, as conduits between their natal and marital families, the deaths of

Henry's daughters had detrimental effects upon the relationships between the English court and their Scottish and Breton counterparts. This chapter demonstrates that the bonds established between the English crown and Margaret and Beatrice's husbands and children, following their deaths, had mixed outcomes. Edward became involved in the inheritance dispute in Scotland following the unfortunate situation where all of Alexander III's children predeceased him and eventually resulted in Anglo-Scottish conflict. Similarly, family loyalties were divided in Beatrice's family with the outbreak of Anglo-French war in the 1290s, which saw Beatrice's husband on the side of the French king, but her son, John, in the English army.

The final chapter (six) refocuses on, and discusses the short life of, Henry and Eleanor's youngest daughter, Katherine. It contributes to the debate regarding Katherine's health and cause of death, suggesting that Katherine was welcomed into the world no differently from her siblings and that she was not suffering from a disability or degenerative disease from birth which claimed her life at the age of three and a half. It also explores the depth of Henry and Eleanor's grief following her death and her burial and their acts of commemoration, which emphasises the strength of their affection for their youngest daughter.

Chapter I: Entry into the World

As Howell rightly states, Henry and Eleanor's parental love and concern permeates through both the chronicle and chancery records.¹ She writes that Henry 'welcomed all of his children into the world with a natural delight that marked him out as an excellent husband and father'.² Howell's statement counters Powicke's assertion that 'little is known of the family life of Henry and Eleanor, and less of the royal nursery. Edward's marriage and knighthood in Spain at the court of King Alfonso introduce him to history.'³ In fact, by using the record material in combination with the chronicles, much can be discerned regarding Eleanor of Provence's childbearing and the births of all five of her children. These sources provide evidence of the processes of Eleanor's maternity: the lying-ins, births themselves and purification ceremonies. The birth of the male heir, Edward, was the most important and, as such, was met both with celebrations and concerns to ensure his welfare. Yet, by studying the children comparatively it becomes apparent that Edward's arrival was not exceptional. All of Henry and Eleanor's children were welcomed into the world with great pomp and ceremony, as the parents delighted in their growing family.

Birth and Name Choice

On 14 January 1236, Eleanor of Provence landed at Dover and was married to King Henry III by Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon at Canterbury, before being crowned six days later at Westminster.⁴ As Eleanor did not fall pregnant until over three years after marriage, concerns grew that the queen may have been barren.⁵ Nevertheless, these fears proved to be unfounded and the royal couple had five children: two sons in Edward and Edmund and three daughters, Margaret, Beatrice and Katherine. There have been suggestions that Eleanor gave birth to a further four sons, all of whom died in infancy, but these claims have been discussed and dismissed by Howell as there is

¹ Howell, 'Children', 58–59 and 61.

² *Ibid.*, 'Royal Women', 170.

³ Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, II.691.

⁴ *CM*, iii.336.

⁵ See below 58–9.

no contemporary evidence for these children.⁶ The continuator of Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora* stated on Henry's death that he begat sons and daughters, namely, Edward, Margaret, Edmund, Beatrice and Katherine.⁷ Furthermore, the continuator records the deaths of Edward and Eleanor of Castile's children who died in infancy.⁸ Although we would expect any other children to have left some form of impression in the records, they do not, suggesting that they did not exist.

In order to gain an accurate picture of Eleanor of Provence's childbearing, it is necessary to supplement the chronicle material with the record evidence. Chronicles did not always record the births of royal children, particularly daughters who were not necessarily considered politically important until their marriage, and they only appeared in the narrative on the arrangement of their betrothal.⁹ Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora* is one of the few contemporary chronicles to record the births of all five children, including all three daughters (see Table 1). Not only does he relate the births, he also provides substantial detail that is not necessarily documented in other sources. Paris gives each child's dates of birth, as well as details of the circumstances of their delivery and the reasons behind the names Henry and Eleanor chose for their children.

Other than Matthew Paris, the recording of the births of Henry and Eleanor's daughters is rather inconsistent. For example, the Waverley annals do not record Margaret's birth, but a daughter is introduced into the narrative when peace was agreed between England and Scotland in 1244. Yet, the same annals record Beatrice's birth at Bordeaux, albeit a year late in 1243.¹⁰ Furthermore, some chronicles confuse or amalgamate the births of the two eldest daughters. The Osney annals and Thomas Wykes' chronicle state that Eleanor gave birth to a daughter in Gascony in 1242 called Margaret.¹¹ Similarly, the Winchester annals do not record Beatrice's birth,

⁶ The third edition of the *Handbook of British Chronology* states that Henry had five children by Eleanor of Provence: Edward, Margaret, Beatrice, Edmund and Katherine, plus, at least, a further four children who died in infancy. But the sources for these additional children come from later, fourteenth century additions to the manuscript of the Westminster continuation of the *Flores Historiarum*: Howell, 'Children', 59.

⁷ *Flores*, iii.28.

⁸ For example, Edward and Eleanor's son John died in 1271: *Ibid.*, iii.23.

⁹ Lois Huneycutt has argued that the interest of chroniclers in events of a public nature was detrimental to the recording of the births and deaths of royal children: L. Huneycutt, 'Private Lives, Public Ties: Royal Mothers in England and Scotland' in *Medieval Mothering*, eds J.C. Parsons and B. Wheeler (London: Garland Publishing, 1996), 295–311 (307).

¹⁰ *AM*, ii.330, 333–4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, iv.90.

instead combining her birth with Margaret's as 'the queen gave birth to a daughter in Gascony called Margaret' in 1243.¹² Beatrice is only introduced into the narrative upon her marriage, and the recording of Katherine's birth is equally incomplete.¹³ In addition to Matthew Paris, the chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, the Winchester and Worcester annals and the continuation of Gervase of Canterbury' chronicle record Katherine's birth.¹⁴ Rather surprisingly, as the event occurred shortly after, Matthew Paris is the only one to also record her death in 1257.

¹² '*Regina peperit filiam in Wasconia nomine Margareta*': *AM*, ii.89.

¹³ *AM*, ii.98.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ii.94; iv.442; *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Longman, 1880), ii.204; *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, 19.

		Children				
Chronicle	Details	Edward	Margaret	Beatrice	Edmund	Katherine
Chronica Majora	Name	Edward	Margaret	Beatrice	Edmund	Katherine
	Date	16-17 June 1239	2 October 1240	25 June 1242	16 January 1245	25 November 1253
	Location	Westminster		Bordeaux		London
Bury St Edmunds	Name	Edward	Margaret	Beatrice	Edmund	Katherine
	Date	18 June 1239	1241	1243	1245	1253
	Location					Does not record death
Tewkesbury Annals	Name	Edward	Matilda			
	Date	18 June 1239	1 October 1240	1243		
	Location	Westminster		Overseas		
Burton Annals	Name	Edward	First mention marriage 1251			
	Date	18 June 1239				
	Location					
Winchester Annals	Name	Edward	Margaret	Confusing Margaret and Beatrice's births	Edmund	Katherine (baptised on St Katherine's day)
	Date	18 June 1239	1243	First mention marriage 1260	16 January 1245	22 November 1253
	Location	London	Gascony			Does not record death
Waverley Annals	Name	Edward	First mention betrothal 1244			
	Date	18 June 1239		1243		
	Location	London		Bordeaux		

		Children				
Chronicle	Details	Edward	Margare	Beatrice	Edmund	Katherine
Dunstable Annals	Name	Edward	Margaret	First mention marriage 1259	Edmund	
	Date	1239	1240	No	16 December 1244	
	Location					
Bermondsey Annals	Name	Edward				
	Date	27 June 1239				
	Location	Westminster				
Osney Annals	Name	Edward	Margaret	Confusing Margaret and Beatrice's births	Edmund	
	Date	18 June 1239	1242		16 January 1245	
	Location	London	Gascony			
Thomas Wykes	Name	Edward	Margaret	Confusing Margaret and Beatrice's births	Edmund	
	Date	17 June 1239	1242	First mention at marriage 1259	16 January 1245	
	Location	Westminster	Gascony			
Worcester Annals	Name	Edward	Margaret		Edmund	Katherine
	Date	17 June 1239	1240	1243	January 1245	22 November 1253
	Location			Gascony		Does not record death
Annales Londonienses	Name	Edward	Margaret	Beatrice		
	Date	17 June 1239	2 October 1240	1242		
	Location			Bordeaux		

Chronicle	Details	Children				
		Edward	Margaret	Beatrice	Edmund	Katherine
Gervase of Canterbury	Name	Edward	Margaret	Beatrice	Edmund	Katherine
	Date	18 June 1239	1241	1243	16 January 1245	1253
	Location					Does not record death

Table 1 Chronicles recording the births of Henry and Eleanor's children¹⁵

Henry and Eleanor's eldest child was Edward. The importance of his birth is evident as all the chronicles record the event with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Near contemporary writers also emphasise the fact that the birth of the king's son and heir was a cause for celebration. Matthew Paris describes how, following Edward's birth on the night of 16–17 June 1239, the king was congratulated by all the nobles of the land and the citizens of London celebrated with dancers, drums and bells, illuminating the streets with great lights at night.¹⁶

As well as welcoming the birth of the heir to the kingdom, Edward's arrival may have been doubly celebrated due to concerns regarding Eleanor's ability to bear children. On two occasions before Edward's birth, Matthew Paris voiced fears regarding the queen's childlessness and potential infertility. The first coincided with the arrival of an imperial messenger in 1236, when Frederick II requested Richard of Cornwall's assistance in his conflict against the French king, and in return offered to help Henry recover his lost continental possessions. According to Paris, Henry had to decline the proposal due to fears for Richard's safety.¹⁷ As Richard was still fairly young, around twenty six years of age, Henry and his council were not prepared to expose him to the dubious chances and dangers of war. After Henry himself, all hopes

¹⁵ *CM*, iii.359; iv.48, 224, 406; v.415; *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, 10, 11, 12, 13, 19; *AM*, i.112, 116, 130, 257, 296; ii.88, 89, 90, 94, 98, 321, 330, 333; iii.149, 156, 166, 213, 459; iv.86, 90, 92, 124, 430, 432, 435, 437, 442; *Annales Londonienses in Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Longman, 1882), i.36, 37, 39; *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ii.179, 201, 202, 204.

¹⁶ *CM* iii.539.

¹⁷ Concerns for Richard's wellbeing did not prevent the sixteen-year-old from being sent to Gascony in 1225, in an attempt to retain the duchy following the loss of Poitou: D.A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 376–8.

were placed in Richard who, at the time, was the only heir to the king and kingdom. The chronicler continues that the king, although married, was lacking a child, and it was not known whether his wife, the queen, although still young, was fertile or barren.¹⁸ As this incident took place fairly soon after their marriage, and Eleanor may have been only twelve or thirteen years old at the time, the queen may not yet have been of an age to start bearing children.¹⁹

In the second episode related in the *Chronica Majora*, Matthew Paris was more explicit in his fears of Eleanor's inability to produce children. After recording the birth and baptism of Henry, son of the king's sister, Eleanor, and her husband Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, Paris again stated that there were fears that the queen was barren.²⁰ Although these concerns soon proved to be unfounded, they highlight the pressures placed on Eleanor to fulfil her maternal role and provide an heir to the kingdom. The coronation of English queens emphasised the childbearing function of queens, designating her as the king's legitimate wife and mother of his lawful heir. During the ceremony, prayers were recited relating to childbearing and fertility.²¹ Eleanor was well aware of the role expected of her as a mother. According to Howell, she commissioned a window at Clarendon depicting her kneeling before the Virgin and Child, in addition to other images of holy motherhood in her chapels at the various royal residences.²² In another episode underlining Eleanor's awareness her queenly duties, she and her sister-in-law, Joan, queen of Scotland, went to Canterbury in 1237 to pray that they would conceive.²³ Although Joan was unsuccessful, Eleanor fulfilled her maternal role.

Edward's baptism took place four days after his birth. According to Matthew Paris the child was named Edward at the wish of the king after his patron saint,

¹⁸ 'Rex enim, quamvis uxoratus, liberis caret, et uxor ejus regina, utpote juvencula, utrum sit foecunda an sterilis ignoratur': *CM*, iii.340.

¹⁹ Eleanor was no more than sixteen years old when she gave birth to Edward in 1239: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 27.

²⁰ 'timebatur enim ne regina sterilis esset': *CM*, iii.518. The birth of Henry de Montfort also demonstrates the joy Henry felt at the expansion of his family through his sister, Eleanor. Henry rushed from Woodstock to Kenilworth to attend his youngest sister after she had given birth: Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, 69.

²¹ J.C. Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol in the English Medieval Queenship' in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. L. Fradenburg (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 60-77 (61-2).

²² Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 73 and 256.

²³ 'Regina Scotie cum regina Anglie causa orationis Cantuariam adiit': *Chronica de Mailros*, 148; Fordun, i.291.

Edward the Confessor.²⁴ As well as associating Edward with English kingship, the choice of name brought the king's son and heir under saintly protection.²⁵ The baptism was an important event and, as such, was carried out and attended by some of the leading figures in the English church and nobility, whose names were listed by Matthew Paris. Edward was baptised by the papal legate and confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury. Also present were the bishops of London and Carlisle; the bishop-elect of Norwich; Edward's uncles, Richard of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester; Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hertford and Essex; the archdeacon of Norwich, as well as a number of unnamed noble ladies.²⁶ These ladies were possibly the wives of the noblemen in attendance, and as such probably included the wives of Richard and Simon, namely Sanchia of Provence and Eleanor de Montfort, Edward's aunts.²⁷ This gathering demonstrates that Edward's birth was a joyous, family occasion in which members of the extended royal family reunited in celebration of the birth of the heir to the throne. Henry's delight at the birth of his heir is apparent as he later sought to honour other children associated with Edward's baptism. On 5 July 1240, Henry sent a writ to the mayor and sheriffs of London to cause Philip, son of Richard the tailor, and Peter, son of Emma, to have 20s each towards their maintenance because they were baptised after Edward, on the same day and from the same font.²⁸

Celebrations continued after Edward's baptism. Numerous messengers were sent out to relate the important and joyous news. Much to the derision of Matthew Paris, these messengers purportedly returned laden with sumptuous gifts. Henry,

²⁴ Carpenter believes that by c.1233, Saint Edward was on an equal footing to his other favoured saint, Edmund, whom he venerated at a much earlier date than the Confessor. Thereafter, Edmund was 'quickly relegated to an honourable but very definite second place', which was represented in the naming of his first son Edward and his second son Edmund: D.A. Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor', *English Historical Review* 122 (2007), 865–891 (868–71).

²⁵ The choice of name associating the heir with his ancestors is explicit in the entry in the chronicle of Bury St Edmunds recording Edward's birth. It makes the connection that Edward was being named for his saintly predecessor by listing all his ancestors back to Alfred: *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, 10.

²⁶ 'Qui dico infantulus regis filius licet praesens esset archiepiscopus postea quarto die domino Ottone legato in conventuali ecclesia ipsum baptizante a dominis Rogero Londoniensi, Waltero Karleolensi episcopis, necnon et ab Willelmo Norwicensi electo, domino Ricardo fratre regis comite Cornubiae, Simone de Monteforti Leicestriae, Humfrido de Boum Hertfordiae et Essexiae, comitibus, et Simone Normanno archidiacono Norwicensi, Petro de Malo Lacu, Almarico de Santo Amando proceribus, a sacro fonte est levatus. Mulieres quoque nobiles ibidem praesentes affuerunt': *CM* iii.539–40.

²⁷ Matthew Paris does not necessarily specify that these women were the wives of those present, but has been inferred from the use of 'mulieres', meaning women or, possibly, wives, although the term 'uxor' was more commonly associated with the meaning wife.

²⁸ *CLR* 1226–1240, 479.

however, sent back those presents he considered insufficient to the magnitude of the event of the birth and baptism of the heir to the English throne.²⁹ Henry also sought fidelity to be paid to his infant son. In February 1240, Henry wrote to all the sheriffs in England asking them to give their allegiance to Edward.³⁰ Paris states that fealty was performed by many, including the citizens of London and the wardens of the Cinque Ports.³¹ Furthermore, in 1240, Thomas of Savoy, count of Flanders and Queen Eleanor's uncle, headed to Windsor to visit his baby nephew.³² Howell suggests Thomas had ulterior motives beyond simply greeting his niece and her baby. She believes that Thomas was seeking to utilise his young niece's knowledge of the English court to further ties between England and Flanders, as well as ensuring that she was politically well-informed in order to work more effectively in the interests of her family. These familial concerns now included the interests of her infant son, and Thomas' visit indicates that the importance of Edward's birth was not lost on Eleanor's Savoyard relatives.³³

The chroniclers, including Matthew Paris, provide far fewer details of the festivities accompanying the births of Henry and Eleanor's other children.³⁴ The reason for the fuller account of Edward's birth could be due its greater importance, and that chroniclers such as Paris had more information regarding the birth of the eldest son. Nevertheless, these chronicles still provide key details regarding the dates of birth and choice of names of Henry and Eleanor's younger children. Eleanor gave birth to their second child, a daughter, following the solemnisation of the feast of the Holy Angels, on 2 October 1240. According to Paris, she was given the name Margaret after her maternal aunt, Marguerite of Provence, queen of France, and because Eleanor called upon the help of St Margaret of Antioch, the patron saint of pregnancy,

²⁹ *'nuntianda missi sunt nuntii quam plurimi et reverse sunt onerati donariis sumptuosis...quia cum nuntii singuli reverterentur rex ab eis sciscitabatur quid quis acciperet illisque qui minus acceperunt licet preciosa dona reportarent imperavit reicere despicabiliter'*: *CM*, iii. 539–40. Paris may have been criticising the practice of re-granting gifts, which was common under Henry: B.L. Wild, 'A Gift Inventory from the Reign of Henry III', *English Historical Review* 135 (2010), 529–569. One such gift could have been a cup given to Edward by the archbishop of York, which was re-appropriated to the king's use in 1245: *CR 1242–1247*, 310.

³⁰ *CR 1237–1242*, 236

³¹ *'rex cives Londonienses et Quinque Portuum custodias et multos alios fecit jurare fidelitatem et lignatiam Aedwardo primogenitor suo'*: *CM*, iv.9.

³² *Ibid.*, iv.20.

³³ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 29.

³⁴ Unlike the chancery record. For Eleanor's purifications: see below 74–84.

in the midst of childbirth.³⁵ St Margaret, whose miraculous escape from the belly of a dragon came to represent pain-free birth, was a popular figure of devotion in the later Middle Ages. By the late-twelfth century St Margaret's protection for mothers had become a standard element of her *vitae*.³⁶ There does not appear to have been substantial devotion to St Margaret at Henry's court. A chaplain was established at St Margaret's, Westminster, on behalf of Henry's eldest daughter.³⁷ Furthermore, the household expenses for 12–22 September 1260 total £3 2½d given as alms to the canons of St Margaret at Marlborough.³⁸ Eleanor's oblations on the feast of St Margaret in 1252 showed no real preference for the female saint and was on a par with other saints' days at 15d.³⁹ The absence of fervent devotion to the saint could suggest two things about the choice of name. Firstly, that Eleanor had a fairly traumatic labour, called upon the help of the saint in her time of need, and was duly delivered of her daughter safely. Second, and probably in combination with the first proposal, Eleanor and Henry may have sought to honour Eleanor's family by naming the child after her eldest sister, who may have perhaps been the child's godmother.

Henry and Eleanor's second daughter was similarly named after another maternal relative. A heavily pregnant Eleanor followed her husband to the continent as part of the Poitou campaign of 1242–3 and was lying-in at Bordeaux while Henry was encamped at Blaye. That Eleanor did not wish to be separated from her husband, despite being heavily pregnant, suggests much about the nature of Henry and Eleanor's relationship.⁴⁰ Beatrice was born at Bordeaux on the morrow of the feast of the Nativity of St John, 25 June 1242, and named after her maternal grandmother,

³⁵ *'vocatam est nomen ejus Margareta quod est nomen materterae ejusdem scilicet reginae Francorum et quia in discrimine puerperia sanctam invocavit Margaretam'*: *CM*, iv.48. Howell gives the date as 29 September 1240, whereas the Tewkesbury annals states 1 October 1240. The later *Annales Londonienses* also relate that she was born on the feast day of St Leodegar (2 October): Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 30; see Table 1.

³⁶ W. Larson, 'Who is the Master of this Narrative? Maternal Patronage of the Cult of St Margaret' in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds M.C. Erler and M. Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 94–104 (97).

³⁷ *CPR 1232–1247*, 252.

³⁸ E 101/349/27. The only other examples of patronage of the saint include a grant of £100 to Peter Grimbaud to complete a chapel of St Margaret in 1239: *CLR 1226–1240*, 424. Additionally, the king gave protections to various hospitals dedicated to the saint, particularly leper hospitals: *CPR 1232–1247*, 115, 150; *CPR 1247–1258*, 127, 490, 634; *CChR 1226–1257*, 96.

³⁹ E 101/349/17.

⁴⁰ Eleanor's pregnancy, however, did not prevent Henry's return to England. Eleanor remained behind in Gascony in 1243 while she recovered: *CM*, iv.244.

Beatrice of Provence, who may also have been present for the birth.⁴¹ Henry's adoration of his wife and their growing family is evident in the affectionate language employed in a writ of September 1244. This document encapsulates Henry's delight in his youngest daughter, who is affectionately described as 'beautiful B., the king's daughter'.⁴² His apparent infatuation with the new born child is heightened as the two other children are merely styled as the king's son or daughter in the chancery material.⁴³ Although it was most probably a royal clerk who introduced the phrase to the document, it undoubtedly reflected Henry's sentiments and suggests that the king's paternal displays of affection were well-known to other members of his household.⁴⁴

Both Henry and Eleanor's eldest daughters appear to have been named after their maternal relatives. Naming patterns within royal and aristocratic families saw the introduction of maternal relatives' names when those family members were of a higher status than the paternal kin, seeking to bring greater legitimacy and prestige to the child.⁴⁵ Yet, Eleanor's ancestry was not as esteemed as Henry's. Perhaps Eleanor sought to incorporate her own family names amongst her children, or Henry may have wanted to honour his marital family. Although the name Margaret had earlier precedents in the English royal family, Beatrice did not. It was, however, a common name in the Savoyard and Genevan families (see family tree 3). Eleanor of Provence was surrounded by family members named Beatrice: her sister, mother, three aunts and two great-grandmothers.⁴⁶ The popularity of this name within the

⁴¹ *'vocatum est nomen ejus Beatrix, sicut mater ipsius reginae vocitatur'*: *CM*, iv.224. Green posits that Beatrice of Provence may have attended Eleanor during childbirth: Green, *Lives*, ii, 226. Beatrice of Provence does appear to have spent time with her daughter during the Poitou campaign as a letter patent dated February 1243 at Bordeaux records the grant of the manor of Feckenham, Worcestershire, to Henry's mother-in-law for life: *CPR 1232–1247*, 364. In addition, the *Annales Londonienses* state that Beatrice was named after her maternal grandmother, as she had cared for the infant: *'Regina Alienora peperit apud Burdegalam filiam, et vocatum est nomen ejus Beatrix, comitissa Provinciae, quae sic vocabatur, procurante'*: *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, i.37. I would like to thank Rachel Tod for bringing this reference to my attention.

⁴² *'bella B. filia regis'*: *CR 1242–1247*, 228. This entry stirred the editor of the calendar, as Beatrice was described as the king's beautiful daughter in the index: *CR 1242–1247*, 558.

⁴³ *'E. filius regis'* and *'M. filia regis'*.

⁴⁴ For Henry's sense of humour: D.A. Carpenter, 'The Sense of Humour of King Henry III', *Fine of the Month*, <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-11-2011.html> [accessed 23 April 2018].

⁴⁵ LoPrete, 'Adela of Blois' in *Medieval Mothering*, 313–33 (317).

⁴⁶ Margaret was also a popular name in the Savoyard family. Eleanor of Provence's maternal grandmother, two cousins and her sister, were called Margaret, see family tree 3.

Savoyard family again suggests that Eleanor had some degree of choice in naming her daughters, while also reflecting the scale of Savoyard influence at the English court.⁴⁷

Henry's fourth child and youngest son was named in the same vein as his eldest, after the king's patron saints. Matthew Paris gives little information regarding Edmund's birth other than that he was born on the feast of St Marcellus, 16 January 1245, and named after St Edmund at the king's wish.⁴⁸ The Bury St Edmunds chronicle provides greater detail about this birth by including a letter from the king sent two days later. According to the letter, Eleanor gave birth to a son following the singing of an antiphon of St Edmund.⁴⁹ Additionally, Henry informed the monks that 'as you asked us, if memory recalls, we are calling our son Edmund'.⁵⁰ The monks appear to have sought especial favour by asking Henry to name his second son Edmund. Thus both sons were named for Henry's patron saints, one of the major aspects of his religious devotion. By doing so, however, he broke with the tradition of naming children with names taken from Anglo-Norman, Angevin or Aquitanian stock, and thus turned away from the practice of commemorating relatives in this way.⁵¹ Perhaps, Henry and Eleanor chose names in association with his Anglo-Saxon ancestors in an attempt to distance themselves from the troubles of his father's reign.

Henry's youngest daughter also appears to have been named after a saint, in a similar manner to both his sons and Margaret. Unlike the very brief account of Edmund's birth, Matthew Paris appears to have been party to more information concerning this latter case. The *Chronica Majora* states that, while the king was again

⁴⁷ Although Eleanor appears to have been highly influential in these name choices, she would not have been present for the baptisms, remaining in confinement following the births. Green attributes the choice of these names to the strong and undue partiality Eleanor manifested towards her own relatives: Green, *Lives*, ii, 170.

⁴⁸ 'Die vero sancti Marcelli peperit Alienora regina filium. Et rege sic jubente vocatum est nomen ejus Aedmundus': *CM*, iv.406.

⁴⁹ The choice of St Edmund for saintly intervention during Eleanor's labour has been discussed by Rebecca Pinner. She believes that this birth is the only example of the saint being called to intercede in pregnancy, and thus demonstrates Henry's response to a version of Edmund's saintly identity that did not depend solely on the official authorised cult: R. Pinner, 'St Edmund of East Anglia: "Martir, Mayde and Kyng", and Midwife?' in *Contextualising Miracles in the Christian West, 1100–1500: New Historical Approaches*, eds M. Mesley and L.E. Wilson (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2014), 177–195 (181–2). Perhaps, Henry believed that he could call upon his patron saint for any of his needs, even if they did not fulfil the saint's customary role.

⁵⁰ 'Et sciatis quod sicut nos ipsi rogastis, si memoriter retinetis, faciemus ad ipsum filium nostrum, Edmundum nuncupari': printed in *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold (London: HMSO, 1896), iii.28.

⁵¹ P. Webster, *King John and Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), 95–6.

in Gascony on expedition,⁵² pregnant Eleanor remained in England as regent, assisted by the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall.⁵³ While in London, the queen gave birth to her fifth child, a daughter. She was baptised by the archbishop of Canterbury (Eleanor's uncle Boniface of Savoy), and named Katherine as she first drew breath on St Katherine's day, 25 November 1253.⁵⁴ Katherine was an appropriate name for a royal daughter. Her saintly namesake, one of the virgin martyrs, was also a queen and daughter of a king, making her the model of intercession. According to Katherine Lewis, Henry and Eleanor were at the heart of the increasing prominence of the cult of St Katherine over the course of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵ Lewis believes the saint may also have been the queen's patron saint, as during the first twenty years of the king's majority several newly built chapels were dedicated to St Katherine, and various royal apartments and chapels were adorned with images of the saint.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman *Life of St Catherine*, written by Clemence of Barking, described the saint as being 'of noble heart and lineage, and in God she was made perfect and wise'.⁵⁷ This version of the life was well regarded and circulated widely in Britain.⁵⁸ It is possible that Henry and Eleanor may have come across this version of the life, since Barking had strong royal connections. If so Katherine was a fitting name for a much sought-after daughter, who may have been considered perfect by her enamoured parents who endured eight unsuccessful years before finally conceiving their fifth child.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, as with St Margaret, royal veneration of the saint was not extensive. On the feast of St Katherine 1252, the year before the birth of Eleanor's youngest daughter, the queen paid 20s to feed the Friars Minor at Salisbury, but only as part of her wider observance of numerous feast days

⁵² Henry returned to Gascony between 1253–4.

⁵³ For discussion of Eleanor as regent: see below 80–2.

⁵⁴ 'Et nomen aptante et baptizante infantulam archiepiscopo vocata est Katerina eo quod die sanctae Katerinae nata aera hauserat primitivum': *CM*, v.415. Both the Winchester and Worcester annals record Katherine's birth on 22 November 1253. The Winchester annalist stated that the reason behind the name-choice was because she was baptised on St Katherine's day: *AM*, ii.94; iv.442.

⁵⁵ K.J. Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 63.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 63–4. During the first twenty years of their marriage, Henry built Eleanor ten new chapels, several of which were dedicated to St Katherine: *History of the King's Works, Volume 1: The Middle Ages*, eds R. Allen Brown, H.M. Colvin and A.J. Taylor (London: HMSO, 1963), 124 n.11.

⁵⁷ *Life of St Catherine in Virgin Lives and Holy Deaths: Two Exemplary Biographies for Anglo-Norman Women*, trans. with introductions and notes by J. Wogan-Browne and G.S. Burgess (London: J.M. Dent, 1996), 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

⁵⁹ For the eight-year gap between the births of Katherine and Edmund, see below 253–4.

and almsgiving.⁶⁰ The birth of their youngest daughter on the saint's feast day was presumably the most important factor in the choice of her name, but was also possibly influenced by her parent's devotion to the saint.

The choice of names associated with saints can be interpreted as Henry and Eleanor's attempts to introduce their children to their favourite saints' cults. It also brought their children under the protection of these saints at a very young age. As his sons would be the ones to continue his dynasty, the saintly connotations of their names possibly influenced the choice of their names to a greater degree. A continued desire to gain spiritual protection for his children is also evident as Henry integrated them into his religious patronage and devotion throughout their childhood.⁶¹ In a similar manner, the names attributed to Henry and Eleanor's daughters could be seen as an attempt to bring the girls into the female family circle, associating them with their maternal relatives and strengthening the bond between them.⁶² Moreover, connecting Margaret and Katherine with two saints associated with pregnancy and intercession underlined their position as royal women, since these were two accepted spheres of influence and agency within which the girls would be permitted and expected to operate.

Although Henry was absent for Katherine's birth, we know of his joy at her arrival from both a letter and a grant. While at Bazas on 24 February 1254, Henry sent a letter to his wife, which was enrolled on the fine rolls. The form of its address is particularly noteworthy:

Henry, by the grace of God, king of England [etc.] ... sends greetings to his beloved consort Eleanor, by the same grace queen of England, lady of Ireland, duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine and countess of Anjou, with encircling love.⁶³

⁶⁰ E 101/349/8. Eleanor's oblations on the 1252 feast day were only 14d, comparable to other saints' days. If Eleanor was particularly seeking to venerate St Katherine, it could be expected to see an increase in expenditure, such as for the feast day of Edward the Confessor when Eleanor spent 3s 9d (5 Jan 1253): E 101/349/24.

⁶¹ See below 104–10.

⁶² The early Anglo-Saxon kings used alliterative naming patterns to promulgate dynastic legends by connecting the royal houses with their sacred antecedents. B. Yorke, 'The Kingdom of the East Saxons', *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 1–36; C.R. Davis, 'Cultural Assimilation in the Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992), 23–36.

⁶³ '*H. dei gratia Rex Anglorum, dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie, Aquitanie et comes Andegavensis, dilecte consorti sue A. eadem gratia Regine Anglorum, domine Hibernie, ducissa Normannie, Aquitanie et cometissa Andegavensis, salute cum dileccione scincta*': *Fine Rolls*, 38 Henry III, no.424.

Not only is Eleanor described as his 'beloved', Henry also desired to send his all-encompassing love to his wife, delivered of their youngest daughter three months previously, reiterating the joy and closer bond Katherine's birth brought to the couple.⁶⁴ This demonstration of affection counters Cockerill's supposition that the adoration which had marked Eleanor's early years as queen had vanished, with the king and his queen becoming estranged due to Henry's 'dislike of having to face Eleanor's abilities and determination'.⁶⁵ If anything, their relationship appears to have become stronger with the birth of Katherine, as shown by this uncommon outburst of emotion within the chancery records.

Henry's loving letter to his wife also coincides with the Lord Edward's appanage grant. On 14 February 1254, again from Bazas, Henry granted to his eldest son lands and honours in England and Ireland, as well as renewing his grant of Gascony and the isle of Oléron. These grants totalled 15,000 marks yearly and was one of the conditions made by Alphonso X as part of the marriage arranged between the English heir and the Castilian king's half-sister, Eleanor.⁶⁶ Thus the timing of this grant and Henry's letter to his wife following Katherine's birth suggest a king highly content in his family life. It demonstrates Henry's pride in his eldest son becoming a man, providing him with his own income and territories to govern, in preparation for his inheritance, as well as his upcoming marriage, while he delighted in the birth of the newest addition to the family.

Henry's joy on Katherine's birth is also apparent in a grant that was made to the bearer of the good news. On 11 February 1254 at Bazas, William de Valers, the queen's valet, was granted £15 a year at the exchequer until the king could give him an inheritance of land to that value out of the first escheats, for the news he delivered to the king of Katherine's birth.⁶⁷ As part fulfilment of this grant, a writ allocated to William the land of Knolle, Somerset, with all its appurtenances, valued at £3 12s 8d yearly.⁶⁸ The following year Henry granted him £10 annually which his former

⁶⁴ This Gascon expedition was not the only occasion in which Henry appears to have missed having his wife by his side. When arranging to meet with the French King, Louis IX, in 1268, Henry asked if he could bring Eleanor too as he did not wish to be separated from her: '*Set et hoc adicimus cum instancia supplicantes quod domina regina, consors nostra, tunc possit venire ut ipsius visu et colloquio consolari possimus sicut specialiter affectamus*': CR 1264–1268, 552.

⁶⁵ Cockerill, *Eleanor of Castile*, 64.

⁶⁶ CPR 1247–1258, 270.

⁶⁷ CPR 1247–1258, 267.

⁶⁸ CR 1253–1254, 67.

serjeant, Reynold le Rus, used to receive from the abbot and convent of Stratford.⁶⁹ These gifts were supplemented with a charter granting two houses in the parish of St Mary, Lothbury, London; the fourth part of a messuage in Sadelgate street, Norwich; the fourth part of a vacant place in the same street; and a house in Ipswich, formerly held by the deceased Jew, Abraham of Norwich. These gifts were valued at 2 marks 8d per year and fulfilled the grant of £15 worth of lands.⁷⁰ Other messengers who brought news of the birth of his children were similarly rewarded.⁷¹ Robert de Stopham, the king's valet, was rewarded with a grant of lands worth £10 per year for reporting news of the birth of Edward to the king.⁷²

These grants demonstrate the king's happiness at the arrival of his eldest and youngest children, reiterating the delight of Henry and Eleanor as parents. They also raise questions as to the discrepancy between the sizes of the rewards.⁷³ One reason could be that William de Valers had to carry the news a greater distance and thus received a greater payment. As Henry was in Gascony, the queen's valet would have had to travel overseas to deliver the good tidings. In comparison, Robert de Stopham remained within England, possibly only having to travel between Westminster and Mortlake.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Robert was delivering news of the birth of Henry's son and heir, which could have been expected to bear greater reward.

Queenly Childbearing

Ritual and Ceremony: Churching and Purification

Among the elite, pregnancy in the Middle Ages was a highly regimented and ritualised process, especially for a queen. It involved a period of lying-in before the birth and was followed by the mother's purification and re-entry into the church following a period of prayer and cleansing.⁷⁵ These ceremonies are sparsely illustrated in the

⁶⁹ *CPR 1247–1258*, 419.

⁷⁰ *CChR 1226–1257*, 449.

⁷¹ He also rewarded messengers who brought news of the births of grandchildren: see below 198–9.

⁷² This grant of lands appears to have been unfulfilled as a writ of 1261 stated that Robert was to continue to receive £10 yearly from the exchequer: *CPR 1258–1266*, 158.

⁷³ See also 198–9.

⁷⁴ Matthew Paris states that the birth occurred at Westminster. It is difficult to place with any real certainty Henry's location on Edward's birth, as both the close roll and patent roll for 23 Henry III are no longer extant. The liberate roll places Henry at Mortlake on 15 June and at Westminster on 17 June: *CLR 1226–1240*, 394. Perhaps Henry was at Mortlake when he received news of Edward's impending birth and quickly returned to Westminster.

⁷⁵ Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 9.

records for most of the medieval period. Historians, however, have been able to piece together the procedures regarding queenly childbearing from royal ceremonial documents such as the *Liber Regie Capelle* and the *Articles ordained by King Henry VII for the regulation of his Household*.⁷⁶

Henry VII's household *Articles* outline the regulations regarding the deliverance of the queen. About one month before the anticipated birth, she would retire from court. Upon her withdrawal the queen would go to chapel, escorted by the leading lords and ladies of the realm, to be houselled or receive communion.⁷⁷ The houselling of the queen, receiving communion before giving birth, was in a similar vein to a pilgrim departing abroad or a knight going off to war, as all three activities could result in sudden death.⁷⁸ The queen would then return to her chambers, which would have been prepared so that wall hangings covered all but one window, to allow some light into the room.⁷⁹ Then all the male members of her household would retire from her rooms as the birth was to take place in the presence of women alone.⁸⁰

The gynocentric nature of childbearing is also evident in the writings of Christine de Pisan, a writer patronised by the French royal and ducal families. She wrote the *Treasure of the City of Ladies* in c.1405, as 'part etiquette book, part survival manual' to instruct and advise elite women on courtly life.⁸¹ Christine recommended that royal women keep a retinue of ladies around them, as well as extending friendships with the other great and noble ladies of the land, who should be invited to visit them. Together, this community of elite women would then 'celebrate their lyings-in and the weddings of their children'.⁸² This recommendation suggests that the queen would undertake the processes of her withdrawal from society and confinement together with her damsels and the leading noble ladies of the realm. The

⁷⁶ *Liber Regie Capelle; Articles*, 107–33.

⁷⁷ *Articles*, 125.

⁷⁸ Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 9.

⁷⁹ Daylight was considered to have a bad effect upon confined women: K. Staniland, 'Royal Entry into the World' in *England in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 297–313 (309).

⁸⁰ *Articles*, 125.

⁸¹ Christine de Pisan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. S. Lawson (London: Penguin, 1985), 21.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 74.

same female entourage would similarly have been present for her re-entry into the church and society following the birth.⁸³

That expectant mothers from all social classes approached their confinements with growing trepidation is easily understood, as is their desire for divine assistance.⁸⁴ The threat to the health of women from repeated pregnancies and the prospect of death or mutilation in childbirth loomed large over queens as well as paupers.⁸⁵ A letter (c.1252) from the Franciscan, Adam Marsh, to his friend and spiritual advisee, Eleanor de Montfort, demonstrates the interconnectivity of pregnancy and spiritual devotion. He addresses her saying:

Blessing and glory to the Lord who has not despised your devotion and has heard your prayer, and granted you delivery from anxiety and danger and joyfulness for a beloved offspring. What shall we say then? This advice will at any rate be in place: that we should repay the divine mercy day by day with constant praise of the divine name, accompanied by a laudable and heartfelt amendment of life.⁸⁶

Divine or saintly intervention would be sought both before and during labour to help secure the safe delivery of mother and child.⁸⁷ In return, necessary thanks would be given afterwards at her purification. As Hilary Powell has suggested, it was increasingly common to call upon the aid of the saints in their own home or at a moment of danger, rather than praying at a shrine. Those pregnant women prone to invoke the saints' assistance were normally in great distress and would have been unable to reach a shrine, and as such their pilgrimage became conditional on the saint fulfilling their side of the bargain.⁸⁸ These fears explain the generous oblations made by Henry and Eleanor of Provence both before and after the births of their children,

⁸³ Childbirth was a costly enterprise as the queen was still expected to maintain her household. The keepers of the Eleanor's wardrobe were reimbursed £127 for the queen's expenses during her confinement with Margaret: *CLR 1240–1245*, 6.

⁸⁴ For saintly intervention in all aspects of pregnancy from conception, to prolonged labour and postpartum dangers: R.C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), ch.1.

⁸⁵ C. Rawcliffe, 'Women, Childbirth, and Religion in Later Medieval England' in *Women and Religion in Medieval England*, ed. D. Wood (Oxford: Oxbow, 2003), 91–117 (92–3).

⁸⁶ *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. and trans. C.H. Lawrence (Oxford: Clarendon, 2006), no.156.

⁸⁷ For Eleanor's appeals for saintly intervention in labour, see above 61–4.

⁸⁸ H. Powell, 'The "Miracle of Childbirth": The Portrayal of Parturient Women in Medieval Miracle Narratives', *Social History of Medicine* 25 (2012), 795–811 (797).

and the extravagant celebrations that accompanied them.⁸⁹ The festivities were occasions to welcome and celebrate the new arrival, as well as the health of the queen, while giving thanks for the divine assistance received.

Women from all levels of society underwent these purification rituals. The *Liber Regie Capelle* outlines the rituals of the queen's purification in the fifteenth century.⁹⁰ It specified that the queen was to be churched 60 days following the birth.⁹¹ The queen's chamber was to be richly decorated, as was the queen herself, who was to wear precious clothes. She would lie in bed where two modest duchesses would open the curtains and roll back the bedding, and then two dukes would raise the queen from the bed. The deacon would then present the queen with a candelabrum lit with five or seven candles, which would be carried before the queen in the procession to the church. A duchess would carry the infant's baptismal cloth behind the queen. In the chapel the antiphon *Lumen ad revelacionem gentium* would be chanted and the psalm *Nunc dimittis* sung, imitating the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The queen would be escorted as far as the church door where she would be met by the archbishop who would say prayers and then bless and anoint the queen, before leading her into the church to attend mass. Here the queen would make offerings of candles, gold and the infant's baptismal cloth, with similar gifts made by her ladies. Once completed, the queen would then be led back out of the church where feasting and drinking would take place, with the queen taking centre stage, under a golden canopy.⁹² The *Liber Regie Capelle* emphasises the gynocentrism of the purification ceremony and subsequent festivities, where the queen was of exalted status, holding state with the leading ladies of the realm and her ladies-in-waiting in great honour and glory, in celebration of the queen's health and survival.

These fifteenth-century royal manuals detail potentially long-practiced customs and thus may have been comparable to the procedures used in the

⁸⁹ See below 74–84.

⁹⁰ *Liber Regie Capelle*, 72–3.

⁹¹ Leviticus 12 specified that a newly delivered mother was to remain from church, and her husband's bed, for 40 days following the birth of a son, or 80 days for a daughter, before being purified. Therefore, a mother could remain secluded for up to six weeks: E. L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood: Gender, Dynasty and Visual Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 77–9.

⁹² *Liber Regie Capelle*, 72–3.

thirteenth century during Eleanor of Provence's pregnancies. Both Staniland and Caroline Shenton believe these practices were based on longer held customs, yet, Jennifer Ward cautions that 'this form of the queen's churching can be traced back to the early fourteenth century'.⁹³ The changing nature of churching and purifications has been shown by Paula Rieder in her examination of these practices in northern France. Her study found that some form of churching custom had roots in the eighth century, with connections being made between the purification practices and the Marian feast of Candlemas by the ninth century.⁹⁴ The documentation for the widespread use of a rite of purification after childbirth only becomes apparent by the second half of the twelfth century, but by the late medieval period churching had been redefined.⁹⁵ Instead of being concerned with cleansing, the practice came to be used as a means of honouring marriage and recognising legitimate birth.⁹⁶

The nature of these ceremonies in England in the thirteenth century can be gleaned from the contemporary English episcopal regulation. In the Middle Ages, English bishops sought to regulate the rules and practices of the parish churches through statutes. The Statutes of Bishop Richard Poore (1217x1219), issued in both Salisbury and Durham, informed priests that they were to receive women nearing childbirth to be blessed following their confession in preparation for the impending danger.⁹⁷ This statute was based on the earlier Statutes of Archbishop Stephen Langton for the diocese of Canterbury (1213x1214).⁹⁸ After the birth, recently delivered women were to come to their churches for their purification where they would receive blessed bread and be able to conceive the body of the Lord following

⁹³ K. Staniland, 'Royal Entry', 297–313; C. Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings: the Politics of Motherhood at the Court of Edward III' in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England*, eds R. Eales and S. Tyas (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), 105–121; J. Ward, *Women in England in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), 127 n.26.

⁹⁴ P.M. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women: Churching in Northern France, 1100–1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 28.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁹⁷ '*mulieres pregnantes de parochia sua ut, cum tempus partus instare intelligent, sibi prospiciant ut aquam promptam habeant et paratam, et propter imminens periculum locute fuerint de confessione cum sacerdotis*': Statutes of Salisbury I.88 in *Councils and Synods, with other Documents relating to the English Church*, Vol. 2 Part 1, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

⁹⁸ '*mulieres pregnantes de parrochie sue ut, cum tempus partus sui sibi instare intelligent, sibi provideant quod aquam promptam habeant et paratam, et hoc propter imminens pueri periculum. Et loquantur cum sacerdot de confessione*': Statutes of Canterbury I.59 in *Councils and Synods*.

confession.⁹⁹ The inclusion of churching and purification in these statutes alongside other regular activities of the parish clergy, suggests that these rituals were common practice in the thirteenth century. There is also similar evidence that these rituals were commonplace in northern France, based on similar synodal statutes of twelfth- and thirteenth-century French bishops.¹⁰⁰ The ceremony of the purification is elaborated a little further in the Customs of Salisbury Diocese (1228x1258?) which stated that women after their delivery were to approach the church with lit candles and the women following her were to offer the child's baptismal cloth.¹⁰¹ Although these statutes were intended for the instruction of priests in the localities, dealing with pregnant women much lower down the social scale than the queen, it can be understood that Eleanor of Provence, as a pregnant woman, may have received similar treatment to prepare her for the impending birth, as well as to welcome her back to the Church following her delivery.

In the experiences of Eleanor of Provence, as gleaned from the chancery material, Eleanor did not necessarily lie-in for the biblical specifications, however, she does appear to have followed some of the later ceremony and rituals associated with the process of churching and purification of a queen, as well as the advice advocated by the English bishops in the localities. Eleanor made offerings to churches on her re-entry into the world, presenting the baptismal cloth, carrying candles and other offerings. Moreover, the pageantry of the fifteenth century appears to have foundations in the earlier medieval period, as Eleanor's purifications were celebrated with feasting and courtly entertainment. Although Eleanor may not have experienced a queenly churching to the same standards or specifications outlined in the later royal handbooks, there are similarities suggesting the grandeur and importance of these ceremonies. From the contemporary record and chronicle sources we can piece together more details of Eleanor's experiences of pregnancy.

⁹⁹ *'quando mulieres post puerperium venerint ad purificationem, sacerdotis eis dent tantummodo panem benedictum, et corpus domini nullo modo eis proponant, nisi expresse petant et prius confesse fuerint'*: Statutes of Salisbury I.63 in *Councils and Synods*.

¹⁰⁰ P.M. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women*, 30–2.

¹⁰¹ *'mulieres post partum nutrices debent accedere ad ecclesiam cum candelis accensis et ille mulieres sequentes debent offerre crismalia infantium'*: Customs of the Diocese of Salisbury, no.5 in *Councils and Synods*.

Eleanor of Provence's Pregnancies

The government records provide details from which we can attempt to compute the dates that Eleanor began her lying-in, as well as the amount of time she remained confined before her churching following the birth. As is evident from Table 2 these particulars are incomplete, particularly for the birth of Beatrice which took place at Bordeaux. From this table it is apparent that Eleanor retired from court over a month before the birth of Margaret and two months before the birth of Edmund. These were possibly early withdrawals due to concerns for her health, which seems probable when considered alongside the length of time Eleanor spent in confinement after these births.¹⁰²

	Edward	Margaret	Beatrice	Edmund	Katherine
Lying in		25 August 1240 ¹⁰³		15 November 1244 ¹⁰⁴	
		(38 days)		(62 days)	
Birth	16–17 June 1239	2 October 1240	25 June 1242	16 January 1245	25 November 1253
	(45 days)	(33 days)		(39 days)	(41 days)
Purification	31 July 1239	4 November 1240		24 February 1245 ¹⁰⁵	5 January 1254

Table 2 Eleanor of Provence's Childbearing¹⁰⁶

Table 2 also shows that, following the birth, Eleanor did not always necessarily wait the specified 40 (or even 60) days before her purification and re-entry to court. Eleanor's returns to court following childbirth suggest that the periods of confinement outlined in the biblical and later sources were idealistic rather than necessarily practical. The length of confinement was also perhaps dictated by how long it took the mother to heal after birth in order to be able to resume conjugal relations. The length of time Eleanor spent recovering following childbirth ranged

¹⁰² See above 61–4.

¹⁰³ *CR 1237–1242*, 217. Possibly earlier as the writ states that Eleanor was near the time of her childbearing: '*que partui vicina est*'.

¹⁰⁴ *CLR 1240–1245*, 275. Possibly later as the writ orders the sheriff of Kent to make purchases for the queen's confinement, but does not state when Eleanor was confined.

¹⁰⁵ 24 February is the latest possible date for Eleanor's purification as a writ issued on this day paid for the singing of the *Christus vincit* on the queen's purification, without specifying on which day it occurred: *CLR 1240–1245*, 292. Writs for the preparation of the purification feast were dated 3 and 6 February, suggesting it took place sometime after 6 February but before 24 February: *CLR 1240–1245*, 288, 289.

¹⁰⁶ *CM*, iii.359; iv.48, 224, 406; v.415, 421; *CR 1237–1242*, 217, 233; *CLR 1226–1240*, 406; *CLR 1240–1245*, 275.

from 33 to 45 days. It was following the birth of Henry's son and heir, Edward, that Eleanor spent the longest period of time confined, probably to give her as much time as possible to recover after her first pregnancy. In comparison, the ever-pregnant Eleanor of Castile habitually remained confined for around 30 days after giving birth.¹⁰⁷

The chancery records also provide a great amount of detail regarding how the queen's re-entry to the court was marked. Although the news of Edward's birth was lavishly welcomed, Eleanor's consequent purification does not appear to have been celebrated with a similar level of extravagance. Perhaps because arrangements were made in the final stages of the queen's pregnancy, when it remained unknown whether the child would be the longed-for male heir, celebrations were restrained. Simultaneously the queen's purification was, perhaps, a much more intimate affair.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, there are a few writs that outline the details of the purification feast. Preparations began around ten days before Edward's birth, with writs ordering swans and other birds to be delivered to London.¹⁰⁹ Additional orders were also sent to the king's huntsmen to take 25 harts and 24 bucks, to salt the venison and carry the meat on to Westminster.¹¹⁰

In addition to the feasting, Henry also made oblations and payments related to Edward's birth and Eleanor's purification. In August he ordered Walter de Lench and his fellows of the king's chapel to be paid £8 15s for their performance of *Christus vincit* on a number of holy days in 1239. These performances took place on the days of Edward's birth and the queen's purification, the latter held on Sunday 31 July.¹¹¹ These hymns were supplemented by the burning of 500 tapers before the shrine of St

¹⁰⁷ Parsons hypothesises that Eleanor lay in for 30 days for a girl or 40 days for a boy, but Cockerill's re-examination of the evidence has shown that thirty days was taken if convenient, but the full lying-in period could be curtailed if other business was more pressing: J.C. Parsons, 'The Year of Eleanor of Castile's Birth and Her Children by Edward I', *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 245–265 (257); Cockerill, *Eleanor of Castile*, 220, 249.

¹⁰⁸ Although the birth of the heir was welcome news to the entire kingdom, the queen's purification was a much more personal affair concerning her body and status. Shenton argues that despite the extravagance that surrounded Philippa of Hainault's churchings, her purifications were family occasions, which also celebrated and promoted her position as the mother of Edward III's growing family: Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', 113, 120.

¹⁰⁹ *CLR 1226–1240*, 400.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 401–2. Venison was a high status meat which required hunting and could only be procured in great quantities by the crown and the higher aristocracy: J. Birrel, 'Procuring, Preparing, and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England' in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, eds C.M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2006), 176–188 (176).

¹¹¹ *CLR 1226–1240*, 406.

Edward at Westminster, and an offering to the church of St Mary at Southwark of a tunic of good samite made to the length of Edward, costing £1.¹¹² It is an interesting gift as it was given to a church associated with St Mary, the model of Christian motherhood, elevating Eleanor's status as a mother. It is also an example of the practice of measuring a child to a saint, and thus gaining the saint's protection over the child. This ritual of measuring was 'used throughout England and Europe [and] usually involved taking a piece of thread and stretching it out over the afflicted child from head to foot'. The thread would then be made into a candle which would be offered at a designated saint's tomb. In many instances the very act of measuring was credited with immediate curative or recuperative results.¹¹³

Henry used this measuring type of oblation or alms-giving on a number of occasions. Henry may have also used this technique for more precautionary measures, as there was not always any indication that his children were ill. In January 1244, Edward, Margaret and Beatrice were to be weighed and measured. These figures were then to be used to calculate the amount of food that was to be fed to poor and needy children in Windsor hall on the Friday after Epiphany.¹¹⁴ Similarly, on 28 April 1255, Henry ordered Matthew Bezille, Eleanor's steward, to weigh Edmund and to distribute his weight in bread and meat to the poor.¹¹⁵ At this point Edmund was ten years old, and would have resulted in a substantial weight of food. The feeding of the poor was a well-used means of securing divine favour. As discussed by Sally Dixon-Smith, the poor were seen to be closer to God, and feeding them meant exponentially multiplying the number of prayers on your behalf and, in turn, greatly increasing the chances of a successful outcome.¹¹⁶ These measured alms and oblations suggest that Henry was trying to increase the volume of prayers on

¹¹² *CR 1237–1242*, 149; *CLR 1226–1240*, 404 and 442.

¹¹³ Finucane, *Rescue of the Innocents*, 11.

¹¹⁴ *CR 1242–1247*, 150. Edward used measured alms regularly with his own children (possibly under the instruction of his mother Eleanor who was caring for her grandchildren during Edward's absence on crusade), as Henry and Eleanor were to be weighed and corresponding food in alms were to be distributed to the poor weekly, on Fridays in 1273–4: E 101/350/17 mm1–9.

¹¹⁵ *CR 1254–1256*, 71.

¹¹⁶ Christ himself was said to be present in the poor, and the feeding of the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty and clothing the naked were part of the seven corporal works of mercy. Additionally, alms had apotropaic properties, which could be used to help ward off bad luck, as witnessed in Henry's feeding of the poor for the preservation of the health of his family: S.A. Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor to Commemorate the Dead: The *Pro Anima* Almsgiving of Henry III of England, 1227–72' (University College London: Unpublished Thesis, 2003), 15, 69, 74.

behalf of his children. The specific feeding of poor children reinforces the notion of Henry trying to ensure the spiritual protection of his children.

The arrival of Henry and Eleanor's second child, Margaret, was also marked with similar festivities and oblations. The occasion of the queen's confinement was met with hymns as Henry instructed the preceptor of the abbey of Westminster to be paid 25s for the singing of *Christus vincit*.¹¹⁷ Then, as the time of the queen's impending childbirth was nearing, Henry ordered the great and lesser halls at Westminster to be filled with poor who were to be fed.¹¹⁸ Again, these actions reveal the spiritual assistance Henry sought to ensure a successful pregnancy and delivery. The need for divine intervention supports Matthew Paris' claim that Margaret's arrival may have been difficult for Eleanor, and as such required the invocation of St Margaret.¹¹⁹ It may have been expected that the arrival of a daughter rather than son would have brought lesser celebrations, but this was not necessarily the case. Instead, the festivities appear to have provided Henry with the opportunity to demonstrate his delight in fatherhood. Henry gave Eleanor and Margaret gifts of twelve ounces of gold each, for his joy and relief at the safe delivery and health of his daughter and wife.¹²⁰ Oblations for the queen's purification ceremony included two pieces of baudekin, which were bought at a cost of 7 marks, 16s paid for a golden candlestick and a taper costing 5 marks.¹²¹ None of these items were specifically recorded as having been offered to St Margaret, as may have been expected had Eleanor called upon the saint's assistance during pregnancy. Only the writ regarding the golden candlestick states that it was offered to St Peter's church at Westminster, suggesting that Eleanor's purification ceremony took place there.¹²² The main veneration of the patron saint of pregnancy following Margaret's birth was the establishment of a chaplain in the chapel of St Margaret at Westminster, who received 60s annually.¹²³ This grant was probably made to ensure the continued

¹¹⁷ *CLR 1240–1245*, 292.

¹¹⁸ *CR 1237–1242*, 217.

¹¹⁹ See above 61–2.

¹²⁰ *CLR 1240–1245*, 6; *CR 1237–1242*, 248. The gift of gold was rather peculiar, with no real comparisons given to Edward on his birth. Howell suggests it was a means of Henry marking his delight: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 30.

¹²¹ *CLR 1240–1245*, 2, 22, 29.

¹²² C 62/15 m.23.

¹²³ *CPR 1232–1247*, 252. A chaplain had also been set up to celebrate the mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary for the good estate and health of Edward in 1239, receiving 50s yearly for his maintenance: *CLR 1226–1240*, 435. The chaplain at St Margaret's, Westminster, continued to be paid throughout Henry's

support of Margaret's saintly namesake throughout her life. The preparations for Eleanor's purification following Margaret's birth required the purchase of textiles, meats and various other objects. Swans, again, were on the menu at the feast, but appear to have been in short supply, as Henry sent a writ to the sheriff of Cambridge ordering him to buy all swans that were for sale in his bailiwick and to send them, without delay, to London.¹²⁴

Concerns for Eleanor's health were also prevalent during her pregnancy with Edmund. Henry instructed the sheriff of Kent to have 1000 tapers made, each of half a pound of wax. These were to be placed around the shrine of St Thomas the Martyr in the church of Holy Trinity, Canterbury, on his feast day, and also in the church of St Augustine, Canterbury, for the preservation of the health and for the delivery of the queen, who was with child.¹²⁵ Both these churches in Canterbury were also given twelve halfpence worth of *musc* each by the queen on her confinement. These gifts emphasise the perils of childbirth and the concern both Henry and Eleanor had for her safety.¹²⁶ Thomas Becket may seem like an unusual saint for Henry to call upon for his wife's pregnancy, but numerous miracle stories relating to childbirth were associated with the saint.¹²⁷ According to Powell, William of Canterbury's *miracula* of St Thomas Becket contain more childbirth miracles than any other twelfth-century collection, making him an appropriate, national saint from whom Henry would wish to seek divine assistance for Eleanor and their unborn child.¹²⁸ Henry was not alone in seeking St Thomas' assistance. Edward I's second wife, Margaret of France, called upon the martyr's aid during her difficult labour with Thomas of Brotherton.¹²⁹

Edmund's birth and Eleanor's subsequent purification were followed by celebrations and costly offerings. An embroidered chasuble with a wide orphrey was

reign. For example, at Easter and Michaelmas 1257–8, Edward of Westminster was paid 30s to sustain a chaplain celebrating divine service for Margaret: E 403/13 m.2; E 403/15A m.3; E 403/17A m.3; E 403/17B m.3.

¹²⁴ *CLR* 1267–1272, 292.

¹²⁵ Tapers formed a part of perpetual commemoration and could be used to acquire the intervention of the saints. They were also a 'physical representation of votive prayers and a symbol of salvation': Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', 265–8.

¹²⁶ *CLR* 1240–1245, 275.

¹²⁷ Thomas Becket was one of three saints that received particular reverence from King John and his Angevin family, alongside St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund the Martyr, from whom Henry acquired a similar preference for these specific saints: Webster, *King John and Religion*, 38, 197.

¹²⁸ Powell, 'The "Miracle of Childbirth"', 807.

¹²⁹ K. Staniland, 'Welcome, Royal Babe! The Birth of Thomas of Brotherton in 1300', *Costume* 19 (1985), 1–13 (10).

given to the altar at Westminster on the day of Edmund's birth, and another chasuble with orphrey was used when Edmund was lifted from the font. This baptismal chasuble was extremely sumptuous, made of cloth with gold-fringing, pearls and precious stones.¹³⁰ It was decorated with three marks worth of gold by the king's goldsmith, Edward son of Odo, so no doubt cost a considerable sum in total when all the costs for materials were included.¹³¹ As part of Eleanor's oblations, an embroidered cope of samite costing £20 and a reliquary worth 20 marks were offered at her purification. The expense of these gifts seem to represent the amplified relief and thanks given to God by both Eleanor and her husband for her health and safe delivery of their son. Items were also made for use during the ceremony, including three vases, one gilt and the other two decorated in flowers, each weighing 5 marks.¹³² Additionally, Walter de Lench was again paid for his services in the singing of the *Christus vincit* on the day of Eleanor's purification.¹³³ For the feast, the king ordered 500 hares and 200 rabbits to be carried from the bishopric of Chichester to London.¹³⁴

In comparison, there are no references to any offerings made by the queen during her purification following Katherine's birth. The lack of offerings may indicate that, unlike the pregnancies of Margaret and Edmund, Eleanor's final pregnancy was less troublesome and did not require as many oblations. Matthew Paris' also indicates that Katherine's birth was less troublesome, describing Eleanor as rising well from childbirth, suggesting that she had not suffered excessively.¹³⁵ As Henry was in Gascony, any offerings he was to have made for the queen's safe delivery would probably have been done on the continent. Yet, Eleanor's own oblations which would have been made as part of the purification ritual are incongruously missing.

Instead Eleanor's purification following Katherine's birth focussed on the feast. It is the only occasion when the chroniclers provide details regarding the queen's purification celebrations.¹³⁶ Paris informs us that while the king was

¹³⁰ *CLR 1240–1245*, 288; *CR 1242–1247*, 286, 288, 296.

¹³¹ *CR 1242–1247*, 307.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 285.

¹³³ *CLR 1240–1245*, 292.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 289.

¹³⁵ '*surgens a puerperio prospere*': *CM*, v.421.

¹³⁶ Matthew Paris provides limited detail regarding Eleanor's purification following Edward's birth, in that she was attended by a number of noble ladies, as was the custom. Instead the chronicler was more interested in the king's attack on the Montforts who had arrived for the ceremony: *CM*, iii.567.

celebrating Christmas in Gascony, Eleanor returned from the birthing chamber on St Edward's day (5 January), on the eve of Epiphany. She celebrated her purification feast with her uncle, the archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the bishop of Ely, Richard of Cornwall, the earl of Gloucester and many other nobles of England.¹³⁷ Despite the absence of the king, the queen was well attended by the leading figures at court, demonstrating the importance of the occasion and the pomp that coincided with the birth of royal children.

Katherine's birth was also the only occasion when the chancery records provide a full breakdown of the items procured for the queen's purification feast.¹³⁸ These state that the feast was provisioned with wine, various meats and birds supplied by the sheriffs of a number of English counties, outlined in Table 3.¹³⁹

Item	County sheriff									Total
	Kent	Bedford and Buckinghamshire	Surrey and Sussex	Essex and Hertfordshire	Norfolk	Cambridge and Huntingdonshire	Northamptonshire	Oxford and Berkshire	Middlesex	
boars	2	2	2	2		1	3	2		14
swans	4	3	4		5	6	4			26
rabbits	20	25	20	20		25		25		135
partridges	50	50	50	50		50			50	300
hens	300	100	300	150					800	1650
hares	25	25								50
eggs	1500		1500	1000				2000	1000	7000
geese				12	12	12				36
ducks				100	50	100				250

Table 3 Purification feast following the birth of Katherine

As the king was absent, the celebration was arranged by the queen herself, and her co-regent, Richard of Cornwall. The queen, therefore, sought to ensure her purification feast was sufficiently magnificent and worthy of her status, ensuring the

¹³⁷ *CM*, v.421.

¹³⁸ The reason for the full breakdown of details is perhaps because the occasion was a combination of celebrations for Eleanor's purification, as well as the feast of St Edward. There are similarities to the festivities for the feast of St Edward in the following year, 1254, organised and hosted by Richard of Cornwall and Edmund in the absence of the king and queen: *CR 1253-1254*, 156.

¹³⁹ *CR 1253-1254*, 10, 105.

majesty of the English crown, despite the absence of the king. As demonstrated by Bjorn Weiler, the ceremonial was a powerful tool used by Henry III to convey his honour and status, as well as providing an opportunity to display his munificence.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, Lars Kjaer has shown how Eleanor de Montfort increasingly used her hospitality during the months approaching the battle of Evesham, in August 1265, to display continued Montfortian authority.¹⁴¹ The same can be said of Eleanor of Provence and her purifications, which functioned as important representations of her power and influence, marking her return to court. In addition, these festivities helped to reassert the hierarchical structure of the realm with the queen as the most powerful woman in the kingdom, mother of the king's children.

Eleanor's return to court was particularly important following Katherine's birth, which is underscored in the extravagance feast. In the summer of 1253, Henry departed for Gascony and named his pregnant wife as regent in his stead.¹⁴² Henry placed great trust and confidence in her abilities to protect Edward's rights. He granted Eleanor custody of his heir, Edward, and their other children, as well as the kingdom of England and all his lands in Wales, Ireland and Gascony, until Edward's coming of age.¹⁴³ Henry also issued letters patent calling for all to be intendant to Eleanor, as the keeper and governor of the realm of England and the lands of Wales and Ireland, until his return.¹⁴⁴ The king's great seal was deputised to the keeping of Eleanor and his brother, Richard, and certain others of his council.¹⁴⁵ Eleanor was also granted the right to make her will to the sum of 3000 marks and her dower assignment was increased.¹⁴⁶ Thus, in spite of her impending pregnancy, or perhaps because her pregnant state (which represented the ultimate state of matrimonial affection and trust), Eleanor was assigned the guardianship of the realm and their

¹⁴⁰ B.K.U. Weiler, 'Symbolism and Politics in the Reign of Henry III' in *Thirteenth Century IX*, eds M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 15–41 (20).

¹⁴¹ L. Kjaer, 'Food, Drink and Ritualised Communication in the Household of Eleanor de Montfort, February to August 1265', *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011), 75–89.

¹⁴² Eleanor was associated with the regency government of England in Henry's absence during the Poitou expedition of 1242–4, and was to become regent should he die: *CPR 1232–1247*, 294.

¹⁴³ *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer (London, 1816), I.i, 496. This act has been dated to 1272 in *Foedera*, but Howell points out that it is incorrect, attributing it instead to 1 June 1253, before Henry's departure for Gascony: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 111.

¹⁴⁴ *CPR 1247–1258*, 209.

¹⁴⁵ *CPR 1247–1258*, 200. Eleanor and Richard were not to use the great seal, but to keep it safe until Henry's return. They were also to give the archdeacon of Coventry, William of Kilkenny, the seal of the exchequer, which was to be used on royal business in the king's absence: *CPR 1247–1258*, 210.

¹⁴⁶ *CPR 1247–1258*, 213. See also: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 113–4.

heir in Henry's absence. Eleanor's appointment as regent reiterates Carpenter's belief that Henry perceived his marriage to Eleanor as one of teamwork, and Eleanor as the sole individual to guarantee the succession and protect the rights of their son.¹⁴⁷

Eleanor clearly took her role as regent very seriously as she undertook her duties late into her pregnancy and resumed shortly after giving birth. She was still personally authorising royal government business, witnessing royal letters as late as 19 November 1253 and returning as early as 15 December.¹⁴⁸ Henry left his realm in the capable hands of his beloved wife and mother of his children, the person he trusted most to defend the kingdom and his heir. The purification feast following Katherine's birth thus not only symbolised the queen's return, it also had the added significance in marking the return of the regent. For this reason, it was lavishly celebrated.

Beatrice's birth is the only one for which there is no mention of any sort of celebration or festivities in the English government records. Nevertheless, an absence of records does not necessarily mean an absence of gifts and offerings for Eleanor's purification. Beatrice's birth was potentially a difficult one. There appears to have been concerns for Eleanor's health as three Westminster monks were asked to transport the relic of a portion of the Virgin Mary's girdle to Gascony for the queen's use.¹⁴⁹ Matthew Paris, in a later recollection of Simon de Montfort's campaign, indicates that Eleanor's health may have struggled during this pregnancy. He stated that Eleanor was heavily pregnant and ill at La Réole, before moving to Bordeaux to give birth.¹⁵⁰ If the pregnancy was particularly troublesome, it would be expected that oblations would have been made in thanks for her safe delivery. The sheer volume of gifts and preparations made for Eleanor's purifications following the birth of her other four children (especially following the difficult births of Margaret and Edmund) suggest that Beatrice's birth would have equally received an extravagant welcome. Therefore, any celebration or religious benefaction following Beatrice's birth would have been undertaken in Bordeaux, which appears to have been the case,

¹⁴⁷ D.A. Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery* (London: Penguin, 2003), 341.

¹⁴⁸ Letters were issued '*per reginam*': *CR 1253-1254*, 6, 11. These letters were issued less than a week before, and only twenty days after giving birth on 25 November 1253.

¹⁴⁹ The *Customary* dates the transportation of the girdle to 1246; however, it probably should have been 1242: *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of St Augustine, Canterbury, and St Peter, Westminster*, ed. E.M. Thompson, Volume II (London, 1904), 73. Nevertheless, according to the patent rolls the relics of Sainte Quitterie ('*sancta Kiteria*') were to be brought to the queen in Bordeaux in May 1243: C 66/53 m.10.

¹⁵⁰ '*regina praegnante et apud Regulam infirmante et apud Burdegalim pariente*': *CM*, v.208.

as Paris criticised Henry for his expenditure while on expedition in Poitou.¹⁵¹ His account of Henry's time abroad states that Henry spent much of his time at leisure and in foolish idleness, wasting his treasure at Bordeaux with the queen and their daughter Beatrice.¹⁵² The squandered expenditure mentioned here perhaps encompassed the festivities that followed the birth of their daughter, as the chronicler was often critical of Henry's extravagance.

It is also probable that Eleanor was provided with new robes for her purifications. In her study of the churchings of Philippa of Hainault, wife of Edward III, Caroline Shenton found that Philippa commissioned an array of robes for the festivities. These robes included a 'squirrel suit' of purple velvet robes embroidered with gold squirrels and trimmed with ermine and *miniver*, following the birth of Edward of Woodstock.¹⁵³ Philippa also received various costly items for the differing stages of her purification including a coat and hood of cloth of gold lined with *miniver* for the ceremony itself. For the banquet that followed, Philippa had a robe embroidered with gold, and for the evening, a coat, surcoat and mantle of silken cloth worked with fine gold and pure fur. Similarly, her ladies and damsels also received furs and *miniver* hoods for the occasion.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, there is no mention in the extant government records of any outfits that Eleanor of Provence wore to her purifications. Nevertheless, it would appear highly feasible that Eleanor was bedecked in splendid new robes for the occasion, as befitted her status, as the king, queen and their children regularly had numerous new robes made for important feasts and the changing of the seasons.¹⁵⁵

Although the thirteenth-century chroniclers were inconsistent in their recording of the births of Henry and Eleanor's daughters, the chancery and exchequer records document the royal couple's joy at their growing family. Celebration and pageantry marked each of Eleanor's confinements, the births themselves and the

¹⁵¹ The Tewkesbury annalist was similarly critical: '*R. de Clara... quia dominus rex agebat in partibus transmarinis, nondum potuit habere terras suas*': *AM*, i.130.

¹⁵² '*Rex autem otis vacans et inutiliter thesaurum suum dispergens apud Burdegalim cum regina sua quae jam sibi filiam peperit moram desidem continuavit*': *CM*, iv.229.

¹⁵³ Shenton, 'Philippa of Hainault's Churchings', 107–8; S.M. Newton, 'Queen Philippa's Squirrel Suit' in *Documenta Textila: Festschrift für Sigrid Muller-Christensen*, eds M. Flury-Lemberg and K. Stolles (Munich, 1981), 342–8.

¹⁵⁴ *Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for issues, 19 June 1330*, printed and translated in *Everyone a Witness: The Plantagenet Age*, ed. A.F. Scott (London: Purnell Book Services Ltd., 1975), 57–8.

¹⁵⁵ See below 91–3.

queen's return to court. During these dangerous times of medieval childbearing, Henry's concern for the welfare of his wife and children permeates the source material with the feeding of the poor, alms and oblations for Eleanor and the children's safe delivery and health. From birth, the attachments Henry and Eleanor formed with all five of their children, and the concerns for their welfare, continued to develop and grow stronger throughout their childhoods and adult lives, as I will demonstrate in subsequent chapters.

Chapter II: Childhood: The Royal Nursery at Windsor

With each new addition to the royal family, the nursery at Windsor grew larger. This chapter focuses on the early years of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence's daughters, preceding their marriages, exploring their upbringing and education. It does not examine their childhoods in isolation, but rather investigates their lives in conjunction with the brothers with whom they shared a nursery and were raised alongside. As each child arrived at Windsor, they appear to have been provided with their own household. These were furnished with a variety of items and means of covering the children's expenses, as well as a number of individuals who attended the children. Often the children's attendants had previously served the king and queen, demonstrating the concern taken to ensure that trusted individuals were assigned to take care of the royal children. Henry and Eleanor also regularly visited the royal nursery at Windsor and quickly integrated their children into their religious practices and court life. From a young age, Henry associated his children with his acts of piety and patronage, regularly incorporating the whole family in almsgiving and poor relief. As heir, Edward was initiated into aspects of royal authority and ruling, whereas Beatrice was introduced into the practices of intercession and largesse. The study of the childhood and upbringing of Henry's children at Windsor reveals the strong, loving bonds that the English king and queen formed with their children as infants.

Henry and Eleanor's Parental Attachment

As the royal family grew, so too did the nursery established at Windsor. Henry's dislike of being parted from his family is apparent in his itinerary. Between 1234 and 1252 Henry spent 11% of his time, or 651 days, at Windsor, second only to Westminster (28% or 1746 days).¹ Similarly, Eleanor's 'children were her constant preoccupation' and as such, her main base was at Windsor where her children resided.² Just as the pull of their children resulted in Henry's stays at Windsor,

¹ D.A. Carpenter and J. Kanter, 'Henry III and Windsor', *Fine of the Month*, <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-11-2009.html> [accessed 19 July 2016].

² Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 76, 99.

Eleanor would likewise often leave the peripatetic lifestyle of English kingship and return to her children. For example, in 1247, while the king went into Kent, Eleanor headed to Windsor.³ It is possible to calculate the amount of time Eleanor spent at Windsor from the two extant rolls of the queen's household expenses.⁴ The accounts cover an entire year from 24 June 1252 until 24 June 1253 and from these we can determine that Eleanor was away from Henry's side for 151 days of the year, 131 of which were spent at Windsor, over 86% of her time away from court.⁵ At this point there would have still been three of her children remaining at Windsor: Edward, Beatrice and Edmund (aged between fourteen and eight), with Eleanor herself pregnant during 1253 with Katherine. The amount of time Eleanor spent at Windsor reveals that when she was able to leave court the queen stayed with her children. Eleanor also sought the comfort of her family at Windsor when she was ill. For example, in March 1257, Henry ordered 20 tuns of wine to be sent to Windsor as the queen was lying ill there, and the children dwelling there with her were greatly in want of wine.⁶

Although the source material does not necessarily reveal the interactions instigated by the children with their parents, there is an episode related by Matthew Paris which suggests that the affection Henry and Eleanor showed their children was reciprocated. According to the chronicler, Edward was greatly distressed by his father's departure for Gascony in August 1253. Henry 'wept with multiple embraces and kisses, however, the young boy Edward stood on the shore weeping and sobbing, and refused to leave while he could still see the swelling sails of the ships'.⁷ With tears from both Henry and Edward, the king's departure was evidently an emotional event leaving both distraught, as neither father nor son wished to be separated. Edward's unrestrained tears and his refusal to leave the shore says much about the strength of the affective bonds between parents and children, forged through the amount of time the king and queen spent at Windsor. It suggests that neither parents

³ *CLR 1245-1251*, 113.

⁴ E 101/349/16; E 101/349/22.

⁵ Howell has the figure at two-thirds, based on her alms accounts: E 101/349/17; E 101/349/24; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 99.

⁶ '*Quia dilecta Regina nostra egrotans apud Windesore et liberi nostri cum ea commorantes maximum hunc desiderium vinorum*': C 62/33 m.9.

⁷ '*Puer autem Edwardus, super quem pater cum amplexibus et osculis fleverat multiplicatis, stans in litore flens et singultans, noluit recedere dum poterat vela sinuosa navium intueri*': *CM*, v.383.

nor children liked to be separated for great lengths of time, and Edward was stubborn in his refusal to leave until he could no longer see his father on the horizon. Although this episode may have been creatively retold by Paris, it does, at the very least, show that the chronicler felt that there was a strong connection between the royal parents and their children. How the children's attachments to their parents affected their lives will be discussed in later chapters.

The Children's Households

Parsons' study of care-givers argues that from the thirteenth century, there was increased reliance on the ceremonial to underscore the majesty of kingship. This reverence shown to the king also extended towards his family. Consequently, sons and daughters were accorded the honorific titles of *dominus* and *domina* from an early age. Henry's heir was styled the Lord Edward, in line with this practice. As such, the king's own household was the only one in the realm of sufficient dignity to house the royal children.⁸ Nevertheless, the itinerant nature of the royal court was not conducive to the wellbeing of young children and consequently necessitated a separate household for royal children.⁹ In the Middle Ages, the education of elite children would take place in only a few locations. Children of royalty or the upper aristocracy would be educated at the royal court, whereas the lesser nobility would be sent to greater households, monasteries or universities.¹⁰ While the king's children were raised in their own households at Windsor, two sons of Henry's sister, Eleanor and Simon de Montfort, were placed in the household of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, for their education where they learnt letters and good manners.¹¹ King John was also sent away from the royal court for his education, instead placed in the care of his older brother, Henry, before heading to Fontevraud, alongside his sister, for their education.¹²

⁸ Parsons, 'Childhood Care-Givers', 294.

⁹ Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, 9.

¹⁰ Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, chs 1, 2.

¹¹ *Letters of Adam Marsh*, nos 25, 159. For the education of Eleanor's children, see: Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, 88-9.

¹² S.D. Church, *King John: England, Magna Carta and the Making of a Tyrant* (London: Pan Books, 2016), 4-5.

At Windsor it appears that each of the king and queen's children had their own household.¹³ Having separate households for individual children was not necessarily common practice. Edward I's own children had a joint household, in which they were raised alongside some of their cousins, Beatrice's children.¹⁴ Similarly, the four youngest children of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault had a joint household, separate from their elder siblings, however, it was only a temporary endeavour while their parents were abroad. Afterwards the two younger sons, Edmund of Langley and Thomas of Woodstock, were provided for by the king's and queen's households until they were both in their twenties.¹⁵ In comparison, Henry III and his siblings were raised in separate households, probably for security purposes, in the custody of the crown's most loyal servants.¹⁶

Edward's arrival elicited the creation of a household at Windsor to cater to his needs.¹⁷ Margaret also had some form of household of her own at Windsor, suggesting that there was not a general household of the royal children or that she was subsumed within Edward's household. The existence of Margaret's own household is evident in a writ ordering wine to be made available for the use of Margaret and her household residing at Windsor.¹⁸ Edmund also appears to have had his own household, especially by 1253–4, when he had a substantial number of servants who attended him.¹⁹ Similarly, Katherine had her own establishment, as the king provided sums to meet the expenses of 'herself and her household'.²⁰ Beatrice, on the other hand, does not appear to have had her own household. There are no

¹³ As stated by Howell, the 'pattern of the royal households at Windsor defies precise analysis. Apart from that of the queen, the household of the heir to the throne is obviously clearest': Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 99. Nevertheless, there are references to households associated with the other children.

¹⁴ See below 197–8; 238–9.

¹⁵ W.M. Ormrod, 'The Royal Nursery: A Household for the Younger Children of Edward III', *English Historical Review* 120 (2005), 398–415 (404–5, 411–2).

¹⁶ N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1947), 3; Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, 8; L.J. Wilkinson, 'Maternal Abandonment and Surrogate Caregivers: Isabella of Angoulême and her children' in *Virtuous of Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Period*, eds C. Fleiner and E. Woodacre (New York: Palgrave, 2016), 101–24 (112–3).

¹⁷ Numerous writs of liberate provisioned 'Edward the king's son and the household dwelling with him in the castle of Windsor' or 'Edward the king's son and the other boys there': *CLR 1240–1245*, 18, 19, 31, 38, 50, 60, 65, 90, 127, 143.

¹⁸ *CR 1242–1247*, 409.

¹⁹ *CR 1253–1254*, 74–5. Edmund probably had his own household from birth and was not a part of his brother's. Evidence for all these individual households becomes more apparent when examining how they were provisioned by the king and those who were appointed to serve the children, see below 89–102.

²⁰ 'ad expensas suas et familie sue': C 62/32 m.14.

references to payments being made to Beatrice and her household, although she did have a few of her own attendants and received various items for her use at Windsor.²¹ It is possible that she was raised alongside Margaret, within her household, until her sister's marriage in 1251. By the late 1250s it appears that Beatrice may have been living within her mother's household at Windsor, as Eleanor and Beatrice were jointly given gifts. For example, in 1258, Eleanor and 'the king's daughter' (most probably Beatrice who was still not yet married and still at court) were given silver dishes and sauceboats by the king.²² Additionally, in 1259, Henry ordered robes to be bought for the queen, the king's daughters and their ladies.²³ These grants could demonstrate that Henry was helping Beatrice to replicate her mother's household on a smaller scale, or perhaps that Beatrice was residing alongside her mother.

Provisioning the Households

Expenses

With the establishment of these households, Henry and Eleanor had to find ways to finance them. The chancery records are full of instructions for money to be paid to the keepers of the royal children. In a five year period, covering the 25th to 29th regnal years of Henry III, or the years 1240–5 (the period in which the royal nursery at Windsor most rapidly expanded with the birth of three children), 32 writs of liberate were issued ordering a total of £1643 to be delivered to Windsor for the expenses of Edward and the king's other children.²⁴ When other entries from the liberate rolls are taken into account, Henry spent almost £2000 covering the expenses of the children at Windsor between 1240–8.²⁵ After this period payments towards expenses become

²¹ See below 89–102.

²² *CLR 1251–1260*, 423.

²³ *CR 1256–1259*, 371. The plural use of daughters, '*filiarum*', could suggest that Eleanor of Castile was also present at Windsor, as Margaret did not return to England until late 1260.

²⁴ My calculations: *CLR 1240–1245*, 15, 18, 19, 31, 38, 50, 60, 65, 68, 85, 90, 100, 127, 143, 148, 160, 166, 174, 176, 186, 190, 195, 207, 213, 240, 293, 307, 308, 313, 321, 323. These expenses were on a similar scale to those of the household of Henry and Eleanor, Edward I's children, and their cousin Brito, which totalled £300 11s 3¼d between February 1273 and October 1274. In comparison, the average annual expenditure of the household of Edward of Carnarvon and his four sisters, two of whom were adults, neared £4000: H. Johnstone, 'The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, son of Edward I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 7 (1922–3), 384–420 (384–6, 392).

²⁵ Exact sum £1959 13s 4d. Calculated by adding the above entries to *CLR 1226–1240*, 491; *CLR 1245–1251*, 49, 58, 101, 113, 122, 167.

more sporadic as various children left the nursery, such as Edward and Margaret for their marriages. Nevertheless, with the birth of Katherine in 1253, intermittent payments resumed and between 1252–6 Henry sent £382 11s 1½d to Windsor.²⁶ These records reveal not only the immense costs of maintaining the royal nursery at Windsor but also Henry and Eleanor's attempts to ensure that their children, had suitable means of expenditure, as befitted their rank.

These ad hoc payments may have lessened as Henry attempted to make other provisions for the children's maintenance, which provided a more regular flow of cash. In January 1244, Henry granted Edward, for his maintenance, half of all the lands that had been confiscated from those in the French king's fealty.²⁷ Eleanor's involvement in equipping Edward's household is also evident in a grant made to the queen in 1248, when the king gave his wife the lands formerly of Ely Giffard, to hold during the minority of the heir, to provide assistance towards Edward's maintenance.²⁸ Similarly, in October 1250, Henry ordered the sum of £344, that Peter of Savoy rendered annually for the custody of the honour of Hastings and Tickhill, to be paid at Windsor into the queen's wardrobe to support the children.²⁹ As Howell rightly points out, although the queen did not have overall financial responsibility for the children's households, these grants brought their financing within the Savoyard orbit.³⁰

When Eleanor was at Windsor she also covered the costs of the royal nursery. Between 1245 and 1251, a series of payments were made to Eleanor to cover her expenses while at Windsor totalling £1280 2s 10d.³¹ Similarly, the roll of the queen's accounts, between 24 June and 28 October 1252, show Eleanor contributed £167 10s 3½d, almost two-thirds of her total outlay of £257 18s 9d, towards the costs of the children at Windsor, demonstrating how much of Eleanor's time and expenditure

²⁶ *CLR 1251–1260*, 27, 171, 176, 179, 183, 210, 327.

²⁷ *CPR 1232–1247*, 418.

²⁸ *CR 1247–1251*, 44.

²⁹ *Fine Rolls*, 34 Henry III, no.788.

³⁰ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 100.

³¹ This figure is based on sixteen writs which either state that the queen was at Windsor or was granted by Henry at Windsor, assuming that when the king was at Windsor (who would then assume the costs of Eleanor and his children's households in addition to his own), so was his queen. This figure could be much higher as it does not take into account numerous entries of payments to Eleanor that do not specify her location: *CLR 1245–1251*, 14, 65, 91, 107, 110, 113, 126, 153, 202, 242, 252, 276–7, 300, 329, 355, 384.

concerned her children.³² She also covered the arrears of wages for five servants of Edmund and Beatrice, to the cost of 11s 6d. Additionally, for twelve days following Easter Sunday (20 April) 1253, Eleanor took on the expenses of Edward's livery costs, at a daily average of 14s 5d.³³

Items

Henry and Eleanor's concern to ensure their children were suitably provisioned within their households at Windsor is evident in the lavish gifts and purchases they made on their behalf. These pieces included various jewellery such as in 1244, at the feast of the Circumcision (1 January), when Edward and Margaret were each given a gold ring bought from Matthew de Venice for 35 marks.³⁴ Similarly, in October 1252, a decorative, possibly jewelled, flower was purchased, costing 2s, for one of Beatrice's garlands.³⁵ A further fourteen-dozen buttons and a flower were also bought by the queen for Beatrice's garland.³⁶ In the same month, another garland was purchased for Beatrice. Costing £1 6s 8d, it was decorated with a leopard, the symbol of the English kingdom.³⁷ The children also had a wardrobe that was stocked with various jewels, cloth, cups, belts and other costly items. An account of the children's wardrobe exists for the late 1240s and was enrolled on the pipe rolls.³⁸ This account may record the items the children received from their parents as gifts, as well as the items they dispensed as part of their patronage. Unfortunately, the accounts only occasionally specify where the items were distributed. Rather interestingly, some of the items were marked as being sold to the New Temple, suggesting that in times of shortage, these items were used to raise funds for the nursery at Windsor.³⁹

These attempts to ensure the children's majesty are also evident in the exquisite robes and clothing that were bought and made for them. The most pertinent

³² E 101/349/18.

³³ E 101/349/22.

³⁴ *CLR 1240–1245*, 213.

³⁵ E 101/349/21. The entry states that the items were for Beatrice, but does not specify that she was the king's daughter. Yet, these entries are one of two underlined on the roll by the scribe. The other entry concerns the queen of Scotland, Margaret, suggesting that both these entries referred to the king's daughters.

³⁶ E 372/96 rot.18 m.2.

³⁷ E 101/349/21.

³⁸ E 372/95 rot.8 m.1; rot.8d m.2, printed in *Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*, 71–5.

³⁹ For example, '*in vendicione facta apud novum templum Lxvij paria pelvium ponderis CCLxix li. xvj s.*': *Ibid.*, 73.

example of Henry's desire to ensure that his children, and particularly Edward, were suitably attired occurred at Christmas 1251. The feast was celebrated at York and also witnessed the marriage of Margaret to Alexander III of Scotland, an important event for displaying the wealth of the English crown.⁴⁰ For the occasion, the king's tailors, John de Sumercote and Roger, were commissioned to provide Edward a *cointise* (a silk ornate garment worn on festive occasions)⁴¹ and five other robes for Edward, as well as two robes for his knights of cloth of gold, lined with fur and hind.⁴² In addition to robes for ceremonies and feasts, new robes were required for the changing seasons. In 1243, Edward and Margaret were bought two robes of delicate, well-coloured *scarlet* with hoods and lined with hind or *miniver*.⁴³ These would have been costly, using expensive materials. *Scarlet* was a fine woollen cloth and *miniver* (or *vair*) was the white winter fur of the red squirrel.⁴⁴ In 1254, £4 15s 7d were spent on eight ells of blue woollen cloth (*bluettus*) for two capes for Beatrice and the king's niece, and *camelin*, a reasonably expensive woollen cloth, for winter robes for Edmund, the king's two daughters, his niece and Henry de Lacy who were all dwelling at Windsor.⁴⁵ In 1258, Edmund was given nine ells of good *russet* and *pelure* for a winter robe.⁴⁶ *Russet* was a reasonably inexpensive, English, woollen cloth, but Edmund received enough cloth for a full set of winter clothes, suggesting its expense.⁴⁷

The queen was also concerned to see the children suitably attired. According to Howell, Eleanor knew a great deal about the importance of presentation, spending

⁴⁰ See below 134–8.

⁴¹ F. Lachaud, 'Dress and Social Status in England before the Sumptuary Laws' in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, eds P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 105–23 (116).

⁴² *CR 1251–1253*, 12, 14.

⁴³ *CR 1242–1247*, 118. The inclusion of fur suggests that these robes were for the winter: B.L. Wild, 'A Truly Royal Retinue: Using Wardrobe Rolls to Determine the Size and Composition of the Household of Henry III of England', *The Court Historian* 16 (2011), 127–157 (136).

⁴⁴ B.L. Wild, 'The Empress' New Clothes. A *Rotulus Pannorum* of Isabella, sister of King Henry III, bride of Emperor Frederick II' in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 7, eds R. Netherton and G.R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 1–31 (10 and 11). The term robe did not constitute one specific item of clothing, but rather a set of garments: F. Lachaud, 'Liveries of Robes in England, c. 1200–c. 1330', *English Historical Review* 111 (1996), 279–298 (279).

⁴⁵ C 62/31 m.14. The writ names Margaret rather than Beatrice, but Howell has pointed out that this attribution is an error: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 100. The unnamed niece is potentially the daughter of Alice de Lusignan and John de Warenne who was also raised at Windsor: *Ibid.*, 80; Wild, 'Empress' New Clothes', 7.

⁴⁶ *CR 1256–1259*, 264.

⁴⁷ Wild, 'Empress' New Clothes', 7; Wild, 'Household', 135.

hours making decisions about clothes for herself, for her ladies and for her children, as supported by the record evidence.⁴⁸ Edward was bought a tabard of silk, costing 5s 6d, while both Edmund and Beatrice received gloves, costing 6d.⁴⁹ For Michaelmas 1252, Colin, the queen's tailor, received 9s 10d for purchasing and making a range of garments for the queen and her three children. Edward received two tabards, one specified as being made from silk, a *camlet* (rich silken fabric) tunic and robes.⁵⁰ Beatrice received a doublet and robes, as did Edmund, who also received a tabard. Eleanor also had robes made for herself. Additionally, an array of cloaks, tabards and a raincoat were made, also possibly for the children, totalling 3s 8d.⁵¹ Between June and July 1252, Beatrice and Edmund received various shoes costing 11s 1d.⁵² Beatrice was given seven pairs of boots; three pairs of small shoes and two other pairs. Edmund obtained at least seven pairs of shoes. Eleanor's accounts show that the queen ensured that her children were well clothed from head to toe.

The households at Windsor were also equipped with gifts of expensive gold and silver kitchenware and elaborate furnishings. In 1242, Edward was given four silver dishes and four saucers costing £5 12s 6d, a silver pot worked with gold costing £3 1s 8d and a silver salt-cellar worked in gold costing 19s.⁵³ In 1247, a further £6 10s 7d was spent on a silver dish and four saucers for Edward.⁵⁴ In 1254, 24 silver spoons were made for the king's children at Windsor at a cost of £1 7s 8d.⁵⁵ The children also received various textiles and bedding. In 1256, Edmund was given a good and beautiful bed, with cloth of gold, a mattress and blankets. These were supplemented with other items including pillows of *arest* cloth, a red bedspread of squirrel fur and a wool mattress.⁵⁶ Edward and Margaret were also bought 47 ells of linen at £1 7s 5d to make sheets and kerchiefs.⁵⁷ Eleanor also bought various items for Beatrice and Edmund.⁵⁸ Beatrice received a small knife and Edmund wax.

⁴⁸ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 76.

⁴⁹ E 101/349/18.

⁵⁰ 'camlet' in *Lexis of Cloth and Clothing*, <http://lexisearch.arts.manchester.ac.uk/> [accessed 18 April 2018].

⁵¹ E 101/349/18.

⁵² E 101/349/19.

⁵³ *CLR 1240–1245*, 152.

⁵⁴ *CLR 1245–1251*, 123.

⁵⁵ *CLR 1251–1260*, 181.

⁵⁶ *CR 1256–1259*, 10.

⁵⁷ *CLR 1240–1245*, 191.

⁵⁸ E 101/349/18.

Edmund was also provided with items for his horses, including a sack to keep oats, a curry-comb and horseshoes, totalling 1s 1½d, and 18d was paid to grooms. He also received two quivers at a cost of 3s 8d. The ability to ride a horse was important and the children would have begun to learn at a young age. In 1243, Henry ordered two saddles to be made with two seats for Edward and Margaret's use, made with beautiful saddle-cloth.⁵⁹ At this point the children would have been no more than four and three years old. The double seat suggests that these were for training purposes.

The king also provided the royal nursery with expensive foodstuffs. The chancery records contain multiple entries regarding wine and meat, particularly venison, which was sent as provisions for the royal nursery. For example, in 1242, Roger de Stopham, the king's huntsman, was instructed to take twelve bucks from the forest of Melkesham and a further eight bucks from the bailiwick of William de Langele, to salt them and take them to Windsor.⁶⁰ That same year, Forz de Bordeaux was paid £2 for two tuns of Angevin presage-wine that were given to Edward.⁶¹ Similarly, in 1254, deer and cattle were to be caught or bought and sent to Windsor to feed Edmund and the other children there.⁶² These were high status foodstuffs, demonstrating how the children were to be fed appropriately for their rank, and in a similar fashion to the king and queen's own households.

Attendants

As part of the children's household, Henry and Eleanor appointed a series of guardians, nurses and attendants who were entrusted to the care of the royal children. I have attempted to identify these servants by searching the chancery and exchequer records for all mentions of those who attended them. Most of these records involve rewards for these attendants in return for their royal service. Due to the nature of this material, it is impossible to know the full details of those who served in the children's households as there is no specific record listing the individuals. There are additional difficulties in that numerous servants passed between the service of the king, queen and their children, and that many of the

⁵⁹ *CR 1242-1247*, 45.

⁶⁰ *CLR 1240-1245*, 139

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁶² *CR 1253-1254*, 63, 76, 88, 90-1, 96.

female attendants were only referred to by their first names.⁶³ Furthermore, these households evolved as the children grew older and their needs changed, from nursing to education, and they were attended by different individuals.⁶⁴ As is evident from Table 4, I have been able to identify at least 41 individuals who were in the service of the royal children, but this number may well be higher.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, this table helps to give a sense of scale of the operation at Windsor. Henry and Eleanor's sons had the largest households, or at least the largest households whose members can be identified with a fair degree of certainty. It suggests that the households formed for Edward and Edmund at a young age may have been intended to serve them as they grew older. In comparison, the daughters were assigned other attendants to escort them to their new homes upon marriage, some of whom would remain in Margaret and Beatrice's service, whereas others would return to England. The bulk of the daughters' new marital households comprised of native Scots or Bretons.⁶⁶

⁶³ Some were also unnamed. A writ of October 1242, provided robes for two unnamed nurses of the king's children. They could be two nurses of Edward, Margaret or Beatrice already identified, or two additional persons. Similarly, it is difficult to confirm whether Avice, Katherine's nurse is also Amice le Parker, or if they are two separate individuals: *CLR 1240–1245*, 148; *CLR 1251–1260*, 398; *CChR 1226–1257*, 336.

⁶⁴ For example, Henry III and Richard of Cornwall were placed in the care of knights, such as Philip D'Aubigny, who instructed the boys in riding, hunting and the use of weapons, as well as tutors, like Roger of Acaster, who educated them in letters: Wilkinson, 'Maternal Abandonment', 113.

⁶⁵ The household of Edward I's children, Henry and Eleanor, and their cousin Brito, consisted of between 30 and 40 individuals. Additionally, the temporary household of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault's younger children had in excess of 100 persons who were either formally or informally attached to its service. The children's household was comparable in size to the queen's household, or the average English noble household of the mid- to late-fourteenth century: Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 389; Ormrod, 'The Royal Nursery', 403–4.

⁶⁶ See below 156–8.

Attendant	Role/Service	Additional Information
Master Walter de Dya	Edward's guardian	to receive income for expenses
Hugh Giffard, knight	Edward's guardian	oversee expenditure
wife of Nicholas de Molis	Edward's wet-nurse	
Joan, wife of Robert de Calceis	Edward's wet-nurse	also named nurse of Margaret
Alice de Luton	Edward's nurse	
Sarah	Edward's nurse	
William	Edward's cook	
J.	Edward's chaplain	
Unnamed	Edward's almoner	
John of London	Edward's clerk	rewarded for his service to the king and his children
unnamed	Edward's tailor	
Stephen Bauzan	Edward's knight	
Alexander	Edward's knight	
Collette	Edward's laundress	
Ralph	Edward's fiddler	
Isabella de Vall'	Margaret's nurse	
Bartholomew Peche	Margaret's guardian	by 1246 guardian of Edward
Geoffrey de Cauz	Margaret's guardian	
Simon de Burnham	Margaret's chaplain	
Agnes, wife of Bartholomew de Eversley	Beatrice's nurse	also possibly nursed Katherine
Margaret	Beatrice's lady	
Joan de Knolle	Beatrice's lady	
Simon de Wicombe	Edmund's guardian	
Petronilla, wife of Clement Folyot	Edmund's nurse	may also have nursed the daughter of Alice de Lusignan and John de Warenne
Godwin	Edmund's cook	
Richard de Horeforton	Edmund's chaplain	
Bartholomew de Everle	Edmund's valet	
Bartholomew de Yatingeden	Edmund's valet	
John de Brummor	Edmund's valet	
Peter Coc	Edmund's valet	
Bartholomew de Butellaria	Edmund's valet	
William Scoti	Edmund's valet	
Bartholomew de Sarr	Edmund's valet	
William de Valers	Edmund's valet	formerly Eleanor of Provence's valet
Eymon	constable at Windsor (Edmund's household)	

Attendant	Role/Service	Additional Information
four unnamed ladies	Edmund's household	
Juliane	Edmund's laundress	
Avice	Katherine's nurse	Amice le Parker?

Table 4 Attendants of the royal children⁶⁷

One of the key appointments entrusted to the running of the children's households was a guardian. On 30 March 1240, Master Walter de Dya and Hugh Giffard, a knight, were assigned to the custody and keeping of Edward. Walter was to receive money to cover the child's expenses and Hugh was to oversee its expenditure.⁶⁸ Similarly, as an infant Margaret was entrusted to the care of Bartholomew Peche and Geoffrey de Cauz.⁶⁹ Simon de Wicombe was named as the keeper of Edmund's person and his household.⁷⁰

Each child was also appointed nurses for their wellbeing. The importance of choosing well-selected nurses with the right physical and moral attributes was emphasised in the contemporary manuals. Wet-nurses were to be healthy and of congenial temperaments, with a preference for women who had recently given birth to a son.⁷¹ Henry would have been acutely aware of the need to select good nurses for his children, as both he and his brother Richard were strongly attached to their childhood nurses and continued to remember and remunerate them into adulthood.⁷² The use of wet-nurses after the birth of Edward is evident in the speed with which Eleanor was pregnant again with Margaret.⁷³ Edward had two wet-nurses in Joan, the wife of Robert de Calceis, and the wife of Nicholas de Molis.⁷⁴ He also had two further

⁶⁷ *CR 1237–1242*, 236; *CR 1242–1247*, 30, 211, 328, 515; *CR 1247–1251*, 208; *CR 1253–1254*, 74–5; *CR 1254–1256*, 271; *CR 1256–1259*, 53; *CPR 1232–1247*, 495; *CPR 1247–1258*, 267, 476, 574; *CLR 1240–1245*, 10, 148, 191; *CLR 1251–1260*, 155, 398; *CChR 1226–1257*, 455; *Fine Rolls*, 27 Henry III, no.221; E 101/349/12.

⁶⁸ *CR 1237–1242*, 236. Walter was a Savoyard clerk in the household of the queen's uncle, William, and Hugh Giffard was an Englishman. Walter's appointment reveals the strong Savoyard influence at Windsor. Similarly, Bernard of Savoy and Peter of Geneva were appointed as successive keepers of Windsor castle: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 32.

⁶⁹ *CLR 1240–1245*, 10.

⁷⁰ *CR 1253–1254*, 74–5.

⁷¹ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 55; W.F. MacLehose, 'Nurturing Danger: High Medieval Medicine and the Problem(s) of the Child' in *Medieval Mothering*, eds J.C. Parsons and B. Wheeler (London: Garland Publishing, 1996), 3–24 (13).

⁷² Wilkinson, 'Maternal Abandonment', 114.

⁷³ There was fifteen months between the births of Edward and Margaret, suggesting Eleanor was pregnant again early in 1240, approximately six months after giving birth.

⁷⁴ *Fine Rolls*, 27 Henry III, no.221

nurses in Alice de Luton and Sarah.⁷⁵ This network of carers at Windsor then expanded as the royal family grew, and each of Henry and Eleanor's children had their own nurse. Margaret was nursed by Isabelle de Vall'; Beatrice by Agnes, wife of Bartholomew de Eversle; Edmund by Petronilla, wife of Clement Folyot, and Katherine was cared for by nurses Agnes and Avice.⁷⁶ Additionally, there may have been other nurses as two writs mention 'two nurses' and 'king's nurses'.⁷⁷ Henry's concern for the welfare of the children at Windsor and the provisioning of nurses extended to his nephew Edmund, son of Richard of Cornwall and his second wife Sanchia of Provence, who was cared for by Denise of Stoke.⁷⁸

In addition to carers concerned with the health of the children, other attendants were appointed to safeguard the children's spiritual welfare. Edward's chaplain is unnamed, but we know of his existence as he received a gift of a brooch in 1253.⁷⁹ Similarly, Edward had his own almoner charged with distributing Edward's alms.⁸⁰ By 1244, Margaret had her own chaplain, Simon de Burnham, who was responsible for her oblations.⁸¹ In the same vein as Margaret, Edmund also had a chaplain appointed for his religious benefaction in Richard de Horeforton.⁸² As Margaret had a chaplain from infancy, it can be assumed that Edward and Edmund's chaplains were appointed at a similarly young age. The differing roles of the children's attendants demonstrates how their households were smaller versions of their parents, and expected to fulfil all their needs.

What is also apparent from Table 4 is that these servants often served more than one child. The nurses appear to have cared for a number of the children in the nursery. Edward's wet-nurse Joan, was also named as a nurse of Margaret.⁸³ One of Katherine's nurses, Agnes, was possibly the same Agnes, wife of Bartholomew de Eversle, who cared for Beatrice.⁸⁴ Likewise, Margaret's guardian Bartholomew de

⁷⁵ *CR 1242–1247*, 328; *CLR 1240–1245*, 191. Parsons believes Alice was Edward's wet-nurse as she apparently bore a son in 1238: Parsons, 'Childhood Care-Givers', 300. The original writ does not specify that Alice was a wet-nurse.

⁷⁶ *CR 1242–1247*, 515; *CR 1247–1251*, 208; *CLR 1251–1260*, 398. Possibly Amice le Parker.

⁷⁷ *CLR 1240–1245*, 147, 148.

⁷⁸ *CR 1264–1268*, 265.

⁷⁹ E 101/349/12. The entry states the gift was given to 'J. the chaplain of Lord Edward'.

⁸⁰ *CLR 1251–1260*, 155.

⁸¹ *CR 1242–1247*, 211.

⁸² *CR 1254–1256*, 271.

⁸³ *CPR 1247–1258*, 574.

⁸⁴ *CLR 1251–1260*, 398; *CR 1247–1251*, 208.

Peche, was Edward's guardian by 1246.⁸⁵ It suggests a degree of fluidity between the attendants of the children's households. Furthermore, household members also circulated between the king, queen and children's households. One of Edmund's valets was William de Valers, the same William who was endowed with land as the queen's valet for bringing news of Katherine's birth to the king.⁸⁶ Trusted servants who had previously been members of the king or queen's household were also assigned to the households of their children. It shows Henry and Eleanor's care to select men and women they knew and trusted to look after their children. This multiple service is also evident in a grant made to John de London, Edward's clerk, for his services to the king and his children, demonstrating his membership in numerous royal households.⁸⁷ Similarly, good service in the children's households could earn promotion to the queen's chamber. Alice de Luton, Edward's nurse, also worked in Eleanor's chamber, buying numerous items for the queen.⁸⁸

Evidence of Henry and Eleanor's concern for the wellbeing of their children permeates the chancery records and is most apparent in the gifts and grants made to these carers for their faithful service in the royal children's upbringing. The king and queen were quick to reward those in their service for their dedication and the same was applicable to the servants of their children.⁸⁹ One of the most interesting grants was made to Alexander le Parker and his wife Amice.⁹⁰ They received five and a half acres of land in Old Windsor as a reward for Amice's good service in Katherine's education.⁹¹ It reveals that, in addition to nurses and clerks, servants were also appointed for the children's education. The knight, Hugh Giffard, (appointed to the nursery on Edward's birth) was probably entrusted with some form of martial instruction for Edward and Edmund. This grant then raises questions concerning Amice's function. Katherine could only have been a year or two old and, as such, a

⁸⁵ *CLR 1240–1245*, 10; *CPR 1232–1247*, 495.

⁸⁶ *CR 1256–1259*, 53.

⁸⁷ *CPR 1247–1258*, 476.

⁸⁸ E 101/349/19. Similarly, individuals in the temporary household of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault's younger children also served the king and queen both before and after their stint in the children's household: Ormrod, 'The Royal Nursery', 408.

⁸⁹ The chancery records contain multiple entries of these types of grant. For example, Willelma, lady of the queen's chamber, was provided with a marriage of £20 or £30 yearly of land for her daughter, Isabel: *CPR 1232–1247*, 285.

⁹⁰ *CChR 1226–1257*, 444. This Amice may be the same Avice who also nursed Katherine. See Table 4.

⁹¹ '*pro laudabili servicio Amicie certa educationem Katerine filie nostre dilecte nobis exhibito*': C 53/46A m.6.

little young to be learning the finer points of needlecraft and spinning that royal women such as Edward I's daughters were taught.⁹² Much of our interpretation of this role depends on the meaning of education. The age of seven was considered a suitable age for the beginning of formal schooling, but the majority of girls' education (such as manners or etiquette) were acquired informally, orally or visually, from their mothers and mistresses.⁹³ Therefore, the education provided by Amice probably meant caring or raising Katherine.

The best example of the extent of Henry and Eleanor's generosity towards these carers is evident in the patronage of Edward's nurse, Alice de Luton. She received grants throughout Henry's reign, suggesting she had a much longer career caring for the English heir, than merely as a nurse.⁹⁴ In 1248, Alice and her heirs were granted the land of John de Sanes in Themelthorpe and Guist.⁹⁵ Alice also received other smaller grants, such as two years later when she was given 10 marks from the issues of the county of Buckinghamshire and a tun of wine.⁹⁶ On the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June) 1252, Alice received a pair of boots costing 1s, and a further two pairs of boots costing 2s 6d on the Translation of St Thomas (7 July).⁹⁷ In 1253, at the feast of the Circumcision (1 January), Alice received a brooch worth 4s.⁹⁸ In 1256, she was given three oaks for the use of her son William, a scholar residing at Oxford. Finally in 1271, for her long service to the king and Edward, she was granted an exemption for life from all suits and frankpledge at the court of the honour of Peverel, Northampton.⁹⁹

As witnessed by the grants made to Amice le Parker and Alice de Luton, these rewards for the children's household attendants could be fairly lucrative and ranged from gifts of wine to marriages or grants of manors and land. The children's nurses feature prominently as recipients. Isabella de Vall', Margaret's nurse, was granted 2d daily from the sheriff of Essex.¹⁰⁰ Following Margaret's marriage, Isabella remained in

⁹² Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 176.

⁹³ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 24, 13; Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 141, 212.

⁹⁴ In addition to working in Eleanor of Provence's chamber, Alice may have later become a member of Eleanor of Castile's household. In 1262 she accompanied both Eleanors to France: *CPR 1258-1266*, 220; Parsons, 'Childhood Care-Givers', 300-2.

⁹⁵ *CChR 1226-1257*, 336; *CR 1242-1247*, 328.

⁹⁶ *CLR 1245-1251*, 279; *CR 1247-1251*, 303.

⁹⁷ E 101/349/19.

⁹⁸ E 101/349/12.

⁹⁹ *CR 1256-1259*, 2; *CPR 1266-1272*, 530.

¹⁰⁰ *CR 1242-1247*, 515.

England, and was rewarded for her service with £2 of the queen's gift on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2 February) 1253.¹⁰¹ Beatrice and Edmund's nurses, Agnes and Petronilla, were granted 1 mark and 8 marks 20d respectively, to be received yearly from the sheriff of Essex in 1249.¹⁰² Following the death of Katherine, her nurses Avice and Agnes were granted 10 marks each of the king's gift.¹⁰³ Other servants, were also rewarded, such as Edmund's valets. In 1256, Bartholomew de Sarr was given a messuage in Marlborough, valued at 5s per year, and a house in the town of Marlborough, valued at 12d per year, for his good service.¹⁰⁴ Also, William de Valers was knighted at the feast at Pentecost 1257.¹⁰⁵

Brooches were also a common gift. Agnes, Beatrice's nurse, received two brooches in 1252.¹⁰⁶ Many of the children's attendants were rewarded with a series of brooches, on the feast of the Circumcision of the Lord (1 January) 1253, as outlined in Table 5. Similarly, Beatrice's damsel, Joan de Knolle, was given an emerald ring costing 3s 3d on the day of her wedding.¹⁰⁷

Attendant	Brooch Value
Alice de Luton, Edward's nurse	4s
William, Edward's cook	3s 1d
J., Edward's chaplain	3s 6d
Edward's tailor	2s 8d
Stephen Bauzan, Edward's knight	3s 3d
John of London, Edward's clerk	2s 3d
Alexander, Edward's knight	2s 3d
Collette, Edward's laundress	2s 2½d
Ralph, Edward's fiddler	1s 11d
Margaret, Beatrice's lady	3s 5d
Godwin, Edmund's cook	3s 4d

Table 5 Brooches given to the servants and attendants of the royal children on 1 January 1253¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ E 101/349/8.

¹⁰² *CR 1247-1251*, 208, 255.

¹⁰³ *CLR 1251-1260*, 398.

¹⁰⁴ *CChR 1226-1257*, 455.

¹⁰⁵ *CR 1256-1259*, 53.

¹⁰⁶ E 101/349/12.

¹⁰⁷ E 101/349/26.

¹⁰⁸ Based on E 101/349/12.

Just as Henry provided his own household with liveries, the members of the children's households were also similarly attired.¹⁰⁹ In 1242, winter robes were purchased for Edward's household at the Winchester fair.¹¹⁰ For Pentecost 1253, the entire royal household, children and other family members were given new robes. £13 9s 11d was spent on cloth for robes for members of Edmund's household.¹¹¹ In 1254, Edmund's attendants again received new robes. Four entire robes of *cendal* were bought for four ladies residing with the royal children; an entire outfit of *cendal* for Eymon, constable at Windsor; robes with *cendal* for Richard, the chaplain, Simon de Wicombe, keeper of the children, and Godwin, the cook; robes lined with lamb's wool for eight valets and a similar robe for Juliane, the laundress.¹¹² The differences in the materials given to the children's attendants mirrors the practice of Henry and his own household.¹¹³ The quality of material given to servants helped to distinguish their rank. The higher grades of servants were entitled to full robes (tunic, surcoat and tabard), whereas the lower status servants received a tunic and sometimes a hood or short cloak. The use of lamb's wool, as for the valets and laundress, often indicated lower rank.¹¹⁴ Christmas 1258 was particularly costly, with £210 being spent on the purchase of new robes for the king, queen and their children (most probably Edmund and Beatrice), and their knights, clerks, serjeants and others of the household.¹¹⁵ Edward I also observed this practice and provided robes for the joint household members of his sons, Thomas and Edmund, who received robes at Christmas, Easter and All Saints.¹¹⁶ Henry and Eleanor appointed attendants to the care and upbringing of their children with care and were quick to reward their good service.

¹⁰⁹ Wild, 'Household'.

¹¹⁰ *CLR 1240-1245*, 146.

¹¹¹ *CLR 1251-1260*, 183-4.

¹¹² *CR 1253-1254*, 74-5. *Cendal* was a light, inexpensive, brightly coloured silk: Wild, 'Household', 135.

¹¹³ Wild, 'Household', 136.

¹¹⁴ The same effect could be achieved with the use of different colour materials: Lachaud, 'Liveries', 289-90.

¹¹⁵ *CLR 1251-1260*, 442; E 403/1217 m.2.

¹¹⁶ Thomas and Edmund were sons of Edward I by his second wife, Margaret of France: M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270-1380* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2001), 105.

Wards

At Windsor, the royal children were joined by a number of children who were raised alongside them. As well as enlisting the right people to raise their children, Henry and Eleanor also took care to surround them with their peers, which in some cases resulted in life-long bonds of friendship. Both the king's nephews, Henry of Almain, (eldest son of Richard of Cornwall from his first marriage to Isabel Marshal) and Edmund of Cornwall (son of Richard's second wife, Sanchia of Provence), spent time at Windsor. Born in 1235, Henry of Almain, was at Windsor in 1240, potentially after the death of his mother.¹¹⁷ He became a close associate of Edward throughout his life and vacillated between the royalist and Montfortian camps (predominantly alongside Edward) during the baronial movement and accompanied his cousins on crusade.¹¹⁸ His half-brother Edmund of Cornwall, born on 26 December 1249, also spent time at Windsor with his own nurse.¹¹⁹

Male heirs to earldoms and baronies were also potentially educated alongside the royal children. Henry de Hastings was a royal ward whose custody was shared between various members of the royal family.¹²⁰ In 1253, on Henry's departure for Gascony, he ordered the queen to ensure the maintenance of Edward and Henry de Hastings until his return, suggesting that he was being raised alongside the heir to the throne.¹²¹ Similarly, a writ granting robes lists other male children who were raised alongside Edward and Edmund.¹²² Edmund and Henry de Lacy were to receive robes lined with fur from the shanks of hares or *celand*. John de Vescy, his two teachers and Philip de Albiniaco were to receive robes lined with lamb's wool.¹²³ These wards represent the mix of kin and kindred who were raised alongside the royal children. Henry de Lacy was a relative; he was the son of Edmund de Lacy, heir to the earldom

¹¹⁷ *CR 1237–1242*, 263; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 5.

¹¹⁸ N. Vincent, 'Henry of Almain [Henry of Cornwall]', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12958> [accessed 13 October 2015].

¹¹⁹ Denise, Edmund's nurse, received a brooch costing 1s 3d at feast of Circumcision of the Lord (1 Jan) 1253: E 101/349/12.

¹²⁰ Guy and Geoffrey de Lusignan held a number of manors until Henry of Hastings came of age: *CPR 1247–1258*, 83, 86, 129, 282. Henry appears to have come of age in c.1256, but appears to have struggled to reacquire his inheritance from the Lusignan's grasp: *CR 1254–1256*, 57; *CR 1256–1259*, 20, 362.

¹²¹ *CR 1251–1253*, 404.

¹²² *CR 1253–1254*, 74–5.

¹²³ Philip de Albiniaco may have been a relative of Isabella, the daughter of William de Albiniaco raised alongside the king's daughters, see: below 98; R.V. Turner, 'Aubigny, William d' [William de Albini], third earl of Arundel', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/283> [accessed 2 August 2018].

of Lincoln, and Alice de Saluzzo, the queen's niece.¹²⁴ John de Vescy, on the other hand, was the heir to the barony of Alnwick and later became one of Edward's most trusted men.¹²⁵ Nicholas de Langele, Laurence de Sancto Mauro and John de Blakeford were also described as being raised alongside the king's children and received wool robes.¹²⁶ Laurence de Sancto Mauro accompanied Edmund to Navarre in 1276.¹²⁷ Although it is unclear who the other boys were, they may have been sons of royal attendants as Henry permitted his servants' children to be raised alongside the royal infants, presumably in reward for their service.¹²⁸

There were also some noble female wards who were brought up at Windsor, possibly intended to provide companionship to Margaret and Beatrice. In 1242, Isabella, William de Albiniaco's heir, was sent to Windsor to be looked after and raised with the king's other children.¹²⁹ The following year, a rather more explicit writ ordered Walter Marshal and his wife, Margaret de Quincy, to send the two daughters of John, formerly earl of Lincoln, to be raised with the daughters of the king.¹³⁰ The daughter of John de Warenne and Alice de Lusignan was also raised in the royal nursery, and had her own nurse, Petronilla.¹³¹ Again, like their sons, Henry and Eleanor raised their daughters amongst relatives and other noble girls.

Education

Religious

The royal children's education was an important aspect of their childhood. According to Shahar, the aim of education was to raise a Christian human being, and as such the teaching of morals took precedent over worldly knowledge and vocational skills.¹³² Henry and Eleanor took this role very seriously. For example, when Henry

¹²⁴ Alice de Saluzzo was the granddaughter of Amadeus of Savoy, Eleanor of Provence's uncle. She arrived in England in 1247 for marriage to Edmund de Lacy: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 53. Henry de Lacy had his own nurse who was given a brooch from the king on the feast of the Decollation of St John (29 August) 1253: E 101/349/12.

¹²⁵ T.F. Tout, 'Vescy, John de (1244–1289)', rev. H.W. Ridgeway, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28254> [accessed 9 April 2016].

¹²⁶ '*puerorum commorantium cum liberis predictis*': CR 1253–1254, 74–5.

¹²⁷ CPR 1272–1281, 157.

¹²⁸ See CR 1242–1247, 30, 141.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 76.

¹³⁰ '*alentur cum filiabus ipsius regis*': Ibid., 54.

¹³¹ Petronilla was given a brooch costing 1s 4d on 17 April 1253: E 101/349/12.

¹³² Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 166.

redecorated his chambers with images of the four evangelists, Edward's chamber was similarly painted.¹³³

The children's early inclusion into their parents' personal piety was one of the predominant features of their upbringing. It was also something Henry had encouraged in his wife, Eleanor of Provence, shortly after their marriage.¹³⁴ The children received a number of items for their household chapels in order to undertake this religious devotion. In August 1246, a silver alms dish was made for Edward, weighing ten marks.¹³⁵ Two months later, Henry instructed another dish to be made for Edmund, as had been done for Edward.¹³⁶ This command suggests that Edmund was to be provisioned and in a similar fashion as his older brother. The following year Margaret received her own alms dish costing £7 13s.¹³⁷ Henry also provided further equipment for his sons' chapels. For Easter 1247, Henry ordered £1 6s 5d worth of orphreys and other ornamentation to adorn and make a patterned chasuble, ornaments, an amice, stole, maniples, cuffs, collar, bag, corporal and a boarder for Edward's chapel out of two silk cloth of *arest*.¹³⁸ Similarly, for Michaelmas 1252, Henry instructed a chasuble of red *samite* to be made for Edward with a moderately broad orphrey.¹³⁹ Edward also received two vestments; gilt woven cloth; an alms-bowl and a small, silver gilt cross.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, Edmund's household chapel appears to have been equipped to match his father's, as Henry often purchased items for both their chapels. For example, Henry bought two silver censers costing £5, one for his own chapel, the other for Edmund's.¹⁴¹ As his father had provisioned his brother's and his own chapels, Edward I would later do the same for his sons' chapels. Thomas of Brotherton, Edward's son by his second wife, Margaret of France, received a Gradual, missal and portable breviary, an embroidered altar frontale, embroidered chasubles, tunics, dalmatics, gold altar cloths, a silver goblet and an ivory comb for use in his chapel.¹⁴² It is unclear how Henry's daughters'

¹³³ *CR 1242–1247*, 45.

¹³⁴ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 24. Henry provided Eleanor with a life of Edward the Confessor, produced by Matthew Paris and dedicated to the queen: Carpenter, 'Henry III and Saint Edward', 885.

¹³⁵ *CLR 1245–1251*, 77

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 123.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 123.

¹³⁹ *CR 1251–1253*, 152.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁴¹ E 372/105 rot.20 m.2.

¹⁴² E 101/360/15, printed in Vale, *The Princely Court*, 357.

chapels were provisioned, yet the items they received on their marriages suggest they were accustomed to having chapels like their brothers.

The children were also incorporated in Henry's religious patronage, making oblations individually or as a group, with the king, the queen or as a family. The most common activity in which Henry and Eleanor engaged their children from an early age was the giving of alms, namely providing food or clothing for the poor. The majority of these alms focussed on the royal residences at Westminster and Windsor.¹⁴³ Henry's daily alms constituted the feeding of 500 poor and the queen's steward fed a further 100 poor, wherever the queen happened to be, with an additional 25 poor fed each day on behalf of their children.¹⁴⁴ The children were also involved in the more extraordinary alms-giving Henry undertook at various feast days throughout the year. Fifteen poor were fed on Christmas Eve 1239 at Windsor, for the salvation and health of Edward. Each individual also received a tunic, shoes and 1d.¹⁴⁵ For Good Friday 1241, Edward's guardians were ordered to fill half of the castle of Windsor and the hall within the tower with poor, and to feed them.¹⁴⁶ 6000 poor were fed at Westminster on the feast of the Lord's Circumcision in 1244, for the souls of the king, queen and their children. Henry instructed that the elderly and the debilitated were to be fed in the great and lesser hall, all the less debilitated and *mediocres* were to be fed in the king's chamber and children in the queen's chamber.¹⁴⁷ In 1246, at the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 600 poor were fed at Windsor, again for the salvation of the king, queen and their children's souls.¹⁴⁸ The celebrations organised for the feast of St Edward in 1255 included feeding the poor in the two halls of Westminster on behalf of the king, queen and their children.¹⁴⁹ Shoes and tunics were also given to the poor, on behalf of the royal family as demonstrated by Table 6.

¹⁴³ Dixon-Smith has explored Henry's alms-giving at these locations more fully in her thesis: Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor'.

¹⁴⁴ *CR 1237-1242*, 497; *CR 1247-1251*, 34. Dixon-Smith argues that 500 poor were realistically fed daily, as demonstrated by the numerous payments to John, the king's almoner, to cover his expenses: Dixon-Smith: 'Feeding the Poor', 84-7.

¹⁴⁵ *CLR 1226-1240*, 435.

¹⁴⁶ *CLR 1240-1245*, 37.

¹⁴⁷ *CR 1242-1247*, 150.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 390-1.

¹⁴⁹ *CR 1254-1256*, 222.

Feast	Alms	Grantor
Christmas 1247	15 tunics	Edward
Christmas 1253	70 pairs of shoes (costing 4½d, 5d and 6d a pair)	Queen
	15 pairs of shoes (same cost)	Edward
Pentecost 1255	71 tunics of course cloth	Queen and her children
Christmas 1256	150 tunics	King and Queen
	21 tunics	Royal children
Easter 1257	171 tunics for poor <i>conversos</i>	King, Queen and their children
Pentecost 1257	164 pairs of shoes (half costing 5d, half 4d a pair) and 164 tunics for poor <i>conversos</i>	King, Queen and their children
Easter 1258	150 pairs of shoes (half costing 5d, half 4d a pair)	King and Queen
	21 pairs of shoes (same cost)	Royal children
Pentecost 1258	150 tunics for poor <i>conversos</i>	King and Queen
	21 tunics for poor <i>conversos</i>	Royal children
Christmas 1258	150 tunics	King and Queen
	21 tunics	Royal children
Pentecost 1260	171 tunics	King, Queen and their children
Christmas 1260	150 tunics	King and Queen
	21 tunics	Royal children
Easter 1261	164 tunics	King and Queen
	21 tunics	Royal children
Christmas 1261	171 pairs of shoes (half costing 5d, half 4½d a pair)	King, Queen and their children
Pentecost 1262	157 pairs of shoes (half costing 5d, half 4½d a pair) and 157 tunics	King, Queen and their children

Table 6 Alms-giving of the Royal Family¹⁵⁰

The children also began to join their parents in patronising churches at a young age, starting with Edward who made a series of lavish and expensive oblations. On 2 October 1239, three pieces of gold silk were offered to St Edith's church, Wilton,

¹⁵⁰ Table based on *CR 1247-1251*, 18; *CR 1254-1256*, 78; *CR 1256-1259*, 13, 45, 51, 216, 352; *CR 1259-1261*, 41, 311, 369; *CR 1261-1264*, 49; *CLR 1251-1260*, 155, 371, 430-1; *CLR 1260-1267*, 71, 85.

on behalf of the king, Eleanor and Edward totalling £3 2s 4d.¹⁵¹ In 1246, an expensive gift of £62 13s 4d worth of embroidered, *samite* copes were offered to the churches of the Holy Trinity, Cambridge, and St Paul's, London, by Edward's hand.¹⁵² In 1253, Edward presented cloth of gold to the prior of Merton to make a cope for the choir with a wide gold-fringe.¹⁵³

That each of Henry's children was accustomed to make oblations from a young age is evident in a gift of five cloths of gold with a beautiful border with the king's coat of arms attached. These cloths were offered to Westminster by the king on behalf of Katherine, 'as each of his children had been accustomed to do'.¹⁵⁴ As the royal family grew, the new additions were introduced in to the practice and the children often made oblations jointly. In 1241, on the dedication of St Paul's church in London, two cloths of *arest*, costing 2 marks, were offered by Edward and Margaret.¹⁵⁵ In 1245, Edward, Margaret and Beatrice offered three copes in St Peter's church at Westminster on their arrival from Windsor.¹⁵⁶ The Dunstable annals also record a visit to the priory by the king, queen, Edward and Margaret in 1247. It states that they arrived on the vigil of the feast of St Laurence (9 August) and gave jewels costing 22 marks. The king and queen gave two gilt cups and Edward and Margaret each gave a golden brooch. The king and queen offered a further eight silken cloths and the king gave 100s to make a thurible and pyx.¹⁵⁷

Rather unsurprisingly the children were also included in the veneration of Henry's patron saints. In 1244, three capes to the cost of 40 marks were offered by Edward, Margaret and Beatrice to St Edward at Westminster.¹⁵⁸ The same year 48 obols of *musc* were offered by the queen, Edward, Margaret and Beatrice, divided equally between all four, to the shrine of St Edward.¹⁵⁹ Henry also ordered the purchase of two large brooches and a smaller, less expensive brooch to be attached to shrine of St Edward for the salvation of the king, queen and Edward.¹⁶⁰ The smaller

¹⁵¹ *CLR 1226–1240*, 418.

¹⁵² *CLR 1245–1251*, 56.

¹⁵³ *CR 1251–1253*, 317.

¹⁵⁴ '*sicut pro singulis liberis suis prius facere consuevit*': *CR 1254–1256*, 59.

¹⁵⁵ *CLR 1240–1245*, 86.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 286

¹⁵⁷ *AM*, iii.173.

¹⁵⁸ *CR 1242–1247*, 222.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 228.

¹⁶⁰ *CR 1242–1247*, 156.

brooch probably represented the gift of five-year-old Edward. As he was only a child, his oblation perhaps did not necessarily need to be of the same scale. In 1245, Edward offered to St Edward's shrine, an embroidered cope for the choir, costing 22 marks.¹⁶¹ In addition, two items from the children's jewel accounts at Windsor, a gold sceptre and a golden cameo, were recorded as being given to the shrine of St Edward.¹⁶² In 1258, the queen and her children offered 30 gold bezants at the shrine of St Edmund for his feast.¹⁶³ With these oblations the royal family were honouring the king's patron saints in Edward and Edmund, the boys' namesakes, continuing the royal tradition of venerating ancestral Anglo-Saxon saints.¹⁶⁴

Edmund appears to have been the most prodigal of the children, regularly making oblations on his own or in association with his parents (most commonly with Henry). In 1255–6 together they gave to various shrines and religious houses 27 coins and 312 obols of *musc*.¹⁶⁵ Edmund was a keen follower of his father's favoured cults, particularly that of St Edward. At Easter 1253, a brooch costing 4s ½d was offered at the shrine of St Edward at the request of the king, for Edmund.¹⁶⁶ Following Henry's delayed return from Gascony, Richard of Cornwall and Edmund appear to have been left in charge to organise celebrations for the feast of St Edward in 1254.¹⁶⁷ The following year Edmund offered a *samite* cape with a gold-fringe and a large buckle, to the shrine of St Edmund for a favourable outcome in Apulia, as Henry had recently accepted the pope's offer of the kingdom of Sicily on Edmund's behalf.¹⁶⁸ In 1262, Edmund appears to have accompanied Henry abroad, however, he became ill and was sent back to England to recover. On his return, Edmund offered a large woven cloth at the shrine of St Edward at Westminster, in thanks for his safe arrival and in order to facilitate his recovery.¹⁶⁹

Another aspect suggesting the pre-eminence of Edmund in alms-giving was that the alms made on behalf of the king, queen and their children began to tail off by

¹⁶¹ *CLR 1245–1251*, 17.

¹⁶² E 372/95 rot.8 m.1, printed in *Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*, 71, 72.

¹⁶³ *CLR 1251–1260*, 428.

¹⁶⁴ Webster, *King John and Religion*, 39–41, 87–9, 107–9. Margaret also venerated the Virgin Mary with oblations of five candles offered daily at mass: *CR 1242–1247*, 211.

¹⁶⁵ E 372/99 rot.15d m.2, printed in *Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*, 84.

¹⁶⁶ E101/349/12. This offering may have been facilitated by Edmund's illness at Windsor in April 1253: E 101/349/10.

¹⁶⁷ *CR 1253–1254*, 156.

¹⁶⁸ *CR 1254–1256*, 240; Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 345–6.

¹⁶⁹ *CR 1261–1264*, 161–2.

the early 1260s and appear to have been replaced with offerings made by the king, queen and Edmund. At Easter 1262, 172 pairs of shoes were bought, at a cost of 4½d and 5d a pair, along with 172 tunics to be distributed to the poor by the king, queen and Edmund.¹⁷⁰ During this time of unrest, in the midst of the period of baronial reform and rebellion, it could be expected that Henry would seek prayers for the safety of his entire family. Nevertheless, by this point, Edmund's sisters were both married and at their respective husbands' courts.¹⁷¹ Similarly, Edward was, at times, politically at odds with his parents, spending much time in Gascony between 1261 and 1263.¹⁷² Therefore, in the 1260s, Edmund was the only one of Henry and Eleanor's children present at court for these religious festivities. Although, Edmund's earlier pious acts suggest that he was a willing, regular and active participant.

Court

Alongside integrating their children into their pious practices, Henry and Eleanor also introduced them to another important aspect of their lives at a young age: the court. Edward's early introduction to royal power and authority is evident in a writ of 1243, when Henry Dolewine, Reginald Dismare and Robert Heyward were pardoned and released from prison for stealing the king's game in Windsor forest.¹⁷³ This pardon is interesting because it was granted at the instance of Edward who, at this point, was only three years old. Therefore, although this act was symbolic, rather than Edward's personal intervention, it associated the heir with the actions and prerogatives of kingship, in particular the arts of intercession and mercy. Edward's introduction into royal authority mirrored Henry's own instruction into the practices of royal largesse by his guardian, Hubert de Burgh. During a tour of Wales in 1222, the fourteen-year-old king was permitted to authorise his own writs for the first time, making grants of wine, wood and products of the hunt.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ *CLR 1260–1267*, 83; *CR 1261–1264*, 37–8.

¹⁷¹ See below 157.

¹⁷² See J.R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 210, 220, 223; H. Ridgeway, 'The Lord Edward and the Provisions of Oxford (1258): A Study in Faction in *Thirteenth Century England I*, eds P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), 89–99 (98).

¹⁷³ *CR 1242–1247*, 48.

¹⁷⁴ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, 290.

As Beatrice was not married until a much later age than Margaret, seventeen rather than eleven, she spent much more time at Westminster learning and practising her courtly education. Beatrice interceded with her father to secure pardons and favours for a number of individuals. In January 1255, Beatrice secured a pardon and the restitution of chattels for Ralph de Binly for the death of a foreign stranger.¹⁷⁵ With this first act of intercession, Beatrice was only twelve years old. The age of twelve marked the canonical age at which girls could be married.¹⁷⁶ As such many royal women were espoused at this age. Although Beatrice was not married or betrothed by this point, it does appear to have been the age at which she gained influence at her father's court. It was from this point that Beatrice achieved her majority and began to acquire a greater political role, one which she would be expected to maintain throughout her life, including after her marriage.¹⁷⁷ Beatrice also secured favours for the ladies who attended her. The nephew of Agnes de Everle, her lady, was presented to the hospital of Ospringe in 1258.¹⁷⁸ This agency also passed down to Beatrice's household attendants. In 1256, Joan de Knolle used her position as one of Beatrice's ladies to successfully petition the king on behalf of William de Siwell, and gained him respite from military service for one year.¹⁷⁹ Beatrice was also initiated into the world of royal largesse. At Michaelmas 1252, Beatrice's nurse Agnes received a brooch worth 2s 2½d.¹⁸⁰ What is particularly interesting about this gift is that the account states that Beatrice received the brooch, at the request of her mother, in order to give it to her nurse.¹⁸¹ These examples reveal the ways that the children became accustomed to the practices of gift-giving and patronage from an early age.

¹⁷⁵ CPR 1247–1258, 394; CR 1254–1256, 32.

¹⁷⁶ C.N.L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 137.

¹⁷⁷ Although twelve was the permitted age for marriage, in the late thirteenth century girls only came out of wardship at the age of fourteen, whereas male wards only reached their majority at the age of 21: Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 7.

¹⁷⁸ CR 1256–1259, 337. Ospringe hospital, Kent, was possibly founded in the late twelfth century. Henry was a generous patron to the hospital, which was strongly associated with the cult of Thomas Becket: S. Sweetinburgh, 'Royal Patrons and Local Benefactors: *the Experiences of the Hospitals of St Mary at Ospringe and Dover in the Thirteenth Century*' in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, eds E. Jamrozik and J. Burton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 111–129.

¹⁷⁹ CR 1254–1256, 421.

¹⁸⁰ E 101/349/12.

¹⁸¹ 'percepto regine'.

As well as visiting her children at Windsor, as they got older, they accompanied Eleanor and the peripatetic court. The first reference to the children joining their parents on their travels occurred in 1246, when Edward accompanied his parents to Beaulieu abbey.¹⁸² Then in 1247, Edward and Margaret visited Dunstable priory with Henry and Eleanor.¹⁸³ At this point Edward was seven or eight years old and his sister, Margaret, six or seven. The age of seven seems to have been considered old enough to accompany the king and queen on the road. Nonetheless, Beatrice who was no older than five and Edmund, aged two, remained at Windsor, evidently considered too young to leave there. Five years later, Edmund and Beatrice were old enough to join their mother and accompanied her to Clarendon before heading on to Woodstock.¹⁸⁴

The first mention of any of the children joining their parents overseas was in 1254. According to Matthew Paris, having given birth to Katherine, Eleanor followed her husband across the Channel. On this occasion she was accompanied by Edward, Edmund, her household and 40 knights as she set sail from Portsmouth.¹⁸⁵ Edward's marriage in Castile necessitated his presence on this trip and three writs prepared for the queen and her son's arrival at Bordeaux.¹⁸⁶ Edmund and Beatrice's participation is less certain. Richard of Cornwall's letter to Henry in Gascony stated that the queen was heading to Gascony with Edward and Beatrice, yet, this letter was recorded by Paris in his *Liber Additamentorum*.¹⁸⁷ If Beatrice did accompany her brother Edward in this crossing, she would have been almost twelve years old, suggesting that Eleanor considered her old enough to be travelling abroad.¹⁸⁸ It is also demonstrative of Eleanor's desire to be with her children, as well as her concern to teach them in the ways of governance and courtly life in England's last remaining overseas

¹⁸² *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, ed. S.F. Hockey, with an introduction by P.D.A. Harvey and S.F. Hockey (Southampton: Southampton University Press, 1974), no.3. The visit to Beaulieu was their first trip beyond Windsor and Westminster. Edward, Margaret and Beatrice were also at Westminster in 1245: *CLR 1240–1245*, 286.

¹⁸³ *AM*, iii.173.

¹⁸⁴ *E 101/349/19*.

¹⁸⁵ *CM*, v.447.

¹⁸⁶ *CR 1253–1254*, 247, 304.

¹⁸⁷ '*Nos vero cum regina vestra ad vos veniemus juxta mandatum vestra et Edwardus filius vester et Beatrix filia vestra*': *CM*, vi.282–4. Howell, argues that the provisions made in preparation for her absence suggest that Edmund and Beatrice were left behind in the custody of her clerk, Simon de Wiccombe: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 100. Furthermore, the feast of St Edward in 1254 was organised by Richard of Cornwall and Edmund in the king and queen's absence: *CR 1253–1254*, 156.

¹⁸⁸ In comparison, Richard and his sister, Joan had accompanied their mother, Isabella of Angoulême, to Poitou in 1214, aged only five and four, respectively: Wilkinson, 'Maternal Abandonment', 107.

possession.¹⁸⁹ Eleanor of Aquitaine had also kept her daughters with her as much as possible, and they accompanied her on her Channel crossings.¹⁹⁰ This proximity helped to engender a strong sense of family unity which is also evident between Eleanor of Provence, Henry and their children.

Another aspect of courtly life that the children became involved in, were the popular noble pursuits of hawking and hunting. There are numerous entries concerning Henry and Edward's greyhounds and birds of prey.¹⁹¹ Edmund was similarly involved, receiving a gift of two falcons in 1259.¹⁹² Hawking was also enjoyed by royal and aristocratic ladies, however, Henry's daughters do not appear to have participated, or at least they did not receive gifts relating to these hobbies.¹⁹³ Yet, as Howell points out, alongside the pious and chaste upbringing encouraged in the practical manuals on the education of children, daughters would also be expected to master aristocratic and courtly life.¹⁹⁴ It required learning about clothing and jewellery, how to ride horses, play music, dance, converse with ease and play games such as chess. They also became acquainted with the secular and religious literature, thereby experiencing a combination of formal instruction and social exposure.¹⁹⁵ This experiential learning is apparent in the *Life of Isabelle*, which described Louis IX's sister as being of the highest nobility and even 'more noble in morals', learning Scripture, letters and silk-work while shunning the entertainments of court 'where the wives of her brothers and the other ladies went'.¹⁹⁶ Although the daughters may not have partaken in hunting, it cannot be said that Margaret and Beatrice were not exposed to other aspects of courtly life.

¹⁸⁹ That is to say if Edmund actually crossed the channel, see above 112 fn.187.

¹⁹⁰ Bowie, *Daughters of Henry II*, 37.

¹⁹¹ See for example: *CLR 1245-1251*, 306.

¹⁹² *CR 1256-1259*, 367.

¹⁹³ Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 191. Eleanor of Castile was fond of hunting with dogs, having her own pack of dogs by 1270. She also provided dogs for her daughter Joan: Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 55.

¹⁹⁴ For example, Vincent of Beauvais' chapters concerning the education of noble girls encourages chastity, modesty and obedience. The learning of letters taught daughters to love the Scriptures and discouraged carnal thoughts: *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, chs 42, 43.

¹⁹⁵ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 4. Orme stresses the importance of mothers and mistresses in teaching these skills in a more informal manner than the instruction of boys: *Childhood to Chivalry*, 141.

¹⁹⁶ Harcourt, *Life of Isabelle*, 55. Despite this text being hagiographic in its nature, it describes the expectations placed on royal daughters to be chaste, patient and merciful, as well as detailing some of the more secular pursuits of courtly entertainments which Isabelle eschewed. It also demonstrates the variety of Isabelle's education: scholarly learning in the form of reading and writing; religious and spiritual teachings, and instruction in silk-work.

Concerns for the Children's Welfare

From birth, Henry and Eleanor were always concerned for the health and welfare of their children. They often used their alms-giving and ecclesiastical patronage for the prosperity of their children. For example, on 10 July 1240, Henry paid 10 marks to the monks of Valasse, Normandy, so that they would pray yearly on the day of the birth of the king's eldest son for his good estate and health.¹⁹⁷ When the children became ill, these pious activities intensified. In 1247, Henry wrote to all the religious men in the vicinity of London, where his son and heir lay sick, asking them to pray for his recovery. One of the religious communities to which Henry wrote was St Albans, and Matthew Paris records that the monks sang mass on Edward's behalf and 'by the grace of God the boy was restored to health'.¹⁹⁸ Likewise, in 1253, Henry also offered twelve obols of *musc* and twenty tapers to the shrine of St Edmund on the feast of his translation, for the sickness of the king and Edmund.¹⁹⁹ These activities are echoed in an episode within *The Life of Isabelle of France* when Isabelle became very sick. Her mother Blanche of Castile was 'much afflicted in her heart as a mother' and sent requests to a range of religious houses asking for prayers for her daughter, for which she recovered.²⁰⁰ Infant mortality was very high during the Middle Ages, even at the level of the elite, so it is therefore unsurprising that at times of the children's sickness offerings made on their behalf would be increased.²⁰¹

Eleanor of Provence also acted decisively when Edward fell sick at Beaulieu abbey.²⁰² On 17 June 1246, Henry, Eleanor and their children were present for the rededication of the church when Edward became unwell.²⁰³ Eleanor refused to allow her six-year-old son to be moved and she remained by his side at the abbey for three weeks until he had recovered.²⁰⁴ While at Beaulieu, Henry provided his wife £20 to help cover her expenses during Edward's illness.²⁰⁵ Henry and Eleanor's concern for

¹⁹⁷ *CLR* 1226–1240, 401. Henry also asked an additional 25 poor to be fed as part of his alms for the preservation of his children: *CR* 1242–1247, 281.

¹⁹⁸ 'infirmaretur Aedwardus domini regis primogenitus et haeres scripsit dominus rex omnibus manentibus in circuitu Londoniarum ubi idem Ae. infirmabatur religiosus ut devote orarent pro pueri incolumitate... Et per Dei gratiam puero sanitas est restituta': *CM*, iv. 639.

¹⁹⁹ *CR* 1251–1253, 465.

²⁰⁰ Harcourt, *Life of Isabelle*, 57.

²⁰¹ Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, 145–7; See also above 30–1.

²⁰² Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 100–1.

²⁰³ *Beaulieu Cartulary*, no.3.

²⁰⁴ Eleanor remained despite the fact that the statutes of the Cistercian order prohibited her prolonged presence at the abbey, for which the prior and cellarer were dismissed: *AM*, ii.337.

²⁰⁵ *CLR* 1245–1251, 65.

their children's wellbeing demonstrates their love, but also their profound fears for their heir, even after the birth of Edmund.²⁰⁶ Therefore, the 'spare' did not necessarily provide comfort to Henry and Eleanor because of their deep affection for all their children.

Additionally, numerous remedies were purchased when the children were sick. In November 1252, Edmund and his mother were ill. In order to quicken their recovery Henry spent 16s 3d on syrups, electuaries and barley-sugar for Edmund; a further £1 8d on syrups against complaints for the Queen and Edmund; as well as 2s for syrups for Batholomew de Botel, a doctor who was attending them. In total Henry spent £1 18s 11d on remedies for his ill son and wife. Furthermore, in addition to the offerings at the shrine of St Edward, for the sickness of the king and Edmund in 1253,²⁰⁷ syrup and other unspecified remedies were bought costing 4s 2d to be sent to the king's youngest son who was lying ill at Windsor that April.²⁰⁸ According to G.E. Trease, 'electuary' had a very general meaning. Although some contained potent substances, many were more of the nature of sweetmeats and contained things such as ginger, almonds and honey.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, these items would perhaps have provided relief and comfort to the afflicted.

The examination of Edward, Margaret, Beatrice, Edmund and Katherine's childhood shows that Henry and Eleanor cared dearly for their children. The king and queen took care to ensure the children's spiritual and physical wellbeing, introducing them in to their personal pious practices from an early age. The nursery at Windsor was well provisioned to cover all the children's needs and had a number of trusted individuals appointed to their care and education. The daughters were taught and introduced into courtly society, largesse and intercession, which helped to set them up for adulthood and prepare them for married life. Moreover, close affective bonds between the siblings were formed from being raised together at Windsor and, as will be shown in the subsequent chapters, these continued throughout their lives.

²⁰⁶ Eleanor's maternal concern is also apparent in her anxiety for her friend Maud de Lacy's son. When he took ill Eleanor ordered a *mensura* (a votive candle to the boy's height) costing 7s, and on his death in September 1252, she made an offering of 18d for his soul: E 101/308/1 m.1; E 101/349/17.

²⁰⁷ See above 114.

²⁰⁸ E 101/349/10.

²⁰⁹ G.E. Trease, 'The Spicers and Apothecaries of the Royal Household in the Reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 3 (1959), 19–52 (26).

Katherine, however, did not survive childhood and discussion of her wellbeing and death is reserved for chapter VI.

Chapter III: Betrothal and Marriage

The stages of Margaret and Beatrice's lives that received the most commentary from contemporary chroniclers and historians were their betrothals and marriages. In the Middle Ages, treaties were often concluded between rulers with marriages to seal peace.¹ As such, having a number of daughters could be beneficial for kings, and meant that a network of alliances could be created through their marriages. This chapter examines the political contexts of Margaret and Beatrice's marriages and the alliances that Henry sought to secure through his daughters' matrimonial careers. Beatrice, in particular, can be said to have fulfilled the role of a pawn in the medieval marriage market, as her hand was proffered in marriage on numerous occasions. Beatrice's experiences parallel Henry's sisters, especially Joan and Isabella who at one point were proposed one after the other, in order to try and secure a Scottish alliance.² As a result of negotiations, Margaret married Alexander III of Scotland and Beatrice married John of Brittany, heir to the duchy.

A key aspect of negotiations for these marital alliances included discussions regarding Henry's daughters' rights as wives. While prospective grooms, or fathers of the groom, were keen to know what dowries Henry's daughters were to bring in marriage, Henry wanted to know the potential dowers they would receive, should their husbands pre-decease them. In a number of these potential matches, Henry was particularly keen to know how Beatrice would be provided for during marriage as part of negotiations. Once the marriages were agreed, both daughters were wed in lavish ceremonies as Henry sought to display the full majesty of the English crown. Henry's generosity towards his daughters also extended to the extensive and elaborate trousseaux they received on their departures for their husbands' courts. Just as he had done when they were children at Windsor, Margaret and Beatrice were provided with costly textiles, kitchenware and items for their chapels, in order to furnish their new households as wives. The daughters were also escorted and accompanied abroad by a series of envoys and attendants, some of whom were to remain with the daughters and serve them in Scotland and Brittany.

¹ Aurell, 'Stratégies Matrimoniales', 196.

² *CPR 1216-1225*, 234, 235.

While Henry pursued favourable matches and rights for his daughters in marriage, he was also concerned to ensure the suitability and rank of their potential husbands. If the would-be groom was the son or brother of a ruling prince, Henry was keen to know details concerning how the couple were to be maintained financially, such as the lands they were to hold and from which they could support his daughters in marriage. Their rights were such an important issue that these conditions proved to be a barrier to some matches. Another aspect regarding the husbands and their status involved their knighting. Both Margaret and Beatrice's husbands were knighted by Henry: Alexander in a ceremony that preceded his marriage; and John of Brittany following his marriage on their return to England, which permitted John to be dubbed at Westminster on one of the most important Henrican feast days: the Translation feast of Edward the Confessor.³

Betrothal

As Henry and Eleanor's daughters grew up, the prospect of marriage loomed large in their futures, particularly for their eldest daughter. Margaret was betrothed at the age of four, as part of a peace treaty between England and Scotland.⁴ This alliance was the consequence of internal conflict within Scotland. The Bisset family were accused of the murder of Patrick, heir to the earldom of Atholl, and as a result of magnate pressure on Alexander II, Walter Bisset was exiled. Walter then headed to Henry in Gascony and made a series of accusations against the Scottish king, which provoked a reaction.⁵ On his return to England, Henry marched on Newcastle upon Tyne on 1 August 1244.⁶ Michael Brown argues that it was never Henry's intention to establish direct lordship over Scotland, but rather to reaffirm the Scots' king's

³ Carpenter, 'Henry III and Saint Edward', 865.

⁴ Matthew Paris records a charter of Alexander II confirming the agreement and proposed marriage: *CM*, iv.381–2. The marriage was possibly discussed as early as 1242, but was only contracted, with papal confirmation, two years later: *CM*, iv.192–3.

⁵ Walter argued that, as an English vassal, Alexander could not disinherit and exile him, without the consent of his overlord. He also accused Alexander of sheltering Henry's enemies. These were minor issues, but reached Henry when he was already concerned about the possibility that Alexander was preparing to ally himself with Henry's French enemies, and that Scottish nobles were fortifying castles on the border: R. Oram, 'Introduction: An Overview of the Reign of Alexander II' in *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214–49*, ed. R. Oram (Brill: Leiden, 2005), 1–47 (17–8).

⁶ *CM*, iv.379–80; *AM*, iii.164.

obligations of friendship and support.⁷ As such, peace was quickly negotiated between Henry III and Alexander II, with the agreement that the Scottish king's heir would marry the English king's daughter.⁸

Margaret's marriage was not the first marital alliance between England and Scotland. During the reigns of William the Lion and King John, it was agreed that John's heir would espouse a daughter of the Scots' king, and a daughter of the English king would marry the Scottish heir.⁹ This agreement was renewed by Henry III's minority government in 1220.¹⁰ Although Henry reneged on his own marriage, his ten-year-old sister Joan married Alexander II at York, on 19 June 1221.¹¹ Following Joan's death in 1238, however, the Scots' king married a French bride, Marie de Coucy, in 1239, and, as a result, the Anglo-Scottish alliance deteriorated.¹² The treaty of 1244 sought to reaffirm the good relations between the two countries. Brown has criticised the marriage as 'the least spectacular of a series of dynastic plans designated to extend Henry's network of kin and allies'.¹³ Nevertheless, it prevented a potential further French match for the young, future Alexander III, at a time when Henry was still trying to regain his lost continental possessions and foreign threats were building against him.¹⁴

At the ages of almost three and four respectively, the Scottish heir, Alexander, was betrothed to the English king's eldest daughter, Margaret. The youth of Margaret and Alexander was emphasised by the *Lanercost* chronicle, which stated, albeit incorrectly, that Margaret was only five years old, while Alexander was still in the cradle.¹⁵ Staniland believes the marriage would probably have taken place in c.1255, with the Scottish heir's coming of age, but was precipitated by the death of Alexander

⁷ M. Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable: Henry III, Alexander III and Royal Lordship in the British Isles, 1249–1272' in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III*, eds B. Weiler and I. Rowlands (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 43–66 (46).

⁸ *CM*, iv.380–2.

⁹ In 1209, William delivered two daughters to King John as hostages in fulfilment of the Treaty of Norham, and in 1212 he granted John the right to arrange his heir's marriage: *The Acts of William I, King of Scots: 1165–1214*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow and W.W. Scott (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), nos 488, 505.

¹⁰ *CPR 1216–1225*, 235.

¹¹ *CM*, iii.58, 66–7; Fordun, i.288. Joan's marital career was complex. For discussion of the intricacies of her marriage, see: Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', ch.6.

¹² See Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', ch.7 for the queenship of Marie de Coucy.

¹³ Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable', 49.

¹⁴ Oram, 'Reign of Alexander II', 19.

¹⁵ *Lanercost*, 51. Although the chronicle was incorrect with their ages, it emphasises just how young the couple were on their betrothal.

II in 1249. As a result, Margaret was eleven years old and Alexander ten on their marriage at York on 26 December 1251.¹⁶ The necessity of this speedy marriage was emphasised in the *Gesta Annalia*, which claimed that some Scottish magnates feared that the Scots' king's councillors would seek to exploit their position, and the king's youth, and bring ruin to the country.¹⁷ Conversely, the chronicle of Melrose suggests that Alexander's marriage to the English king's daughter was perceived by some in Scotland as an act of treason. As a result, magnates headed to the papal curia to seek the legitimisation of the daughters of the Scottish king's sister, in case something sinister should happen to Alexander, to ensure the Scots had a legitimate heir.¹⁸ This account of the Anglo-Scottish match was perhaps shaped by Henry's subsequent intervention in Scottish affairs following the marriage.¹⁹

While Margaret was betrothed at the age of four and married at eleven, Beatrice did not marry until she was the relatively old age of seventeen. Canon law specified that girls could marry as young as twelve, which was considered by the church as the age of maturity for girls, and thus the age of consent. They could be betrothed from the age of seven, but only those marriages made from this age could be legally upheld.²⁰ As a result, many medieval women, particularly royal daughters, were often married at a young age, as was the case for many of Margaret and Beatrice's female relatives. Their mother, Eleanor of Provence, married Henry in 1236, at the age of twelve or thirteen.²¹ Political necessity also meant that Henry's sisters were married young: Joan was ten and Eleanor around nine, at the point of her first marriage.²² Eleanor was offered in marriage at this early age because the minority government feared that William Marshal, one of the leading English nobles, would wed a foreign bride and, as such, increase his wealth and power to a level comparable to, if not surpassing, that of the young king Henry III.²³ The minority

¹⁶ Staniland, 'Nuptials', 21–2. Alexander III was born on 4 September 1241, at Roxburgh castle and his father died eight years later while suppressing parts of Orkney: *Chronica de Mailros*, 154; *Lanercost*, 55.

¹⁷ Fordun, i.295.

¹⁸ *Chronica de Mailros*, 179.

¹⁹ For Henry's involvement in Scotland, see below 161–9.

²⁰ Brooke, *Medieval Idea of Marriage*, 137–8. Margaret's betrothal was made in the presence of the papal legate, which appears to have resolved any possible issues regarding age: *CM*, iv.381–2.

²¹ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 1.

²² Louise Wilkinson believes that Eleanor was born posthumously, following the death of their father King John: Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, 26; Wilkinson, 'Imperial Marriage', 22.

²³ Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, 20.

government, and later Henry himself, however, did not balk from using an underage bride to secure the upper hand when the opportunity necessitated it. Nevertheless, other royal women's marriages could be deferred until the bride was at a more suitable age. Eleanor of Provence worked together with her daughter-in-law, Eleanor of Castile, to try and delay the marriage of Edward I's eldest daughter, Eleanor. Although Eleanor was almost thirteen years old, her mother and grandmother refused to send her to Aragon and sought to delay her departure for a year or two. Parsons suggests that because the two queens Eleanor were both married at a similar age to the young Eleanor, they sought to protect her from the experiences and pressures they themselves had faced on marriage.²⁴ As Beatrice did not marry until she was older, it meant that she was at an age to cope better physically with the perils of childbirth. Yet, that Beatrice was more mature at marriage was as much by accident as design.

If Margaret was a pawn in the brokering of an alliance with Scotland, Beatrice was a bargaining chip offered at every turn. In comparison to her elder sister, Henry and Eleanor's second daughter was offered in marriage as part of the English king's attempts to secure a number of treaties and alliances throughout the 1250s. The discussion of royal women's marriages as part of numerous alliances had precedent, as Isabella, Henry's sister, endured a similar marital career as Beatrice. At the age of six, Isabella was proffered as a substitute for Joan in marriage to Alexander II, should Joan's involvement be hindered by her mother, Isabella of Angoulême.²⁵ When the need for an alternate bride for the Scottish king became unnecessary, Isabella, alongside her brother, was offered as part of two double marriage proposals. Firstly, in 1225, Henry sought an alliance with the Emperor and the duke of Austria. Henry was to marry the duke's daughter and Isabella was to espouse Henry, son of Emperor Frederick II.²⁶ This plan collapsed, however, with the marriage between German Henry and the duke of Austria's daughter, as England was ousted from the alliance. The second failed double union proposed Isabella's marriage to Louis IX of France,

²⁴ For example, Eleanor of Castile's first pregnancy was at the age of fourteen, but the child did not survive. There were also concerns for Eleanor of Provence's fertility following her marriage, as discussed above 54–5: Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters', 63, 69; Parsons, 'Eleanor of Castile's Birth and Her Children', 257.

²⁵ *CPR 1216–1225*, 234, 235. See also Nelson, 'Queenhip in Scotland', ch.6.

²⁶ *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office, Volume 1, 1101–1272*, ed. P. Chaplais (London: HMSO, 1964), no.164.

and Henry's betrothal to one of the French King's sisters.²⁷ This marital alliance may have deteriorated for similar reasons to the failures of Beatrice's prospective matches; due to issues regarding her dower lands.²⁸ In 1229, Isabella was again unsuccessfully proffered in marriage to the duke of Anhalt, before her eventual marriage to Frederick II in 1235, aged twenty.²⁹

As is evident from these attempted double espousals, Henry's own marriage was also discussed as part of a number of prospective treaties, before his eventual marriage to Eleanor of Provence. In 1226, an alliance with the duke of Brittany against the French crown was to be strengthened through Henry's marriage to the duke's daughter, Yolande.³⁰ Another proposed marital alliance included Henry's betrothal to Jeanne, heiress to the county of Ponthieu.³¹ Both of these marriages, however, were prevented by the formidable French queen-mother, Blanche of Castile. Blanche found new husbands for both Henry's prospective brides, betrothing Yolande to her son, John, and arranging the marriage of Jeanne to her nephew Ferdinand III, king of Castile.³² That Henry also had a series of potential marriages discussed, suggests that the pursuit of marital alliances was not necessarily confined to the non-ruling, particularly female, members of the royal family, although Henry had far more control in his choice of betrothed, than any of his female kin.

Beatrice was first offered in marriage in 1253. In May, shortly before her eleventh birthday, John Mansel and the bishop of Bath and Wells were appointed to contract a marriage between the eldest son of the king of Aragon and Beatrice.³³ This union was no doubt a measure intended to counter the Castilian threat towards

²⁷ Wilkinson, 'Imperial Marriage', 22.

²⁸ The letter concerning these negotiations is badly damaged but suggests that the king of France was to retain Normandy and Henry to keep Gascony as part of the peace: *Diplomatic Documents*, no.174. This agreement only came to fruition with the Treaty of Paris in 1259, accompanied by the marriage of Beatrice.

²⁹ *CR 1227-1231*, 233; Wilkinson, 'Imperial Marriage', 20.

³⁰ *CPR 1225-1232*, 153-4.

³¹ *CM*, iii.327.

³² Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 85, 112. Henry arranged a marriage by proxy with Jeanne of Ponthieu in 1235, but the couple were within the forbidden degrees of kinship. Henry instead married Eleanor of Provence and Jeanne was married to the Castilian king in 1236 and 1237, respectively. Although the marriage between Henry and Jeanne did not receive official, papal annulment until 1254: David L. d'Avray, *Dissolving Royal Marriages: A Documentary History, 860-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 81-98.

³³ *Foedera*, I.i, 290.

Gascony, by acquiring the support of another Iberian power.³⁴ An English alliance may have been welcomed by James I, whose claims to the Midi were under threat due to the expansion of Capetian influence in the Mediterranean during the 1240s, whereby the southern French counties fell one by one into the hands of the French crown.³⁵

It is uncertain how sincere the Aragonese proposal was, as shortly afterwards a marital alliance was also offered with Castile. Beatrice was proffered in marriage alongside her brother, Edward, to the siblings of Alphonso X of Castile. Henry wrote to his Castilian counterpart from Bazas, in Gascony, on 8 February 1254, to offer a marriage between Beatrice and a full brother of Alphonso.³⁶ This marriage was to supplement the one already being discussed between Edward and Eleanor of Castile, Alphonso's half-sister. Henry specified that the brother chosen to wed Beatrice should be well provisioned with lands and wealth, in order to dower and sustain a wife of the status of a king's daughter.³⁷ This requirement was confirmed in a letter to his chief negotiator, John Mansel, which commanded him to ask the Castilian king which lands Emmanuel was to receive, as well as their value.³⁸ This offer appears to have been in earnest as Beatrice was set to accompany her brother and mother in crossing the Channel to join Henry in Gascony.³⁹ Nonetheless, the second union between England and Castile did not come to fruition. According to Parsons, Henry learnt that Alphonso's brother Emmanuel was already married in 1258, yet by this point, discussions had halted because of Alphonso's failure to enrich his brother.⁴⁰

The negotiations between Henry and Alphonso concerning Beatrice's match reveal Henry's concern for his daughter's welfare and position in any matrimonial alliance. His repeated demands to know the lands and rights Emmanuel and his wife

³⁴ Alphonso X of Castile claimed that Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine granted Gascony to his ancestor, Alphonso VIII, on his marriage to their daughter, Eleanor. These claims were only formally renounced in March 1254: *Diplomatic Documents*, no.270.

³⁵ *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon*, trans. and ed. D. Smith and H. Buffery (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 4.

³⁶ *CM*, vi.284–6.

³⁷ '*dummodo idem rex Castellae det eidem fratri suo tales divitias, ex quibus possit eam honorifice dotare et sustentare, secundum quod decebit filiam regis*': *CM*, vi.284–6.

³⁸ *Royal and Other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, ed. W.W. Shirley, (London: Longman, 1862–6), ii, no.506.

³⁹ *Foedera*, I.i, 296.

⁴⁰ The breakdown of discussions was perhaps encouraged by Henry's concern that Alphonso had confiscated the lands of his brother, Henry of Castile, and those designated by Ferdinand III to his wife, Jeanne of Ponthieu (Eleanor of Castile's mother): Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 18.

were to have and live on, as well as the lands Beatrice should hold in dower if she survived her husband, demonstrates a greater depth of affection than the term 'diplomatic pawn' allows. Yes, Beatrice's marriage was an important diplomatic tool, but did not mean Henry was willing to put his daughter's welfare and status at risk. There are parallels in the marriage of Beatrice's sister Margaret, who sent letters to her parents complaining of her maltreatment at the hands of the Scottish regency council. These complaints resulted in Henry sending a rescue party north of the border to relieve the Scots' king and queen of their guardians.⁴¹ This fatherly concern was not only confined to Henry. Louis IX also sought to ensure that Theobald, king of Navarre and count of Champagne, resolved the conflict between himself and the Breton duke and duchess, before he was permitted to marry the French king's daughter, Isabella.⁴² Both Henry and Louis sought to protect the rights of their daughters in marriage, and Henry was prepared to halt marital alliances if he did not feel his daughter would be treated as a king's daughter should.

In the early 1250s, when the Aragonese and Castilian marital alliances were proposed, Beatrice was the only daughter eligible for marriage, but she was not the only child available, as both Edward and Edmund were also yet to be wed. Edward was a special case in that he was heir to the king and kingdom, and required a wife and future queen. Nevertheless, Edmund was in a similar position, as a younger son and, as such, it is odd that he did not face a marital 'career' in the same vein as Beatrice. Instead as a male child, Edmund's marriage would be saved for a great heiress, in order to provision him with great landholdings in England, without alienating crown lands. There were only two known occasions when Edmund's marriage was discussed, before his eventual marriage to Aveline de Forz in 1269, but neither appears to have been initiated by Henry.⁴³ Both prospective matches concerned the Mediterranean and could influence the Sicilian business. During the 1250s the papacy sought to overthrow Hohenstaufen rule in the kingdom of Sicily, and successive popes offered the Sicilian crown to Henry, who accepted on Edmund's

⁴¹ *CPR 1247-1258*, 423-4; *CM*, v.501-2, 504. The rescue party is discussed in greater depth below 157-8.

⁴² Theobald II of Navarre or Theobald V of Champagne. The conflict between the Breton duke and duchess and the Navarese king is discussed below 136-7.

⁴³ *AM*, ii.107.

behalf.⁴⁴ As part of English efforts to secure the throne, Rostand (a papal chaplain), proposed a marriage between the daughter of Manfred (Frederick II's illegitimate son and ruler of Sicily) and Edmund in 1256. It was hoped that this marital alliance would secure Manfred's support for Edmund's kingship.⁴⁵

The second request for Edmund's hand in marriage was part of a double marital alliance alongside one of his sisters. In 1256, the bishop of Bethlehem headed to England with letters on behalf of the queen-regent of Cyprus. In these letters, Plaisance, the Cypriot queen proposed a marriage between herself and Edmund, and a second union between her son, Hugh II, and one of Henry's daughters.⁴⁶ Although the letter does not specify which daughter was to be married,⁴⁷ Beatrice seems the most probable candidate given Katherine's very young age and the other prospective marital offers for her hand that occurred throughout the 1250s.⁴⁸ Negotiations for this match do not appear to have developed further.

In 1259, Beatrice was offered in marriage to two potential suitors almost simultaneously: the Norwegian king's eldest son, and the heir to the duchy of Brittany. Henry proposed the Norwegian match in order to continue the ancient good graces and affection between the two countries.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the sincerity of this proposal can be called into question. Henry's letter to the king of Norway offered Beatrice's hand, but acknowledged that Beatrice had been mentioned as part of peace negotiations between Henry and the French king.⁵⁰ It is an interesting comment as the prospective marital alliance between England and Brittany was not formally part of the Treaty of Paris, yet suggests that the marriage was perceived to be part of the peace process. Negotiations began in 1257, but the Treaty of Paris, was not agreed until May 1259, and was only ratified on 4 December 1259, when Henry performed

⁴⁴ For the Sicilian business: B. Weiler, 'Henry III and the Sicilian Business: a Reinterpretation', *Historical Research* 74 (2001), 127–50.

⁴⁵ *Diplomatic Documents*, nos 282, 283. I would like to thank Philippa Mesiano for bringing this marriage proposal to my attention.

⁴⁶ *CR 1254–1256*, 445–6.

⁴⁷ 'unam de filiabus nostris': *Ibid.*, 445–6.

⁴⁸ Simon Lloyd believes Beatrice was the intended bride: S.D. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 226.

⁴⁹ *CR 1256–1259*, 476. Brown also suggests that Henry proposed the marital alliance in the hope that Haakon IV, who had also recently taken the cross, would redirect his fleet from the Holy Land to Sicily: Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable', 50.

⁵⁰ 'Verum quia inter nos et illustrem regem Francie diu habitus est tractatus de pace, in qua de maritaggio ejusdem filie nostre mencio est expressa': *CR 1256–1259*, 476.

homage to the French king.⁵¹ This agreement brought an end to the long running Anglo-French conflict (in which Brittany had been a key English ally) that had witnessed the loss of all Angevin continental territories, except Gascony.⁵² As part of this treaty, Henry agreed to relinquish his claims to Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Touraine, as well as pay homage to the French king for Bordeaux, Bayonne and Gascony. In return, Louis gave Henry the land of the Agenais, Saintonge and his rights in the bishoprics and cities of Limoges, Cahors and Périgueux.⁵³ The way in which the English chroniclers recorded the marriage supports the theory that Beatrice's espousal was understood as part of the Anglo-French peace treaty. The Dunstable annals recorded that peace was agreed with the French king, when Henry sold his rights to Normandy in 1259. The annalist continued that while Henry was in France, his second daughter married the son of the duke of Brittany.⁵⁴ Similarly, the Worcester annals stated that the king and queen crossed to France and there the son of the duke of Brittany married their daughter. This entry was followed by another regarding the peace with Louis IX.⁵⁵ It appears that these long running discussions with France obstructed any chance of a Norwegian match, as Beatrice became the focal point of reconciliation between England, France and Brittany. Perhaps the Norwegian proposal was Henry's backup plan for the now sixteen-year-old Beatrice, should the Breton match fall through.

Negotiations for Beatrice's marriage to the Breton heir, John, began in earnest in March 1259, when John Mansel, one of Henry's chief councillors and diplomatic negotiators, and the earl of Gloucester and Hertford were appointed to arrange the marital alliance.⁵⁶ Two months later these mediators were increased with the

⁵¹ P. Chaplais, 'Making of the Treaty of Paris and the English Royal Style', *English Historical Review* 67 (1952), 235–53 (244–5, 247).

⁵² For Breton support of Henry's attempts to regain the English continental lands, see: Armstrong, 'Sisters in Cahoots', 442; Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 265–70; S. Painter, *The Scourge of the Clergy: Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 66.

⁵³ *Treaty Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Volume 1: 1234–1325*, ed. P. Chaplais (London: HMSO: 1955), no.103.

⁵⁴ '*pro pace reformanda, ivit rex Angliae, filius regis Johannis, Henricus cum rege Franciae... Et ibi maritavit secundam filiam suam: AM*, iii.213.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, iv.445.

⁵⁶ *CPR 1258–66*, 18. John Mansel led the mission to Gascony in 1253–4, which resulted in the marriage of the Lord Edward to Eleanor of Castile, and the Castilian king's formal renunciation of his claims to Gascony, while Richard de Clare was one of the richest and most powerful English barons: R.C. Stacey, 'Mansel, John (d. 1265)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17989> [accessed 31 Aug 2017]; M. Altschul, 'Clare, Richard de, sixth earl of Gloucester and fifth earl of Hertford (1222–1262)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5448> [accessed 31 Aug 2017]. In 1255, both

addition of Marguerite of Provence, queen of France, and Peter de Savoy.⁵⁷ This second writ demonstrates the extent of Savoyard influence in this match, as well as at court. Following the promulgation of the Provisions of Oxford in 1258, which resulted in the expulsion of Henry's Lusignan relatives, the Savoyard faction were in the ascendancy.⁵⁸ Furthermore, it suggests that Eleanor may have played a role in nominating her kin, her sister and uncle, to these posts. As well as her sister, Marguerite, Eleanor of Provence was also involved in negotiations for Beatrice's marriage. In October 1259, Eleanor and John Mansel visited St Albans, which was also hosting the bishop of St Brieuc, the Breton duke's representative in the marital discussions.⁵⁹ Eleanor's arrival seems unlikely to have been coincidental and the queen, John Mansel and the Breton bishop probably discussed the prospective marriage. Discussions may have focussed on Beatrice's rights and the issue of Richmond's restoration, which was the principle Breton requirement to the alliance, and was held by her uncle at the time. Although Eleanor may not have had an officially appointed role in the marriage negotiations like Marguerite, she can be seen to be involved. Conversely, for Margaret's marriage, Eleanor played no documented role. The English queen and her Savoyard kin were instrumental in Beatrice's marital alliance.

Green believed Marguerite of Provence was the leading figure in promoting the marriage between Beatrice and John, and the French queen's introduction as one of Henry's negotiators is very interesting.⁶⁰ It reveals the close ties that continued between the Provençal sisters, and the role they played in bringing together the English and French thrones. The bonds between the sisters were considered so influential, that E. Boutaric described Marguerite as a 'zealous advocate' of English interests at the French court.⁶¹ Through this marital alliance, Marguerite united

worked together on Henry's behalf as part of the rescue mission sent to relieve Margaret and her husband Alexander, from the mistreatment of their guardians: *CM*, v.505. This episode is discussed below 157–8.

⁵⁷ *CPR 1258–1266*, 25.

⁵⁸ H. Ridgeway, 'Foreign Favourites and Henry III's Problem of Patronage, 1247–58', *English Historical Review* 104 (1989), 590–610 (591).

⁵⁹ *Flores*, ii.435–6. While in England, the bishop possibly also viewed the prospective bride, Beatrice, since it was a common feature of betrothals. Isabella, Henry's sister, was viewed by imperial envoys at Westminster before the betrothal was confirmed with the offering of a ring: *CM*, iii.318–20.

⁶⁰ Green, *Lives*, ii, 234.

⁶¹ E. Boutaric, 'Marguerite of Provence: Son Caractère, son Rôle Politique', *Revue des Questions Historiques* 3 (1867), 417–58 (427).

England and France, as well as restoring relations with Brittany; and as such, reconciled three princes. Marguerite's involvement also shows the important role women could play within family politics, which in this case also incorporated international politics.⁶² Family ties were key diplomatic tools in the thirteenth century, emphasising the significance of maintaining good relations not only between parents and daughters, but also siblings. In his biography of Saint Louis, Jacques Le Goff demonstrates the importance of the relationship between the Provençal sisters. They could not prevent Anglo-French conflict during the 1240s, but these family bonds and the peace-weaving function of medieval queens were used to full effect once Louis had resolved to make peace.⁶³

Dowry

As part of the negotiations for marital alliances, attention also focussed on the more financial aspects of the settlements: the dowry. One of the few occasions when a bride was accepted without a dowry was in Henry's own marriage to Eleanor of Provence, when the English king gave his envoys authority to accept a dowry ranging from 20,000 marks down to 3000 marks, before accepting no dowry at all.⁶⁴ Margaret's dowry appears to have been used as part of the peace treaty, to help remedy financial complaints between England and Scotland. On the day of the wedding, 26 December 1251, Henry promised to pay 5000 marks of silver to Alexander III, within four years from the following Easter. The English king was then to be quit of 6000 marks, which he had owed the Scottish king's father, Alexander II.⁶⁵ Although this dowry was assigned on the wedding day, Henry had already begun to make financial preparations as soon as the marriage was contracted, levying an aid as early as 1245. According to the Worcester annals, in 1245 the king asked all the religious houses throughout England for a tax towards the marriage of his eldest daughter. The annalist states that Worcester priory gave £5 and a precious silver cup as its

⁶² Following her involvement in Beatrice's marriage, Marguerite became a key contact for the English court. For discussion of her agency and role as an English intermediary: see Armstrong, 'Sisters in Cahoots', 445–7.

⁶³ Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 131.

⁶⁴ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 14. Eleanor of Castile also brought no dowry on her marriage to Edward: Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 14.

⁶⁵ *CPR 1247–1258*, 121–2.

contribution.⁶⁶ The payments towards this aid were recorded on the pipe rolls from Michaelmas 1245–6, under the heading: ‘Aid granted towards the marriage of the king’s eldest daughter’.⁶⁷ Sydney Mitchell has calculated that the tallage levied to help pay for this dowry raised over 7100 marks with a further 20 marks of gold.⁶⁸ It is impossible to work out whether the sums raised in the name of Margaret’s dowry were used to that effect. A writ of liberate dated July 1245, suggests that the aid was intended to be a protected sum, and was expected to be collected. It ordered the king’s farrier to be paid £100, but not out of the aid for the marriage.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Alexander was not paid the full 5000 marks in the allotted period, suggesting that Henry found other uses for the aid as crown revenues declined during the late 1240s.⁷⁰ By May 1260, Alexander was still owed at least 550 marks for his marriage.⁷¹

Margaret’s dowry differed from that which Joan was granted in marriage to Alexander II. Joan’s dowry comprised the grant of Fotheringhay, however, the Scottish king was incensed as Hugh de Lusignan had been promised Saintes, Saintonge and Oléron when he was betrothed to Joan.⁷² Instead, Alexander believed he should have received Northumberland, which he insisted was promised by King John. In order to appease Alexander, Henry provided him with rents of 80 marks from other English lands, ‘for the good of the peace and defence of England and so as not to break the border of the northern parts of the kingdom’.⁷³ Furthermore, Alexander also thought he should have held Fotheringhay in wardship (along with Huntingdon, Yarwell and Nassington), following the death of David, earl of Huntingdon, but these lands had been seized by William de Forz.⁷⁴ It was not until 1242, after Alexander’s remarriage, that Henry settled the £200 of land owed to the Scottish king as part of Joan’s dowry, with the grant of a series of manors in Yorkshire

⁶⁶ ‘*Dominus rex petiit auxilium a domibus religiosis per Angliam ad maritandam filiam suam primogenitam, cui dedimus C. solidos et cuppam argenteam pretii*’: AM, iv. 436.

⁶⁷ ‘*Auxilium concessum ad primogenitam filiam Regis maritanda*’: E 372/90.

⁶⁸ According to the pipe rolls of 1252, 1253 and 1254: S.K. Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1914), 250.

⁶⁹ CLR 1240–1245, 317–8.

⁷⁰ R.C. Stacey, *Politics, Policy, and Finance under Henry III 1216–1245* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 258.

⁷¹ CPR 1258–1266, 71–2. For Henry’s delayed payment of Margaret’s dowry, see below 213–4.

⁷² Pollock, *Scotland, England and France*, 106.

⁷³ ‘*pro bono pacis et defensione regni Anglici, ... ne mutilarentur fines regni sui ex parte septemtrionali*’: CM, iii.372–3.

⁷⁴ Pollock, *Scotland, England and France*, 94.

and Cumbria.⁷⁵ Therefore, as there had been tension between England and Scotland concerning the landed interests of the Scottish king in England, it does not come as a surprise that Margaret was provided with a cash dowry. Perhaps, as this marriage was precipitated by the death of Alexander II and the minority of the new Scottish king, it did not allow for negotiations to be held in which the Scots could have pressed further their landed claims.

In comparison, the restoration of the earldom and honour of Richmond was a Breton pre-requisite to the marital alliance between Beatrice and John. The earldom had previously been held by the ducal family of Brittany since Domesday. During the Anglo-French conflict of the first half of the thirteenth century, however, Richmond fluctuated between the crown and Brittany, as the duke vacillated between the English and French sides. The Anglo-Breton alliance ended in 1235 when Henry seized all the Breton duke's English lands after his submission to the French king.⁷⁶ The following year, Henry then granted the Breton duke's confiscated English lands to one of his leading advisors: his wife's uncle, William, bishop-elect of Valence.⁷⁷ After the death of William in 1240, Henry conferred the honour of Richmond and all its appurtenances to another of the queen's uncles, Peter of Savoy.⁷⁸ Therefore, the Breton request for its restoration was not straightforward. Henry was clearly concerned to ensure that Richmond did not derail Beatrice's marriage. Henry wrote to the Breton duke stating that, while a marriage between Beatrice and the duke's son, John, was very much welcomed and accepted by the king, queen and the barons of the land, there was, however, an issue regarding Richmond. Henry stated that unfortunately, he could not, at that point, restore the county of Richmond, as it was currently held by the king's uncle. Henry indicated that, because Peter was absent, the matter could not be discussed at that time. He revealed that he, the queen and their daughter Beatrice, were going to be in Paris with the French king from 26 November 1259, for the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, and that Peter would also

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁷⁶ For a fuller discussion of the history of Brittany's hold of the earldom of Richmond, see Armstrong, 'Sisters in Cahoots', 443–4.

⁷⁷ *CPR 1232–1247*, 156; E.L. Cox, *The Eagles of Savoy: The House of Savoy in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 49.

⁷⁸ *CChR 1226–1257*, 252, 259.

be present, where the matter could be discussed.⁷⁹ This letter shows that the restoration of Richmond was a fundamental aspect of the marital alliance for the Breton duke, but also that Henry was willing to meet these terms, offering to ask Peter to exchange the lands, in order to safeguard the match.⁸⁰

While in France Henry was unable to secure the earldom, so he agreed to pay its value to John yearly; something he could not easily afford to do. In response the Breton duke asked for the Agenais, or its equivalent in payments from Louis, until Richmond could be secured.⁸¹ On 15 December 1259, Henry agreed to surrender to John the payments of the Agenais, which the English king received from his French counterpart.⁸² The following month, this arrangement was confirmed by the Breton duke.⁸³ Henry then petitioned the French king to redirect the 1000 mark Agenais payment to John, but seems to have been unsuccessful as he wrote to the duke and his heir to reassure them that any shortfall in payment was to be met by the English exchequer.⁸⁴ This letter demonstrates that Henry was keen to assure the duke that his financial problems would not hinder their alliance. Nevertheless, as Henry had agreed to pay John £1200 for the extent and value of the earldom of Richmond and a further 200 marks of his gift, totalling 2000 marks annually, the exchequer was required to pay John at least 1000 marks yearly.⁸⁵

Once John was provided for in the short term, Henry then turned his attentions to securing the earldom of Richmond. Henry's attempts began fairly well when Peter of Savoy quit-claimed his rights to the honour of Richmond in March 1262 and accepted other lands in compensation.⁸⁶ This quit-claim should have

⁷⁹ As part of the Treaty of Paris, Henry performed homage to the king of France in Paris on 4 December 1259: *Layettes*, III, no.4566.

⁸⁰ *Foedera*, I.i, 391.

⁸¹ *Diplomatic Documents*, no.307.

⁸² *Ibid.*, no.308 [3]. As part of the Treaty of Paris, Henry renounced all claims to Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Poitou. In return, Henry was promised the lands of Saintonge, Agenais and Quercy on the death of Louis IX's brother Alphonse, count of Poitou and Toulouse, (who held the lands by right of his wife Jeanne, daughter of Raymond VII). In the meantime, Louis agreed to pay an annual rent of 1000 marks, equivalent to the value of the Agenais: *Treaty Rolls*, no.103. Nevertheless, even after the deaths of Alphonse and his wife Jeanne in 1271, the king of France (Louis' heir, Philip III) was reluctant to return the Agenais to the king of England, which did not occur until 1286: Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 262.

⁸³ *Diplomatic Documents*, no.308 [5].

⁸⁴ *CR 1261-1264*, 97, 98; *CPR 1258-1266*, 211. John I accepted the arrangement in a letter dated January 1260 at Saint Denis: *Actes de Jean I^{er}*, no.88.

⁸⁵ *CPR 1258-1266*, 160; *Archives Départementales Loire-Atlantique*, E 114/2. Before Richmond had been valued, Henry had been paying John £1000 for the honour of Richmond, but it increased to £1200: *CLR 1251-1260*, 534.

⁸⁶ *CChR 1257-1300*, 41; *Foedera*, I.i, 417.

opened the way for John to receive Richmond, but it was not to be the case. Even after receiving compensation, Peter remained reluctant to release the earldom and honour. Henry's ability to pursue Peter of Savoy further appears to have been hindered by the period of baronial reform and rebellion, as it was not until 1266 when Henry was able to refocus his attention on Richmond. That year Henry sent his knight, Ralph de Mortein, to receive Richmond from Peter's steward Guiscard de Charron. Letters patent stated that Peter had been compensated with 'certain lands and manors with which he and his friends ought to be content'.⁸⁷ In a second letter, Henry commanded their release; threatening to disinherit Guiscard of his lands in the Agenais should he fail to comply.⁸⁸

It was not until July 1268, following the death of Peter of Savoy, that Henry was able to act decisively over Richmond; although, again, it was not straightforward.⁸⁹ Henry officially restored the earldom of Richmond to John, via his father the duke.⁹⁰ He then sent orders commanding Edward and Guiscard de Charron to deliver the county of Richmond and Richmond castle to John.⁹¹ Other issues arose from Peter's death. In his will, Peter of Savoy bequeathed the honour of Richmond, and the farms he had received in compensation for relinquishing the lands, to his niece, queen Eleanor.⁹² Henry was required to provide his wife with rents of 800 marks yearly for life and the 1200 mark Agenais payments that John had previously received from the French king, in order to secure Richmond's release.⁹³ Similarly, Edward was also relieved of the honour and rape of Hastings (as it was part of the ancient demesne of the honour and earldom of Richmond), which was granted to

⁸⁷ *'de quibus quidem terris tenementis et maneriis iidem comes et amici sui eorum debent merito'*: C 66/84 m.17.

⁸⁸ *CPR 1258-1266*, 666.

⁸⁹ Howell has discussed the distribution of Peter of Savoy's English lands between members of the royal family: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 242-3.

⁹⁰ In a letter patent, sealed in the manner of a charter with the great seal of Henry III, the earldom of Richmond was restored to the Breton duke with all appurtenances, as Peter de Dreux had held it: *AD Loire-Atlantique*, E 114/6. Both the Winchester and Worcester annals incorrectly state that Henry gave the earldom to his son, Edmund: *AM*, ii.106; iv.457.

⁹¹ *CPR 1266-1272*, 246-7, 252. On Peter of Savoy's death, Edward had been granted the custody of all the lands that Peter had previously held in the kingdom, including the honour of Richmond, in June 1268: *Fine Rolls*, 52 Henry III, no.476.

⁹² *Foedera*, I.i, 475-6.

⁹³ *CPR 1266-1272*, 246, 310-1, 362, 383-4, 433. Towards the end of the 1260s, the payments for the Agenais had increased from 1000 marks to 1200 marks. John surrendered the chirograph concerning his receipt of the value of the Agenais to Henry in October 1268: *CPR 1266-1272*, 296. On 24 May 1269, Henry wrote to Louis IX asking for the Agenais payment to be assigned to Eleanor of Provence: *Layettes*, IV, no.5520. This grant was renewed in 1271 by Philip III: *Foedera*, I.i, 490.

John in November 1268.⁹⁴ Although Edward was permitted to retain Hastings castle and town, as well as the advowson of the church and prebends, for which John was to be paid 200 marks yearly until he was fully satisfied of the honour of Richmond.⁹⁵ This sum was to come from the profits of the manors of Aldeburgh, Leadenham and Warmwell until he could hold the manor of Hinton in Cambridgeshire and the castle and town of Hastings.⁹⁶ Thus, the issue of Richmond and Beatrice's dowry continued for much of the 1260s, and absorbed all the revenue Henry could have hoped to have received from the Treaty of Paris with regard to the lands of the Agenais.

The assignment of Beatrice's dowry as the honour and earldom of Richmond marked a sharp contrast to the way Margaret had been endowed on marriage. Judith Green has argued that there was no compulsion for daughters to be treated equally with regard to marriage portions, and that much depended on the attractions of the parties to a marriage.⁹⁷ This statement is certainly valid for Margaret and Beatrice's dowries, which were both politically and strategically motivated. Simon Payling has also discussed how by the mid-thirteenth century endowments by the father of the bride, in the form of a money payments, had replaced land grants in order to ensure that land was retained in the male line.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, Henry's daughters do not necessarily conform to this pattern. Both dowries asserted Henry's superiority over his sons-in-law in different ways. Margaret was given a cash dowry of 5000 marks to maintain the integrity of the English kingdom. Conversely, Beatrice was granted a landed marriage portion. The dukes of Brittany had held Richmond within living memory, and its restoration was probably intended to strengthen and re-establish the Anglo-Breton alliance, as well as the feudal dependency of the Breton duke on the English king. As such, the extortionate sum of 30,000 marks given as the dowry of Henry's sister Isabella, on her marriage to the Emperor, would not be repeated. The Anglo-Imperial alliance was not one of parity, with Henry the lesser party, and therefore he required greater financial incentives to secure the match he hoped

⁹⁴ *CPR 1266–1272*, 297, 304, 375. An inspeximus of Edward I confirmed this grant in 1299: *AD Loire-Atlantique*, E 114/7.

⁹⁵ *CPR 1266–1272*, 391.

⁹⁶ *AD Loire-Atlantique*, E 114/8

⁹⁷ Green, 'Aristocratic Women', 64.

⁹⁸ S. Payling, 'The Politics of Family: Late Medieval Marriage Contracts' in *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, ed. R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995), 21–47 (26).

would result in the re-conquest of his lost continental lands.⁹⁹ Moreover, Isabella's dowry was a major undertaking and caused great financial difficulties as the Emperor sought payment immediately after marriage.¹⁰⁰ Although efforts were made to avoid a repetition of Isabella's dowry, the restoration of Richmond as Beatrice's marriage portion posed problems for the English crown and exchequer for many years.

Wedding

Once the marital alliances had been agreed, attention turned towards the weddings. Henry's fatherly concern is apparent in the lavish and expensive preparations and wedding ceremonies for both daughters, as befitted their royal status. Henry's desire to display his majesty on these occasions is also evident in his own marriage to Eleanor of Provence. When Henry's envoys were in Provence in 1235, exchanging words in the present tense and confirming the dower Eleanor was to receive, Henry stated that he would marry Eleanor and that she would be treated with royal honour and marital affection.¹⁰¹ As well as revealing Henry's own affective nature, these instructions could also demonstrate his expectations for his daughters in their own marriages.

The marriage of Margaret to Alexander III took place on 26 December 1251 at York. The ceremony was led by the archbishop of York and was attended by the king and queen, as well as the Scots' king's mother, Marie de Coucy, and all the Scottish and English nobles and magnates.¹⁰² According to Howell, there were few state occasions in Henry's reign that could have equalled the splendour of the celebrations for Margaret's marriage.¹⁰³ The ostentatious display that Henry envisioned for the

⁹⁹ The prestige of Isabella's match was not lost upon Matthew Paris who felt it necessary to stress Isabella's nobility. He recounted her illustrious ancestors, particularly her grandfather Henry II. Paris then related the international marriages and powerful progeny of her relatives who ruled Europe: *CM*, iii.325-7.

¹⁰⁰ Henry was also required to pay this dowry very quickly. The final payment of 10,000 marks, fulfilling the total 30,000 marks, was paid in June 1237, less than two years after the marriage, which took place in July 1235: *CPR 1232-1247*, 188; *CLR 1226-1240*, 275. Robert Stacey has calculated that Henry could have raised no more, and probably much less, than 12,000 marks from the aid levied to help cover these costs. Nevertheless, between February and March 1236, these revenues were redirected to the wardrobe to help cover his own household expenses: Stacey, *Politics, Policy, and Finance*, 98-117.

¹⁰¹ '*nos eandem domicellam in uxorem legitimam ducere debeamus et ipsam in facie ecclesie sollempniter desponsare, et quod nos eam regali honore et affectione maritali tractemus*': *Treaty Rolls*, no.23.

¹⁰² *AM*, i.146; i.296.

¹⁰³ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 77.

Christmas festivities took months of planning, leaving its mark on the chancery records, and impressing the chroniclers of the time.¹⁰⁴ Henry's desire to give Margaret an elaborate wedding can be attributed to a number of factors: to send a message to the Scots, by demonstrating the full extent of the wealth and power of the English crown;¹⁰⁵ to elevate and emphasise Margaret's status as an English royal daughter, as well as queen of Scotland; as a display of his affection for his eldest daughter, as the marriage provided Henry and Eleanor an opportunity to unite and rejoice in their family as the children neared adulthood; and finally, to welcome Alexander as his son-in-law and celebrate the expansion of his family.

In the build up to the wedding, the chancery records are abundant with orders concerning preparations for the feast and the purchase of items for the ceremony. Staniland estimates that the festivities of Margaret and Alexander's wedding totalled c.£2640, but it was potentially a much higher figure, as this sum is based on the known expenditure recorded in the extant chancery records.¹⁰⁶ The scale of events is apparent in the order for 3000 pounds of wax purchased for Christmas at York.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the extravagance Henry displayed at his daughter's marriage is encapsulated in a single writ of liberate.¹⁰⁸ Dated 20 June 1252, Henry ordered the repayment of thirteen individuals, solely for their purchases of jewels for Margaret's wedding. The value of these jewels totalled £410 11s 10d. Other costly items were reimbursed in this writ. Eleven gold garlands were purchased from the king's goldsmith, William of Gloucester, at a cost of £58 6s 8d. Additionally, Henry de Frowyk was paid £64 19s for providing a gold cup, a gold chalice, six gold spoons and a silver ewer, for the wedding feast. These acquisitions are comparable to the lavish purchases of plate and jewels made for Edward I's second marriage to Margaret of France. 149 gold and silver vessels were purchased for the wedding, including a silver alms dish, eight gold cups, two gold jugs and over 100 silver gilt cups of various decoration and ornamentation.¹⁰⁹ In addition to costly items for the

¹⁰⁴ Matthew Paris recalls the splendour of the festivities in great detail: *CM*, v.266–9.

¹⁰⁵ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 60.

¹⁰⁶ Staniland, 'Nuptials', 41.

¹⁰⁷ *CLR 1245–1251*, 383.

¹⁰⁸ *CLR 1251–1260*, 55.

¹⁰⁹ E 101/355/23, printed in Vale, *Princely Court*, 351–5. The need for so many cups of varying levels of ornamentation may have been necessitated by the varying ranks of the guests, for at the Majorcan court of James II, tableware was graded according to the status of the drinker: Vale, *Princely Court*, 203.

festivities, Henry also provided wedding gifts for the married couple. Margaret received a silver cup and flagon and Alexander was given seven gold spoons.¹¹⁰ The giving of gifts to the bride and groom was common. Simon de Montfort and his wife, Eleanor, were given two silver cups and a silver flagon as wedding gifts from the queen.¹¹¹ Similarly, in 1297, on the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, Edward I gave his new son-in-law, John, count of Holland, 117 items of plate, including 36 silver saucers and 36 silver dishes.¹¹²

The wedding feast also involved substantial expenditure. The feast was well provisioned with a variety of foodstuffs, which were ordered in the months approaching the nuptials. In October 1251, Henry instructed the sheriffs and bailiffs of the northern counties to purchase a range of meat and fish for the coming Christmas at York. Table 7 outlines the large quantities of meat requested.¹¹³

Items	Sheriff of Lincoln	Sheriff of York	Sheriff of Northumberland	Bailiff of Lincoln	Sheriff of Lancaster	Sheriff of Cumberland	Mayor and Bailiff of York	Bailiff of Newcastle upon Tyne	Total
Hens	1000	3000	1000		1000	1000			7000
Partridges	300	500	500	? ¹¹⁴	300	300	200		2100+
Swans	30	30	15	10	15	15	10		125
Cranes	20	20	15	10	20	20	10		115
Peacocks	25	30	15	10	20	20			120
Pheasants	50	60	30	30	40	40	40		290
Rabbits	50	100	100		100	50			400
Hares	300	400	300		300				1300
Pigs		200	100		100				400
Boars		20	15		20	15			70
Salmon						50		30	80

Table 7 Provisions for the Christmas feast at York

¹¹⁰ E 372/95 rot.7d m.3.

¹¹¹ CR 1237-1242, 191.

¹¹² E 101/354/15, printed in Vale, *Princely Court*, 359.

¹¹³ CR 1247-1251, 521-2; C 54/64 m.1.

¹¹⁴ Edge of membrane damaged and number lost.

Although the planning was ambitiously grand, the reality may not have necessarily reached such heights. According to the pipe rolls, the sheriff of York only bought 119 pigs (at a cost of £11 4s) and 1992 hens (for £9 17s 8d). He was 81 pigs and 1008 hens short of the amount requested by Henry.¹¹⁵ The sheriff of Lancaster was reimbursed £10 17s 6½d for 102 pigs (two pigs extra) and £2 2s for 424 hens (576 hens short).¹¹⁶ Conversely, the sheriff of Northumberland purchased and sent his full quota of 100 pigs for £10 15d.¹¹⁷ The feast was also supplemented with additional fish, venison, bread and wine. Henry instructed deer to be caught from the surrounding forests and sent to York.¹¹⁸ The bailiffs of Scarborough were charged to buy five lasts of good herring, 1000 greenfish, 10,000 haddocks and 500 conger eels for the feast.¹¹⁹ Orders were also made for almonds, rice and sugar to be purchased.¹²⁰ Similarly, a series of bailiffs in Yorkshire were asked to have bread made and delivered at York for Christmas; with Staniland calculating that Henry requested c.70,000 loaves for the feast.¹²¹ To be able to prepare such a feast, it was also necessary to build an oven and have provisions made for a saucery at York.¹²² In addition to the food, Henry ensured the wedding was suitably supplied with wine. The king's buyer of wines, Robert de Dacre, was ordered to deliver 100 tuns of wine, and the sheriffs of London, a further 120 tuns of wine for the king's use at Christmas.¹²³ The keeper of the king's wine at York was to release two tuns of spiced white wine and one tun of claret red wine for the occasion.¹²⁴ A glimpse of the scale of expenditure on wine is apparent in a writ of liberate, which reimbursed a number of individuals a total of £221 8s 8d, for the purchase of 132 tuns.¹²⁵ While the feast may not have reached the scale envisioned by Henry, these records demonstrate the great outlay this wedding involved.

¹¹⁵ E 372/96 rot.2 m.1.

¹¹⁶ *CLR 1251-1260*, 15.

¹¹⁷ E 372/96 rot.11 m.2.

¹¹⁸ *CR 1251-1253*, 14-6, 20. Venison was taken to York from the forests of Pickering, Galtres and Langwathby: E 372/96 rot.2 m.1. Preparation for the marriage feast of Eleanor, daughter of Edward, also involved the capture of harts and bucks: *CR 1288-1296*, 302.

¹¹⁹ *CLR 1251-1260*, 10.

¹²⁰ *CR 1251-1253*, 17.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 180; Staniland, 'Nuptials', 35.

¹²² *CR 1251-1253*, 18.

¹²³ *CLR 1245-1251*, 368, 383.

¹²⁴ *CR 1251-1253*, 10.

¹²⁵ *CLR 1251-1260*, 14.

New robes were also ordered for the English royal family for Margaret's wedding. The king and queen were each to have two sets of new robes with gold fringe for the festivities.¹²⁶ Henry also commissioned further tunics for his use. These clothes were emblazoned with leopards, no doubt to emphasise the splendour of the occasion and the power of the English kingdom.¹²⁷ Edward received new robes, as well as tabards for himself and three of his entourage (Nicholas de Molis, Bartholomew Peche and Ebulo de Montibus), similarly decorated with leopards.¹²⁸ There is, however, one key individual who would be expected to be in receipt of new robes, but does not appear to have received any: Margaret herself. There is no record as to what the bride wore at her nuptials but it would seem probable that she was also attired with new robes. This outfit would potentially have been made of cloth of gold, because for the marriage of Henry's sister in 1235, Isabella received three robes of silk, golden cloth, possibly to wear for the wedding ceremony.¹²⁹

While Margaret's wedding took place at York, a location almost equidistant from both the English and Scottish courts, Beatrice's wedding took place in France. Beatrice's nuptials followed the conclusion of negotiations that had taken place alongside the ratification of the Treaty of Paris during the winter of 1259–60. On 22 January 1260, Beatrice espoused John of Brittany at Saint Denis.¹³⁰ This date was not, however, the original plan. At the 'instance of the French king and queen', Beatrice was set to marry John twenty days after Christmas day at Compiègne.¹³¹ The wedding had to be delayed because of the death of the French heir. The marriage then took place following the burial of the French prince at Royaumont on 12 January 1260, around the time Beatrice was originally set to wed.¹³²

¹²⁶ *CR 1251–1253*, 13.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12, 181.

¹²⁹ Transcription of C 47/3/3 printed in Wild, 'Empress' New Clothes', 19–31. Henry's other sister, Eleanor, also appears to have received a robe and supertunic of gold *baudekin* cloth, lined with *miniver*, for her marriage to Simon de Montfort: *CLR 1226–1240*, 356.

¹³⁰ The English chroniclers are inconsistent in their recording of the events in Beatrice's life. As both her birth and marriage took place outside England, there are a number of inaccuracies. (See Table 1 above). For example, the Winchester annals correctly date the marriage as taking place in 1260, yet located it in England. It recorded that the king made peace with France, and then spent Christmas and Easter at Saint Omer, before returning to England. The narrative then continued to state that Beatrice was married, suggesting that the nuptials did not occur until after their return: *AM*, ii.98.

¹³¹ '*ad instanciam domini regis et regine Francie*': *CR 1259–1261*, 267.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 267. The household roll places Henry at Asnières-sur-Oise, just south of Royaumont on 12 January 1260: E 101/349/27. The French heir, Louis, was buried at Royaumont, which became the necropolis for the children of the royal family who never ruled, rather than at Saint Denis, which was

Although Margaret's wedding is well documented, the same cannot be said for the marriage of Beatrice. There is only one writ of liberate that sheds any light on Beatrice's wedding, issued on Henry's return to England in May 1260. It instructed the queen's clerk, Hugh de la Penne, to be reimbursed £264 for purchasing equipment, robes and other items for the wedding in France.¹³³ Unfortunately, no further detail is provided, but based on the evidence of items purchased for Margaret's nuptials, Henry and Eleanor may have obtained various jewels to ensure due magnificence was exhibited. This writ suggests that Eleanor was instrumental in the arrangement of Beatrice's wedding festivities; which is supported by the itineraries of Henry and Eleanor in France. After the celebration of Christmas, Henry left Paris between 30 December 1259 and 18 January 1260, whereas Eleanor, remained in Paris.¹³⁴ It is possible that she spent time with her sisters Marguerite and Beatrice, planning and organising the wedding, which was hosted by the French king and queen.¹³⁵

The royal household accounts also suggest that the French crown helped to finance the occasion. The year 44 Henry III (28 October 1259–60) is the only one that has a full account of royal household expenditure that survives.¹³⁶ This roll shows the English crown's expenditure while in France for the Treaty of Paris and Beatrice's marriage. It suggests that Henry and Louis hosted each other on a number of occasions between November 1259 and April 1260, evident in the fluctuations in Henry's daily spending while in Paris.¹³⁷ Expenditure ranged from £22 5s 3½d (on his arrival on 26 November when Henry was welcomed by the French king) to £176

reserved for the kings and queens of France. Henry also assisted at his nephew's funeral: Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 268.

¹³³ *CLR 1251–1260*, 501.

¹³⁴ That Eleanor remained in Paris is also demonstrated by the large number of rings she gave to the various servants, ladies and knights of the French king and queen, the Navarrese king and queen, and the countess of Provence: see below 144–5; E 101/349/26; D.A. Carpenter, 'The Meetings of Kings Henry III and Louis IX' in *Thirteenth Century England X*, eds M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 1–30 (23).

¹³⁵ Howell believes the marriage of Beatrice was a matter of collaboration between Eleanor and Marguerite: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 161. Eleanor and Marguerite were the closest of the four sisters of Provence, according to Le Goff, who suggests that they held a grudge against their youngest sister, Beatrice, for their disinheritance. (Shortly before his death, their father designated Beatrice as sole heiress to the county of Provence): Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 131.

¹³⁶ E 101/349/27.

¹³⁷ Homage was performed on 4 December 1259. Louis possibly helped cover Henry's costs, as he had done previously when hosting Henry and his household in 1254, but he never took over all of Henry's costs: Carpenter, 'Meetings of Kings', 8–10.

18s 8½d (on the feast of St Nicholas, 6 December).¹³⁸ Henry's expenses on the wedding day totalled £49 8s 1½d, of which £38 4s 4d was spent on the food departments within the household (pantry, buttery, kitchen, scullery and saucery). Over 80 pounds of wax was used with only a small proportion in the chapel (9½ pounds), suggesting a large gathering.¹³⁹ Although Beatrice's wedding involved extraordinary expenditure by the English crown, these totals may not fully represent the total outlay if the French royal family also helped to finance the festivities.

Feast	Cost
30 November 1259	£91 19s 2d
Feast of St Andrew	
6 December 1259	£176 18s 8½d
Feast of St Nicholas	
Christmas Eve and Christmas	£101 15s 3½d
22 January 1260	£49 8s 1½d
Beatrice's wedding	
Vigil and Easter Sunday	£94 2s 9d

Table 8 Henry's spending in France 1259–60

Although the extent of French financial assistance is unclear, Beatrice's wedding day was one of the most expensive of all Henry's time in France.¹⁴⁰ As demonstrated by Table 8, there were only four occasions when expenditure surpassed this total, and often these were major feast days. 30 November to 6 December 1259 marked the start and culmination of the weeklong celebrations of the Treaty of Paris, and was the most expensive week, of which there is record, for Henry's entire reign.¹⁴¹ During this week, Henry possibly hosted the French king with lavish feasts, thereby helping to strengthen the family unity that had been ratified in

¹³⁸ The following expenses have all been taken from E 101/349/27. The daily average of Henry's expenses while on the continent totalled £24 16s 3d (my calculation).

¹³⁹ If the French crown did help to host the nuptials, they would also have faced significant outlay. For example, the expenses of the household of the countess of Hainault rocketed between August 1327 and August 1328, the year which saw the wedding and reception, entertainment and accommodation, of the attendant diplomatic missions for the marriage of the countess' daughter, Philippa, to Edward III. The monthly average of household expenditure jumped from c.£650 to £957. The figure of £650 is my calculation based on the figures given in Vale, *Princely Court*, 87.

¹⁴⁰ There are no corresponding French accounts.

¹⁴¹ Carpenter, 'Meetings of Kings', 11, 12, 20. The Breton historian le Baud's account of the treaty suggests the assembly of the Parlement of Paris was an elaborate and magnificent affair. He stated that the Breton contingent arrived in Paris where Louis, Henry, their queens and their children, with a multitude of other princes and barons, were all grandly welcomed. In Paris, the royal families spent several days with grand feasts before heading to Saint Denis where the marriage took place: P. le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne* (Paris, 1638), 243–4.

the peace.¹⁴² The celebration of Beatrice's wedding involved substantial outlay, albeit not on the same scale as the festivities of the treaty. A slightly more sombre tone may have shrouded the wedding because it followed so closely behind the death and burial of Louis and Marguerite's son, Louis, and as a result the celebrations may have been subdued.

Dower

Another aspect of these marital alliances concerned the lands the daughters were to receive as dower should they survive their husbands. During the thirteenth century in England dower rights for brides extended. In the early years of the century, dower was usually assigned to a bride at the church door, comprising of lands, chattels or money held by her spouse on the day of their marriage, up to one third of the total value.¹⁴³ By the end of the century widows were entitled to be dowered from all the property held by her husband on the day of his death, not the day of his marriage, accounting for anything her husband may have acquired or inherited following their marriage. Moreover, by this point widows had become entitled to a third as a common law right and as such there was no longer any need for gifts at the church door.¹⁴⁴

Rather than being assigned on marriage, Beatrice's dower holdings, should she be widowed, appear to have been an integral part of the discussion for her marriage to the Breton duke's son. Conversely, it is difficult to know whether Margaret was assigned any lands in dower as part of her marriage to the Scottish king as a dower allocation was not discussed beforehand. At the time of Margaret's marriage, the lands with which Scots' queens were dowered, were in the possession of her mother-in-law, Marie de Coucy, queen-dowager. The unavailability of these resources appears to have made it difficult – or made the minority government reluctant – to apportion dower rights on their new young queen without further alienating crown lands. The potential for two queens-dowager was of great concern to the minority council who introduced laws to prevent Margaret receiving any dower, in the eventuality that her husband died very young. These laws acknowledged that widows

¹⁴² Carpenter, 'Meetings of Kings', 13. Feasting was an important aspect of Henry's kingship: Weiler, 'Symbolism and Politics', 15–41.

¹⁴³ R.E. Archer, 'Rich Old Ladies: The Problem of the Late Medieval Dowagers' in *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History*, ed. Tony Pollard (Alan Sutton; Gloucester, 1984), 15–35 (17).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

ought to receive a reasonable third, but also stated four ways in which a wife may lose her dower. The most important clause concerning Margaret specified that if a wife was so young that she could not have sexual intercourse with her husband, she would not be eligible to receive dower.¹⁴⁵ This legislation was associated with the English legal practice outlined in the thirteenth-century treatise, *Bracton de consuetudinibus et legibus Angliae*, and discussed by Paul Brand, in which widow's had to 'earn' their dower.¹⁴⁶ To be 'deserving' of their dower, widows had to be old enough to engage in sexual intercourse with their husband, generally considered to be around the age of twelve, and able to bear children; if a wife was too young to conceive, she would be ineligible for her dower.¹⁴⁷

If this clause restricting the assignment of dower was introduced by the Scottish minority government around the time of Alexander's marriage to Margaret, it could explain Margaret's complaints to her parents of her maltreatment at the hands of her guardians. The Burton annals stated that Robert de Ros had prevented the Scottish king and queen from having intercourse and thwarted the couple from exercising their will as man and wife.¹⁴⁸ Nelson suggests that this law was introduced, and in turn, the consummation of the marriage between the Scottish king and queen was prevented, so that the minority council would avoid having to fund potentially two dowers simultaneously. As they were already providing the queen-mother's dower, they did not wish to have to endow a second widow in Margaret. Nevertheless, according to Nelson, later evidence does suggest that Margaret's dower was probably assigned as a third of the lands and revenues of the king.¹⁴⁹

On the other hand, Beatrice's prospective dower was a key point of discussion, evident in the number of documents produced outlining her dower assignment. As part of the agreement, formulated following the nuptials on 22 January 1260, John

¹⁴⁵ *Primo modo si mulier sit ita juvenis quod non potest habere rem hoc est coire cum viro suo*: *Regiam Majestatem*, ii, chs 13, 14 in *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, i.610–2.

¹⁴⁶ P. Brand, "'Deserving' and 'Undeserving' Wives: Earning and Forfeiting Dower in Medieval England", *The Journal of Legal History* 22 (2001), 1–20.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁴⁸ *AM*, i.337. Following the marriage, Margaret, Alexander and the kingdom of Scotland, had been committed to the custody of Robert de Ros and John de Balliol by a council of English and Scottish nobles. The fallout from Margaret's complaints at her maltreatment, at the hands of her guardians, is discussed more fully below 157–62.

¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the apportioning of a third of the Scottish king's lands and revenues would probably only have been possible following the death of Marie de Coucy: Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 218–9.

and Beatrice were granted lands from which to live on and support themselves.¹⁵⁰ John I and Blanche of Navarre allocated their son, and his legitimate children by his wife, all the land of the county of Richmond, or any other lands, such as the Agenais, that had been allotted in compensation. Moreover, there was a further grant of 3000*l* *tournois* worth of land in Champagne, as well as the county of La Perche.¹⁵¹ This grant has parallels to the appanage worth 15,000 marks that Henry granted to Edward on his marriage to Eleanor of Castile.¹⁵² These allocations suggest that monarchs were mindful of their female relations' financial security when arranging marital alliances.¹⁵³ Henry's concern for Beatrice's welfare is evident in his requests to know how she would be provided for in marriage.¹⁵⁴ This grant ensured Beatrice and John would have an income to support themselves until John inherited the duchy of Brittany.

Beatrice's dower lands were sourced from this marital appanage. As part of the dower assignment, contingencies were made for several eventualities, should Beatrice survive her husband.¹⁵⁵ If John were to die, Beatrice was to receive 2000*l* *tournois* of the 3000*l* worth of land assigned in Champagne, as well as half of the land in La Perche. Beatrice's dower was also to include half of the earldom of Richmond, or any other land, money, or anything else that may have been assigned in its place.¹⁵⁶ The lands appointed as their marital appanage and Beatrice's dower assignment were lands that came from John's mother, Blanche. The use of maternal lands ensured that the patrimony, Brittany, remained intact. La Perche was part of Blanche's marriage portion, and the lands in Champagne were granted to her in return for the Breton duke and duchess' renunciation of their claims to the Navarrese throne.¹⁵⁷ Beatrice's dower rights were fairly generous, granting over half of lands

¹⁵⁰ In this document Beatrice is designated as both the daughter of Henry III and wife of John, suggesting that this agreement was made following her marriage: *Diplomatic Documents*, no.308 [6]; *Actes de Jean I^{er}*, no.89.

¹⁵¹ *Diplomatic Documents*, no.308 [6].

¹⁵² *CPR 1247–1258*, 270.

¹⁵³ Henry was similarly concerned about the welfare of his sister Joan in her marriage to Alexander II of Scotland. In 1221, Alexander sent a letter to Henry to confirm Joan's dower assignment, set at £1000: *CPR 1216–1225*, 309.

¹⁵⁴ See above 123–4, for discussion of negotiations for Beatrice's marriage to the brother of the king of Castile.

¹⁵⁵ These contingencies included a series of possible scenarios should Beatrice and Blanche be widowed simultaneously, and both require dowers: *Diplomatic Documents*, no.308 [6].

¹⁵⁶ *Diplomatic Documents*, no.308 [6].

¹⁵⁷ On John I and Blanche's marriage, Blanche was the only heir of Theobald IV of Champagne (I of Navarre). The marriage contract stated that they were to inherit Navarre unless Theobald begat a male

that John and Beatrice were to hold during their marriage until they succeeded the duchy. It could be assumed that this dower settlement would be expanded following John's accession to the duchy, in order to reflect his increased wealth.¹⁵⁸ In thirteenth-century England, widows were legally entitled to receive one third of their husbands' wealth and lands on his death.¹⁵⁹ This custom was apparent in Eleanor of Castile's dower, which was to increase from 1000 marks to £1000 on Edward's accession to the throne.¹⁶⁰ Yet, the increase of Beatrice's dower rights may have been problematic, as on Blanche's marriage to John, her dower was set at a third of lands in Brittany.¹⁶¹ So unless her mother-in-law predeceased her husband, it would be difficult for Beatrice to be dowered with Breton lands. These documents outlining Beatrice's dower rights demonstrate that Henry ensured that Beatrice would be suitably provisioned in marriage, and also in widowhood.

Eleanor of Provence played a key role not only in organising Beatrice's marriage, but also in helping to secure Beatrice's dower rights and marital appanage. During the time that Eleanor spent in Paris with her sisters, she undertook major diplomatic manoeuvres through her gift giving and largesse; distributing 91 of 97 rings encrusted with precious gemstones and of various values, totalling £60 5s 4d, to a range of individuals.¹⁶² These gifts may well have been intended to secure Beatrice's dower, as well as assisting Beatrice in her ceremonial role as a bride. The majority of the rings were awarded to the attendants of the French king and queen, countess of

heir, which he did by his third wife, Margaret of Bourbon. On Theobald's death he was succeeded by Blanche's half-brother, Theobald V (II of Navarre). Nevertheless, in December 1254 a Parlement was summoned at Paris to hear the Breton duke and duchess' complaints that the promise of the Navarrese throne had been unfulfilled. In return for their renunciation to Navarre, Theobald V promised 3000*l* of rent annually in Champagne. At this Parlement, Theobald also sought Louis' approval to marry his daughter, Isabella, which was achieved following the settlement made with the Breton duke. Theobald married Isabella in April 1255: T. Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100–1300* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 43; M.H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne*, Tome IV, Première Partie (Paris, 1865), 273–4, 354–7; *Layettes*, III, no.4132; *Memoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclesiastique et civile de Bretagne*, ed. Dom. H. Morice, Tome I (Paris: Charles Osmont, 1742), 895–6.

¹⁵⁸ Beatrice surviving her husband following their succession as duke and duchess of Brittany, rather oddly, was not a situation that was outlined in the dower agreement: *Diplomatic Documents*, no.308 [6].

¹⁵⁹ Archer, 'Rich Old Ladies', 17.

¹⁶⁰ *CPR 1247–1258*, 219.

¹⁶¹ *Preuves*, 898.

¹⁶² E 101/349/26. Of the remaining six: three emerald rings worth £1, two worth 13s 4d and another of unspecified value were retained by the queen.

Provence and queen of Navarre.¹⁶³ They were given in thanks for the hospitality and service the English royal family had received during their stay in Paris. For example, an emerald and a ruby ring were given to two knights of the French king who were used as guides by Henry.¹⁶⁴ Other rings were given to individuals involved in the Anglo-Breton marriage, including the king of Navarre, Theobald II, who received one of the more costly items, a ruby ring worth £4.¹⁶⁵ Theobald was also given an emerald ring worth £2 17s 2d by Beatrice. These gifts appear to have been part of Eleanor's attempts to make Theobald more conducive to the release of the lands in Champagne that had been earmarked as part of John and Beatrice's marital appanage, and from which Beatrice was to be dowered. While all gift-giving is theoretically voluntary, anthropologists have shown that there is in practice a strong element of reciprocity and obligation.¹⁶⁶ In terms of Eleanor's ring-giving, the majority can be seen as repayments for service rendered, while, the two rings given to the Navarrese king were made in the hope of favour for her daughter in return.

Alongside her mother, Beatrice's involvement in gift-giving extended beyond the ring given to Theobald. Eleanor provided Beatrice with eight of the 91 rings distributed in France, to give to a number of individuals directly involved in the Anglo-Breton marriage. The ring account does not specify when these gifts were given, but sometime between December 1259 and January 1260 seems logical, following the ratification of the Treaty of Paris and as part of the negotiations for and following Beatrice's marriage.¹⁶⁷ The feast of the Circumcision of the Lord (1 January) 1260 is a feasible date for the grants, as it was a common feast for the exchanging of gifts among the English royal family. For example, on 1 January 1263, Eleanor gave Henry a ruby ring worth £6.¹⁶⁸ As can be seen from Table 9, Beatrice's future Breton relatives (the duke and duchess of Brittany, her betrothed, John and his brother, Peter) were in receipt of four of the eight rings, with the duke receiving the most

¹⁶³ That the majority of these rings were given to the queen of France, countess of Provence and their attendants endorses the theory that Eleanor remained in Paris with her sisters and niece (Isabella, queen of Navarre, and Marguerite and Louis' daughter): E 101/349/26; Carpenter, 'Meetings of Kings', 23.

¹⁶⁴ E 101/349/26.

¹⁶⁵ Theobald V of Champagne.

¹⁶⁶ See: M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), 3.

¹⁶⁷ All the rings were given in Paris, and both Henry and Eleanor were still in Paris at that point: E 101/349/27.

¹⁶⁸ E 101/349/26.

expensive. Eleanor's ring-giving, on the other hand, did not involve the ducal family to such an extent. Only John's doctor, William, and a lady staying with the duchess received rings from the English queen. The importance of Beatrice's involvement in securing favourable Anglo-Breton relations is apparent in the value of her rings. The eight rings she distributed were worth £10 18s 10d, one fifth of the total value of all 91 rings dispensed from Eleanor's resources in France.¹⁶⁹

Recipient	Ring	Value
Duke of Brittany, John I	Ruby ring	£4
Duchess of Brittany, Blanche	Ruby ring	£1
John of Brittany	Emerald ring	5s
Peter of Brittany, John's brother	Emerald ring	5s
King of Navarre, Theobald II ¹⁷⁰	Emerald ring	£2 17s 2d
Countess of Eu	Emerald ring	£1 6s 8d
Countess of Guines	Emerald ring	£1
John de Rankeroll', knight of the king of France	Emerald ring	5s

Table 9 Rings given by Beatrice¹⁷¹

In giving these gifts to those who were involved in the wedding, Beatrice may also have been fulfilling her ceremonial role as a bride. This lavish bridal gift-giving also occurred on the wedding days of other royal women. For example, on the marriage of Margaret of France, second wife of Edward I, in September 1299, Margaret gave 93 gold and silver cups and four basins to her entourage, members of her husband's household and other guests of the nuptials.¹⁷² Similarly, on her marriage to the count of Guelders in May 1332, Eleanor, sister of Edward III, presented 41 horses to a variety of individuals, both English and Gueldish, including a gift of eleven warhorses to her husband. She also gave buckles, belts, purses and ells of silk to numerous knights in her entourage, as well as her husband's seneschal, chamberlain and marshal.¹⁷³ The introduction of Beatrice into the diplomatic manoeuvrings of her own marriage saw her attempting to secure favour with her

¹⁶⁹ My calculation: E 101/349/26. Additionally, 171 rings were given as gifts from the wardrobe of Henry III: *The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*, cxliii.

¹⁷⁰ Theobald V of Champagne.

¹⁷¹ E 101/349/26.

¹⁷² E 101/355/23, printed in Vale, *Princely Court*, 351–5.

¹⁷³ E 101/386/7, fos 10r–10v, printed in Vale, *Princely Court*, 312–3.

new family, in addition to safeguarding her own future, and that of England's allies, as her gift to Theobald had a very specific purpose.

Eleanor and Beatrice's gifts of two costly rings, however, do not appear to have encouraged Theobald II to release the lands in Champagne. In an attempt to overcome this issue, Henry called upon the assistance of his sister-in-law.¹⁷⁴ In March 1260, Henry wrote to Marguerite of Provence to request her intervention, asking her to intercede and intermeditate with her 'most beloved son, the illustrious king of Navarre' to secure the territories for John and Beatrice.¹⁷⁵ Marguerite was related to the Navarrese king through the marriage of her daughter Isabella, who had espoused Theobald II on 6 April 1255, and Henry clearly hoped Marguerite would be able to exploit these kinship ties.¹⁷⁶ In the attempts to acquire the lands in Champagne, a three-fold endeavour was deployed including gifts from both Eleanor and Beatrice, as well as Marguerite of Provence's later intercession.

Henry's letter to Marguerite used familial language and flattery to win her support and assistance as she was in a fairly difficult situation dealing with the competing rights of her niece, Beatrice, and daughter, Isabella, the Navarrese queen. In Henry's address to Marguerite, he called her his 'most beloved sister' to whom he sent 'greetings and sincere, ever-increasing love'.¹⁷⁷ Henry also closed the letter reminding Marguerite of the key role she had played so far in arranging the marital alliance, stating that it was 'contracted through [her] foresight and commendably commanded by [her] grace', and that he did not wish the issue of Champagne to cause it damage.¹⁷⁸ Henry appears to have played on Marguerite's pride to obtain a successful outcome. Marguerite was a useful intermediary due to her relationship with the King of Navarre, but also because of her vested interest and role in the marriage. To ensure that the marriage contract was fully enacted, Henry exploited his familial ties (and Marguerite's own familial network), as well as the investment Marguerite had already made in orchestrating the marriage of Beatrice and John.

¹⁷⁴ *Letters*, ii, no.536.

¹⁷⁵ '*carissimus filius vester, rex Navarrae illustris*': *Ibid.*, ii, no.536. The letter is tentatively dated by Shirley as such, following the marriage ceremony.

¹⁷⁶ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 737.

¹⁷⁷ '*carissimae sorori suae dominae M.*'; '*salutem et sinceram dilectionis semper augmentum*': *Letters*, ii, no.536.

¹⁷⁸ '*contracti per vestram fuerit providentiam vestri gratia laudabiliter inchoatum*'; '*damnum imminere debeat aut jactura, ita quod praedictum negotium per vos hucusque continuatum feliciter compleatur*': *Ibid.*, ii, no.536.

Knighting the Husbands

While Henry was anxious to ensure that his daughters would be provided for in marriage, his concern also extended to the status of their spouses. As such, both Margaret's and Beatrice's husbands were knighted by the English king. Before his marriage to Margaret, Henry knighted Alexander III on Christmas day, along with twenty others, at York.¹⁷⁹ As part of this ceremony, Henry attired his son-in-law in knightly accoutrements. Alexander received a beautiful sword with an ornately worked silver pommel and a red scabbard, as well as a belt from which he could attach it.¹⁸⁰ He was also given a pair of silver gilt spurs with decorative red straps.¹⁸¹ Alexander's knighting was then followed by his performance of homage to Henry for his English lands. Matthew Paris states that Alexander was also asked to do homage for Scotland too, but refused.¹⁸² These ceremonies have been understood to be a demonstration of the English crown's power over the Scots.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, the lavish presents Henry granted to Alexander, as he did to his own children, should also be taken into consideration. Henry also gave Alexander a closed *scarlet* tunic and an elaborately decorated, well-made bed; replicating the English king's own bed at York. It was to be covered with a grey fur bedspread, said to have been larger than Henry's own.¹⁸⁴ These gifts, in conjunction with Alexander's knighting, suggest that Henry was seeking to provide for and elevate the young Scottish king's status, rather than simply exert his dominance. Henry's concern to ensure Alexander received hospitality as befitted his rank continued on his return journey home. The sheriff of Northumberland was instructed to host Henry's son-in-law at the castle of Newcastle upon Tyne and provide him with two tuns of wine and meat or fish.¹⁸⁵ These lavish presents represent Henry's attempts to welcome Alexander into the family.

¹⁷⁹ *CM*, v.267.

¹⁸⁰ *CR 1251–1253*, 12.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁸² *'Et cum super hoc conveniretur rex Scotiae, ut ratione regni Scotiae faceret homagium et fidelitatem cum ligantia domino suo regi Anglorum, sicut fecerunt praedecessores sui regibus Anglorum, prout evidenter in cronicis locis multis scribitur, respondit rex Scotiae, quod pacifice illuc venerate et pro honore regis Angliae et per ejus mandatum, ut videlicet mediante copula matrimoniali ipsi confoederaretur, et non ut ipsi de tam ardua quaestione responderet'*: *CM*, v.268.

¹⁸³ Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 216–7. Alexander II also performed homage to the English king following his unsuccessful alliance with Prince Louis during the baronial rebellion (1215–7): Oram, 'Reign of Alexander II', 13; Pollock, *Scotland, England and France*, 83.

¹⁸⁴ *CR 1251–1253*, 13, 17.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 30. This hospitality cost £10 17s: E 372/96 rot.11 m.2.

Henry became something of a father-figure to Alexander following his marriage, and according to Matthew Paris, the young Scottish king pleaded with Henry to adopt him as a son:

My lord king, your majesty knows that, although I am king and by your munificence made a knight, I am a boy without age or knowledge, and moreover an orphan, because my father is dead and my mother returned to her distant homeland overseas, she left me at a tender age and until now she would not return except by your call. Now and henceforth I adopt you as my father, you will supply me with the figure of father and mother that I am lacking and afford to my insufficiency the counsel and protection of a father.¹⁸⁶

Alexander begged his new father-in-law to become a full father figure to him, providing the necessary fatherly advice and security that the young king lacked. Henry was not only to fill the role of father, but also that of his mother too – which Eleanor of Provence may well have seen herself fulfilling – as he was also motherless following the return of Marie de Coucy to France. Alexander’s plea may well have provoked memories of, and parallels with, Henry’s own childhood, as he had similarly come to the throne at a young age, following the death of his father, and his mother had returned to her native homeland.¹⁸⁷ This sense of abandonment possibly united the two kings and strengthened a bond created by marriage. Henry’s willingness to adopt and treat Alexander as if his own son is encapsulated in his response. The English king stated that he would gladly do so, while barely containing his tears and suppressing a sob.¹⁸⁸ This response underlines the warmth of Henry’s personality, as well as his affection and concern for his kin, mirroring his relationship with his children. Paris makes it appear that Henry only thought it natural to help his son-in-law, and that he was more than happy to fill this role.

A cynical reading of Alexander’s speech may see its inclusion in Matthew Paris’ chronicle as the chronicler justifying Henry’s later intervention in Scotland

¹⁸⁶ *Domine mi rex, novit serenitas vestra, quoniam quamvis rex sim et ex vestra munificentia miles effectus, puer sine aetate et scientia, insuper et pupillus, quia patre meo defuncto, mater mea, partes natales suas longinquas et ultramarinas repetens, me tenellum reliquit, nec adhuc nisi vocata a vobis remeavit. Adopto igitur ex hoc nunc et deinceps vos in patrem, immo, ut et patris et matris defectum in me suppleatis, et insufficientiae meae consilium et paternum patrocinium impendatis*: *CM*, v. 271.

¹⁸⁷ N. Vincent, ‘Isabella of Angoulême: John’s Jezebel’ in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S.D. Church (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 165–219 (198).

¹⁸⁸ *dominus vix lacrimas continens cum suppresso singultu respondisset, “Libenter”*: *CM*, v.271.

(interfering in the minority government and completely replacing the regency council) by stating that Alexander asked for Henry's protection.¹⁸⁹ An English king becoming a father-figure to a Scottish king had precedent, however. David I of Scotland (d.1153) was raised at Henry I's court and because of this proximity, following his accession, he introduced Anglo-Norman customs, nobles and structures of government to Scotland.¹⁹⁰ Upon his marriage, Alexander was received with affection and welcomed into the family in a similar fashion to all other members of his family, both those to whom he was related by blood and those to whom he was related by marriage.¹⁹¹ Henry's welcoming of Alexander like a son is indicative of the English king's perception of marriage not only as a diplomatic tool for establishing and consolidating alliances, but also as an extension of his family, bringing new members into Henry's kinship network.

Beatrice's husband was similarly knighted by Henry. Unlike Alexander, this dubbing took place after his marriage. Henry wrote to the Breton duke on 9 March 1260 apologising for delaying John's return to Brittany, and asking for permission to knight him on the coming feast of the Translation of St Edward (13 October).¹⁹² The knighting was to take place after Henry's return to England, suggesting that it was not necessarily a pre-requisite for the marriage to Henry's daughter Beatrice, unlike Alexander III and the Lord Edward who were knighted before their nuptials.¹⁹³ Instead, it reveals that Henry desired to be back in England to knight his new son-in-law, by his own hand, and to introduce him to one of the most important feast days in the Henrican calendar. This act was also perhaps in order to restore the prestige of the English crown following the centrality of France to the marriage.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ For Henry's involvement in the Scottish minority government, see below 161–9.

¹⁹⁰ A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842–1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, 2002), 63, 66; Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 179.

¹⁹¹ As demonstrated by the welcoming of Eleanor's Savoyard relatives and Henry's Lusignan half-siblings: Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 341–3.

¹⁹² *Foedera*, I, i, 395. Following the English retinue's departure from the French king's court in early February 1260, Henry headed to Saint Omer (apparently with Beatrice and John in tow), where he remained for over two months before returning to England towards the end of April 1260: E 101/349/27.

¹⁹³ *Diplomatic Documents*, no.275.

¹⁹⁴ Henry often used 'symbolic communication' through ceremonies and rituals to demonstrate his majesty. Moreover, the knighting of foreign princes was an important tool in symbolising the peace or the creation of a new relationship between the king and the newly dubbed knight: Weiler, 'Symbolism and Politics', 17–8, 24.

Henry clearly secured the necessary consent and John was knighted on the Translation of St Edward with up to 80 others.¹⁹⁵ This feast included a substantial mass knighting, yet not of the scale of Edward I's Pentecost feast at Westminster on 22 May 1306, when over 300 were girded with the belt of knighthood.¹⁹⁶ Some of the others knighted alongside John included two sons of Simon de Montfort, who were dubbed by Edward.¹⁹⁷ Some of John's own household members were also possibly knighted, as on the day after the feast (on 14 October), six of John's household knights received sapphire rings, costing 2s 4d each from the king and queen. The giving of rings during a feast featuring mass knighting was a highly symbolic act, reinforcing hierarchical authority through chivalric largesse.¹⁹⁸ It also shows that Henry followed the example of the Confessor in his act of giving rings, mirroring the story from St Edward's hagiography in which the rich king gave his ring to the poor pilgrim, who turned out to be St John the Evangelist.¹⁹⁹ Four days later (on 18 October 1260), a further five knights received emerald rings costing between 13s 4d and £1. That same day, Beatrice also gave ruby rings worth 6s each to six of John's knights, five of whom had already received rings from the king and queen previously, as shown in Table 10.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ *CR 1259–1261*, 113, 116–7; *Flores*, ii.456.

¹⁹⁶ Vale, *Princely Court*, 210–1.

¹⁹⁷ *Flores*, ii.456.

¹⁹⁸ Dixon-Smith, 'Feeding the Poor', 43–50.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 56–68.

²⁰⁰ E 101/349/26; *Fine Rolls*, 44 Henry III, no.659.

Knight	14 October	18 October	18 October Beatrice
Louis de Bangy	Sapphire ring 2s 4d		
Cluli de Machetto	Sapphire ring 2s 4d		
Brother of Bonabes	Sapphire ring 2s 4d		
Robert of Meyny	Sapphire ring 2s 4d		Ruby ring 6s
Robert de la Mote	Sapphire ring 2s 4d		
Brother of Robert de la Mote	Sapphire ring 2s 4d		
Geoffrey of Castle Brienne		Emerald ring £1	Ruby ring 6s
Bonabes		Emerald ring £1	Ruby ring 6s
Reginald de Pinkeny Jnr		Emerald ring £1	
William de Loyak		Emerald ring £1	Ruby ring 6s
Louis de Bellojoco		Emerald ring £1	Ruby ring 6s
Oliver Matheto			Ruby ring 6s

Table 10 Rings given to John of Brittany's knights following the Translation of Edward the Confessor (13 October) 1260

As is to be expected for such an event, the feast of the Translation of St Edward was an expensive and elaborate occasion.²⁰¹ Although the expenses for the vigil and feast days are subsumed into one entry in the household accounts, we can assume that the bulk of the spending would have occurred on the feast day itself, when John was knighted. The total spending for the two days reached £229 5s 11½d, with £133 19s 2d of that spent in the kitchen. 393 pounds of wax were consumed, with 227 pounds used in the king's chapel and almonry, and no fewer than 5016 friars were fed at a cost of £12 1s 7d.²⁰² Similarly, Henry instructed the keeper of the bishopric of Winchester to make purchases of up to 2200 marks at Winchester fair for the knighting of John of Brittany and the coming feasts of St Edward and Christmas. The keeper of the bishopric was asked to procure a variety of cloths including silk and cloth of gold, as well as fur for robes, cloths for alms, horses, palfreys, wax and spices.²⁰³ Unfortunately, the writ does not specify which of the items were for John's knighting. Nevertheless, from Henry's wider practice of largesse, it could be expected that John received costly robes for the ceremony, but he does not appear to have

²⁰¹ E 101/349/27. The average daily expenditure in the weeks running up to the feast was just under £12 (my calculation).

²⁰² E 101/349/27.

²⁰³ *CLR 1251-1260*, 528.

received a sword like Alexander III.²⁰⁴ Following the ceremony and, as was customary, Edward, John and Henry of Almain headed overseas to establish reputations for military prowess for themselves in tournaments.²⁰⁵

Trousseaux and Entourage

Trousseaux

The final stage of Margaret and Beatrice's nuptials was their departure to their husbands' courts. As Nelson states, Margaret's marriage and exit would have been the first major upheaval of all the royal children's evidently happy and stable lives at Windsor.²⁰⁶ In order to help prepare both their daughters for their new, married lives, Henry and Eleanor provided them with lavish items to establish their own households. It is difficult to ascertain the level of Eleanor's involvement in the assembly of Margaret's trousseau, whereas Beatrice's was clearly prepared by her mother. Eleanor's clerk, Hugh de la Penne, spent 300 marks providing equipment for her daughter on her voyage to Brittany.²⁰⁷ The writ does not elaborate the items Hugh purchased, but it would seem logical that he provided means for transporting Beatrice and her trousseau across the Channel. Many of the items for Beatrice's trousseau appear to have been procured by William of Gloucester, the king's goldsmith, at a cost of £250 13s 2d (see Table 11).²⁰⁸ One interesting detail that shows that Eleanor was in charge of this endeavour is given at the end of the list of items. It states that William was to be paid once the queen had checked and confirmed the items.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ See above 148.

²⁰⁵ Flores, ii.456. According to Prestwich, Edward was sent abroad in order to keep him out of trouble as he had only recently been reconciled with his father: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 32–4. Robin Studd places Edward overseas as early as 21 October: R. Studd, *An Itinerary of Lord Edward* (Kew: List and Index Society, 2000), 54.

²⁰⁶ Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 214.

²⁰⁷ CLR 1260–1267, 67.

²⁰⁸ C 47/3/7/50.

²⁰⁹ Although the document is rather faded and in places illegible, the statement '*per visum domine regine*' is legible: C 47/3/7/50.

Item	Cost
10 white cups without feet	£7 1s 10d
41 dishes/plates	£44 16s 2d
40 saucers	£11 2s 2d
1 alms dish	£10 6s 8d
6 white silver gilt spoons	£2 1s 2d
26 brooches	£33 3s 8d
21 rings with rubies and emeralds	£9 9s
5 brooches with various precious stones	£28 13s 4d
12 brooches with rubies and emeralds	£20
1 gilt chalice	£2 15s 6d
1 thurible/censer	£4 13s 4d
2 vessels for wine	£1 5s 10d
8 belts	£5 18s 10½d
12 brooches	£7 8d
13 belts	£17 5s 7½d
9 dishes/plates	£20 10s
10 saucers	£3 16s
29 rings with rubies and emeralds	£20 13s 4d

Table 11 Items purchased by William of Gloucester

Much of Margaret's trousseaux comprised of items for her household chapel, including a silver incense bowl and pyx costing £2 4s 2d.²¹⁰ Likewise, Beatrice was given a thurible for her chapel as well as an alms dish.²¹¹ Additionally, an extant Book of Hours, dating from 1260–70 was also possibly a gift from her mother on her marriage.²¹² It contains the hours of St Katherine, suggesting a close, shared religious devotion between mother and daughter.²¹³ Margaret similarly received 20 marks worth of books, also potentially from her mother.²¹⁴ Additionally, Margaret's household chapel was to be supplemented with a number of vestments, including an embroidered chasuble, two part-coloured *samite* chasubles, a number of decorated copes, tunics, dalmatics, parures and cloths.²¹⁵ These items emphasise the pious

²¹⁰ *CLR 1251–1260*, 55.

²¹¹ C 47/3/7/50.

²¹² BL Add MS 33385. See also: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 89.

²¹³ According to Susan Groag Bell it may have been common practice for mothers to commission books as wedding gifts for their daughters: S. Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture' in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds M.C. Erler and M. Kowaleski (London: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 149–87 (165); Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 89–90. For discussion of Eleanor's preference for St Katherine, see above 65–6.

²¹⁴ *CLR 1251–1260*, 55.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 39–40.

practices Henry and Eleanor encouraged in their children, providing their daughters with the necessary religious objects for their devotions, as they had done for them at Windsor.²¹⁶ Furthermore, as many of these cloths were highly ornate, it appears that Henry provided Margaret with a number of examples of *Opus Anglicanum* to take into Scotland, suggesting that Henry's daughter may have served as an English cultural ambassador north of the border. These items also possibly acted as tokens of their parents' affections and helped to foster memories of their natal family.²¹⁷

For her chamber and household kitchen, Margaret also received kitchenware and bedding including two silver jugs (costing £1 8s 4d), utensils (costing £6 3s 4d), coffers and trunks (costing £2 5s), four saddles and an opulent bed.²¹⁸ Similarly, Beatrice received a variety of plates, saucers, cups and spoons (see Table 11). Henry's sister, Eleanor, on her marriage to Simon de Montfort in 1238, had similarly received a mattress, quilt and *scarlet* coverlets.²¹⁹ These items appear modest compared to the glittering kitchenware another of Henry's sisters, Isabella, received. Isabella's trousseau included gold and silver dishes, various wine jugs, vessels and plates, as well as luxurious soft furnishings as part of her trousseau, such as bedding, blankets, tablecloths, towels and saddlecloths costing £121 3s 8d.²²⁰ Edward similarly undertook these practices with his own daughters. On the marriage of Joan to Gilbert de Clare, 300 marks of silver of Ghent were used to make new utensils for her use.²²¹ Likewise, the household rolls record the plate given to Elizabeth on her marriage to the count of Holland in 1297. This document specifies where and how each item was to be used, as it is divided into sections of her new household. Edward's daughter received items specifically for her own chapel, pantry, buttery, hall and kitchen. She was also provided with a large silver dish, a silver pot and a silver ship to distribute in alms. A further three plates and three silver spoons were provided for making coin.²²²

²¹⁶ See above 104–110.

²¹⁷ E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 118–9.

²¹⁸ *CLR 1251–1260*, 55; *CR 1251–1253*, 14, 19.

²¹⁹ *CLR 1226–1240*, 356.

²²⁰ *CM*, iii.319–20; Wild, 'Empress' New Clothes', 15.

²²¹ *CR 1288–1296*, 89.

²²² E 101/354/16, printed in Vale, *Princely Court*, 360–1.

Margaret and Beatrice were also provided with jewellery. Jewels worth 200 marks were made for Margaret, who also received 35 brooches and 198 rings before her departure.²²³ William of Gloucester procured 50 rings with rubies and emeralds (costing £30 2s 4d), as well as 43 brooches (costing £88 17s 8d) and 21 belts (costing £23 4s 6d) for Beatrice.²²⁴ Eleanor also provided her daughter with 84 rings encrusted with rubies, emeralds, turquoise and sapphires worth a total of £23 7s.²²⁵ These additions brought the total number of rings Beatrice took with her to Brittany to 134, worth £53 9s 4d. These items were probably for Margaret and Beatrice to distribute to their new Scottish and Breton families and servants upon arrival, with the aim of securing their position and authority as quickly as possible through patronage and largesse. These provisions suggests that Henry was hoping his daughters would use their new positions in their marital homes to promote English interest and culture.

Henry also ensured that Margaret would be elaborately dressed in Scotland, giving her ten cloths of gold as part of her trousseau.²²⁶ Green suggested that Henry provided Margaret with cloth, rather than robes that he gave to her household attendants, so that she could consult the Scottish modes of attire to help Margaret integrate into Scottish society and her new role.²²⁷ Evidently, Henry put a great deal of thought in to assembling Margaret's trousseau, to ensure the best possible start to her new life as queen of Scotland.

Entourage and Escort

Both daughters were provided with entourages to escort them in to Scotland and Brittany. Key individuals not only accompanied Margaret north, but also remained

²²³ *CLR 1251-1260*, 5; *CR 1251-1253*, 19; E 372/95 rot.7d m.3. These items were probably from her mother who purchased a series of jewels recorded in the pipe roll: E 372/96 rot.18 m.2.

²²⁴ C 47/3/7/50.

²²⁵ These 84 rings included fifteen ruby and emerald rings costing 5s each, eight turquoise rings worth 4s each, three sapphire rings valued at 4s each and 58 ruby rings at a cost of 6s each: E 101/349/26. Howell has the total at 70 rings: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 184. Rubies, emeralds and sapphires all had virtues which would bring the bearer fortune or goodwill. Rubies were understood to be the most virtuous of all precious stones, winning men lordship and preventing them from being overcome in strife or battle. Emeralds were understood to make men richer and heal sickness. Similarly, sapphires made men virtuous and full of grace, protecting against poison and witchcraft, and releasing him from prison: *The London Lapidary* and *The Peterborough Lapidary* printed in *English Medieval Lapidaries*, eds J. Evans and M. Serjeanston (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 16-37, 63-118.

²²⁶ *CR 1251-1253*, 19.

²²⁷ Green, *Lives*, ii, 176.

with her in Scotland, presumably to form the backbone of her new household.²²⁸ The most important figure who accompanied Margaret was Matilda, widow of William de Cantilupe, who was one of the few English ladies who would help Margaret in establishing her household and her new position as queen of Scotland. Matilda was provided with robes of *scarlet* with a cloak lined with *miniver*. She was also attended by two other ladies who were each given green robes.²²⁹ We know that Matilda was intended to remain with Margaret, as she received a protection for as long as she was in Scotland.²³⁰ Richard de Specheleg and Robert de Bracy also obtained similar protections.²³¹ According to Matthew Paris, two knights, Robert of Norwich (marshal of the king's household) and Stephen Bauchan, were charged with Margaret's custody and protection, as well as providing her with all kinds of information, suggesting Margaret was to be surrounded by a contingent of English knights.²³²

Bowie has proposed that Leonor, daughter of Henry II, may have benefitted from her youth at the time of her marriage to Alphonso VIII of Castile, as it allowed her to 'integrate more quickly and easily into the kingdom'.²³³ In Margaret's case, however, Henry sought to accommodate for his daughter's youth by providing her with support through his choice of personnel for her entourage. Although it was conventional for elite women to be attended by ladies and damsels at court, Margaret was to be served by a number of English individuals.²³⁴ This entourage provided Margaret with an English presence in Scotland, charged with protecting her and her interests at a foreign court, as well as potentially acting as informants for the English king and queen. The appointment of the experienced figure of Matilda de Cantilupe

²²⁸ Nelson suggests that proper provision for Margaret's household was not made until the settlement of 1255, after which regular references are made to members of her household in the English government records: Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 223–5.

²²⁹ *CR 1251–1253*, 19. Edward I also provided his daughter, Margaret, with liveries of robes for her household servants, on her departure for Brabant after her marriage to duke John II: Vale, *Princely Court*, 104–5.

²³⁰ *CPR 1247–1258*, 123.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 123. It is uncertain how long these individuals spent with Margaret in Scotland. Matilda de Cantilupe and Richard de Specheleg appear to have returned to the English court in September 1252, as they received gifts from Henry and Eleanor. Matilda was given a costly basin worth £3 18s 8d, and Richard received a brooch costing 3s 2d: E 101/349/15; E 101/349/12.

²³² *CM*, v.272. Stephen Bauchan was also given 20 marks as a gift for accompanying Margaret to Scotland: *CLR 1251–1260*, 13.

²³³ Bowie, *Daughters*, 112.

²³⁴ Henry's concern to provide Margaret with English attendants in Scotland reflects the care taken when appointing individuals to the children's households at Windsor. Rather surprisingly, none of Margaret's childhood attendants appear to have accompanied Margaret in Scotland.

was also possibly to provide the young queen with maternal support. This entourage is reminiscent of the one that accompanied Eleanor of Provence to England, suggesting her mother may have been instrumental in its arrangement.²³⁵ It reveals Henry and Eleanor's attempts to assist, as much as possible, their eldest daughter in her new home and role. Other examples of Henry's concern in this regard include his arrangements for the arrival of Edward and his new bride, Eleanor of Castile. Having welcomed Eleanor with great pomp and ceremony through London, Henry had her rooms at Westminster decorated in the Spanish custom, with silk palls and tapestries covering the walls and floor.²³⁶ This action demonstrates the care that Henry took to try and help accommodate and integrate his daughter-in-law, a foreigner to the kingdom, into the family. The trousseau and entourage provided for Margaret acted in a similar way, to help his daughter try to establish herself in a foreign land.

Margaret appears to have left for Scotland immediately after the Christmas festivities, whereas Beatrice and John only departed for Brittany in the summer of 1261. This delay was caused by John's absence, tourneying on the continent with Edward, following his knighting.²³⁷ As such, preparations did not begin for her departure until July 1261, when the sheriff of Kent was asked to find speedy transport at Dover for Beatrice and her household.²³⁸ William de Mohun was charged with accompanying Beatrice and remaining in Brittany for two years.²³⁹ He may have remained in her household much longer, however, as a writ of 1262 described him as Beatrice's valet.²⁴⁰ It is possible that the lady of Sylingham and other Bretons patronised at the English court, were also members of Beatrice's household.²⁴¹ Others

²³⁵ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 14.

²³⁶ *CM*, v.513-4.

²³⁷ John appears to have departed shortly after his knighting, October 1260, and did not return to England until Easter (April) 1261: *Flores*, ii.456 and 466. His return around the time of Easter is supported in the ring accounts. At Trinity (29 May) 1261, Peter de Bray and William Loyak, knights of John; William, his doctor, and John, his chaplain, received rings. A couple of days later Theobald de la Mote, another of John's knights, also received a ring: E 101/349/26. These gifts of rings may have been rewards for John's safe return.

²³⁸ *CLR 1260-1267*, 50.

²³⁹ *CPR 1258-1266*, 160.

²⁴⁰ *CPR 1266-1272*, 728.

²⁴¹ E 101/349/26. In 1260, following her return from France and before her departure for Brittany, Beatrice gave a number of rings to individuals including the lady of Sylingham and the castellan of Beaumesnil. This patronage is discussed further below 172. It is unclear who these individuals were or their connection to Beatrice or the English court. The lady of Sylingham may have been from Seninghem, in the county of Guines. Her identity is inferred from the ring account as she first received a ring from the royal family at Saint Omer on 16 April 1260, when the English court was returning from France. On this occasion only the sister of the count of Guines similarly received a ring,

who escorted Beatrice across the Channel included the bishop of London, Ebulo de Montibus, Peter de Rivallis and Ralph, the Lord Edward's buyer.²⁴² The sheriff of Kent was ordered to pay for the outward passage and return of the bishop, and 55 marks were also spent on a number of horses to conduct Beatrice and her entourage to the coast.²⁴³ Beatrice was clearly escorted by some important individuals, which reveals Henry's attempts to emphasise the prestige and status of his daughter.

The extent of Henry's efforts to find suitable husbands for his daughters, securing their rights as wives, marrying them in great pomp and circumstance, as well as equipping their new households, demonstrates the extent of Henry and Eleanor's affection for Margaret and Beatrice, and their concern for their daughters' welfare in marriage. Their marriages and departures may have been accompanied by a mixture of celebration, but also sadness. For example, on Isabella's departure for Germany, Henry accompanied his sister to Sandwich where the siblings bid a tearful farewell.²⁴⁴ Henry then sent a letter to his eldest sister, Joan, queen of Scots, to relate to her the happy news of the arrival of imperial envoys seeking Isabella's hand for the Roman Emperor and her subsequent marriage.²⁴⁵ This letter emphasises Henry's delight at securing the marriage, but also his desire to inform Joan of the joyful news of their sister. This episode in conjunction with Henry's preparations for his daughters' marriages, act as a reminder that royal daughters and sisters were beloved family members, and these marital transactions were not cold-hearted, unemotional events. Henry clearly felt a strong loving attachment to the women in his life.

suggesting that the two were familiar. The lady of Sylingham appears to have followed them back to England where she received a further two rings at Westminster in 1260, one from Beatrice, suggesting she was associated with the Breton marriage: E 101/349/26.

²⁴² *CPR 1258–1266*, 160, 169, 170, 187. On his return, Ebulo de Montibus was reimbursed 70 marks for his expenditure in Beatrice's departure for Brittany: *CR 1261–1264*, 19. The strong involvement of Eleanor and her Savoyard relatives in all aspects of Beatrice's marriage is also reiterated in this escort. Henry Wingham, bishop of London, was a royal administrator and member of the queen's council who accompanied the English royal family to France for the Treaty of Paris (1259). Similarly, Ebulo de Montibus was a prominent Savoyard, close associate of Edward and described by Howell as Eleanor's protégé: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 57, 185; A.J. Musson, 'Wingham, Henry of (d.1262), administrator and bishop of London', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29742> [accessed 16 May 2018].

²⁴³ *CLR 1260–1267*, 44, 50, 51, 73.

²⁴⁴ '*Nec lacrimae defuerunt cum frater a sorore, rex discessit ab imperatrice*': *CM*, iii.321.

²⁴⁵ *CR 1234–1237*, 167.

Chapter IV: Married Life and Motherhood

Following Margaret and Beatrice's departure for Scotland and Brittany, Henry and Eleanor of Provence kept in regular contact with their daughters. In the first few years after Margaret's marriage, Eleanor's messengers constantly relayed news between England and Scotland, and envoys and letters were similarly used to maintain contact with Beatrice. Henry also arranged a number of family reunions, with the Scottish king and queen visiting England on multiple occasions as part of the celebration of feast days. One such occasion was even arranged so that Margaret could give birth to her first child at Windsor. Similarly, Henry was reunited with Beatrice during a trip to the French court, and Beatrice and John reciprocated with visits to England following the suppression of the baronial rebellion. The strength of the bond between father and daughters is also shown in Margaret and Beatrice's continued intercessory activity and the gifts they received from their parents. Moreover, both the daughters' husbands were quickly and warmly integrated into the English royal family and treated like sons. They both enjoyed the English king's favour, interceding with, and receiving gifts from, the king. This chapter explores Margaret and Beatrice's married lives as both became mothers, and argues that despite being adults, Henry and Eleanor continued to care greatly for their welfare. It also demonstrates the close sibling bond that had formed between Edward, Edmund and their sisters during childhood and continued in to adulthood. Both of Henry's sons visited Scotland to see Margaret, her husband and children, as well as escorting them through England during the family reunions. Similarly, Beatrice and John joined her brothers on crusade, following Edward on his venture to Acre.

Margaret, Henry and Scotland

Margaret, as queen of Scotland, does not appear to have left her mark on Scottish politics. Nelson believes that Margaret sacrificed a high-profile political role in Scotland in order to put herself beyond suspicion as a foreign (and more specifically English) queen.¹ Nevertheless, this limited political role was not necessarily the one

¹ Nelson, 'Scottish Queenship', 78.

envisioned for her by her parents. In December 1252, the Eleanor's goldsmith, Andrew, was paid £2 9s 6d for making a great, double-sided seal for the use of Margaret, queen of Scotland.² Margaret was probably provided with her own seal to ensure that she had some sort of authority in her new kingdom, but also to authenticate her correspondence, although there is no evidence of the seal ever being used.³ The act of Henry and Eleanor giving their daughter her own seal is strongly suggestive of the expectations they had for Margaret as queen, reflecting the practices of English queens-consort.⁴ Therefore, much of Henry's intervention in Scottish affairs blends together the familial and political, as he sought to protect and promote the interests of his young daughter. As such this fusion of motives strongly shaped Anglo-Scottish relations during Henry's reign.

Henry's first act following Margaret's marriage was to replace the Scottish minority government. The Anglo-Scottish nobles Robert de Ros and John de Balliol were appointed as guardians of Henry's daughter and her husband. Likewise, all the main officials in Scotland, including Alan Durward who had had Alexander II's ear since the mid-1240s, were replaced by barons of the Comyn faction.⁵ Donald Watt believed this overhaul was prompted by Henry's dissatisfaction with the Durward government, which had sent envoys to the papal curia seeking the right to anoint Scottish kings on their coronation, as well as the right to use taxation for Scottish crusading, rather than for Henry's benefit.⁶ This change in government can be perceived as Henry seeking to exert greater political influence north of the border. Nonetheless, as convincingly argued by Brown, Henry did not wish to exploit the minority of Alexander III for his own gain.⁷ When discussing Henry's relationship with Scotland during the 1250s, it is necessary to appreciate and consider the extent to which Henry's actions were influenced by Margaret's youth. As his eldest daughter was only ten years old at marriage, Henry's parental concern for the protection and

² *'Pro uno sigillo mangno [should read magno] cum duobus folis ad opus regine Scot' per manum Andr' aurifabri xlix s. vj d.'*: E 101/349/21.

³ Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 239.

⁴ Eleanor of Provence appears to have had a seal from her marriage and coronation: D.A. Carpenter, 'The Burial of King Henry III, the *Regalia* and Royal Ideology' in D.A. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990), 427–459 (441).

⁵ D.E.R. Watt, 'The Minority of Alexander III of Scotland', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 21 (1971), 1–23 (10).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷ Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable', 48–9.

defence of his daughter and her rights should be taken into account. This care also extended to the young Alexander, whom Henry had promised to provide with fatherly and political advice.⁸ Therefore, as Durward had lost Henry's support, he wished to supply his daughter and her husband with guardians and councillors who would protect their, and Henry's, interests. What Henry could not know, however, was that his removal of Durward would lead to eight years of intensified Scottish factionalism, which would eventually result in the deterioration of Henry's influence in Scotland.⁹

In addition to providing Margaret with the support of English-appointed guardians, Eleanor was also keen to remain personally in regular contact with her daughter. Between June 1252 and April 1253, eleven messengers were paid for relaying news between Scotland and England.¹⁰ As can be seen from Table 12, these envoys were trusted individuals, either in the service of the queen of England, queen of Scotland, or Matilda de Cantilupe, who had accompanied Margaret north of the border.¹¹ The importance of these messengers in maintaining communication between Eleanor and her daughter is manifest in the sums Eleanor granted in payment to them. In the year accounted for in the roll, 280 messengers were sent for a variety of purposes across Europe. Of these 280, only eleven were either despatched to or arrived from Scotland, yet these eleven represented one fifth of all of Eleanor's expenditure on envoys.¹² Six messengers came from Scotland and five were sent from England. Their dispatch indicates that in the early months following Margaret's arrival in Scotland, messages were sent regularly to her parents, before becoming a steady exchange of news; Eleanor desired to know how her newly wedded daughter fared.

⁸ See above 148–9.

⁹ Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, 156.

¹⁰ E 101/308/1.

¹¹ Between June 1252 and June 1253, Robert de Gaugy was used by Eleanor as a messenger on 24 occasions. Gardino was only used on one other errand, to the queen's sister, Sanchia, countess of Cornwall: E 101/308/1. For discussion of Matilda de Cantilupe, see above 156–7.

¹² My calculations: E 101/308/1.

Date	Messenger	Purpose	Payment
June 1252	Ralph de Gorges, valet of the queen of Scots	carrying letters	£1 (gift)
	Simon, messenger of the queen of Scots		6s 8d (gift)
August 1252	Walter, messenger of Matilda de Cantilupe		2s (gift)
September 1252	Walter de Coston, valet of the queen of Scots		13s 4d (gift)
	William d'Aubigny, queen's butler	going to Scotland	£2 13s 4d (expenses)
	Robert de Gaugy	going to Matilda de Cantilupe	9d
	Walter, tailor of the queen of Scotland	carrying letters	£2 (gift)
November 1252	Robert Russell	going to Scotland to stay with the queen	£2
January 1253	Walter, messenger of the queen of Scotland		3s
April 1253	Gardino	going to Scotland carrying the king and queen's letters	£2 (expenses)
	Peter de Elenges	going to Scotland	£2
Total	11 messengers		£12 19s 1d
Total expenditure on messengers			£65 16s 1d

Table 12 Expenditure on Messengers between England and Scotland¹³

It was possibly through these messengers that Margaret and her attendants bemoaned their ill-treatment at the hands of the Scottish regency council, news of which arrived in England on an almost daily occurrence by 1255, according to Matthew Paris.¹⁴ As a result, Henry began to make changes to those in attendance on Margaret. 1255 has been understood to be the main flashpoint of Henry's intervention, however, the English king started to replace or remove individuals and sent new envoys to Scotland from 1253.¹⁵ While en route to Gascony, Henry ordered Eleanor and Richard of Cornwall, regents in his absence, to remove Anketil Mallore from Margaret's service. Henry no longer wished him to remain with his daughter

¹³ E 101/308/1.

¹⁴ '*cum ex mandato reginae Scotorum et ejus familiarium rex magis diatim ac magis sollicitaretur et querelis moveretur*': *CM*, v.504.

¹⁵ Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable', 49; Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, 156.

and asked for another to be appointed in his place.¹⁶ Furthermore, from Bordeaux in 1254, Henry sent Alan the Templar to Scotland on some urgent business touching the queen of Scotland.¹⁷ Similarly, two tantalising letters of credence were issued to Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Segrave whom ‘the king has sent to the king of Scotland, and in whose mouth he has put certain secrets’, so secretive that the details could not be written down.¹⁸ These messengers were probably asked to converse with Margaret to discover what was occurring at the Scottish court, while relaying Henry’s increasing concern for the welfare of the Scots’ king and queen. In spite of the king leaving the country, he was displeased by reports of those in his daughter’s attendance and sought to remove evil councillors from her service, as well as ensuring secure links of communication were maintained. By 1255, however, the situation appears to have deteriorated further and Eleanor felt it necessary to send her personal physician, Reginald de Bath, to attend to her daughter’s wellbeing, as she was increasingly concerned for Margaret’s safety, but also that of her husband ‘whom she loved as an adopted child’.¹⁹ The physician was apparently poisoned, but managed to send a letter to Henry and Eleanor explaining how treacherously and inhumanely both Margaret and Alexander were being treated.²⁰ Howell states that Eleanor’s role in the Scottish marriage ‘is clearly that of an anxious mother’, yet, these concerns can equally be applied to a concerned father in Henry.²¹

These events and reports from English envoys in Scotland spurred Henry into action. In response, the king and queen of England headed to York on 15 August 1255, before advancing towards Scotland to speak with the Scottish king and queen.²² From Newcastle-upon-Tyne on 26 August 1255, Henry issued a letter of safe conduct for Alexander, Margaret and those accompanying them who were coming to stay with the king.²³ This letter was followed by a further two writs granting power to some of the greatest English earls, and men closest to the king and queen, to conduct the

¹⁶ *CPR 1247–1258*, 237.

¹⁷ ‘*urgentibus negotiis*’: *CR 1253–1254*, 273.

¹⁸ ‘*Rex misit S. de Monteforti comes Leycestrie ad Regem Scocie in cuius ore posuit quedam secreta de quibus sollicitus fuit, eidem Regi reseranda*’: *C 66/66 m.8*.

¹⁹ ‘*et mariti sui regis Scotorum quem quasi filium dilexit adoptivum*’: *CM*, v.501.

²⁰ ‘*Et cum cordis et corporis molestias intellexisset magister Reginaldus, custodes ejus et magistratus graviter increpavit*’: *CM*, v.501-2.

²¹ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 103.

²² *AM*, i.337; iii.198.

²³ *CPR 1247–1258*, 422.

Scots' royal couple to Henry at Wark. This rescue party included Richard, earl of Gloucester and Hertford; John Mansel; Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England; John de Warenne, earl of Surrey; William de Forz, earl of Albermarle, and Edmund de Lacy, as well as Henry's half-brothers Geoffrey de Lusignan and William de Valence.²⁴ In the letters of credence addressed to all Scots, Henry explained the motivation behind his intervention. The letters stated that the English nobles were being sent to Scotland 'for the advantage and utility of Alexander, king of Scots, the king's son', suggesting that Henry was acting to protect and support his family.²⁵ Richard of Gloucester and John Mansel were instructed to seek out the truth of events in Scotland. They arrived in Edinburgh where the Scottish king and queen were being held but the castle was so poorly guarded that they were able to enter and rescue the king and queen.²⁶ There they learnt of the obstructions of Robert de Ros, who had prevented Alexander from going to his queen, as Margaret had earlier complained to her father. Richard and John removed the guards and placed the king and queen in bed together. As a consequence, Robert de Ros and John de Balliol were sued and accused of many transgressions; namely for causing unfaithfulness to those for whom they were meant to be acting as guardian.²⁷ They were summoned before Henry to answer the charges against them. As a result, Robert de Ros had his lands confiscated by Henry and was fined the monumental sum of 100,000 marks for 'causing trouble and vexation' to Margaret, of which he was only pardoned in 1259.²⁸ In comparison, John de Balliol bought the king's peace with a fine of £500.²⁹ Henry's emotional attachment to the Scottish king and queen is evident in the extortionate fine of Robert de Ros, demonstrating his traits of fatherly protection and wrath.

Having secured the persons of Alexander and Margaret, Henry then overhauled the minority council again. On 20 September 1255, Alexander wrote to Henry to say that at the instance of his most beloved father and the counsel of his

²⁴ *CPR 1247–1258*, 423, 424.

²⁵ '*pro commodo et utilitate speciali praefati filii et fidelis nostri A. regis Scot'*: C 66/69 m.5.

²⁶ John Mansel was one of Henry's key envoys, having been sent to negotiate marital alliances with both Aragon and Castile in the early 1250s. Similarly, Richard de Clare was one of the leading nobles in England and following their success in 1255, Richard and John would again be used in combination to negotiate the Breton marital alliance in 1259: see above 126–7.

²⁷ *AM*, iii.198.

²⁸ *CM*, v.506; '*molestias et gravamina'*: C 53/60 m.6.

²⁹ *Fine Rolls*, 41 Henry III, no.894; *CM*, v.507.

magnates, he had removed a series of men from his council and from their offices.³⁰ Those withdrawn included the bishop of Glasgow and Gamelin, the bishop-elect of St Andrews; a number of Scottish abbots, earls and barons, such as Walter and Alexander Comyn, the earls of Menteith and Buchan. Alexander specified that these twenty six Comyn supporters would not return to his grace until they had atoned for their offences to both himself and Henry, emphasising the role Henry played in this decision and his influence over the young Scottish king.³¹ Consequently, the Scots' king and realm were entrusted to the earl of Dunbar and his supporters, which included the restored to favour Durward.³² The replacement Scots' council comprised the bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen, and the earls of Fife, Strathearn and Carrick, as well as a number of barons who were not be removed from office for at least seven years, until Alexander's coming of age.³³ This period could only be shortened with the agreement of the two kings, maintaining Henry's voice in the Scottish government.³⁴ Alexander also promised Henry that he would treat Margaret with conjugal affection and honours befitting her rank as the daughter of such a prince.³⁵ Alexander's addition suggests that Henry believed Margaret was not being treated as she should and Alexander sought to alleviate Henry's concern for his daughter.

Whatever Henry's intentions with the overhaul of the Scottish minority government, it reinvigorated the factional conflict at court and again Margaret's position became rather precarious. In September 1256, Henry sent John Mansel to ascertain the situation in Scotland. He then asked the barons and knights of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland to assist Alexander against the rebels should John Mansel command them.³⁶ Henry also wrote to the sheriff of York to ready himself if Alexander required his assistance.³⁷ The

³⁰ *'karissimus pater noster et domino H. Rex Anglorum illustris'; 'ad instanciam ipsius Rex et de consilio magnatum nostrorum'*: C 66/69 m.3.

³¹ *'donec ipsi predicto regi et nobis excessus eis impositos et imponendos concordia vel iudicio ad plenum emendaverint'*: C 66/69 m.3.

³² Watt, 'Minority of Alexander III', 13–4.

³³ *'gubernationem regni nostri et custodiam corporis nostri et reginae sponsae nostrae'; 'terminum septem annorum'*: C 66/69 m.3.

³⁴ *'vel terminum breviorum quem dictus dominus rex vel ejus heredes et nos communiter duxerimus consciendum'*: C 66/69 m.3.

³⁵ *'Promisimus etiam bona fide praefato domino Regi quod filiam suam Reginam nostrum affectu maritali cum honorificentia omnimoda quae filiam tanti principis et nostrum decet reginam tractabimus et custodiemus'*: C 66/69 m.3. Alexander's statement has parallels to Henry's declaration that he would treat his new wife Eleanor of Provence with royal honour and marital affection, see above 134.

³⁶ *CPR 1247–1258*, 525.

³⁷ *CR 1254–1256*, 354.

factional hostilities peaked when the Dunbar-Durward government attempted to oust the Comyn bishop of St Andrews, Gamelin, by seizing the temporalities of the bishopric.³⁸ In return, the Scottish king's councillors were excommunicated by Comyn associated prelates at a council at Stirling in August 1257.³⁹ These events were quickly followed by a thrilling coup d'état where the Comyns were able to regain power through a 'palace revolution' when they seized Alexander and Margaret at Kinross in October 1257, and carried the royal couple to Stirling.⁴⁰ It is highly probable that Henry and Eleanor would have been deeply concerned to learn that their daughter was under Comyn control. Therefore, a letter sent by Malise, earl of Strathearn, who had sought the protection of Henry in 1255, may have helped to relieve their anxiety. In his letter dated 6 May 1258 from St Andrews, Malise wrote to Henry acknowledging receipt of the king's letter (received 1 May) which had directed him to attend to his daughter and prevent her from being taken any place against her will.⁴¹ Henry had evidently written to those who remained loyal to him and his family's interests seeking reassurances about the safety of his daughter.

Henry was clearly unwilling to allow such treatment of the Scottish king and queen, or the resumption of Comyn power. In his letters to the northern barons of England (January 1258), he instructed them to be prepared to protect the rights of his daughter and son-in-law from Scottish rebels; from those Henry considered would cause the Scots' couple harm.⁴² Similarly, the sheriffs of York and Northumberland were asked to visit Margaret frequently, to see that she had necessary 'solace and succour'.⁴³ In an attempt to retain some semblance of control and influence in Scots' affairs, Henry ordered the arrest of Gamelin, bishop of St Andrews, upon his arrival at the Cinque Ports, because he had obtained certain things at the papal court 'to the disherison of Alexander king of Scotland, who married the king's daughter, and the scandal and dishonour of both kings'.⁴⁴ With this order,

³⁸ Watt, 'Minority of Alexander III', 15.

³⁹ Brown, 'Henry the Peaceable', 54.

⁴⁰ Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, 156;

⁴¹ '*accederemus moram circa eandem facturi. Nec permittentes ipsam ad aliquem locum menti sue tediosum contra voluntatem suam adduci*': SC 1/5/50.

⁴² CR 1256-1259, 290-1.

⁴³ '*solacium et succursum*': Ibid., 221.

⁴⁴ '*quodam impetravit in curia Romam exhereditatem dilecti filii et fideli nostri A. Regis Scottorum illustri qui filiam nostra duxerit in uxorem non sine nostro et ipsius Regis scandalo et dedecore manifesto*': C 66/72 m.14d.

Henry continued to try to protect the position of the Scottish king, and Margaret, from any force who wished to remove them. It suggests that Henry did not seek to exploit the young Scots' king, but rather he desired to protect his young charge and fulfil his promise to help secure Alexander and Margaret's position on the throne when his counsel and assistance were called upon.

The revival of Comyn rule in Scotland had almost entirely eradicated all English influence. Nevertheless, by March 1258, Alexander had gained control of the situation and was directing correspondence with England having reasserted his and Margaret's position, free from factional influence, by working with both sides.⁴⁵ Watt considers 1258 to mark the unofficial end of Alexander's minority, because of these actions.⁴⁶ In September, a settlement was agreed regarding the minority government, which incorporated both Comyn and Durward factions. A council of ten was to assume care and rule of the kingdom until Alexander's coming of age, with four members of each faction represented.⁴⁷ The new council included Gamelin, bishop of St Andrews; Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan; William, earl of Mar; Alexander, steward of Scotland; Alan Durward; Robert de Menzies and Gilbert de la Haye; as well as John of Acre, Alexander's step-father and the queen-dowager, Marie.⁴⁸ Henry's complete removal from Scottish affairs is apparent in a letter he wrote to these individuals, addressing them as counsellors of his most beloved son, Alexander.⁴⁹ Henry agreed to provide assistance to their government when required, possibly offering his aid in order to try to maintain some form of voice in Scotland, so long as they conducted the affairs of state according to God, justice, honour and the advantage of the king and queen of Scotland, as well as the old laws and customs of the realm.⁵⁰ Henry appears to have surrendered hope of directing the minority government in Scotland, in return for guarantees that his daughter's position should

⁴⁵ Watt, 'Minority of Alexander III', 17.

⁴⁶ The minority would not officially end until the Scottish king turned 21 in 1262, when Alexander made his first major land grant and had a new great seal: *Ibid.*, 17, 20.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁸ *CR 1256–1259*, 461–2; *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174–1328: Some Selected Documents*, ed. and trans. E.L.G. Stones (London: Nelson, 1965), 35–6. In the document printed in *Foedera*, Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith is included as the tenth councillor, but he died in October or early November, which may explain his omission in the other versions: *Foedera*, I.i, 378; A. Young, 'Comyn, Walter, earl of Menteith', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6049> [accessed 22 May 2018].

⁴⁹ '*consiliariis karissimi filii sui illustris regis Scocie*': *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 35–6.

⁵⁰ '*vobis bona fide promississe quod quamdiu negocia ipsius regni secundum deum et iusticiam et ad commodum et honorem predicti filii nostri regis domini vestri et filie nostre predilecte regine Scocie domine vestre atque secundum leges et bonas consuetudines illius regni*': *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, 35–6.

be secure and unimpeded. In the space of less than a decade Henry had gone from controlling the appointments, to having been forced out of the Scottish minority government, and Alexander began to exert his influence on his own rule. While trying to protect his young daughter, in reality Henry potentially inadvertently caused her greater discomfort.

This shift in the relationship between England and Scotland is most apparent in two episodes following the events of 1258. Firstly, in 1259–60 Alexander III was in conflict with Pope Alexander IV over the election of the bishop of Glasgow. The Scottish king refused to accept the papal nomination to the see, the English papal chaplain John Cheam. Having been asked to do so by the pope, Henry wrote to his son-in-law, the Scottish queen, Robert de Bruce and the council of Scotland, urging Alexander to accept the pope's appointment.⁵¹ This act encapsulates the decline of Henry's authority in Scotland and how his role had been reduced to that of an advisor, mediating between the pope and Alexander. That Henry also wrote to the Scottish queen and minority government suggests that the English king believed that Margaret and those closest to Alexander would be able to influence him, if his own entreaties failed.⁵² Henry was ultimately successful in his entreaties as Alexander accepted the appointment, suggesting that the Scottish king still held his father-in-law's advice in regard. In the second episode Alexander asked Henry for his assistance. In 1263, the servants of Alexander's burgess of Berwick had become 'wanderers and fugitives at sea', having commandeered his ship and all the goods on it. Henry was requested to alert all the bailiffs in the ports of England, Ireland and Gascony to arrest the pirates and restore the ship and its goods to the Scots' king and his burgess should they come to port.⁵³ Henry was no longer instrumental in the actions of the Scottish government, especially after the majority of Alexander III, and the relationship was more of an equal footing. Nevertheless, these episodes provide evidence of the cordial atmosphere between the Scottish and English crowns that had fostered as a result of Margaret's marriage.

⁵¹ *CR 1259–1261*, 277–8. See also: K. Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England, c.1214–1344* (London: Routledge, 2014), 208, 215.

⁵² Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 239.

⁵³ *CPR 1258–1266*, 287.

Family Reunions

Henry's continued emotional attachment to his daughters is also evident in the numerous family reunions he organised, or at least attempted to bring about. The patent rolls contain many letters offering safe passage to Margaret and Alexander to return to England for a variety of reasons. The first two prospective reunions were initiated as a result of Margaret's complaints about her treatment in Scotland, as Henry sought to remove Margaret from the control of her oppressors. The first of these occasions was in 1253 and was possibly motivated by the messengers relaying news of Margaret's unhappiness from Scotland to the English king and queen.⁵⁴ Henry issued letters of safe-conduct for Margaret to come to England and return to Scotland.⁵⁵ The outward reason for this visit was that Eleanor was pregnant with Katherine, and in need of comfort and recreation. Henry could not accompany his wife himself as he was heading to Gascony. Therefore, he wrote to Alexander asking that his daughter be allowed to return to England to visit her mother. Henry stated that Margaret would be safely returned to Scotland following Eleanor's purification, with an escort comprising the archbishop of York, John de Lessinton (justiciar of the forests beyond Trent) and Geoffrey of Langley.⁵⁶ At this time Margaret would only have been around twelve or thirteen years old and almost two years into her marriage to the Scottish king, but it shows that the English king and queen missed their daughter. It also reveals Henry's concern for Eleanor's welfare in her pregnant state on his own departure, and that he considered his eldest daughter as the perfect person to replace him in his wife's company and restore her spirits. As mentioned earlier, Margaret's marriage was the first fracture of the close-knit family life that Henry and Eleanor had with their children, and Eleanor's pregnancy provided an excellent opportunity to bring Margaret back closer into the fold.⁵⁷ This visit would also permit Eleanor to see her daughter and learn of her treatment and the situation in Scotland first hand. It was, however, a failed, veiled rescue attempt, and no doubt added to Margaret's complaints against her 'captors' who would not let her move

⁵⁴ See Table 12 above.

⁵⁵ *CPR 1247-1258*, 186.

⁵⁶ *CR 1251-1253*, 485. Geoffrey of Langley accompanied Margaret on her departure for Scotland and had been appointed by Henry as one of her guardians, but had been removed from the post by the Scottish magnates: *CM*, v.340.

⁵⁷ See above 152.

freely around her kingdom.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Margaret did not visit her mother as the Scots were unwilling to permit their queen to reunite with the English crown.

The first reunion with the Scottish royal couple that came to fruition occurred during 1255 and was the result of the dramatic rescue initiated by Henry, when he brought the Scottish royal couple into his presence and replaced their protectors. As Henry headed north to investigate the situation in Scotland, he sent letter to Robert de Ros, the Scottish king and queen's guardian and baron of Wark, to prepare Wark castle for his arrival. Henry wrote that he

firmly resolves to visits northern parts as the king wishes to see the king of Scotland and Margaret, the king's daughter and consort of the said king of Scotland, who the king has not seen for a long time, and desires to do so with all his heart.⁵⁹

In this letter, Henry was acting as a father who missed his daughter dearly. Margaret spent an extended period of time at Wark with her father and mother, who was ill.⁶⁰ When Alexander headed back to Scotland, Henry promised the Scottish king that he would return Margaret after Eleanor's recovery.⁶¹ These stipulations reiterate Henry's sentiments in his previous attempts to convince the Scottish government to allow Margaret to visit her pregnant mother in 1253. It also shows the interconnectedness of Henry's familial concerns and political actions. Although Henry may have had ambitions towards a greater voice in Scottish politics, these writs and visits suggest that Henry's fatherly concerns for his young daughter and adopted son were the primary motivation for Henry's intervention in Scotland.

Another visit of the Scottish royal couple to England occurred in the following year, between July and November 1256. Although Henry had instigated previous family reunions, Matthew Paris informs us that Alexander and Margaret initiated this visit. They longed to see their parents (here Alexander was again styled as Henry and

⁵⁸ Margaret complained that she was indecently held in custody, or rather imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, unable to travel throughout her kingdom, nor to choose the ladies to attend on her, nor permitted conjugal relations with her husband: *CM*, v.505.

⁵⁹ *'Quia rex firmiter proponit partes adire boreales causa videndi regem Scocie et Margaretam, filiam regis, consortem predicti regis Scocie, quos per longa retroacta tempora rex non vidit, et quos summo cordis desiderio rex videre desiderat': CR 1254–1256, 216.*

⁶⁰ The 1255 rescue mission cost the sheriff of Northumberland £241 1s 4d: E 372/100 rot.3 m.1d.

⁶¹ *CPR 1247–58, 425.*

Eleanor's adopted son) and the splendour of England.⁶² While letters of safe-conduct were issued to Margaret and Alexander at the end of June 1256, at the same time, Edward headed north into Scotland.⁶³ Henry was probably still concerned for the Scottish king and queen's welfare, and so sent Margaret's brother to escort them south. Henry then set about making preparations for their impending arrival at Woodstock, which seems to have been timed to coincide with the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15 August).⁶⁴ Henry instructed spiced white wine to be transported from London for the occasion, as well as a variety of foodstuffs, spices, cloth of gold, cloth of Arras, great and smaller tapestries, blankets, napkins, towels and table-cloths to be delivered to Woodstock.⁶⁵ Henry also made provisions to cover the Scottish king and queen's travelling expenses. The sheriff of Northumberland was reimbursed £18 2s 11½d for their expenses at Newcastle upon Tyne on 1 August.⁶⁶ Similarly, Henry instructed the sheriff of York to pay Alexander £100, in lieu of the 100s he was to receive daily when he crossed the border.⁶⁷ These allocations were to be made from the farms, rather than payments from the exchequer, demonstrating the precarious financial situation of the English crown, as well as the lengths Henry went to in order to maintain courtly splendour and fulfil his lordly duties.⁶⁸ The *Chronica Majora* relates how Alexander and Margaret arrived in England with a great host, including 300 horses. Henry had also assembled together a large number of nobles, with many thousands of horses. The scale of the gathering at Woodstock meant that they could not be supported by either the city or royal manor, and as a result, many had to stay in tents or nearby towns.⁶⁹ Matthew Paris described Henry's delight at their arrival, stating that the English king rushed out with great joy to meet and embrace them both.⁷⁰ These accounts emphasise the strength of affection

⁶² Matthew Paris stated that while the Scottish royal couple longed to see Henry and Eleanor, they also sought to visit the churches, cities, castles, streams, meadows, woods and fields of England: *CM*, v.573.

⁶³ *CPR 1247–1258*, 484; *CR 1254–1256*, 423.

⁶⁴ *AM*, ii.95.

⁶⁵ *CR 1254–1256*, 331, 434.

⁶⁶ *CLR 1251–1260*, 317.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁶⁸ From their peak during the 1240s, crown revenues declined. Extra pressures such as the Gascon expedition (1253–4), Edward's marital appanage (1254), the Westminster abbey building project and the Sicilian business, brought royal finances to their knees by 1258. In 1259 royal revenue totalled c.£25,000, and the preceding years were probably comparable: Cassidy, 'The 1259 Pipe Roll', 15, 36, 39; Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance*, 256, 258.

⁶⁹ *CM*, v.574.

⁷⁰ '*cum summo gaudio occurrit adventantibus et ruens in amplexus eorum*': *CM*, v.573.

between Margaret and her father, with both desiring to see each other frequently, as well as the extravagant festivities Henry organised to welcome his daughter and son-in-law.

These elaborate celebrations continued as Alexander and Margaret accompanied the English royal family from Woodstock to London. The *Annales Londonienses* state that the capital had been cleaned and decorated with silk cloths by the citizens for their arrival.⁷¹ The large host was met by Edward, reuniting Henry and Eleanor's family once more, and on 27 August 1256, Alexander was honourably received at St Pauls.⁷² Alexander and Margaret also spent time at Windsor, where Alexander accumulated expenses totalling £11 16s.⁷³ The Scottish king and queen stayed as late as November, as it was at this point that a writ of safe-conduct was issued on behalf of Margaret's men who were carrying her goods from London to Scotland at their own expense.⁷⁴ It seems that Henry was struggling to meet his daughter's costs and that his financial support covered their persons only. Yet, his joy in reuniting his family at Woodstock and again at London with Edward, sanctioned such expenditure.

The most controversial of all Margaret and Alexander's visits occurred in 1260–1. Margaret appears to have instigated the visit, seeking to return to England in order to give birth to her first child at Windsor, with the support of her mother.⁷⁵ The birth of a Scots' heir in England was an unprecedented situation, which had the potential to cause conflict between the Scottish government, their queen, Henry and Eleanor. The complexities in arranging this visit are evident from the series of letters of safe-conduct Henry issued for the pair. The first writ, issued on 17 August, specified that the king and queen of Scotland were heading to England to speak with the king before returning at their pleasure.⁷⁶ This letter was then followed by a further writ of safe conduct, issued on 30 September, which stated that the protection would last until the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2 February), unless any of them were ill, which would extend it by a month.⁷⁷ The phrasing is interesting, as

⁷¹ *Annales Londonienses*, 49.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷³ *CLR 1251–1260*, 319.

⁷⁴ *CPR 1247–1258*, 528.

⁷⁵ '*uxore sua cum matre relicta donec parturiret*': *AM*, iii.217.

⁷⁶ *CPR 1258–1266*, 90.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 94.

there was a suggestion that Margaret purposely concealed her pregnancy from the Scottish nobles in order to give birth in England with the support of her mother.⁷⁸ This writ making provisions in the case of illness and thus necessitating a prolonged stay, would cover pregnancy. It indicates that the English king had prior knowledge of the true state of Margaret's health. It appears that Henry made these series of guarantees in order to protect his daughter, allowing her the opportunity to give birth surrounded by, and with the assistance of, those she knew and trusted, at Windsor, her childhood home.

Prior knowledge of Margaret's health is stated more explicitly in a second writ of the same date. It outlined a number of prospective eventualities should it turn out that Margaret was indeed pregnant. The writ specified that Margaret would be returned to Scotland before the birth, or if she be allowed to stay in England until the birth, she would return to Scotland with the child as soon as possible. This writ allowed for all probable outcomes resulting from Margaret giving birth in England. It included provisos that the child would return to Scotland.⁷⁹ On Margaret's arrival in England in mid-November, it would have been clear that she was indeed pregnant, as a writ of 16 November promised that Margaret would return to Scotland following the birth of her child, but after her purification (indicated as being 40 days after the birth). It also stated that should Margaret die in childbirth, the child would be delivered to her husband or, in the case of his death, certain magnates of Scotland.⁸⁰ These writs reveal the intricacies of Anglo-Scottish politics as family matters came close to escalating conflict between the two countries with the potential birth of the Scottish heir in England. The Scottish nobles may have feared that Henry would try to secure the Scottish heir and use his position to dominate Scottish affairs.⁸¹

Howell attributes Margaret's gravitation towards England in her pregnant state to her upbringing. The frequent company of Eleanor of Provence during the childhoods of the royal children affected them all for life, but particularly Margaret,

⁷⁸ *Flores*, ii.463.

⁷⁹ *CPR 1258–1266*, 95.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁸¹ According to Pollock, the fear of further English intervention in Scotland resulted in Alexander III being declared of age in 1260 to put an end to Henry's interference and to provide stability in the realm following the factionalism that had plagued his minority. In contrast, Watt viewed the allowance of Margaret to give birth in England as evidence of the Scottish confidence that Henry no longer held authority or influence in Scottish affairs: Pollock, *Scotland, England and France*, 177; Watt, 'The Minority of Alexander III', 21.

who was removed from these loving surroundings at a young age. According to Howell, her attachment to her parents made her determined to give birth to her first child in England, in the presence, and with the assistance, of her mother.⁸² Margaret's anxiety was possibly increased by the forced return of Alexander to Scotland towards the end of 1260, because of conflict concerning the earldom of Menteith, meaning he was not present for the birth.⁸³ Thus in the time of Margaret's great distress and uncertainty at her impending first confinement, she sought the comfort and protection of her mother. This visit was possibly permitted as Alexander also had his own reasons for coming to visit England. According to the continuator of Matthew Paris, Alexander wished to see the English king and queen, to visit his earldom of Huntingdon, to ask for the marriage portion promised on his wedding, and to make his claim to the lands between the Tyne and the Tweed which his ancestors had held.⁸⁴ Although the chronicler states that financial and landed discussions were his priority, the continuator also hints that Alexander was similarly motivated by his desire to visit his wife's family.

Once the visit had been agreed, Henry ensured that the Scottish king and queen travelled south in comfort. Letters were sent to English sheriffs, ordering them to entertain the Scottish king and queen on their journey, with all due honour and courtesy, in the king's castles and manors.⁸⁵ For example, the keeper of the bishopric of Durham was asked to offer hospitality to Margaret and Alexander at Berwick.⁸⁶ He clearly took this role seriously, as he was later reimbursed with £30 15s for presents given to the king and queen of Scotland and their expenses as they passed through the bishopric.⁸⁷ Margaret and Alexander also visited St Albans en route to London and their sojourn was recorded by the St Albans continuator of the *Chronica*

⁸² Howell believes the Margaret may have deceived the Scottish lords in order to do so: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 102–3. The continuator of Matthew Paris similarly thought that Margaret's visit was initiated by her desire to be in proximity to her parents for the birth: *Flores*, ii.459–60.

⁸³ *AM*, iii.217. Alexander had to return to Scotland to deal with the contested inheritance of the earldom of Menteith: Watt, 'The Minority of Alexander III', 21–2.

⁸⁴ 'venit rex Scotiae Londonias, causa ductus multiplici, scilicet visitandi regem Angliae et reginam, et comitatus sui Huntingdone dominium exercendi et potestatem. Causam insuper adventus sui declarans principaliorem, petivit a rege quatuor milia marcarum sibi redid, quas dixit sibi quondam in desponsatione uxoris sue ab eodem rege promitti; item totam terram inter Tynam et Twendam, quam asserebat suis quondam antecessoribus fuis donatam': *Flores*, ii.459.

⁸⁵ *Foedera*, I.i, 402.

⁸⁶ *CR 1259–1261*, 211.

⁸⁷ *CLR 1260–1267*, 19.

Majora.⁸⁸ Alexander arrived at St Albans before Margaret, who appeared a few days later, possibly travelling at a slower pace due to her pregnancy. Margaret spent a night at St Albans, where her younger brother Edmund rushed to join her, which is indicative of the close bond between Henry's children. Henry provided Edmund with £5 for his expenses in going to meet his sister, thereby ensuring that Margaret's brother offered extra support and protection on the last leg of her journey.⁸⁹ On her arrival into London, Margaret was presented to her parents by the bishop. Again, as in Margaret and Alexander's earlier visits to England, these were highly ceremonial and symbolic events, representing the close diplomatic ties between England and Scotland, as well as family occasions.

The St Albans chronicler reveals the scale of this family reunion, which was attended by three kings (of England, Scotland and Germany) and each of their respective queens.⁹⁰ Margaret was also reunited with her siblings, Beatrice and Edmund, the first time the sisters had met since their marriages. Beatrice's husband, John, and Edward were absent, however, as they were participating in tournaments on the continent and did not return to England until Easter 1261.⁹¹ The focal point of the visit was the feast of St Edmund (20 November) 1260 at Westminster, shortly after Margaret's arrival at Windsor sometime between 13 and 16 November.⁹² This occasion permitted the royal family to continue their gift-giving, exchanging rings to reinforce the social bonds between them: Beatrice gave her brother-in-law an emerald ring worth 13s 4d, and Alexander received a further emerald ring costing £2 13s 4d from the English queen. Eleanor also gave sapphire rings to five of Alexander's clerks who had accompanied him to England, continuing Eleanor's practice of rewarding those in the service of her children.⁹³

⁸⁸ *Flores*, ii.459–60.

⁸⁹ *CLR 1260–1267*, 1.

⁹⁰ The St Albans chronicler also complained that the presence of the kings of England, Scotland and Germany caused the burden of intolerable expenses upon the surrounding areas: *Flores*, ii.459.

⁹¹ *Flores*, ii.466.

⁹² *CLR 1260–1267*, 5; *CPR 1258–1266*, 128. As such, the Scottish royal family just missed the feast of St Edward, and thus John's knighting. They may also have missed John and Edward who had possibly already departed for the continent: see above 150–2.

⁹³ E 101/349/26. For Eleanor's patronage of her children's attendants: see 93–6.

Alexander returned to Scotland shortly after this feast, whereas Margaret remained in England until mid-1261, because of her pregnancy.⁹⁴ As a result she celebrated Christmas and New Year at Windsor with her parents and other members of the extended royal family. These festivities included the customary Christmas gift exchange on the feast of the Circumcision. On 1 January 1261, Margaret and Beatrice each received an emerald ring worth 13s 4d, from their mother.⁹⁵ At the same feast Henry was given an emerald ring worth £2 13s 4d from his wife. Eleanor's sister, Sanchia, and uncle, Peter of Savoy, received similar gifts.⁹⁶ The English queen continued to reward Margaret's attendants for their service to her daughter at this feast. Thomas, Margaret's wardrobe clerk, her saucer Colin, her candle maker and the keeper of her carriage all received sapphire rings (worth 4s each).⁹⁷ The feast also provided an occasion for Beatrice and Edmund to maintain their patronage practices. Beatrice was given eighteen rings totalling £3 13s 4d on the queen's order for the specific purpose of being distributed at the feast.⁹⁸ Likewise, Edmund's clerk had bought 20 marks worth of jewels for his charge to similarly patronise his attendants alongside his sister.⁹⁹ These acts demonstrate Eleanor's continued education of her adult children in courtly etiquette, as well as her enduring appreciation of those who attended her eldest daughter in her position as Scottish queen.

As anticipated, Margaret gave birth to her first-born daughter, also named Margaret, on 13 February 1261, at Windsor castle, where she was staying with her mother.¹⁰⁰ Henry ensured that they had all the necessary provisions, instructing the sheriff of Oxford and the keeper of the wines at Woodstock to carry ten tuns of wine to Windsor without delay, by day and night, as Windsor was greatly lacking in wine.¹⁰¹ Margaret was lavishly cared for in her pregnant state and subsequent

⁹⁴ It is unclear when exactly Alexander returned to Scotland but neither he nor his servants received any rings on 1 January 1261, unlike Margaret and some of her attendants who received further gifts following the birth: see below 178.

⁹⁵ E 101/349/26.

⁹⁶ The gift to Sanchia contradicts the account of Christmas given in the *Flores* which stated that Richard of Cornwall attended the festivities at Windsor without his wife: *Flores*, ii.461. If she did attend the festivities, it was possibly the last occasion in which the sisters of Provence saw each other as Sanchia died in 1261 and was buried at Richard's foundation of Hailes abbey: *Flores*, ii.474.

⁹⁷ E 101/349/26.

⁹⁸ 'Precepto regine ad dand in festo circumcissionis anno xlv': E 101/349/26.

⁹⁹ E 372/105 rot.20 m.2.

¹⁰⁰ 'Sub eisdem diebus [Dominica vero post festum sanctae Scolasticae, scilicet idus Februarii] regina Scotiae Margareta filiam peperit primogenitam in castello de Wyndesore, ubi moram una cum matre sua traxerat diuturnam': *Flores Historiarum*, ii.462-3.

¹⁰¹ CLR 1260-1267, 5.

purification. A writ of liberate to the keeper of the queen's wardrobe, Hugh de la Penne, reimbursed him £236 in May 1262, for Eleanor and Margaret's expenses at Windsor the year before.¹⁰² Similarly, Henry ordered his servant, William of Chester, and his fisherman, Robert, to catch as many pike and bream as possible for Margaret's purification feast at Windsor.¹⁰³ Henry's treatment of Margaret during her pregnancy and purification reflected that of her mother and sister-in-law.¹⁰⁴ Eleanor of Castile was provided with items such as curtains during her lying-in, as well as cloths to offer at her purification.¹⁰⁵ Following the birth of Edward's heir, John, cloth of gold was offered and the poor were fed at Westminster on Eleanor's purification.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, shortly before Margaret returned to Scotland, her attendants were again rewarded by Eleanor for assisting and attending on Margaret during her childbearing. On the feast of St Dunstan (19 May 1261) Eve de Meyners and William de la Haye received ruby rings worth 6s each, and Isabella of Dover, Adam de la Haye, Gilbert de la Haye and William de Swinburne all received emerald rings costing 6s a piece.¹⁰⁷ Although Margaret was queen of Scotland, her desire to give birth with the assistance of her mother, and the English king and queen's treatment of their recently delivered daughter and her attendants, demonstrate the indissoluble bonds and affection between the parents and their child. Her treatment at Windsor, particularly her purification, emphasised her dual identity as a royal English daughter, as well as Scottish queen.

The final prospective return of Margaret and Alexander to England was again instigated by Henry, but for his own comfort and recreation, rather than in order to

¹⁰² Ibid., 92.

¹⁰³ *CR 1259–1261*, 372. Pike and bream were expensive, high status fish, served at special occasions and given as presents by Henry: C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 1994), 109–10. The purification possibly took place on 25 March, if it took place after 40 days: *CPR 1256–1266*, 128.

¹⁰⁴ For Eleanor of Provence's pregnancies, see ch.I.

¹⁰⁵ *CLR 1260–1267*, 150, 160.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 229.

¹⁰⁷ E 101/349/26. William de Swinburne was the Scottish queen's treasurer in 1263: *A History of Northumberland*, ed. J. Hodgson, Part III, Volume II (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1828), 20–1. In March 1273, William was rewarded for his service by Alexander, at Margaret's request, with the manor of Halton: *Acts of Alexander III*, no.84. Gilbert de la Haye was a Scottish noble with a career in government, having been a member of the minority council: see above 169. In 1258, he was named as Margaret's seneschal, as well as acting as the sheriff of Perth: *Northumberland*, 20–1; *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 1. William was his brother: *Acts of Alexander III*, no.6. Adam may also have been another relation, but it is unclear. Similarly, it is difficult to discern who Margaret's ladies were, but Isabella's name suggests she was English.

rescue his daughter. Henry intended for the Scottish royal couple to visit again in 1268, following the suppression of the baronial rebellion, however, there is little evidence to suggest that it actually took place. A writ of safe-conduct was issued by Henry that stated the pair were invited to England for recreation and solace, and to speak with the king.¹⁰⁸ It also specified that they were to be escorted by Edmund and that no-one was to molest them on pain of life or limbs.¹⁰⁹ The reason for this family reunion was also emphasised in the *Scotichronicon*, which stated that Edward and Edmund had visited Scotland in 1267, following the end of the rebellion, to talk with Margaret and Alexander. Afterwards the Scottish king and queen headed to York to visit and console Henry.¹¹⁰ Following the baronial rebellion, Henry wanted to be surrounded by his family and sought succour from them. The chancery and exchequer records do not necessarily support the chronicle account, however. Although safe conducts were issued and the sheriff of Northampton was instructed to meet Alexander and Margaret at York, there are no corresponding records for payments for the Scottish royal couple's expenses.¹¹¹ The lack of chancery material suggests that, although Henry wanted the Scottish king and queen to visit, it did not occur. Nevertheless, Henry's hope that they would come indicates the strength of his affection for his daughter and son-in-law, and the joy their visits brought him.

In comparison to Margaret, Beatrice did not return to England as regularly as her sister. While Margaret departed for Scotland immediately after her wedding at York, Beatrice, on the other hand, returned to England with her husband following her nuptials. As a result she was present for Margaret's visit in 1260–1. As Henry had delayed John's return to Brittany, he felt obliged to send two letters in March and October 1260 to John's parents, the duke and duchess of Brittany, updating them on their son's welfare. In these letters Henry confirmed John's health, stating that he had been knighted and that the lands of the honour of Richmond were being appraised and extended as they had agreed as part of the marriage negotiations.¹¹² Back in

¹⁰⁸ *'ad instanciam nostram causa recreationis et solacii ad regnum nostrum Anglie ut luscum locuti'*: C 66/86 m.8.

¹⁰⁹ *'ducent sub firma pace nostra suscipientes et pertentione firmitus inhibemus ne quis eis malum molestiam iniuriam aut gravamen aliquod inferre presumat sub pena amissionis vite et membrorum'*: C 66/86 m.8.

¹¹⁰ *'consolaturus'*: Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v.370–1. Nelson dates the visit to 1268: Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 242–3. For discussion of these chronicle sources and Scottish visits: see below 200–3.

¹¹¹ *CPR 1266–1272*, 250–1, 365; *CLR 1267–1272*, 41.

¹¹² *CR 1259–1261*, 215–6, 277; *Foedera*, I.i, 413.

England, Beatrice swiftly resumed the diplomatic ring-giving she had begun under the tutelage of her mother in Paris, patronising her new Breton attendants who had accompanied her back to England, strengthening the bonds between her and her servants.¹¹³ On 17 May 1260 at Westminster, she gave an emerald ring worth £1 6s 8d to the castellan of Beaumesnil and on the feast of the Translation of St Edward (13 October) 1260 (the day when John was knighted) a ruby ring worth 6s was given to Lady of Sylingham.¹¹⁴

When Beatrice and John finally set sail for Brittany in July 1261, Henry was informed of their welcome. Upon their arrival at Nantes, Beatrice and John were hosted by Geoffrey de Lusignan who reported the news back to Henry. In a letter dated by Chaplais to August 1261, Geoffrey stated that the native magnates and many others received Beatrice with the greatest honour.¹¹⁵ Their safe landing at Nantes was also conveyed to Henry through a letter from John.¹¹⁶ The difference in the detail of the two letters reveals much. John's letter to Henry states the fact of their arrival, whereas Geoffrey seeks to reassure his half-brother that his daughter Beatrice was welcomed with due magnificence, worthy of her status as daughter of a king.

The principal method in which Henry kept in contact with Beatrice was through letters. The English king often used letters to keep in touch with his distant female kin. In 1236, for example, he sent a letter to his sister, Isabella, asking for news of her health and informing her that he and his wife, Eleanor, were well.¹¹⁷ Blanche, duchess of Brittany and Beatrice's mother-in-law, was a key contact for Henry and one of the letters she sent to him sheds light on Beatrice's life in Brittany and demonstrates the English king's concern for his daughter's welfare.¹¹⁸ Blanche stated that she was responding to Henry's request that she provide him with news regarding Beatrice's health, writing

¹¹³ For discussion of Beatrice and Eleanor's diplomatic ring-giving to secure the Anglo-Breton marriage and Beatrice's dower rights: see above 145–7.

¹¹⁴ E 101/349/26. It is presumed that these individuals were to be Beatrice's attendants in her new marital home: see above 158.

¹¹⁵ *Diplomatic Documents*, no.325.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no.326.

¹¹⁷ *Foedera*, I.i, 229.

¹¹⁸ SC 1/2/193.

Know sir, that the lady Beatrice, your dear daughter and ours, is again suffering from her fever, but she is much improved, thank God, and the physicians tell us that her fever will not last long.¹¹⁹

This letter reveals much about the state of Beatrice's health during the time she spent in Brittany with her successive pregnancies, as well as her father's loving concern. Henry was aware of Beatrice's ill-health and sought updates from Blanche as to Beatrice's progress. Despite the marriage and departure of Henry's youngest surviving daughter to Brittany, he was still concerned for her wellbeing, refuting any suggestion that daughters were thought of little by their parents following their marriages. Henry may also have delighted in the details Blanche provided about his grandson, Arthur. She stated that he was a 'most good and handsome child', revealing that this letter was written shortly after the birth of Arthur (on 25 July 1262), but before the birth of her second son John (c.1266), as Arthur appears to be the sole child at the time.¹²⁰ It possibly preceded Beatrice's own letter of c.1264 that declared that she was still ill, indicating that this letter was probably written between July 1262 (potentially in 1263 after Beatrice's reunion with Henry at Lagny-sur-Marne), but before August 1264.¹²¹ Moreover, another of Blanche's letters, written in c.1264–5, informed Henry that his daughter was safe and sound.¹²² I agree with Chaplais that this letter was sent during Henry's captivity, rather than the earlier date of 1260 under which the letter is recorded in *Foedera*, because Blanche informs Henry that John was going to England and the Breton duchess sought guarantees from the English king for his safety.¹²³ The early-mid 1260s was a period in which Henry's own position was precarious due to the baronial rebellion, and so these letters informing him of Beatrice's welfare may have provided much comfort and relief.

Although no letters survive from Henry to Beatrice, we have four extant letters from Beatrice to Henry that reveal the father-daughter bond. Beatrice wrote a letter

¹¹⁹ 'Sachiez, sire, que ma dame Beatrix vostre chier file e la nostre est encor deheite de sa fievre, meis el e nest mout amende, la Deu merci, e nous dient les fizechiens que sa fievre ne li peut par longein durrer': SC 1/2/193.

¹²⁰ 'Artus est mout bon emffant e mout beil': SC 1/2/193; P. Anselme, *Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* (Paris, 1725), 449. Chaplais dates the letter to late summer 1262, Shirley suggests 1263 or onwards and in *Foedera* the letter has been dated to 1265: *Diplomatic Documents*, no.368; *Letters*, ii, no.675; *Foedera*, I.i, 464.

¹²¹ SC 1/2/153. For Henry and Beatrice's reunion: see below 184.

¹²² SC 1/2/192.

¹²³ *Diplomatic Documents*, no.396; *Foedera*, I.i, 394. This letter is also discussed below, see 201.

to her father in c.1264, in which she expressed her irritation that she had not received any news of him. In it she bemoaned that she had not heard anything regarding Henry's health and wellbeing through his envoys, and stated that she was sending her letter in order to elicit a response from her father.¹²⁴ These complaints suggest that the letter was written before the battle of Evesham (4 August 1265), while Henry was effectively a Montfortian captive following his defeat at Lewes (14 May 1264), whose envoys would have been unlikely to deliver news regarding the king's welfare. This letter demonstrates Beatrice's deep concern for her father during the tumult of the baronial rebellion. Moreover, the letter also relates that Beatrice was still, or again, unwell, suffering from a quartan fever, suggesting that both this letter and Blanche's letter to Henry were written at a similar time or consecutively.¹²⁵ Having informed her father that she was in poor health, Beatrice uses that information in combination with her anguish at lack of news from England to provoke a response from her father and his captors. She states that her 'anguish continues gravely without tiring' and for her father to send her his favour, which will no doubt restore her strength and happiness, by sending news.¹²⁶

In a further letter, Beatrice congratulates her father on his successes. These successes are unspecified, but probably relate to his victory at Evesham and his suppression of the rebels. As such, the date for the letter can be attributed to post-August 1265.¹²⁷ Beatrice's letter asking for news appears to have been received and this letter looks to have been written in reply to Henry's response. The statement in the text that Beatrice 'is grateful to be currently thriving in bodily health', indicates that this letter followed her recovery from the fever that Beatrice herself and Blanche had written about to Henry.¹²⁸ In this letter Beatrice expressed her delight and joy at the good news she had received from her father, but nevertheless asked for more frequent updates from the English court.¹²⁹ These sentiments were echoed in another

¹²⁴ SC 1/2/153.

¹²⁵ *'adhuc fibre quartana infirma sum'*: SC 1/2/153.

¹²⁶ *'Scientes quod adhuc fibre quartana infirma sum; set adeo, solet sicut, me dolore continuo graviter non fatigat. Insuper rogo vos ut michi vestram voluntatem, quam totis viribus facere concupisco, per vestras litteras vestri gratia remandetis'*: SC 1/2/153.

¹²⁷ SC 1/2/151. Shirley dates this letter to sometime between the marriage of Beatrice and John in 1260 and John receiving Richmond in 1268: *Letters*, ii, no.663.

¹²⁸ *'nos grata vigere corporis sanitate'*: SC 1/2/151.

¹²⁹ *'De vestris successibus, quos per vestras literas prosperos intelleximus vehementer exultantes'; 'rogantes attentius quatenus statum vestrum prosperum utinam et jocundum ad augmentum nostram laetitiam nobis crebro nuntietis'*: SC 1/2/151.

of Beatrice's letters, in which she asked after the health of her father and brother, who, although unnamed, was probably Edward.¹³⁰ She was glad to have news of Henry, but again she wanted him send her more regular news.¹³¹ These letters demonstrate the continued warmth and love Beatrice felt towards her father, as an adult.

While Beatrice was in Brittany, she received and visited some of her relatives, including her parents and Edward on the continent. Her experiences differed from those of Margaret since Beatrice did not travel back to England as frequently for her family reunions. Shortly after her arrival in Brittany, Beatrice spent time with her aunt, Marguerite of Provence. A document which is illegible for the most part, but probably dates to around November 1261, reveals that Beatrice had accompanied the queen of France on a visit to Chartres.¹³² Beatrice appears to have been welcomed by her maternal aunt, who wished to see the happy couple whose marriage she was so instrumental in bringing to fruition, showing the strength of affection between members of Henry's extended family.¹³³ Beatrice was also visited in Brittany by another of her aunts, the Lusignan Isabella de Craon.¹³⁴ Furthermore, there was also a family reunion while Henry and Edward were on the continent in 1262. With Henry having retaken the advantage against the barons, he and Edward spent several months in France, between July and December 1262.¹³⁵ Beatrice appears to have taken this opportunity to be reunited with her parents at Lagny-sur-Marne, where she received a costly emerald ring worth £3 on 24 October 1262.¹³⁶ This reunion was no doubt a doubly happy occasion following Beatrice's recent delivery of her first child. The news of Arthur's arrival had reached Henry at Saint-Maur-des-Fossés as early as 7 August, through William de Mohun, Beatrice's valet.¹³⁷ That it was Beatrice's valet who delivered the happy tidings suggests Beatrice herself was keen to share her good news with her parents as quickly as possible. This visit appears to have been the only occasion when Beatrice saw her parents until her and John's

¹³⁰ *'de statu vestre et karissime nostre fratris'*: SC 1/2/154.

¹³¹ *'semper prosperum et jocundum in frequenter nuntiando crebro velitis gaudium'*: SC 1/2/154.

¹³² *Diplomatic Documents*, no.338.

¹³³ For Marguerite of Provence's role in Beatrice's marriage: see ch.III.

¹³⁴ SC 1/2/152.

¹³⁵ Carpenter, 'Meetings of Kings', 3. Edward's presence is known due to the itinerary of the Lord Edward which places Edward at St Germain de Pres in October 1262: Studd, *Itinerary*, 65.

¹³⁶ E 101/349/26.

¹³⁷ *CPR 1266-1272*, 728.

return to England in c.1268, when John was finally granted the honour and earldom of Richmond and they made preparations to depart on crusade.

Intercession of the Daughters

With Margaret and Beatrice's proximity to the king during these family reunions, the daughters were able to exercise their intercessory agency and influence. There were a number of occasions when medieval women, and particularly queens, interceded with the king. Intercession was one of the key roles of queenship emphasised in the English queen's coronation ordo.¹³⁸ For example, Eleanor of Provence interceded with her husband on the day of her coronation, securing a pardon for William de Panchehall who had been imprisoned for a forest offence, and continued to do so throughout her life.¹³⁹ Similarly, motherhood symbolised the queen's nurturing intercession, and childbearing was regularly followed by appeals for royal favour or pardons.¹⁴⁰ These queenly powers of intercession were often shared by royal and noble women.¹⁴¹ Henry's daughters fulfilled a number of these intercessory roles, particularly Margaret, who interceded with her father both as his daughter and as queen of Scots.

One aspect of intercession in which Margaret was rather prodigal, was in obtaining pardons for felons. Between 1252 and 1272, Margaret obtained pardons for nineteen felons, in comparison to Beatrice's sole pardon for Walter le Noreys for the death of Reynold, son of Robert de Tuddesworth, chaplain, in January 1264.¹⁴² On one occasion the daughters acted together, when the English king and queen relocated to the north east of England in 1255. In September that year, when Margaret was staying with her natal family, she and Beatrice (aged fourteen and thirteen respectively) secured a pardon for Warin, son of Richard Rakeleng of Scarborough, burgess of Berwick, who had been outlawed for causing the death of William de Brigho.¹⁴³ Margaret also acted as intercessor in combination with her

¹³⁸ Parsons, 'Pregnant Queen as Counsellor', 42, 49.

¹³⁹ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 20, 299.

¹⁴⁰ Parsons, 'Pregnant Queen as Counsellor', 43.

¹⁴¹ Earenfight, *Queenship*, 125; Howell, 'Royal Women', 171.

¹⁴² Margaret's intercessory acts: *CPR 1247-1258*, 127, 145, 194, 425, 461, 495, 497, 498, 578; *CPR 1258-1266*, 91, 128, 130, 134, 151, 278, 297, 575; *CPR 1266-1272*, 61, 83, 302. Beatrice: *CPR 1258-1266*, 378.

¹⁴³ *CPR 1247-1258*, 426.

mother, when in August 1272, Henry pardoned Alan of Winchester for the death of John, son of John the Provost, at the instance of 'the king's consort, the queen and his daughter Margaret, queen of Scotland'.¹⁴⁴ This writ demonstrates the combination of the political and familial, as both women were described by their rank, as queens, but also by their family ties to the king. It was this multiplicity of status that allowed these women such influence over Henry. As such, Margaret, as Henry's daughter but also a queen, appears to secure more pardons for those outlawed for robbery or homicide.

During the time she spent in England while pregnant, Margaret also fulfilled the role of pregnant queen as intercessor. Nevertheless, Margaret was not interceding with her husband, but rather with her father, suggesting that female intercession and the merciful nature of pregnant counsel was commonly accepted practice. She obtained three pardons from her father: two for flight and outlawry as a result of causing death and one for receiving thieves and subsequently abjuring the realm.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, she secured a pardon for a 20s fine made by Roger of Naunton and his wife Rose for a writ of *quare vi et armis*.¹⁴⁶ These are unusual acts, not only in that she was interceding with her father, but also because they took place before she had given birth. Parsons has shown how most intercessions would have taken place after the queen's delivery,¹⁴⁷ but the pardons Margaret obtained were dated between mid-November 1260 and 30 January 1261, which covered the period when she was lying-in. As such, Margaret potentially petitioned her father in her pregnant state, before her churching.

Throughout her life, Margaret continued to petition Henry on behalf of a variety of supplicants who sought her assistance. Margaret also fulfilled her intercessory role as queen by seeking privileges for her merchants from her father the English king. She obtained protections for John de Bonebrok of Douai and his servants, against arrest should they have to enter an English port due to adverse weather when bringing goods from Flanders to Scotland.¹⁴⁸ She also secured allowances for merchants carrying corn to Scotland to sell their goods at English

¹⁴⁴ *CPR 1266–1272*, 673.

¹⁴⁵ *CPR 1258–1266*, 128, 130, 134.

¹⁴⁶ *Fine Rolls*. 45 Henry III, no.173.

¹⁴⁷ Parsons, 'Pregnant Queen as Counsellor', 49.

¹⁴⁸ *CPR 1266–1272*, 548.

ports.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, Margaret interceded on behalf of Jewish debtors alongside her husband. In July 1266 ‘at the instance of our most beloved son Alexander, king of Scots, and our most beloved daughter Margaret, queen of Scots, his wife’, Henry pardoned the Englishman, Baldwin of Weyford, of his debts due to a number of Jews.¹⁵⁰ Margaret also secured pardons, or partial pardons, for fines made to the king during her regular visits to England. In 1255, Margaret procured repayment terms of 50 marks per year for the 200 mark fine of one of her father’s servants, Henry de Pinkeny.¹⁵¹ The following year Margaret obtained a pardon of 20 marks for Thomas de Bickerton’s 60 mark fine made to the justices in Northumberland.¹⁵²

Beatrice’s intercession concentrated on smaller acts, securing royal favour and grants for her household attendants. For example, in November 1260, Henry restored a silver gilded goblet at the instance of Beatrice, which Agnes of Everley, one of her childhood nurses, had pledged with Jacob of Oxford the Jew for 50s.¹⁵³ Similarly, she obtained grants of three oaks to John de Brummor in January 1261, and four oaks to Robert Rytfort, the queen’s baker, that July.¹⁵⁴ Beatrice also secured a weekly market and yearly fair for her valet, William de Mohun, and his heirs, at his manor of Brinkley, Cambridgeshire.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, in November 1269, Beatrice secured two tuns of wine, costing 40s, for Hawise of Westminster.¹⁵⁶ Margaret also acquired privileges for her attendants. In May 1261, John le Chamberlain, and his heirs, were granted free warren in his demesne lands in Wickenby and Marston in Lincolnshire, at the instance of the Scottish queen.¹⁵⁷

One of the most interesting acts of intercession undertaken by Beatrice happened after her departure from the English court. While in Brittany, Beatrice received her aunt, Isabella de Craon, who had an ulterior motive in visiting her niece.

¹⁴⁹ *CR 1259–1261*, 379–80.

¹⁵⁰ ‘*ad instanciam karissimi filii nostro A. regis Scocie illustris et karissime filie M. regine Scocie, consortis sue*’: *CR 1264–1268*, 202.

¹⁵¹ *Fine Rolls*, 39 Henry III, no.854. Henry de Pinkeny was one of the English king’s servants: *CR 1254–1256*, 111.

¹⁵² *Fine Rolls*, 40 Henry III, no.988. Thomas de Bickerton may have been a relative of Richard de Bickerton, one of Margaret’s attendants who sealed William de Swinburne’s account of 1263: *Northumberland*, 20–1.

¹⁵³ *CR 1259–1261*, 291.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 334, 408. John de Brummor was one of Edmund’s valets: see Table 4.

¹⁵⁵ *CChR 1257–1300*, 37.

¹⁵⁶ *CR 1268–1272*, 158; *CLR 1267–1272*, 108.

¹⁵⁷ *CChR 1257–1300*, 36. John was married to Cecilia, one of Margaret’s ladies: *CR 1256–1259*, 27–8; *CR 1259–1261*, 247

We learn that Henry's Lusignan half-sister headed to Brittany in a letter Beatrice sent to her father on her aunt's behalf in c.1262.¹⁵⁸ 'His devoted daughter' wrote 'with love to his dear lord, with willingness to do his wish in all things'.¹⁵⁹ After cajoling her father by expressing her preparedness to do as he asks,¹⁶⁰ Beatrice then continued to state that she had recently been visited by Isabella, who begged her to ask him to pay the debt he owed his sister. To support her case, she added that Isabella had good need for it as one of her daughters had married. Beatrice concluded by entreating that her father do as she has asked, so that her aunt 'knows that my prayers for her have merit'.¹⁶¹ Beatrice was trying to prove the influence she was expected to have and did not want to be shown up in this regard. This letter mirrors Isabella's own plea to Henry on 25 April 1262, when she appealed to Henry to pay the outstanding sums that she has been accustomed to receive yearly at the exchequer as part of her children's inheritances in England.¹⁶² Isabella had received 100 marks yearly from the exchequer. Yet, by 1256, these payments appear to have stalled and were 300 marks in arrears.¹⁶³ She pleaded her poverty, stating she had desperate need of the money as one of her daughters had married and the dowry had not been satisfied.¹⁶⁴ In addition to Beatrice's petition, Isabella's full-brother, Geoffrey de Lusignan, another Lusignan half-brother in Henry's favour, also sent a brief request to Henry that Isabella's plea be resolved either in part or full.¹⁶⁵ Beatrice had some success appealing to her father as Henry granted to 'our beloved kinswoman' Isabella, the manors of Harrietsham and Trottiscliffe in Kent, and Wenden in Essex, for the sustenance of herself and her children who were 'greatly suffering from poverty'.¹⁶⁶

Beatrice's letter to her father on her aunt's behalf reveals that intercessory acts did not necessarily have to take place in person. It also demonstrates the bond

¹⁵⁸ SC 1/2/152.

¹⁵⁹ '*sa devoute file ... e amor cum a son cher seignor, a soe aparelle a fere sa volente en totes choses*': SC 1/2/152.

¹⁶⁰ This supplication appears to have been a common phrase in female letters. According to Anaïs Waag, Marguerite of Provence regularly employed this phrase in her letters to Henry III. Waag is examining the correspondence of thirteenth-century queens as part of her doctoral research and I thank her for highlighting this point.

¹⁶¹ '*qu'ele s'aparcoeve que mes prieres li aet valu*': SC 1/2/152.

¹⁶² In July 1259, Isabella received £13 9s 8d and in December she was given a further £16 3s, with the second payment coming from the manor of Hammes, which she had previously held: E 372/104 rot.2 m.2.

¹⁶³ *CLR 1251-1260*, 40, 78, 211, 252-3, 401.

¹⁶⁴ *Foedera*, I.i, 418.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I.i, 419.

¹⁶⁶ '*dilecte consanguinee nostre*'; '*pauperati non mediocriter compatimur*': *CR 1261-1264*, 353-5, 390.

between Henry and his daughter, as well as the strong family sentiments towards some of their more extended kin. Isabella sought to benefit from the affection between Henry and Beatrice by appealing to her niece, as well as approaching her half-brother. The choice of Beatrice, rather than Margaret, suggests that Beatrice may have had a closer association with her father's Lusignan half-siblings, having been married at a later age and spending more time at court following the Lusignans' arrival in the late 1240s and early 1250s. Nevertheless, Beatrice's marriage to John and her departure for Brittany were strongly influenced by her mother and her Savoyard relatives and, as such, it is difficult to determine how Beatrice and Margaret fit into the factionalism of the English royal court.¹⁶⁷ Isabella's appeal to Beatrice, however, reveals her belief that Beatrice had her father's ear and, therefore, Henry would be more amenable to her appeals. The influence of close family members is reiterated in Geoffrey's addition, emphasising the tight bonds amongst Henry's family, and Isabella's hope that numerous appeals from a number of her kin would further her cause. This intercessory act also shows Beatrice acting on behalf of a female relative, in addition to the various other figures mentioned above who benefitted from her intervention.

Gifts to the Daughters

The continued affection of Henry and Eleanor towards their daughters following their marriages is evident in the grants and gifts the daughters continued to receive from them.¹⁶⁸ According to Green, Margaret was a 'petted child, accustomed to the luxuries and refinement of her father's court', which she had to leave at a young age.¹⁶⁹ Out of the two daughters Margaret does appear to have obtained more gifts than her sister, perhaps in an attempt to help her settle in her marital home. For example, in July 1252, Eleanor purchased three robes and veils that were sent to Scotland by Walter, Margaret's tailor, possibly for the use of the Scottish queen and her ladies.¹⁷⁰ In 1254,

¹⁶⁷ For the Savoyard role in Beatrice's marriage: see above 126–8. For discussion of the factionalism of the English royal court, see H. Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the "Aliens", 1236–72' in *Thirteenth Century England II*, eds P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), 81–92; *Ibid.*, 'Foreign Favourites', 590–610.

¹⁶⁸ According to Prestwich, Edward I was fonder of his daughters than his sons, evident in the extravagant gifts he lavished upon his daughters: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 127–9.

¹⁶⁹ Green, *Lives*, ii, 184.

¹⁷⁰ E 101/349/19.

Henry ordered a silver ewer costing £8 to be made for Margaret.¹⁷¹ While these gifts were probably intended to please their daughter, they also visibly added to the aura of the English crown's prestige and wealth that Henry wished to exhibit at the Scottish court. Nonetheless, 'to the desolate young girl, wealth was a poor compensation for the tender sympathies of domestic love'.¹⁷² Margaret only appears to have let go of her childhood attachments in the 1260s, at around the age of twenty, when she had the undivided affection of her husband and became a mother herself.¹⁷³ Henry and Eleanor may have felt some sort of guilt or loss at Margaret's departure, which is apparent in the queen's lavish gift-giving to those who were sent to Scotland to watch over the welfare and interests of Margaret in the years immediately following her marriage.¹⁷⁴

In addition to cloth and trinkets, Margaret was also provided with meat and other provisions by Henry, mirroring Henry's actions for his children when they were based at Windsor.¹⁷⁵ In August 1255, the king's valet, William Bisset, was given six deer for Margaret's use, followed by a further 30 deer in December that year.¹⁷⁶ Likewise, in May 1258, twelve deer were sent to the Scottish queen, with a further four for her valet, Adam de la Forde. The following June, Margaret received another fifteen deer and her valet received the four deer that had been granted previously but remained outstanding.¹⁷⁷ These writs demonstrate Henry's concern to see that his daughter was suitably provisioned with food for the winter and for religious feasts. Venison was a high-status foodstuff; it was not a freely accessible meat and needed to be hunted. Therefore, only landholders with great estates could afford to serve it frequently.¹⁷⁸ Jean Birrell has calculated that Henry regularly gave away over 200 deer a year as gifts. As well as sending deer to Margaret, Henry's sisters, Isabella and Eleanor, regularly received dispatches of the meat in the 1230s.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷¹ *CLR 1251–1260*, 196.

¹⁷² Green, *Lives*, ii, 185.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, ii, 212.

¹⁷⁴ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 79. For the gifts given to Matilda de Cantilupe: see above 156.

¹⁷⁵ See above 94.

¹⁷⁶ *CR 1254–1256*, 126, 247. It is unclear if this William was related to the Scottish Bisset family who were exiled to England in the 1240s, discussed above 112.

¹⁷⁷ *CR 1256–1259*, 219 and 399.

¹⁷⁸ Birrell, 'Venison in Late Medieval England', 176, 188.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 186.

Some of the most important gifts Margaret received from her father were cash sums and manors. These types of grants were a common feature of Henry's attempts to provision his female relatives and had precedent in those he made to his sister Joan. As a Scottish queen, Joan had little agency and, as the years progressed and she remained childless, her position in Scotland deteriorated. Joan was granted lands by Alexander II in dower but did not have any control of them.¹⁸⁰ Henry then felt obligated by his affection for his sister to help provide for Joan. Henry gave her fifteen rings costing £10 11s 9d, to distribute to her household.¹⁸¹ Similarly, at Christmas 1237, Henry also provided robes for Joan, two of her almsmen and eight of her clerks and servants for the festivities.¹⁸² Henry was well aware of the importance of gift-giving and royal largesse in rewarding good service and securing favour, and permitted Henry, through Joan, to dispense patronage at the Scottish court. Moreover, in October 1234, Henry granted Joan the manor of Stanton, in Huntingdonshire to hold at the king's pleasure.¹⁸³ This grant was augmented in the following year with a further grant of the manor of Drifffield for Joan to hold for life, in return for Joan rendering a sore sparrow-hawk at the feast of the Assumption.¹⁸⁴ Henry helped Joan to maintain her royal status, when her favour and place at the Scottish court was at its most precarious. As a result, Joan spent a great amount of time in England with Henry and Eleanor, and the English king covered her expenses.¹⁸⁵ When Joan became ill, Henry purchased medicine for his sister, and permitted her to make her will from the issues of these English manors, meaning that Henry provided for Joan, both in life and death.¹⁸⁶

Henry also provided his older half-sister, Joan (the illegitimate daughter of King John and wife of Llywelyn the Great) with an independent income. In February 1225, Henry granted her the manor of Rothley, Leicestershire and in August 1226, Joan received Conover in Shropshire.¹⁸⁷ The following month Henry exempted Joan

¹⁸⁰ Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 165.

¹⁸¹ E 372/80 rot.2d m.1.

¹⁸² E 372/81 rot.13 m.1.

¹⁸³ *CChR 1226-1257*, 190; *CR 1231-1234*, 539.

¹⁸⁴ *CChR 1226-1257*, 222-3.

¹⁸⁵ In the 21st year of Henry's reign (1236-7) Henry paid for wax to be provided for Joan as she was spending time with the king, queen and their other sister, Eleanor. That same year Henry also paid his sister's expenses in travelling between Scotland and England totalling £100: E 372/81 rot.13 m.1.

¹⁸⁶ E 372/83 rot.7 m.2; *CPR 1232-1247*, 210.

¹⁸⁷ L.J. Wilkinson, 'Joan, Wife of Llywelyn the Great' in *Thirteenth Century England X*, eds. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 81-95 (88).

from tallage on both manors. Additionally, when hostilities broke out between the English crown and Llywelyn in 1228, Henry permitted his half-sister to remove her chattels, beasts and corn from Conover and on the resumption of peace, restored Rothley to her.¹⁸⁸ These examples are not used to suggest that Henry felt as though he needed to support Margaret fully following her marriage, as was the case with Joan, queen of Scotland. Nevertheless, he seemed to enjoy supplying Margaret and his other female relations with exquisite gifts or rents that would help them to live comfortably, as Margaret had become accustomed to do during her childhood at the English royal court.

In May 1253, Henry granted his daughter all the fines and amercements from Scotsmen made before the king's justices in the pleas of the forest in Cumberland.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, Margaret also benefitted from her dowry payments, when a writ of 1256 ordered £300 to be delivered by Adam de Ford, Margaret's valet, to the Scottish queen for her use, as a gift from her husband.¹⁹⁰ Henry's concern to ensure Margaret was able to promote her own business and safeguard her welfare in Scotland is evident in his instructions to the northern sheriffs to attend on and deliver cash to the Scottish queen.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, as queen of Scotland, it appears that the only land Margaret held of Alexander, from which to finance her household and expenses, was the manor of Sowerby in Cumberland, which he held from the English king.¹⁹² Margaret was then given permission to enclose the waste and cultivate it, with forest privileges including estover and freedom from regard.¹⁹³ Sowerby may have been granted to Alexander as part of Margaret's dowry, but Henry's grant of privileges concerning the land suggests that he sought to ensure that Margaret had her own income. Nelson argues that the £300 payment and the manor of Sowerby are evidence of the queen of Scotland receiving independent financial means from her husband during his lifetime.¹⁹⁴ I propose instead that these grants were evidence of Henry having to continue to finance his daughter, despite her marriage, using

¹⁸⁸ Wilkinson, 'Joan', 89.

¹⁸⁹ *CR 1251-1253*, 358.

¹⁹⁰ *CLR 1251-1260*, 330.

¹⁹¹ See for example: *Ibid.*, 453, 463.

¹⁹² In April 1257, Henry confirmed Alexander's grant of Sowerby to Margaret: *CR 1254-1256*, 360; *CPR 1247-1258*, 548. Henry also extended Margaret's rights concerning the manor:

¹⁹³ *CPR 1247-1258*, 548; *CPR 1258-1266*, 252; *CR 1256-1259*, 77.

¹⁹⁴ Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 219.

Alexander as a proxy, or even having to pay Alexander, to ensure Margaret had resources at her disposal. It reveals how Henry continued to be actively involved in Margaret's life following her marriage.

These grants to Margaret, in combination with the payments the Scottish royal couple received on their visits to England towards their expenses, illustrate the great financial disparity between the two crowns. By comparison with its English counterpart, the Scottish exchequer was much poorer. The Scottish exchequer roll demonstrates that Scottish royal income was just under £5000 in 1264, whereas the annual income of Henry III in 1264–5, at the height of the civil war, was around £11,500, with a normal non-civil-war average of around £30,000.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, as Scottish income was substantially smaller, it appears that Henry was concerned to ensure his daughter was sufficiently provided for, even when he was not in the strongest financial position himself. The use of income from the farms of the northern counties and amercements from Cumberland meant that Henry could provide for his daughter without alienating crown lands or granting cash sums, when cash reserves were already reduced. Nevertheless, this is not to suggest that the Scottish crown could not support its queen. The exchequer rolls of Scotland show the various resources with which the queen was provided in the mid-1260s. The Scottish king and queen's household appear to have operated in a similar fashion to their English counterparts, wherein the king took on his wife's costs when they were together, otherwise the two households were provisioned individually.¹⁹⁶ For example, the sheriff of Perth provided the king and queen with separate amounts of flour, malt and fodder.¹⁹⁷ Margaret received necessary provisions for the day to day running of her household, yet, the Scottish exchequer potentially could not cover the extravagances with which she had been accustomed as an English princess.

Margaret's accounts for her expenses perhaps shed more light on why Henry felt obliged to continue to help provide for his daughter. In April 1263, Margaret heard the accounts of her receipts and expenses from April 1259 to Easter 1263. These expenses included clothing and linens, gold and silk fabric, wax, specie,

¹⁹⁵ *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*; A. Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Scotland, 1194–1290* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 387.

¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain how Alexander provided Margaret with sums to cover her expenses.

¹⁹⁷ *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 1–2. The provisions of Margaret's household are explored in greater depth by Nelson: Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 225–6.

oblations and jewels. This document was sealed by Margaret; her seneschal, Gilbert de la Haye; Robert de Meniers; Richard of Bickerton; and Ralph, her chaplain.¹⁹⁸ The Scottish queen's expenses totalled £598 10s 4d, for which her treasurer William de Swinburne had to satisfy the necessary merchants. The following year, Alexander, Margaret's clerk accounted to the chamberlain, William, earl of Mar, expenses for the previous eighteen months totalling £795 16s 6½d.¹⁹⁹ These accounts reveal that Margaret's household expenditure, on top of the provisions that she received from the various Scottish farms, was substantial and as such necessarily subsidised by her father.

Compared with Margaret, Beatrice received fewer gifts from her parents. This disparity was perhaps because she spent more time at the English court as a result of her later marriage. Howell believes that because Beatrice was older and more mature than her sister upon her marriage, Beatrice was able to cope much better with her departure from England.²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, in 1268–9, when John and Beatrice were back in England, Henry tried to provide Beatrice with an income separate from her husband and marriage, as he had done for Margaret.²⁰¹ In April 1268, Henry granted Beatrice the wardship of the lands and heirs of John Peyvre.²⁰² Beatrice did not hold the wardship for long, however, because in July that year she granted the lands and tenements to Richard Grusset of Lillingstone. This agreement was made 'through our most beloved mother, lady Eleanor, illustrious Queen of England', suggesting Beatrice was being enabled, as in so much of her patronage, by her mother.²⁰³ This grant also

¹⁹⁸ *Northumberland*, 20–1.

¹⁹⁹ *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 10–1. I would suggest that by 1264, Margaret's expenditure had not rocketed to almost £800 for a year and a half, but rather this sum covered her accounts from April 1259 to 1264. My calculation is based on Margaret's expenses of almost £600 which had spanned almost four years at c.£150 per annum. Nelson, however, believes that Margaret's yearly expenditure averaged c.£530: Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 226.

²⁰⁰ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 103.

²⁰¹ John and Beatrice were back in England to raise funds for their participation on crusade. During this period until February 1269, Beatrice also interceded with Henry to secure a pardon, an exemption and a grant, with the grant being secured for her own serjeant: *CPR 1266–1272*, 247, 248, 318.

²⁰² '*dedimus et concessimus dilecte filie nostre Beatrici consorti Johannis de Britannia custodiam terrarum et heredes Johannis Peyvre nuper defuncti qui de nobis tenuit in capite habendus et tenendus eidem Beatrici et assignis suis cum feodum militum, advocacionibus ecclesiarum, dotibus cum acciderint et omnibus aliis ad custodiam illam pertinentibus usque ad legitimam etatem heredum predictorum sine disparagione*': C 66/86 m.18.

²⁰³ '*pro dilectissimam matrem nostram dominam Alyenoram Regine Anglie illustris*': C 66/86 m.8. That Beatrice received these lands from her mother is further supported by a later writ in 1274 when Eleanor granted the lands Emma Peyvre had held in dower to the archdeacon of Stafford, in return for £50 yearly: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, Volume 5 (London: HMSO, 1906), no.11072.

survives in chirograph form in the Breton ducal archives, but without referencing Eleanor's involvement. Instead it states that John made the grant in the name of, and with the consent of, his wife.²⁰⁴ Dated 9 November 1269 at London, this document granted all the lands and tenements that had belonged to John Peyvre to Richard Grusset. It specified that Beatrice held these lands and tenements of her father's gift, until the coming of age of John Peyvre's heir, but the lands and tenements of William Peyvre and the dower of John's wife, Emma, were exempt. In return for this grant, Richard was to pay Beatrice £100 annually.²⁰⁵ The agreement originally had Beatrice and Richard Grusset's seals attached, but they no longer survive. Although this version of the document removes Eleanor's involvement, it remains apparent, however, that Beatrice, either with her mother's or husband's assistance, was granting lands, received from her father, to fund her and her husband's participation on crusade.

I believe that the nature of these exchanges between the king and his daughters after their marriages, based on wealth and commodity, may have contributed towards the perceptions of relationships between kings and daughters as cold and distant. That is to say that these monetary exchanges, so common in the Middle Ages, have not been appreciated for the full nuance of the emotional vocabulary they entail. Rather than trying to buy affection or placate daughters sent far away on their marriages, these were instead markers of continued affective relationships. When the emotional motivations behind these gifts are acknowledged, as demonstrated with Henry, concerns for daughters' happiness, welfare and status also become apparent.

Childbearing

As wives, both Margaret and Beatrice fulfilled their maternal role. Margaret had three children: Margaret, Alexander and David, born on 13 February 1261, 21 January 1264 and 20 March 1272, respectively. The Chronicle of Melrose records the dates of births

These lands would later be redirected to Beatrice by Edward in 1275: *CR 1272–1279*, 153–4; see below 218.

²⁰⁴ *'nos concessisse et tradidisse ad firmam nomine et assensu Beatricis consortis nostre': AD Loire-Atlantique*, E 114/9.

²⁰⁵ These payments fell into arrears as after Beatrice's death; her executors Eleanor of Provence and John of Brittany pursued an £80 debt owed to Beatrice by Paulinus Peyvre: C 54/92 m.14; for Beatrice's will see below 226–8.

of Margaret's sons, but not the date of the birth of her daughter.²⁰⁶ The reason for the omission was possibly because Margaret was born at Windsor, rather than in Scotland, and that she was a daughter, not a son and heir. What is surprising is that there is no criticism, or even comment, regarding the daughter being born in England. The chronicle merely noted the event. Nevertheless, the chronicles provide a far more substantial account of the birth of the Scottish heir, Alexander. On 21 January 1264, Margaret gave birth to a son at Jedburgh who was baptised by Gamelin, bishop of St Andrews. It was a day of double joy as that same day Alexander received news of the death of Haakon, the king of Norway, who had been troubling the Scottish king and kingdom.²⁰⁷ Alexander, as the Scottish heir, was quickly provided with his own household.²⁰⁸ Similarly, the Melrose chronicle also records, in an apparent continuation to the chronicle but in far less detail, David's birth in the early hours of 20 March 1272.²⁰⁹

All of Margaret's children's names had strong associations with the Scottish crown. Alexander was no doubt named for his father and grandfather, and the name David was also prominent in the Scottish royal dynasty (David I was Alexander III's great-great-grandfather, while David, earl of Huntingdon, was his great-uncle).²¹⁰ The choice of Margaret, however, raises a number of possibilities. One is that she was named for her mother, and another is that she was named after the saint. Although her mother was possibly named for St Margaret of Antioch,²¹¹ St Margaret of Scotland is a more appropriate choice for a Scottish king's daughter. Shortly after his accession, Alexander and his mother were present at Dunfermline abbey for the canonisation and translation of the incorrupt body of St Margaret in June 1250.²¹² St Margaret of Scotland was evidently held in great reverence by Alexander, as she was his ancestor: wife of Alexander's three times great-grandfather.²¹³ Furthermore, this

²⁰⁶ *Chronica de Mailros*, 185, 190, 222.

²⁰⁷ Fordun, i.300; *Chronica de Mailros*, 190. Peace with Norway was agreed at Perth on 2 July 1266: *Acts of Alexander III*, no.61.

²⁰⁸ *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 23. The exchequer rolls (1264–6) outline the various provisions and expenses that the Scottish sheriffs provided for him.

²⁰⁹ *Chronica de Mailros*, 222.

²¹⁰ See family tree 6.

²¹¹ See above 61.

²¹² Fordun, i.295; M. Penman, 'Royal Piety in Thirteenth-Century Scotland: The Religion and Religiosity of Alexander II (1214–49) and Alexander III (1249–86)' in *Thirteenth Century England XII*, eds J. Burton, P. Schofield and B. Weiler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 13–29 (14).

²¹³ Penman, 'Royal Piety', 14.

eneration may have extended to Margaret, as she too was also a descendant of the Anglo-Saxon Scottish queen. Moreover, there is a convergence in the observance of the feasts of Saints Edmund of Abingdon and Margaret of Scotland. Henry and Eleanor of Provence were particularly devoted to St Edmund, which was possibly shared by their daughter.²¹⁴ Therefore, by the time Margaret's first child was born, St Margaret may have been well revered by both the Scottish king and queen, and strongly influenced the choice of name for their daughter.

Beatrice's childbearing is less well documented. Beatrice probably had seven children: Arthur, John, Henry, Marie, Peter, Blanche and Eleanor, born between 1262 and 1275. Arthur was born on 25 July 1262 and is the only precise date we have for any of the births of Beatrice's children.²¹⁵ John was born in 1266, Marie in 1268 and Eleanor was born in England in 1275.²¹⁶ Peter and Blanche were, perhaps, born on crusade, and Henry appears to have been born, at the latest, in England before the Breton party's departure for the Holy Land, in c.1267 or, if he was older than John, between 1262 and 1266.²¹⁷ The only evidence for Henry's existence is within the English sources.²¹⁸ Henry's first appearance is in a writ of allocate dated January 1269, which provided resources for John and Henry, sons of Edward, and Henry, son of John of Brittany, suggesting that the children of Edward and Eleanor of Castile and Beatrice and John of Brittany were together at the nursery at Windsor before their parents' departure on crusade.²¹⁹ The other pieces of evidence for Henry's existence are much later, in the wardrobe and household accounts of Edward I, from around the time of his death in late 1284.²²⁰ Similarly, there is scant information regarding

²¹⁴ Alexander and Margaret had a relic of St Edmund: Penman, 'Royal Piety', 24–5.

²¹⁵ Anselme, *Histoire*, 449.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 448–9.

²¹⁷ For the crusade: see below 202–6.

²¹⁸ Arnold Taylor suggests that Henry was born in mid-October 1267, because in the second week of October 1284, Edward prepared for meal payments to be made to the Bangor Dominicans and the four mendicant orders in Chester to celebrate Henry's anniversary. Henry appears to have died just before his seventeenth birthday in September 1284: A. Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations in the later 13th Century' in *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays presented to Marc Fitch*, eds F. Emmeson and R. Stephens (London: Leopard's Head Press, 1976), 93–125 (122).

²¹⁹ '*ad opus Johannis et Henricus filiorum Edwardi primogenitui nostri et Henricus filii karissimi filii nostri Johannis de Britannia*': C 62/45 m.12. Hilda Johnstone believed that Henry was wrong, but in fact a misattribution to another of Beatrice's sons, John, but has rightly been dismissed by Taylor: Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 389–90, n.7; Taylor, 'Royal Alms', 122 n.54. Henry and Eleanor's grandchildren are also discussed below 230–1.

²²⁰ Edward made oblations for his soul and provided a silver gilt cup for his heart burial: E 101/351/15 m.4; E 101/351/14 m.3.

Beatrice's daughter, Eleanor. She also appears to have been born in England in 1275, yet there is no extant evidence of her birth in the English government records. The same lack of evidence also applies to the births of both Peter and Blanche.²²¹

Moreover, attempts to discover Beatrice's children within the English sources is obstructed by the way in which they were recorded in the chancery and exchequer material. When Beatrice's children are referred to, especially in the nursery at Windsor alongside their cousins (the children of Edward), they are hard to identify as they are always grouped together as the children of John of Brittany.²²²

Just as the name choices for Margaret's children had strong associations with their father's heritage, Beatrice's children's names also had strong, Breton influences. Arthur was probably named for John's uncle, brother of John I.²²³ Similarly, John appears to have been named for his father and grandfather, whereas Peter seems to have been named after John I's father. Blanche was probably named for her paternal grandmother. The name Marie appears to be a new introduction to the Breton ducal family, but was possibly influenced by Blanche of Navarre's Champagne relations. Likewise, the names Henry and Eleanor were new introductions and perhaps reflected those of Beatrice's parents. That Beatrice influenced these name choices, using her own natal family names, is strengthened by the fact that Henry was the third son and Eleanor was the youngest child of seven, and as such neither were likely to succeed their parents to the duchy of Brittany.

What is apparent from the English records is that Henry rejoiced in the births of his grandchildren. In September 1261, Walter de Coston, Margaret's valet, was granted 10 marks yearly from the wardship of the lands and heirs of Robert de Clerbek, for bringing news of the birth of his granddaughter.²²⁴ Robert de Huntingfeld, another of Margaret's valets, was granted £10 yearly of land out of wards or escheats, as well as 10 marks for his expenses homewards, for bringing the king news of the birth of his grandson, Alexander, in 1264.²²⁵ Bringing news of the

²²¹ While it may be difficult to uncover anything regarding Peter and Blanche's births if they took place in the Holy Land, if Eleanor was born in England it could be presumed there would be some trace, perhaps some sort of gift from her brother, or payment of a messenger bringing news, as his father had been accustomed to do, see 63; 190–1.

²²² For example, *'liberorum Edwardi primogeniti nostri et Johannis de Britannia'*: C 62/47 mm6, 10.

²²³ See family tree 5. It seems improbable that John would name one of his children after the duke who was possibly murdered by King John, his father-in-law's own father.

²²⁴ *CPR 1258–1266*, 175, 257.

²²⁵ *CPR 1258–1266*, 382; *CLR 1267–1272*, 215.

birth of a grandson was more lucrative than news of the arrival of a granddaughter.²²⁶ In August 1262, William de Mohun, Beatrice's valet, was granted a marriage to the value of 30 or 40 marks for the use of William's daughter, for bringing news to the king of Beatrice having given birth to Arthur.²²⁷ Similar rewards were granted on the birth of Eleanor of Castile's children to Edward. John Ferre received £20 for bringing news of the birth of John, Eleanor's firstborn son.²²⁸ Aymenin, Eleanor's valet, received 20 marks for bringing news of the birth of her second son, Henry.²²⁹ In comparison, Edward I was far more lavish in his payments to messengers bearing news of the birth of his grandchildren. £126 13s 4d was given to the man who brought tidings of the arrival of Margaret's son. The messenger bringing news of the birth of a son to Elizabeth, after her marriage to the earl of Hereford, received £26 13s 4d in 1304, and news of a second son two years later was rewarded with £40. News of a daughter to Joan of Acre, however, was not met with similar enthusiasm.²³⁰ Edward appears to have followed in his father's footsteps, granting greater rewards for bringing news of the birth of grandsons than granddaughters.

Margaret and Beatrice's Relationship with their Brothers

The interactions between Henry's daughters and their brothers are revealing of the tight bonds between the siblings that continued into adulthood. According to Turner's study of Anglo-Norman royalty, deep feelings developed between royal brothers and sisters, but it is difficult to discern whether these relationships were motivated by genuine affection for one another, or by obligations relating to family solidarity.²³¹ The exchanges between Margaret and her two brothers reveal the multiplicity of motivations. Both Edward and Edmund escorted Margaret and Alexander on their trips to England, as well as visiting their sister in Scotland.²³² Edward first appears to have visited Margaret in Scotland in June 1256, when he

²²⁶ The size of the reward may also have been influenced by the distances Margaret's messengers had to travel to deliver the good news. While Robert de Huntingfeld brought the news of Alexander's birth from Scotland to the English king at Rochester, Robert de Clerbek possibly only had to go from one side of Windsor castle to another to deliver his happy news: *CPR 1258-1266*, 175, 382.

²²⁷ *CPR 1266-1272*, 728.

²²⁸ *CLR 1267-1272*, 60.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

²³⁰ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 129.

²³¹ Turner, 'Children', 39-40.

²³² See above 172-4;179-80.

headed across the border to accompany and escort the Scottish king and queen to Woodstock for a family reunion.²³³ According to Michael Penman, Edward also used this opportunity to go on pilgrimage to St Ninian's at Whithorn.²³⁴ He believes it was highly feasible that Margaret and Alexander accompanied him, demonstrating the closeness and shared religiosity of the siblings, borne out from their childhoods and upbringings.

Following the victory at Evesham, Edward and Edmund were again in Scotland. According to the *Gesta Annalia*, Edward headed to the north of England to subdue the baronial rebel John de Vescy. After dealing with the Alnwick baron, Edward headed to Roxburgh where he was met by Alexander, Margaret, and almost all the Scottish nobility.²³⁵ This entry is not dated but follows discussion of Henry's disinheritance of the rebels, placing events in c.1266.²³⁶ The *Lanercost* chronicle similarly places Edward in Scotland in 1266, but at Haddington. The chronicle states that Edward visited his sister and she introduced her children to their uncle.²³⁷ The English heir was also reputed to have brought the knife used to kill Simon de Montfort to his reunion.²³⁸ It is an interesting account as it again sheds light on the bond between Edward and Margaret. Margaret was clearly keen that her children, who included the Scottish heir, would meet their uncle and the future king of England, perhaps in order to continue the good Anglo-Scottish relations that had stemmed from her marriage. Margaret also possibly wished to introduce Edward to her family, as he had missed her last visit to England when she gave birth at Windsor. Similarly, Edward appears to have been pleased to be reunited with his sister, despite the rather grisly present. Nevertheless, the weapon represented the death of the leader of the barons who had caused the English royal family great distress, and as such may have symbolised the strength and endurance of their family.²³⁹ The

²³³ See above 172–4.

²³⁴ Penman, 'Royal Piety', 23.

²³⁵ Fordun, i.302–3.

²³⁶ This entry is recorded identically in the *Scotichronicon*, which used Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*: Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v.354–5. The visit has been attributed to early 1267 by the editors. Nelson also supports a spring 1267 date: Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 242–3.

²³⁷ *Lanercost*, 81. The chronicler states that Margaret and Alexander were fourteen and twelve years old respectively, but is incorrect as the children could have been no more than seven and four years old. Nelson believes that the ages recorded by the chronicler were the children's ages when the entry was written: Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 244.

²³⁸ '*se proprio cultello fatebatur comitem de Munforde transfodisse*': *Lanercost*, 81.

²³⁹ This rather macabre act appears to support the theory that Edward created a 'death squad' of twelve men-at-arms with the sole task of killing Simon at Evesham: O. de Laborderie, J.R. Maddicott

Scotichronicon records another visit of Edward and Edmund to Roxburgh in 1267, following the suppression of the rebels, in order to talk with the Scottish king and queen.²⁴⁰ Additionally, Edmund is reported to have spent Christmas 1267 at Berwick with the Scottish court, talking with his sister and providing companionship to Alexander.²⁴¹

Nelson, however, has questioned the chronology of some of these events. She believes that the meeting at Haddington recorded in the *Lanercost* chronicle took place in 1268, rather than 1266. The chronicle account states that Edward was preparing to depart for the Holy Land and Nelson suggests that Edward was in Scotland to recruit troops.²⁴² Nevertheless, in my opinion a date between late 1266 and early 1267 has more potential. It seems probable that all four of these trips recorded by the chroniclers correspond to the events of a single visit, rather than multiple trips by both Edward and Edmund to their Scottish queen sister. My reasoning is that there are commonalities in the details of the supposed meetings, such as heading to Roxburgh to speak with Alexander on two different occasions.²⁴³ Moreover, it can be ruled out that Edward was in Scotland in 1268 since the evidence for dating this visit to this year relies on a single rogue reference from the *Flores Historiarum* in Robin Studd's *Itinerary*.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, Edward would have been busy as preparations for the crusade were underway. Instead I propose the following timeline: in late 1266 both Edward and Edmund headed north to suppress John de Vescy's uprising before spending a number of months in Scotland, visiting Margaret, Alexander and their nephews.²⁴⁵ While there, they followed the Scottish court, travelling from Haddington to Roxburgh and then spending Christmas 1266 (rather than 1267) at Berwick, before returning to England the following spring. Despite the repetitive nature of these chronicle accounts and the difficulties they pose in trying to establish with any certainty the events of Edward and Edmund's trip, or trips, to

and D.A. Carpenter, 'The Last Hours of Simon de Montfort: A New Account', *English Historical Review* 115 (2000), 378–412 (397–406).

²⁴⁰ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v.370–1.

²⁴¹ 'cum sorore sua Scotorum regina collocuturus et regem Scocie solaturus': Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v.366–7.

²⁴² Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 244.

²⁴³ Fordun, i.302–3; Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v.354–5, 370–1.

²⁴⁴ Studd, *Itinerary*, 110.

²⁴⁵ Studd's *Itinerary* places Edward in Scotland at the end of 1266, firstly at Alnwick, then Haddington: *Ibid.*, 99.

Scotland, these entries undoubtedly reveal that Margaret was visited by her brothers at least once, demonstrating the strength of the siblings' affection for each other.

The brothers also appear to have been keen to reward those who loyally served their sister, much in the same vein as their parents regularly patronised those who attended the royal family. In a writ of May 1269, Henry granted William de Swinburne, Margaret's treasurer, and his heirs, £30 a year of land out of the first escheats beyond the Trent.²⁴⁶ This grant was specified as being made at the instance of Queen Eleanor, Edward and Edmund for William's services to Margaret. It shows that it was not only Margaret's parents who sought to reward those who promoted the interests and wellbeing of their eldest daughter, but also that her brothers cared about Margaret's position in Scotland. In comparison, it is difficult to uncover evidence for Beatrice's relationship with her brothers. Yet, Beatrice appears to have been visited by Edward and her father during their visit to France in 1262, similarly suggesting a close, affective bond between the siblings.²⁴⁷ Beatrice and John's participation on crusade alongside Edward and Edmund, as well as their children being raised alongside Edward's own children during their absence on crusade and after their return, also indicates a closeness.²⁴⁸

On Crusade

The participation of Beatrice and John on Louis IX's second crusade (1270–2), together with Beatrice's brothers, is the strongest indicator of their close sibling bond. At the Northampton parliament on 24 June 1268, the Lord Edward and Edmund, Eleanor of Castile, their cousin Henry of Almain and many other magnates of the kingdom, took the cross.²⁴⁹ It is difficult to know whether John took the cross alongside his English family or alongside his father in France, as he is not specifically named in either the English or French sources. Nevertheless, in order to finance Beatrice and John's participation, Henry provided the couple with a number of aids

²⁴⁶ *CPR 1266–1272*, 345.

²⁴⁷ See above 184.

²⁴⁸ For discussion of the crusade, see below 202–6, and for Beatrice's children being raised alongside their cousins, see below 238–9.

²⁴⁹ *AM*, ii.107. Edward, Eleanor, Edmund and Henry of Almain were granted letters of protection for going on crusade: *CPR 1266–1272*, 411, 464, 479. According to Prestwich, the core of Edward's expedition was provided by members of his household and familiars: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 68. The English expedition for the crusade was strongly family-orientated.

and privileges. In January 1269, Henry granted John a protection for six years. He was then allowed to nominate John the Breton and Robert de Grimescroft as his attorneys in all pleas for or against him for the six years he was expected to be absent.

Additionally, as John was 'going by [Henry's] licence to the Holy Land, for which he requires a great sum of money', Henry permitted him to let to farm 2000 marks worth of lands within the honour of Richmond.²⁵⁰ If he died, his heirs would receive all John's lands and tenements in England, which would be held by the king until the coming of age of his heir, and his executors were to receive 2000 marks to pay his debts. These funds were possibly supplemented by other sums that John was able to acquire as earl of Richmond, such as the donation of £40 made by the monks of Fountains abbey towards his journey to the Holy Land.²⁵¹ Although Edmund had commuted Henry's crusading vow, Henry probably believed all his sons were crusading on his behalf, including Beatrice's husband.²⁵²

While Beatrice accompanied her husband, brothers and sister-in-law to the Holy Land, she entrusted her children to the care of Henry and Eleanor. Edmund, not having any children at this point, left all his lands and possessions in the care of his mother, Eleanor of Provence. Edward, however, entrusted his children and all his lands to his uncle, Richard of Cornwall, on 2 August 1270. The care of Edward's children and lands only reverted to Henry after Richard's death.²⁵³ Beatrice, John and Edmund all clearly believed that the best people to protect and further their own

²⁵⁰ 'de licentia nostra profecturus sit ad terram sanctam quod magna pecunie summa indiget': C 66/87 m.24; *AD Loire-Atlantique*, E 114/9. 2000 marks was the value of Richmond, including the 200 marks of the king's gift that John used to receive before he was granted the earldom, see above 131.

²⁵¹ This gift was made on the confirmation of an agreement whereby John granted the village of Ainderby to the monks to hold in free and perpetual alms, in return for 2s 2d yearly: *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains*, ed. W.T. Lancaster, Volume I (Leeds, 1915), no.44.

²⁵² Pope Clement IV authorised the legate Ottobuono to release Henry from his vow if Edmund took his place: S.D. Lloyd, 'The Lord Edward's Crusade, 1270–2: its Setting and Significance' in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J.O. Prestwich*, eds J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), 120–133 (123).

²⁵³ *Diplomatic Documents*, no.423. Edward had made an agreement to accompany Louis IX on crusade, with the French king helping to fund his participation with a loan of 70,000 *livres tournois*: *Diplomatic Documents*, no.419. This sum was equivalent to approximately £17,500: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 72. As part of this arrangement Edward also promised his youngest son, Henry, as a hostage to the French king. It appears, however, that the young Henry was returned to his namesake grandfather by the French king: *Flores*, iii.18. Prestwich believes Edward was not obliged to send a son to Paris, whereas Reinhold Rohricht thought Louis immediately returned the young Henry as he did not need such a guarantee of Edward's loyalty: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 72; R. Rohricht, 'La Croisade de Prince Edouard d'Angleterre, 1270–4', *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1881), 617–32 (618).

interests and care for their children were the English king and queen, demonstrating the strong family ties between them.

Once affairs had been settled, John and Beatrice set out on crusade alongside his parents, the duke and duchess of Brittany, and the other Breton lords who departed from Suscino to meet the French expedition led by Louis IX at Marseille.²⁵⁴ Conversely, Edward and his English forces arrived at Aigues Mortes in September 1270, only to find that the French king was already at Tunis. When Edward reached Sardinia, he was met by news of the disastrous campaign in Tunisia and Louis' death. Edward then joined the remaining crusaders (led by Philip III of France and Charles of Sicily, Louis' heir and brother) in wintering in Sicily.²⁵⁵ The majority of the French nobility, including the Breton duke and duchess, decided against continuing the venture and returned home.²⁵⁶ John, however, remained on crusade with Edward, who refused to abandon his vow and continued to the Holy Land, reaching Acre, despite the arrival of news in February 1271, that Henry III was gravely ill.²⁵⁷ Edward's crusade was boosted by the arrival of reinforcements from England under Edmund's command in September 1271, yet, their efforts were largely unsuccessful and a ten year truce was agreed with Sultan Baybars.²⁵⁸ As a result, the crusaders began to return to the West. Edmund departed in May 1272 and William de Valence in August 1272.²⁵⁹ Edward similarly departed on 15 August 1272 and was followed by his brother-in-law, John on 24 September 1272.²⁶⁰ A letter dated 22 February 1273 places John in the Morea. In the letter John asked his mother to use his English rents to rebuild a chapel at Caistrion, suggesting that John was concerned for his spiritual welfare after the failure of the crusade.²⁶¹

²⁵⁴ The Breton historians place John and Beatrice with the Breton expedition, alongside the duke and duchess. See G.A. Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Tome I (Paris, 1707), 260; A. de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Tome III (Rennes et Paris, 1899), 352.

²⁵⁵ Rohricht, 'La Croisade', 620.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 621–2; Lobineau, *Histoire*, 262; de la Borderie, *Histoire*, 352.

²⁵⁷ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 74.

²⁵⁸ Rohricht, 'La Croisade', 624.

²⁵⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 78.

²⁶⁰ Rohricht, 'La Croisade', 627.

²⁶¹ *AD Loire-Atlantique*, E 114/5. The letter gives the date as '*vicesima secunda die mensis februarii anno duem millesimo ducentesimo septuagisimo secundo*', presumably following the practice of starting the new year at Easter. It is uncertain whether this letter was sent to Blanche, duchess of Brittany, or Eleanor of Provence. That it is preserved in the Breton archives suggests his mother, but the use of his English rents for a chapel in Northumberland means it could have been sent to his mother-in-law.

One of the reasons why Edward and John appear to have been the last to leave the Holy Land could have been because Eleanor and Beatrice were both pregnant.²⁶² While on crusade, Eleanor gave birth twice in the East and once en route back to England. A daughter who did not survive infancy was born while travelling or in Sicily in early 1271.²⁶³ Joan was born at Acre in the spring of 1272 and was hence styled Joan of Acre, while Alphonso was born at Bayonne in Gascony, on 24 November 1273.²⁶⁴ It is also possible that Beatrice gave birth to two children while on crusade. With John born in 1266 and Marie in 1268, Henry appears to have been born before their departure in 1267, as he was at Windsor when the crusaders were away.²⁶⁵ That leaves Peter and Blanche with births that probably occurred during Beatrice's sojourn in the Holy Land. There is scant evidence for Beatrice's time on crusade, but these dates appear to be the most logical option for the births of these two children. As was the case with Eleanor, the birth of a child to Beatrice in early-mid-1272 may have delayed their return to the West, meaning they were the last to leave Acre.

Just as Beatrice accompanied her husband to the Holy Land, Edward was joined by his wife Eleanor of Castile. There were a number of factors that influenced Eleanor's participation in the crusade. The main reason appears to have been the strong tradition of crusading in her family; Eleanor was the niece of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, and the daughter of Ferdinand III of Castile, famed for his conquest of Andalusia.²⁶⁶ This view is echoed by Parsons who believes that she would have been expected to accompany Edward, as her own mother had crusaded alongside Ferdinand III.²⁶⁷ Similarly, Edward may have wished for his wife's company, not only to avoid charges of adultery, but because their marriage was a happy one.²⁶⁸ Eleanor could have commuted her vow if Edward did not want her to participate, and her

²⁶² Edward's departure was also delayed by his recovery following the assassination attempt on his life and Eleanor's pregnancy: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 78.

²⁶³ It was also while Edward and Eleanor were in Sicily that news arrived informing them of the death of their son John on 3 August 1271: *Flores*, iii.23.

²⁶⁴ Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 29; Cockerill, *Eleanor of Castile*, 166, 184. William Rishanger's chronicle states that Eleanor gave birth to Joan in the Holy Land at Acre and as such the child was subsequently called Joan of Acre: Rishanger, 64.

²⁶⁵ *CLR 1267-1272*, 60.

²⁶⁶ B. Hamilton, 'Eleanor of Castile and the Crusading Movement', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1995), 92-103 (92).

²⁶⁷ Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 28.

²⁶⁸ Hamilton, 'Eleanor and the Crusading Movement', 96-7.

presence was not necessitated by Edward's need for heirs, as they left three children in England.²⁶⁹ The reason for Beatrice's participation, in contrast, is less clear cut. Bernard Hamilton and Christopher Tyerman give two other reasons which may have encouraged Eleanor's participation and these can equally be applied to her sister-in-law. Firstly, Beatrice's aunt, Marguerite of Provence, had accompanied Louis IX on his first crusade. It is probable that Beatrice and Eleanor heard of her exploits, either from Marguerite herself, or her sisters, Eleanor and Sanchia, Richard of Cornwall's wife.²⁷⁰ Secondly, strong crusading imagery was prevalent at the English court. When Henry first took the cross, he gave his wife a French book of romances that contained the *Chanson d'Antioche*. There were also depictions of the siege of Antioch (1098) in the queen's own Antioch chamber at Westminster, Clarendon and Winchester castle.²⁷¹ Beatrice may have equally been encouraged to participate in the crusade through the unfulfilled fervour of her parents and the imagery prevalent at court during her upbringing.

Henry and the Husbands

Neither Margaret nor Beatrice surrendered their ties to their natal family on marriage, and instead they brought their husbands into that family circle. Alexander and John interceded with the king immediately following their weddings. On the day he married Margaret (26 December 1251), Alexander secured a pardon for John de Brecham of his outlawry for robbing foreign merchants.²⁷² This act was followed by a series of sixteen writs issued in a three-day period between 31 December and 2 January 1252, in which Alexander secured thirteen pardons concerning outlawry for causing death, two pardons for abjuration of the realm, as well as a grant for his merchant, Thomas le Grant, quitting him of prises.²⁷³ Similarly, on the return of the king, queen, Beatrice and John to England following the wedding in France, John interceded with his father-in-law on three occasions. As was the case with Alexander, he secured two pardons of outlawry for causing death, and a grant for the merchant

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 96.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 95.

²⁷¹ C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades: 1095–1588* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 117. Remains of the Antioch chamber at Clarendon were identified by excavation in 1936 and tiles showing the combat of Richard and Saladin were found in situ in the queen's apartments: *History of the King's Works, Volume 1*, 129.

²⁷² CPR 1247–1258, 121.

²⁷³ Ibid., 121–3.

Arnold de Vivariis, of Port St Marie in the Agenais, allowing him to carry 100 tuns of wine to England, free of all prise for five years.²⁷⁴ These writs show the speed with which John and Alexander were welcomed into Henry's family, allowing them to secure privileges and pardons for those in their service, such as merchants. In comparison, the pardons secured for the outlaws appear to have had no connection either to Alexander or John, and seem to have been largely symbolic acts to demonstrate the favour they held with the English king.

Alexander and John continued to intercede with Henry throughout their lives, particularly securing pardons for men accused of robbery and homicide. For example, in 1255, William Harang was pardoned for causing the death of Walter de Huwell at Alexander's instance.²⁷⁵ It was one of fifteen pardons Alexander secured for robbers or killers at Henry's court.²⁷⁶ John, however, only appears to have secured one further pardon in 1269, on behalf of Simon, son of John de la Lane, for causing the death of William de Clifford.²⁷⁷ One reason for the disparity in the levels of intercession between Alexander and John may have been because the Scottish king was integrated into the English royal family for longer. Most of the pardons secured by Alexander occurred during the 1250s, before John's marriage to Beatrice. Another factor may be attributed to status; Alexander was king of Scotland, which may have made him a focal point for the appeals of English outlaws, some of whom may have crossed the border.

These affective bonds that formed between Henry and his sons-in-law are apparent in the familial language they used to describe one another. Alexander and Henry were regularly styled as son and father. When addressing Henry, Alexander called him his 'most dear father',²⁷⁸ writing 'with the affection of filial love'.²⁷⁹ This language was reciprocated in two letters of 1255, when Henry addressed Alexander as 'our beloved and faithful son, Alexander, by the grace of God, illustrious king of Scotland'.²⁸⁰ Both Henry and Alexander emphasised the family ties that bound the

²⁷⁴ *CPR 1258–1266*, 95, 96, 129.

²⁷⁵ *CR 1254–1256*, 233.

²⁷⁶ Excluding those secured in December 1251 and January 1252, directly after his marriage: *CPR 1247–1258*, 140, 154, 256, 426, 461, 495, 496, 497, 531, 612; *CPR 1258–1266*, 126, 133, 142, 169.

²⁷⁷ *CPR 1266–1272*, 371.

²⁷⁸ '*patri praecordialissimo*'. This address is used in two letters of June 1262: *Letters*, ii, nos 574, 575.

²⁷⁹ '*cum filialis dilectionis affectione*': *Letters*, ii, no.575.

²⁸⁰ '*dilecti filii et fidelis nostri Alexandri Dei gratia Regis Scotiae illustris*': C 66/69 m.3; C 66/69 m.5. The second letter omits 'by the grace of God'.

two countries. Alexander called Henry his ‘our most beloved father and lord, Henry, illustrious king of the English’,²⁸¹ whereas Henry identified Alexander as ‘his most beloved son, the illustrious king of Scots’.²⁸² John was similarly labelled in the English government records as the king’s son, or as having married the king’s daughter.²⁸³ John was addressed by Henry as ‘our son’, even in letters sent to the duke and duchess of Brittany.²⁸⁴ Likewise, John responded in a comparable manner and described Henry as ‘his most dear father’ and himself as ‘his most devoted son’.²⁸⁵ Henry’s adult children were often styled the ‘king’s most beloved son [or daughter]’ in the chancery records, and its application to Alexander and John shows that they were considered close family members.²⁸⁶

The warmth of feeling that grew between Alexander and his new marital family is demonstrated further in the letters he sent to Henry. In one letter of June 1262, Alexander and Margaret wrote to ask about the welfare of Henry and Eleanor, in a similar vein to Beatrice.²⁸⁷ Alexander reported that he and his dear wife, the queen, Henry’s beloved daughter, prospered and were happy, through God’s favour.²⁸⁸ He wrote with heartfelt affection to ask of Henry and his queen, ‘our most beloved mother’ and their famous children.²⁸⁹ This letter is indicative of how

²⁸¹ *‘karissimus pater noster et dominus Henricus Rex Angliae illustris’*: C 66/69 m.3. This letter from Alexander was enrolled on the patent rolls as it was reissued and referenced in one of Henry’s letters.

²⁸² *‘karissimi filii sui, illustris regis Scocie’*. See, for example: CR 1256–1259, 461–2.

²⁸³ The majority use *‘dilectus filius noster Johannes de Britannia’* or a similar variation with regard to the Latin cases, some also add *‘fidei’*: see C 66/74 mm2, 5; C 66/76 m.21; C 66/77 m.14; C 66/86 mm36, 37; C 66/87 m.24. Or the French: *‘nostre cher filz’*: C 66/87 m.28d. John is also designated as *‘Johanni de Britannia qui filiam nostrum duxerit in uxorem’*: C 66/77 m.17. It is a remarkable attestation as normally most individuals are identified by their relations to male kin, yet, John’s ties to the English court came through his marriage to Beatrice. It may also be due to the fact that John at this point had no title through which he could be easily identified (he did not receive the earldom of Richmond until 1268, nor the duchy of Brittany until 1286).

²⁸⁴ *‘filium nostrum’*: CR 1259–1261, 215–6, 277.

²⁸⁵ *‘precordialissimo patri suo’*; *‘devotissimus ejus filius’*: *Diplomatic Documents*, no.326.

²⁸⁶ The address of Henry’s daughters often became rather long and convoluted, as they were described both by their marital and familial status, and in the case of Margaret, her position as queen. For example, Margaret was often styled *‘karissime filie M., regine Scocie, consortis sue [Alexandri]’*, whereas Beatrice was *‘karissime filia nostre Beatricis consortis Johannis de Britannia’* (‘our most beloved daughter, Beatrice, wife of John of Brittany’): see CR 1264–1268, 202; C 62/46 m.11. In the same manner Edward was styled the eldest son or son and heir (*‘primogeniti nostri dilecti’*), whereas Edmund was addressed as his beloved son (*‘filio nostro dilecto’*): CR 1261–1264, 56, 317.

²⁸⁷ For Beatrice’s letters to Henry: see above 182–4.

²⁸⁸ *‘Statum nostrum et reginae filiae vestrae consortis nostrae carissimae ac filiae vestrae dilectae divino mediante favore prosperum esse et jocundum’*: *Letters*, ii, no.574.

²⁸⁹ *‘regina consorte vestra matre nostra dilectissima, ac de liberis vestris praeclaris vehementi cordis affectu scire desideramus’*: *Letters*, ii, no.574.

Margaret's marriage to Alexander brought the Scottish king into the English royal family, and the strong emotional attachment that ensued.

Another interesting aspect of the close bond between Henry and both Alexander and John is revealed when examining the roles or participation of the sons-in-law during the period of baronial reform and rebellion 1258–67, and its aftermath. Unlike his predecessors, Alexander III did not seek to use the disturbances in England to extend his own dominions or to press his claims to disputed territories.²⁹⁰ In 1264, Alexander authorised John Comyn and Robert de Brus to support Henry against the barons.²⁹¹ Scottish nobles including John de Balliol and Peter de Brus, with many thousands of soldiers, fought alongside Henry in the capture of Nottingham castle.²⁹² At the battle of Lewes, John de Balliol, Robert de Brus and John Comyn, among other barons, were captured and imprisoned in London, while almost all their foot-soldiers were slain.²⁹³ After the battle, Margaret wrote to her father, entreating him earnestly to secure the deliverance of Richard Comyn, brother of John Comyn, who had been imprisoned in the English king's service.²⁹⁴

Similarly, following Beatrice and John's departure for Brittany in July 1261, John wrote to Henry stating his willingness to come to Henry's aid with knights and arms should he require it.²⁹⁵ John's readiness to fight was reiterated by his father, the duke of Brittany, who wrote to Henry in a separate letter describing John as 'your son and ours'.²⁹⁶ After the king's defeat at Lewes in May 1264, John sought to come to Henry's aid, as demonstrated in a letter of March 1265 from his mother Blanche to Henry. She informed the English king that his daughter Beatrice was safe and sound and that John was coming to England. Having reassured Henry of his daughter's safety, she sought similar assurances regarding her own son. Blanche asked Henry to

²⁹⁰ In 1173, William the Lion used the rebellion of Henry II's sons against the English king to attack the northern counties of England. Similarly, in 1215–7, Alexander II invaded the north of England seeking to reclaim the border counties. In 1216 Alexander II performed homage to Prince Louis at Dover: William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, Volume I (London: Longman, 1884), Book II, ch.32; *Flores*, II.193–4; Fordun, i.283–5.

²⁹¹ F. Oakes, 'The Barons' War in the North of England' in *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258–1267*, ed. A. Jobson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), 199–217 (209).

²⁹² *Flores*, II.488. Trivet states John Comyn, with many Scots, John de Balliol and Robert de Brus besieged and captured Northampton: Trivet, 255.

²⁹³ *Flores*, II.496.

²⁹⁴ In the letter Margaret styles herself as Henry's most devoted daughter, '*sua filia devotissima*': C 47/22/5/17.

²⁹⁵ *Diplomatic Documents*, no.326.

²⁹⁶ '*filio vestro et nostro*': *Ibid.*, no.327.

provide him with good council to ensure her son's welfare, as 'he is attentive in all things' to Henry.²⁹⁷ As Henry was at this point under Montfortian control, he could do little to guarantee John's security, and it appears that the Montfort regime exploited these family sentiments to try and procure John and prevent him aiding his father-in-law. This manipulation is explicit in the letters of credence provided for John that same month, asking him to return to the English court.²⁹⁸ In order to 'perpetuate the fiction that the new council was fulfilling Henry III's mandate', letters continued to be issued in the king's name following the Oxford Parliament in June 1258 until January 1261 and again following his capture at Lewes.²⁹⁹ Simon was clearly concerned that John could provide foreign intervention on the king's behalf and sought to bring him under his control. In order to secure John's compliance, the letter flattered his honesty, but also played upon the strong bond that had been formed between John and the king since his marriage to Beatrice.³⁰⁰ Two letters of safe-conduct were also issued to John and his household for their coming to England.³⁰¹

Simon de Montfort was similarly concerned that Alexander could personally intervene on his father-in-law's behalf, beyond permitting Scottish nobles to join the royalist cause. In March 1265, Simon despatched David de Offinton, Robert de Insula and Robert de Trillawe to the Scottish king.³⁰² These envoys carried a letter to Alexander, relating the news that peace had been secured with Edward and Henry's nephew Henry of Almain, son of Richard of Cornwall, being offered as hostages, following their defeat in battle. In the letter, in order to ensure the peace and Edward and Henry's release, Simon asked Alexander on his faith, homage and the affection with which he held the English king, not to interfere with the peace.³⁰³ As in the letters sent to John, Simon maintained the pretence of Henry's continued rule by applying the same affective addresses, describing Alexander as a beloved son.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁷ *'quar il sen atent dou tot a vos'*: SC 1/2/192.

²⁹⁸ CR 1264–1268, 32–3.

²⁹⁹ B.L. Wild, 'A Captive King: Henry III between the Battles of Lewes and Evesham, 1264–5' in *Thirteenth Century England XIII*, eds J. Burton, F. Lachaud and P. Schofield (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 41–56 (41). Following his release Henry revoked all charters, letters and grants that were made after Lewes and before his release, as Henry was under the 'rod and power of Earl Simon': Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, II.507.

³⁰⁰ *'ad que per filie nostre copulam affinitas dudum inter nos contracta necnon et vestre merita probitatis specialiter nos inducunt'*: CR 1264–1268, 32.

³⁰¹ CPR 1258–1266, 414, 415.

³⁰² CR 1264–1268, 103.

³⁰³ Ibid., 102.

³⁰⁴ *'dilecti filii A. regis Scocie'*: Ibid., 65.

Another envoy, the prior of Durham, was instructed to approach the Scottish queen, Margaret, and relay the same details concerning Edward's capture. The prior was to ensure that she did nothing contrary to the peace that would result in the delayed release of her brother.³⁰⁵ This threat made in order to guarantee Margaret's compliance demonstrates the barons' concern that she would seek to help both her brother and father by petitioning her husband to their cause. This warning did not necessarily have the desired effect, however, as Margaret sent Oliver, the abbot of Dryburgh, to visit Edward in captivity. The Melrose chronicle, which records the visit, portrays Simon as highly suspicious and almost paranoid, fearing the meeting would permit secret letters or verbal messages to be passed between the abbot and Edward. As a result, Simon constantly observed the meeting and kept himself between the abbot and Edward on his arrival and departure.³⁰⁶ Evidently Simon's envoys appear to have had the opposite effect on Scottish participation, as in the summer of 1265, Alexander was attempting to raise a major army to come to Edward's aid.³⁰⁷ According to the *Gesta Annalia*, Alexander was in the process of levying three men for every hide of land in order to support Henry and Edward, however, on hearing of their success at Evesham, Scottish involvement became unnecessary.³⁰⁸ Moreover, the Scots may have been trying to disrupt the endeavours of the northern baron, John de Vescy, during the conflict, as the Scottish exchequer rolls reveal that 60 pots of oats were captured from the lady de Vescy, at Sprouston.³⁰⁹

John's participation in the conflict is more difficult to discern. It appears that John did not adhere to Simon de Montfort's commands and remained outside England, only returning after Henry's restoration. Nevertheless, John played an important role following the royalist victory at Evesham. As part of the Dictum of Kenilworth (1266), which sought to reconcile the rebellious barons with the king, John and Edward were given power by Henry to admit into his peace all the disinherited.³¹⁰ John then interceded with the king on behalf of former rebels. For

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 103–4.

³⁰⁶ *Chronica de Mailros*, 215.

³⁰⁷ Oakes, 'Barons' War in the North', 209.

³⁰⁸ Fordun, i.302. Alice Taylor suggests that 'hide' referred to a *dabach* or ploughgate: Taylor, *Shape of the State of Scotland*, 388.

³⁰⁹ *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 29. It is unclear whether the lady referred to was John de Vescy's mother or wife, both of whom were called Agnes.

³¹⁰ *CPR 1258–1266*, 605.

example, John, lord of Cheshunt, Wormley and Hoddesdon, was pardoned of his 10 mark fine for his transgressions during the period of instability in the realm.³¹¹

Another measure of the close bonds that grew between Henry and his sons-in-law was the numerous gifts and grants that were exchanged between them. Much to the derision of Matthew Paris, in 1256 Henry conferred the honour of Huntingdon upon Alexander, as his ancestors had held it, to the impoverishment of the crown.³¹² Paris' condemnation of Henry's largesse would have increased tenfold had he known the full extent of the king's generosity towards the Scottish king. The same year, Henry ordered the urgent payment of 500 marks of the king's gift to Alexander, 'postponing all other business'.³¹³ In December 1256, Henry was given a goshawk in return by his son-in-law.³¹⁴ Furthermore, in February 1271, Henry granted Alexander the manor of Penrith.³¹⁵ Likewise, John was granted the right to hunt freely within all the king's parks in England.³¹⁶ Nevertheless, the most prominent interaction between Henry and John concerned the payment of Beatrice's dowry: Richmond. As had been agreed, Henry was to pay the value of the earldom until it was restored to the Breton heir. Therefore, during the first decade of Beatrice's marriage Henry made various provisions for John to cover the yearly payments and the arrears that quickly accrued. In March 1262, John of Brittany was offered the wardship of the barony of the deceased Thomas Gresle, in part payment of the 2000 marks the king owed him as part of Beatrice's dowry.³¹⁷ Included in this offer was the proviso that should John decline, the wardship would be used towards the wages of Edmund's household. By July, however, the wardship appears to have been assigned to Henry Purcel, the king's clerk, for the use of John or Edmund, answering to the queen's wardrobe.³¹⁸ These writs demonstrate the attempts made to pay Beatrice's dowry, as well as how John received similar treatment and financial support as Eleanor and Henry's second son, Edmund.

³¹¹ *CR 1268–1272*, 159.

³¹² '*rex Angliae in crostino Sancti Aegidii concessit et incartavit regi Scotiae Huntendonam, u team cum honore ad eam pertinente teneret et haberet, ut aliqui sui habebant praedecessores et tenebant. Et sic decrevit rex diatim depauperatus*': *CM*, v.576; *Letters*, ii, no.510.

³¹³ '*postpones omnibus aliis negotiis*': C 62/32 m.4.

³¹⁴ *CR 1256–1259*, 18.

³¹⁵ *CR 1268–1272*, 393–4.

³¹⁶ *CPR 1258–1266*, 87.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 203.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 225.

By 1266, Henry was 4000 marks in arrears to John, as the baronial rebellion curtailed Henry's expenditure and distribution of lands and wardships.³¹⁹ As a result John was granted the issues and profits of the escheats and wardships of lands, fees and marriages, falling to the king, in addition to the issues and profits of archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys and priories falling void, until John was satisfied.³²⁰ For example, John received Guichard de Charron's payment of 500 marks for the wardship of the lands and heirs of Thomas de Rihull, as well as the 400 mark fine of Clemence, widow of Robert de Scales, for the wardship of the lands and heirs of her husband.³²¹ These writs demonstrate that John had almost first refusal of all wards and escheats that fell into the crown's hands, in addition to receiving all the fines made in payment for these privileges.³²² Thereofre, others had to wait for payment until John was no longer in arrears before they would receive any of the king's favour. For example, William de Say was informed that he would have to wait until John was assured of 4000 marks before he could receive land worth £100 yearly as promised.³²³ Nevertheless, the annual payments to John were still 1324 marks in arrears two years later in 1268.³²⁴

The belated payment of dowry was also an issue for Alexander and debts began to accrue. Two writs dated 10 November 1260 reveal that Henry owed the Scottish king a substantial amount, as well as his difficulties in paying. The first writ ordered 200 marks to be paid from the exchequer, while the second instructed the keeper of the bishopric of Durham to pay Alexander 300 marks out of the issues of the see. The addition of the phrase 'in part payment of the money due to him for the marriage of Margaret queen of Scotland, his consort, the king's daughter' is rather telling of the amount of money Henry still owed Alexander a decade after the wedding.³²⁵ Moreover, Henry was behind in his daily payments to Alexander for his expenses when in England. In 1261, Henry had to lend 600 marks from the citizens and merchants of Florence to pay arrears of 100 marks to Alexander. The remaining

³¹⁹ For the effect of the Second Barons' War on Richmond's restoration: see above 131–2.

³²⁰ *CPR 1258–1266*, 668.

³²¹ *CPR 1266–1272*, 63, 115.

³²² This practice of stopping all other writs until one beneficiary was satisfied was a technique used frequently by Henry to try and ensure full payment or fulfilment of grants. See, for example, Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance*, 109.

³²³ *CPR 1266–1272*, 168.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 391.

³²⁵ *CLR 1260–1267*, 4.

500 marks was designated for the part payment of £1006 6s 2d that he owed to John for the earldom of Richmond.³²⁶ Similarly, in 1261, Henry had to call upon Edward's assistance to satisfy Alexander for £1000 owed for Margaret's dowry, and which Henry had to reimburse his son.³²⁷ By November 1270, however, arrears had reached 2000 marks.³²⁸ Shortly after his coronation, Edward instructed the barons of the exchequer to examine the exchequer and wardrobe accounts to calculate the extent of the arrears owed to Alexander for Margaret's dowry.³²⁹

Following their marriages Margaret and Beatrice were not forgotten about. Henry and Eleanor remained concerned parents who sought regular, news and updates about their daughters' welfare. Henry was so concerned for Margaret during the early years of her marriage that he overhauled the Scottish minority government when he felt his daughters' rights were being impeded, although his intervention caused her more issues in Scotland. Contact was maintained with both daughters through visits and letters, with Margaret regularly returning to England. Margaret and Beatrice continued to be close to Henry, receiving various gifts and financial support, as well as demonstrating the ability to intercede with him on behalf of their attendants and other supplicants. Moreover, both daughters' husbands were quickly welcomed into the English royal family and treated like sons.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14–5.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 52, 79–80, 89–90.

³²⁸ *CPR 1266–1272*, 488.

³²⁹ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1881–8), ii, no.25. Edward does not appear to have paid anything to Alexander for Margaret's dowry, suggesting that the matter had been resolved.

Chapter V: Death and Legacy

On 16 November 1272 Henry III died.¹ Neither Margaret nor Beatrice outlived their father for long, as both passed away within the space of a couple of months in early 1275. The death of their father and subsequent coronation of their brother as Edward I, permitted one, final family reunion. When Edward finally returned to England from the Holy Land in August 1274 his coronation was set to follow. For the occasion at Westminster, Beatrice and John, recently returned from the Holy Land, and Margaret and Alexander III were reunited, alongside Edmund and their mother Eleanor of Provence. The coronation was the last occasion when Edward, Margaret, Beatrice and Edmund were together at the English court and the interactions between them demonstrate the continued sibling bonds.

The coronation was swiftly followed by the deaths of both Margaret and Beatrice. While Margaret's date of death was noted in the chronicles, Beatrice's death was recorded with less certainty; this chapter discusses the possible timing of her death. The study of the end of the sisters' lives, namely the location of their deaths and burials, reveals much about Margaret and Beatrice's perception of their own identities. It shows that both their natal and marital kin played important roles as executors of wills and patrons of religious foundations as part of their commemoration; from which we can discern something of about the affections and grief of Margaret and Beatrice's relatives.

This chapter also explores the political and dynastic repercussions of their deaths. In life, Margaret and Beatrice's marriages had helped to forge peace between England and Scotland, as well as England and Brittany. These unions also produced a number of children, grandchildren of Henry and Eleanor of Provence, who had differing levels of dealings with the English crown following their mothers' deaths. Alexander and his children continued amiable Anglo-Scottish relations, sending letters to the English king which emphasised their familial ties. Similarly, some of Beatrice and John's children were raised alongside their cousins at Windsor, resulting in careers in England. The legacies that Margaret and Beatrice left behind reveal that

¹ *CR 1268-1272*, 588.

ties remained strong with their natal family, and only declined with the tragedies of the Scottish crown and the tumult of Edward's reign, with his war against France and successive Scottish military campaigns.

Death

The Final Family Reunion

On Henry III's death his heir and successor, Edward, had yet to return to England following his crusade. Nevertheless, in his absence, Edward was recognised as king and Eleanor of Provence approved the appointment of faithful ministers as custodians of the realm until his return.² Following the conclusion of a truce in the Holy Land, Edward, Eleanor of Castile, John and Beatrice did not begin their journeys home until autumn 1272, and it was while wintering in Sicily that Edward learned of Henry's death.³ The king's demise did not, however, hasten Edward's return to England for his coronation. Instead, Edward and Eleanor progressed through Europe. In early 1273, Edward and Eleanor had an audience with Pope Gregory X at Viterbo, before Edward headed to Paris to do homage for Gascony to his cousin, Philip III.⁴ Edward then turned back to Gascony where Eleanor gave birth to a son, Alphonso, on 24 November 1273 at Bayonne.⁵ Finally, on Thursday 2 August 1274, almost two years after their departure from Acre, Edward and Eleanor landed at Dover.⁶

Edward's return and subsequent coronation at Westminster provided the setting for the final reunion of the siblings. On 19 August 1274, Edward was crowned king together with Eleanor of Castile as queen by the archbishop of Canterbury, Robert de Feckenham, at Westminster. The ceremony was attended by the king of Scots and John of Brittany, with their wives, who the continuator of Matthew Paris

² Trivet, 283.

³ This delay was probably necessitated by the pregnancy of Eleanor and potentially also Beatrice, as well as the need for recuperation following the assassination attempt on Edward's life: see 196–7. Edward learned of the death of his son John shortly before news arrived of his father's death: Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 131; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 81.

⁴ The bonds of kinship were not lost on the author of the continuation of Matthew Paris, who stated that the two kings were 'born of two sisters' (*'de duabus sororibus procreati'*): Flores, iii.29–31. Trivet states Edward met the Pope at Orvieto, rather than Viterbo, then headed on to Savoy and a tournament at Chalons-sur-Saone, before meeting the French king: Trivet, 284–6.

⁵ Cockerill, *Eleanor of Castile*, 184. On the journey back to England, passing through Ponthieu, Joan of Acre was left to be raised by her grandmother, Jeanne: Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 31.

⁶ CR 1272–9, 97; CPR 1272–81, 55–6.

specified were the sisters of King Edward.⁷ The emphasis on these family ties suggests that the occasion was perceived as a reunion of the children of Henry III. As a result of his protracted journey to England, Edward would not have seen his crusading siblings for two years, as Edmund departed the Holy Land much earlier than his brother, and John and Beatrice returned via the Morea.⁸ Margaret, on the other hand, had not visited England since the early 1260s.⁹ Furthermore, the coronation offered the opportunity to reunite Eleanor of Provence with her adult children. It may also have permitted Eleanor to meet all her Scottish grandchildren, as according to the *Gesta Annalia*, the Scottish king and queen were joined by their children in attending Edward's coronation.¹⁰ Similarly, Edward and Beatrice's children were reunited with their parents, receiving new robes for the occasion.¹¹

Following the accession of their brother, Margaret and Beatrice continued to intercede with, and receive gifts from, the English king, demonstrating the continuity in their roles at the heart of English politics, as well as the sustained affection between the siblings. Margaret and Alexander remained in England for five weeks for Edward's coronation. During this time, Margaret received a gold cup from her brother, while Alexander received £175 to cover his expenses while in England.¹² Here Edward continued to pay Alexander's expenses at a rate of 100s per day, as Henry had previously done every time the Scottish king crossed the border at his request.¹³ Additionally, Margaret and Alexander successfully interceded with the new English king. On 27 August 1274, the bishop of Dublin, staying in Scotland, was allowed to appoint attorneys in his absence and be quit of all summons, at the instance of the queen of Scotland, 'the king's sister'.¹⁴ Another example of intercession, possibly undertaken while the Scottish royal couple were still in England, but granted after their departure, was on behalf of Alexander Comyn and his

⁷ Flores, iii.44. According to Prestwich, Edmund may have boycotted the coronation as his claim to carry the sword *Curtana* at the ceremony was rejected: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 90.

⁸ *AD Loire-Atlantique*, E 114/5; S.D. Lloyd, 'Edmund, first earl of Lancaster and first earl of Leicester (1245–1296)', *ODNB* (2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8504> [accessed 28 Nov 2015].

⁹ Margaret was last in England in 1261 for the birth of her first child. Edward and Edmund visited their sister in Scotland after the suppression of the baronial rebellion in 1266–7, see 166–71, 192–3; *CPR 1266–1272*, 250.

¹⁰ Fordun, i.305.

¹¹ E 101/350/18 m.3, printed in Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 413.

¹² E 372/121 rot.22 m.2; *CCR 1272–1279*, 97.

¹³ See above 173.

¹⁴ '*ad instanciam sororis sue*': C 54/91 m.7d.

wife Elizabeth. At the request and instance of his 'beloved and faithful Alexander, illustrious king of Scots', and his 'most beloved sister, Margaret, queen of Scots', Edward permitted Elizabeth, one of the co-heiresses of the earl of Winchester, to remain in Scotland to receive her English inheritance, as she was 'pregnant and near the time of delivery'.¹⁵ Beatrice's relationship with Edward, however, continued to be as poorly documented following his accession, as it had been during Henry's reign. Nevertheless, Edward appears to have maintained the practices of his father with regard to Beatrice. For example, in January 1275, Edward granted his sister a gift of twelve oaks.¹⁶ Furthermore, when disputes arose concerning the lands Beatrice was granted by Henry, Edward permitted his sister to retain the lands until he could hear the claims.¹⁷ Both Margaret and Beatrice continued to enjoy their brother's favour.

The contemporary chronicles describe how the happiness of Edward's return, his coronation and the family reunion soon turned to sorrow. The continuation of Matthew Paris related that the great joy of the coronation was quickly replaced with great sadness as the sisters died.¹⁸ In tribute, it recounted that 'the ladies were in fact very famous and of most beautiful youth', emphasising that both Margaret and Beatrice died fairly young, at the age of 34 and 32 respectively.¹⁹ Thomas Wykes' chronicle similarly conveyed their virtues, describing them as the 'most serene' queen of Scots and her sister 'the noble countess of Brittany'.²⁰ Likewise the Dunstable annalist recalled the close family ties between the sisters, styling Beatrice as the sister of the king and countess of Brittany, while Margaret was the queen of

¹⁵ *'Ad preces et instanciam dilecti suis et fidelis nostri Alexandri Regi Scotorum illustris ac karissime sororis nostre M. Regine Scotie consortis sue de gratia specialius'; 'ut Elizabeth sponsa vestra et una heredum R. de Quency quondam comitis Wintonia eo quod gravida et proxima partus existit moram faciat in partibus vestris': C 54/92 m.24d.*

¹⁶ *CR 1272–1279*, 143.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 153–4. *'cepit in manum dilecte sorori Regis Beatr' consorti Johanni de Britannia, comes Richemundie liberet tenenda usque tres septem post Pascha proxima': C 54/92 m.20.* Henry granted the wardship of John Peyvre's heir, except the dower lands of his widow, to Beatrice in 1268: see above 194–5. By May 1274, his widow's dower had reverted to Beatrice, despite Eleanor of Provence's attempts to grant the lands to the archdeacon of Stafford in return for £50 yearly: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, Vol 5, no.11072.

¹⁸ *'Huic coronation intererant rex Scotiae et Johannes comes Britanniae cum suis uxoribus, sororibus quidem regis Aedwardi, quae per breve spatium temporis potmodum obierunt sicque post magnum gaudium coronationis magnam tristitiam nobilibus reliquerunt': Flores*, iii.44.

¹⁹ *'erant enim dominae multum famosae et pulcherrimae juventis': Flores*, iii.44–5.

²⁰ *'obit serenissima Scotorum regina Margareta, et soror ejus Beatricia nobilis Britanniae comitissa regis Anglorum germanae': AM*, iv.262.

Scots, who was also the king's sister and the said Beatrice.²¹ Based on these chronicle accounts, Green suggested that the strength of the bond between the sisters was such that when news of Margaret's death reached Beatrice, who was already in a delicate state of health following the recent birth of her daughter, it possibly accelerated her own demise.²² These two deaths which followed shortly after Edward's coronation caused the royal family great distress, particularly their mother who lost both of her adult daughters in quick succession. Wykes' account stated that the deaths left the English queen's family in pitiful mourning, and Eleanor's intense grief at losing both her daughters was only tempered by the survival of her healthy grandchildren.²³

Dates of Margaret and Beatrice's Deaths

As is evident from the examples given, many of the chronicles juxtapose Edward's coronation with the quick successions of his sisters' death. This connection was probably made for dramatic effect to emphasise the change in tone at court from happiness to sorrow. Nevertheless, the chancery evidence and other chronicles reveal that the coronation and their deaths were not necessarily successive events. The Dunstable annals and Wykes both suggest that Margaret and Beatrice died before Easter.²⁴ The *Gesta Annalia* gives greater precision and records that Margaret died on 26 February 1275 at Cupar castle.²⁵ The *Lanercost* chronicle gives the same date and adds that Margaret was a woman of great beauty, purity and humility, and that it was rare for one soul to inhabit all three virtues.²⁶ It also relates that as she weakened, abbots and bishops attempted to visit her but were banned from her chamber, apart from her Franciscan confessor.²⁷ In this act Margaret demonstrated her devotion to

²¹ '*Beatrix soror domini regis Angliae comitissa Britanniae*'; '*eodem fere tempore obiit Margaretha regina Scotiae quae fuit soror regis Angliae et dictae Beatricis*': *AM*, iii.265. The annals relate their deaths shortly before the start of the annal for 1275, which began after Easter, suggesting that they died before the festivities.

²² Green, *Lives*, ii, 264.

²³ '*earum genitrici Anglorum reginae planctum lugubrem relinquentes sane utirusque sexus soboles ingenua, quam supradicte sorores de suis lumbis ediderant, doloris vehementiam temperavit*': *AM*, iv.262.

²⁴ *AM*, iii.265; iv.262.

²⁵ Fordun, i.305.

²⁶ '*mulier magnae formositatis castitatis ac humilitatis quae tria raro convenient in uno animo*': *Lanercost*, 97.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

the Franciscans, indicating the influences of her mother in Margaret's spiritual education, reflecting Eleanor's own preference from the order.²⁸

While Margaret's demise is recorded with a fair degree of certainty, it is more difficult to ascertain the date of Beatrice's death. The eighteenth-century Breton historian Lobineau stated that Edward's coronation was followed seven months later by the deaths of Margaret and Beatrice, who had been the principal attraction of the festivities, towards mid-Easter.²⁹ Therefore, Beatrice appears to have died sometime in late-March 1275. Howell gives the date of Beatrice's death as 24 March 1275, following Green.³⁰ The only contemporary source I can find which suggests a date this late comes from the wardrobe and household accounts of Edward I. On 29 March 1289, while in Gascony, Edward and Eleanor of Castile paid 6s 8d for two masses to be celebrated for Beatrice's soul at Aire-sur-l'Adour Cathedral.³¹ Nevertheless, it is possible that Beatrice may have died before this date. On 23 February 1275, Edward granted John of Brittany licence to assign land for a number of chaplains to celebrate divine service at Richmond for his and Beatrice's souls.³² It was the first writ made for Beatrice and John's souls which suggests that either Beatrice's health was precarious, or that she had already died.³³ It seems unusual for such a grant to have been made unless there was concern for their souls. The last occasion when Beatrice is known to have been alive was on 10 January 1275, when she received a gift of oaks from Edward.³⁴ Therefore, the chancery evidence suggests that Beatrice died at some

²⁸ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 291. Eleanor of Provence turned to the Franciscans for guidance in her spiritual life. The English Franciscan, Adam Marsh, provided Eleanor with both spiritual advice and practical counsel: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 92, 94. Marsh was also a key contact for other royal and aristocratic women, including Eleanor de Montfort: Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, 12–3, 80–3.

²⁹ Lobineau, *Histoire*, 270. Lobineau appears to have used the contemporary English chronicles. He follows Wykes in stating that she died mid-Lent and his description of Margaret and Beatrice's deaths has parallels to the continuation of Matthew Paris, describing them as being in the flower of their youth and of excellent beauty on their deaths: *AM*, iv.262; *Flores*, iii.44–5.

³⁰ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 291; Green, *Lives*, ii, 264. Green only references the undated account given in the *Flores* as evidence for this date.

³¹ 'ad duas missas solempnes celebrates pro anima Beatricis de Brittan' sororis regis in ecclesia cathedral Aduren' xxix die Marcii': *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, ed. B.F. Byerly and C.R. Byerly (London: HMSO, 1986), no.2506. The calendar in the Beatrice Book of Hours is no longer extant. The catalogue entry states that a number of leaves are missing, http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS032-002024195 [accessed 8 August 2018]. The date of her death may have been recorded there as a number of prayers for her soul were also entered in to the book: BL Add MS 33385; see below 232.

³² *CPR 1272–1281*, 81.

³³ Other offerings for Beatrice's soul made by John, including in his will, specified that they were done so for his and Beatrice's souls, rather than for the celebration of her anniversary, making it difficult to pinpoint the date of Beatrice's death: see 221–4.

³⁴ *CCR 1272–1279*, 143.

point between 10 January 1275 and John's licence of 23 February 1275. Should it have occurred at the end of this date range, the sisters would have died within a week of each other, explaining the chronicles' accounts of their mother's profound distress. A slightly later date of death in March (assuming that Beatrice had not yet died when the licence was granted but was instead ill and declining in late February), would reconcile the chancery material with the chronicle accounts.

Burial

The choice of burial locations for both Margaret and Beatrice provides some valuable insights into their perceived identities and familial ties. Following her death at Cupar castle, Margaret's body was entombed at Dunfermline abbey, alongside King David, Alexander's great-great-grandfather.³⁵ Margaret was joined in death at Dunfermline by her sons David and Alexander in 1281 and 1283 respectively.³⁶ Furthermore, on the death of Alexander III in 1285, he too was buried at the same location, alongside his wife and children.³⁷ The choice of Dunfermline is interesting because Margaret was the first Scottish queen to be buried there since her saintly queen namesake and ancestor, the Anglo-Saxon princess St Margaret, who founded the abbey.³⁸ The death and burial of Joan (wife of Alexander II and sister of Henry III) in England caused Nelson to state that Joan's primary identity was that of an English princess rather than a Scottish queen and that her childlessness prevented her from fully integrating into the Scottish royal family.³⁹ Conversely, Margaret's motherhood helped her assimilation into the Scottish royal family and the location of her burial at Dunfermline, strongly suggests that she identified as a Scottish queen, albeit of English birth, so that both her natal and marital identities merged.

In contrast, Beatrice, who died in early 1275 in England, was buried at the Franciscan church (Greyfriars) in London, purportedly at her own request. Some of the French histories state that Beatrice founded the Franciscan church and that was why she chose to be buried there.⁴⁰ In fact, Greyfriars was originally founded in

³⁵ Fordun, i.305.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, i.307.

³⁷ *Lanercost*, 115, 117; Fordun, i.309.

³⁸ Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 233–4. Margaret's burial at Dunfermline again, emphasises the strength of the saint's veneration by the Scottish royal couple, see above 196–7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁴⁰ See Anselme, *Histoire*, 448; Lobineau, *Histoire*, 270; le Baud, *Histoire*, 247.

1225.⁴¹ These French sources are the only ones which attribute the foundation of Greyfriars to Beatrice. Perhaps the historians were struggling to understand the reasons why she was buried there rather than in Brittany, especially when Beatrice's mother-in-law, the duchess Blanche, was buried in the Cistercian nunnery that she had founded in Brittany, on her death in 1283.⁴² Instead Beatrice's burial in England seems to have been a direct result of her death in her natal rather than marital home. She was buried in London, akin to the experience of Joan, Henry's sister, who similarly died in England and as such was buried there, rather than Scotland.

Beatrice's body, however, may not have lain at the church of the Friars Minor in London from her death. A letter of the archbishop of Canterbury, dated 5 August 1279, refers to 'the church of the Friars minor of London, where the body of the said Beatrice is delivered for burial'.⁴³ This phrasing implies that Beatrice's body had only recently been delivered and buried at the church. Therefore, from her death in 1275 until 1279 her body possibly lay elsewhere. It may have rested at Reading. I would cautiously propose that Beatrice fell ill and died after giving birth to Eleanor early in 1275.⁴⁴ Beatrice may have been at Windsor, where Eleanor of Castile, Beatrice's sister-in-law also gave birth to a daughter, Margaret, on 15 March 1275.⁴⁵ Having potentially spent much of their time on crusade giving birth together at Acre, it would seem reasonable to consider that bonds of friendship were forged through their mutual experiences in the Holy Land, and that Beatrice and Eleanor continued this companionship on their return to England.⁴⁶ Therefore, if Beatrice died at Windsor, Reading abbey would have been a suitable location to be temporarily laid to rest. If Beatrice's body spent time at Reading, it may also explain the Dunstable Annalist's account of Beatrice's death, which stated that she was buried at Reading.⁴⁷ Reading

⁴¹ L. Slater, 'Defining Queenship at Greyfriars, c.1300–58', *Gender & History* 27 (2015), 53–76 (55).

⁴² de la Borderie, *Histoire*, 357.

⁴³ 'ecclesia Fratrum Minorum Londonie ubi corpus ipsius est traditum sepulturae': *Registrum epistolarum fratris Johannis Peckham, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. C.T. Martin, Volume I (London: Longman, 1882), no.26.

⁴⁴ Anselme, 448–9. Howell believes that Beatrice did not die in childbirth but acknowledges her childbearing may have been a factor in her death: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 291. It is possible that Beatrice's death was associated with her pregnancies as she was in poor health in Brittany during the early years of her childbearing, as related to her father in the letters discussed above 173–5.

⁴⁵ Parsons suggests that Margaret was born on 15 March 1275: Parsons, 'Eleanor of Castile's Birth and Her Children', 262.

⁴⁶ Edward issued the licence for John to appoint chaplains on 23 February 1275 at Windsor, where John and Beatrice may also have been located: *CPR 1271–1281*, 81.

⁴⁷ 'obiit Beatrix, soror domini regis Angliae, comitissa Britanniae; et sepulta est apud Redingges': *AM*, iii.265.

abbey, and its annals, were particularly royalist, and C.W. Previt -Orton has attributed to the proximity of the abbey to Windsor.⁴⁸

The only other query would be why Beatrice was not immediately buried at her chosen location of Greyfriars. It appears that her burial there was delayed because the church was still undergoing major building work. While the chapel was built in the 1230s, the building of the nave was not completed until c.1290.⁴⁹ As a result, Beatrice's body was moved from Reading to Greyfriars sometime between her death in 1275 and 1279, and a cross was erected in Reading in Beatrice's memory, to mark the place where her body had previously lain.⁵⁰ The only reference to this cross comes from the letter of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury.⁵¹ I can find no mention of a cross being built in Beatrice's memory in the government records, suggesting that it may have been built by her husband. Nevertheless, there are parallels with the Eleanor crosses that Edward erected in memory of his wife, Eleanor of Castile, following her death, marking the locations where Eleanor's body lay each evening as it was carried from Harby, Nottinghamshire, where she died on 28 November 1290, back to London.⁵² These were, in turn, based on the *montjoies* memorials that marked the resting places of Louis IX's body as it was returned from crusade.⁵³ There were also English precedents, such as the stone cross Henry had erected at Merton in memory of Earl Warenne, who died in 1240.⁵⁴ Similarly, by 1294 there was a cross erected in memory of Eleanor of Provence near Windsor, following her death in 1291.⁵⁵ Therefore, the presence of a cross at Reading suggests that Beatrice's body may have spent time there before being moved to Greyfriars.⁵⁶

⁴⁸ C.W. Previt -Orton, 'Annales Radingenses Posteriores, 1135-1264', *English Historical Review* 37 (1922), 400-3 (400).

⁴⁹ Slater, 'Queenship at Greyfriars', 56.

⁵⁰ 'ad crucem Radingiae quae pro ejus memoria erecta': *Registrum epistolarum fratris Johannis Peckham*, no.26.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, no.26. For the indulgences offered for prayers on Beatrice's behalf: see below 231-2.

⁵² Cockerill, *Eleanor of Castile*, 344-5.

⁵³ E. Hallam, 'The Eleanor Crosses and Royal Burial Customs' in *Eleanor of Castile 1290-1990: Essays to Commemorate the 700th Anniversary of her death: 28 November 1290*, ed. D. Parsons (Stamford, 1991), 9-21 (18).

⁵⁴ *History of the King's Works, Volume 1*, 485.

⁵⁵ C 54/111 m.8. Eleanor died on 24 June 1291 at Amesbury: Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 309.

⁵⁶ The location at Reading where Beatrice's body possibly lay may have been the Franciscan church which had been patronised by Henry III during the late 1230s. See: *CLR 1226-1240*, 409-10; *History of the King's Works, Volume 1*, 157.

At Greyfriars Beatrice's body lay on the left hand side of the northern arch in the choir.⁵⁷ She was not, however, buried in this location originally. Laura Slater believes that as the first person of royal birth to be buried at Greyfriars it would have been inexplicable for her to have been buried anywhere other than in the prominent and central position before the high altar. It was only the expansive building work undertaken by Margaret of France that meant that Beatrice's tomb was moved to the side.⁵⁸ Beatrice's decision to be buried at Greyfriars, however, is a little odd. Kingsford, suggests that the choice of location may have been influenced by the proximity of the duke of Brittany's inn to Greyfriars.⁵⁹ Moreover, up to 1300, much of the building and expansion of Greyfriars was undertaken by leading civic and mercantile families with close ties to her father.⁶⁰ Beatrice may well have known many of the key patrons of Greyfriars who were members of, and merchants to, her father's household, giving her a closer association with the foundation. Nevertheless, when considered alongside her mother's preference for the Franciscan order that she appears to have shared with both her daughters, the choice becomes a little clearer.⁶¹ Eleanor of Provence's heart was also buried at Greyfriars upon her death in 1291, placed at the head of the same arch as her daughter's body.⁶² Their reunification in death demonstrates the close bonds of affection between mother and daughter. According to Elizabeth Brown,

[b]urial near many loved ones not only promised temporal solace for the remains of those confronting death; it also offered the prospect that, at resurrection, the different portions of the body would rise with those of relatives and friends to enjoy, with them, the same sort of companionship in heaven that they had had on earth.⁶³

⁵⁷ C.L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1915), 71.

⁵⁸ Slater, 'Defining Queenship at Greyfriars', 57.

⁵⁹ Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, 35, n.3.

⁶⁰ For example, William Joyner, responsible for building the original chapel in the 1230s, was a wardrobe merchant. Other donors included the king's tailor, William, and others who helped to provision the royal wardrobe with luxury goods: Slater, 'Queenship at Greyfriars', 56, 58.

⁶¹ For Eleanor of Provence's devotion to the Franciscans and its influence on Margaret, see above 219–20. It should also be noted, however, that not all burial choices were fulfilled. For example, Isabel Marshal, first wife of Richard of Cornwall, had a strong preference for Tewkesbury abbey but her wishes were overruled by her husband, and her body was instead buried at Berkhamstead, associated with Richard and his family, and only her heart was sent to Tewkesbury: D. Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 64.

⁶² Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 89, 103; Green, *Lives*, ii, 264–5; Kingsford, *Grey Friars*, 71.

⁶³ E.A.R. Brown, 'Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse', *Viator* 12 (1981), 221–70 (266).

Slater has suggested that this mother-daughter burial inspired Isabella of France to create a queenly mausoleum at Greyfriars. The successive French queens of England, Margaret of France and Isabella of France, were both buried in the choir before the high altar, following their rebuilding of the church in the 1300s. They were also joined by Isabella's daughter, Joan of Scotland and her granddaughter, Isabella of Bedford.⁶⁴

To ensure that Greyfriars was a suitable location for the burial of his wife, John became one of the church's patrons. The *Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londonie* named John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, as one of the founders of the new church.⁶⁵ John was said to have contributed around £300 towards the building of the nave of the church, as well as giving a precious gold chalice, various costly vestments, hangings and many other unspecified good things beyond reckoning for the needs and nourishment of the brothers.⁶⁶ In this act he was joined by his granddaughter, Marie de St Pol, who gave £70 towards the building work, as well as many other things to the great honour of the brothers.⁶⁷ John also provided glass for the windows on the fifteenth and last windows on the east side.⁶⁸ As well as providing for her soul, John ensured that his wife was buried with the necessary splendour to match her status.

While Beatrice's body was buried at Greyfriars, her heart received a separate burial, like her mother's. This practice of multiple interment reached England in the twelfth century, but flourished in the thirteenth. Brown attributes the division of the bodies of members of the English royal family to the cult of Edmund of Abingdon, as Edmund's heart and entrails were buried at Soisy, where he died, and his body was taken to Pontigny. This English royal veneration influenced Henry III, Eleanor of Provence, Edward I, Eleanor of Castile, Richard of Cornwall and Eleanor de Montfort, whose bodies were divided after death.⁶⁹ Danielle Westerhof adds that the division of the body could also be influenced by attachment to a specific house by the donor.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Slater, 'Queenship at Greyfriars', 53, 59.

⁶⁵ The register was printed by Kingsford in *Grey Friars*, 70–201.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁶⁹ Brown, 'Death and the Human Body', 228–30; Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, 58–61, 64; Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, 136.

⁷⁰ The location of a heart burial was a premeditated choice, unlike the entrails which would be buried at the nearest suitable location with little ceremony: Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, 63–4.

While Beatrice's body lay in London, her heart was taken to Fontevraud abbey, the Angevin necropolis, by her husband John.⁷¹ Again, Beatrice was joined by one of her parents in death, as Henry III's heart was delivered for burial at Fontevraud in 1291.⁷² The choice of location for the burial of the body and heart demonstrate the 'personal sentiments and attachments of the dead persons and their survivors'.⁷³ In death, Beatrice emphasised her family ties and loving attachment to her parents, being buried in London and Fontevraud. Beatrice perhaps perceived herself to be an English princess, in a similar vein to her aunt, Joan. It is not apparent how much time she spent in her husband's English lands or how successfully she managed to integrate herself in Brittany. Nevertheless, as John was yet to succeed to the duchy, it would appear that her ties to her country of birth were stronger, and her identity as an English royal daughter certainly trumped being the countess of Richmond.

Beatrice's Will

Beatrice left a will, although it no longer survives. Evidence that it existed at some point is apparent in the chancery records, which show that Eleanor of Provence and John of Brittany were named as executors.⁷⁴ Women were often executors of testaments in the Middle Ages, particularly spouses, but daughters, mothers and sisters could also be appointed. Rowena Archer and B.E. Ferme have shown that often status was a more important factor than gender in appointing an executor, as testators sought individuals of influence or authority who could ensure the fulfilment of their wishes.⁷⁵ Philippa Maddern also argues that the 'success of a testators intentions depended on the probity and actions of their executors'.⁷⁶ Therefore, the appointment of both Eleanor and John by Beatrice suggests that she believed her husband and mother were the most suitable executors to accomplish her last requests. There was also precedent for a royal daughter to name her mother as

⁷¹ *Preuves*, 1185–91.

⁷² *CPR 1281–1292*, 463.

⁷³ Brown, 'Death and the Human Body', 233.

⁷⁴ '*Alianora regine Anglorum matri Regis, Johanni de Britannia et aliis executoribus testi' Beatricis, que fuit uxor dicti Johanni*': C54/92 m.14; *CR 1272–1279*, 178.

⁷⁵ R.E. Archer and B.E. Ferme, 'Testamentary Procedure with special reference to the Executrix', *Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989), 3–34 (5).

⁷⁶ P. Maddern, 'Friends of the Dead: Executors, Wills and Family Strategy in Fifteenth-Century Norfolk' in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England*, eds R.E. Archer and S. Walker (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), 155–74 (164).

executor. Eleanor of Aquitaine acted as executor for the will of her daughter, Joanna of Sicily.⁷⁷ Eleanor took this role seriously and headed to Gascony shortly after her daughter's death to show the original testament to Joanna's husband, the count of Toulouse. In order for her co-executors, including the archbishop of Canterbury, to begin to carry out the terms of the testament, Eleanor sent them a copy of the will.⁷⁸

Even though Beatrice's will does not survive, it is possible to discern what it may have contained by examining Joanna of Sicily's will. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that these bequests are representative of the testator's concerns for the next life, rather than priorities during their life.⁷⁹ In her testament, Joanna instructed her body to be buried at the Angevin mausoleum of Fontevraud.⁸⁰ She also made a number of grants for the salvation of her soul and disposed of her worldly goods. Fontevraud was the primary recipient of her benefactions, receiving £50 of rent from her saltpans in Agen for the convent's kitchen.⁸¹ Moreover, Joanna gave 1000 marks to clear the debts of the abbess and for building work at the abbey. Sums were also to be given to the sister houses of Fontevraud and other religious houses and churches in the Angevin territories. Additionally, Joanna made provision for the celebration of the anniversary of her first husband, the king of Sicily, and herself at the abbey church. She also left legacies for her household attendants, and gave her two coffers at Verdun to two of her ladies. Beatrice's will may also have contained similar details concerning her wish to be buried at Greyfriar's church in London, as well as making provisions for the salvation of the souls of herself and her family, and bequests to members of her household.⁸²

It is unknown when Beatrice wrote her testament but there appears to be two possible options. The first is that it was drawn up before she departed on crusade, or second, shortly before her death. Wills were often drawn up before departure on potentially dangerous journeys. For example, Henry III drew up his will in 1253

⁷⁷ *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, ed. J.H. Round (London: HMSO, 1899), no.1105. For Joanna's will: Bowie, *Daughters*, 186–9.

⁷⁸ *CDPF*, no.1105.

⁷⁹ Clive Burgess argues that wills were made to implement what most testators believed necessary and possible after death: C. Burgess, 'Late medieval wills and pious convention' in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Gloucester: Sutton, 1990), 14–30 (16, 27).

⁸⁰ *CDPF*, no.1105.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, no.1105. Joanna's will confirmed this grant which had been made earlier on behalf of the souls of herself, her dearest brother Richard, and her father, mother, brothers and sisters, and was witnessed by Eleanor of Aquitaine: *CDPF*, no.1104.

⁸² *CDPF*, no.1105.

before departing for Gascony.⁸³ The only known will of Edward I was written on 18 June 1272 at Acre, suggesting that Beatrice could also have composed her will to coincide with the crusade.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, if Beatrice's health was in decline during early 1275, suggested by the licence John received to set up chaplains and chantries for Beatrice's soul,⁸⁵ it would also have been an appropriate time to draw up her will.

Grants for the Souls of Margaret and Beatrice

As was the case with other royal and aristocratic widowers, upon the death of his wife, Alexander III made a number of obsequies for Margaret's soul. Although there are only two examples in the extant records, it does not mean there were no other occasions and grants made for Margaret's soul by the Scottish king. Firstly, Alexander dedicated a chapel to St Lawrence at Forres, in honour of Margaret, and assigned it 6 marks annually for prayers for his wife's soul.⁸⁶ We know of this grant as Adam, chaplain of Moray, petitioned Edward I for the payment of 6 marks. Edward granted this request in 1305, and the chaplain was to be paid as Alexander III had done.⁸⁷ Alexander's second act was a grant to Scone abbey of fishing rights for the soul of himself, his consort and his predecessors and successors.⁸⁸ Although there is not a plethora of surviving grants made by Alexander on behalf of his queen, these two acts demonstrate that the Scottish king was concerned for Margaret's salvation. Moreover, Alexander went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Thomas Becket in 1278.⁸⁹ The *Gesta Annalia* records the visit of the Scottish king to Canterbury following the notice of Margaret's death. Perhaps Alexander felt compelled to go on pilgrimage following the death of his wife, as part of his commemoration of her.

These concerns were similarly shared by Margaret's brother. In addition to taking over the payment of the Forres chaplain, Edward also continued to fund the

⁸³ *Foedera*, I.i, 496.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, I.i, 495.

⁸⁵ *CPR 1272–1281*, 81. See above 220.

⁸⁶ *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, Volume II: Edward I 1294–1307*, ed. P. Brand (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), no.459.

⁸⁷ '*de elemosina regis Alexandri pro anima Margarete quondam regine Scocie, quas quidem vj marcas hactenus percepit a tempore ejusdem Alexandri*': *PROME*, no.459.

⁸⁸ *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, no.107; *Acts of Alexander III*, no.169.

⁸⁹ Fordun, i.305–6. Alexander III was not alone in his veneration of Thomas Becket. William the Lion dedicated Arbroath abbey to Thomas and Alexander II went on pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1223: M. Penman, 'The Bruce dynasty, Becket and Scottish pilgrimage to Canterbury, c.1178–c.1404', *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 346–70 (350, 351).

chaplain at the church of St Margaret's Westminster that had been set up by their father Henry, on the birth of his eldest daughter.⁹⁰ On 14 September 1274, even before Margaret's death, Edward paid 60s yearly to the chaplain, Walter de Tothulle, to celebrate divine offices for his 'most beloved sister' Margaret.⁹¹ Following Margaret's death, Edward maintained these payments.⁹² From the extant alms rolls, Edward does not appear to have made any new oblations on behalf of his sister's soul, instead he ensured that payments to chaplains already established on Margaret's behalf continued to be paid throughout his reign. That is not to say that Edward did not pay for masses to be said for Margaret's soul, as when he was in Gascony with the queen during the late 1280s, they paid 6s 8d for two masses to be celebrated for Beatrice's soul.⁹³ Edward also aided his niece, Marie of Brittany, in her commemoration of her mother. In October 1289, the English king paid 49s 5d on Marie's behalf to feed the London Franciscans, where her mother was buried, and for the solemn celebration of mass for Beatrice's soul.⁹⁴ Edward fulfilled his sibling obligation towards his sisters following their deaths, in respect of their close bonds in life.

In comparison to the meagre evidence of Alexander's offerings for Margaret's soul, the acts of Beatrice's husband on her behalf survive in greater number and detail. John of Brittany was liberal in the grants he made to ensure his wife's salvation and remained loyal to her memory throughout his life, never remarrying despite surviving her for 30 years.⁹⁵ John's main acts of commemoration involved the establishment of chaplains. As mentioned previously, John secured a licence from Edward to assign in frank-almoyn land to the value of £30 a year for various chaplains celebrating divine service at Richmond for his and Beatrice's souls.⁹⁶ John granted the messuage of Moulton, Yorkshire, with its demesne lands, meadows and all

⁹⁰ See above 62; *CPR 1232–1247*, 232.

⁹¹ '*pro karissima sorore nostre*': C 62/50 m.4;.

⁹² For example, in 1275: E 403/27 m.3; E 403/30 m.3. In 1278: *CR 1272–1279*, 490.

⁹³ *Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, no.2506.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, no.2560.

⁹⁵ Most medieval widowers would remarry if issues such as the succession came into question or to forge further alliances. For example, Edward remarried following the death of Eleanor of Castile as part of the peace with France and the successive deaths of all but one of their sons. Similarly, Alexander III required a new wife following the death of Margaret and their three children. In comparison, Beatrice provided her husband with a number of children, particularly sons, which meant John could decide against remarrying: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 396; Nelson, 'Queenship in Scotland', 182.

⁹⁶ *CPR 1272–1281*, 81; see above 220.

appurtenances, as well as other lands and rents to the value of £25 yearly in support of six chaplains in the chapel of Richmond castle.⁹⁷ These six chaplains came from Egglestone, as part of an agreement made by chirograph between John and the abbot and abbey of Egglestone.⁹⁸ Two of the chaplains were assigned to celebrate divine service for Beatrice's soul and, following John's death, they were to commemorate the office of the dead for them both.⁹⁹ In January 1290, John made a grant to the monks, abbot and convent of Robertsbridge, Sussex, of two mills with their ponds and a piece of land in the parish of Brightling. This act was done for his soul, and those of Beatrice his late wife, and his parents, ancestors and heirs.¹⁰⁰ It was supplemented by the appointment of a further two chaplains who were granted parcels of land in Swafham, Norfolk, to support their daily celebration of divine service for the souls of John, Beatrice and their successors in 1305.¹⁰¹

John's concerns for the welfare of his family are also apparent in the bequest he made in his will. John drew up his will in 1302 and added a codicil in 1304, in which he dispensed the great sums he had accumulated as duke (from 1285 until his death in 1305), which totalled approximately 166,000 *livres tournois* at his death.¹⁰² Beatrice's soul was provided for in John's gifts to religious foundations associated with her burial. The abbess and convent at Fontevraud received 100s sterling of rent annually (most probably from the lands of the earldom of Richmond), to celebrate the anniversary of John and his wife, on the day of his death. Fontevraud received this patronage as it was the location 'where the heart of my dear wife lies'.¹⁰³ Similarly, John also bequeathed 100s sterling to Greyfriars, London, where the body of 'my dear wife' lies, for her soul.¹⁰⁴ It was supplemented by 100s each for the Franciscans and Dominicans of St Botolph, 100s to the monks in the castle of Richmond and 100s for the Franciscans of Richmond.¹⁰⁵ These grants to the religious orders in Richmond were possibly also intended to ensure the salvation of his own and Beatrice's souls because of their connections to England and their association with his wife.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 270.

⁹⁸ *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, 95–7.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 96.

¹⁰⁰ East Sussex Record Office, AMS 5847/1.

¹⁰¹ *CPR 1301–1307*, 306.

¹⁰² *Preuves*, 1185–91; de la Borderie, 379.

¹⁰³ 'ou le cuer de ma chiere compagne Biantrix...gist': *Preuves*, 1187.

¹⁰⁴ 'ou ke corps de Bieautrix jadis ma chere compoigne...gist': *Ibid.*, 1189.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1189.

Moreover, he left legacies for his and Beatrice's children. 30,000 *livres tournois* were assigned for his son, Arthur, to participate in the next crusade. He also specified that Eleanor was to continue to receive 4000 *livres tournois* yearly for as long as she lived, under the Provost of Nantes, as well as a further 300 *livres tournois* yearly towards her provisions after her father's death. Eleanor also received her father's little golden cross which he had worn in the Holy Land.¹⁰⁶ John's will demonstrates the importance of family in his commemoration, as well as the Breton ducal family's cross-channel identity.

Further efforts were made to secure the eternal salvation of Beatrice's soul. The Franciscan archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham, issued indulgences to those who said the Lord's Prayer with prayers to the Blessed Virgin Mary on behalf of Beatrice's soul.¹⁰⁷ Beatrice was considered a worthy recipient as she was a lady of irreproachable honesty, as well as being daughter of the former king of England.¹⁰⁸ These prayers could be said in Greyfriars church in London, or at the cross at Reading. This act by the archbishop may have been influenced by Beatrice and her mother's favour for the Franciscan order. Moreover, these dual sites of prayer demonstrate the depth of commemoration on Beatrice's behalf that extended beyond her husband's numerous offerings. The issuing of indulgences was not a unique event, however, and they would similarly be offered following the death of Eleanor of Castile in late 1290. Archbishop le Romeyn of York offered an indulgence of forty days from enjoined penance for those who said a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* for the queen. Additionally, on the first anniversary of her death, the bishop of Lincoln offered a similar indulgence to those who went to a cross and the Virgin's chapel at Easingwold and prayed for Eleanor's soul.¹⁰⁹ Robert Swanson argues that these kind of devotional pardons, rather than monetary payment, were used to encourage, support and promote certain cults, as well as visits to shrines and liturgical sites.¹¹⁰ He suggests that the indulgence offered for prayers for Edward's daughter, Joan of Acre (who died in 1307 and was buried at Clare friary in Suffolk), was a means of

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 1186.

¹⁰⁷ *Registrum epistolarum fratris Johannis Peckham*, no.26.

¹⁰⁸ '*dominae irreprehensibilis honestas*': Ibid., no.26.

¹⁰⁹ Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 213–4.

¹¹⁰ R.N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 228.

encouraging pilgrimage.¹¹¹ While Peckham may not have been trying to instigate a cult for Beatrice, he may have been trying to increase visits to her cross and tomb, in addition to the multiplication of prayers for her soul. This desire to ensure Beatrice's salvation was shared by the unknown author of eighteen prayers that were added throughout the Book of Hours she had received from her mother as a wedding gift.¹¹² It is unclear who introduced these extra prayers in to the blank leaves or portions of leaves of the manuscript, but they appear to have acquired the book following Beatrice's death. It does not seem to have been any of her family as she is never referred to in familial terms, but always as God's servant.¹¹³ Whoever made these additions clearly felt that Beatrice was worthy of such divine assistance.

Legacy

England and Scotland following Margaret's Death

The marriage of Margaret to Alexander III forged close family ties that bound the two royal families and resulted in peace and friendship between England and Scotland. These close bonds rapidly disintegrated, however, with the successive deaths of Margaret, all three of her children and finally Alexander, and conflict ensued with Edward marching his army north on numerous occasions. Nevertheless, as underscored by Michael Prestwich, 'there was nothing in the relations between Scotland and England in the first half of Edward's reign that presaged the conflicts that were to dominate the second half'.¹¹⁴ The continued familiarity and congenial relations between the Scottish and English kings are evident in the letters they exchanged. In response to Edward's claim that his miners at Alston had been mistreated by the Scottish king's men, Alexander wrote to his 'most cordial brother' informing him that he would investigate and resolve the issue.¹¹⁵ The use of this affective, familial language was common in the letters Alexander sent to his brother-in-law. Alexander's sentiments towards Edward are most apparent in the way he addressed the English king in his letters, as well as the additions he made to the

¹¹¹ Ibid., 57.

¹¹² BL Add MS 33385, ff 23v, 26r, 40v, 53v, 83v, 96v, 123v, 124r, 124v, 140v. See above 154 for the gift of the book to Beatrice on her departure for Brittany.

¹¹³ *'famule tue Beatricis'*.

¹¹⁴ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 356.

¹¹⁵ *'fratri suo praecordialissimo'*: SC 1/20/160.

salutations.¹¹⁶ In all the letters Alexander sent to Edward (recorded in SC 1/20 series), Alexander calls Edward either the most excellent, magnificent, serene or distinguished, prince and brother.¹¹⁷ For example, in a letter dated 20 April 1284, Alexander called himself Edward's most beloved brother, sending his greetings and every good wish with sincere affection and marking himself ready to do what pleases the English king.¹¹⁸ He also addressed their relationship as one of 'faithful friends'.¹¹⁹ Similarly, in June 1284, Alexander sent a letter to Edward asking after his wellbeing, and assuring Edward of his own. The letters were also accompanied by a gift of four gerfalcons (one white and three grey).¹²⁰

This brotherly relationship is also apparent in Edward's handling of Margaret's lands in the English northern counties. On her death, the lands escheated to the crown, yet, in a sign of what can be perceived as good graces between the brothers-in-law, Edward restored these lands to Alexander on 3 May 1275.¹²¹ Not only was Alexander to regain these lands and hold them for life, he was also to receive anything that had been removed from the lands while they were in the escheator's hands.¹²² On Alexander's death, however, the lands again reverted to the English crown, and Edward granted all the lands held by Alexander and Margaret in England, namely Penrith, Cumberland and Tynedale, Northumberland, to the bishop of Durham.¹²³ While Alexander was also permitted to hold the lands, he was only to do so for life, not in perpetuity. Neither Margaret, nor Alexander, could alienate the lands and revenues to their children, had they survived, meaning that they could not be absorbed by the Scottish crown.

¹¹⁶ *'salutem et sincere dilectionis semper augmentum'*; *'salutem et felices ad vota successus'*: see, for example, SC 1/20/143, 144.

¹¹⁷ *'excellentissimo principi et fratri'*; *'magnifico principi et fratri'*; *'serenissimo principi et fratri'*; *'egregio principi et fratri'*: see SC 1/20/143–168.

¹¹⁸ *'fratri suo dilectissimo suus Alexander'*; *'salutem et omne quod est optimum, cum dilectione sincera, et parata ad beneplacita voluntate'*: SC 1/20/162, printed in *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no.13; *Acts of Alexander III*, no.146.

¹¹⁹ *'fidelis amicus'*: SC 1/20/162, printed in *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no.13; *Acts of Alexander III*, no.146.

¹²⁰ *'Mittimus vobis per latores presencium quatuor gerfalcons unum album et tres griseos'*: SC 1/20/163.

¹²¹ *CR 1272–1279*, 164.

¹²² Prestwich also outlines how when Alexander's liberties in Cumberland were taken into the king's hands in the course of the *Quo Warranto* inquiries into lost or alienated royal rights, Edward firmly ordered them to be restored: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 357.

¹²³ *CPR 1281–1292*, 346.

Another key indicator of the nature of Anglo-Scottish relations following Edward's accession is apparent in Alexander III's performance of homage to the new English king. In mid-October 1278, Edward convened a great parliament at Westminster where Robert the Bruce, on behalf of the Scottish king, offered fealty to Edward.¹²⁴ This act would later become a crucial aspect of Edward's attempts to secure the overlordship of Scotland and, as such, the English and Scottish chronicles differ in their accounts of the occasion. Wykes recalled that Edward requested Alexander to pay homage for the lands he held bordering the Scottish kingdom. According to the English chronicler, Alexander came to England willingly and knowing full well what his actions entailed, hinting at the issues and conflict Alexander's actions would later cause between the English and Scottish thrones.¹²⁵ Similarly, the Worcester annals specified that Alexander did homage for the lands that he had recently recovered from the king's escheator: Tynedale and Westmorland.¹²⁶ In comparison, the Scottish *Gesta Annalia* gives a slightly differing account, potentially influenced by the later collapse of Anglo-Scottish relations and war over the issue of the Scottish succession. It stated that in 1278, while Alexander was on pilgrimage in England, he also did homage to Edward, as he had done to Henry III.¹²⁷ This version of events suggests that Alexander's performance of homage was not an extraordinary event permitting Edward rights in Scotland, but rather the continued practice of Scottish kings on behalf of their English lands.

Edward also appears to have been close to Margaret's children. Having been introduced to his Scottish nieces and nephews on his visit to Scotland and their attendance of his coronation, Edward maintained contact with them following their mother's death. In March 1279, the teenage Alexander, Margaret and Alexander's eldest son, wrote to 'his most hearty uncle' expressing his warmest affection for the English king, queen and their children, and his desire to hear from them more often.¹²⁸ This affective address demonstrates the loving family ties between Alexander and his uncle, and his wish to receive news. Nevertheless, it also precedes his petition on behalf of Ingram de Umfraville who sought his inheritance, the lands

¹²⁴ *AM*, ii.390; *CR 1272-1279*, 505.

¹²⁵ *AM*, iv.277.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, iv.474.

¹²⁷ See above 228; Fordun, i.305-6.

¹²⁸ '*avunculo suo praecordialissimo*': SC 1/20/169.

of his late father, Robert.¹²⁹ Alexander also interceded with his uncle in May 1281 when he also secured a pardon for James de Multon, for causing the death of John Armstrong.¹³⁰ Moreover, the following year in July 1282, Edward granted the manor of Aldeneston to Nicholas, heir of Robert de Veteri Ponte, at the instance of Alexander.¹³¹ These intercessory acts reveal the favour in which Edward held his nephew, yet not all interactions between Edward and his nephew involved requests. In one letter, dated to c.1281, Alexander wrote to his uncle stating he was delighted to hear of his health, and asking that Edward would send such accounts more often, and responded with news of his own well-being.¹³² This letter and the emotive addresses of his petitions show the warmth of feeling that continued between Edward and the young Alexander after the death of the Scottish queen.

There is little evidence, however, of Edward's relationship with Margaret's other children, Margaret and David. No written record survives between Edward and David, who died at the end of June 1281 at Stirling castle and was buried at Dunfermline.¹³³ There is only one extant letter from Margaret to her 'very dear uncle' Edward.¹³⁴ In a similar manner to the letters sent by her brother to their uncle, Margaret informed the English king that she was 'healthy and lively' by God's grace, and that she wished Edward would keep her informed of his own state, closing the letter with a 'thousand goodbyes'.¹³⁵ The emotive language employed by Margaret reveals the affection with which she held her uncle. The letter is undated but precedes the arrangement of her marriage to Eric II, king of Norway, on 25 July 1281.¹³⁶ Despite the sparsity of their survival, these letters demonstrate that Edward remained in contact with his sister's children after her death.

¹²⁹ Ibid. This letter was sent around the same time as one from his father who had also asked Edward to show Ingram favour: SC 1/20/155.

¹³⁰ C 66/100 m.17.

¹³¹ *'Rex ad instanciam dilecti nepotis sui Alexandri filii magnifici principis Alexandri Regis Scotie illustris'*: C 60/80 m.10.

¹³² *'Cum exultacionis et gaudii copia in corde meo totiens habundet, quotiens mihi de vestra excellentia rumorez prosperi nuntiantur, dominacioni vestre omni mentis affectione supplico reverenter'*: SC 1/20/170. Edward seems to have responded to earlier pleas that he inform his nephew of his health and wellbeing, as requested in SC 1/20/169.

¹³³ As on the death of Alexander, the *Gesta Annalia* describes the death of his brother, David, as being met with the despair of all the magnates, but most of all the king: Fordun, i.307.

¹³⁴ *'a son trescher seigneur et oncle sir Edward'*: SC 1/20/171.

¹³⁵ *'ge sui faime et haite la deu mercie'*; *'mile saluz'*: Ibid.

¹³⁶ *Acts of Alexander III*, no.132. This marriage was short lived; Margaret was queen for a year and a half, but died on 9 April 1283, leaving a daughter also named Margaret: Fordun, i.307-8.

None of Margaret and Alexander's children survived their mother for any great length of time. The *Lanercost* chronicle blamed their deaths on the sins of their father, Alexander, as they followed their mother to the grave in quick succession.¹³⁷ The *Gesta Annalia* related how Alexander married Margaret, the daughter of Guy, count of Flanders in 1282, but this great joy was soon followed by deep mourning with the death of the Scottish heir.¹³⁸ The following year, the Scottish king's last remaining child died on 28 January at Lindores and was buried at Dunfermline.¹³⁹ The grief at this death was profound, with the inestimable sadness of all the populace, with tears and groans of all the clergy and the endless sobbing of the king and his magnates.¹⁴⁰ Upon the young Alexander's death, Edward wrote to the Scottish king to offer his condolences. Although this letter does not survive, Alexander's response does.¹⁴¹ On 20 April 1284, Alexander thanked his brother-in-law for sending John of Saint Germain who provided 'great solace for our desolation' following the 'grievous and unbearable trials and tribulations which we have suffered, and continue to suffer, from the death of our dear son, your beloved nephew'.¹⁴² Edward's continued affection for his Scottish nephew, Alexander, is apparent in the oblations he made following his death. Edward spent 1s 5d on masses celebrated for Alexander and £2 19s 6d worth of alms were distributed to the poor on behalf of his nephew's soul.¹⁴³ Alexander's letter to Edward also emphasised their family ties, beseeching him to preserve their indissoluble bond and to continue to hold their kinship in regard in order to maintain positive Anglo-Scottish relations by supporting Alexander's granddaughter who was heir to the Scottish throne.¹⁴⁴ Alexander stressed Margaret

¹³⁷ *Lanercost*, 97.

¹³⁸ '*dolor post tantum gaudium*': Fordun, i.306–7. In August 1282, Edward I had granted safe passage to his nephew's bride. Soon after Alexander's death Edward was again petitioned to grant further letters of safe conduct so that the now widowed Margaret of Flanders could return to her homeland: *CDRS*, ii, nos 221, 247.

¹³⁹ Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, 169.

¹⁴⁰ '*inaestimabili dolore totius populi cum lachrimis et gemitu omnis cleri regis etiam et magnatum singultibus infinitis*': Fordun, i. 307.

¹⁴¹ SC 1/20/162, printed in *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no.13.

¹⁴² '*desolacionis solacium non modicum propinastis*'; '*post tristissimas et intollerabiles angustias et eventus quod sensimus et sentimus de morte filii nostri dilectissimi, nepoti vestri cari*': *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ E 101/351/15 m.2.

¹⁴⁴ '*fedus indissolubile inter vos et nos contractum, tanquam inter fideles et constants nisi morte tantum numquam dissolveretur*'; '*ob sanguinis reverenciam*': SC 1/20/162, printed in *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, no.13.

was Edward's 'kinswoman' as 'the daughter of your niece, the daughter too of our most beloved, the late queen of Norway'.¹⁴⁵

Although Margaret, the daughter of the Norwegian king, was his heir, Alexander did not relinquish hope that he would be succeeded by his male issue. As such, on 14 October 1285, Alexander married for a second time, to Yolande de Dreux, in the hopes of securing a new heir.¹⁴⁶ This marriage was short-lived, however, as Alexander himself died on 19 March 1286, and was buried alongside Margaret and their sons at Dunfermline.¹⁴⁷ Neither Yolande nor Margaret of Flanders were pregnant at the time of their husbands' deaths, which left the Scottish throne to Alexander III's young granddaughter. Margaret, the Maid of Norway, never became queen, as she died en route to Scotland, at Orkney in 1290.¹⁴⁸ Despite the efforts of Alexander III, the deterioration of Anglo-Scottish relations can be pinpointed to these successive misfortunes as the ties of kinship loosened.

Following the successive tragedies of the Scottish royal house, the death of Margaret of Norway left thirteen claimants to the throne and Edward soon became embroiled in the question of Scottish succession.¹⁴⁹ What is interesting in this regard is that Edward did not immediately seek to involve himself in Scottish affairs following the death of Alexander III, as issue of Margaret and Alexander survived.¹⁵⁰ When recording the Maid of Norway's death, the Osney annals stated that Edward sought any true, legitimate heir, male or female, born of his sister, out of strong posterity towards the former Scottish queen, his sister.¹⁵¹ Kinship was integral to Edward's regard to Scotland as it helped to secure the Anglo-Scottish border. It also raises interesting questions as to what would have occurred between England and Scotland should Yolande de Dreux have given birth to a posthumous Scottish heir, but one that was not of his sister's blood. By January 1291, Edward decided that he should resolve the succession dispute, as feudal overlord of Scotland, as he feared

¹⁴⁵ *'quod ex sanguine vestro scilicet ex filia nepte vestre filia nostre karissime quondam bone memorie regine Norwagie'*: Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Fordun, i.309.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., i.309

¹⁴⁸ Trivet, 316.

¹⁴⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 358–9.

¹⁵⁰ There was a plan to marry Margaret of Norway to Edward's heir, Edward of Caernarfon, to continue the Anglo-Scottish familial bonds, but it is unclear who conceived this plan: Edward, the guardians of Scotland or the king of Norway: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 360.

¹⁵¹ *'ut si forte de posteritate reginae sororis suae quisquam masculus aut foemina propagates ubicunque reperiretur superstes'*: AM, iv.328.

civil war in Scotland.¹⁵² This decision would irrevocably change Anglo-Scottish relations, ending the peace and harmony that had occurred between both Henry III and Edward I with Alexander III. Instead the remainder of Edward's reign would witness him at war against the Scots in an attempt to establish his control of the kingdom.¹⁵³

Beatrice's Children and the English Court

While Margaret's children spent their time at the Scottish court, predominantly maintaining contact with Edward through letters, Beatrice's family was much more closely integrated within the English royal family. While their parents were on crusade, the children of Beatrice and Edward were raised together at Windsor, as well as spending time together with their grandmother, Eleanor of Provence, at Guildford.¹⁵⁴ Beatrice sons, John and Henry, appear to have been raised and educated alongside Edward's sons, also named John and Henry, as Henry III ordered a number of provisions to be sent to Windsor for their use.¹⁵⁵ Beatrice's son, John, is often recorded as Brito, understood to have been a nickname, in the exchequer records. The use of a nickname certainly confuses the identification of these royal children, but was evidently necessitated by the fact that Edward and Beatrice both had sons called John and Henry, with both Johns being the elder of the two. I believe Brito is John as he is not mentioned in any of the exchequer accounts under any other name. In comparison, a writ of liberate names Henry, although Hilda Johnstone believed it was misattributed.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, this thesis will follow that Brito was the nickname for Beatrice's second eldest son, John.

Following the death of Edward's heir, John, in 1271, the children's household appears to have been a quasi-joint household between Henry, his sister, Eleanor, and their cousin John. The constant references to the lord Henry, his sister (often unnamed) and Brito suggest a joint enterprise.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, the three children all appear to make oblations and receive various items and provisions as a unit. For

¹⁵² Prestwich, *Edward I*, 363.

¹⁵³ For discussion of the Scottish wars, see below 242–5.

¹⁵⁴ C 62/50 m.3; E 101/350/17 m.1; E 403/27 m.2.

¹⁵⁵ *CLR 1267–1272*, 60.

¹⁵⁶ Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 389 n.7.

¹⁵⁷ '*domini H. et sororis sue et Britonis*': E 101/350/18 m.6, printed in Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 400.

example, three pairs of gloves with the king's arms embroidered on the thumb were made for Henry, Eleanor and Brito.¹⁵⁸ That the three children were joint custodians of the household, is also demonstrated in the chancery material where payments were made to the keepers of the children of Edward and John at Windsor.¹⁵⁹ The set up at Windsor, established by Henry and Eleanor in the absence of Beatrice and Edward, paralleled or continued the nursery they had instituted for their own children. Henry's grandchildren were provided with a series of attendants entrusted with their education and welfare. John of Reading was tutor to the grandsons and the young Henry, Eleanor and John each had their own nurses: Amicie of Durnford, Cecily and Mabel respectively.¹⁶⁰ Mary de Valoynes was the keeper of the king's grandchildren at Windsor and received a constant stream of cash payments and goods to ensure the nursery was suitably provisioned.¹⁶¹ Johnstone proposes that Henry, Eleanor and John's household probably numbered 30 to 40 persons in 1273–4.¹⁶²

Edward's attachment to his nephew, John, continued in the martial training he undertook, as the English king and queen frequently financed his participation in the tournaments at Warwick, Winchester, Reading, Kingston, Bedford, Croydon, Leyburn, Tours and Dunstable between 1285 and 1290.¹⁶³ On 15 December 1285, John was provided with knightly equipment, receiving an iron helmet, silk cloths made with gold and silver (*tissutis*), a swordbelt, new leather saddle cover, silk banner, harness and bridle, as well as horses for carrying his equipment to the tournaments.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, Edward's desire to see his nephew succeed in these chivalric pursuits is evident in the gift of two of the king's own warhorses for John's use at the tournaments at Bedford and Kingston.¹⁶⁵ The king also bought his nephew a further two great horses for the Tours tournament, for the rather extraordinary sum of £52

¹⁵⁸ E 101/350/18 m.4, printed in Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 411.

¹⁵⁹ '*custodibus liberorum Edwardi primogeniti nostri et Johannis de Britannia*': C 62/47 mm 6, 10.

¹⁶⁰ CLR 1267–1272, 60; E 101/350/18 m.3, printed in Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 414. After the death of young Henry, Eleanor of Provence petitioned her son to provide Henry's nurse, Amicie, with £10 worth of land: CPR 1272–1281, 79.

¹⁶¹ CLR 1267–1272, 60, 66, 103, 108, 116.

¹⁶² Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 389.

¹⁶³ *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285–1286*, ed. B.F. Byerly and C.R. Byerly (London: HMSO, 1977), nos 41, 50, 60, 470; *Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, no.262; *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290*, ed. J.C. Parsons (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1977), 83.

¹⁶⁴ *Wardrobe and Household 1285–1286*, no.41; 'tissitus' in *Lexis of Cloth and Clothing*, <http://lexisearch.arts.manchester.ac.uk/> [accessed 1 August 2018].

¹⁶⁵ *Wardrobe and Household 1285–1286*, no.210.

10s.¹⁶⁶ Edward also provided numerous grants totalling almost £200 (see Table 13) to cover his expenses in food, drink and the necessary repairs and purchases of armour for himself and his retinue. These provisions for his nephew show that Edward was treating John like one of his own sons.

Sum	Grantor	Tournament(s)
£13 6s 8d	King	Reading
£48 13s 5½d	King	Bedford and Reading
£12 2s 5d	King	Croydon
£41 1s 9d	King	Tours and Leyburn
£66 12s 4d	Queen	Dunstable
<hr/>		
£181 16s 7½d		
<hr/>		
100 <i>livres Turonensium</i>	King	Tours and Leyburn

Table 13 Sums granted to John of Brittany to cover his expenses at tournaments (1285–90)¹⁶⁷

The continued affection between Edward and Beatrice's family following Beatrice's death is also evident in the pardon granted to her husband, of all the debts of Peter Mauclerc, John's grandfather, from the time when he held the earldom of Richmond.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the outbreak of the Gascon conflict in 1294 severely strained Edward and John's relationship. As part of the Treaty of Paris (1259), Henry III agreed that England would hold Gascony as a vassal of the French king. During the 1290s, Anglo-French relations deteriorated. The breakdown stemmed from the French king's belief that he was entitled to hear Gascon appeals against Edward's jurisdiction in the duchy. Conflict also arose between English and French sailors, and when Edward refused French summons before the Parlement of Paris, Philip IV ordered the seizure of civic officials in Gascony.¹⁶⁹ A secret treaty was agreed between the French and English crowns to try to prevent the issue escalating.¹⁷⁰ It was to be a sham exchange in which Edward was to surrender all of Gascony, however, the French would not act on it and the Gascon towns and castles would be restored. Yet, when Edward surrendered the duchy, Philip announced it would not be restored. In retaliation Edward renounced his homage to Philip and war began in 1294.¹⁷¹ Duke John's loyalties were divided because of his landholding on both sides

¹⁶⁶ *Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, no.356.

¹⁶⁷ *Wardrobe and Household 1285–1286*, nos 50, 60, 470; *Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, nos 262, 286; *Court and Household*, 83.

¹⁶⁸ *CR 1279–1288*, 38.

¹⁶⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 376–8.

¹⁷⁰ Neal, 'Royal Women and Intra-familial Diplomacy'.

¹⁷¹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 379–80.

of the Channel, as well as his family ties to the English crown. John appears to have chosen to prioritise the duchy of Brittany fairly early, as by c.1295 (if not earlier) the Breton duke's lands in England had been confiscated and were in the crown's hands.¹⁷² John's allegiance seems to have pleased the French king and encouraged Philip IV's decision to make John a peer of France in September 1297, to ensure his loyalties lay on the French side of the struggle, rather than with his brother-in-law.¹⁷³ It was not until after the conclusion of the formal 'treaty of alliance and friendship', that Edward restored the castle of Richmond and all of his lands in England to John on 1 May 1304.¹⁷⁴ This peace was negotiated by John as one of the French envoys. His appointment by Philip was probably instigated by his family ties to the English royal family but was also possibly intended to remind his counterpart that the duke remained in his fealty.

While John as the Breton duke remained loyal to the French king, his second son, John, became a key and faithful adherent of Edward. Having been raised at the English court, he had established close ties to his cousin and uncle, with Prestwich stating that Edward favoured and treated his nephew like a son.¹⁷⁵ John played an important role in Gascony during the Anglo-French war. As part of a planned holding operation, while creating a continental alliance of princes to attack Philip, John was sent overseas in October 1294 as part of an advance-guard. By this point, parts of Gascony had been overrun by the French. John succeeded in retaking some towns but failed in his attempts at Bordeaux and was forced to retreat.¹⁷⁶ From Easter 1295, the French counter-attacked and by the end of the summer only Bourg, Blaye and

¹⁷² In this year Edward made a number of presentations to churches that had formerly been in John's lands and granted a number of privileges to individuals to hunt in John's woods: *CPR 1292-1301*, 126, 181, 207, 221, 296, 330.

¹⁷³ *Preuves*, 1122-3.

¹⁷⁴ '*traitie de ferme alliance et damistie*': C 60/101 m.3d.; '*castrum Richemundiae et omnes terras et tenementas ipsius Ducis cum pertinentis in Angliae que occasione dicte guerre nuper capta fuerunt in manum nostrum et que postmodum capta sufferentia inter dicti Regem et nos super discordus et guerris predictis, predicto Duco concessimus de gratia nostra speciali tenendi durante sufferentia illa*': C 66/124 m.18. Peace was initially agreed in June 1299 but the final peace of May 1303 was only negotiated after the French defeat at Courtrai in 1302 and the Bordeaux rebellion of 1303. This peace returned Gascony to its pre-1294 position: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 396-7.

¹⁷⁵ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 132.

¹⁷⁶ M. Jones, 'Brittany, John of, earl of Richmond (1266?-1334), magnate and administrator', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53083> [accessed 7 August 2018]. Arthur may also have fought alongside his brother John for the English crown against the French, as a writ suggests Arthur was captured, and Edward promised to indemnify him for his losses and expenses: *CPR 1292-1301*, 427-8.

Bayonne remained in English hands.¹⁷⁷ As John was one of the leading English figures in Gascony, Edward appointed his nephew to stand in his place in August 1295.¹⁷⁸ This promotion appears to have been a result of Edward's appreciation of his nephew's efforts, as according to Prestwich, the force under John of Brittany and John de St John achieved more than could have been anticipated.¹⁷⁹ This role was later clarified with him being named as Edward's captain in Aquitaine.¹⁸⁰ In his fulfilment of the role, John headed up an inquisition into the damages and losses suffered at the hands of the French during the truce of 1297.¹⁸¹ For example, as part of the English restitution for these losses, John de Villa, a citizen of Bayonne, was promised up to 328 *livres* 13s of black money of Tours for the goods he lost when the town of Rupenna was destroyed by the French.¹⁸² Edward's appreciation of John and the favour he held is similarly evident in his ability to secure pardons for those in his service in Gascony. On John's testimony, John de Crok was pardoned of his abjuration of the realm.¹⁸³

Following his actions in Gascony, John was recalled to England and soon became involved in the Scottish wars. Conflict with Scotland stemmed from the Scots' removal of Edward's appointed king, John de Balliol, as well as the Franco-Scottish treaty in 1296 (at the height of the Anglo-French Gascon conflict), which was 'tantamount to a declaration of war against England'.¹⁸⁴ John fought at the battle of Falkirk in 1298, and in April 1299 he was appointed alongside the bishop of Durham

¹⁷⁷ Edward's attempts to support Gascony were scuppered by the Welsh rebellion of 1294–5 and the need to act against the Scots in 1296, which diverted troops away from the continent: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 381–3.

¹⁷⁸ '*de licencia consanguinei nostri carissimi Johannis de Britannia locum nostrum in Ducatu Aquitannia tenentis*': C 66/114 m.12.

¹⁷⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 382.

¹⁸⁰ '*Johanni de Britanni nepoti suo capitano ... in Ducatu Aquitanniae*': C 66/114 m.10. John's leadership in Gascony was short lived. Upon the arrival of the king's brother, Edmund became lieutenant in October 1295, suggesting John's appointment was only provisional. Edmund soon fell ill, and his powers were granted to Henry de Lacy, the earl of Lincoln, whom John continued to serve in Gascony: I. Lubimenko, *Jean de Bretagne, Comte de Richmond: Sa Vie et son Activité en Angleterre, en Écosse et en France* (Paris, 1908), 18, 21. In Trivet's annals John is described as a flag or standard bearer in the army: Trivet, 341.

¹⁸¹ A truce was negotiated in October 1297 following Edward's unsuccessful continental alliance and Flemish attack of the French king: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 384–7.

¹⁸² '*in villa Rupenne pro gentes Regis Francie deperdati usque ad summam tres centarum et viginti et octo et et tresdecim solidorum turonensium nigrorum*': C 66/116 m.16. This promise stated that four black coins was reckoned to be worth one sterling coin: '*valorem in sterlingis quolibet sterling pro quatuor turonensibus computato*'.

¹⁸³ *CPR 1292–1301*, 350.

¹⁸⁴ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 372–3.

and William Latimer to treat with the Scots to arrange a prisoner exchange.¹⁸⁵ Edward was clearly pleased with John's service as it was from this point that the English king began to provide his nephew with annual revenues, whereas previously he had depended on ad-hoc gifts.¹⁸⁶ John does not appear to have held any lands or rents from his father in Richmond, although Edward made no attempt to use the Breton duke's confiscated English lands to support his nephew. Edward's generosity was possibly necessitated by the substantial debts John had accrued from his time in Gascony. In order to help make John's position more stable, he was granted £1000 per year at the exchequer for his maintenance in August 1299.¹⁸⁷ These sums were then exchanged for lands and other rents. In September 1299, John was granted the lands previously held by John de Balliol in England, which included manors and rents in the counties of Northumberland, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Northampton, Middlesex, Rutland and Bedford.¹⁸⁸ Additionally, in November 1302, John received 100 marks from the half hundred of Lothingland, Suffolk.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, towards the repayment of his debts, John was given 2000 marks from the sale of corn, rents and issues of the vacant bishopric of Ely.¹⁹⁰ John's service in Scotland during this time also gave Edward reason to acquit his father, the duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, of his service due for the Scottish expedition of 1300.¹⁹¹ The young John's role appears to demonstrate him acting as the earl of Richmond in his father's stead but without the financial or landed benefits.

The strength of John's ties to the English royal family are apparent in the continuation of his military service in Scotland in the fourteenth century with the 1303 Carlaverock campaign and the fall of Stirling (1304), fighting under the king and his cousin, prince Edward.¹⁹² Following these victories John's favour with Edward is evident in his intercession: he secured pardons for John, son of Richard le Rous, for robbery and John Pikard, for homicide.¹⁹³ In October 1305, John was rewarded for his

¹⁸⁵ *CPR 1292-1301*, 406.

¹⁸⁶ Lubimenko, *Jean de Bretagne*, 48.

¹⁸⁷ *CPR 1292-1301*, 429.

¹⁸⁸ *CR 1296-1302*, 274; *CPR 1301-1307*, 470-1.

¹⁸⁹ *CPR 1301-1307*, 97.

¹⁹⁰ *CPR 1292-1301*, 435.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 523.

¹⁹² Lubimenko, *Jean de Bretagne*, 31, 38-9.

¹⁹³ *CPR 1301-1307*, 240, 251. Both these pardons were secured due to John's intercession, in consideration of their service in Scotland.

Scottish role with his appointment as lieutenant and guardian of the lands of Scotland. In this role he was to receive 3000 marks a year and a company of 60 men-at-arms.¹⁹⁴ Edward also committed the castles of Roxburgh and Jedburgh to him, answering for the issues at the exchequer of Berwick upon Tweed but retaining 150 marks for the keeping of the two castles.¹⁹⁵ Also in order to help discharge his debts, John was granted up to £500 worth of corn in the lands of the vacant archbishopric of York in 1305, as well as permission to sell £200 of wood from his park in Bywell.¹⁹⁶ Prestwich believes the choice to appoint John was poor as he showed little enthusiasm to take up his post in Scotland, and as a result of his failure to appear, temporary arrangements had to be made until his arrival in the north in the spring of 1306.¹⁹⁷ Lubimenko, however, has rightly stated that John's arrival north of the border may have been delayed by the arrival of news of his father's death.¹⁹⁸ During the coronation of pope Clement V in 1305, duke John II was crushed by a collapsed wall and died.¹⁹⁹ On his death, all his English lands escheated to the crown.²⁰⁰ In his will, John had not specified any division of his lands and, as such, it may have been expected that the earldom of Richmond, along with the duchy of Brittany, would pass to his eldest son Arthur. Arthur evidently believed this was his right when he headed to England to seek his father's English possessions, only to learn that they had been granted to his younger brother John.²⁰¹ On 15 October 1306, Edward granted his nephew his last and greatest favour: the earldom of Richmond.²⁰² After the years of service John had provided to the English crown in both Gascony and Scotland, his appointment to the earldom of Richmond was surely unsurprising.²⁰³

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 391.

¹⁹⁵ *CFR 1272–1307*, 529.

¹⁹⁶ *CPR 1301–1307*, 366, 381.

¹⁹⁷ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 515.

¹⁹⁸ Lubimenko, *Jean de Bretagne*, 42.

¹⁹⁹ Trivet also describes John II on his death as an old man, distinguished for his conduct, '*vir senex et discretione insignis*': Trivet, 406.

²⁰⁰ *CFR 1272–1307*, 532.

²⁰¹ '*Sir Arthur de Bretaygne, duk de haut parage,/ Veent en Engleterre pur quer son heritage,/ Richemundchire, ove rentes et waygnage,/ Ove wares et releves, forest et pounage,/ Du rey sir Edwarde à tenir par homage./ Curetement à dire, respouns avait volage./ Luy duk Arthur repair, ove pesaunt corage ;/ A sir Jon son frere de plus joven age/ Est doné la countée, saunz novel servage,/ A tenir en fé par auncien usage*': *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft : in French verse, from the earliest period to the death of King Edward I*, ed. Thomas Wright, Volume II (London: Longmans, 1868), 372–5.

²⁰² The only record of the date of this grant comes from a memorandum in Edward II's reign in 1315: *CR 1313–1318*, 233; Lubimenko, *Jean de Bretagne*, 56.

²⁰³ In Trivet's annals he calls John the earl of Richmond in 1284, over two decades too early. Yet, the annals were written after Edward I's reign when John was at that point earl: Trivet, 336.

Having spent his childhood alongside Edward's children, John also had strong ties to his cousins. That John was treated like a son is evident in the purchase of robes of blue cloth and striped scarlet for Edward and John in the winter of 1302–3.²⁰⁴ Moreover, John was appointed to key positions within Prince Edward's household. In 1303, John was appointed as one of the young prince's councillors alongside the earls of Lancaster, Ulster and Warwick, Hugh Despenser, Robert Clifford, William de Leybourne and others.²⁰⁵ The following year John was made guardian of Edward's household and he would also accompany his cousin on an embassy to France in March 1307.²⁰⁶ John continued to be a key magnate for the English crown during the reign of his cousin, Edward II, as earl of Richmond. Edward II confirmed John's appointment as lieutenant of Scotland until 1308 and named him as godfather to the king's first son, the future Edward III.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, during an abortive Scottish campaign of October 1322, John was captured as he held back to resist the Scots so that Edward could retreat to York. The English king then paid his cousin's 14,000 mark ransom.²⁰⁸ John remained loyal to his cousin, throughout the troubles of his reign until 1325, when he was sent as an envoy to the French king to conclude peace, and refused to return to England.²⁰⁹ As a result, Edward II then seized John's English lands, which were only restored following the successful coup of Isabella and Mortimer.²¹⁰

Of all of Beatrice's children, John's career was the most intertwined with his English royal relations. Although Peter and Blanche were probably born while on crusade in the Holy Land and shared a nursery with the children of Eleanor of Castile also born in the East, there is no extant evidence that places Blanche in England. Beatrice and John's son Henry, however, did spend time with his English royal cousins before his death in 1284. Edward's affection for his nephew is apparent in the alms and oblations he made on his behalf. Edward paid for the funeral obsequies costing £9 9s, as well as a stone to place over his tomb at Bangor costing 11s.²¹¹

²⁰⁴ *CDRS*, ii, no.1413.

²⁰⁵ Lubimenko, *Jean de Bretagne*, 37.

²⁰⁶ *CPR 1301–1307*, 264; Jones, 'Brittany, John', *ODNB*.

²⁰⁷ Lubimenko, *Jean de Bretagne*, 57, 60–1.

²⁰⁸ Jones, 'Brittany, John', *ODNB*; Lubimenko, *Jean de Bretagne*, 67.

²⁰⁹ Anselme, *Histoire*, 448.

²¹⁰ Jones, 'Brittany, John', *ODNB*.

²¹¹ E 101/351/15 m.4.

Similarly, Henry's heart was buried at the Franciscan church at Llanfaes in a silver gilt cup given by Edward.²¹² These multiple burials suggest that Henry may have been accompanying his uncle in Wales when he died, which is also implied by the masses paid for on Henry's behalf at both Bangor and Maenan.²¹³ These were supplemented by the feeding of monks at a cost of £2 1s 3½d.²¹⁴ The extent of these provisions for Henry's burial and soul suggests Edward had formed a close attachment to his nephew, and in the absence of his father John, duke of Brittany, may have felt obligated to make such arrangements.

Peter and Marie also spent time, alongside their brother John, at the English court. When the king and queen departed for Gascony in the late 1280s they were joined by Beatrice's children. Marie appears to have been particularly close to her uncle and cousins and the frequency with which she appears in the wardrobe account led Green to conclude that she was educated alongside Edward's daughters.²¹⁵ Beatrice's children followed the English royal court and regularly visited their aunt and uncle. When the English court departed for Gascony, John was instructed to escort his sister Marie to join them and provided with £25 for his expenses in doing so.²¹⁶ Marie then followed the itinerant royal court as her expenses and transportation costs were covered alongside those of the king and queen.²¹⁷ While in Gascony, Marie was joined by her brothers Peter and John on a number of occasions, although all three of Beatrice's children struggled with ill health during the visit. Peter was sick for almost two months between All Saints and Christmas and Edward paid £25 2s for his expenses.²¹⁸ Edward also provided electuaries and other medical

²¹² E 101/351/14 m.2; Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations', 122, n.54. Llanfaes was founded by Llywelyn ab Iorweth in memory of his wife Joan, the illegitimate daughter of King John, who was buried there. These royal connections continued further as Eleanor de Montfort, daughter of Eleanor and Simon, and wife of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, was also buried at Llanfaes, having died in childbirth on 19 June 1282: K. Norgate, 'Joan [Siwan] (d.1237), princess of Gwynedd, wife of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth', ODNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14819> [accessed 13 June 2018]; D.R. Messer, 'Eleanor de Montfort (c. 1258-1282), princess and diplomat', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, The National Library of Wales <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s11-ELEA-WRL-1200.html> [accessed 19 July 2018].

²¹³ E 101/351/15 m.4. 10s were paid for masses at Bangor, with a further 3s 3d spent on masses possibly at Maenan.

²¹⁴ E 101/351/15 m.4. The Dominican friars at Bangor (17s 6d) for Henry's anniversary and the Dominicans (10s), Franciscans (6s 3½d), Carmelites (4s 6d) and Friars of Penance (3s), all at Chester.

²¹⁵ Green, *Lives*, ii, 268.

²¹⁶ *Wardrobe and Household 1286-1289*, no.7.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, nos 455, 473.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no.69.

remedies for his two nephews.²¹⁹ Marie, however, does not appear to have travelled well and, following the king's departure, was left at Bordeaux with John due to illness.²²⁰ Similarly, Marie was said to have been ailing at Divielle abbey and spent three days at Saintes because of infirmity, all at the king's expense.²²¹ In 1290 when Marie was visiting the English court she became ill at Silverstone and her uncle paid 8s 1d for poultices and medicines for her use.²²²

That Beatrice's children were cared for by Edward in a similar vein to his own children is also apparent in the clothing and household expenses they received. For example, while in Gascony, Marie received over £5 towards private expenses and purchases for her chamber.²²³ Marie also attended the weddings of her cousins, Joan of Acre and Margaret, and was in receipt of costly robes for the occasions. Marie was provided with a *cointise* for Joan's nuptials, but Margaret's was a far more elaborate affair and her outfits comprised a series of sets of robes of *bluettus*, cloth of gold and violet *samite*.²²⁴ Moreover, John and Marie both received new robes, or repaired robes, for All Saints, Christmas and Pentecost, among other items of clothing and shoes provided throughout the year.²²⁵ Not only did John and Marie receive robes for the festivities, but members of their households were also provided with clothing.²²⁶ From this grant to Marie's household it is apparent that her entourage included a tailor, carter, laundress, two sumptermen and an outrider for the cart.²²⁷ By 1290, following their return to England, Marie also had two ladies, one named as Joan Marie's *operatrix*, who received girdles as gifts from the queen.²²⁸

The acts which demonstrate Marie's treatment by the English king and queen like a daughter, are most apparent in her involvement in the royal family's alms and oblations.²²⁹ In Gascony the king, queen and Marie gave twelve pieces of large Breton

²¹⁹ Ibid., nos 7, 64.

²²⁰ Ibid., no.213.

²²¹ Ibid., nos 220, 1034.

²²² C 47/4/5 f.12v.

²²³ Total: £5 5s 1½d and 30s *grossorum Turonensium: Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, nos 528, 1703, 1912.

²²⁴ C 47/4/5 ff 9v, 12v.

²²⁵ *Wardrobe and Household 1285–1286*, no.122; *Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, nos 202, 275, 286, 462, 1687, 1978; C 47/4/5 ff 4r, 9v.

²²⁶ *Wardrobe and Household 1285–1286*, no.535; *Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, no.2940.

²²⁷ *Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, no.2940.

²²⁸ Parsons, *Court and Household*, 130.

²²⁹ For Edward aiding Marie's commemoration of her mother, see above 229.

cloth, bought at a cost of £9 17s 5½d at Cordeaux, to the poor.²³⁰ On their return to England, Edward made oblations on behalf of his children and Marie. For his son, Edward, his five daughters and Marie, the king gave 49s (at a rate of 7s per person) to the shrine of St Adrian in St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury.²³¹ A further 42s were offered at the shrine of St Mildred, at the same church, on behalf of his daughters and niece.²³² When oblations of 63s were made to both the holy cross at Chertsey and an image of the Virgin at Caversham, Marie was included as one of the benefactors alongside the entire royal family, demonstrating the closeness between Edward, Eleanor, their children and Beatrice's daughter.²³³ The proximity of Marie to her English relatives appear to have endured the later conflicts, as on 22 July 1292, she was betrothed to Guy of Blois, and her daughter, Marie de St Pol, married another member of the English royal family's extended kin, the Lusignan Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke.²³⁴

Beatrice's youngest daughter Eleanor, born in England, conceivably also had a close relationship with her cousin Mary, as both joined their grandmother, Eleanor of Provence, on her retirement to Amesbury abbey.²³⁵ According to Trivet, Mary became a nun at Amesbury in 1284, with the reluctant consent of her parents but at the insistence of the queen mother, who took the veil there herself two years later.²³⁶ At Amesbury, Eleanor, her cousin Mary and her grandmother, Eleanor of Provence, were visited by Marie between February and April 1290, revealing the strength of the bond between the siblings and their grandmother.²³⁷ On the death of their grandmother in 1291, and at the request of her father, the duke of Brittany, Eleanor took her vows at Amesbury before departing for Fontevraud abbey (where her mother's heart was buried) where she eventually became abbess.

The death of Beatrice marked the beginning of the decline in relations between England and the Breton ducal house. As children, Edward's nieces and

²³⁰ *Wardrobe and Household 1286–1289*, no.2528.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, no.2542.

²³² *Ibid.*, no.2542.

²³³ *Ibid.*, nos 2560, 2562.

²³⁴ *Preuves*, 1034–6; J. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1992), 13.

²³⁵ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 103; M.A.E. Green, *Lives*, ii, 267. Amesbury was a sister house of Fontevraud abbey, re-founded by Henry II in 1177: J.T. Appleby, 'The Ecclesiastical Foundations of Henry II', *The Catholic Historical Review* 48 (1962), 205–15 (210–2).

²³⁶ Trivet, 310, 312.

²³⁷ C 47/4/5 ff 3v, 6v, 8r.

nephews were regularly at the English court, raised alongside their royal cousins, and these affective relationships continued until the outbreak of Anglo-French hostilities. While war pitted the brothers-in-law, Edward and John, on opposing sides, Beatrice's son John became a stalwart supporter of the English crown throughout his uncle's reign and for the majority of that of his cousin. Nevertheless, Breton integration in England did not end here, as Beatrice's granddaughter Marie became countess of Pembroke and purchased the earldom of Richmond from her uncle.²³⁸

The death of their father, Henry, and the subsequent coronation of their brother, Edward, at Westminster provided the setting for the final family reunion of Henry and Eleanor's children. Although neither of the two sisters lived much longer, dying within a few weeks of each other, in death they both demonstrated their Franciscan devotion that had been encouraged by their mother. Margaret also epitomised her dual identity as Scottish queen and English princess, following in the footsteps of her ancestor, St Margaret, in being buried at Dunfermline. In comparison, Beatrice's burial at Greyfriars emphasised her English identity. Both were commemorated in death by both their marital and natal families. Nevertheless, in death the ties that bound the Scottish and Breton courts to the English king began to loosen and deteriorated rapidly as Edward's reign progressed and the familial ties waned, in conjunction with the belligerent political context of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries.

²³⁸ John of Brittany, sold the earldom of Richmond to his niece in 1333 in return for a pension of £1800: Lubimenko, *Jean de Bretagne*, 134.

Chapter VI: Katherine

Katherine was the only child of Henry and Eleanor not to survive childhood. Katherine's life has been examined separately in this chapter as it was so short-lived and her death had a profound impact on her parents. Moreover, it brings together the themes of childhood and death discussed in chapters I and V. The relationship of Henry and Eleanor with their youngest child Katherine is particularly demonstrative of the strong, loving attachment they formed with their daughters. Although she did not live for long, the chancery records contain much evidence that shows the English king and queen's devotion towards this daughter. The royal family celebrated her birth and commemorated her in death. Their affection towards Katherine was most apparent in their deep grief at her death, which was also recorded by Matthew Paris. Although parental affection and attachment continues to be a contentious topic within the historiography, the evidence of Henry's daughter Katherine, and their other children more widely, counters the rather outdated stance that medieval royal parents invested little in their children's welfare.¹ This chapter follows the growing consensus of thought regarding parental concern, in arguing that children were cherished and their deaths deeply mourned.

Born on 25 November 1253, Katherine was the fifth child of Henry and Eleanor of Provence. As she only lived for three and a half years, the scholarship on Katherine focusses on issues regarding her birth and welfare, as well as the eight year period between the births of Katherine and Edmund. This large gap in childbearing has been attributed to a falling out between Henry and Eleanor as a result of the rivalry at court between Henry's Lusignan half-siblings and Eleanor's Provençal relatives.² Nevertheless, Katherine's arrival and the subsequent celebrations of the English king and queen suggests that her birth was a happy occasion, potentially following difficulties conceiving or possible miscarriage. Additionally, Matthew Paris' description of Katherine as deaf and dumb, as well as the time she spent at Swallowfield following her birth, are particularly prevalent in previous studies of

¹ See introduction 30–2.

² Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 67–8. Cockerill believes the couple were reconciled with Katherine's birth, but that their relationship never returned to the pre-1250s warmth, as they produced no further children: Cockerill, *Eleanor of Castile*, 64.

Katherine, which has caused debate concerning the state of her health. This chapter argues that there is limited evidence in the chancery records to suggest that Katherine was disabled or suffered from a degenerative disease as her parents' reactions to her illnesses follow a similar pattern to the periods of sickness of her siblings. Other than the short time she spent at Swallowfield, Katherine was treated no differently, suggesting that there were no long-running health concerns. Furthermore, it can be argued that there were no apparent reasons for anxiety regarding Katherine's health, as from her birth in November 1253 until August 1255 there is no reference to the child in the records. It is only when Katherine was not at Windsor but at Swallowfield that questions have been raised regarding the state of her health.

A Sickly Child?

Filia speciosa

As was the case with the birth of Eleanor of Provence's other children, her purification following the birth of Katherine was celebrated with an extravagant feast.³ Nevertheless, unlike the others, Katherine was described as '*filia speciosa*' in the writs issued concerning preparations for the festivities.⁴ It is an unusual term as all other entries in the chancery rolls define these royal children as belonging to the king and queen.⁵ Therefore, the use of '*speciosa*' suggests that Katherine's birth may have had added significance. One reading of '*filia speciosa*', when examined alongside Matthew Paris' comments could be that Katherine had some sort of impairment. On the occasion of her death in 1257, Paris described Katherine as 'mute and useless though with a most beautiful face'.⁶ This phrase has been interpreted to mean that Katherine was deaf and dumb. According to Patricia Skinner, the combination of 'deaf and mute' was common in narrative texts, modelled on Christ's healing miracle performed on a man unable to hear or speak in Mark 7:31–7. Yet, Skinner demonstrates that the biblical text does not in fact describe muteness, but rather a speech impediment or stammer. She emphasises the importance of seeing the

³ See above 79–80.

⁴ For example, see *CPR 1247–1258*, 267; *CR 1253–1254*, 105.

⁵ Such as '*fili nostri*' or '*filia regis*'.

⁶ '*muta et inutilis sed facie pulcherrima*': *CM*, v.632.

gradations of impairment, as many impediments, such as the inability to speak clearly, could be considered worthy of describing a person as mute.⁷ Katherine may not necessarily have been mute or deaf, but there could have been a spectrum of issues or impediments that resulted in Paris' description. More recent scholarship proposes that she could have been suffering from a degenerative disease.⁸

If Katherine was a sickly child, it may explain Eleanor's extravagant purification feast following her birth and the choice of her name.⁹ It could be argued that Eleanor and Henry (in absentia as he was in Gascony) used the occasion to proclaim their love for their daughter, despite any difficulties she may have had. It would suggest that they were keen to stress that her birth should be celebrated as much as their other children, as she was as much a part of their family. The saintly connections of the name given to Katherine may also imply ill-health. In addition to being associated with intercession, St Katherine was a popular saint who protected against sudden death.¹⁰ Moreover, from the early twelfth century, St Katherine was also patron of a number of English establishments concerned with the healing of the sick. In Henry's minority, three hospitals were dedicated to the saint.¹¹ The choice of name related to a saint associated with healing and warding against sudden death raises further questions regarding Katherine's health.

Conversely, another interpretation of the use of '*flia speciosa*' could be understood to mean beautiful or fair daughter, which would suggest that Katherine was a much wanted and prayed for daughter.¹² Following the birth of Edmund in 1245, the arrival of Katherine in 1253 marked the end of a period of eight years without any recorded childbearing. The gap between each of the previous births ranged between a little over a year to two and a half years, with the length of time between each gradually increasing.¹³ As described by Howell, the uncertainty of the

⁷ P. Skinner, 'Taking Out the Eye of a One-Eyed Man and Other Hypothetical Moments of Sensory Impairments in Early Medieval Law' in *Sensory Perception in the Medieval West*, eds S.C. Thomson and M.D.J. Bintley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 181–94 (185).

⁸ Howell suggests that she may have suffered from Rett's syndrome: Howell, 'Children', 64 n.48; Badham and Oosterwijk, 'The Tomb Monument of Katherine, daughter of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence (1253-7)', *Antiquaries Journal* 92 (2012), 169–196 (170).

⁹ See above 80–2 for discussion of the importance of Eleanor's purification.

¹⁰ Rawcliffe, 'Women, Childbirth and Religion', 100. For discussion of the name choice, see above 64–5.

¹¹ Lewis, *Cult of St Katherine*, 55, 59–60.

¹² The editor of the patent rolls translated the term as beautiful or fair: *CPR 1247–1258*, 267.

¹³ Eleanor of Provence's pattern of childbearing shows remarkable parallels with the births of the children of Eleanor and Simon de Montfort who were born in quick succession between 1239 and the early 1240s before a gap to 1252 and finally 1258 with the birth of their final child. Unlike Eleanor of

causes of this extended eight-year gap proves 'tantalising'.¹⁴ Howell acknowledges that there may have been stillbirths or miscarriages, but the lack of contemporary evidence compared to the wealth of information regarding their five children quells that theory.¹⁵ Another reason for the interlude may have been that the relationship between the king and queen deteriorated. In 1252, the Savoyard-Lusignan conflict came to a head with a quarrel between Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and Aymer, bishop-elect of Winchester, that pitted the king and queen on opposing sides supporting their respective relatives.¹⁶ As a result, Henry reduced Eleanor's agency, banishing her from court and withdrawing her access to the queen's gold, although she was restored to her former position by the end of the year.¹⁷ Nevertheless, a rift between the king and queen appears unlikely to be the cause of such length of time between children, as Eleanor's role as a mother only strengthened her relationship with the king, as both delighted in their children.¹⁸ It also does not explain why there were no further pregnancies or births during the late 1240s. Perhaps, therefore, the celebrations marking Katherine's arrival were increased, representing both the royal couple's happy reconciliation as well as the birth which possibly followed many years of unsuccessful attempts at conceiving, despite Eleanor only being around 30 years old in 1253.

The use of the term '*filia speciosa*' is troublesome. Yet, it may not have been used to denote infirmity. This theory is supported by the chancery evidence, which does not point to any apparent concerns for Katherine's health at birth. For example, the gifts granted in response to news regarding Katherine's birth were greater than those given to the bearer of news of the birth of Edward. William de Valers was granted £15 of land for delivering news to the king of Katherine's birth, whereas Robert de Stopham only received £10 for informing Henry of the birth of his heir.¹⁹ This gift supplements the theory that Henry and Eleanor delighted in the birth of a

Provence, Eleanor de Montfort had other unsuccessful pregnancies from the 1240s to 1251.

Nevertheless, the gap to the final birth in 1258 is noteworthy: Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, 88.

¹⁴ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 45. Her study of the children of Henry and Eleanor examines the possibility of other children: Howell, 'Children', 57–72.

¹⁵ See above 53–4. In comparison, many of the children born of Edward and Eleanor of Castile during Henry's reign, even those who did not survive for long, leave an impression in the chancery records: Parsons, 'Eleanor of Castile's Birth and Her Children', 257–60.

¹⁶ Boniface was Eleanor's Savoyard uncle, while Aymer was Henry's Lusignan half-brother.

¹⁷ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 67–8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁹ *CPR 1247–1258*, 267; *CLR 1240–1245*, 292; see above 67–8.

much-awaited addition to the royal family. The lack of grants following the birth of Margaret, Beatrice and Edmund, suggesting Katherine's birth was a particularly joyous occasion.

There is only one other occurrence of the term '*speciosa*' and its variant forms being used to describe any of Henry and Eleanor's other children. In the year 1244, the Dunstable annals recorded 'on 16 December Queen Eleanor gave birth to a handsome son of the lord king, called Edmund'.²⁰ Although Edmund's birth was fairly traumatic, I would suggest that this special description was not due to any disability or illness of the child, but rather to show the close familial bond.²¹ This second use of '*speciosum*' would therefore suggest a reading for both these descriptions as meaning that the children were special, in the sense of beloved, or handsome, emphasising the affection Henry and Eleanor felt at the births of all their children. On both occasions the use of this description was implemented shortly following their births, in Katherine's case in writs regarding Eleanor's purification, and in the recording of Edmund's birth in the Dunstable annals, representing an outburst of joy within the royal family, rather than anything more sinister.

The Swallowfield Conundrum

Another reason proposed by Howell, Badham and Oosterwijk for Katherine's supposed ill health or disability was that she was not raised in the nursery at Windsor alongside the other royal children, instead being sent to Swallowfield, near Reading.²² Katherine's presence at Swallowfield is evident in a number of royal writs, including one ordering roe-bucks to be sent to Katherine who was residing there in August 1255.²³ Nevertheless, it appears that she may have only resided at Swallowfield for a few months. By February 1256, if not earlier, Katherine was back at Windsor, as demonstrated by three writs to cover her expenses.²⁴ The first, dated

²⁰ '*xvii kalendas Januarii* [should probably read *xvii kalendas Februarii* (16 January)], *regine peperit domino regi speciosum filium, Edmundum nomine*': *AM*, iii.166.

²¹ Nevertheless, Edmund also appears to have been a rather sickly child, with the chancery and exchequer accounts recording the purchase or granting of items to ameliorate his health and wellbeing. For example, in November 1252 6s 8d was spent on purchasing syrups and electuaries for the use of Edmund: E 101/349/10. For discussion of the concerns for Edmund's welfare in childhood, see above 76, 114.

²² Howell, 'Children', 64; Badham and Oosterwijk, 'Tomb Monument', 170.

²³ *CR 1254-1256*, 123.

²⁴ *CLR 1251-1260*, 270, 289, 340.

February 1256, ordered 20 marks to be paid for the expenses of Katherine and her household dwelling at Windsor.²⁵ The second writ, dated May 1256, indicates that Katherine may have returned to Windsor much sooner. This writ instructed Simon de Wicombe, the queen's clerk, to be paid £10 for the expenses of Katherine at Windsor last winter, revealing that Katherine may have only spent a few months at Swallowfield, returning to Windsor before the end of the year.²⁶ After her short stay at Swallowfield, it appears that she remained at Windsor until her death as the third writ (of November 1256) ordered 20 marks to be paid to the queen's serjeant, Robert Russell, for the expenses of Katherine and a king's kinswoman and their household dwelling at Windsor, as well as a letter close ordering four tuns of wine to be delivered to them.²⁷

These writs showing Katherine's return to Windsor also contain some interesting details that illuminate the relationship between Henry, Eleanor and their youngest daughter. Simon de Wicombe was paid for Katherine and her household's expenses at Windsor for the previous winter in the absence of the king and queen.²⁸ Similarly, Robert Russell was reimbursed for the 'expenses of Katherine and a kinswoman of the king, and the household that is to dwell with them at Windsor in the coming absence of the king and queen'.²⁹ They suggest that Henry and Eleanor sought to be in close proximity to Katherine at all times, but when they could not be by her side there was great concern to ensure she was suitably provisioned. These writs specifically state that the expenditure was necessary as the king and queen were not present in person, and were unable to cover her expenses themselves.³⁰ That these payments were to be covered by members of the queen's household, suggests that when it became necessary to leave Katherine, one of Eleanor's loyal

²⁵ Ibid., 270.

²⁶ Ibid., 289.

²⁷ Ibid., 340; *CR 1256–1259*, 7.

²⁸ *CLR 1251–1260*, 289.

²⁹ *'ad expensas Katerine filiae nostre et cuiusdam cognate nostre et familie sua eis commorante apud Windlesore in hanc instanti nostra et regine nostre absentia'*: C 62/33 m.4. This kinswoman was possibly one of Henry or Eleanor's female Lusignan or Savoyard kin, who received profitable marriages to heirs to English earldoms and their children were raised in the royal nursery at Windsor: see above 103–4; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 53–55.

³⁰ The need to provide for the children in the king and queen's absence could simply be due to practical necessity and the itinerant nature of medieval kingship. Nevertheless, shortly before the birth of Katherine, Eleanor spent about 86% of her time at Windsor, away from Henry and the court (my calculation: E 101/349/16 and E 101/349/22) suggesting Eleanor did not like to be parted from her children. For the amount of time Eleanor spent at Windsor, see above 85–6.

serjeants was entrusted with her wellbeing.³¹ The naming of a kinswoman who would be present, also indicates that another family member was brought in to care for the royal couple's youngest daughter. There was a tight circle of trusted men and women to whose care Katherine would be entrusted when Henry and Eleanor could not be in her company.

If Katherine only spent a few months at Swallowfield, it does then raise questions about the reason behind the short sojourn. Perhaps the king's youngest daughter was sent there in order to recover from illness, fitting the theory that Katherine was indeed ill, but would also suggest that Katherine was not ill from birth, or suffering from a degenerative disease, as she was shortly returned to the royal nursery at Windsor, disproving ideas that she was purposefully kept away from court. Nevertheless, if it was understood that this illness was life threatening or long term, and that Katherine would not recover from it, perhaps her parents wished to have her returned to the family. Again, these are the questions that arise from Matthew Paris' description of Katherine on her death as 'mute and useless'.³² That this phrase was used at this point, however, and not designated as such from birth, indicates that perhaps the deafness and dumbness that afflicted her towards the end of her life was a part of the illness that killed her.

A letter close of 24 March 1256 may be able to assist in this quandary. While the king was at Norwich, he ordered Edward of Westminster to make a silver image to a female likeness and size, to be placed at the shrine of St Edward at Westminster. These were to be made for Katherine, the king's daughter, who was described as being 'recently ill'.³³ Katherine's health only appears to have become a concern for Henry on her return to Windsor and just over a year before her death, indicating that Katherine may have succumbed to the illness that killed her at this point, rather than having been ill from birth. The actions of her parents parallel those they undertook when their elder children had become ill during childhood, making offerings to the shrine of St Edward in order to secure the saint's intercession. Again, this offering appears to have been 'measured' to Katherine, being made to a certain

³¹ A member of the queen's household was also sent to care for the ill Geoffrey fitz John who was in the queen's care: Howell, 'Children', 66.

³² '*muta et inutilis*': *CM*, v.632.

³³ '*pro Katerina filia regis, nuper egrotante, fieri faciat quondam imaginem argenteam ad similitudinem femine et ad magnitudinem unius duarum imaginum quarum una erigatur in anteriori parte veteris feretri Beati Edwardi apud Westmonasterium, et altera a latere ejusdem feretri*': *CR* 1254-1256, 287-8.

size and female likeness to gain spiritual assistance and healing for the king's youngest daughter.³⁴ This act seems to have had the desired effect as three days later on 27 March, Henry rewarded the queen's messenger, Robert, with a good robe for bringing news that Katherine's health was improving.³⁵ Therefore, this affliction may not have been the one that ended Katherine's life, or perhaps it was a rather short-lived recovery, and not quite the prayed for miracle. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that her mother possibly attended Katherine during these uncertain times, as it was her messenger who delivered the news to the king.

Katherine's Death

Henry and Eleanor's Grief

Katherine did not survive much longer following her return to Windsor, dying on 3 May 1257. What soon becomes apparent on Katherine's death was that she was genuinely cared for by her parents and her loss was deeply grieved. Matthew Paris recounts the full effects of the emotional distress both Henry and Eleanor felt at Katherine's death. The *Chronica Majora*, relates how the queen became dangerously ill, overcome with grief and could obtain no relief from either medical skill or human consolation.³⁶ Paris here does not describe a woman consoled by the fact she still has four living children, but rather a completely heartbroken queen, who appears to have gained no remedy from either human compassion, medical treatment or spiritual knowledge that her daughter was now in heaven. This episode shows that Eleanor was not prepared for the perils of infant mortality in the Middle Ages, and could not escape the feeling of loss. Instead the queen had formed a close attachment to her three-year-old daughter, emphasising that Katherine was a much cherished and longed for child, and her death caused her mother great trauma.

Henry's anguish at Katherine's death is also related by the chronicler as the culmination of a series of sorrows that plagued the king during the 1250s. According to Paris, at the end of May 1257, Henry fell into a tertian fever following an accumulation of great distress. Henry's suffering included the frequent successes of

³⁴ For measured offerings made by Henry on behalf of his children, see above 76.

³⁵ *CR 1254–1256*, 288.

³⁶ '*Regina autem mater ejus dolore concepto infirmitate quasi irremediabiliter occupabatur, nec potuit ei phisica vel humana consolation suffragari*': *CM*, v.632.

the Welsh and the slaughter of his loyal men in the Welsh marches, his belief that he had been cheated out of the kingdom of Sicily, on which he had uselessly squandered a great deal of money, in combination with the death of his daughter Katherine. As a result, the king remained in London to recover while his queen continued to be confined to her bed at Windsor, afflicted with pleurisy.³⁷ The reactions of both Henry and Eleanor refute Howell's comment of their 'disinterested love or concern' when there was little at stake politically, revealing instead that they had emotionally invested a great deal in their youngest daughter.³⁸

That both Henry and Eleanor fell ill in their grief is demonstrative of the affection they felt for Katherine and their loss. Eleanor grieved to such an extent that it was feared she might not recover and was confined to her sickbed.³⁹ This parental woe also has parallels to a miracle story in which the countess of Clare sought Thomas Becket's assistance to heal her son. The countess Matilda sought the martyr's help when her son James became ill with a hernia, shortly after birth, and the boy was returned to health. Nevertheless, sometime later the child became sick again and died. According to the story, no one dared to tell the mother the sad news of her son's death, but when she discovered his body, she lifted her son into her arms and pressed him to her breast. She appealed once again to St Thomas to save her son, vowing to return to the saint's tomb clothed in wool and barefoot. After a drop of the martyr's water was poured into the boy's open lips and he was covered in St Thomas' hair shirt, the saint restored the boy to life.⁴⁰ This outpouring of grief, evident in this miracle story and Henry and Eleanor's responses to Katherine's death, counter the theory that parents did not form attachments to their young children, and instead shows that children were dearly cared for from birth.

These strong family sentiments of both Henry and Eleanor are also apparent in their reaction to the deaths of Eleanor's Provençal relatives. Eleanor and Henry grieved on the death of Eleanor's uncle, William, bishop-elect of Valence. Upon the

³⁷ *tum propter infirmitatem reginae gravissimam, tum propter mortem Katerinae filiae, in tantam tristitiam est praecepitatus, quod in febrem tertianam, quae diu eum afflixit Londoniis commorantem, cecidit, sicut reginam apud Windelehores decubantem pleuresis maceravit': CM, v.643.*

³⁸ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 101.

³⁹ *CM*, v.643.

⁴⁰ William of Canterbury's *Miracula S. Thomae* in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J.C. Robertson, Volume I (London, 1875), 228–30. This story is also recounted in Benedict of Peterborough's *Miracula S. Thomae* in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J.C. Robertson, Volume I (London, 1876), 255–7.

arrival of news of his poisoning at Viterbo in 1239, the king was said to have been unrestrained in his grief, tearing his clothes and throwing them in the fire, roaring and refusing to accept the consolation of anyone.⁴¹ Eleanor was similarly described as being excited by a more familiar cause of sorrow, and mourned her uncle's death for a long time.⁴² Moreover, when news regarding the death of Eleanor's father, Raymond of Provence, reached England in 1245, Henry piously performed funerary obsequies for his father-in-law with the giving of alms, devout prayers, burning candles and the ringing of bells, but earnestly forbade anyone from informing the queen of her father's death, so as not to cause her great distress and sadness.⁴³ Henry was aware of and cared for his wife's emotional wellbeing, and sought to protect her from bad tidings. Following Eleanor's grief at the death of her uncle, Henry was aware of the reaction this news would provoke and appears to have wanted to shield her from further upset. These episodes of the king and queen's reactions to the deaths of their relatives show that neither were restrained in their emotional responses, emphasising the strength of familial affection between the English king, queen and their relatives.

Katherine's Burial and Commemoration

Katherine's body was interred at Westminster abbey. Carpenter thinks it inconceivable that she would be buried anywhere other than the Confessor's chapel, under the protection of Henry's patron saint.⁴⁴ Badham and Oosterwijk, however, convincingly argue that the Lady Chapel may have been a more probable burial place, as it was completed in c.1245 and at the time of Katherine's death had recently received a new vault and roof. Conversely, the construction of the Confessor's chapel was not completed until 1259, with the fitting out of the chapel and building of the shrine taking a further ten years.⁴⁵ Katherine was joined in death by the similarly

⁴¹ *'non se prae dolore capiens scidit vestimenta sua et ea projecit in ignem et rugitum magnum emittens noluit alicujus admittere consolationem'*: *CM*, iii.623.

⁴² *'quam cause familiarior stimulavit, funus fraternum deflevit tempore diuturno'*: *Ibid.*, iii.623

⁴³ *'summopere prohibens ne quis mortem comitis memorati reginae ne contristaretur nuntiaret'*: *Ibid.*, iv. 485.

⁴⁴ D.A. Carpenter, Book Review of *The Westminster Retable, History, Technique, Conservation*, ed. P. Binski and M. Ann with the assistance of M.L. Sauerberg (Cambridge and Turnhout: Hamilton Ker Institute and Harvey Miller Publishers, 2009) in *Antiquaries Journal* 92 (2012), 490–2 (491).

⁴⁵ Badham and Oosterwijk, 'Tomb Monument', 173. Katherine's burial in the Lady Chapel would also align with the placing of the Westminster Retable in the same chapel: see below 262–3. It all depends on when Katherine's body was finally laid to rest in her tomb.

short lived children of Eleanor of Castile and Edward who died during Henry's reign, namely Katherine (1261–4), Joan (1265) and their brother John (1268–74), who were also buried at Westminster.⁴⁶ These burials suggest that Henry wanted the newly rebuilt Westminster abbey to become the English royal family's mausoleum.⁴⁷

In order to house Katherine's body, Henry instructed a tomb to be built adorned with an image. Towards the end of May 1257, Simon de Welles was paid 2 marks for his expenses to come to Westminster in order to make a tomb. A further writ of liberate followed, instructing the payment of a further 80 marks to make a gilt bronze image to place on the said tomb.⁴⁸ For some reason, however, Simon does not appear to have completed his task or even arrived in London to undertake the commission as a writ dated 11 July ordered Simon to be paid, without delay, an additional 5½ marks for his expenses in coming to London. This writ described Simon as he 'who should have made a bronze image over the tomb of Katherine'.⁴⁹ Henry had evidently become frustrated that his wishes had not been carried out, as the subsequent writ commissioned his trusted goldsmith, William of Gloucester, to make a silver image for the tomb at a cost of 70 marks.⁵⁰ Badham and Oosterwijk believe that this tomb monument was the first to have been made for a child in England, following French practice, emphasising Henry's devotion to his daughter.⁵¹

⁴⁶ *CLR 1260–1267*, 142–3; *CR 1264–1268*, 70–1; *AM*, v.245. See also Parsons, 'Eleanor of Castile's Birth and Her Children', 258–9. Henry also covered the burial expenses, totalling £40, of his granddaughter Katherine: *CLR 1260–1267*, 142–3.

⁴⁷ This tradition continued after Henry's death as members of the royal family, including the children of William of Valence and Edward I's grandchildren (Humphrey and Elizabeth de Bohun) were buried at Westminster: Howell, 'Children', 60.

⁴⁸ '*fabrice cuiusdam ymaginis ene deaurate quam sibi iniunximus faciendam et ponendam supra tumbum katerine filie nostre in ecclesia Westmonasterium quaterviginti marcas*': C 62/33 m.5. The calendared entry gives the sum 50 marks rather than 80: *CLR 1251–1260*, 376. This image may not necessarily have been an effigy. According to Joan Tanner the image was unlikely to depict Katherine herself, but more probably St Katherine: J.D. Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 16 (1953), 25–40 (27 and 34). Nevertheless, the thirteenth century witnessed the beginning of a trend of images and effigies of deceased children, particularly at Royaumont in France. These included the Limoges enamels for the tombs of Marguerite of Provence and Louis IX's children Jean and Blanche, or the tomb of Philip, son of Louis VIII and Blanche of Castile: Badham and Oosterwijk, 'Tomb Monument', 192; Grant, *Blanche of Castile*, 224.

⁴⁹ '*magistro Simoni de Welles qui debuit fecisse quondam imaginem en eam supra tumulum Katerine filie nostre in ecclesia Westmonasterium*': C 62/33 m.4.

⁵⁰ '*Willelmo de Gloucestre aurifabro nostro sexaginta et decem marcas ad quandam imaginem argenteam faciendam supra tumbam Katerine filie nostre in ecclesia Westmonasterium*': C 62/33 m.4. In total William was paid £333 16s 8d for making a lectern and tomb for Katherine, the frontal for the great altar at Westminster and some *tabulas* for the altar to the Virgin: E 361/1 rot.1 m.1 and rot.2 m.1.

⁵¹ Louis IX commissioned the earliest surviving tomb monuments for his two children, Blanche and Jean, who died in infancy in 1243 and 1248: Badham and Oosterwijk, 'Tomb Monument', 192.

This monument may have been the first representation of a child, yet Henry had precedent in commemorating his deceased female relatives in this way, having previously commissioned a marble tomb for Joan's body at Tarrant abbey in March 1238.⁵² This effigy was to depict a queen to reflect Joan's status, revealing how Henry wanted his sister to be remembered and commemorated in death. Although Henry did not specify the image he wanted placing on Katherine's tomb, like Joan's effigy, it may equally have represented the young daughter he had lost.

In addition to the tomb and image, Henry commissioned other works for the adornment of Katherine's burial place. A writ of January 1259 ordered Aubrey de Fiscampo and Peter de Winton, king's clerks, to be paid 500 marks for providing a cloth with pearls for an altar frontal, a lectern, the tomb in which Katherine was buried, and certain pictures which the king had made for the altar of St Mary at Westminster'.⁵³ The purchase of altar cloths was a regular feature of Henry's commemoration of saints' days, as well as grants of cloths to cover tombs. For example, twenty pieces of silk-cloth, six silk cloths woven with gold and eight Genoese cloths were offered with Joan's body at a cost of £21 18s.⁵⁴ Similarly, in 1265, Henry instructed that gold cloth should cover the tomb of his granddaughter Katherine.⁵⁵ Moreover, the images purchased for the altar could represent the Westminster Retable. Carpenter has proposed that Henry commissioned the retable due to the pictorial representations within it. One of the miracles depicted Christ raising Jarius' daughter from the dead, which Carpenter believes was not a common subject of iconography at the time, and would have strongly resonated with the king, as the father of a recently deceased daughter who surely would have prayed for the

⁵² CLR 1226–1240, 316. This tomb does not seem to have been made until much later, as in 1252 Henry again instructed an image of a queen to be made and placed above Joan's grave: '*faciat imaginem eiusdem regine et pec'm illam sic intigam cariari faciat usque Tharent' monialium ponendam ibidem ultra tumbam sororis nostre quondam regine Scot*': C 62/29 m.13. The total cost of Joan's tomb and effigy was £5: E 372/98 rot.9 m.1.

⁵³ '*Albrico de Fiscamp' et Petro de Winton' quingentas marcas ad aquietandam inde quemdam pannum cum perulis ad frontale altaris quoddam lecternum et tumbam Katerine filie nostre defuncte et quasdam tabulas quas fieri fecimus ad altare beate Marie apud Westmonasterium*': C 62/35 m.7. The calendared entry has mistranslated '*quingentas*' as 50 rather than 500: CLR 1251–1260, 448. This sum can be confirmed in the corresponding issue rolls, which records the payment at 500 marks: '*D marcas ad acquietandum inde pannum cum perulis ad frontale altaris quoddam lectrinum et tumbam Katerine filie Regis defuncte et quasdam tabulas quas dominus Rex fieri fecit ad altare beate Marie apud Westmonasterium*': E 403/17B m.3; E 403/1217 m.2.

⁵⁴ CLR 1226–1240, 316–7; E 372/82 rot.7 m.2.

⁵⁵ CR 1264–1268, 70–1

kind of miracle that restored Jarius' own daughter.⁵⁶ These images appear to have been those purchased from Peter of Spain for 120 marks, as the writ of liberate states these images were placed in the chapel of St Mary at Westminster.⁵⁷ These writs clearly support Carpenter's theory that Henry was indeed the patron of the Westminster Retable, adding to the oblations given at Katherine's funeral to ensure her passage into the next life.

What was perhaps a little unusual about Katherine's burial was that there was no division of the body. Possibly, at this point in Henry's reign, the royal family had not earnestly began its practice of multiple burials, although her sister Beatrice received separate heart and body burials on her death.⁵⁸ Furthermore, this practice was not limited to adults as two of Edward's sons, Henry and Alphonso, both received separate heart and body burials on their deaths in 1274 and 1284. Henry's body was buried at Westminster while his heart was sent to the Dominicans at Guildford.⁵⁹ Similarly, Alphonso's body was buried at Westminster but his heart was interred at the Dominican church in London, at the request of his mother.⁶⁰ Westminster was the focal point of commemoration, but neither Henry nor Eleanor appear to have been compelled to divide Katherine's body for the amplification of prayers for her soul.

Instead of dividing Katherine's body, Henry ensured his daughter's salvation with substantial expenditure on obsequies. On 16 May 1257, Henry instructed that his almoner, John the chaplain, be paid £51 12s 4d for obsequies for Katherine's soul.⁶¹ Unfortunately the writ does not specify what the service entailed. It was, however, a costly affair, excelling other sums, and when compared to the obsequies Henry provided for other deceased relatives no doubt included various almsgiving, prayers and candles. For example, on the death of his cousin, Eleanor of Brittany, tapers, alms and candles for her obsequies totalled £20 7s.⁶² 80 marks were also paid towards Joan's funerary obsequies.⁶³ Additionally, from 1246, Henry ordered the

⁵⁶ Carpenter, Book Review of *The Westminster Retable*, 491.

⁵⁷ '*pro duabus tabulis depictis et ponis in capella beate Marie Westmonasterium*': C 62/34 m.1. The placing of these objects as part of Katherine's commemoration supports the theory that she was buried in the Lady Chapel, see above 260.

⁵⁸ See above 225–6.

⁵⁹ Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, Appendix 1.

⁶⁰ Trivet, 310.

⁶¹ '*liberate de thesaurario nostro Johanni capello elemosino nostro Lj liberates xij s. iij d. ad exequias Katerine filie nostre que nuper decessit*': C 62/33 m.6. Paid: E 403/13 m.1.

⁶² *CLR 1240–1245*, 68–9.

⁶³ E 372/82 rot.7 m.2.

sheriff of Dorset to provide Tarrant abbey with two tapers to burn day and night forever, one at the altar and the other at the tomb of Joan.⁶⁴

Shortly after Katherine's death, at the end of May 1257, it was ordered that Richard, a hermit at La Charring, was to be paid 50s yearly for the rest of his life to maintain a chaplain, to celebrate divine service daily for Katherine's soul.⁶⁵ In 1268, possibly due to Richard's death, Simon, another hermit, was to receive the 50s stipend, revealing that throughout his reign, Henry ensured that divine service was sung daily for his daughter's soul.⁶⁶ Chaplains were a common aspect of Henry's commemoration of his deceased relatives. Following the death of William, bishop-elect of Valence, chaplains were appointed in Oxford and the hospital of Ospringe, Kent.⁶⁷ Similarly, two chaplains, one in Ospringe and another in Oxford, were to celebrate divine service for the soul of Eleanor of Provence's father with 50s stipends each, with an additional chaplain at Westminster, receiving 100s yearly.⁶⁸ Two chaplains were appointed to celebrate divine service for the soul of Isabella of Angoulême, at Westminster (paid 100s yearly), and in the queen's chapel in Marlborough castle (with a yearly stipend of 50s).⁶⁹ Another chaplain was appointed on Joan's behalf, again at the queen's chapel at Marlborough.⁷⁰ Additionally, two chaplains were appointed for his cousin Eleanor of Brittany, one at Marlborough and the other at Bristol, where Eleanor had resided during her confinement.⁷¹ There appears to be a pattern to the locations of the appointments of the chaplains. Westminster was the focal point, whereas Oxford and Kent seem to have been established as locations for the commemoration of Eleanor of Provence's family.

⁶⁴ *CLR 1245–1251*, 62; *CPR 1232–1247*, 483.

⁶⁵ *CLR 1251–1260*, 375. This sum was paid in 25s instalments at Michaelmas and Easter: E 403/15A mm.2, 3.

⁶⁶ *CLR 1267–1272*, 18.

⁶⁷ *CLR 1226–1240*, 440; *CLR 1240–1245*, 292.

⁶⁸ *CLR 1245–1251*, 10, 21; *CChR 1226–1257*, 289. These sums appear to have been paid throughout Henry's reign as at Michaelmas 1257 the monks at Westminster were paid 100s for the sustenance of a chaplain to celebrate divine service for the count of Provence's soul: E 403/15A m.1.

⁶⁹ *CPR 1232–1247*, 485; *CLR 1245–1251*, 78; *CChR 1225–1257*, 304. The Westminster chaplain was still in receipt of 100s annually in 1257, suggesting these payments continued throughout Henry's reign: E 403/15A m.1.

⁷⁰ *CLR 1245–1251*, 242.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 71, 301. Eleanor of Brittany spent decades confined in England following her capture, with her brother Arthur, at Mirebeau by King John from c.1203 until her death in 1241. She was moved from castle to castle, spending much of her time at Bristol during Henry's reign: G. Seabourne, 'Eleanor of Brittany and her Treatment by King John and Henry III', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 51 (2007), 73–110 (79–80).

Similarly, Marlborough became the centre of remembrance for female relations, particularly within the queen's chapel, perhaps as part of Eleanor's integration into the English royal family. In comparison, Katherine's chaplain was based in close proximity to her burial location.

One of Henry's preferred methods of remembrance for his dead relatives, which is conspicuously missing with regard to Katherine, concerned the feeding of the poor. As part of Henry and Eleanor's daily almsgiving 150 poor would be fed at a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d of bread per person when the royal couple were together. When separated, Henry fed 100 poor daily and Eleanor 50.⁷² These alms multiplied tenfold as part of Henry's commemoration of his deceased relatives. Following the death of Eleanor's uncle, William, bishop-elect of Valence, Henry fed 1000 poor at a rate of 1d per person on the anniversary of his death on 1 November 1240, the feast of All Saints.⁷³ Eleanor herself paid 10s towards the feeding of monks at Ankerwyke on the anniversary of her uncle's death in 1252.⁷⁴ As demonstrated by Table 14, the feeding of the poor, monks and scholars was also a key aspect of Henry's memorialisation of his deceased female relatives. Following the death of his sister Isabella, an extraordinary number of 102,000 poor were fed across a number of locations in England in April 1242.⁷⁵ This enormous figure has been attributed to the fact that news of his sister's death did not reach Henry for a number of weeks. His sister died in December the previous year, and Henry went rather overboard because of the delay.⁷⁶ Moreover, the poor were often fed on the anniversary of the beneficiary's death. For example, 1000 poor scholars were fed at Oxford and as many poor as could be fit into the great and lesser halls at Westminster in 1244, on the anniversary of Joan's death, 4 March.⁷⁷ A further 500 poor were fed at Tarrant when the marble effigy Henry had ordered was placed above her tomb.⁷⁸ Henry's feeding of the poor

⁷² E 101/349/27; E 101/349/16; E 101/349/22.

⁷³ *CLR 1240–1245*, 6. Henry may have commemorated the anniversary of William's death annually, as a writ of October 1244 ordered the treasurer to feed 1000 poor on All Saints and All Souls days (1 and 2 November), again for the soul of the queen's uncle: *CR 1242–1247*, 233.

⁷⁴ E 101/349/8. Eleanor's 10s payment to feed the monks may also have been paid annually, although it is difficult to ascertain from the fragmentary nature of Eleanor's surviving household and wardrobe accounts.

⁷⁵ *CLR 1240–1245*, 124.

⁷⁶ Dixon-Smith: 'Feeding the Poor', 213. Dixon-Smith also suggests this colossal feeding was due to the fact she died in childbirth.

⁷⁷ *CLR 1240–1245*, 220; *CR 1242–1247*, 164.

⁷⁸ *CLR 1251–1260*, 138.

on behalf of his mother also took place on the same unnamed day on which the obsequies were performed on her behalf.⁷⁹ The lack of these pious acts on Katherine's behalf is rather puzzling, especially considering the regular occasions in which the poor were fed on behalf of the king's children in their youth. Perhaps as she was buried at Westminster abbey, Henry channelled all his commemorative activity in that direction.

⁷⁹ *CLR* 1245–1251, 71.

Year	Beneficiary	Fed	Location	Cost	Cost per head
1242	Isabella	102,000 poor	Oxford, Ospring, Ankerwic, Bromhal, London, Windsor and elsewhere	£425	1d
1243	Isabella	4000 poor	Great Hall, Westminster	25 marks	1d
1244	Isabella	1000 poor and the friars preachers and minors	Oxford	10 marks	
	Joan ⁸⁰	1000 poor scholars	Oxford	£19 5s 6½d	over 4½d
		As many poor that could be fit	Great and Lesser Halls, Westminster		
1245	Isabella	Unspecified number and to celebrate anniversary	Church of Westminster	25 marks	
1246	Joan	600 poor	Windsor		
		Bread distributed to the poor and friars preachers and minors	Great Hall, Westminster and London	£27 1s 10½d	
	Isabella of Angouleme	All poor scholars and friars preachers and minors	Oxford		
1247	Joan	feeding poor and to celebrate anniversary	Great Hall, Westminster	£12 15s 5½d	
1253	Joan	500 poor	Tarrant		

Table 14 Henry feeding the poor, monks and scholars on behalf of his deceased female relatives⁸¹

The commemoration of Katherine was not necessarily restricted to her parents. Edward also appears to have memorialised his youngest sister in death. In the early 1260s, Eleanor of Castile gave birth to a daughter who was called Katherine.⁸² Katherine's birth is the first for Edward for which we have record of the child's name. It suggests that even after a few years, Katherine's death was still keenly

⁸⁰ The entry in the calendar wrongly names Joan as Eleanor: 'Eleanor the king's sister, formerly queen of Scotland'.

⁸¹ *CLR 1240–1245*, 124, 204, 220, 281, 306; *CLR 1245–1251*, 35, 71, 106; *CLR 1251–1260*, 138; *CR 1242–1247*, 140, 164, 398.

⁸² The date of birth of Edward's daughter Katherine is unclear: Parsons, 'Eleanor of Castile's Birth and Her Children', 258.

felt at the English court and that Edward and Eleanor sought to remember their young, deceased sister. Edward would later replicate this commemorative practice in the naming of a daughter Margaret, born shortly after the death of his sister, the queen of Scots, in 1275.⁸³ The only sister that was not honoured in such fashion was Beatrice, who died shortly after her sister but does not appear to have influenced the choice of name for their next daughter, Berengaria. This act suggests that Edward joined his parents in their grief at Katherine's death.

Katherine does not appear to have been sick from birth, but was welcomed into the world as warmly as the other children, with the long absence of childbearing possibly resulting in the exultant joy at her arrival. Katherine was not excluded from the other children at Windsor and only spent a short period of time at Swallowfield. There also seems to have been no real concern for her health from birth, and when she did become ill her parents responded in a similar fashion to the illnesses of their other children. Therefore, it can be understood that Katherine's death was unexpected, which perhaps resulted in such an outpouring of grief that it drew the attention of the St Albans chronicler. Following her death, Henry ensured that she was suitably buried at Westminster abbey, which became the focal point of the king and queen's commemoration of her with elaborate obsequies made and the commissioning of a tomb with some form of image atop. Moreover, Henry's practices to ensure the salvation of his relatives' souls with the establishment of chaplains and offerings of expensive cloths and candles were repeated on the death of his youngest daughter. These acts show that Katherine's loss was deeply grieved and every care was taken to provide for her soul.

⁸³ Cockerill, *Eleanor of Castile*, 268.

Conclusion

On 16 November 1272, King Henry III died. In recording his death, the continuation of Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora* stated that the illustrious king had ruled for 56 years and was the father of two sons and three daughters, in Margaret, Beatrice and Katherine.⁸⁴ This thesis uncovers the lives of these three royal women, shedding new light on the roles and functions of royal daughters at the English court in the thirteenth century. In particular, this thesis demonstrates the importance of emotion, namely parental affection and concern, in the relationship and interactions between these royal parents and their children. It is one of the first studies to investigate the significance of affective ties within medieval elite society, revealing that Henry and Eleanor of Provence's actions were directed by their anxiety to ensure their daughters were well cared for. As a result, these affective ties can be seen to have affected life at the English court, as well as having influenced the king's international diplomacy. This study of affection stems from studies of anger, which have shown that the king's expressions of rage were an important aspect of rulership. This thesis builds on these investigations of royal anger to show that affection was as instrumental in directing royal actions and relationships.

Henry and Eleanor's emotional attachment is evident in both the chronicle and record material used to uncover the lives of their daughters. The king and queen's emotional reactions were recorded on a number of occasions by Matthew Paris who related episodes of their joy, sadness and even grief, in relation to their children and their daughters' lives. Although, these emotional outbursts are less frequent in the royal government records, there are occasional glimpses of affection, such as the use of affective language and descriptions of family members. Moreover, the vast number of documents helping to promote, further or protect the interests and lives of Margaret and Beatrice, demonstrate the emotional motivations behind Henry and Eleanor's treatment towards their daughters. Parental affection and concern was a key factor in the king's decision making to such an extent that he cancelled proposed

⁸⁴ *Flores Historiarum*, iii.28.

alliances because he was not convinced that his daughter would be treated as a king's daughter should.

The use of the life cycle model shows that the English king and queen's parental affection and involvement in their daughters' lives did not wane as Margaret and Beatrice grew older. Despite being married to a king and an earl, Henry and Eleanor remained strong influences in their daughters' adult lives. Moreover, it was in their roles as daughters of the English king, as well as their position as queen of Scotland and countess of Richmond, that permitted the daughters agency at the English court. These dual roles meant the daughters were intercessors with their father. Henry also ensured the daughters had access to wealth and resources, even after their marriages, to help secure their position and ensure a certain degree of security, allowing them to continue the lavish lifestyles they had been accustomed to in England. This affection and concern was also reciprocated by the daughters. Even after their departures from England, the pull of the English court and their family remained. Margaret returned from Scotland on a number of occasions to visit her parents in England, even giving birth to her first child at Windsor. Beatrice may have returned to England less frequently following her marriage, but she remained in contact with father through letters which exhibited her deep anxiety for Henry's welfare during the turmoil of the baronial rebellion.

Contemporary monastic chroniclers did not always consider royal daughters as worthy of inclusion in their works. The births of sons, and more importantly the king's heir, were recorded with a relative degree of precision, whereas accounts noting the births of the daughters were a lot more haphazard. As Margaret and Beatrice were born within two years of each other, the chroniclers have a tendency to confuse or even amalgamate the events. Moreover, some chroniclers do not even relate their births and only introduce Henry and Eleanor's daughters into the narrative upon their marriages, reinforcing the perception that these women were of little relevance other than for the marital alliances they could bring. The short life of Katherine is the least documented of all the children within the chronicles, with only Matthew Paris recounting her birth and death three and a half years later. Despite the lack of chronicler interest, the chancery and exchequer material shows the importance of these children to their parents. They show how each child was

welcomed to the world with great celebration. Additionally, Eleanor's purification festivities were equally lavish affairs that were used as demonstrations of the return of the most important woman at court, the queen. Childbearing at the Henrican court was a joyous and symbolic occasion.

The choice of names given to the children reveal the fusion of the pious and the familial. Edward and Edmund were named for Henry's two patron saints. Katherine was similarly named after the saint on whose feast day she was born and was held in particular reverence by the queen. Margaret was so named for both its saintly connotations, following a difficult labour which involved Eleanor's appeals for the saint's intervention, but also to honour of the queen's family, namely her elder sister, the French queen. Conversely, the name Beatrice was introduced into the English royal family, for the queen's mother. These names broke with the tradition of commemorating English royal predecessors and suggests that Henry and Eleanor sought to distance themselves from the troubles of his father's reign, instead harking back to his more glorious Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Eleanor also had a fair degree of choice in her daughters' names.

Henry and Eleanor showed great concern for their children's upbringing. This thesis has demonstrated that the daughters' education took place at the English royal court. Rather than taking place at the court of their betrothed, Margaret and Beatrice's education was predominantly led by their mother, who instructed them both in the courtly roles they would be expected to undertake as the wives of princes. The spiritual and physical wellbeing of the children was also well attended. Measured alms were used to secure divine favour and protection for the children, in conjunction with the saintly connotations of their nomenclature. From a young age, the royal children were also associated with the king and queen's alms (especially the feeding and clothing of the poor), oblations and religious patronage. Furthermore, the English king and queen appear to have disliked being apart from their children and regularly stayed at Windsor. The children also joined them on the road as soon as they were old enough. At Windsor, the children seem to have had individual households with a number of attendants entrusted to their care and education, who were well rewarded by the king and queen for their service. These were costly establishments, which required a constant stream of cash to ensure that their

expenses were covered. Being raised together also meant that the siblings formed close bonds with each other that endured throughout their lives. As adults Edward and Edmund joined in the family reunions and visited their sister in Scotland. Beatrice and John also accompanied Edward and Eleanor of Castile on crusade, where close ties appear to have formed between the two wives who spent time together bearing children in the Holy Land. Additionally, as children they formed relationships with important royal wards, the heirs to earldoms and baronies, which similarly lasted in to adulthood, demonstrating the importance of the Windsor establishment.

As the daughters grew older, betrothal soon followed. In arranging the marriages of his daughters, Henry was careful to ensure that they would be well provided for as wives. Henry's failure to be reassured that Beatrice's future husband would be able to support her, as befitted her status as a king's daughter, was one of the contributing factors in the breakdown of the prospective Castilian match. Henry was unwilling to put his daughters' welfare or status at risk, suggesting that Henry perceived his daughters as more than transactional commodities. Beatrice did, however, fulfil the definition of pawn in the medieval marriage market as her betrothal was offered on multiple occasions as Henry sought to broker alliances across Europe. Both daughters were married as part of peace negotiations emphasising the important role royal daughters played in international diplomacy in the thirteenth century. Margaret was married in the hope that Henry's grandson would one-day rule Scotland, whereas the marriage of Beatrice helped to establish peace between England, Brittany and France. The political necessity of the match dictated the choice of husband, meaning that Margaret and Beatrice did not marry equally and both received different dowries. While Margaret became Scottish queen, her dowry comprised cash to resolve financial complaints between the English and Scottish crowns and maintain the integrity of the Anglo-Scottish border. In comparison, the restoration of the earldom and honour of Richmond was a Breton prerequisite in the negotiations for Beatrice's nuptials to the heir of the duchy of Brittany. These dowries were used to fulfil certain political purposes and, as proposed by Judith Green, this need eclipsed any compulsion to endow daughters uniformly.

Henry and Eleanor's parental concern is also apparent in the lavish wedding ceremonies, dower arrangements and preparations for the daughters' departures to their husband's lands. Beatrice's dower rights were carefully negotiated during the months the English court spent in France during the winter of 1259-60, with Eleanor of Provence, her sister the French queen and Beatrice all involved in diplomatic exchanges to secure lands in Champagne from the king of Navarre. Moreover, just as they had done for the daughters as children in the nursery at Windsor, Henry and Eleanor provided them both with a range of exquisite items with which they could establish their own households. They were provided with trousseaux which included rings, brooches and belts that the daughters could use to patronise their new Scottish and Breton adherents, helping them to secure their position as quickly as possible in their marital home. They were also provided with attendants to accompany them to their husbands' courts who in the case of Margaret, gave the young queen an English retinue and presence in Scotland.

This thesis shows that after their marriages, Henry's daughters were not forgotten about by their parents. Henry's dealings with Scotland following Margaret's marriage were dictated by a combination of familial and political motives. Although he did not seek to exploit the minority government of his son-in-law to exert authority over the Scots, Henry did not hesitate to act and intervene when he felt that the person and rights of his daughter were being infringed. Nevertheless, it can be argued that his rather heavy handed overhaul of the Scottish government, directly after Margaret's marriage, resulted in heightened factionalism at the Scottish royal court. This internal strife caused his daughter great distress and discomfort during the 1250s, and eventually resulted in the removal of all Henry's influence north of the border. Both parents appreciated that Margaret was very young on her marriage and departure for Scotland, and as such Eleanor was in regular contact with her, sending and receiving numerous messengers from her daughter and her attendants in the first eighteen months after her wedding. Henry and Eleanor's worry for her welfare is encapsulated in the events leading up to and including the rescue mission of 1255 that was sent to Edinburgh to remove Alexander and Margaret, from their guardians and bring them to the king and queen at Wark so that they could see and hear for themselves of their maltreatment.

Henry's fondness for his daughters is most apparent in the family reunions he orchestrated. Margaret was reunited with her parents on a number of occasions throughout the 1250s and 1260s, with the Scottish visit of 1260–1 engineered so that Margaret could give birth to her first child with the support of her mother. Evidently Margaret was just as attached to her parents as they were her, and she clearly wanted to be with them in her time of need. These visits were extravagant affairs and Henry rejoiced at Margaret and Alexander's return to England, lavishing gifts and feasts upon them. Beatrice was also reunited with her parents on the continent following her marriage, but predominantly remained in contact with her father through letters. Beatrice's letters show the close-father daughter bond as they exude affection and concern, particularly her irritation that she was not receiving as much information about the English court and her parents' welfare as she would have liked.

Evidence that Margaret and Beatrice remained in their parents' affections after marriage is also apparent in the gifts they continued to receive. These included the same trinkets and provisions that their father had given them while at Windsor, suggesting that Henry's concern to see that his daughters had all the necessary household items and foodstuffs was a hard habit to break. Henry was also concerned to ensure that the daughters had some form of income separate from their husbands and provided both with rents or wardships. While these transactional relationships may have previously been perceived as cold, I believe it is important to understand the English king and queen's motives. They appear to have been sending more than token items, and rather sought to ensure that both daughters could maintain a standard of living and luxury with which they had been accustomed to as children. Henry also rejoiced in the news of the birth of grandchildren to a similar extent as when he received news of the birth of his own children. These affections were reciprocated as Beatrice honoured her parents by naming a son and daughter Henry and Eleanor.

Margaret and Beatrice also continued to have their father's ear after marriage, regularly interceding with him on behalf of a number of individuals. As his daughter, but also as queen of Scots, Margaret was the most prodigal intercessor of the two. She used her dual identity to further Scottish interests, namely securing protections and allowances for her merchants, as well as felons or even her father's attendants.

Beatrice, in comparison, focussed her intercessory efforts on smaller favours for her household members, or on behalf of her aunt who sought her assistance. The husbands of both daughters also quickly had Henry's favour following their swift welcome in to the English royal family. Henry perceived the marriages of his daughters as not only a tool for forging or consolidating alliances, but also as an extension of the family, bringing new members into the extended kinship network. Henry probably perceived himself as a father figure to both his sons-in-law, particularly the young Alexander, whose succession at a young age echoed Henry's own experiences. As a result, Alexander and John were treated like sons by the king, which is possibly why both sons-in-law were perceived as threats by Montfort during the Second Barons' War.

Neither Margaret nor Beatrice survived their husbands as both died in early 1275, within a couple of months of each other, and just over two years after the death of their father. The commemorative practices of their relatives demonstrate that they were beloved wives, daughters and sisters. The locations of their burials also reveal much about their self-identity. Margaret was buried at Dunfermline abbey, alongside her saintly predecessor and ancestor St Margaret of Scotland. She would be joined in death by her husband and two sons, emphasising that Margaret strongly associated herself to her role as queen of Scotland. Beatrice was buried in England, with her heart later moved to Fontevraud abbey, indicating that in death Beatrice perceived herself more as an English princess and with her natal family's roots, rather than as wife of the Breton heir, or as the countess of Richmond.

As their marriages had helped to heal relations by reforming alliances, their deaths witnessed the beginning of their decline. Following the deaths of Margaret and Beatrice the relationship between the English crown and their respective marital families stood for a short period of time, but then drastically deteriorated during the 1290s. Margaret's children were on friendly terms with their uncle, the English king, exchanging personal letters and interceding with him. Alexander and Edward also remained amicable with a rather brotherly relationship. Yet, with a great deal of misfortune, the Scottish line of succession soon became extinct. All of Alexander's children predeceased him and his granddaughter, Margaret, the Maid of Norway, died in 1290. While these issues were unfolding Edward supported his kin's claim to the

throne, despite the Maid's youth. Plans were even made to extend the Anglo-Scottish alliance through the marriage of the Scottish heir to Edward's own son and heir, Edward of Caernarvon. Nevertheless, the proposed marital alliance fell through and subsequently resulted in the outbreak of war in Scotland as conflict erupted between the various claimants to the throne.

Edward's relationship with Beatrice's family also became more turbulent following his sister's death. Many of Beatrice's children were raised at and regularly attended the English court, and Edward appears to have been rather fond of his nieces and nephews, treating them like his own children. The career of John, Beatrice's second son, was most intertwined with that of his uncle, fighting for the English king in his French and Scottish campaigns. Mary was also close to Edward as he supported her financially while at court, and helped her to commemorate her mother's death. Edward's relationship with Beatrice's husband, John, as duke of Brittany, remained on good terms until the outbreak of the Anglo-French conflict, which pitted the two brothers-in-law, and father and son, on opposing sides. The division within Beatrice's family following the events of the mid-1290s emphasises how intricately connected political and familial concerns were at the elite level of society in the thirteenth century.

Katherine, despite her short life, was just as cared for and treated no differently from her older siblings by her parents. She was a much beloved and wished for child following a period of eight years without any successful pregnancies. She does not appear to have been ill from birth, or suffering from a degenerative disease. Katherine was also not alone in becoming ill at a young age. Henry's other children were similarly prone to illness in their infancy and youth, particularly Edmund. Katherine's sickness was treated in the same manner as the others, with gifts to the saints to secure their intervention. It could not have been expected that Katherine would not recover, as her siblings had done, and survive infancy. That her death was unexpected is evident in the deep grief felt by both Henry and Eleanor, which cannot suggest that these royal parents did not care for their children and were prepared for their early death. Despite her lack of political importance, Katherine was dearly cherished by her parents and her death hit the royal couple hard.

In studying the lives of Margaret, Beatrice and Katherine, it is apparent that Henry and Eleanor deeply cared for their daughters. This bond was forged in infancy and strongly shaped their adult lives. This thesis has demonstrated the importance of re-examining the bonds between royal parents and their children. A better appreciation of the significance of emotion improves our understanding of the relationships between the king, queen and their children, as well as the roles and agency these ties permitted daughters. By treating the daughters comparatively and within their familial context this thesis demonstrates the complementarity and diversity of the lived experiences of medieval royal women, revealing new insight into the importance of Henry's affection for his daughters and how these emotions influenced his actions and politics. Due to the dynastic ties that bound most of medieval Europe, familial and political concerns were intrinsically connected in the thirteenth century.

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