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**Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and Henry of Almaine**

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## RICHARD, EARL OF CORNWALL, AND HENRY OF ALMAINE, 1209—1272.

BY ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

BORN at Winchester, January 5th, 1209, Richard Plantagenet was six years of age at the signing of Magna Charta, and seven when his brother, Henry III., succeeded to a kingdom which was practically being governed by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. His education was entrusted to Peter de Manley, at Corfe Castle. As he survived until his sixty-third year, and died in 1272, his life was contemporaneous with a period of exceptionally grave moment in English history; and even if, as an individual character, there be found in him a certain lack of solidity, on the other hand, as compared with the King, his brother, this defect would not be manifest. But neither his high position, as for some years heir to the throne, nor his continuous contact with several of the greatest men of a great age—such as Frederick II., Robert Grosseteste, and Simon de Montfort,—nor his immense fortune (for he became the foremost millionaire of his time), contrived to render him a really impressive figure. Nevertheless, position and fortune, not unassisted by a certain average adroitness, enabled him to bear a conspicuous part in the political life of England during her long and precarious struggle for popular freedom, and this could not but confer upon him an unmistakable significance. I am, however, here concerned with him, not merely as a political personage, but as the founder of Hayles Abbey and a Royal figure intimately connected with Gloucestershire by many and various ties, especially as the father of four princes and the husband of one Queen, whose bones still lie beneath the quiet pastures around the remains of the Abbey.

And the first question in this connection which arises must be, How came there to be a Crown property at

Hayles upon which Richard might eventually build his Abbey of S. Mary? It is certain that in the large field north of the parish church of Hayles, in 1225, there stood a castle, then held by John de Julin—a castle which can be traced back to the possession of Ralph de Worcester, in the reign of Stephen. At the owner's death in that year it passed with its lands to the Crown. King Henry almost immediately discharged the inhabitants of Hayles from the Hundred of Winchcomb, and conferred the property with its belongings upon his brother, probably on the occasion of knighting him, and when he was also created Earl of Cornwall. This done, Earl Richard and his uncle, William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, and Philip de Albini, sailed to Gascony, where they spent a year or more, afterwards incurring grave perils at sea on their way home. This visit thither of Richard was productive of a deputation of the nobles of Gascony, Aquitaine, and Poitou, who, headed by the Bishop of Bordeaux, waited on King Henry at Oxford in 1229, where he was spending Christmas, and begged him to come over sea to them in order that they should help him to recover his rights, and win back English predominance in Aquitaine, which had been lost by King John. "But when Hubert [de Burgh] the Justiciary heard this he postponed the matter to a future time, till a more favourable opportunity should arise. And the messengers, receiving no other reply, returned to their own country, like men deceived." However, this was made the motive for a heavy requisition upon the Clergy of all orders, from the city of London, and from the Jews, on the strength of which the King set out with an expedition to Brittany that ended most ignominiously, and led to the fall of Hubert de Burgh.

Among those who died in Brittany was Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, leaving behind him his widow Isabel, daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1231). This lady, scarcely twenty years of age, so completely attracted the admiration of Earl Richard that he married her, with the King's consent, in the following April

(1231), and with her he enjoyed Sundon, in Bedfordshire, which later passed to her son, Richard de Clare. On this occasion the King granted Richard the Crown property of Wallingford Castle and a number of other manors. Still heir-presumptive to the throne, what with his rich estates and the development of his Cornish mines, he was on the way to become as distinguished for his wealth and the conserving thereof as King Henry was already become for its dissipation. It was doubtless no difficult matter for those about the Court to contrast the two brothers, and perhaps to flatter Richard for his prudence.

After three years of matrimony, Earl Richard was led to doubt whether he could longer remain in lawful matrimony with Isabella owing to someone having informed him that he had been related to her first husband in the fourth degree. He therefore wrote to Gregory IX. concerning the matter, and from him received a reply from Perugia in July, 1235, to the effect that he was to lay aside all doubt and remain in matrimony. On the following November 5th Isabella gave birth at Hayles Castle to a son, who was baptized in Hayles Church with the name of the King. He was afterwards to become known as Henry of Almaine.

At the same period we find Richard taking serious interest in the monastery of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, a Cistercian house which had been founded by his father, King John, in 1205, and a daughter of Citeaux in France. Among other causes, bitter antagonisms that had begun to manifest themselves between the popular, but rival, orders of Dominic and Francis were tending to accentuate the especial favour with which the Cistercian Order was now being regarded. Beaulieu, although its church had not yet been finished, enjoyed an annual rental of £1,000, and, being situated in a lonely spot, it needed little money for the purposes of hospitality. The Abbot, however, found himself engaged in litigation with the rector of S. Keveran, in Cornwall, to recover moneys due to his Abbey from that living,<sup>1</sup> for the patronage of which it was indebted to Earl Richard.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers*, vol. i., p. 155.

In the following year, the Earl, with his kinsman Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and others, assumed the cross with the intention of setting forth together to the Holy Land; and Matthew Paris tells us that Richard cut down much timber in order to raise funds for that purpose. He had, in fact, been spending vast sums upon Wallingford and Berkhamstead, and perhaps, also, upon Hayles Castle. But though his wish to join the Crusade was unquestionably sincere, he was the next heir to the throne, and this circumstance gave pause to the advisers of the Crown, especially to the Pontiff himself. The dangers at home as well as abroad were manifold. The King, who had put aside a vow of celibacy, had at length married Eleanor, daughter of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, and sister of the Queen of France, in January, 1236. The sudden increase of French influence—already far too powerful in the eyes of Englishmen—around the King, and the absence, as yet, of offspring from the King's union, made it imperative the Earl should remain in England. Consequently, we find special Papal mandates addressed both to him, to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and to William, Earl of Salisbury, forbidding them to set forth, under pain of losing the Indulgence granted to Crusaders, owing to "their councils being very necessary to the safety of England." The wisdom of this precaution becomes fully apparent when, in the wave of indignation caused by the King's new exactions, Richard makes himself a popular mouthpiece, and actually reproaches Henry with occasioning so much desolation throughout the kingdom, and with allowing himself to become the mere puppet of the Legate and his Consort's relations. Consequently, the Earl and his illustrious friends and kinsmen postponed their enterprise, although at the same time carrying on active correspondence with the Emperor Frederick II. (who had lately married his sister Isabella) relative to the practical ordering of their future undertakings in the Holy Land.

This postponement brought other important matrimonial

events to the front, especially the marriage, in 1238, of the Earl's younger sister, Eleanor (widow of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke), with Simon, Earl of Leicester, and that of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, with Matilda, daughter of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, both of which unions proved not only extremely displeasing to Earl Richard and to the people generally, but nearly led to violence. The King, in fact, had secretly obtained dispensations from Rome for these marriages, omitting to consult either his brother or his nobles. In acting thus he had deliberately broken a former pledge to them. In consequence, Earl Richard, much to his credit, "rose against the King, and was joined by Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, together with all the earls and barons of England, and the citizens and people in general. It was then most confidently hoped that Earl Richard would release the country from the wretched slavery with which it was oppressed by the Romans and the other foreigners; and all parties, from the old man to the boy, heaped blessings upon him. The King, in finding how matters stood, both felt and showed his alarm, and sent messengers to each of the nobles of the kingdom, making earnest enquiries if he could rely on them for assistance; to which they all, and especially the citizens of London, answered that what Earl Richard had begun was brought about with a view to their own honour and the advantage of the whole kingdom, though he, the King, did not approve of his proceedings, and that therefore they would not oppose his designs. The Legate, Otto (Cardinal of San Niccolo in Carcere) on finding this to be the case, saw that danger was imminent, and applied himself with the utmost diligence to reconcile the King to his natural subjects, secretly advising Earl Richard, who was the chief promoter of this discord, to desist from his purpose, *promising that the King should confer on him still larger possessions*, and that the Pope would afterwards confirm the grants of these; adding also, that, although the entire realm should rise against Henry, he, who was his brother, ought patiently to stand by him against all men."

To this Earl Richard replied with a vigorous defence of his position and a peremptory rejection of the terms offered. Whereupon the Legate and the Bishop of Winchester (Peter de Roches) went to the King, and their persuasions led to a convocation of nobles in London, which, unfortunately, resulted in a compromise, owing to Simon de Montfort and the Earl of Lincoln having meanwhile effected reconciliation with Earl Richard. "By these irregular proceedings" (writes Matthew Paris) "the whole business was in a great degree impeded, and the miseries of the kingdom in great degree prolonged; moreover, they clouded the reputation of Earl Richard, who thus came to be an object of suspicion, when he had been regarded as the staff of strength." Simon de Montfort made a temporary and adroit absence from England and visited Rome, in order to obtain a Pontifical ratification of his union with Eleanor. On his return later on, however, he was affectionately received by the King, and soon became his chief councillor. Moreover, Kenilworth Castle was assigned to him for a residence.

In 1239, on the 17th June (late at night) was born to the King and Queen, at Westminster, a son, "and he was called Edward, which name he received after the glorious King and Confessor, Edward, whose body rests in the Church of St. Peter at Westminster." At his baptism, four days later, by the Legate, Earl Richard and the Earl of Leicester were present in person as sponsors.

It is manifest that Richard had missed a great opportunity. He had resisted the blandishments of the Legate, whose words, as given by the chronicler above, were addressed clearly to his financial proclivities; but he had given way to the flattering self-humiliations of Simon de Montfort and of the powerful De Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Had he at this moment led the Baronage in a whole-hearted manner, and backed it with his great resources, the King and his alien magnates must have given way. The birth of an heir to the throne increased his distance from it at the same time

that his reconciliation with De Montfort and King Henry distanced him from the baronage and the affections of the people.

In the following year, 14th January, 1240, Isabella, Countess of Cornwall, died in childbed at Berkhamstead while the Earl was in Cornwall. Matthew Paris writes that a son was then born, to whom was given the name of Nicholas; but he also died. "The noble lady Isabella, Countess of Gloucester and Cornwall, was taken dangerously ill of the yellow jaundice, and when her time arrived she became insensible; and after having had the ample tresses of her flaxen hair cut off, and having made a full confession of her sins, she departed to the Lord, together with a boy to whom she had given birth." The Earl, who, as has been already observed, was intimately associated, as a patron, with Beaulieu Abbey, over-ruled her expressed desire to be buried at Tewkesbury, and meaning to be buried beside her when his own time should come, he caused her body to be buried before the high altar at Beaulieu,<sup>1</sup> her heart in a silver cup to be interred before that of Tewkesbury, while the intestines went to a similar resting-place with the monks at Missenden.<sup>2</sup>

All these circumstances, it may be conjectured, combined in determining the Earl to postpone no longer his departure for the Holy Land, and being made ready he came from his castle at Wallingford to Reading, where he met the Archbishop of Canterbury and some of the Bishops, to whom he bade farewell, leaving his children and possessions protected by a special Papal indult, but nevertheless with little comfort

<sup>1</sup> In 1862 her tomb was discovered at Beaulieu Abbey by means of a horse accidentally putting its leg into a hole in the meadow beyond the cloisters. The sculptured and inscribed slab was then found, and beneath it lay her skeleton, some of the above-mentioned hair being still attached to the skull. Her effigies are crowned, and the inscription bears traces of lead-ing. (*Cf. Archaeological Journal*, 1863, p. 107.) By kind permission of Lord Montagu, the writer has been allowed to examine these relics.

<sup>2</sup> Arms of Marshal: Party per Pale, or and vert; a lion rampant gules, armed and langued, azure.

at heart. "The prelates, when they saw this, all burst into tears, and said: 'Why, Earl, our only hope, do you abandon us? or, for whom do you desert us? We shall be desolate without you. In your absence rapacious foreigners will invade us!' The Earl, then, in tears, replied to the Archbishop of Canterbury: 'My father and Lord, of a truth, even had I not assumed the cross, yet would I go, and absent myself so that I might not behold the evils of our people and the desolation of the kingdom, which 'tis believed I am able to prevent, although I cannot really do so!'" And so he departed.

He had not been long gone when King Louis IX., taking advantage of his absence and the weakness of Henry III., conferred upon his brother, Alphonse, the Earldom of Poitou, which belonged to Earl Richard. With the latter, however, affairs prospered, both on his journey and in the Holy Land. Nothing effectual had been achieved against the Saracen for several years. Papal authority had sent abroad throughout Christendom an army of Dominicans and Franciscans, ostensibly to procure funds for a fresh crusade, but the chief result had been an extraordinary enrichment of both those orders so especially vowed to poverty, as well as of the Roman treasury. Another conspicuous means of raising these riches is made apparent by the Papal registers. Crusaders were encouraged to take vows and buy indulgences for the protection of their families and heirs during their projected absence, or in case of their deaths. Thereafter they were forbidden to go, and induced to purchase commutation of their vows. At the meeting of Earl Richard and his comrade barons and knights at Northampton, however, they swore to God and each other at the altar, that they would no longer be hindered by the Church from fulfilling their honourable vows, nor allow their arms to be diverted for service in Europe against the merely personal enemies of the Pontiff. The French Crusaders had preceded their English colleagues, but having fallen out with the Templars, and having

suffered a severe defeat near Gaza, they now returned discomfited to France.

The Earl acted with worthy decision and rapidity, and having demanded in vain from the Emir of Karat fulfilment of his agreement to liberate the Christian captives, he marched with his English host to Jaffa. This movement was followed by immediate and remarkable results. The captives were liberated, and the Sultans of Cairo and Damascus opened negotiations with him. From them he contrived to obtain a restoration of the territories lost to the Latin kingdom, and an absolute cession of Jerusalem, on whose walls he presently planted the banner of Christendom. (*Cf. Samudo*, lib. iii., xi., c. 15. *Matt. Paris. Ad. Annum.*) And thus he brought the sixth Crusade to a successful issue, due in great part, doubtless, to his having acted upon the advice of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Frederick II.

On his return journey he landed at Trapani, in Sicily, and, being received with great honour, journeyed to Naples, where he rested for some time as the Emperor's guest. "He was received in the various cities through which he passed with the greatest joy and honour, the citizens and their ladies coming to meet him with music and singing, bearing branches of trees and flowers, dressed in festal array, &c. When at length he did reach the Emperor, he was received by him with all honour; and after mutually embracing one another, amidst the applause of all the Imperial attendants, they indulged in long-desired converse and various sorts of consolation, and enjoyed themselves as friends for many days. The Emperor, moreover, ordered him to be gently and mildly treated with blood-letting, baths, and divers medicinal fomentations to restore his strength after the dangers of the sea; and at the end of some days, by the Emperor's permission, he enjoyed a free and lengthened conversation with his own sister, the Empress [Isabella]. . . . After some days had thus passed in repose from his toils, the Emperor sent Earl Richard, in whose fidelity and prudence

he had learned to confide, to the Court of Rome, in order to cement peace between the Pontiff and himself. The Emperor likewise, in addition to the honours he had already conferred on the said Earl, gave him a document, sealed with the Imperial seal, binding himself to abide by his decision on whatsoever conditions peace should come to be re-established by him. On the Earl's arrival in Rome, however, he was received with insult and contempt; and he found the Pontiff so inexorable and adverse to peace that he would agree to nothing the Earl could propose, and, on the contrary, the Pontiff insisted that at all events the Emperor should submit unconditionally to his own will and pleasure, abide by the commands of the Church, and, furthermore, should take oath so to do. But to this the Earl would not agree; and after seeing and hearing many things which rightly displeased him, he went away, having effected nothing. Having thus discovered the tergiversation of the Roman Court and city, the Earl returned to the Emperor, and told him his experiences. The Emperor then replied: 'I am glad that you have learned personally the truth of those things which we have heretofore spoken to you verbally.' After remaining about two months with the Emperor, as a son with his father, and enjoying much converse with him, the Earl departed, loaded with costly gifts."<sup>1</sup> Later in the year Isabella, the Empress, died in childbirth, leaving a son and a daughter.

We follow Earl Richard on his return, accompanied by many of the French nobles and knights whom he had liberated in the East and by special attendants provided for him by Frederic, and find him joyfully received at Cremona, where one special feature of his entertainment was the Imperial elephant with its howdah, in which sat a band of musicians "playing on trumpets and clapping their hands."

Earl Richard arrived in England at Epiphany-tide of 1242, and found London decorated to receive him upon the feast of S. Agnes, the meeting of the King and his brother proving

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. Paris, A.D. Ann. 1241.

to be of a most cordial description. The first question which arrested their political attention related to the county of Poitou and its recent seizure by King Louis; for the Count de la Marche had urged King Henry to come without delay to defend the rights of the Poitevins. These solicitations had so worked upon the King that he was determined to take aggressive measures. Now, however, the barons, feeling galled by his exactions and those of his Ministers, refused him needful supplies. As, nevertheless, they had not yet been able to thoroughly compact themselves under a single strong leader, the King, by persuasions carefully addressed to each one individually, finally succeeded in obtaining means to equip an expedition. Accordingly, on May 15th, 1242, they set out; the Poitevins anticipating their arrival by commencing hostilities against Louis. The King and Earl Richard, seven other earls, and three hundred knights reached the mouth of the Gironde and went to Pons and Saintes, where they were received by Reginald, Lord of Pons. The French King was meanwhile marching with four thousand men-at-arms to repel the "invasion" (as it was regarded), and in good sooth to win the campaign, greatly at the expense of English prestige. No doubt his forces were increased before he reached Tailleburg, on the other side of which the English army arrived too late to prevent its surrendering. In the events which rapidly followed, Earl Richard played a more prudent and dignified part than King Henry, and by grasping, before it was too late, the utterly false position in which he now found the English forces to have gotten themselves—partly owing to the double-dealings of the Count de la Marche and his Countess,<sup>1</sup>—he may even be said to have made the best of a bad situation, albeit it involved the disgraceful flight of his kingly brother and himself. Discovering, then, the Poitevin treachery, and addressing recriminations to the said Count, who was King Henry's stepfather, Earl Richard laid down his sword, and, taking a

<sup>1</sup> Isabella, widow of King John, and called "Jezebel" by the Poitevins themselves.

staff, went over to the French camp to try and arrange a truce. He was received, we learn, with marked respect, in regard for his having freed so many French captives in the Holy Land. But King Louis only granted a truce until the morrow, saying to him: "My Lord Earl, I have granted this truce to last for to-day and to-night, so that you may meditate what may be best to be done; for night brings counsel with it." The Earl replied: "On that account I asked for the truce." He then returned and informed Henry of their imminent peril of capture, in consequence of which the King and his army at once retreated in disorder begotten of panic, and Henry did not draw rein until he reached Saintes. Next day the French closely followed them, and a considerable skirmish took place, in which Simon de Montfort and John Mansel distinguished themselves. It is not surprising to find among the results of this disaster that the Count de la Marche immediately set about procuring his own reconciliation with King Louis, who, moreover, had already captured two of his sons. But Henry and Richard were not permitted to remain at Saintes. Louis intended to surround and besiege them there. The main result of the French plan becoming known to Richard while staying there, was a further ignominious flight to Blaye. The whole of Poitou was then turned against Henry, and a lasting truce between French and English was only brought about owing to a decimating outbreak of pestilence in the French army.

The King had been twice in actual danger of capture, and we may be sure that Earl Richard was heartily ashamed of the whole expedition. It would appear, however, that he and Henry soon quarrelled very seriously in regard to the Earl's rights over Gascony, which Henry had attempted to take from him and confer upon Prince Edward. The Earl, after taking refuge in a convent at Bordeaux, made his way home from that city alone in October, 1242. Caught in a gale, however, his vessel with difficulty made one of the Scilly islands. In gratitude for his escape, the Earl regis-

tered a vow to build an abbey for the Cistercian Order on his estate at Hayles, in Gloucestershire.

It is not a little curious to observe that, at the same moment, King Henry was laying pitfalls for the Cistercian Order throughout England, so as to extract money from them, by the instrumentality of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate, therefore, convened all the English abbots of the Order, or met them "with anxious entreatings and fair words." The reply of the abbots might be placed fittingly in the mouth of a representative Quaker: "We are not permitted to assist anybody in carrying on war, in which blood, especially Christian blood, is spilled, lest by so doing we depart from the rules of our Order, which has a great horror of blood. But we will willingly help our Lord and patron in efficacious and indefatigable prayers, charities, and other pious works." They, therefore, quietly refused the King his demand of the year's wool from their flocks, and retired.

The following year, 1243, was destined to prove eventful in the domestic as well as the political career of the Earl. He had learnt to sympathise with his brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and with the baronial tendency to exercise patriotic resistance towards the King, to the Provençal party, and to the Court of Rome which was working behind these. The weight of his position, energy, and wealth were become of extreme value to the barons, just at a time when a most untoward event occurred, namely, a second marriage, which was negotiated between him and Sanchia de Provence, sister of the Queens of France and England. In fact, Beatrice, Countess of Provence, brought her daughter in great state to England, and on S. Clement's day she and Richard were united at Westminster in circumstances of surpassing splendour. But in spite of the merry feasting and unbounded prodigality of the occasion, there were men who took part in it with bitter hearts, who perceived that this union would both commit the Earl to the unpopular, or Court, party, as well as import a further batch of Provençals into the country. This was a moment,

probably, when the Saxon and Norman elements in England looked each other full in the face, not as heretofore, hostile to one another, but rather as acquaintances united by a common calamity. Well does Matthew Paris exclaim: "How contemptible and transitory are such joys! how shadowy and deceptive, this world, when the morrow's dawn dissipated like a cloud all these great and varied doings!"

Meantime there had arisen a new Pope in the person of Sinibaldo Fieschi, styled Innocent IV., who lost no time in asserting, with the combined ingenuities of his Genoese nature and legal education, his intention of grinding the last penny from the English people: so much so, that letters—"such as might have softened hearts of iron"—were addressed to him and his Cardinals by both the King, Earl Richard, and the Magnates of the realm; but to little purpose. The agent sent by the Pope found that he might, as a last resort, freely use Excommunication as a process for extracting ore from most unpromising materials. He suspended English prelates, in all directions, from their benefices, until the Church, as well as the people, groaned.

Up to the year 1246, Earl Richard had taken no steps to fulfil his vow, made three years before, of building a Cistercian abbey. The reason seems to be forthcoming in circumstances attending the dedication of the Abbey Church at Beaulieu. That abbey, begun in 1204, had, for some yet unexplained reason, not been dedicated, although the monks had been able to use their church as early as 1227. In the middle of June, 1246, however, we find Beaulieu visited by the Royal family, including Earl Richard and his Countess—the Abbot, moreover, entertaining the Bishops of Bath, Exeter, and Chichester. Shortly after the festival, Earl Richard took thirteen monks and some 'conversi,' or lay brethren, from the abbey, with probably the architect, Frater Johannis Cementarius, and his workmen, to his Gloucestershire estate of Hayles, and there proceeded to lay the foundations of another royal abbey. That it must have risen with unusual rapidity seems certain, owing to the fact that on

November 5th, 1251, it was dedicated. The author of the *Chronicle of Hayles* cannot resist the opportunity offered him by the name of Hayles to make play on it: "Heylis, quod sanus es, vel est, intelligitur. Et hoc ipsum nomen in Monasterium primum sua morte fere septennis, Frater Johannis Cementarius, die Lunæ Rogationis, presente Comite, confirmavit."<sup>1</sup>

Although reconciliation over the matter of their personal differences, and above all the marriage of the Earl to the Queen's sister, had drawn Richard nearer to Henry, we find him with Simon de Montfort, Grosteste, Walter de Cantelupe and William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, heading the committee of twelve at Westminster who were now appointed to effect reform in the Royal expenditure and regulation in the King's conduct. The instability of the King, incurable as it had become, had so far not infected his brother.

Money was being arduously collected during the ensuing years for the purposes of another Crusade, and both political parties were to some extent united in this pious purpose, Earl Richard himself collecting six hundred and more pounds. In 1247, however, the King received from one of the Templars a crystal vase containing some drops of the Holy Blood which had been shed from the side of the Redeemer, to which was attached a certification, with seals of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Grand Master, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. In October of that year, having invited his magnates to London, the King carried this sacred relic from St. Paul's to the newly-rebuilt Abbey Church of Westminster, when Walter de Suffield, Bishop of Norwich, preached a sermon exalting the virtue of this wonderful treasure, concerning which, by report of his words, it is evident that not a little scepticism obtained. This grand festival was held purposely on the anniversary of the sainted Edmund Rich, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, whose remains had

<sup>1</sup>Arms of Hayles.—Arg: A BEND. A CROSIER gules surmounted with a lion rampant of the last. All within a Bordure Bezantée.

recently<sup>1</sup> been translated<sup>2</sup> at Pontigny with great honours, in the Cistercian Abbey there. Regretting his absence from the great ceremony of the translation at Pontigny, the Earl is reported to us to have used these words: "Alas, that it was not ordained on high for the King and myself to have been present at this glorious and solemn translation! For he was *our* Saint by birth, education, and promotion, although, owing to our sins, he withdrew from England. However, what I was not present to do there, I will do absent—I will pay due reverence and honour to him." And from that time he began to love the Saint more sincerely, and to honour him more devoutly. Happening to be oppressed by a severe and secret illness, endangering his life, he invoked his assistance, and was happily freed from his ailment; wherefore, in gratitude to God and the Saint, he took upon himself to build a fourth part, that is, the front of the shrine (*cf.* Matt. Paris, A.D. 1247). This is not without considerable bearing, it will be seen, upon the building and endowing of Hayles Abbey, and, moreover, accounts for the rapidity of its erection and completion. Two years later we find him paying a visit to Pontigny for the purpose of devotion at the Saint's tomb, and not only this, but he christens a son, whom Countess Sanchia bore him at Berkhamstead (1250), Edmund, in his honour, as did likewise King Henry, in naming his second son Edmund, surnamed Crouchback, afterwards titular King of Sicily.

The Cistercian Order was now at the height of its popularity. Many of the most splendid abbeys in the kingdom were in its possession, including Tintern, presently rebuilding, Melrose, Waverley, Netley, Fountains, Flaxley, Whalley, Furness, Rievaulx, and Croxden. Nevertheless, the powerful Dominican and Franciscan Orders affected to regard the White Monks with contempt, or at least with indifference, as being devoted to a simpler life than themselves, and especially as being agriculturists, albeit this side

<sup>1</sup>June 6, 1247.

<sup>2</sup>His remains suffered frequent "translation." To be a Saint in those days connoted disturbance of one's remains, not to speak of pilfering.

of their life was for the most part delegated to lay-brethren. Consequently, we learn of the endowing of Schools at Paris and elsewhere, for the study of Theology and Canon law, "so that they might not appear inferior to the other Orders."

On his way back from Pontigny, Richard contrived, while at Paris, to purchase from the Abbot of S. Denis his rights over the Priory of Deerhurst, with several villages pertaining thereto. A little later on he procured, during a visit to the Roman Court at Lyons, ratification of this purchase, and on returning to Gloucestershire he expelled the monks thence and took possession, according to Matthew Paris, in a somewhat violent manner. "He also determined to build a castle there, on the river Severn."

On the occasion of his visiting Innocent IV. at Lyons, he was accompanied by Sanchia and his son by his first countess, Henry, now a lad of fifteen. They were richly attended by a retinue of forty knights, three bishops, and five loaded waggons. Innocent had desired to see the Earl, probably for several reasons. The French King was fallen in great difficulties at Damietta while leading a crusade, and on the very day that Earl Richard was feasting with the Sovereign Pontiff, it happened that he and his brother, Charles, Count of Anjou, and Alphonse, Count of Poitou, were taken prisoners by the Sultan, and their army was more than decimated. But this fact was, of course, not known until some time later, when Richard had reached London, in August. The Emperor Frederick continuing under excommunication, his throne of Naples and Sicily had been declared vacant, and the arrogant Pontiff was looking about for a candidate to place upon it. In his eyes no one could seem so well fitted for such a post as the rich and pious Earl of Cornwall, whose wife was the ambitious sister of two reigning Queens. Prudence, fear, and, perhaps, silent respect for Frederick, dictated his refusal of the proffered honour. Furthermore, the German throne was similarly declared to be vacant; and England, being regarded with good reason as the Virgin's Dower, the Mexico of Rome, Innocent desired to obtain

information *viva voce* regarding the actual conditions of parties there; as to where pressure could be exerted fruitfully, and where it could not be, as well as particulars respecting both the King's sons and those of the Earl, in view of their possible candidature for puppet-monarchies. In fact, there was almost an embarrassment of choice, for, besides these Princes, and Earl Richard himself, there was Charles of Anjou, who had married (1246) Beatrice of Provence, the last daughter of the House which had given Earl Richard, King Henry, and King Louis IX. their respective wives.

In the following December (1250) the great Hohenstaufen Emperor succumbed to disease, and the struggle with the Papacy only increased in intensity in the hands of his excommunicated heirs.

But by this time the quiet Cotswold vale beyond Winchcomb, the inhabitants of which had only been used to the black Benedictines of Winchcomb Abbey, had become accustomed to the appearance among their fields of the white monks and their throngs of workmen, under whose energetic hands had already arisen far toward its completion a splendid church and convent within three hundred yards of the little Norman church and Castle of Hayles. This Parish Church of Hayles, together with Hagley in Worcestershire, had been recently confirmed to the new Royal Monastery by the Pontiff (4 non. Jan., 1248, *Kal. Papal Registers*). By the following November all was sufficiently complete and in order for the great Dedication, which it was arranged should take place on the anniversary of St. Leonard's Day and the birth of his son Henry, afterwards of 'Almaine.' The wealthy Earl, to whom the King, his brother, was now become deeply in debt for moneys lent, confessed to have spent as much as 10,000 marks (£1,600 of that day) upon the building. The King and Queen reached Winchcomb, where they stayed a few days, on Saturday, November 4th, 1251. On Sunday the Abbey of Hayles was dedicated, twelve bishops—Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, London, Norwich, Salisbury, Exeter, Chichester, Bath and Wells, St. David's,

Rochester, and St. Asaph (*cf.* Landboc, *Reg. Monast. de Winchelcomba*, vol. i., p. xx.)—taking part in the ceremony, besides the Abbot of Hayles. Matthew Paris says there were thirteen, “who celebrated mass, each at his own altar, while the Bishop of Lincoln (Grosteste) solemnly chanted mass at the High Altar. This was a Sunday (first after All Saints), and the nobles feasted sumptuously in company with the bishops and others, who ate meat, whilst the religious men took their places, and refreshed themselves with large quantities of fish of divers kinds. There were present also more than three hundred soldiers; indeed, if I should describe in full the splendour of that solemn and festive gathering, I should be thought to be exceeding the bounds of truth. When I, Matthew Paris, desired to be informed upon the matter, in order that I might not insert falsities in this book, the Earl, without hesitation, informed me that when all expenses were reckoned up, he had laid out ten thousand marks in the building of that church; adding this venerable and laudable speech: ‘Would to God I had expended what I have laid out on the Castle of Wallingford in as wise and salutary a manner.’”

In such a manner, therefore, Earl Richard had now fulfilled his vow to the Virgin. We are not told with what Holy Relics the Abbey was presented, but that, at a later period, it possessed several, including a fragment of the Cross, is certain. Moreover, it was destined, like Westminster, to be enriched in 1270 with a Relic of the Holy Blood, by Edmund, the Earl's son by Sanchia of Provence, which came to be known as the “Blood of Hayles.”

In the troubles which ensued regarding Simon de Montfort, his brother-in-law, who had been governing unruly Gascony for four years, and against whom the Gascons lodged bitter complaints, the Earl took Simon's part, and thus made his weight felt. It is, however, certain that although Earl Richard was conspicuous for his piety,

and had earlier in life been looked up to with sincere respect by the people, he had now become regarded as untrustworthy, and devoted to the accumulation of wealth. This was in part attributable to the mystery which had been observed in regard to his visit to the Pope, at Lyons. It was also known that the King was financially involved, and had given him, in consequence, a general concession over all the Jews in England, so that he might assist the King further, as well as himself. Nevertheless, it sufficiently appears that although Richard extracted money from them, like most princes of the day, he behaved with conspicuous humanity, being apparently moved by the desperation of their poverty. He lent the King a further sum of 8,000 marks, and received from him security "in gold."

In the year 1255, Richard is found making a pilgrimage to the tomb of his lately-deceased friend and fellow-traveller, Robert Grosteste, Bishop of Lincoln, whose resting-place had already become associated with miracles. Meanwhile, Innocent IV. died, and was succeeded by an inferior imitator, in the person of Alexander IV., who pressed King Henry to accept for his second son Edmund the crown of Naples and Sicily. Henry was offered, indeed, exemption from his vow to go on the Crusade if he would lead an army into Italy against Manfred, to whose successful arms Naples had opened her gates. Innocent IV. had, in fact, already acknowledged Edmund as titular King of Sicily, and his imbecile father was now flaunting the boy before the public in England in an Italian costume. But in all this Henry gained no favour from his brother.

Earl Richard was, none the less, occupying his own mind with a scheme not unconnected with the wearisome struggle between the Hohenstaufen and the Holy See. The German Empire had been again rendered vacant through the death, in battle with the Frisians, of William, Earl of Holland and Vriesland, upon whom its throne had been papally conferred. The election of Conradin, the infant nephew of Manfred, to the throne was vetoed by the Pontiff, and the seven electors

were compelled to look abroad among the various princes of Christendom for a candidate. Their eyes without difficulty lighted upon Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and having elected him among themselves, they sent envoys to Westminster, where the King was spending Christmas, in 1256, in order to beg the Earl's compliance with their wishes. The Archbishop of Cologne wrote further to Richard, assuring him that never had there been known so spontaneous and unanimous an election among them. The united solicitations of the King, the Bishop of Winchester, and Sanchia, his countess, prevailed over the Earl's grave misgivings, and he at last used a solemn form of acceptance of the honour and responsibility, which gave great satisfaction to the envoys. We are told, however, by the clever and picturesque chronicler, Matthew Paris, that a satirist exclaimed, "The money cries, For *my* sake, Cornwall is married to Rome!" He also records that a valuation of the Earl's wealth at this period of his life was made, and it was found to be "that he could furnish a hundred marks daily for ten years, without counting his daily augmenting profits arising from his revenues in England and Germany."

Accordingly, in May, 1257, we see him in company with Florenz V., Lord of Holland, Zeeland, and Vriesland, the Bishop of London (who was his Agent-General), his Countess Sanchia, and his son Henry, with the almost incredible sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, "which were blood-stained by many crimes, besides his daily increasing revenues in England," setting forth from Harwich for Aix-la-Chapelle. With him he took likewise a new crown and sceptre, which are perhaps among the somewhat mended ones still preserved there in a building called the Curia of King Richard. Both the Earl and Countess were duly crowned by Conrad, Archbishop of Cologne, with magnificent ceremonies, followed by a banquet which excited the wonder of the Germans. On the following day he knighted his son Henry, to whose career, in connection with the desperate condition of English affairs and with the story of Hayles, the narrative must now pass.

Henceforth, Richard is known as King of the Romans, "Semper Augustus"; and his son by Isabel Marshall, as Henry of Almaine.

## PART II.

The young Lord Henry was four years senior to his cousin Edward, and two years senior to Henry, the eldest of his five De Montfort cousins. They had all been brought up witnesses of the obstinate but vain struggle of the baronage, to secure the right administration of Magna Charta at the hands of their uncle, King Henry. They had seen the tide of national exasperation at the wholesale exactions both of the Pope and the foreign relations of the Queen rising ever higher and higher, until it veritably threatened to overwhelm the Kingdom. Although there was no lack of divisions and jealousies among the more powerful of the barons, the conduct of the King and his intimate favourites tended to give them the sorely needed cohesion, and their mouthpiece was to be none other than Simon, Earl of Leicester, now backed by the city of London. Even Edward found it necessary to espouse the cause of the Wine-merchants of Bordeaux in opposition to his father. Robert Grosteste was in his grave; Earl Richard had become a foreign Royalty and a money-merchant, on a large scale.

The Provisions of Oxford in 1258 placed the power of the Crown in the hands of fifteen barons, who soon attempted to enact a drastic scheme of reformation. Edward, and Henry of Almaine, found themselves, in spite of their affection for the King, carried away by the overwhelming force of this risen tide: and swearing to the Provisions, they acted in entire accord with their uncle, Simon de Montfort. During the next five years the agonized but not despairing country witnessed the repeated attempts of the King to undermine and throw over the Provisions. Earl Richard, who had returned to England in 1259 and reluctantly taken the oath to maintain the Provisions of Oxford, at the hands of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester,

found himself in an awkward position, and perhaps gladly revisited Germany the following summer. In 1264 Civil war had actually broken out, and Henry of Almaine was found on the Baronial side.

The first glimpse in it which we have of Henry is finding him engaged in pursuit of the fugitive Minister and favourite, John Mansel, who had crossed the channel in order to escape the wrath of people and barons, 'fearing for his skin.' A French Knight, Ingelram de Fiennes, however, made him prisoner near Boulogne, by contriving (it was believed) of Queen Eleanor. His father Richard, in consequence, made an effectual outcry, threatening to throw his weight entirely on the side of the barons unless his son was immediately released. Henry was presently set free by his captor, and duly returned to England.

Edward, more and more finding himself inevitably bound to his father, although determining his own course beneath the current of his policy, now induced his cousin Henry likewise to forsake the side of the Barons, and their De Montfort cousins. It is reported that he stimulated his decision by giving him the Manor of Tickhill, in Yorkshire. His father, Richard, who was become the King's chief creditor, had likewise drifted completely away from the National cause. Henry of Almaine, therefore, wrote to Earl Simon, and said: "My Lord Earl, I cannot any longer fight against my father, against my uncle, the King, and my other relatives. With your consent, I will leave you; but I will never bear arms against you." To which the great leader replied: "Lord Henry, it is not on account of the loss of your sword that I grieve, but for the inconstancy which I see in you." At the same time Hamon L'Estrange, Roger de Clifford, and others, broke the allegiance they had formerly sworn to the barons.

After a Royalist success at Tonbridge Castle, in which was captured Alicia de Clare, Countess of Gloucester, the struggle culminated to a crisis in the battle of Lewes, although the Barons had tactfully offered to compromise

with the King by giving him 50,000 marks for alleged damages done to his property. On this occasion, Richard appeared in his full-blown financial capacity, and demanded that same sum from them for his personal compensation alone. The Baronial party, in vengeance for the Earl's desertion of the National Cause, had plundered and burned his Manor of Isleworth. This incident is somewhat derisively commemorated in one of the contemporary songs:—

"The King of Almain, by my loyalty,  
Thirty thousand Pounds, ask't he  
For to make peace in the countree,  
And so he did more."

From general Referee and Arbitrator, he had now drifted into a speculative middleman; and he paid a heavy price for his degeneration, leaving arbitration in the hands of his brother-in-law, King Louis of France.

At the battle, Richard had with him not only his eldest son, but Edmund, his son by Sanchia of Provence, who was but fourteen years of age. Many of the Gloucestershire barons, such as John de Haresfield and Gifford of Brinsfield, were with their enemies. Suffering, as he was, from the seizure of certain of his properties by the Barons, he himself sent them a defiant message.

In the fight which ensued then, the King of the Romans with his two sons commanded the left wing of the Royal army, which was opposed to the force led by their cousins, the sons of Simon de Montfort. Moreover, Richard seems to have set himself the ambitious achievement of capturing the great Earl. The latter, however, by masterly tactics, so completely out-manœuvred him that his force was thrust over upon King Henry's in great disorder, leaving in its wake as prisoners de Bohun, Fitz Alan, Percy, and several Scottish chieftains. The baronial troops, pressing their advantage home over Lewes Downs, finally surrounded the fugitive Richard, who had entered a windmill ("with

sayles") toward the coast. The soldiers now made free to jest on his sorry situation by such exclamations as, "Come out, you bad miller!" "You mill-master, 'Semper Augustus'!" The *Song of the Battle of Lewes* sufficiently accentuates the point.

The Royal fugitives, later in the day, surrendered to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Sir John Bess; but Henry of Almaine was not taken, though his half-brother Edmund was, and shared the five months' detention suffered by their father at Kenilworth Castle. In the negotiations which followed the defeat, however, Edward and Henry of Almaine were surrendered as hostages to the Barons for their respective fathers. Richard then found his estate put under sequestration, and he was made to disgorge £17,000, and £5,000 in gold.

In March, 1265, Henry of Almaine was sent from Dover into France in order to treat with King Louis, and there he remained still treating, or else breaking parole (for he had departed conditionally), till August, when there befell the culminating battle of Evesham. So that then he returned to England to share in the triumph of his uncle, King Henry, and the downfall of the De Montforts, the remnant of whom found themselves forced to release Richard from Kenilworth and flee the country. When the news of the death of Earl Simon and his eldest son and the captivity of the wounded Guy reached the younger Simon and Richard de Montfort, at Kenilworth, the soldiers on guard there were for killing the King of the Romans in revenge. It was much to Simon the younger's credit that he prevented the deed. It, however, renders perhaps only more mysterious the terrible vendetta perpetrated on Henry of Almaine, at Viterbo, six years later, by both Simon and Guy, who had become commanders of repute in the army of Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily.

We next hear of Henry of Almaine being despatched with a force to confront Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, in the North, whom he defeated at Chesterfield and brought

in fetters to London, "acquiring for himself much glory."<sup>1</sup> (Matthew of Westminster, A.D. 1266.) He was likewise rewarded with the Manor of Cringley, near Canterbury, which had belonged to William de Furnival. In 1269 he married, at Windsor, Constance, widow of Alfonso of Aragon, and daughter of Eskivat de Chabannois, Count of Bigorre, and Agnes, daughter of the Count de Foix. In 1270 he joined his cousin Edward, and set forth with him to the Crusade at Tunis. Arrived there, they found that the King of France, their uncle, and Tristan, his brother, were dead of the plague, and ignominious truce with the Moslem had been concluded. Edward, therefore, determined to proceed to Acre; but he sent Henry back to Gascony by way of Italy, under protection of Charles of Anjou, in order that he might adjust various difficulties which had arisen there. In consequence, he joined the funereal procession of Charles and Philip III. of France, carrying the remains of the deceased Princes to Rome and Viterbo, on the way to France.

They at length reached Viterbo, where the Conclave then sitting seemed to require the presence of Charles in order to arrive at the election of a new Pontiff in place of Clement IV. These princes took up their lodgings at different palaces of the nobles in that city, on March 9th, 1271. It is probable that Henry of Almaine was lodged in that of the powerful family of Di Vico, hereditary Prefects of Rome, hard by the parochial church of San Sylvestro. In those days the piazza of that church (now del Jesù) was the seat of the municipality.

On the morning of March 10th, while the two monarchs, his kinsmen, attended mass in the church of S. Francesco,<sup>2</sup> Henry of Almaine went to that of S. Sylvestro. He was kneeling before the altar, at the moment of the elevation,

<sup>1</sup> NOTE.—It is not unworthy of remark that tiles bearing the arms of this De Ferrers, but within a Bordure, have been lately found in the north aisle of the Presbytery of Hayles Abbey. His son may have ended his days a prisoner at Hayles.

<sup>2</sup> Not in San Lorenzo, the Duomo, as is usually stated.

when Guy and Simon de Montfort, advancing towards him, shouted to him: "Henry, you traitor, you shall not escape us!" and undeterred by the deacons, who vainly endeavoured to defend the Prince, they commenced hacking at him with their swords. Clinging to the altar, four of his fingers were left adhering to it. One of the deacons was killed. Aldebrandino Rosso, Count of Anguillara, father-in-law of Guy, and William de Baskerville, who had fought at Evesham, took part in the murder. The former was afterwards cited to appear in answer to the charge by Pope Gregory X.; the latter was presently outlawed for his participation, and he put in the plea, when summoned, that he could not be tried for a deed committed in a foreign country. The murder done, the De Montforts rode away from the town with the Count and their accomplices to the castle of Soana. Later, fearing the emissaries of Edward, they took refuge in the Cistercian Abbey of Galgano, towards Siena.

The body of the unfortunate Prince was treated in accordance with a barbarous usage obtaining in that day, the origin of which is probably to be attributed to the vicissitudes of the Crusades. I refer to divisional, or tripartite, sepulture: that is to say, the securing of the prayers of three separate congregations by means of distributing important members of a corpse among them. As crusading Princes desired their remains to be sent back to their family sepulchres in Europe, it became necessary to embalm, or preserve them in some other manner. King Louis and his brother Tristan, who had recently perished, had been boiled in wine and separated into flesh, bones, and heart, each of which was destined to a different Shrine. *Cf.* the indignant prohibition uttered by Boniface VIII. ("Detestanda feritatis abusum") of the custom. This prohibition, however, was in vain, and the custom has continued, by Papal licence, down to our own century. The case was not otherwise with Henry of Almaine. His body was boiled; while his flesh was buried in the Cathedral of Viterbo, between the remains of two popes. His heart, however, was placed

in a golden vase and sent to the Benedictines at Westminster, who consigned it to the shrine of Edward the Confessor. Dante refers to this in the well-known passage wherein he describes De Montfort as a lonely spirit plunged up to the throat in hot blood, and slunned even by other murderers, as having smitten in the church "the heart which still bleeds for vengeance, beside the Thames" (*Inf.* xii. 119). The bones of the murdered Prince were brought to London and thence carried to Hayles, where they were interred in front of the then high altar, on May 21st, with the utmost solemnity. We hear of a funeral mass, performed in his honour, at Norwich as late as July 22nd. His arms were: Or, an Eagle Displayed, sable. Armed Gules.

A picture representing the murder is recorded by contemporary chroniclers to have been painted at Viterbo, to which certain descriptive verses were appended. These will be found in Matthew of Westminster. Another picture, perhaps a copy of this fresco, was extant in S. Sylvestro until thirty years ago, and Signor Caposalvi, an architect of that city, relates that he and others still living well recollect it. It is possibly yet extant as a "curio" in the hands of someone, who may be unaware of its significance.

Simon de Montfort, the younger, perished by accident at Siena, within a year of the murder. Guy, whose abundant correspondence with the Pope respecting it I have obtained, underwent certain serious penances, but survived until 1288, when he was captured at sea by Ruggiero di Loria, the Aragonese admiral, then fighting against Charles of Anjou for the possession of Sicily. He died in a Sicilian prison.

Earl Richard, whose health had been fast failing, at the date of the murder of his son, in September (1271), learned of the partial destruction of his abbey at Hayles by a fire, and being attacked by paralysis while at his manor of Berkhamstead in December of the same year, he presently lost his reason. He lingered until February of the following year, when he died. He was buried beside

his queen, Sanchia,<sup>1</sup> at Hayles. His son, Edmund (Earl of Cornwall), re-built and extended the church for the monks, re-dedicating it in 1277, and enriching it with the famous relic known as the Blood of Hayles. It is to him the Abbey owed the fine polygonal Apse lately uncovered. Richard left behind him a third wife, Beatrice, daughter of Dietrich von Falkenstein, niece of Conrad, Archbishop of Cologne, reputed an exceedingly beautiful woman, whom he had married in 1269, and another son, Richard, who was killed at Berwick in 1296, and likewise buried at Hayles.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sanchia of Provence died in 1261, and was buried November 9th at Hayles, whither her body had been brought from Berkhamstead by Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter of Savoy, and two Bishops. Her arms are—Or, four pallets, gules.

<sup>2</sup> Richard had other issue:—

Richard, buried at Hayles in 1246,

Philip, in Holy Orders 1248,

Isabella, buried at Reading Abbey,

John, died at Marlow, and buried at Reading Abbey,

besides a natural son, Richard, to whom Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, gave the manor of Thunnack, co. Lincoln, A.D. 1280. Ancestor of the Cornwalls of Burford.