PHILIPPA OF HAINAUT, QUEEN OF ENGLAND

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Bibliography
PHILIPPA OF HAINAUT, QUEEN OF ENGLAND

"La bonne, qui pourist en terre,
Qui fu roine d'Angleterre." ¹

Chapter 1

Philippa of Hainaut owes her chief importance in history to the accident of birth and the circumstance of marriage. Consort of Edward III of England, a remarkable though scarcely a great king, Philippa played her queenly part with a grace and distinction which added lustre to her husband's reign, and with a charm of personality and a nobility of character that won for her a place in the hearts and affections of her subjects as Queen Philippa the Good.

It is interesting to note that Philippa's father, William I (of Avesnes) also enjoyed the popular appellation "the Good." He was lord of the three Netherlandish counties of Holland, Hainaut, and Zealand. These were well-populated, flourishing districts with a number of thriving cities, deriving their wealth chiefly from commerce by sea and from manufactures, particularly the weaving of woolen cloth. Their wealth and advantageous geographical situation gave to their count considerable political importance; members of the ruling house intermarried on terms of practical equality with some of the most famous royal families of mediaeval Europe. William I himself had married Jeanne de Valois, a granddaughter of Philip III

¹ Froissart, Poésies, II, 8.
of France and a sister of Philip of Valois who was elected to the French throne as Philip VI.

The count and countess of Hainaut had five children who survived infancy, one son and four daughters. Philippa was the third daughter; she was born probably in 1314, though the precise date is uncertain. Her girlhood environment was of a sort that explains her later intellectual interests, for her father, as well as her uncle John of Beaumont, was a zealous patron of poets, and the court at Valenciennes offered a friendly atmosphere to literary art. It is impossible to find evidence concerning Philippa's education; it is doubtful if she ever learned to read or write, and there is no record that she was accomplished even in music or needlework, the ordinary achievements of ladies of mediaeval times.

It was in the summer of her twelfth year that an event occurred which for the first time brought Philippa within the ken of contemporary historians. This event was the visit at Valenciennes of Isabella, queen of Edward II of England, together with her son, Prince Edward of Windsor. The countess of Hainaut, it is true, was a cousin of the English queen; but the motive of Isabella's visit was not social, by any means.

Isabella had not been on good terms with her husband for several years, chiefly because she felt herself deprived of her due influence over the king by his favorites, the Despensers. Aware of the fact that a large number of the English barons were nursing grievances against the same favorites, and that the whole nation was becoming restless under the inefficient government, Isabella deter-

1 Oeuvres de Froissart (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove), Ia, 48, n. 3.
mined to make an attempt at least to depose either the favorites or the king, or all of them. Accordingly she went to France and appealed to her brother, King Charles IV, for aid. She succeeded in taking with her her young son, then in his early teens. This was a very clever move on her part, for the presence in her company of the popular and promising heir to the throne greatly strengthened the queen's cause.

Charles IV received his sister and nephew hospitably and listened to Isabella's grievances rather sympathetically at first, though he probably never seriously considered aiding her military expedition. However, Isabella's scandalous relations with Roger Mortimer, an exiled English nobleman, soon disgusted Charles so much that he made it plain to his sister that she would have to seek another field for her operations.¹ It was under these circumstances that Isabella decided to visit the court of the count and countess of Hainaut.

With her suite, she withdrew quietly from France and came to Valenciennes. Here the party was received very hospitably and entertained with every honor for about eight days. Count William and his brother, John of Beaumont, were impressed with Isabella's story; Sir John volunteered to enter her service and to find other knights and men-at-arms to go with her to England to aid in the overthrow of Edward II. It was natural that Isabella should appreciate this assistance, and that she should wish to establish a closer bond between England and Hainaut. Further, there was a problem as to how she could find money to pay Sir John and his mercenaries. A

¹ According to Froissart, her decision was made on the advice of her cousin, Robert of Artois. Froissart, (Berners' Transl.), I, 28, ff.
plan occurred to her which served admirably her double purpose, - namely, to marry her son to one of Count William's daughters, thus at the same time securing a useful alliance and also obtaining funds in the form of a dowry. Count William consented readily enough, and the match was formally arranged,¹ it being agreed that the marriage should occur within two years.

Such are the cold facts in the case. Froissart puts the matter in a much more romantic light. During Prince Edward's stay at Valenciennes, the young man conversed much with the Count's four daughters; Philippa and he were especially attracted to each other. When the time came for the prince's departure, the young Philippa began to weep copiously, unafectedly confessing that she felt very sorry to have her cousin leave her. No mention is made of the Mons agreement; the chronicler relates that a year or so later, in England, the question came up (apparently for the first time) of finding a wife for the heir to the throne. Then Edward, smiling at the recollection of his parting from her, declared he knew of no one he would rather marry than his cousin Philippa. Froissart's incident² is unquestionably fictitious, yet it is extremely probable that Edward had a choice as to which of the count's daughters should be his bride, and their congeniality in later years makes it quite evident that there was a strong element of genuine affection in the match between Edward and Philippa.

However despicable Isabella's motives in her conspiracy against her husband were, her action was ultimately of benefit to

¹ Document found at Mons. Oeuvres (K. de L.), II, 502, note.
² Oeuvres (K. de L.), II, 54-55; Ibid., II, 190-191.
England; and her visit to Hainaut was the factor which determined the benefit. The Hainaut alliance was to prove very important diplomatically in the succeeding years; and it was only because of the aid of the Hainaut soldiers that Isabella's party succeeded in deposing the incompetent Edward II and in placing a more capable king on the throne. The queen's personal dominance was short-lived and her ambition was foiled, but the beneficent results of her revolution survived the questionable means by which it was brought about.

It was well that Sir John and his Hainauters should fight zealously for Isabella's success, if they ever hoped to see their count's daughter queen of England; for had Edward II been able to maintain himself on the throne the Mons marriage agreement would in all probability have been abrogated. The king had come to regret having allowed Isabella and the prince to go to France as soon as they were out of his reach; and he did his best to get them to return. His efforts failing, he had written to his son especially warning him not to marry or make any agreement to marry without his father's consent.¹ Edward II himself had had a design of marrying his son to a Spanish princess; though he had prosecuted the project with much energy he had of course been unable to accomplish anything inasmuch as the prince was in France under his mother's control.²

Edward II having been deposed and Edward III crowned in his stead, (1327) Isabella and her advisers were of course prepared to carry out the marriage agreement they had made. As both Philippa and Edward were great grandchildren of Philip III, a dispensation

¹ Rymer, Foedera, IV, 195.
² Ibid., III, 44 sq.
from the pope was necessary before the marriage could take place. This was secured from Pope John XXII by September, 1327.\(^1\) The next month the bishop of Coventry was sent to Hainaut to make more detailed arrangements for the marriage, with authority to marry Philippa by proxy before bringing her to England.\(^2\) At the same time, letters of safe-conduct were issued for Count William and Philippa, for the plan at first was that her father should accompany the young bride to England. In the court at Valenciennes great preparations were made, and neither trouble nor expense was spared in fitting out Philippa in a style becoming a queen. A suitable escort of more than forty knights and squires was provided; at the head was Philippa's uncle, Sir John, instead of Count William. Sir John had only recently returned from assisting the English in a war with the Scots; it was probably considered that his acquaintance with the land and people would make him an especially appropriate person to escort his niece to England.

Setting sail from Wissant, Philippa and her company landed safely at Dover, in December, 1327. Affairs on the Scottish border were at a crisis which made it inadvisable for the young king, his mother, or any of his chiefs to leave the north country; accordingly the bridal party was not met by the king in person, but by two of his most trusted advisers.\(^3\)

A long, tiresome journey was before the young Philippa before she was to meet her bridegroom. The company went first to

\(^1\) Pat. Rolls, 1327-1330, p. 179.

\(^2\) Foed., IV, 306.

\(^3\) Burghersh and Clynton. It is possible they went to the Continent and joined the party there. Rymer, Foed., IV, 327.
Canterbury, where they stopped and made offerings at the tomb of St. Thomas; then they proceeded by way of Rochester to Eltham, being received with great honor at each town through which they passed. At Eltham, where there was a royal villa much used by Edward, the future queen was met by a large company of English knights and ladies, headed by the Bishop of Durham. Sir John considered it safe to leave his niece in charge of this escort sent by Edward; accordingly he and most of his Hainauters took leave of Philippa here and returned to their native land. It is not hard to believe Froissart when he says that the young queen-elect wept sadly at having to part with her kinsman, - a girl of fourteen in the middle ages probably felt much the same way as would a girl of fourteen today at being left among strangers in a strange land. It is no wonder that Philippa always felt particularly kindly to the few Hainauters who remained with her in her new surroundings.

From Eltham the company travelled as directly as possible toward York. Considering the inconveniences of travel in the middle ages, the whole party must have been heartily glad when the famous northern city was finally reached. Once in York, however, they were given such a welcome as to make them forget the long and tiresome journey. The young king came out to meet his bride and they made a triumphal entry in splendid mediaeval fashion, with chargers prancing and trumpets blowing. The queen-mother received her young daughter-in-law very graciously, "for she knew well how to do the

1 Oeuvres, (K. de L.), II, 195
honors of the occasion."  

On January twenty-fourth, 1328, Edward and Philippa were married in the cathedral church at York, the archbishop officiating. The event was made the occasion of elaborate festivities, which were continued until Easter. Then the royal pair went to London and to Windsor; at both places further fêtes and tournaments were held for the enjoyment and benefit of the southern part of the kingdom.

It is not quite clear why Philippa was not crowned soon after her marriage; as a matter of fact the coronation did not occur until March, 1330. It is significant that just at this time Edward was beginning to feel that he had come to man's estate and that he should free himself from the domination of his mother and her lover. In June, 1330, Philippa bore him an heir; in October Mortimer was overthrown and Isabella obliged to withdraw from politics. It is probable that it was the approaching birth of an heir that made Edward especially anxious to express his feeling that henceforth Philippa should take her proper rank as queen in every respect.

There is a trace of a curious mediaeval custom found in connection with Philippa's coronation: Robert de Veer, Philippa's chamberlain by hereditary right, demanded and received as reward for his services at her coronation the queen's shoes and three silver basins, while a further claim to the queen's bed was commuted for by Edward for one hundred marks.

1 Philippa seems always to have been on agreeable terms with her famous (or infamous?) mother-in-law. Two years after this occasion we find the pope writing to Philippa thanking her for having given sympathy and consolation to Isabella in her tribulation, and requesting her to make further efforts to restore the dowager-queen's good fame, which the pope considers has been undeservedly injured. Papal Registers, II, 498.

2 Edward was fifteen, Philippa fourteen years of age.

3 Foedera, IV, 426.
The marriage of Edward and Philippa seems to have been more fortunate than most royal matches. Just as Edward was an ideal knight, handsome, strong and skilful, so Philippa filled admirably the requirements of a lady of chivalry. In appearance she was tall and handsome; in character she was generous and sympathetic, "endowed with every virtue, and beloved by God and man," as Froissart eulogistically says.

From the beginning of her life in her new country, Philippa took an active interest in the political and military affairs of England, and wielded an intelligent and restraining influence over her rather quick-tempered husband. It is rather difficult to gauge the extent of this influence, for the contemporary writers were not the sort to appreciate its existence or record its workings directly.

In the Papal Registers, however, there is rather indirect but conclusive evidence that the diplomats at St. Peter's placed considerable weight on Philippa's influence over Edward; for instances too numerous to cite may be found of the pope's appealing to Philippa more than to any other one person to guide the king in some particular course of action. For instance, both before and after war broke out between Edward III and Philip VI of France, the pope labored zealously in the cause of peace and repeatedly appealed to Philippa to exert herself toward the same end. The queen was evidently rather inclined to act on his suggestion in this case; at any rate she showed many favors to the papal envoys who were sent to negotiate with Edward, and smoothed the way for their kindly reception by the king.¹ On the whole, however, Philippa interested herself

¹ Papal Registers, III, 20.
in strengthening the cause of her husband by alliances with her kindred rather than in playing the game of the papacy; like Edward, she no doubt saw in the Avignon papacy not so much the head of the Holy Church as the political ally of England's enemy, France. She was no more inclined to take sides with the pope against her husband in a question of internal policy: the Holy Father's appeals to her to dissuade Edward from anti-clerical legislation were quite ineffectual.¹

However, she realized that it was well to keep on as good terms as possible with the pope, and accordingly sent him gifts occasionally. The pope in his turn sent her friendly letters congratulating her on her coronation, on the birth of her son, and on similar occasions; and he was lenient enough in granting her indulgences in trifling matters, such as the privilege of choosing her confessor, or having a portable altar, or being allowed to eat meat on certain fast-days. Various popes made surprisingly numerous provisions to benefices at her nomination; but on several occasions requests made by her were refused, - requests which were evidently of considerable importance, for they were communicated by "vive voce" messengers instead of being entrusted to writing.²

There were many besides the popes who were aware of the influence Philippa had over Edward; many an English subject, high and low, could bear grateful testimony to the fact that when her heart was touched, Philippa could intercede successfully with a king inclined to be hasty in judgment and quick to anger. The incident

¹ Papal Registers, III, 5.
² Ibid., p. 3.
at Calais, to be told later, is the most famous instance of Philippa's intercession because it has been preserved by a master story-teller; the cold official records in the Rolls suggest that there was material for many a story just as touching, had only some Froissart utilized it. There is the case of Agnes de Scardeburgh, who (probably driven to the deed by necessity) stole a surcoat and three shillings in money at York. She was caught, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. The judges deferred the execution, however, until the poor woman, who was pregnant, should be delivered of her child. In some way, the queen's attention was called to the situation; her womanly feelings were touched, and she succeeded in securing from the king full pardon for the offender.¹

Again, there is a record of a young girl who stole some sheep. Being caught and convicted, she was sentenced to pay for the theft with her life. But the judges did not quite have the heart to exact the law's penalty from a mere child, and so they sent her to prison to stay till she became old enough to be executed. But again Philippa learned of the case, and at her request, the king ordered the girl set at liberty.²

It was small wonder that her English subjects soon learned to love Philippa as a queen who was always ready to temper the king's harsh justice with a woman's mercy, and whose sympathy was seldom appealed to in vain.

No doubt Philippa's personal popularity had much to do with the growth at this time of a very friendly feeling between the

² Ibid., 1334-1338, p. 486.
English nation and the people of her native country. Says Froissart: "Also the English cried with one voice: 'Long live the good Philippa of Hainaut, queen of England, our dear and dread lady, for she brought among us honor, profit, grace and tranquility, and she is from so good a country, so sweet, so courteous, so friendly!'"  

Philippa made Hainauters particularly welcome at her court, and many of her countrymen came to join the company she had brought with her when she came to England as a bride. The English were generally rather quick to become jealous of foreigners at court, hence it is significant that during Philippa's lifetime they showed no hostility to these alien recipients of royal favor.  

The queen's ladies-in-waiting were from Hainaut, as were also her cithern-player, and the nurses for her children and herself; while the king employed Hainauters especially to make his armor, helmets and saddles. Edward, moreover, was in almost constant need of fighting men, and found Hainaut an extremely convenient recruiting-ground; for as that country seldom engaged in a great war independently, its knights and squires were free to serve for wages. These free lances found profitable employment in Edward's service, and many of them were rewarded with lands and preferments of various sorts. English benefices were frequently bestowed on clerks from Hainaut; and numerous instances are found of special commer-

1 Oeuvres, (K. de L.), V, 141.
2 After the queen's death there is said to have been a reaction against the foreigners at the court. Oeuvres, I, 20, n.
3 Ibid., Ia, 81, n.
4 Foed., IV, 792; Patent Rolls, 1328, p. 270.
5 Patent Rolls, 1345-1348, p. 250.
cial privileges granted to merchants, often at the particular inter-
cession of Philippa. These privileges were most often special in-
dulgences to deal in goods the exportation of which was ordinarily
prohibited, such, for instance, as ale and wheat.¹

It was probably largely at Philippa's instigation and sug-
gestion that weavers from the Netherlands were encouraged to come to
England to ply their trade. The manufacture of woolen cloth was
one of the chief sources of the wealth of Philippa's native land,
where it was a highly developed industry. This fact formed a
strong economic bond between England and the Low Countries; for the
weavers of the latter region were almost absolutely dependent upon
England for their raw material, and, conversely, the English wool-
growers sent practically their entire export of wool to the markets
of the Netherlands. It was not difficult to see that it would be
of immense advantage to England to build up a weaving industry on
her own soil; with this object in view, Edward and Philippa induced
numbers of skilled weavers to settle in English communities. The
improved fortunes of the first who came encouraged others to follow,
and these immigrant weavers laid the foundations of an industry that
is to this day one of England's greatest sources of wealth.²

Norwich was one of the first towns to receive an influx of weavers;
Philippa's frequent visits to this place suggest that she took a

¹ Close Rolls, 1341-1343, p. 695.
² Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce, I, 304, 305.
personal interest in the weaving colony there.¹

¹ Several secondary sources state rather loosely that Philippa was active in promoting in England another industry of her native land, namely coal-mining. I can find no evidence for this beyond the fact that she bought an estate at Tyndale, a region full of coal-beds. But mining had been developed at Carlisle, in a neighboring region, for many years. Close Rolls, 1337-1339, p. 41. Ibid., 1354-1360, p. 262.
Chapter II

Philippa and her Share in the Hundred Years' War

Not quite ten years after Philippa's marriage there broke out between France and England a war which was destined to last, with occasional interruptions, for practically a century. It is not within our province to discuss the causes or the campaigns of this long conflict, but its process must be kept in mind inasmuch as it furnishes the background for the most active period of Queen Philippa's life.

As soon as hostilities with France became imminent, the English king's marriage assumed increased diplomatic importance, and an opportunity was offered to test the political strength of the friendship between the rulers and the peoples of Hainaut and England. Edward needed Continental allies badly if he was to fight the French on their own soil; naturally he turned to his wife's relatives.

First of all, of course, there was Philippa's father, Count William; then there were also two brothers-in-law to be considered. The eldest sister, Margaret, had married Louis of Bavaria, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and hence suzerain of most of the counties and duchies of the Netherlands; the next elder sister, Jane, was the wife of the Count of Juliers, a minor potentate in the Empire.

The English commissioners sent for the purpose had little difficulty in making favorable alliances both with Count William and with the Count of Juliers.¹ When they approached Emperor Louis, they were received kindly by him and by the Empress, and given a

¹ Foedera, IV, 755. The Count and Countess of Juliers visited the English court in 1335 and were treated very hospitably. Foed., IV, 679.
favorable though not at first definite answer; at their departure, Margaret loaded them with beautiful gifts for her sister, the English queen.\(^1\) Negotiations were continued and, shortly after, in 1337, they culminated in a close offensive and defensive alliance between Edward and Louis, together with all his Low German vassals. It is significant that this treaty was signed at Valenciennes, the capital of Hainaut.\(^2\) Further, in 1338 the two monarchs held a famous meeting at Coblentz, and Edward was made Vicar of the Empire with authority to receive the allegiance of Louis' Low German vassals.

These alliances, as a matter of fact were not of as much benefit to Edward as he had hoped for. In June, 1337, Philippa's father died, universally mourned, and her brother succeeded to the countship. He was not so capable a man as his father and not quite so favorable to the English alliance, although he renewed the treaty and did furnish some military aid.\(^3\) To Philippa must be given most of the credit for the fact that Hainaut did not come out on the side of France; the English marriage alliance only with difficulty outweighed the French sympathies of the Hainaut family, for it must be remembered that Philip of Valois, whose claim to the French crown was disputed by Edward, was a brother of the dowager Countess, Jeanne de Valois, and hence uncle of the young Count William. One of the Chronicles\(^4\) gives the following significant incident, if it can be relied upon. In 1340, when Edward was besieging Tournai,

\(^1\) Oeuvres, II, 360.

\(^2\) Tout, Political History of England, III, 333.


\(^4\) Melsa, III, 47.
the town was so hard-pressed that it must soon have succumbed, had not the Countess of Hainaut, out of sympathy for the French, worked upon Edward until she induced him to agree to a truce. This is the only evidence indicating such partisanship on Countess Jeanne's part, hence it must not be accepted too credulously. It was an undoubted fact, however, that Philippa's youngest sister was married to a French partisan, after the outbreak of the war; and Sir John of Beaumont was thoroughly in sympathy with the French by 1346. Edward might well be thankful that he secured some assistance, however slight, from Hainaut, instead of seeing that assistance given to the French.

The count of Juliers seems to have remained faithful to Edward even under the pressure of adversity, for in 1366 we find Edward granting him an annuity of fourteen hundred pounds to compensate him for his lands which had been seized by the French king because of his adherence to the English alliance.

The imperial alliance proved the most disappointing feature of Edward's entire diplomatic policy, for the brothers-in-law proved to be too suspicious and jealous of one another to combine effectively against their common foe. In 1341, only three years after its formulation, the alliance was formally abrogated.

Seemingly, then, Philippa's relatives were of little or no positive assistance to her husband, except that they allowed him to use their territory as a sort of base of operations. As we shall

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2 For later relations between England and Hainaut, see below.
3 Foedera, VI, 505.
note later, Philippa undoubtedly exerted herself to help make the al-
liances and to make them count for something; had it not been for her,
many of the Low Countries might have helped France instead of pre-
serving a neutrality which was more friendly to England than to
France.

The actual operations of the war began in 1337; for twenty-
five years following there was practically continuous fighting.
This war was carried on on a larger scale than was usual in mediaeval
times; it offered abundant exitement, and it made life exceedingly
strenuous for all who participated in it. When one reads Froissart's
stirring accounts of battles as they were fought by gallant knights
in the heydey of chivalry, one cannot fail to feel that life in
those times must have had peculiar zest. Queen Philippa certainly
had an opportunity for plenty of thrilling experiences, and she seems
to have made the most of it.

In connection with the beginning of the war a story has
been told which is undoubtedly fictitious but which is so often re-
ferred to that it deserves mention here. A contemporary poem¹ re-
lates that King Edward once gave a great banquet to all his knights
and their ladies. Among those present was Robert of Artois, who
for some time had been at the English court vainly endeavoring to
persuade Edward to go to war with Philip of France. On this partic-
ular day he had happened to take a heron while hunting; when all were
at the banquent, he carried the bird to Edward, who was seated at
the table, and said to the King, so that all could hear, that he
(Robert) offered the most timid of birds to the least courageous of

¹ Political Poems and Songs, I, 1-25. (Rolls Series)
kings, who declined to claim the realm of France, though it rightfully belonged to him. The king, after a moment's reflection, made a vow to God, to the heron, and to the queen that before the year was out he would place the crown of France on Queen Philippa's brow.

"And though I have only one Englishman to six Frenchmen, I will fight Philip de Valois." At this, Robert d'Artois laughed aloud, and then he had the bird carried in turn to each of those present, and each registered a vow, in varying terms, to carry the war into France. When her turn came, Philippa at first hesitated, declaring it unseemly in her to make such a vow unless her lord gave his consent; with his permission, she finally vowed that if the King crossed the sea she would follow him.

Whether or not by way of fulfillment of a formal vow, Philippa did prepare to go with Edward as soon as he decided to cross the Channel to take personal charge of a campaign against France. It is difficult to determine just what Philippa's motive was in taking this action; - it may have been merely a desire to be with the king in the midst of events instead of remaining alone in England where her presence was not necessary for the administration of the government. Yet it would seem that no mere whim could have prompted her to undertake such a journey, full of dangers and uncertainties, for she was at the time pregnant. It is probable that Edward expected her to be of assistance to him in his diplomacy; her presence would be a visible witness of the bond between England and the Low Countries, and she was probably expected to exert an influence over her kinsmen.

At any rate, an enormous expedition was fitted out, a
fleet of five hundred ships being collected at Sandwich to provide passage for the king and queen, their retinues, and the fighting-men. In March, 1338, the king ordered one of his agents to provide for Philippa's reception in "Germany"; at the same time he ordered the payment to Philippa of five hundred sixty-four pounds, "to provide quickly for her passage with the king to parts beyond the sea." More specifically, it was to be applied to the purchase of "horses, saddles, silver vessels, girdles, purses, silks, and divers other jewels or things." The order is repeated in a document dated in September, the first not having been carried out. It is a question whether this indicates that Philippa was not able to sail with the king when he embarked in July, or whether the date of the document is incorrect or insignificant. The chronicles of Murimuth and Froissart indicate clearly that she was with the king when he went; this, it would seem, was most probably the case. There is no evidence so far as I have investigated which indicates that Philippa sailed three months later than Edward.

Prince Edward, then eight years of age, was left as titular guardian of the realm, the government actually being in the hands of the council. Two daughters, younger than Edward, went with their parents. An interesting illustration of Philippa's kind-heartedness is given by an order addressed to the prior of Okebourn to admit to his house and give the best of care to a certain yeoman of the Queen, who had been a long time in her service

1 Foedera, V, 19; Murimuth, p. 83.
2 Foedera, V, 14.
3 Close Rolls, 1337-1339, p. 423.
and was so old he could not accompany his mistress abroad.¹

After an uneventful voyage, the expedition landed at Antwerp in Brabant. Here the king and queen were received with great honor by the Duke of Brabant, one of Edward's allies. They remained at Antwerp for some time, receiving visits from Count William of Hainaut, the Count of Juliers, the Count of Gueldres, and other magnates, all of whom expressed their willingness to help the English.² These interviews lend credence to the theory that Philippa's presence was of primary importance to her husband in his diplomatic dealings.

From Antwerp Edward went to Coblenz, where he held a conference with the Emperor Louis. Philippa started to accompany him, but apparently found the journey too difficult, for after going as far as Herenthals, she turned back to Antwerp.

She and her retinue were hospitably entertained at Antwerp by the abbot and convent of the abbey of St. Michael. It was while she was staying at their house that her son Lionel was born, in November.

Edward returned to Antwerp shortly afterwards and began to organize his forces for an invasion of France. But the German allies were slow in assembling, and Edward was hampered because supplies were not forwarded from England as readily as he needed. Accordingly he and Philippa lingered on at Antwerp for more than a year, still making their headquarters the abbey of St. Michael. In appreciation of their hospitality, the abbot and convent were later

¹ Close Rolls, 1337-1339, p. 535.
² Melsa, II, 385, ff; Oeuvres, III, 65, ff.
presented with the advowson of a church in Northampton; and a chapel in honor of St. George was founded at their abbey by Edward. 1

The following winter Philippa spent at Louvain, where Edward had the castle fitted up for occupancy. 2 Here the royal pair held brilliant court, receiving visits from Philippa's brother and mother, who was especially fond of the English queen; and also from numerous knights and ladies of Hainaut and Brabant. 3 The royal establishment was very expensive, - the king, it is said, was paying wages to more than two thousand knights and squires and about eight thousand archers, besides giving subsidies to his allies, the petty German princes.

Edward's resources were soon exhausted, and he was obliged to make a personal visit to England early in 1340, to try to raise further supplies. At the advice of Jacques d'Artevelde, Philippa removed to Ghent and remained there during the king's absence. Edward was so deeply in debt that his creditors among the Netherlandish magnates would probably not have allowed him to take Philippa back to England with him, even had he so desired; her presence was regarded as a pledge of his return and a security for his debts. Not that she was treated in a manner at all slighting to her rank, - on the contrary, she was lodged very comfortably in the monastery of St. Bavon, and the citizens and ladies of Ghent made particular efforts to visit her frequently and to show her all due

1 Patent Rolls, 1338-1340, p. 313; Oeuvres, II, 545.
2 Oeuvres, II, 474-479.
In March, 1340, she gave birth to a son, later known as John of Gaunt. In June she welcomed Edward after his brilliant victory in the great naval battle of Sluys. The summer was not particularly eventful; by November, Edward had made a truce with Philip and accordingly he and Philippa returned to England.

The queen remained in England for the succeeding six years, though the king was on the Continent part of that time. In the summer of 1345, for instance, Edward went to France for a short time, and the queen accompanied him to Sandwich to see him set sail. Early in the morning on the day he embarked, Edward received the great seal from the chancellor, and gave him another to use during his absence; this transfer took place in the chamber where Philippa was staying.

In October, 1345, news reached England that Philippa's brother, Count William, had been killed in a skirmish. As William had no heir, Edward immediately took steps to claim part of his lands as by right of inheritance belonging to Philippa, and five men (among them John of Beaumont) were commissioned to take possession of the lands claimed. Similar commissions were issued in December, 1346, and also in April of the following year. These measures, however, were ineffectual, for Louis of Bavaria seized the lands in the name of his wife, and refused to listen to the claims of her sisters. He

1 *Oeuvres*, III, 65.

2 *Close Rolls*, 1343-1346, p. 634.

3 *Murimuth*, p. 188.

4 *Foedera*, V, 480.

also declined to accept the arbitration of the dispute by Theodore, lord of Mountjoy, as desired by Edward and Philippa.¹

Louis died two years later, and Margaret tried to take over her inheritance; a process which was objected to by her son William. The latter proved the better of the two at gaining actual control, and Margaret, in desperation, came to England to make a personal appeal to her brother-in-law to help her.² Edward had renewed Philippa's claim in 1350 by appointing commissioners again to take over the lands from Margaret; this was apparently only a bluff, for a few months later he agreed to arbitrate between Margaret and her son.³ The disputed lands were divided between them; the claims of Philippa and Jane were passed over in silence, but Edward's prestige was rather increased by the part he had taken, nevertheless. William paid a personal visit to his aunt's court, and was secured to the English friendship by being given an English heiress, Matilda or Maud of Lancaster, for his wife.⁴ Shortly after his mother's death, William became insane, and the much disputed inheritance was then claimed by William's brother, Albert of Bavaria. He paid a visit to the English Court and probably conferred concerning Philippa's claims, but he yielded nothing in her favor.⁵ The whole matter was finally closed in 1372, three years after Philippa's death, when Edward formally surrendered his claims to the lands in dispute.⁶

¹ Foedera, V, 515.
² Ibid., 735.
³ Ibid., 689.
⁴ Ibid., 728. Tout, p. 410.
⁵ Foedera, VI, 500.
⁶ Ibid., 725.
In the early summer of 1346 Edward again went to France and conducted a campaign, the chief features of which were the famous battle of Crécy and the siege of Calais. Philippa remained in England for a time, but planned to join Edward later.

According to Froissart, who follows Jean le Bel in this respect, an event took place at this time which indicates that Philippa took a very active part in the affairs of the kingdom during her husband's absence. While Edward was closely besieging Calais, the French king incited his ally, King David of Scotland, to invade England; it was supposed that the realm had been left with few resources for defence, and that Edward would be obliged to withdraw many of his forces from the siege of Calais in order to protect England. But by strenuous efforts, an army was raised within the realm strong enough to inflict a crushing defeat on the Scots in the battle of Neville's Cross, King David himself being taken prisoner. Froissart's story gives the chief credit for this victory to Philippa, who, he says, found out about the projected invasion and hastened to summon the English warriors to come to her at York. Just before the battle she went among the troops and harangued them; and after the battle she again rode over the field. He tells in detail how the squire who had captured David refused to give him up to a woman, until expressly ordered by the king to deliver his prisoner to Philippa.

Unfortunately, the story is probably without foundation in fact. The English chronicles are unanimous in giving the credit for the victory to William de la Zouche, bishop of York; the documents in the Foedera show no evidence that Philippa had anything to do with the battle or the capture of King David.¹ The latter was

¹ Foedera, V, p. 532, ff.
most certainly not taken to Calais, as Froissart asserts. Froissart's account is given in such detail that for a long time it enjoyed credence, which closer investigation shows it does not deserve. It is significant that the story is most fully expanded in the version of his chronicles which Froissart made for Robert of Namur and his wife, Philippa's sister.¹

Shortly after the battle of Neville's Cross, Philippa joined Edward before Calais. She took with her a large number of ladies whose husbands or brothers were at the siege; they were established in regular quarters near the lines and no doubt enjoyed many a thrilling adventure. The life must have had many hardships, too, for conditions were unhealthful and the camp life lacked even the few conveniences known in those times. The Chronicle of Melsa suggests that Philippa and her ladies were needed to introduce an elevating influence into the camp life, "for there had been so great an accession of public women there that their number at one time exceeded the number of fighting men."² A poem of the time, moreover, distinctly implies that Edward had a mistress some time during the siege; and further hints that it was not his first offense.³

It is difficult to judge how Philippa was affected by such conduct on the part of her husband, for the moral standards of that day differed so much from those of our own time. Kings of the middle ages seem to have broken the seventh commandment with perfect impunity; Edward's excuse, if he must have one, must be that most of

¹ Oeuvres, Ib, 54, 72.
² Melsa, III, 63.
³ Political Poems and Songs, I, 159. Froissart's story of Edward's infatuation for the Countess of Salisbury seems to have had very little foundation in fact. Oeuvres, Ib, 64.
his contemporaries were worse. ¹

It is in connection with the siege of Calais that Froissart tells the story for which its heroine is more widely known than for any other one thing. Though only partially corroborated by other chroniclers, there seems to be no good reason to doubt the general accuracy of the story.

After withstanding a long and desperate siege with much bravery, the citizens of Calais at last became convinced that further resistance to the English was hopeless, and accordingly they entered into negotiations for the surrender of the town. At first Edward, angered by their long resistance, demanded that city and citizens be given over to him without conditions, but at length he moderated his demands slightly and proposed that he would let off the rest of the citizens without punishment if six of the leading burgesses of the town would come forth clad only in their shirts and with halters of rope about their necks, and give themselves up absolutely to the king's will. Six of the principal citizens readily agreed to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their townsmen; and came before Edward as he required, expecting, of course, to be put to a horrible death. But their appearance excited the pity of those about the king, and awoke general admiration for their unselfish courage. Philippa's kind heart was deeply touched, and kneeling before the king she besought him piteously to spare the brave men. Before her

¹ Nor were the moral standards much higher for women than for men. The Chronicle of Melsa charges the ladies of the nobility with great depravity, claiming that scarcely one of them was guiltless of adultery. Such charges were probably exaggerated, though they must have had a grain of truth in them. As to Philippa, if she was guilty of any immorality, all record of it has been lost. Melsa, III, 69.
entreaties the king's anger melted away; unable to refuse her request, he ordered that the burgesses should be delivered to her to do with them as she chose. The queen accordingly had them provided with food, clothing and money, and then graciously gave them their liberty.
Chapter III

Philippa and her Court

The campaign at Calais was the last in which Philippa accompanied her husband to the actual scene of operations. In fact it also marked the close of Edward III's most active years; for ten years following the surrender of the city there was no fighting on a large scale at all, and when more ambitious operations were begun it was the Prince of Wales, Edward, who took the most strenuous part in them.

Philippa did not spend the rest of her life in idleness, by any means, for court life was only a degree less strenuous than a military campaign. The court of which Philippa was mistress was probably the most brilliant in Europe, eclipsed, if at all, only by the court at Paris. In the latter half of Philippa's life, England was at the zenith of her mediaeval fame; - her prestige being enormously increased by her great victories at Crécy, Sluys, Calais, and Poictiers.

The war was quite popular in England, - it furnished a wonderful opportunity for adventures of all sorts, and especially for the acquisition of rich spoils. Experiences in another land broadened the minds of the English warriors and also furnished endless topics for story and song for the benefit of those who stayed at home. Edward's military fame attracted to his court knights from all parts of Europe, whose presence gave society a more cosmopolitan flavor than was usual at the English court.

Another factor which contributed to the brilliance of the court was the presence of a large number of French knights of high
degree, among them King John himself, staying as hostages or prisoners-of-war in England. These gentlemen were treated with all the honor due their rank, and seem to have been almost lionized by the English courtiers. For instance, when King John was captured by the Black Prince in 1356, he was taken to England, with a retinue of about two hundred knights; in the triumphal procession through London he occupied a position intended to imply greater honor than even that which the Black Prince held; finally he was received by the king and queen and a large company of knights and ladies, who welcomed him with all honor and made his arrival the signal for a series of splendid entertainments.¹

King John, it may be said in passing, was an ideal knight, and during his long stay in England won the hearty respect of the English courtiers and knights, who called him the "roy d'honneur". Philippa especially is said to have appreciated his admirable qualities and to have showed much affection for him. He was of course related to her, but it was no doubt his knightly qualities and his pronounced literary tastes which won Philippa's interest and consideration. At one time she gave a banquet in his honor, at which she offered some jewels to him, his sons, and his principal lords.²

Another French noble, a hostage, was also shown much favor by both Edward and Philippa. This was Sir Engerraund de Coucy. He eventually married one of the royal princesses, Isabella; - a striking instance of the social equality accorded the French hostages and prisoners.³ In fact the latter probably led a much more enjoyable

¹ Oeuvres, Ia, 117.
² Ibid., p. 119, n. 3.
³ See below, ch. IV.
life at the English court than did many of their countrymen who remained in war-ridden France.

John was not the only foreign king to grace Edward's court. In 1364 three other kings met at the English capital: David, King of Scots, Waldemar III of Denmark, and Pierre de Lusignan, King of Cyprus. Needless to say, especially elaborate entertainments were arranged in their honor.

Mention has already been made of the visits of the Count and Countess of Hainaut, the Empress of the Romans, and the Count of Juliers. These relatives of Philippa were only a few among a number of distinguished guests who found a welcome at Philippa's court and who doubtless returned home much impressed with the magnificence of the English king and his gracious queen. People were reminded of the glorious days of Arthur and Guinevere; says Froissart: "When Queen Philippa of Hainaut came to England all the realm rejoiced, for since the time of Queen Guinevere, wife of King Arthur and queen of England, so good a queen has not come to the throne, nor one who has received such honor. So far as was in her power, the realm of England had grace, prosperity, honor and all good fortune."

Indeed, a conscious effort was made to revive the splendor of the court of Camelot. This tendency is seen particularly in the establishment of a Round Table (later the Order of the Garter), the first of a number of orders of chivalry founded about this time.

In 1344 Edward ordered a grand tournament to be held at

1 Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt, p. 28.
2 Oeuvres, Ia, p. 81.
3 Murimuth, p. 155, ff.
the castle of Windsor, and had announcement of it made abroad as well as throughout England. Counts, barons, and knights came from all directions to attend; the ladies who came were chiefly from the southern part of the kingdom. Among the latter were two queens (Philippa and Isabella), nine countesses, and numerous other noble ladies besides the wives of the burgesses of London. Festivities began on a Sunday, when a banquet was given especially for the ladies in the great hall of the castle. At this banquet Philippa of course took a leading part, she and her ladies-in-waiting being especially elaborately dressed for the occasion. The knights were feasted in another part of the castle. The banquet was a liberal one, and singers and dancers entertained the people as they ate. Next day the tournament began, and lasted for three days. A feature of this event was a challenge made by Edward, in which he undertook, with the assistance of nineteen other knights, to hold the tourney-field against all comers. He succeeded, too, in making good the challenge. The day after the tournament ended there was another great feast, at which the Round Table was instituted, the king receiving the special oaths of the order from the knights whom he had selected as charter members.

This fête is a fairly typical illustration of the way Philippa's court amused itself. Feasting and fighting were the chief delights of mediaeval society, and the nobility indulged heartily in both. The tournaments were by no means harmless sport, for they nearly always resulted in the serious wounding or killing of some of the combatants. Bloody though these contests at arms were, mediaeval ladies generally enjoyed watching them, and Philippa was no exception to this rule. It was not always safe to be even a
spectator, - once, at Cheapside, the platform from which Philippa and her ladies were witnessing a tourney suddenly broke down and threw them all to the ground, though they fortunately escaped serious injury. The king was determined to wreak vengeance on the carpenters whose carelessness had caused the accident, and only spared them at the earnest entreaty of the queen.¹

Hunting was almost as popular a pastime as jousting; ladies could and did indulge in this sport. There were several fine royal forests, notably those at Sherwood and Rockingham; both Edward and Philippa were fond of hunting with falcons and with dogs. One summer Philippa injured her shoulder blade quite seriously while hunting near Marlborough.²

Feasts and banquets were an indispensable part of court life, and were frequently held, particularly in connection with tournaments. On such occasions the banqueters were entertained by minstrels with their love-songs as well as by dancers and jugglers of all sorts.

It is rather surprising to find that the festivities of the court were scarcely perceptibly abated by the terrible visitations of the Black Death, which caused the direst distress among the common subjects of the realm. Public sanitation was of course an unknown science, and the king and the queen were ignorant of any method whereby they could alleviate the common suffering, even had they desired to do so. The households of the nobility, where living conditions were more sanitary than in the hovels of the poor, suffered comparatively little from inroads of the disease. The royal

¹ The story sounds almost too much like the Calais incident.
² Eulogium Historiarum, III, 227.
princess, Joanna, it is true, died of the plague at its first visitation in 1348, but she probably contracted the disease after leaving England for Gascony.\(^1\) It seems safe to say that the first two visitations of the plague proved no immediate check to the fêtes of the court and the extravagance of the king and the queen. The third outbreak, in 1369, touched court circles more closely; Duchess Blanche of Lancaster fell a victim to the epidemic and Philippa's own death is supposed to have been hastened by the same cause, though this is doubtful, as Philippa had been in failing health for several years before she died.

Philippa's court was certainly an extravagant one, - and the pace was set by the royal pair themselves. The dress of the time allowed for the mediaeval love of display and luxury. Knights spent enormous sums for their armor, weapons, and war-horses; one chronicler very bitterly attacks the luxury of the chevaliers with their "paltoks", their girdles and belts of gold, and their shoes, the pointed toes of which "resembled the claws of the devil."\(^2\) The ladies, too, vied with each other in wearing elaborate gowns, rich jewels, and unusual head-gear. Philippa seems to have encouraged the use in England of a good many sorts of fine cloth manufactured in the Netherlands, for the household accounts indicate large sums spent for striped cloth, "rubans (ribbons) and taffetas" from Ghent, Ypres, Malines, and Louvain.\(^3\) An English writer of the time is quoted as having been moved to express his indignation at

\(^1\) See below, in ch. IV.

\(^2\) *Malmesbury*, p. 230.

\(^3\) *Oeuvres*, Ia, 86, note.
the costumes worn at a certain fête at Windsor:¹ "The ladies are afraid to show their feet and they pinch in their waists till they resemble the tail of a fox. Will not this splendor ruin the kingdom of England!"

As a matter of fact, Edward and Philippa seem to have lived beyond their incomes most of the time. The French war was of course enormously expensive, and as Parliament was not very generous in granting taxes to supplement the king's ordinary revenues, the royal exchequer was almost constantly in difficulties. In 1339, while on the Continent, the king was in such financial straits that he was obliged to pledge to the archbishop of Trèves two crowns of Philippa's as well as his own great crown of State;² and the queen's crowns were not redeemed until three years later.³ It appears that Philippa on her own account pledged some of her other jewels while abroad; they, too, were redeemed in 1342, from the profit made on a shipment of wool which her attorneys were allowed to make without paying full export duty.⁴

The queen had an exchequer and council of her own, and was expected to maintain her household from her own income. This income was derived from several sources, the chief of which was the revenue from the queen's dower-lands. Soon after her marriage Philippa was assigned the life use of lands to the yearly value of fifteen thousand pounds, increased in 1333 by an additional two

¹ Oeuvres, Ia, p. 87, n.
³ Close Rolls, 1341-1343, p. 583.
hundred pounds. This domain consisted of manors and castles scattered throughout England, and seems to have been rather larger than was usually assigned to English queens.  

Another source of revenue was what was known as the queen's gold, - one mark went to the queen for every ten marks of all fines and other obligations payable in coined money to the king. Then, too, special concessions were often made to Philippa, such as the exclusive right to hold market in certain places, or permission to export wool at less than the regular duty. Numerous cases are found of Philippa's being given the custody of the estates of minor heirs in the king's wardship. Such arrangements were primarily made for Philippa's financial benefit, but occasionally they involved a personal relationship, the wards being sometimes taken into the queen's household and reared under her supervision.

The queen was not expected to care for the royal princes and princesses from her own exchequer. They were considered legally as "the king's children", and the king provided for them by assigning lands for their separate maintenance. Frequently, however, Philippa was made custodian of lands thus assigned to the children. When she drew upon her own resources for the expenses of the children, she was reimbursed from the king's exchequer.

1 Foedera, IV, 353; Patent Rolls, 1330-1334, p. 420.
2 Oeuvres, Ic, 373-374.
3 Close Rolls, 1360-1364, p. 60.
4 Ibid., 1337-1339, p. 417.
5 Patent Rolls, 1340-1343, p. 236.
7 Ibid., 1343-1345, p. 552.
Even so, Philippa's revenues were inadequate for her establishment, and her accounts frequently had to be made to balance by gifts from the king's exchequer, though occasionally Edward borrowed sums of money from her.

In any event, regal state was never sacrificed for the sake of economy; Philippa seems to have lavished gifts upon the members of her household and upon people abroad as freely as if no worry of debt occurred to her. In Froissart's opinion, she was the most generous queen of her day, - certainly he, at least, had no cause to complain of her bounty. The records show that his assertion could be attested also by many of Philippa's ladies-in-waiting and yeomen.

As is so often the case, the generosity of the wealthy was exercised at the expense of the poor. We find during this period a great deal of complaint of abuses of purveyance by the queen's officers. The latter were charged with taking provisions without arranging a fair price with the person from whom they took them, and were accused of behaving in a very arrogant and insulting manner in the houses they visited. There was undoubtedly much abuse of this sort by purveying officers, but the queen's officials were by no means the only ones charged with the offense, and hence it is scarcely fair to single Philippa out as an object of censure. Moreover, much of the oppression was caused by persons fraudulently passing as official purveyors. The king and queen were as anxious as any one to prevent this sort of thing. Complaints of her officials prob-

1 Foed., V, 520; Patent Rolls, 1338-1340, p. 546.
3 Close Rolls, 1341-1343, p. 337-338.
ably came to the queen, so that she cannot have been ignorant of her servants' oppression, but it is not at all evident that she prompted or approved of such conduct.

The royal households, instead of remaining most of the time in one locality, moved about from one manor to another. Such a method was in fact the only way in which the produce of the domain lands could be utilized, for transportation of food stuffs was so difficult and expensive as to be impractical, and commerce had not reached a degree of development which would make it possible to sell large quantities of agricultural products in local markets and for money exchange.

The royal manors were scattered all over England; the ones most frequented in the southern region were Woodstock, Windsor, Eltham, and Berkhampstead. Naturally much time was spent in London, where the Tower was used as a residence. In the north, York was a sort of secondary capital; Newcastle-on-Tyne, Pontefract, and Knaresborough were favorite manors. The Isle of Sheppey formed part of Philippa's dowry; in her honor Edward founded Queenborough and named it after her, making it a free borough in 1366. Windsor was probably the finest of all the royal castles and was honored more often than any other by the royal residence. It contained a library and many valuable works of art, pictures, and tapestries, gathered from many different lands. Many of the finest tapestries came from Philippa's native land.

After all, it must be considered that though Philippa and her court were extravagant, yet the people of the Middle Ages loved

1 Close Rolls, 1339-1341, p. 123.
2 Oeuvres, Ia, p. 84, ff.
display and were not as much inclined as they might have been to criticise the brilliance of the court. Furthermore, Philippa stopped short of a vulgar extreme of splendor, and by her refined tastes and intellectual interests succeeded in raising very decidedly the tone of the English court.

For one thing, Philippa was unaffectedly pious, according to mediaeval ideals, though she was not afflicted with any exaggeration of religious zeal. Her devotion expressed itself in very practical ways, particularly in the foundation and endowment of religious houses and chapels. Very frequent instances are found in which she intervened with the king in behalf of some monastery or church to secure permission for them to acquire land in mortmain, or to be excused from financial obligations to the king, or to be released from the king's jurisdiction in various matters.\(^1\) In return for favors of various sorts many religious houses agreed to offer special prayers for the royal family. To a modern mind it seems rather incongruous to find that a grant of a tun of red wine yearly was made to a certain abbot and convent on condition that a monk be assigned to celebrate divine service daily in their church "in honor of the Virgin Mary and for the salvation of the king, Queen Philippa, and their children."\(^2\)

Philippa interested herself also in hospitals, particularly the hospital of St. Katharine, near the Tower of London. This house had been founded and endowed by Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III, who arranged that it should always be in the patronage of the queens

\(^1\) Papal Registers, III, 189.
\(^2\) Close Rolls, 1346-1349, p. 355.
of England. Philippa made further endowments to the hospital and built a church in connection with it.¹

Queen Philippa had a large number of clerks and chaplains in her service, many of them natives of Hainaut. She took a personal interest in having them provided with benefices; usually they were allowed to hold two or three benefices apiece.²

The queen sought merit rather by outward good works than by acts of personal self-denial. Sometime before 1336, she seems to have made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Rome, but war with France being imminent, she decided she could not fulfill the vow and accordingly secured from the pope permission for her confessor to commute the vow. Later, in 1344, she satisfied her conscience by sending one of her chaplains, the Bishop of Cardica, to perform the pilgrimage for her.³

Philippa is much more conspicuous for her literary tastes and her patronage of learning than for religious zeal. She took an active interest in the organized centres of learning both at Cambridge and at Oxford, but more particularly at the latter place. Edward also was anxious to encourage the Universities, and we find that the king and queen worked together to carry out many of their projects.

Edward founded and endowed a college at Cambridge in which he maintained about thirty-two scholars; Philippa helped the school at one time by contributing some oaks to use in repairing the house

¹ Papal Registers, III, 88.
² Ibid., II, 521, ff; 292, 297.
³ Ibid., II, 531; Foed., V, 418.
of the scholars. Liberal endowments were made to various schools at Oxford; the king and queen by their united efforts succeeded especially in putting on a firmer footing a college in liberal arts and theology, known as St. Mary's College, which had been founded by Edward II. Merton College also came in for a share of royal support and protection.

Philippa took the deepest interest in the Oxford College which was named Queen's Hall in her honor. The college was really founded by Robert de Eglesfield, one of her clerks; but as it was arranged that the advowson should pertain to Philippa, and as the school would not have survived long if it had not been endowed by her, it is not strange that a tradition became current to the effect that Philippa was the founder of the college. During the first year of its existence the school had great difficulty in maintaining itself; but the queen, (and also the king) came to the rescue with a number of grants, and it was soon in a more flourishing condition.

Not only did the age of Edward and Philippa witness a growth of the universities; it also marked the beginning of an important period of literature. The latter half of the fourteenth century was the age of Langland, Gower, Wyclif, Chaucer, and Froissart; all of these, except the first, were influenced more or less directly by Philippa, her husband, or her children. Gower wrote some French verses under the direct patronage of Philippa;

1. *Foedera*, IV, 825; V, 110.
Wyclif was a protégé of her son, John of Gaunt. Chaucer had his first taste of court life as a page in the household of another son, Lionel of Antwerp; later he was promoted to a position in the king's service; and he married one of Philippa's ladies-in-waiting.\(^1\) Philippa died before Chaucer's genius came to maturity, but Chaucer had as a predecessor in fame and court popularity another genius with whose life-story Philippa was very closely concerned.

This was Jean Froissart, a native of Hainaut and a resident of Valenciennes, the seat of the count of Hainaut, Philippa's father. While still a mere youth, Froissart developed an ambition and an aptitude for writing poetry. He was particularly desirous of celebrating in verse the famous events of the French and English wars; he seems to have made his first attempts along this line prior to 1356, under the patronage of John of Beaumont, Philippa's uncle. It was probably he who first suggested to the young poet that he might find a splendid opportunity for his talents at the court of England, which was presided over by a queen of known literary tendencies and of equally well-known fondness for the people of Hainaut.\(^2\)

At any rate, in 1361, Froissart came to England and was presented to Philippa at court. He arrived at an opportune time: the whole nation was in high spirits over the peace recently concluded with France,\(^3\) and the English court was at the height of its renown and brilliance. Froissart won recognition at once by presenting to the queen an amateur work, a versed chronicle dealing with

\(^1\) Jenks, *In the Days of Chaucer*, pp. 25, 36, ff.

\(^2\) *Oeuvres*, Ia, 48, n. 3.

\(^3\) Treaty of Brétigny, 1360.
the French wars. It was not a particularly remarkable book, but Philippa became interested in the young writer, accepted the book graciously, and made him "greatly to profit thereby." He appreciated the fact that his nationality had much to do with kindly reception, for he speaks of the fact that Philippa "always naturally loved people from the nation of Hainaut, the country where she was born."\(^1\) Following the example set by the queen, the whole court exerted itself to show Froissart every courtesy. "For love of the noble lady whom I served," says Froissart, "all the grand gentlemen, kings, dukes, counts, barons, and knights, of whatever nation they were, loved me and looked kindly upon me."\(^2\) In truth he found at the court of England "all honor, love, generosity and courtesy."\(^3\)

To attach him permanently to her service, Philippa made Froissart one of her clerks. He had taken orders, it appears, before coming to England, but his duties at the court were those of a secretary rather than of a clergyman.\(^4\) In reality, he spent most of his time composing the romances and love-poems with which he entertained and delighted the queen and her courtiers.

Philippa was extremely anxious that Froissart should undertake a more comprehensive account of the French wars than he had accomplished in his maiden work. Accordingly she supplied him with funds to enable him to cross to the Continent and to spend two or three years collecting the necessary materials for such a work.\(^5\)

\(^1\) *Oeuvres*, VII, 428.
\(^2\) Ibid., III, 1.
\(^3\) Ibid., Ia, 82.
\(^5\) *Oeuvres*, Ia, 279.
After his return to England, Philippa sent him to Scotland with a similar object in view. There he met all the notable people and visited the most interesting parts of the country. The mission to Scotland had more or less diplomatic significance; the English queen sent numerous gifts by Froissart to various lords and ladies in Scotland, no doubt with the design of fostering a more friendly feeling between the two countries. Considering the fact that Scotland and England had been much at war with each other in the preceding years, it is indeed worthy of note that just as soon as Froissart presented his mistress' letters of introduction, he was everywhere accorded the most courteous treatment. The chronicler could not fail to interpret this kindliness to him as a testament of the honor with which Philippa was regarded even in an alien land.¹

Upon the results of these investigations, undertaken almost entirely at Philippa's expense, were based the Chronicles which won immediate fame for their author and which still charm large numbers of readers, for they give us the most vivid representation we have of the life and spirit of the age of chivalry. Well might Froissart assign to Philippa a large share of the credit for his achievement:

"Philippe ot nom la noble dame,
Propices li soit Diex à l'âme!
J'en suis bien tenu de pryer
Et ses larghèces escryer,
Car elle me fist et créa." ²

And indeed, the whole Western world owes a debt of gratitude to the

¹ Oeuvres, Ia, 132, ff.
² Ibid., Vi, 375.
queen whose literary appreciation and liberality made possible the "Chroniques" of Jean Froissart.
Chapter IV

Philippa's Children

Philippa of Hainaut bore Edward III seven sons and five daughters. So numerous a family was quite in accordance with mediæval ideals, and it was no doubt gratifying to the royal pair as well as to the nation at large to have the succession thus amply provided for. Moreover, in an age when international alliances were made chiefly by means of marriages between members of the various royal houses, it was of advantage in a diplomatic way for England to have a number of princes and princesses of the blood royal. However, it was a serious strain on Edward's exchequer to have to provide for so large a family, - a disadvantage which apparently outweighed the possible diplomatic advantages, inasmuch as most of the children had matches made for them which brought substantial fortunes rather than foreign alliances. It would scarcely be fair to say that this state of affairs was Edward's deliberate choice; many efforts were made to secure matches with members of various ruling houses in Europe, but, as we shall see, most of these attempts failed of success, either because of Edward's lack of money, or papal antagonism, or mere chance. The matrimonial market for English princes and princesses, it must be remembered, was seriously curtailed, anyway, by the war with France; it had long been customary and convenient for the scions of the English royal house (itself French in origin) to intermarry with members of those very families who were most active in fighting Edward in the Hundred Years' War. As for the question of the succession, subsequent events seemed to show that a
great multiplicity of heirs to the throne could play as great or even
greater havoc with the welfare of the realm than could the lack of a
direct descendant of the king. For the rival claims of the houses
founded by Edward's sons eventually had to be fought out in the Wars
of the Roses, the longest and most destructive contest for the suc-
cession in all English history.

The rate of infant mortality was generally high in the
middle ages, hence it is not surprising to find that five of
Philippa's children died in infancy. Three more survived childhood
but did not long outlive their mother. The daughters have left
practically no trace in the records of the time except in the matter
of marriage negotiations, but the four sons who lived to maturity all
played a considerable part in the history of their times. Like
their father, they were gallant knights and good fighters, but not
especially capable statesmen; all the children inherited literary
tastes from their parents.

The first-born son was naturally the most notable of all
the children; as the heir to the throne his birth was especially wel-
comed and his career was an object of peculiar interest to the whole
nation. It was two years after her marriage, when Philippa was in
her sixteenth year, that she gave birth to her first child, Prince
Edward, at Woodstock (June 15, 1330).\footnote{Eulogium Historiarum, III, 200.} He was of course considered
a particularly promising infant, and indeed he did grow up to be one
of the most capable of the Plantagenets, though his career was un-
fortunately cut short before he came to the throne.

Philippa seems to have cared for his education, providing
for him as tutor a certain Doctor Walter Burley of Merton College,
Oxford. This scholar had studied at Paris under the famous Duns Scotus, and also had traveled and studied in Germany. He is said to have had conspicuous attainments; Philippa and her family heard of him while he was on the Continent and he was appointed Philippa's almoner before she left Hainaut for England. It is fair therefore to infer that Prince Edward had the advantages of an unusually good education.

When three years old, he was given the title and assigned lands as Earl of Chester; when seven, he was given the highest rank in the kingdom (under the king himself) when he was created Duke of Cornwall; at thirteen he was made Prince of Wales. He was early given the training best suited to his future needs; he no doubt spent a large part of his time at exercises of a military nature, for at an early age he became a skilful fighter. He was only fifteen when he first went with his father to the battlefield on the Continent and there won his spurs as a knight. From this time forth he was almost constantly engaged in war; and he proved to be a valiant warrior and a very capable general.

Froissart tells an interesting story of the battle of L'Espagnols-sur-Mer, a naval battle fought with the Spanish fleet off the coast of Winchelsea in 1350. Prince Edward and his younger brother John were together on one of the English ships, which was grappled with and severely disabled by a Spanish vessel. Henry of Lancaster came to the rescue in time to turn the scale against the Spaniards, so that the young princes and their men were able to

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2 Rot. Parl., III, 163.
board the enemy's ship just before their own went down. During this fight Philippa and her retinue were at a religious house so near the coast as to be almost within sight of the fleet. One may easily imagine her anxiety as she waited to learn the fate of her husband and two young sons. When the battle was over, Edward hastened to the queen to tell her of the outcome and assure her of the safety of himself and the princes; and the victory was then celebrated with great revelry.¹

In 1355 Prince Edward was given command of a considerable army and sent to conduct a campaign in Aquitaine as the king's lieutenant. He justified the trust placed in him by winning one of the most brilliant victories over the French of the whole war, - the famous battle of Poictiers. It was on this occasion that King John was taken prisoner; we have already mentioned his captivity in England and Philippa's interest in him. This achievement won the crown prince enormous popularity, and focused on him the attention and affections of the nation.²

Gradually Edward gave him a greater share in the government; in 1362 he granted him all his dominions in Aquitaine and Gascony for liege homage and a nominal annual payment. The prince immediately prepared to go to France. He was at the time living at Berkhamstead and here he entertained the king and queen, who came to pay him a farewell visit. This occasion was the last time Philippa ever saw her eldest son, for he did not return to England until after her death in 1369.

¹ Oeuvres, Ia.
² For a glowing eulogy of the prince, see Knighton, II, 124.
For seven years he lived in Aquitaine, but in spite of his popularity in England his rule was not at all well liked by the Gascon nobles and was in fact far from successful. It is probable that only a most extraordinary man could have done any better, however, so great were the difficulties to be encountered in ruling the French possessions of the English king.

In 1367, Prince Edward led an expedition into Spain which proved his undoing. He not only wasted his army and resources in a profitless venture, but himself contracted a disease which rapidly undermined his health and obliged him to give up his position in Aquitaine and retire from active military life. He returned to England soon after his mother's death and lived there quietly until his own death in 1376. His popularity with the people gave him considerable influence in politics, and he was regarded as the head of the party which opposed the corruption of the circle who controlled Edward III in the last few disgraceful years of his reign.

The Black Prince, as he was popularly called, was not married until he was thirty-one years old, - a late age, indeed, for that time.1 When he was only one year old his father had begun negotiations for a marriage between him and a daughter of the King of France, but the affair came to nothing.2 A few years later, when war with France was imminent, Edward III made an effort to win to his side John, Duke of Brabant, by a marriage between the Prince and Marguerite, one of John's daughters. Negotiations were begun in 1337, - by 1340 the dowry had been agreed upon and the only ob-

1 Foedera, IV, 494.
2 Ibid., V, 41, 181.
stacle to the marriage was the procuration of a papal dispensation, made necessary by the consanguinity of the pair. Ordinarily such dispensations were procured easily enough, but this particular match would form an alliance of great advantage to England and of corresponding disadvantage to France, and hence was extremely unpalatable to the pope, who was notoriously partial to the interests of the French king. Accordingly, in spite of all Edward could do, the dispensation was not to be procured, and the arrangements for the marriage had to be cancelled. Soon afterwards, a new project was developed for a marriage of the prince with a daughter of the King of Portugal; but this too was presently dropped, after 1347.

By this time Prince Edward was launched on his military career, and we find no plans for his marriage until after the peace of 1360. It is rather hard to account for Edward III's apparent lack of interest in the marriage of his eldest son; Froissart says that the prince himself made the choice and that his father did not even know of the affair. The lady was Joan, Countess of Kent, the daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, the brother of Edward II. Her father was executed (by Roger Mortimer's contrivance) when Joan was only seven years old. Philippa took pity on her and took the child into her custody. Joan "was in her time the fairest lady in all the realm of England, and the most lovely;" the match brought no foreign alliance but did give Edward control of the valuable estates of the Count of Kent. There was a rumor that Philippa rather op-

1 Foedera, V, 448.
2 Ibid., V, 482, 573.
3 Œuvres, V, 275.
posed the love-match of her eldest son with the "fair maid of Kent," probably because of a scandal which had been at one time connected with her name.¹

The son of the marriage succeeded his grandfather as king in 1377. The unfortunate reign of Richard II makes it seem a great pity indeed that the Black Prince wore himself out in rather profitless campaigns, and that the most competent and statesmanlike son of Edward III and Philippa never came to the throne of England.

The princess Isabella was born two years after the Black Prince; two years later Philippa gave birth to another daughter, Joanna. The problem of marrying these princesses was a serious one, and Philippa no doubt took a keen interest in it.

At one time negotiations were opened for the marriage of one or the other of the princesses to the Prince of Majorcas; at another time to a son of the ruling house of Austria. In the end, however, nothing came of the negotiations, though it is uncertain just why.²

In 1338, Edward began to negotiate for a marriage between Isabella and Louis, son of the Count of Flanders. The marriage of Edward and Philippa had showed the advantages of a marriage alliance with the Low Countries; the war with France made it more important than ever for England to keep on good terms with the Netherlands. The difficulty in this particular matter was the fact that the Count of Flanders and his son were loyal to France, while their rebellious subjects desired a close alliance with England. Accordingly the

¹ *Oeuvres*, II, 243.
² *Foedera*, V, 298; IV, 648, 809.
project languished. In 1344, in the hope of another Netherlandish alliance, an effort was made to obtain a papal dispensation for the marriage of Isabella to a son of the Duke of Brabant, but this was refused by the pope just as had been the petition for the marriage of Prince Edward to Marguerite of Brabant. ¹

About 1347, Edward III's attention was again directed to the match with Louis of Flanders. The young man had succeeded to the countship now, as his father had perished fighting the English at Crécy. Louis was wholly French in his sympathies, and absolutely refused to marry the daughter of Edward, whom he regarded as his father's murderer. The Flemings, in order to bring him to reason, finally put their count in confinement, never allowing him to go about except under close guard. Unable to escape, Louis pretended to be reconciled. A conference was held at Bergus, at which Louis met Edward and Philippa, who came thither from Calais, bringing Isabella with them. Arrangements were definitely made for the marriage, - the dowry was assigned, Louis promised solemnly to marry Isabella within a few weeks, and the Count and Edward swore to "great amities". Then Count Louis went back to his confinement and Edward, Philippa, and Isabella returned to Calais to make preparations for the wedding. Louis seemed so well content that the Flemings relaxed somewhat the vigilance of their guard over him. Accordingly, the very week that the wedding was to have taken place, Louis succeeded in eluding his guards while out hawking; he reached the French court in safety and soon married Margaret of Brabant. ²

¹ Foedera, V, 434.
² Chronicles of Froissart, Berners' Transl., I, 317.
Naturally Edward and Philippa were deeply chagrined, but nothing could be done about the matter; Isabella probably became easily resigned to the loss of a bridegroom who had to be kept, as it were, under lock and key.

In 1351 a marriage was all arranged for Isabella with Bernard, son and heir of the Lord of Albret, but for some reason it never took place. It is possible that the difficulty was financial, for Edward had had to agree to settle a large dowry on his daughter, and to provide in addition an annuity of a thousand marks.¹

It is curious indeed that Isabella was not actually married until 1365. Her husband was Ingerram or Engerrand de Coucy, a French lord living in England as a hostage. He was an accomplished courtier and won the favor of the king and queen by his interesting personality.² He came of an old and honourable family, though it was not especially powerful. His marriage to the English princess did not attach him to Edward III's cause, but it did make him unwilling to serve against the English, and he went to Italy to avoid having to fight in the French king's service. Isabella stayed in England during his absence, and was probably with her mother when the latter died. She herself lived only ten years longer, dying in 1379. Isabella seems to have been a favorite with her mother, like her she was interested in literature and took much pleasure in encouraging the efforts of Froissart and other poets at the court. One can imagine that the lord of Coucy found favor with her as well as with her father and mother principally because of his literary

¹ *Foedera*, V, 702.
² *Oeuvres*, Ia, 82.
tastes, for he came of a family that "loved letters almost as much as glory." ¹

The Princess Joanna has a rather tragic history. It was at one time proposed to marry her to the son of the Duke of Austria; this match would perhaps have materialized had not a more favorable one presented itself, - namely, a marriage to the eldest son of Peter, King of Castile. Castile was a state of considerable importance, and one whose friendship was well worth having. The negotiations for the marriage were extremely long drawn out, one cause for delay apparently being Edward's reluctance and inability to pay a large dowry.² An interesting side-light is thrown on the state of morals in society at that period by the fact that at the same time at which Edward wrote to the king of Castile urging the marriage, he also wrote separately to the queen and to the king's mistress, asking each to use her influence in favor of the match. As a special mark of attention and favor to the mistress of the king, Edward offered to take one of her sons into the service of the Prince of Wales.³

At length, in 1348, the marriage treaty was completed, and it was arranged that Joanna, with a suitable retinue, should go to Bayonne, in Gascony, and there meet her future husband. Some delay was caused by the difficulty of getting together the necessary ships and provisions, because of the rascality of the men who were put in charge, but Joanna's expedition finally set forth in the summer of 1348.⁴ This was the year of the first visit of the Black Death, it

¹ Oeuvres, Ia, 83.
² Foed., V, 461.
³ Foed., V, 606.
⁴ Foed., V, 604, 615.
will be remembered; the young princess fell a victim to the plague soon after reaching Gascony, and before the marriage had been solemnized.

Joanna cannot have known very much of her mother; during most of Philippa's stay abroad the young princess was left in the custody of Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, a kindly and pious kinswoman of Edward III who seems to have taken tender care of Joanna. One cannot suppose that her whole family were so inhuman as not to be profoundly grieved at the death of the fifteen-year-old princess, dying on the eve of her wedding and far away from her home.

Another of Philippa's children came to an untimely end in a strange land whither he had gone for his marriage. This was Lionel, born in 1338 while Philippa was staying at Antwerp, and therefore commonly called Lionel of Antwerp. From the time this prince was three years old, Edward III made plans to marry him to Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of William de Burgh, Lord of Connaught and Earl of Ulster, and in the king's ward by reason of the death of her father. Lionel was created Earl of Ulster in 1347, and Elizabeth's estates were thenceforth managed in his name. The actual marriage did not take place until 1352, when Lionel was fourteen and Elizabeth twenty.

Lionel was a handsome man, and, like his father and brothers, was an accomplished knight, although his military exploits were not nearly so distinguished as Prince Edward's. In 1361 he went to Ireland as governor, in hopes that he might reduce that wild country to a more orderly condition and might gain better control of the Ulster estates. But the task required almost superhuman ability,

\[1\] Foedera, V, 247.
and Lionel's efforts, though determined and not wholly ineffective, fell far short of success. His wife died in 1362, leaving an infant daughter. Four years later he had become so discouraged with his government in Ireland that he resigned and returned to England for good.\(^1\) Soon negotiations were opened which resulted in a treaty of marriage between him and Violanta, daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan.\(^2\) The latter was immensely wealthy; ambitious for social position, he is said to have made it a policy to "buy the best blood in Europe at auction."\(^3\) Certain it is that Violanta brought Lionel an enormous dowry. In 1368 Lionel set out for Milan with a magnificent retinue of 457 men and 1,280 horses;\(^4\) he proceeded by way of Paris, Sens, and Chambéry, being lavishly entertained and feted on the way. The wedding at Milan was a fitting climax to the splendor of his journey; its elaborate festivities lasted for several months. The marriage took place in the late spring; in October Lionel fell ill and died suddenly. There was a rumor of poisoning, which Froissart, who was in Lionel's company, seems to have believed to be true.\(^5\) But Professor Tout, from a study of the Milanese Chronicles, considers that there was no foundation to such suspicions.\(^6\)

Lionel may or may not have had an intelligent appreciation

\(^1\) Eulogium Historiarum, III, 241.
\(^2\) Foedera, VI, 509, 542, 589.
\(^3\) Oeuvres, II, 160, n.
\(^4\) Foedera, VI, 590.
\(^5\) Oeuvres, VII, 257.
of literature, but he at least had unusual opportunities for enjoying the society of poets. It was through service in Lionel's household that Chaucer first came to the notice of the court proper; Froissart and Chaucer went with him to Milan, and at the latter place he had an opportunity to meet the famous Italian Petrarch. ¹

Philippa's fourth son occupies the most prominent place in the history of his times of any of her children, but as the period of his greatest activity came after the death of his mother, we shall only scantily outline his career.

John was born at Ghent in 1340, hence he was known by the surname, John "of Gaunt". As has already been mentioned, Edward III was in England at the time of John's birth, and Philippa was staying at the monastery of St. Bavon in Ghent. The child was provided for by being invested with the earldom of Richmond, in the custody of his mother. Like his brothers, John's military career began at an early age; like them, he was a brave fighter and a gallant knight. However, the most important factor in his career was his marriage, in 1359, to his cousin, Blanche of Lancaster. Within three years after the marriage the death of her father and older sister made Blanche sole heiress of the enormous Lancastrian estates, scattered throughout England. John, in his wife's right, took all her father's titles, and was advanced, further, to the rank of Duke of Lancaster. Thus he became the greatest feudal lord under the crown of England.

John seems to have been Philippa's favorite son, and Blanche her favorite daughter-in-law. ² The Duchess Blanche was a

¹ *Foedera*, V, 348.
² *Oeuvres*, XVII, Accounts of Philippa's death.
charming woman, beloved by all who knew her; she has been especially
commemorated by Chaucer in his "Booke of the Duchess". Philippa
and her daughter-in-law had many tastes in common; curiously enough,
these "two noblest ladies in all England" died within the same year;
their death caused sincere sorrow to the Duke of Lancaster.

After 1369, John became a leading figure in politics. The
death of his older brothers presently made him second in order of
succession to the crown, and ugly rumors began to be circulated to
the effect that John was aiming to take the crown from Richard,
Edward's son. About 1376 a curious story came into vogue; to the
effect that John of Gaunt was a changeling.¹ It was claimed that
the Bishop of Winchester had received a confession from Philippa
when the latter was on her death-bed, in which the queen had said
that she had accidentally smothered the child she had given birth to
at Ghent. Knowing the king would be angry, she had substituted the
infant of a Flemish woman. The deception had been successful,-
Edward had not seen the child until some time afterwards, and no one
had ever suspected the exchange. Philippa accordingly charged the
bishop never to reveal the secret unless the changeling should be-
come likely to succeed to the throne. The story is almost patently
a fiction concocted for political purposes, but like many a tale
still more wild, it found numbers of people to believe it.

John's patronage of learning is more conspicuous than that
of any of his brothers or sisters. His most famous protégés were
Geoffrey Chaucer and John Wycliffe. He "made and created" Chaucer
in almost the same sense that Philippa had Froissart; his protection

¹ Oeuvres, XXII, 34.
of Wycliffe was largely involved with politics. John, further, was active in encouraging scholars at Oxford and at Cambridge, and is said to have been still more interested in endowing and supporting religious houses.¹

Though in his lifetime John of Gaunt made many enemies, modern historians are beginning to judge him more leniently than many of his contemporaries did. In spite of strong temptation he probably was not guilty of treasonable designs; though able, he was not at all a great statesman. Though never himself king, his descendants ruled for many generations on the thrones of Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal; one line of his descendants gave to England her Lancastrian kings, another the Tudors, and the Stuarts; and thus the present king of England can trace his lineage back directly to John of Gaunt.

Probably the least competent of all Philippa's family was Edmund of Langley, the fifth son, born in 1341. He was handsome and a good sportsman, but apparently quite lacking in ambition or capacity for politics.

Edmund narrowly missed making a marriage which would have given him more prominence in history. Arrangements were at one time practically complete for a match between Edmund and Margaret of Burgundy, at the time the most important heiress on the Continent. But as on other occasions, the French king and the French pope saw the advantages to England of the marriage alliance, and accordingly the pope refused the necessary dispensation and broke up the match.²

¹ Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt, p. 415.
² Armitage-Smith, p. 25; Foedera, VI, 445.
Later Edmund married a daughter of the King of Castile. He was created the first Duke of York.

Philippa's youngest son, Thomas, was born at Woodstock just twenty-five years after the birth of Prince Edward in the same place. He was therefore only fourteen years old when his mother died; Froissart notes that he was at his mother's bed-side when she died. He was not at all an admirable character; he played a rather prominent part in politics in the reign of Richard II, and was finally put to death under a charge of treason.

After the extinction of the Black Prince's line, the descendants of Edward III and Philippa were grouped in two branches: the House of York, formed by the intermarriage of Edmund's line with that descended from Lionel (the Mortimer line); and the House of Lancaster, descended from John of Gaunt. It was these two groups who fought each other so desperately in the Wars of the Roses.

By way of summary we may say that only Edward and John of Gaunt showed conspicuous ability, among Philippa's children. The problem of marriage settlements for so many children was an absorbing one and one in which Philippa was no doubt particularly interested. In the end none of the children made especially desirable foreign alliances, but the marriages of several brought a number of the largest feudatories of England into more direct relation to the crown.

It is impossible to find evidence illustrative of Philippa's share in the rearing of her family. Her influence seems most clearly shown in the literary tastes which were displayed by all the children. It was an interesting family, though not a family of really great characters.
Chapter V

The Death of Philippa

Some one has remarked that Philippa was "felix opportunitate mortis," - happy in the occasion of her death. It is true that the gentle and high-minded queen was spared the eight years which witnessed the inglorious end of Edward III's reign; it might be possible to argue that the removal of his wife's good influence was one of the chief causes of the king's deterioration. It is more probable, however, that even before her death her husband's dotage was beginning, and with it his connection with the notorious Alice Perrers, one of Philippa's own ladies-in-waiting. Perhaps mental stress aggravated the lingering illness of three years' duration which finally resulted in the queen's death, August 15, 1369. This was the year of the third visitation of the great plague, but I can find no evidence that it was the cause of Philippa's death. ¹

To me there is much that is pathetic in Froissart's account of Philippa's last days. For all that she had led such an active life, and "done so many good deeds and succored so many knights and damsels," she was almost alone at the end. Only a short time before, she had received news of Lionel's tragic death in Italy; Edward, John, and Edmund were all fighting in France. It is possible that Isabella was with her mother, but Froissart in his impressive relation only states that the youngest son, Thomas, was at Philippa's bedside. And finally, Edward himself had almost certainly become rather estranged from his faithful and devoted wife by reason of his

¹ Oeuvres, VII, 429, ff. Froissart was not an eye-witness.
incipient infatuation for Alice Perrers.

Realizing that her end was near, Philippa sent a special request to Edward to come to her. "Right sorrowful in his heart," the king came. The queen then put forth her right hand and clasped his, entreating him to grant her three last desires. Edward was touched, and, weeping, told her to ask what she would. Accordingly she besought him first of all to pay all the debts she owed in England or abroad; further, to fulfill all the promises she had made to any churches or religious houses; and lastly she requested that when the king came to die he would arrange to be buried beside her in Westminster.

"And then," says Froissart, "she yielded up her spirit, which I believe the angels surely welcomed with great rejoicing in heaven, for in all her life she never did or thought anything whereby she might lose her soul."

The news spread quickly, and everywhere the good queen's death was sincerely mourned; John, Duke of Lancaster, was especially sorrowful.

Edward III seemed to wish to atone for any injury he might have done his wife, by unusually elaborate funeral rites; he spared no expense in having her remains entombed in Westminster.¹ And then he seems to have tried to forget Philippa in his passion for Alice Perrers; and the contrast between the two women made the English nation cherish all the more affectionately the memory of Philippa the Good.

Not the greatest, not even the most beautiful, she was none

¹ Chronicon Angliae, p. 64.
the less one of the most gracious and best beloved of all the queens who have sat on the throne of England.
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