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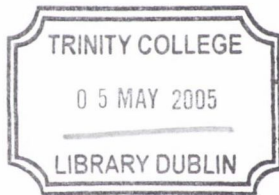
**The mendicant orders and the wars of Ireland,
Scotland and Wales, 1230-1415**

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

Niav Gallagher

Trinity College Dublin

March, 2005



THESIS

Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis is entirely my own work and that it has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at the University of Dublin or at any other university.

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Niav Gallagher

Summary

This thesis is a study of the involvement of the mendicant orders in the wars of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, with particular reference to the Franciscan order. Drawing on a wide range of primary and secondary sources, it seeks to examine how the friars became politicised during the wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The research is organized into five chapters and an epilogue, which have been ordered both thematically and chronologically – a dual approach necessitated by the nature of the material, which spans three countries and almost two hundred years. The first two chapters are thematic, outlining the arrival and spread of the Franciscan friars and the reception they received from the native populations, as well as the established religious and clergy. Chapter Two, especially, seeks to establish a wider European context for the political activities of the friars across the British Isles to allow for greater comparisons to be drawn between continental friars and their Irish, Scottish and Welsh brethren. The following three chapters are chronological, dealing with Edward I's conquest of Wales, the Anglo-Scottish wars of 1296-1329 and the Bruce invasion of Ireland. The final chapter, or epilogue, seeks to conclude my study of the Franciscan order in the British Isles by drawing together almost a century of diverse events and how they affected the friars. This thesis is not intended to re-write the history of England's relationship with Ireland, Scotland and Wales during the period under consideration. Rather, it seeks to determine the extent to which each province came to reflect the nature of the society in which it existed as the friars became increasingly involved in the politics of the period. To this end I have drawn upon the research of many eminent historians to contextualise my findings regarding the activities of the friars.

Many of the studies relating to this period have been confined to either the political or ecclesiastical arena. They also choose to treat the individual countries of the British Isles in an unconnected fashion. This study is intended to redress the balance, using the involvement of the Franciscan friars in Ireland, Scotland and Wales to study political events on either side of the Irish Sea. By examining the actions of diverse nationalities belonging to a single order I hope to establish why the friars saw fit to involve themselves in either the native or royalist causes, and to establish if it was purely race that determined their actions when their countrymen went to war.

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Over the course of my research I have incurred many debts of gratitude. Above all I owe heartfelt thanks to my supervisor, Dr Séan Duffy, of the Medieval History Department, Trinity College Dublin. His support, generosity and meticulous supervision have been invaluable and I have benefited greatly from his knowledge and enthusiasm. I would also like to thank Profs Meek and Barry, and Dr Simms for their encouragement, advice and support. I would also like to thank the librarians of the various institutions in which I have been privileged to work. A special mention must go to Fr Tom Weinandy OFM, keeper of A. G. Little's library at Greyfriars College, Oxford. Access to this immense collection of Franciscan documents and research hugely influenced the direction of my thesis. In addition I would like to thank Fr Ignatius Fennessy OFM, keeper of the Franciscan library at Dún Mhuire, Killiney, Co. Dublin, for giving me access to the large volume of material maintained there. I am also greatly indebted to Dr Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB, for allowing me access to all his research regarding the Franciscans. His help and encouragement has helped me to avoid some serious pitfalls in my research. My thanks as well to Professor J. R. S. Phillips for his helpful comments regarding the Remonstrance. I am also very grateful to Dr Bernadette Williams for providing me with access to her research as yet unpublished, regarding John Clyn and his annals of Ireland. Her insight and advice has proved invaluable over the course of my research. In addition I would like to thank Dr Annette Kehnel who conducted research into the Franciscans at Greyfriars College, Oxford. We have exchanged information over the past few years from which I have certainly benefited more. My thanks also to Dr Paul Dryburgh for sending me a copy of his unpublished thesis and Dr David Green for his constructive comments regarding my final chapter. I would also like to thank the staff of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the Bodleian Library, the National Library of Ireland and University College Dublin.

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Introduction

This study examines the mendicant orders and all aspects of their involvement in the wars of Ireland, Scotland and Wales from circa 1230 to 1415. In particular it seeks to highlight the political activities of the friars throughout the period, analysing the role played by them as mediators and diplomats, fomenters and preachers of rebellion. The politicisation of the friars was a gradual process, something that the chronological approach taken by this thesis demonstrates. When Edward I went to war with Wales in the 1280s, the friars there maintained their neutrality to a great extent; yet by the early decades of the fourteenth century both Scottish and Irish friars were more likely to side with the native cause than to seek the middle ground. Perhaps, as dealt with in the conclusion, this was the inevitable outcome of more than a century living among the poorest sections of society.

An initial proposal to examine the activities of the Friars Minor (Franciscans) only, was modified when it became apparent that it was neither practical nor desirable to exclude the other mendicant orders – especially the Dominicans – or even members of the monastic orders. Nevertheless, the research undertaken reinforces the impression that the Franciscans in fact were the most active mendicant order on either side of the political divide in the countries in question. Other mendicant and religious orders were more - or less - involved at certain times, but the Franciscans were the most consistently cited in contemporary accounts when all three countries were considered. Therefore, although the main thrust of this thesis is with regard to Franciscan activity, research for it has been expanded to include relevant information regarding any mendicant activity during the period under investigation and, where other orders were more prominent, the focus naturally shifts to these friars rather than the Franciscans.

A date circa 1230 has been chosen as the starting date for the investigation because this is the most probable date for the arrival of the Franciscans into Ireland, and because it is just one year before they crossed the Anglo-Scottish border and established a house at Berwick-on-Tweed. In Chapter One it was necessary to investigate the tradition that the Franciscans first entered Ireland in 1214 and, had the evidence presented itself, this would have been the logical date from which to

commence this study. However, as argued below, this earlier date is suspect, and most probably originates from later histories of the order conducted by Observant Franciscans in the seventeenth century, seeking to elevate the stature of their most important foundation at Youghal by naming it as the first house to be established in Ireland. The closing date of 1415 coincides with the conclusion of Owain Glyn Dŵr's rebellion in Wales, the church council at Constance and the rise of the Observant Franciscan reform, events which have been thoroughly researched by modern historians. This year is also a clear demarcation in the history of the Conventual Franciscans, since after this date they were largely insignificant in the political landscape of the British Isles.

Initially this study was to be restricted to the activities of the Franciscan friars during the Bruce invasion of Ireland but, on further examination, it became clear that a much broader study was possible. The friars were active on both sides of the political spectrum during Edward Bruce's war with the English in Ireland, but such a war could never have taken place without England's war with Scotland. Thus it became necessary to investigate Franciscan activity in Scotland during the same period – were the friars supportive of Robert Bruce and his claims to the throne? Or did they also divide along racial lines as did their confreres in Ireland? Since the Anglo-Scottish conflict of the fourteenth century had its roots in the succession crisis of the early 1290s the time-line was further pushed back to Edward I's ambitions towards the Scottish throne. Again, this could have been taken as the logical point at which to commence an investigation but English intervention in Scotland naturally begged the question regarding Wales. If Irish and Scottish friars behaved in a certain way, then how did their Welsh confreres react to the Edwardian conquest of Wales? The inclusion of all three countries in the study, therefore, is not an attempt to force an unnecessary template upon the behaviour of the friars in Ireland, Scotland and Wales; it is, rather, the practical outcome of the research. Although comparative histories of these three countries are still treated with caution by certain modern commentators, the very nature of the Franciscan order in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries allows such an investigation to make reasonable conclusions without a need to force the evidence. In dealing with three of the countries of the British Isles, the next logical question is why not extend the study to include England? The reasons for its exclusion from the title of the thesis are threefold.

Firstly, a study of the Franciscans in England would be a thesis in and of itself. The extent of the evidence available would have required that the greater part of the thesis be given to England exclusively and this would have changed fundamentally the nature of the inquiry intended. Secondly, England is included by proxy. Since this work examines the interaction of the so-called ‘Celtic’ countries with England, it seemed unnecessary to provide for it in the title. Finally, the native English friars, to a great extent, did not mirror the behaviour of their confreres in Ireland, Scotland and Wales and so it would have been presenting a false impression were England to be included in the title.

The medieval friar was by necessity a flexible individual, with responsibilities to both crown and papacy. Despite St Francis’s humble aspirations for his order, by the middle of the thirteenth century friars were engaged as politicians and administrators, confessors and bishops, mediators and diplomats.¹ By virtue of their itinerancy, they were able to travel freely in the cause of king or pope and both made equal use of their diplomatic skills and freedom from diocesan authority. The friars had other skills that made them highly sought after. They were literate and able preachers, whose sermons were well attended wherever they travelled, and they enjoyed popularity throughout the British Isles. Almost from the time of their arrival in England in the 1220s the friars were integral to the diplomatic activities of the English crown and later in the thirteenth century their role was clarified when Edward I embarked upon his frenetic wars. The political histories of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales have been individually subject to exhaustive research and successive re-tellings. In more recent times, historians such as R. R. Davies, Robin Frame and Seán Duffy have bridged the historical divide and dealt with the British Isles as a whole: not by imposing historical parallels where there are none, but by carefully reconstructing the links that were apparent to the medieval world but

¹ See Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, crusader king of France* (Cambridge, 1983); Michael Jones, ‘The last Capetian and early Valois kings, 1314-1364’, in Michael Jones (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 2000), vi, 388-421; André Vauchez, ‘The religious orders’ in David Abulafia (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1999), v, 220-253; Carol Lansing, *Power and purity, Cathar Heresy in medieval Italy* (Oxford, 1998); D. L. D’Avray, *The preaching of the friars, sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985); Robert E. Lerner, ‘Writing and resistance among Beguines of Languedoc and Catalonia’ in Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (ed.), *Heresy and Literacy 1000-1530* (Cambridge, 1994), pp 186-204; Augustine Thompson, *Revival preachers and politics in thirteenth-century Italy* (Oxford, 1992) for the Franciscans on the Continent and their relationship with European kings etc.

have slipped away through the intervening years. In a similar fashion, the history of the Franciscan order has been written many times. However, such research divides into two categories: broad and sweeping discussions of the order as a whole throughout Europe, and narrow investigations of the order in just one country. Of the latter category, there are several books that treat of the history of the Franciscan order in Ireland, just one on the history of the order in Scotland and none concerning Wales. This thesis is an attempt to merge these separate areas of research: to provide a political context within which to investigate Franciscan activity across three countries in a defined time-period. Existing discussions of the Bruce invasion of Ireland make reference to the political activities of the friars, and especially the Franciscans, during the period. In a similar fashion, political histories of Scotland and Wales also make passing reference to the friars' involvement in the wars of those countries. Although it is taken for granted that the friars were active during this period, thus far no study has been undertaken devoted entirely to placing the mendicant orders within the wider political sphere. This thesis attempts to redress this balance. It is not concerned with re-analysing the histories of Ireland, Scotland and Wales but with examining the actions of the friars, and especially the Franciscans, during the prolonged periods of war in each country. Such a broad historical scope is rarely attempted, and with good reason. To bridge the divide between religious and political history requires a wider reading and a broader understanding of the subject than taking either in isolation. Similarly, the histories of three countries over two centuries requires a far greater understanding of the medieval world and its inter-connected nature than would the history of any single country. To investigate the political engagement of the Franciscan order from their arrival in the British Isles, I have had to incorporate a much wider spectrum of research than either a religious or political history would have required.

The mendicant constitution of the Franciscan order means that very little contemporary documentary evidence is now extant for the modern historian. Although in later years the Franciscan ideal of total poverty became subverted, friaries still kept few records by comparison with their monastic brethren. It is therefore nearly impossible to re-construct the day-to-day activities of a given friary. To undertake this research therefore, it was necessary to rely, not merely upon contemporary mendicant accounts, but governmental records and monastic annals.

For the history of the Franciscan order in the British Isles, modern historians are fortunate in that there are three annalistic accounts written by Franciscans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thomas of Eccleston was the first of these to chronicle the arrival and spread of the order in England and his work, entitled ‘De adventu Fratrum Minorum’ has been printed in J. S. Brewer’s compilation of Franciscan records known as *Monumenta Franciscana*.² Although this chronicle concentrates on the activities of the Franciscan order in England, it provides a useful template for the spread of the order into Ireland and Scotland, if not Wales. For a contemporary account of the order in Scotland, the *Chronicon de Lanercost* provides invaluable information for the years 1200 to 1346.³ According to A. G. Little, it was written by two Franciscans, despite its presence in the Augustinian priory of Lanercost.⁴ The first of these, according to Little, was probably Richard of Durham, a friar in the northern custody of Newcastle who seems to have resided in their Scottish house at Berwick for a period of time.⁵ He tentatively suggests that this friar may have been Richard de Sleckburn who was employed by Devorgilla, wife of John Balliol and a noblewoman of Scotland, to help establish Balliol College at Oxford circa 1284. The second author, however, remains unknown, resembling the first only in being ‘a Franciscan and a patriotic hater of the Scots.’⁶ The obvious hostility demonstrated by both authors towards the Scots illustrates one of the problems inherent to such a historical source. There is very little extant evidence that can either support or challenge events as recorded in the Lanercost chronicle, so it must be treated as a somewhat compromised source. Despite this, however, the chronicle does include what are obviously eyewitness accounts of the conflict between the English and the Scots and thus provides the modern historian with an important insight into the contemporary view of these events. The final relevant contemporary Franciscan annal for this period was written by the Irish friar, John Clyn. His account, written in the first half of the fourteenth century, is an important source for

² Thomas of Eccleston, ‘De adventu Fratrum Minorum’ in J. S. Brewer (ed.), *Monumenta Franciscana* (2 vols, London, 1858).

³ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Joseph Stephenson (Edinburgh, 1839). See also A.G. Little, *Chronicles of the mendicant friars*, given in a lecture presented at King’s College, London on 15 November 1921, and read at Grey Friars College, Oxford, pp 96-7. See also Antonia Gransden, *Historical writing in England, c. 550-1307* (2 vols, London, 1974, 1982), i, pp 494-501.

⁴ See Little, *op. cit.*, pp 96-7; Gransden, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

⁵ A. G. Little, *Chronicles of the mendicant friars*, given in a lecture presented at King’s College, London on 15 November 1921 and held in Little’s library at Grey Friars College, Oxford, pp 96-7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

political events but provides little information regarding the activities of his own order, and even less historical background for their arrival a century before. The annals end in 1349 (when it is generally presumed that the author was struck down by the Black Death) and are especially useful for events during the Bruce invasion and the repercussions for religious foundations and churches across the country. Despite the existence of these three Franciscan chronicles, there is no evidence of a chronicle-tradition existing within the order. Non-mendicant chronicles for Scotland include those by John of Fordun,⁷ Andrew of Wyntoun⁸ and Walter Bower,⁹ but because these authors wrote after Scottish independence had been won, their chronicles seek to represent the Scots in the most favourable light.¹⁰ These accounts, therefore, provide a counter-balance to the emphatically negative perspective provided by the Lanercost chroniclers.

Unfortunately, there are no contemporary mendicant chronicles for Wales and information gleaned for the activities of the Franciscans there comes from royal and papal correspondence, and governmental records.¹¹ Of particular relevance for the Edwardian conquest of Wales - and the part played by the friars - is Archbishop John Peckham's register.¹² Peckham, himself a Franciscan, relied heavily on friars to represent the English crown at the peace negotiations involving Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in the build-up to war in 1282.¹³ His register provides the modern historian with a valuable insight into the friars involved, and their attempts to prevent war. When his register is considered in conjunction with the correspondence contained in the collection known as *Littere Wallie* and the *Calendar of ancient correspondence*

⁷ John of Fordun, *Chronicle of the Scottish nation*, ed. William F. Skene (2 vols, Originally published Edinburgh, 1872; reprinted Dyfed, 1993).

⁸ Andrew of Wyntoun, *The orygyne chronykil of Scotland*, ed. D. Laing (3 vols, 1872-79).

⁹ Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D.E.R. Watt (9 vols, Aberdeen, 1990-8).

¹⁰ Contemporary English chroniclers such as Nicholas Trivet and the Lanercost chronicler provide much information regarding the first Anglo-Scottish wars of a different sentiment to John of Fordun, Walter Bower and John Barbour's *The Bruce* provide a distinctly Scottish view of the events. See Nicholas Trivet, *Annales sex regum Angliae*, ed. Anthony Hall (Oxford, 1719); *Chronicon de Lanercost*; Fordun, *Chronicle of the Scottish nation*; Bower, *Scotichronicon*; John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997).

¹¹ *Cal Patent rolls, close rolls, fine rolls, chancery warrants, papal letters*, etc.

¹² *Registrum epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. C. Trice Martin (2 vols, London, 1882).

¹³ See Chapter Three.

concerning *Wales*, a fuller picture of Franciscan activity in Wales emerges, despite the absence of annalistic accounts.¹⁴

Because extant material relating to Franciscans in Wales is so scarce, modern writers have been forced to rely heavily on archaeological evidence and a large degree of speculation in an attempt to reconstruct the Franciscan experience in that country.¹⁵ By contrast Ireland has had a multitude of historians interested in the activities of the Franciscans there. Donagh Mooney, Francis Matthews and Luke Wadding compiled their histories in the seventeenth century and had access to much documentary evidence that has since been lost,¹⁶ while modern historians such as A. G. Little, E. B. Fitzmaurice, Canice Mooney and F. J. Cotter have built upon the work of their predecessors.¹⁷ For Scotland William Moir Bryce, although writing almost a hundred years ago, has compiled what is still the definitive secondary study of the Franciscan order in Scotland.¹⁸ Finally, for the history of the order throughout western Christendom the standard work remains that of R. M. Huber, drawing together documents from around Europe to provide the modern historian with access to all documented aspects of Franciscan life.¹⁹

Although the focus of this study is the activities of the Franciscan friars across the British Isles it must, by necessity, include a political framework in which to assess the impact of the friars. To facilitate this, several secondary works proved very useful. For the history of Wales I drew on the research of R. R. Davies²⁰ and Jenkin

¹⁴ *Littere Wallie*, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards (Cardiff, 1940); *Calendar of ancient correspondence concerning Wales*, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards (Cardiff, 1935).

¹⁵ For example see J. M. Cronin, *Cardiff Grey Friars 1280-1538* (Cardiff, 1924); Francis Jones, 'The Grey Friars of Carmarthen', *The Carmarthenshire Historian* (1966), iii, pp 7-35; Charles R. Hand, 'Llanfaes friary and its mystery monuments', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, iv (1934), 7th series, pp 125-88; Arthur Jones, 'The property of the Welsh friaries at the Dissolution', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, xci (1936), pp 30-50.

¹⁶ Brendan Jennings, 'Brussels MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus, de provincia Hiberniae S Francisci', *Analecta Hibernica*, vi (1934), pp 12-138; idem, 'Brevis synopsis provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum' in *ibid.*, pp 139-91; Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum* (32 vols, Florence, 1931).

¹⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*; Canice Mooney, *Racialism in the Franciscan order in Ireland, 1224-1700*, (PhD, University of Louvain, 1951); Cotter, *Friars Minor in Ireland*.

¹⁸ William Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1909).

¹⁹ Raphael M. Huber, *A documented history of the Franciscan order 1182-1517* (Washington, 1944).

²⁰ For example R. R. Davies, *Domination and conquest: the experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 1990); idem, 'Frontier arrangements in fragmented societies: Ireland and Wales' in Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (ed.), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989); idem, *The age of conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1987).

Beverly Smith.²¹ These two authors are among the most eminent in their field and provided thoroughly researched and reliable accounts of political events in Wales. This thesis was never intended to be a re-working of the history of Wales from the Edwardian Conquest to the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr since these two historians have covered this period so comprehensively. Instead I have relied upon their interpretation of political events in which to examine the activities of the Franciscans. William A. Hinnebusch²² has examined in detail Dominican involvement in English diplomatic affairs and so proved useful when considering their involvement, not just in Wales, but in Scotland also; while J. E. Lloyd's *History of Wales* is still a reference point for most modern Welsh historians.²³ Finally, David Knowles and R. N. Hadcock's collaboration regarding the religious foundations of England and Wales remains the cornerstone of any research regarding ecclesiastical history.²⁴ For the history of Scotland, the works of G. W. S Barrow and Ranald Nicholson²⁵ proved particularly useful for their analysis of the events surrounding the advent of the Anglo-Scottish wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while E. L. G. Stones and G. G. Simpson's collections of documents relating to Scotland are invaluable to the modern scholar.²⁶ In conjunction with these texts, I have relied on Alexander Grant and A. D. M. Barrell²⁷ to provide the political context in which to

²¹ J. Beverly Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd Prince of Wales* (Cardiff, 1998); 'Gruffydd Llywd and the Celtic alliance, 1315-18', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxvi (1976), pp 463-78; 'Edward II and the allegiance of Wales', *Welsh History Review*, viii (1976), pp 139-71; 'Welsh Dominicans and the crisis of 1277', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxii (1968), pp 353-7.

²² William A. Hinnebusch, 'Foreign Dominican students and professors at the Oxford Blackfriars', *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus*, (Oxford Historical Society, new series, xvi, 1964), pp101-134; 'Diplomatic activities of the English Dominicans in the thirteenth century', *The Catholic History Review*, xxviii (1942), no. 3, pp 309-39; *The early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951).

²³ J. E. Lloyd, *A history of Wales from the earliest times to the Edwardian Conquest* (London, 1939); idem, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1966).

²⁴ D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses England and Wales* (London, 1971).

²⁵ G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and unity, Scotland 1000-1306* (London, 1981); idem, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988); idem, 'Frontier and settlement: "Which influenced which? England and Scotland 1100-1300"' in Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (eds), *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp 3-23; Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages* (Edinburgh, 1974); idem, *Edward III and the Scots, the formative years of a military career 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965); idem, 'An Irish expedition to Scotland', *Irish Historical Studies*, xii (1962-3), pp 197-212; idem, 'A sequel to Edward Bruce's invasion', *Scottish Historical Review* xlii (1963), pp 30-40.

²⁶ E. L. G. Stones (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish relations, 1174-1328: some selected documents* (Oxford, 1965); Stones and Grant G. Simpson, *Edward I and the throne of Scotland 1290-1296* (Glasgow, 1978).

²⁷ *Independence and nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (London, 1984); idem, 'The middle ages: the defence of independence' in Rosalind Mitchison (ed.), *Why Scottish History Matters* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp 29-39; A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000); idem, *The papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378* (Cambridge, 1995).

examine any religious activity, while David Cowan and Ian B. Easson's research on medieval Scottish religious foundations is as valuable for the Scottish ecclesiastical historian as Knowles and Hadcock's work is for an English or Welsh perspective.²⁸ The Bruce invasion of Ireland has attracted much attention from historians in recent times. In particular, Robin Frame and James Lydon have contributed a large body of research regarding the Irish aspects of the period,²⁹ while Seán Duffy offers a pan-national perspective that examines events on either side of the Irish Sea and links them convincingly.³⁰ While these three historians offer a complete overview of the political aspects of the Bruce invasion, this thesis looks to examine its repercussions on the religious community, and in particular the Franciscan order, in Ireland. John Watt's research was especially helpful for teasing out the religious racial divisions that pre-dated Edward Bruce's invasion and how these were manifested. J. R. S. Phillips also contributed greatly to my understanding of the Remonstrance of the Irish princes and the possible authorship of this document.³¹ Finally, Aubrey Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock's book on Irish medieval religious foundations was an invaluable starting-point for all aspects of ecclesiastical research.³² For a wider European context, I have relied upon Daniel Waley³³, C. H. Lawrence,³⁴ Jean Richard,³⁵ Carol

²⁸ Ian B. Cowan and David Easson (ed.), *Medieval religious houses Scotland* (London, 1976).

²⁹ Robin Frame, *Ireland and Britain 1170 – 1450* (London, 1998); idem, 'Select documents XXXVII: the campaign against the Scots in Munster, 1317', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxiv (1984-5), pp 361-73; idem, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-18', *Irish Historical Studies*, xix (1974-5), pp 3-17; J. F. Lydon, 'Edward I, Ireland and the war in Scotland, 1303-4' in J. F. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972), pp 43-61; idem, 'The impact of the Bruce invasion, 1315-27' in *ibid.*, pp 275-302; idem, 'An Irish army in Scotland, 1296', *The Irish Sword*, v (1961-2), pp 184-90; idem, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland', *Historical Studies*, iv (1963), pp 111-125.

³⁰ Seán Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea region, 1014-1318* (PhD Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1993); idem, 'Medieval Scotland and Ireland: overcoming the amnesia', *History Ireland*, vii (1999), no. 3, pp 17-21; idem, 'The "Continuation" of Nicholas Trevet: a new source for the Bruce invasion' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xci (1991), section c, pp 303-15; idem, 'The Bruce brothers and the Irish Sea world', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, xxi (1991), pp 55-86; idem, 'The Bruce Invasion of Ireland: a revised itinerary and chronology' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *The Bruces Irish Wars, the invasions of Ireland 1306-1329* (Stroud, 2002), pp 9-44.

³¹ 'The mission of John de Hothum to Ireland, 1315-16' in J. F. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages: essays in honour of Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven* (Dublin, 1981), pp 62-86; idem, 'The Remonstrance revisited: England and Ireland in the early fourteenth century' in T. B. Fraser and Keith Jeffrey (eds), *Men, women and war: papers read before the XXth Irish conference of historians, held at Magee College, University of Ulster, 6-8 June 1991* (Dublin, 1993), pp 13-27; idem, comments regarding the Remonstrance in *Scotichronicon*, vi, pp xxi-xxiv.

³² Aubrey Gwynn and R. N. Hadcock (eds), *Medieval religious houses Ireland* (Dublin, 1988).

³³ Daniel Waley, *Later medieval Europe 1250-1520* (London, 2001).

³⁴ C. H. Lawrence, *The friars: the impact of the early mendicant movement on western society* (London, 1995).

³⁵ Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, crusader king of France* (Cambridge, 1983).

Lansing³⁶ and D. L. D'Avray,³⁷ among others, to gain an insight into the activities of the continental friars.

When organising such a large body of research, several methods of organisation suggested themselves. As I was dealing with almost two hundred years of history, three countries and four mendicant orders, it seemed logical to structure my research chronologically. As far as this has been possible, this is the approach that I have adopted. However, certain difficulties presented themselves. The very nature of the subject necessitated a broad introduction to the friars: there could be no discussion of their motivation and participation throughout the wars of the period without some understanding of their origins. I used Chapters One and Two, therefore, to discuss the friars - and especially the Franciscans - and how they were received and perceived upon their arrival in the British Isles. These chapters are, consequently, thematic rather than chronological in nature. The following three chapters, however, are chronological and examine Edward I's conquest of Wales, the Anglo-Scottish wars of 1296-1329 and the Bruce invasion of Ireland respectively. The final chapter, or Epilogue, presented something of a problem. Owain Glyn Dŵr's uprising in Wales certainly fitted the pattern of mendicant involvement in the wars of Ireland, Scotland and Wales and this alone seemed to necessitate its inclusion in this research project. However, since the rebellion did not take place until the end of the fourteenth century, I was obliged to provide a context for his rebellion and thus include events as diverse as the outbreak of the Black Death and the English Peasants' Revolt. The title 'Epilogue', therefore, alerts the reader to the intention of this chapter: it is not a comprehensive history of the fourteenth century, but rather an examination of the Franciscan order during a period of great upheaval across Europe placed within the context of a broadly sketched political framework. The explanation for the conclusion of this thesis with the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr is twofold. The first is for the reason cited above: he enjoyed widespread support amongst the religious of Wales, especially the Franciscans, and so his revolt makes for a logical inclusion in this thesis. The second reason for ending this thesis in 1415 is to do with events within the Franciscan order itself. After this date the internal divisions,

³⁶ Carol Lansing, *Power and purity, Cathar Heresy in medieval Italy* (Oxford, 1998).

³⁷ D. L. D'Avray, *The preaching of the friars, sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985)

present in the order almost from its inception, finally and conclusively split the order into two distinct branches: Conventual and Observant Franciscans. From this point onward the Conventual Franciscans had very little impact upon the political landscape of the British Isles, while their Observant brethren continued to thrive and expand. My research ends with the decline of the Conventuals and the rise of the Observants, a subject thoroughly investigated in an Irish context by Colmán Ó Clabaigh in his recent groundbreaking publication.³⁸

³⁸ See Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400-1534*, (Dublin, 2002), for his history of the Observant reform in Ireland.

Abbreviations

<i>Ancient correspondence</i>	<i>Calendar of ancient correspondence concerning Wales</i> , ed. J. Goronwy Edwards (Cardiff, 1935).
<i>Annals of Inisfallen</i>	<i>Annals of Inisfallen</i> , ed. Seán Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951).
‘Annales de Burton’	‘Annales de Burton AD 1004-1263’ in Henry R. Luard (ed.), <i>Annales Monastici</i> (London, 1964), i.
‘Annales de Osney’	‘Annales de Osney’ in Henry R. Luard (ed.), <i>Annales Monastici</i> (London, 1869), iv.
‘Annales prioratus de Dunstapalia’	‘Annales Prioratus de Dunstapalia, AD 1-1297’ in Henry R. Luard (ed.), <i>Annales Monastici</i> (London, 1866), iii.
‘Annales prioratus de Wygornia’	‘Annales prioratus de Wygornia, AD 1-1377’ in Henry R. Luard (ed.), <i>Annales Monastici</i> (5 vols, London, 1869), iv.
<i>Annals of Ulster</i>	<i>Annals of Ulster</i> , ed. Baratholomew MacCarthy (4 vols, Dublin, 1893).
Barrow, <i>Kingship and unity</i>	G. W. S. Barrow, <i>Kingship and unity, Scotland 1000-1306</i> (London, 1981).
Barrow, <i>Robert Bruce</i>	G. W. S. Barrow, <i>Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1988).
Beverley Smith, <i>Llywelyn ap Gruffudd</i>	J. Beverly Smith, <i>Llywelyn ap Gruffudd Prince of Wales</i> (Cardiff, 1998).
Bower, <i>Scotichronicon</i>	Walter Bower, <i>Scotichronicon</i> , ed. D.E.R. Watt (Aberdeen, 1990).
‘Brevis synopsis’	Brendan Jennings, ‘Brevis synopsis provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum’, <i>Analecta Hibernica</i> , vi (1934), pp 139-

‘Brussels MS 3947’

Brendan Jennings, ‘Brussels MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus, de provincia Hiberniae S Francisci’, *Analecta Hibernica*, vi (1934), pp 12-138.

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- Cal. papal letters* *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: papal letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893-).
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- Chancery warrants* *Calendar of chancery warrants, AD 1244-1326* (London, 1927).
- Chron. Lanercost* *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Joseph Stephenson (Edinburgh, 1839).
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Chapter One – The arrival of the Franciscans into Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

According to the thirteenth-century English chronicler, Thomas of Eccleston, the first Franciscan friars in the British Isles landed at Dover on 10 September 1224.¹ Within a few years, houses of the order had been established in most of the major towns of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, heralding a new period of reform in the established church and the beginning of the ascendancy of the mendicant orders over their monastic brethren. The foundation of the mendicant orders marked a divergence from the established religious orders in the Roman Church. Hitherto, those taking holy orders had been confined to a monastery or lived the solitary life of a hermit. The thirteenth century saw the establishment and spread of the Franciscan, Dominican, Carmelite and Augustinian friars into England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales and, with their arrival, a change in the ecclesiastical face of these countries. The secular church had become comfortable in its role as confessor, priest and preacher but now found that role threatened by these friars who enjoyed papal approval and popular support. The intention of this first chapter is to discuss briefly the church as it existed in those countries prior to the formation of the mendicant orders, before examining in detail the arrival and expansion of the mendicants.

The European church, through the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, had undergone a period of reform and the arrival of new monastic orders such as the Cistercians and the Augustinians helped to spread this reform.² These orders were seen as a revival of the old ascetic monasticism from a golden age of the church in the sixth and seventh centuries, and they flourished.³ However, by the end of the

¹ ‘Anno domini 1224, tempore domini Honorii papae, scilicet eodem anno quo confirmata est ab eo regula beati Francisci, anno domini regis Henrici, filii Johannis, octavo feria tertia post festum nativitatis Beatae Virginis, quod illo anno fuit die dominica, applicuerunt primo fratres Minores in Angliam apud Dovoriam...’. Thomas of Eccleston, ‘De adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam’ in J. S. Brewer (ed.), *Monumenta Franciscana* (2 vols, London, 1858), i, 1-2.

² For example see Gerd Tellenbach, *The church in western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century* (Cambridge, 1993); C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval monasticism: forms of religious life in western Europe in the Middle Ages* (2nd ed., London, 1993); C. N. L Brooke and W. Swan, *The monastic world, 1000-1300* (London, 1974).

³ J. Ryan, *Irish monasticism, its origins and early development* (London, 1931); R. Stalley, *Cistercian monasteries of Ireland* (London and New Haven, 1987); John Watt, *The Church in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972); Nancy Edwards and Alan Lane (ed.), *The early church in Wales and the West* (Oxford, 1992); Arthur J. Richard, ‘The religious houses of Glamorgan’, *Glamorgan Historian*, ii (1936), pp 61-75; Anthony Goodman, ‘Religion and warfare in the Anglo-Scottish marches’ in Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (ed.), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp 245-266; David

twelfth century they had fallen into disrepute, inevitably experiencing the corruption brought about by large land-holdings and wealthy patrons. The newly formed mendicant orders filled the vacuum left by these established monastic orders and they replaced them in the affections of the native populations across the British Isles. From their inception, the friars differed from their monastic predecessors in several ways. Their vow of poverty was not merely personal but institutional, and thus the friars did not own and therefore did not require formal foundations.⁴ By virtue of their mendicancy they were dependent upon the general populace for their support and so naturally they gravitated to the urban centres of England, and eventually those of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, rather than to solitary foundations chosen for their isolation from the material world. From their establishment they were in conflict with the established clergy because of their unique position in society. As friars they were attached to the order rather than to an individual house and so were free, in theory, of diocesan authority. Yet as religious they were granted preaching and confessional rights and, in many instances they were resented by the existing secular clergy and religious orders who viewed them as usurping their traditional rights.⁵

A detailed examination of the expansion of the four mendicant orders would be a substantial thesis in itself, and so the main focus of this chapter is the Franciscan order. I have chosen to concentrate mainly on this order rather than the Dominican, Carmelite or Augustinian friars because in the course of my research it was the Franciscans who proved to be the most involved in the affairs of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. As extant documentary sources are so scarce, much of the evidence for

Knowles, *The religious orders in England* (Cambridge, 1959); Janet Burton, *Monastic and religious orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994).

⁴ J. H. Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan order from its origins to the year 1517* (Oxford, 1968); Rosalind Brooke, *Early Franciscan government, Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge, 1959); E. B. Fitzmaurice and A.G. Little (ed.), *Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland 1230-1450* (Manchester, 1920); F. J. Cotter, *The Friars Minor in Ireland from their arrival to 1400*, ed. Roberta A. McKelvie (New York, 1994); Richard W. Emery, *The Friars in medieval France: a catalogue of French mendicant convents 1200-1550* (London, 1962); R. C. Easterling, 'The friars in Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, xiv (1914), 6th series, pp 323-57.

⁵ For contemporary complaints see for example Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard (7 vols, London, 1872-83); Bartholomew Cotton, *Historia Anglicana AD 449-1298*, ed. Henry R. Luard (London, 1859); 'Annales Prioratus de Wygornia, AD 1-1377' in Henry R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* (5 vols, London, 1869), iv; *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, ed. Thomas Arnold (London, 1892).

the history of the order is conflicting and disputed, and it is necessary therefore to treat with caution any definitive statement made by earlier historians.⁶

To provide a context in which to examine the impact of the mendicant orders, it is necessary briefly to examine the church structures that existed prior to their arrival. When looking at the pre-reform churches of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, there is a temptation to deal with them under the single heading of ‘Celtic’. An investigation as to whether such a term is legitimate or not is outside the remit of this thesis and has, in any case, been dealt with exhaustively by historians such as Kathleen Hughes, and Colmán Etchingham.⁷ Although the jurisdictional struggles that took place at the end of the eleventh and into the twelfth century might seem to have little impact on orders that would not be founded for another hundred years, the attempts by Canterbury and York to exercise primatial rights across the British Isles actually go some way towards explaining how the mendicant orders would fare in those countries upon their arrival. The first Norman archbishop to claim metropolitan jurisdiction over Ireland, Scotland and Wales was Lanfranc of Canterbury. Consecrated in August 1070, he almost immediately sought to extend his jurisdiction over the whole of the British Isles, beginning with his rival to the claim of primacy, the archbishop of York. In a letter to Pope Alexander II dated 1072, Lanfranc wrote that, having consulted Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, he understood that his predecessors had ‘exercised a primacy over the church of York, and the whole island of Britain and also over Ireland.’⁸ Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York, naturally disputed Canterbury’s claims and at a council held at Winchester in the same year a compromise was arranged. York would hold metropolitan jurisdiction over Durham and all churches north of the Humber - including Scotland - while Canterbury was confirmed as primate of the church in the British Isles.⁹ Thus, before Anglo-Norman kings ever looked north of the Scottish border or across the sea to Ireland the English church attempted, and looked as if it might achieve, an ecclesiastical conquest of the

⁶ See comments in the Introduction regarding available sources.

⁷ Kathleen Hughes, ‘The Celtic church: is this a valid concept?’ in *Church and society in Ireland AD 400-1200* (London, 1987), pp 1-20; Colmán Etchingham, *Church organisation in Ireland AD 650-1100* (Maynooth, 1999), chapter three; J. T. McNeill, *The Celtic churches: a history AD 200-1200* (London, 1974).

⁸ Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (ed.), *The letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1970), pp 48-57.

⁹ For discussion see Robert Somerville, *Scotia pontificia: papal letters to Scotland before the pontificate of Innocent III* (Oxford, 1982), pp 6-7; Clover and Gibson, op. cit., pp 38-49.

British Isles. By the end of the twelfth century, however, it had succeeded in establishing primacy over just one other country – Wales – and the Franciscans fitted into this ecclesiastical model upon their arrival. From the outset there was an independent Irish Franciscan province and the Scottish friars, although in constant dispute with the English province, managed to maintain a *de facto* independence throughout much of their history. The Welsh friars, however, were unable to distance themselves from the governance of the English provincial minister and, from their arrival in Wales, were considered integral to the English Franciscan province. In this way the Franciscans mirror the experiences of the secular church the century before.

Initially it appeared that it might be Ireland, rather than Wales, that would be the first to succumb to Canterbury's claims. Lanfranc and his successor Anselm ensured that professions of obedience made to them by Irish bishops seeking consecration included an acknowledgement of their position as primate of the Irish church.¹⁰ Although it was mostly Ostmen towns that looked to Canterbury for canonical consecration it would have been all too easy for Irish bishops to look to England for legitimisation of ecclesiastical positions. However, an Irish-led reform, begun at the end of the eleventh century under the auspices of the Munster king Muirchertach Ua Briain,¹¹ ensured that the Ostmen towns were eventually fully absorbed into the Irish church under the authority of four archdioceses and a primate located at Armagh and not Canterbury. Where the Irish church succeeded, the Welsh church failed to establish an independent identity, perhaps because of its proximity to England but certainly not through lack of endeavour. When agreement was reached between Thomas of York and Lanfranc of Canterbury in 1072 Ireland and Scotland were named as countries over which the archbishops claimed respective jurisdiction, Wales was not. It appears that even at this early stage Wales had been subsumed into the wider concept of 'England' and conquest was a mere formality. Having asserted its primatial rights in Wales, Canterbury then attempted to secure control over nominations to Welsh bishoprics. Between 1092 and 1115 there were three Norman nominees installed in Welsh dioceses – Bishops Hervé in Bangor, Urban in Llandaff

¹⁰ See Martin Holland, 'Dublin and reform of the Irish Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Peritia*, xiv (2000), pp 111-60; Clover and Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp 66-9; Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship* (Oxford, 1998), pp 14-15; Aubrey Gwynn, *The Irish church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Dublin, 1992), pp 69-70.

¹¹ King of Munster from 1086 to 1119.

and Bernard in St David's. The first of these, Hervé, was driven from his see but the next nominees were more successful and, by 1143, all the Welsh bishoprics acknowledged the supremacy of Canterbury.¹² Later in the century there were attempts made by Welsh prelates, most notably Gerald of Wales, to erect St David's into an archbishopric but by 1202 even he had been forced to concede defeat.¹³

In the same period that the Welsh church was having its independence steadily eroded, Scotland faced a similar challenge.¹⁴ Successive archbishops at York argued that, since Scotland lacked an archbishop of its own, it could not be counted as a separate province and therefore must be subject to either Canterbury or York. Since that issue had been resolved at Winchester in 1072, York held the primacy of Scotland – a claim that was upheld by the papacy for the first half of the twelfth century. Beginning in 1175, however, Scottish bishops began to extricate themselves from York's claims, using the papacy to do so. The bishop of Glasgow obtained an exemption in 1175, and Pope Alexander III confirmed this in the following year for the whole of the Scottish church. Finally, in 1192, the Scottish church was declared a 'special daughter' of the papal see in the bull *Cum universi* which erected it into an independent province, albeit one without an archbishop of its own.¹⁵ Thus by the end of the twelfth century Canterbury had succeeded in pressing its claims in only two of the countries of the British Isles over which it had sought to extend its jurisdiction.

During this time period all three so-called 'Celtic' churches also underwent a period of reform. In Ireland and Scotland the impetus for reform came from native rulers and clergy while in Wales it was mostly Canterbury rather than a native-led reform

¹² Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh church from conquest to reformation* (Cardiff, 1976), pp 1-3; Michael Richter, 'Canterbury's primacy in Wales and the first stage of Bishop Bernard's opposition', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxii (1971), pp 177-89; idem, 'Professions of obedience and the metropolitan claim of St David's', *National Library of Wales Journal*, xv (1967-8), p. 203; F. G. Cowley, 'The church in medieval Glamorgan' in T. B. Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History* (Cardiff, 1971), iii, 89-90

¹³ See Michael Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis, the growth of the Welsh nation* (Aberystwyth, 1976), p. 109.

¹⁴ Bruce Webster, *Medieval Scotland, the making of an identity* (London, 1997); William Croft Dickinson, *A new history of Scotland: Scotland from the earliest times to 1603* (London, 1965), i, chapter xv.

¹⁵ In 1225 Pope Honorius III granted Scottish bishops the authority to hold provincial synods and councils in the absence of an archbishop, a situation that continued until 1472 when St Andrew's was finally raised to the status of an archdiocese. See Michael Lynch, *Scotland, a new history* (London, 2000), p. 103.

that led to the establishment of a diocesan episcopacy. What was lost in the transformation of these churches was their distinctive character – in Wales the *clas* churches, in Scotland the Culdees and in Ireland powerful hereditary abbots were replaced with canonically elected bishops attached to fixed diocesan territories with delimited parishes, archdeaconries and rural deaneries.¹⁶ The new form of monasticism introduced into Ireland, Scotland and Wales during the twelfth century further transformed religious life. Orders such as the Cistercians and Augustinians were welcomed into the three countries and they aroused much support from among the native populations. The Benedictines however, did not fare so well, especially in Ireland and Wales where they were inextricably linked with the Anglo-Norman marcher lords.¹⁷ In the following century a new religious impetus was needed. The monastic orders, which had excited so much attention and approval the century before, were now seen to have fallen into the same trap as their predecessors, becoming wealthy landowners and eschewing asceticism in favour of a decadent lifestyle. The newly-formed mendicant orders – the Franciscans and Dominicans, and later the Carmelite and Augustinian friars – attracted interest from the native populations across the British Isles and, unlike their monastic predecessors, their appeal was not confined to any one section of society but was almost universal. Their mendicant and itinerant lifestyle was seen to preclude them from the accusations levelled at the existing religious orders and young men, caught up in the fervour of the new movement, joined them in large numbers across the Continent.¹⁸ St Francis intended his order, founded in 1209, to be the humblest members of society: owning neither foundations nor churches, unskilled, illiterate and mendicant, literally to be

¹⁶ Williams, *Welsh Church*; Matthew J. Pearson, 'The creation of the Bangor Cathedral chapter', *Welsh Historical Review*, xx, no. 1 (2000), pp 167-81; Hughes, 'Celtic church'; J. Wyn Evans, 'The survival of the *clas* as an institution in medieval Wales: some observations on Llanbadarn Fawr' in Nancy Edwards and Alan Lane (ed.), *The early church in Wales and the west* (Oxford, 1992), pp 33-40; Michael Lynch, 'Religious life in medieval Scotland' in Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Shiels (ed.), *A history of religion in Britain, practice and belief from pre-Roman times to the present* (Oxford, 1994), pp 99-124.

¹⁷ For Ireland see Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses Ireland*; for Scotland see Cowan and Easson, *Medieval religious houses Scotland*; for Wales see Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses England and Wales*. Also Ralph A. Griffiths, Kenneth O. Morgan, Glanmor Williams, ed., *Studies in Welsh history, the monastic orders in South Wales 1066-1349* (Cardiff, 1977); Edwards and Lane, *The early church in Wales and the west*; Rhys W. Hays, 'The Welsh monasteries and the Edwardian Conquest' in *Studies in medieval Cistercian history presented to J. F. O'Sullivan* (Shannon, 1971), pp 110-138.

¹⁸ See C. H. Lawrence, Lawrence, *The friars: the impact of the early mendicant movement on western society* (London, 1995), pp 102-3.

Friars Minor.¹⁹ However the appeal of his ideals proved to be the undoing of their practical application. The growth and expansion of the order across the continent of Europe meant that the idea of institutional poverty became diluted, and where convents were erected, property was granted in perpetuity and places of learning were established. The friars were employed as papal envoys and royal diplomats, and taken as confessors by the wealthy and powerful. Within a few decades of their arrival the friars had moved from the fringes of medieval society to centre stage of the political and religious world.

Francis Bernadone, born circa 1181 in Assisi, turned his back on a life of wealth and comfort to establish the religious order which he called the Order of Friars Minor but which became known colloquially as the Franciscan order. The novelty of Francis's friars was threefold: they abandoned the monastic ideal of a fixed abode for the individual; they espoused preaching and missionary work within the community and the entire order was subject directly to the papal see.²⁰ In conjunction with this, the new order was mendicant and so dependent for sustenance upon the communities in which the friars preached and lived. This intermingling of the population, combined with the need for daily alms, brought them into conflict with those clerics and religious looking to the same populace for their support.²¹ Richard W. Emery argued that the conflict went even deeper than the established clergy's attempts to protect a limited supply of alms, some believing that 'the sacerdotal and sacramental organisation [of the friars] paralleled and seemed... to rival the traditional parochial system'.²² The Franciscan order, as he saw it, was a highly centralised organisation since the individual friar was attached to the organisation as a whole, rather than to one monastic settlement. The friars' freedom in secular society was essential to the Franciscan ideal of 'serving god by serving man'²³ and, because the order was subject directly to the pope, individual friars were free of diocesan authority.

¹⁹ See Huber, *Documented history*, pp 43-4.

²⁰ For Francis's biography, see Michael Robson, *St Francis of Assisi: the legend and life* (London, 1999); Agostino Ghilardi, *The life and times of St Francis of Assisi* (Feltham, 1964); G. K. Chesterton, *St Francis of Assisi* (London, 1923, 2001); Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan order*; Huber, *Documented history*; Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses England and Wales*, p. 31.

²¹ Knowles, *The religious orders in England*, ii, 90-1.

²² Emery, *The friars in medieval France*, pp 1-2.

²³ *Ibid.*

The first mendicant friars to cross from the Continent to the British Isles were Dominicans, and they arrived in England in 1221. Thomas of Eccleston's contemporary chronicle records the arrival of the first group of Franciscans three years later, led by Agnellus of Pisa, former *custos* of the convent at Paris and appointed by Francis himself to be provincial minister of the newly erected English province.²⁴ Among his eight companions were three English friars – Richard of Ingworth, Richard of Devon and William of Esseby. Richard of Ingworth, the most advanced in years and the only priest among these first Franciscans, was described by Eccleston as the first to preach to the people of northern Europe.²⁵ Initially he acted as vicar to Agnellus in England but, when a separate Irish province was erected he was appointed first provincial minister there. Absolved of this ministry in 1239, he finished his days preaching in Syria.²⁶ Richard of Devon was described as a young acolyte, while William of Esseby, a novice when he landed at Dover, became the first guardian of the foundation at Oxford.²⁷ Eccleston's description of the friars' movements following their landing at Dover provides the template by which historians can chart the spread of the Franciscan order across the British Isles, and in his chronicle is clearly illustrated the advantage that the friars had over their monastic brethren. Unhindered by a need for formal foundations, the friars were able to arrive in a town and immediately establish a presence there.²⁸ The first Franciscans, after remaining two days at Canterbury, sent four of their number to London and, at the end of the month, Richard of Ingworth and Richard of Devon set out for Oxford. They were received there with kindness by members of the Dominican order, Eccleston stating that 'they [the Franciscans] ate in the refectory and slept in their dormitory like conventuals for eight days'.²⁹ The friars then hired a house in the parish of St Ebbe from Robert le Mercer but by the summer of 1225 this house had become too small because of the numbers joining the order and they were forced to move to a new house hired from Richard the Miller, who within a year had

²⁴ '...primus Frater Agnellus Pisanus, ordine diaconus, aetate circiter trecenarius, qui a beato Francisco in proximo capitulo generali destinatus erat provincialis minister in Angliam...'. Eccleston, 'De adventu Fratrum Minorum', p. 5. For an account of the friars' movement across England see Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the medieval custody of York* (York, 1997), pp 1-4.

²⁵ '...qui primus extitit qui citro montes populo praedicavit...'. Eccleston, 'De adventu Fratrum Minorum', pp 5-6.

²⁶ '...absolutus in capitulo generali a bonae memoriae Fratre Alberto ab omni fratrum officio, zelo fidei succensus, profectus est in Syriam, et ibidem felici fine requievit.' Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.; Huber, *Documented history*, pp 813-14.

²⁸ See Lawrence, *The friars*, pp 102-5 for patterns of settlement on the Continent.

²⁹ Eccleston, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

granted the house to the community of the town for the permanent habitation of the friars.³⁰ Thus the pattern for expansion was established and by 1256 there were forty-nine English friaries, with 1,242 friars.³¹

The arrival of the Franciscans in Ireland, in particular, is a matter of some controversy, with historians through several ages arguing for a variety of dates. Drawing upon a variety of secondary accounts, both contemporary and from some as late as the seventeenth century, some logic can be applied to the arguments that have been put forth. The earliest date mentioned for the arrival of the Franciscans in Ireland is 1214, which pre-dates by a year the formal establishment of the order by Innocent III in 1215, the arrival of the Dominicans in England by seven years and the arrival of the Franciscans in England by ten years. Luke Wadding, writing in the seventeenth century and one of the foremost Irish historians of the order, upheld this date citing two earlier histories by Francesco Gonzaga and Antonius Daça. Gonzaga, whose account of the Franciscan order *De origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae* was published in 1587, claimed that Francis had sent one of his companions from Compostella in Spain to Ireland in the year 1214 where he ‘erected some monasteries and was the founder and erector of the Irish province.’³² Wadding’s other source, Daça, was a contemporary of the Irish historian and had compiled a four-volume history of the order.³³ Unfortunately only one volume, the final one, was ever published but Wadding claimed that Daça, who was his ‘special friend’, had sent him a copy of the first volume and in this he made reference to an Irish foundation in 1214.³⁴ Further to these two sources, Wadding argued that the number of Franciscan houses erected in the Irish province by the early 1230s seemed to preclude the friars’ arrival a mere two or three years before. The only explanation, he argued, for the number of houses and monasteries that had been erected across

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ A. G. Little, ‘A century of English Franciscan history’ in *Contemporary Review*, 706 (1924), p. 451.

³² ‘Tradunt nostres, etiam tunc ad se missum in Hiberniam, unum ex sociis ex civitate Compostellana, idque eo tempore, quo ejusdem civitatis extruebatur Conventus. Traditionem hanc videtur confirmare Gonzage, dum asserit, quemdam ex seraphici Francisci sociis, qui ex Compostella in Hiberniam trajiciens aliquot monasteria in Insula construxit, et tandem ibi cum maxima sanctitatis opinione diem clausit extremum, fundatorem erectoremque Provincia Hiberniae fuisse.’ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, i, 224.

³³ It was published at Valladolid in 1611 according to Cotter, *Friars Minor in Ireland*, p. 12.

³⁴ ‘Clarius rem dixit, dum et hunc ipsum annum signavit adventus hujus pii viri in Hiberniam R. P. Antonius Daça hujus Curia in rebus familiae Ultramontanae Commissarius, spectabilis meus amicus, in tomo primo Chronicorum, quem elaborbat ante injunctum ei hoc officium, et ex sua erga me benevolentia mihi communicavit.’ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, i, 224-5.

Ireland was that the friars had been present in the country since at least 1214.³⁵ This argument, however, takes no account of the model of Franciscan expansion as chronicled by Eccleston. In his account the friars were established at Oxford, Cambridge and London within weeks of their arrival at Dover.

Another seventeenth-century historian of the order, Francis Matthews,³⁶ agreed with Wadding and this is hardly surprising given that they were friends and correspondents during Matthews's tenure as provincial of the Irish order from 1626 to 1629. Friar Matthews's history of the order, entitled 'Brevis synopsis provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum', draws heavily on Wadding, citing his two sources Gonzaga and Daça, as well as Wadding's own account of the order. It seems logical to assume that Wadding made his history available to Matthews, both as his friend and in his capacity as provincial of the order, and that Matthews used this as a template for his history.³⁷ Donagh Mooney,³⁸ provincial minister of the order between 1615 and 1618, also wrote an account of the arrival of the friars and the expansion of the Irish province. In his official capacity he made a visitation of the houses of the province and compiled the information into what modern historians know as 'Brussels MS 3947'.³⁹ Although Mooney initially argued that the original date for the foundation of the Irish province must be 1214, he changed his mind later in the account and gave 1231 as the date, citing an ancient and unnamed manuscript he had consulted.⁴⁰ Bernadette Williams, in her doctoral thesis presented to Trinity College Dublin, believes that Mooney may in fact be referring to the Dominican *Annals of Trim*, which do indeed state that the Franciscans arrived in Ireland in 1231.⁴¹

³⁵ '...In biennio vel triennio tot extractae domus Minorum? Tot accumulate domicilia? Ab anno 1221 vel sequenti usque ad annum 1233 Yochelliae, Corcagiae, ut alias sileam, et Kilkenniae urbes penetrarunt? In tot locis extracta Monasteria? Ubi incolae? Ubi fratres totidem, qui has aedes inhabitarent? Si enim 1221 vel potius sequenti transvaderunt in illud Regnum Minores, quomodo potuerunt tot Consodales habere, qui [quia] tria saltim, ne plura connumeremus, anno 1233 occuparunt Coenobia? An turmatim illuc fluxerint? Vel an adventibus paucis, multi eis accesserunt, qui sub unius spatii triennii hunc inde ad occupandas novas aedes possent. Convolare?' *Ibid.*, ii, 280-1.

³⁶ Also known as Francis O'Mahony.

³⁷ 'Brevis synopsis', pp 139-91.

³⁸ Also known as Donnatus Mooney.

³⁹ 'Brussels MS 3947', pp 12-138.

⁴⁰ 'Illud autem certum fratres Minores in Hyberniam venisse, et cepisse Provinciam fundare, prout reperi in quodam antiquo manuscripto libro, anno Domini 1231...'. *Analecta Hibernica*, vi (1934), p. 15.

⁴¹ Bernadette Williams, *Latin Franciscan Anglo-Irish annals* (PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1992), pp 45-6.

Canice Mooney, a leading recent historian of the order, has argued that the tradition for the foundation of the first house at Youghal cannot be easily dismissed, since ‘Irish pilgrims were in the habit of visiting the shrine of St James at Compostella and some of them, meeting friars there, may have inspired them to send a few of their members to Ireland.’⁴² Williams agrees with him, believing that contact between Irish prelates and Continental Franciscans may have inspired Irishmen to join the order. Such contact could have taken place in 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council, for example, when Innocent III confirmed the new mendicant orders.⁴³ In support of this theory she cites the seventeenth-century *Annals of the Four Masters*, a Franciscan compilation, which states that Cathal Crobderg Ua Conchobair established a friary at Athlone in 1224 and Maurice FitzGerald the house at Youghal.⁴⁴ The Four Masters probably used Francis Matthews as the basis for this assertion.⁴⁵ A.G. Little, however, records that Maurice FitzGerald⁴⁶ was in fact more closely linked with the Dominican order than the Franciscans, despite being linked to their foundations at Youghal and Ardfert.⁴⁷ In stating this he may, however, have overlooked an entry in Clyn’s annals under the year 1257 which records that Maurice FitzGerald ‘died in the habit of a Friar Minor.’⁴⁸ Francis Matthews included this in his history, adding that FitzGerald was buried in the Franciscan friary at Youghal.⁴⁹ Since Matthews was part of the Observant reform he may have added this last piece of information to Clyn’s assertion to boost the pre-eminence of that house, which had become the foremost house of the Irish province.

⁴² Canice Mooney, ‘The Friars Minors in Ireland,’ *Terminus* (Mar-April 1956), p. 68.

⁴³ Williams, *op. cit.*, pp 44-5.

⁴⁴ The Four Masters, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland from the earliest times to the year 1616*, ed. John O’Donovan (7 vols, Dublin, 1990), iii, 207, 217.

⁴⁵ Matthews’s belief is included in a marginal note in Donagh Mooney’s history of the order. In this he states that ‘res certa est fratres Minores venisse in Hiberniam ante 1225, cum isto anno conventus Yogheliaw fuerit extractus per Mauricium Geraldinum et conventus Carrickfergus 1225 fundatus per D. Hugonem Lacy innuim et conventus de Athlone fundatus per Cahal Crobh Derg Cnogair, duobus annis ante mortem S Francisci...’: ‘Brussels MS 3947’, p. 15 and note 9.

⁴⁶ Justiciar of Ireland 1232-45.

⁴⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 2. According to Gwynn and Hadcock, the Dominican convent at Sligo was established in 1252 by Maurice FitzGerald and the buildings and cemetery were erected and consecrated in the following year: *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, p. 229. The same authors give the founder of Ardfert as probably Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzraymond, lord of Kerry, probably about 1253. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁴⁸ ‘in habitu et frater minor.’ Clyn, *Annalium Hiberniae*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ ‘Dominus Mauritius ...qui cum Hiberniam pluribus annis Justitiarius gubernasset, cum exercitu in auxilium Regis Angliae contra Scotos profectus, parta victoria reversus, possessionibus inter filios distributis, factus Frater Minor An. 1257 in summa humilitate et vitae sanctimonia obiit, in hoc conventu sepultus, in quo Comitum Desmoniae, Dominorum Desiae, aliorumque ejusdem familiae et ditionis nobiles, ac civitatis Yogheliae Cives ab antiquo sunt sepulturae.’ ‘Brevis synopsis’, pp 144-5.

Canice Mooney, when developing his thesis that the Irish clergy were mingling with Continental Franciscans and had probably come into contact with friars in Spain, says that there were at least two Franciscans in England by the year 1225.⁵⁰ In point of fact, according to Eccleston's account, there were at least the nine original friars that had landed the previous September and, because the house at Oxford had proved too small for the numbers joining the order, there must have been far more than the two friars Mooney asserts were in the country. Also, the presence of Franciscan friars in England does not immediately imply that they must also have been contemporaneously present in Ireland. The Dominicans were the first mendicant order to establish a presence in England where they antedated the arrival of the Franciscan order by three years. They were also the first into Ireland, arriving in 1224 and establishing houses at Dublin and Drogheda initially, but founding ten more houses in the next twenty-six years.⁵¹ We are told that the newly-arrived friars erected their first convent at Dublin, on the northern bank of the Liffey in the immediate vicinity of St Mary's Cistercian abbey and, according to the editor of the Dublin annals, some compilers believed the site had been bestowed upon the friars by St Mary's. There is, however, no confirmation of this statement in the annals.⁵² Undoubtedly travel between Ireland and England was frequent but the presence of a religious order in one country does not prove its existence in the other. It seems far more likely that the logical move for the Franciscan order would have been out of England and into Wales and Scotland, before crossing the sea to Ireland and there is no mention of friars in either of those countries before the 1230s.

Wadding and Matthews were writing their histories of the order in the early seventeenth century when the Observant reform of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries had all but replaced the Conventual friaries of the earlier expansion.⁵³ Youghal had become one of the most prominent Observant houses and the motives of these historians, writing in the seventeenth century, must be open to

⁵⁰ These Spanish friars are named as Thomas of Spain and Peter Hispanus.

⁵¹ Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, pp 218-34; J. A. Watt, *The Church and two nations in medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 176.

⁵² *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (2 vols, Dublin, 1884), i, pp xxxvi-vii.

⁵³ For a discussion of the Conventual and Observant Friars in Ireland after 1400 see Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400-1534: from reform to reformation* (Dublin, 2002).

question. As members of the Observant order they may have wished to further the reputation of their most prominent house and so willingly accepted the ‘tradition’ that it was the earliest Franciscan foundation in Ireland. Eccleston, by contrast, was a contemporary chronicler writing with no apparent agenda other than to record the early history of his order, and he testified that the Irish province was of English provenance. He has been judged a reasoned and accurate observer in his account of the Franciscans in England and there seems little reason to doubt his testimony regarding Ireland. In conjunction with this is the silence of contemporary records regarding the existence of Youghal prior to 1290 when it was noted that shipwrecked goods being kept in the friary for safekeeping had been stolen.⁵⁴ While several Irish houses are known to have been founded long before they appear in the records, it does seem unusual that this first foundation would not have been mentioned in any of the records still extant.

The earliest reference to a Franciscan foundation in Ireland is, in fact, to a house at Dublin. On 13 January 1233 a writ was issued to the chamberlain and treasurer of the exchequer at Dublin for a payment of twenty marks to the custodians of the house of the Friars Minors in that city for the repair of their church and houses.⁵⁵ The use of the words ‘repair’ and ‘houses’ implies that the Franciscans were more than newly arrived in the city, indeed that they had been there long enough to have established for themselves a church and a number of buildings. In the same year the Irish Franciscans were mentioned in a papal document for the first time. On 14 June Pope Gregory IX granted the minister provincial, Richard of Ingworth, the facilities to absolve postulants of the order in Ireland from ecclesiastical censure.⁵⁶ In July 1236 a gift of fifty marks was made payable to the friars in Dublin, for the construction of buildings which they had commenced in that city.⁵⁷ My interpretation of this is that the friars in Ireland followed the pattern established by Eccleston in his account of the English friars and gratefully accepted whatever accommodation was available upon their arrival. Then, by royal gift, they received twenty marks to repair it. By 1236 they were sufficiently established in the city that they were able to acquire

⁵⁴ H. S. Sweetman (ed.), *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland* (London, 1875-8), iii, 320.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 298.

⁵⁶ Maurice P. Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hibernica, medieval chancery documents concerning Ireland, 620-1261* (2 vols, Dublin, 1965), ii, 46-7.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 488.

some land and commence constructing their own buildings, a chronology that would fit in with Eccleston's account, and Mooney's belief that the friars arrived circa 1231.

Subsequent entries in extant records prove the existence of several more Franciscan foundations in Ireland during the first half of the thirteenth century and yet there is no mention of Youghal at any time. It seems unusual that a house so venerable and for so many years unique in Ireland would be thus ignored by the records. In 1237, for example the friars at Waterford were granted thirty-five marks to enlarge and better their buildings, and they were granted a like sum the following year for the purchase of tunics.⁵⁸ Since Dublin and Waterford were both royal towns it seems only reasonable to expect that religious foundations based there could expect to receive royal alms, but the exclusion of Youghal from a further grant in 1245 cannot be so easily explained. On 6 November of that year the sum of twenty pounds was allocated to the Friars Minor of Ireland for the purchase of 100 tunics. But it became apparent that the order had expanded to the point where this annual grant would no longer suffice and an extra five marks were made available.⁵⁹ In this grant houses were named as being at Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Cork, Athlone and Kilkenny. Youghal is notable by its absence. The friars, as mendicants, were reliant upon alms for their survival and, although Youghal was a notable seaport in the thirteenth century, it seems far more likely that the friars would have sought out a major urban centre such as Dublin, following in the wake of the Dominicans as they did in England. Finally, in a list of the houses included in the province of Ireland, drawn up by Matthews in the seventeenth century but based upon the list drawn up in the fourteenth century, Youghal is not given priority. Ireland, he tells us, had five custodies – Dublin, Cashel, Cork, Nenagh and Drogheda – and Youghal is mentioned only as a house in the custody of Cashel. Dublin is listed as the first custody, and as the first house in that custody.⁶⁰ It seems that its pre-eminence in the Irish province was accepted by the order in the fourteenth century and the presence of Dublin in extant contemporary records seems to prove the argument that it was the first Franciscan foundation in Ireland.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 416.

⁶⁰ 'Brussels MS 3947', p. 26.

In England the Franciscans did not move north of the Tweed until 1231, again confounding the argument that the presence of the order in one country implied its immediate presence in a neighbouring one. In that year, according to the Melrose chronicler, ‘the Friars Minor now came into Scotland for the first time’.⁶¹ This date is accepted by John of Fordun in his chronicle and its later elaboration by Walter Bower, as well as by the modern historian William Moir Bryce. In contrast to the varying accounts of the arrival of the friars in Ireland this is sound historical evidence for the Franciscan crossing into Scotland. The first friars established themselves just across the Anglo-Scottish border at Berwick-on-Tweed and, much like their confreres at Oxford, it was some years before they had a permanent establishment here. We are told that their church and cemetery were not consecrated until 1244 when David de Bernhame, bishop of St Andrews, performed the ceremony.⁶² The first Franciscans in Scotland were almost certainly of English provenance, possibly coming from Newcastle since that was the most northerly custody in the English province and the one into which the Scottish houses were placed. We are told by the Lanercost chronicler that both Franciscans and Dominicans settled at Carlisle in 1232 and it would seem that Berwick was part of this natural progression northward about the same time.⁶³ Despite crossing the border in 1231, there were only five Franciscan houses established there by the end of the century,⁶⁴ but eleven Dominican foundations.⁶⁵ By virtue of their mendicancy the friars were obliged to settle in urban areas where the local populace could provide for their needs, and if the location of castles is examined it seems that three Franciscan houses and five Dominican houses were located near royal castles. There were

⁶¹ ‘The Melrose Chronicle’ in Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *The church historians of England* (London, 1856), p. 176.

⁶² Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 6.

⁶³ ‘Eodem anno venit ordo fratrum Minorum ad urbem Carliolensem [Carlisle] circa assumptionem beatae Mariae [15 August], et acceperunt mansionem infra muros urbis; et fratrum Praedicatorum circa festum Sancti Michaelis [29 September] eodem anno extra muros.’ *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 42.

⁶⁴ Berwick-upon-Tweed, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Haddington and Dundee in the thirteenth century and Lanark in the fourteenth.

⁶⁵ The first Dominicans in Scotland were led by Brother Clement, a master of Oxford and the first mendicant appointed as bishop in Scotland. He was appointed bishop of Dunblane in 1234. ‘Clemens, frater de ordine Praedicatorum electus ad episcopum Dunblane et consecratus est a Willelmo episcopo Sancti Andr’ in die Translacionis Sancti Cuthberti apud Wedal.’ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v, p. 146. The Dominican foundations were Berwick-upon-Tweed, Ayr, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, Aberdeen, Elgin, Inverness, Wigtown and Montrose in the thirteenth century and Cupar in the fourteenth, although it was already dissolved by the Reformation. See Anthony Ross, *Dogs of the Lord: the story of the Dominican order in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1981).

Franciscans at Berwick, Roxburgh and Dumfries; Dominicans at Edinburgh, Berwick, Wytown, Ayr, Dundee and Elgin.⁶⁶ After 1262 there were also Carmelite friars at Berwick and the presence of so many religious foundations there gives some indication as to the size and importance of the town.

Despite having established only two houses by 1235,⁶⁷ and owing their provenance to the English custody of Newcastle, the Scottish Franciscans were eager to establish a province independent of English authority. In this they succeeded on three separate occasions: from circa 1233-39; 1260-79 and 1329-59. The first period of independence came about when the order as a whole was undergoing a troubled period.⁶⁸ About 1233 the Scottish friars appealed to Brother Elias, recently appointed minister general of the order, and in him they found a sympathetic ear. A mandate was issued directing that 'the English province be divided into two provinces, the one to be styled the province of Scotland and the other the province of England as heretofore.'⁶⁹ Brother Henry de Resesby was appointed first provincial minister of the newly-formed Scottish province but, we are told, was prevented from taking up the position by death.⁷⁰ His replacement, John de Kethene, had been guardian of the convent at London and, in his new capacity as provincial, he set about incorporating all Franciscan houses north of York into his province.⁷¹ Moir Bryce considers this first Scottish province to be less an autonomous entity and more 'a second English province ruled over by an English friar.'⁷² This assessment seems unfair when de Kethene's actions are taken into account. Upon his appointment he sought to expand the province beyond the two houses already founded in Scotland and, when confronted with Elias's insistence on visitations of friaries, the Scottish province was far more eager to be identified with the province of Ireland, independent since its inception, than with the English. In 1238 a visitation of all Franciscan provinces north of the Alps was conducted and there was widespread resentment throughout

⁶⁶ *Documents illustrative of the history of Scotland*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870), i, pp xliv-xlv.

⁶⁷ Berwick and Roxburgh.

⁶⁸ See Huber, *Documented history*, pp 105-21.

⁶⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 5; Huber, *op. cit.*, pp 766-7.

⁷⁰ Eccleston, 'De adventu Fratrum Minorum', p. 25.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp 31-2; Huber, *op. cit.*, p. 766; John Edwards, 'The Grey Friars and their first houses in Scotland' in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, 1906-7 (1907), p. 6.

⁷² Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 8.

the order.⁷³ In Ireland three friars - Elias, Albert and Wygmund of Germany – carried out a visitation of the province, seemingly without incident.⁷⁴ When Friar Wygmund came to visit Scotland, however, the provincial minister and his friars were outraged, protesting that they had already received a visit from their confrere, the provincial minister of Ireland.⁷⁵ Such was the consternation across the order at Elias's ministry that, at the general chapter held at Rome in 1239, he was deposed and replaced by Albert of Pisa, provincial minister of England.⁷⁶ At the same chapter the number of provinces that Elias had erected was once again reduced, and among those abolished was that of Scotland.⁷⁷ John de Kethene was transferred to Ireland, where he replaced Richard of Ingworth as provincial minister, and the Scottish convents were returned to the custody of Newcastle.⁷⁸

Later in the century a further attempt was made by the Scottish friars to regain their independence. At the general chapter held at Narbonne in 1260 they proposed that their convents, now three in number, should be erected into a province, and to this end they included a petition from King Alexander III addressed to the pope.⁷⁹ In a letter addressed to his 'dear sons, the minister and chapter general of the Friars Minors', the pope informed them that he had received a petition from the 'illustrious king of Scotland', stating his desire to have the 'counsel and advice of religious and God-fearing men, and especially of the friars of your order resident in his kingdom, as the support of his tender years.' To aid the king in his endeavour, the pope requested that the chapter 'provide for the appointment of a provincial minister in that kingdom without delay.'⁸⁰ Although the general chapter turned down the pope's request, it appears that the Scottish friars took little notice, appointing Friar Elias Duns, uncle of John Duns Scotus, as their vicar-general.⁸¹ While no official recognition was given to an independent Scottish province, and they remained

⁷³ Huber, op. cit., p. 112.

⁷⁴ Fitzmaurice and Little, op. cit., p. 4.

⁷⁵ Richard of Ingworth. Moir Bryce, op. cit., i, 8.

⁷⁶ Not to be confused with Agnellus of Pisa, also provincial minister of England, who he replaced. Huber, op. cit., p. 113.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp 114, 707, 766.

⁷⁸ Eccleston, 'De adventu fratrum Minorum', p. 235; Huber, *Documented history*, p. 766.

⁷⁹ Alexander IV. Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 9-10

⁸⁰ *Bullarium Franciscanum, supplementum studio et labore Fr Flamini Annibali de Latera dispositum, praeviis animadversionibus in notas eiusdem Sbaraleae illustratum, etc.*, ed. Flaminio Maria Annibali (Rome, 1780), p. 140.

⁸¹ Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan order*, p. 175

nominally attached to the English province, there appears to have been a *de facto* independence established after 1260. In 1274, for example, Pope Gregory X sent a letter to the Scottish ‘provincial’ of the Franciscans, desiring them to preach for the proposed crusade;⁸² while under the year 1279 Wadding includes a papal mandate that was addressed to the bishops of St Andrews and Aberdeen, and the minister of the Minors in Scotland.⁸³ As an aside, Wadding adds that the Scottish province was not a proper one, by reason of being a custody or vicariate under the province of England for many years, although through the work of Scottish kings it may have been erected a province despite the small number of its convents.⁸⁴

The stalemate continued until 1296 when a temporary compromise was reached between the English province and its rebellious Scottish friars. Although officially included in the province, Scotland would be independent of the *custos* of Newcastle.⁸⁵ This is not unlike the compromise reached concerning the Scottish church as a whole at the end of the previous century, when the declaration of *Ecclesia Scoticana* had marked the emergence of an independent Scottish church, but one with no metropolitan of its own. In a similar vein, the Scottish Franciscans were to have no official independent status, but were to be a *de facto* province, albeit nominally under English control. The date is interesting as it coincides with Edward I’s initial attempt at the conquest of Scotland, at a point when the Scottish friars had hitherto proved relatively neutral in the emerging conflict. Perhaps this compromise was a sop to ensure their continued apolitical behaviour. If it was, then it failed, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, and in 1329 a weak English king and changed political situation allowed the Scottish friars once again to pursue an independent province. In that year, according to the Lanercost chronicler, the Franciscans of Scotland obtained a definite vicar of the minister general and were wholly separated from their English brethren.⁸⁶ In 1331 the resurrected province sent its elected

⁸² A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum historiam illustrantia*, 1216-1547 (Rome, 1864), p. 105.

⁸³ ‘...Sancti Andree, et Haberdoniae, sive Abredoniae Episcopis, et ministro Minorum in Scotia...’. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, v, 96.

⁸⁴ ‘...non quod ibi proprius fuerit provincialis, quippe per diuturnum annorum spatium fuit vel custodia, vel vicaria sub provincia Anglicana, et suam interposuerunt operam Reges Scotiae, ut fieret in suo Regno provincialis, nec tamen facile obtinuerunt ob monasteriorum paucitatem, ut suis locis dicemus...’. Ibid.

⁸⁵ Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan order*, p. 175

⁸⁶ *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, trans. and ed. Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913), p. 266.

provincial vicar to the general chapter at Perpignan, and he received expenses totalling 66s. 8d. paid by the Scottish treasury.⁸⁷ However their independence was short-lived and, in 1359, the chapter general suppressed the Scottish vicariate.⁸⁸ By that time the political climate had changed once again and, although David II was back on the throne of Scotland, the town of Berwick had become irrevocably English and the friary had been emptied of its Scottish brethren.⁸⁹ Perhaps there was no longer any desire on the part of the Scottish friars to pursue an independent province or perhaps, as Moir Bryce argues, the English province had never managed to exercise actual authority in Scotland thus making the nominal changes incidental.⁹⁰ The outbreak of the papal schism in 1378 provided the political and ecclesiastical division across Europe that the Scottish friars could utilise and it seems logical to assume that the *de facto* autonomy enjoyed by them prior to the erection of their vicariate in 1329 continued in actuality when they were nominally attached to the English province once more.

Although the Welsh were very receptive to the new mendicant orders, the paucity of friaries in the country prevented them from ever taking a stand such as that taken by their Scottish brethren.⁹¹ In the course of the thirteenth century only five Dominican and three Franciscan houses, as well as one Carmelite convent, were founded there and the lack of major urban centres in Wales at that time must account for this dearth of mendicant foundations.⁹² Again the pattern of settlement conforms to Eccleston's template in that the Franciscans settled in three major urban areas – Llanfaes,⁹³ Cardiff and Carmarthen. The first Franciscan house in Wales, however, differed from those of Ireland and Scotland in that it was founded not by friars expanding outwards from England but, rather, was established by a native ruler Llywelyn ab Iorwerth who had the house erected at Llanfaes in honour of his wife Joan. According to the

⁸⁷ 'Et generali vicario ordinis Fratrum Minorum expensis suis ad generale capitulum.' *The exchequer rolls of Scotland*, ed. John Stuart and George Burnett (Edinburgh, 1878), ii, 398.

⁸⁸ 'In hoc capitulo vicaria Scotiae ex certis causis unita provinciae Anglicanae...'. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, viii, 144.

⁸⁹ See Epilogue.

⁹⁰ Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 13-14.

⁹¹ See Cronin, *Cardiff Grey Friars*; Jones, 'The Grey Friars of Carmarthen', pp 7-35; Easterling, 'The friars in Wales', pp 323-57; John E. Lloyd, *A history of Wales from the earliest times to the Edwardian Conquest* (2 vols, London, 1939); Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses England and Wales*.

⁹² Knowles and Hadcock, op. cit.

⁹³ Which was a busy port and market centre at that time.

Brut Y Tywysogyon, Joan died in Llywelyn's court in Anglesey in February 1237 and her body was buried in a consecrated enclosure on the shore-bank. Over her body was built a monastery for the 'Barefoot friars' [Franciscans], which was consecrated by Bishop Hywel and paid for by Llywelyn 'for the soul of his lady'.⁹⁴ Although the Scottish friars had managed to achieve a separate province in 1235 with only two friaries, the Welsh friars in a manner similar to that of their secular counterparts were never able to establish an independent identity. In much the same way as the Welsh secular church was never able to break free of Canterbury's claims, so too were the friars from their inception considered part of the English province and subject to the provincialship of an English friar. Llanfaes friary was listed under the custody of Worcester, while Cardiff and Carmarthen were listed amongst those under Bristol.⁹⁵

The Irish Franciscans, from the beginning, were constituted a separate province and the number of Irish friaries founded in the thirteenth century justifies that independence. In the same period in which the three houses were founded in Wales and seven in Scotland, there were at least forty-five founded in Ireland, of which only two failed – the friary proposed for Strade, County Mayo and the friary at Roscommon.⁹⁶ While it is not too difficult to understand why so few friaries were founded in Wales, the huge disparity in numbers between Ireland and Scotland on the face of it is puzzling. There are too many Irish friaries to consider all the extant information regarding their establishment but by examining a number of these this

⁹⁴ *Brut y Tywysogyon or The chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1952), p. 104.

⁹⁵ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses England and Wales*, p. 222.

⁹⁶ See Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*; Canice Mooney, 'The Franciscans in Waterford', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, lxxix (1964), pp 73-94; idem, 'The Franciscans in County Mayo', *Galway Archaeological and Historical Society Journal*, xxviii (1958-59), pp 42-69; idem, 'Some Cavan Franciscans of the past', *Breifne*, i (1958-61), pp 17-27; idem, 'The Franciscan friary by the Drowes', *Donegal Annual*, iii (1957), pp 1-7; Fergal Grannell, *The Franciscans in Wexford* (Wexford, 1976); Bartholomew Egan, *Franciscan Limerick* (Limerick, 1971); Dermot F. Gleeson, 'The Franciscan convent at Nenagh', *Molua* (1938), pp 18-36; Katherine Walsh, 'Franciscan friaries in pre-Reformation Kerry', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, ix (1976), pp 16-22; Terence O'Donnell, *The Franciscan Abbey of Multyfarnham* (Multyfarnham, 1951); Martin J. Blake, 'The Franciscan convents in Connacht', *Galway Archaeological and Historical Society Journal*, xiv (1928-9), pp 25-9; Gregory Cleary, *The Friars Minor in Dublin* (Dublin, 1939); Thomas J. Westropp, 'The last friars of Quin, Co Clare', *Royal Society of Antiquaries Ireland, Journal*, iv (1894), 5th series, p. 82; Brendan Jennings, 'The Abbey of St Francis, Galway', *Galway Archaeological and Historical Society Journal*, xxii (1947), pp 101-119; E. B. Fitzmaurice, 'The Franciscans in Armagh', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vi (1900), pp 67-77; William E. Rogers, 'The Franciscan monastery, Armagh', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ii (1895), 2nd series, pp 96-8; Harold O'Sullivan, 'The Franciscans in Dundalk', *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, iv, no. 1 (1960-1), pp 33-71.

disparity can perhaps be explained. The houses in Cork, Ardfert Co. Kerry, Dundalk Co. Louth, Multyfarnham Co. Westmeath, and Armagh were all erected within the first forty years of the Franciscans arriving in Ireland, assuming that 1231 is the correct date of the latter event.

The friary at Cork was certainly among the first Irish houses and, as one of the largest urban centres in Ireland after Dublin it would make sense if members of the order moved there soon after their arrival in the country, regardless of whether their first landing was at Youghal or Dublin. The two principal sources of information for the foundation of this friary are Donagh Mooney and Francis Matthews and their seventeenth-century histories provide the basis upon which most modern historians base their research. Although much of the information they provide has now been called into question, it is interesting to note the founders ascribed traditionally to each house – Mooney especially would have received foundation accounts at first hand during his visitation of the province circa 1615-17. He records that a Lord de Barry founded the friary at Cork, and that the friary took its alternative name of ‘Seanduin’ from his castle located in the same suburb.⁹⁷ Matthews also gave ‘Seanduin’ as the name of the friary, adding that it was founded in 1214 although buildings were not erected there until 1229. His date of foundation fits with his thesis that the friars arrived at Youghal in that year, and it is possible that it might have taken fifteen years for a friary and church to be built – as seen in Dublin the friars were certainly there five years before they erected buildings, and in Scotland it took fourteen years to consecrate the church and cemetery at Berwick. He does not, however, provide any proof for his assertion; indeed he states that Wadding gave the foundation date for Cork as 1231.⁹⁸ Latterly Gwynn and Hadcock also give 1231 as the probable date of foundation, although they add that possibly ‘Franciscans visited Youghal and Cork at earlier dates without making permanent settlements.’⁹⁹ Matthews also disputes Mooney’s assertion that it was a de Barry who founded the convent, stating that MacCarthy, descended from several Irish province kings, was

⁹⁷ ‘Conventus Corkagiensis: Hic conventus est in suburbio aquilonari civitatis Corkagiensis, et vocatur alio nomine Seanduin, sumpto nomine a castello Domini vice-comitis [sheriff?] Bary, qui erat fundator, et juxta conventum in eodem suburbio est.’ ‘Brussels MS 3947’, p. 72.

⁹⁸ ‘Conventus Corcagiensis, alio nomine monasterium B. Mariae Seandunense, in civitate et Sede Episcopali Corcagiensi in Momonia fundatus anno 1214 et extractus ad annum 1229, qui teste per Wadding ad annum 1231...’. ‘Brevis synopsis’, p. 145.

⁹⁹ Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, p. 246.

buried in the habit of a friar there.¹⁰⁰ It is more likely that he merely provided the site for the friary, as Gwynn and Hadcock believe, since he died in 1229 and all sources agree that buildings were only formally erected after that date.¹⁰¹ The disparity in the sources proves the difficulty of establishing an undisputed founder for any friary in Ireland and, at least for Cork, the truth is probably a combination of both traditions – that MacCarthy provided the site as Gwynn and Hadcock suggest, but that the friars were supported by the de Barrys of Cork.

The foundation of the friary at Dundalk is slightly less controversial, if only because the matter is not confused by the tradition of the friars landing at Youghal. The de Verdon family are traditionally considered founders of the convent there, although sources cannot agree on whether it was John de Verdon or his mother Rohesia, wife of Theobald Butler. Francis Matthews gives the date of foundation as 1260 and this explains why subsequent histories, drawing upon his account, felt that John de Verdon was the likely founder. However this cannot be correct since Innocent IV addressed a letter to the prior of the Friars Preachers at Drogheda,¹⁰² and the guardian of the Friars Minor at Dundalk in October 1246, asking them to make inquiries regarding the controversial postulation of candidates to the archbishopric of Armagh.¹⁰³ Albrecht Suerbeer, primate of Ireland,¹⁰⁴ had resigned the year before and the pope and King Henry III clashed over his replacement. Although the friars may have been at Dundalk for several years prior to the papal mandate, there was almost certainly a formal establishment there by 1246, since the pope addresses his letter to the guardian of the Friars Minor in the town. The date of the letter makes it more probable that it was Rohesia rather than John de Verdon who was the founder of the friary, since John did not come into his inheritance until his mother's death in

¹⁰⁰ 'Primus hujus conventus [Cork] fundator fuit Dermotus Mac Carthy more cognomento Dondroigneus Rex Memoniensium, cujus prosapiae aliquot Reges provinciales in habitu fratrum Minorum ibidem sepulti.' 'Brevis synopsis', p. 145.

¹⁰¹ Gwynn and Hadcock, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

¹⁰² Luke Netterville, archbishop of Armagh is credited with founding the Dominican priory at Drogheda in 1224. Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica*, ii, 120.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ A Dominican according to the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, ed. D. Murphy (Dublin, 1896), p. 237; but in *A new history Ireland*, ed. T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (9 vols, Oxford, 1984), ix, p. 269 there is no mention of him being a Dominican. However his predecessor, Robert Archer - who was appointed in 1238 but never consecrated - was a Dominican, as was his successor Rainaldo, who was consecrated on 28 October 1247.

1247.¹⁰⁵ Further proof that the friary was in existence before the date given by Matthews is an entry in the Annals of Ulster under the year 1253 which states that Máel Pátraic Ó Scannail, a Dominican, was consecrated bishop of Raphoe at the church of the Friars Minor there on 30 November in that year.¹⁰⁶

The conflicting accounts of the Franciscan foundation at Ardfert illustrate some of the difficulties faced by historians when attempting to establish the origins of Irish friaries. Donagh Mooney named the founder as the lord baron of Lixnaw, who was also known as FitzMaurice of Kerry,¹⁰⁷ and Matthews agrees with his account, adding that the ‘Lord MacMorish Kiary of the Geraldines’, then baron of Lixnaw, was buried there with many of his family.¹⁰⁸ The ‘baron’ both authors refer to was Thomas FitzMaurice FitzRaymond, grandson of Maurice FitzGerald who was traditionally credited with founding the Franciscan house at Youghal. G. H. Orpen questioned whether Thomas was in fact the grandson of Maurice FitzGerald and, in a revised genealogy, argued that Thomas was in fact FitzGerald’s great-grandson.¹⁰⁹ Kenneth Nicholls re-opened the discussion in a paper in 1970, arguing not just the relation between Thomas and FitzGerald, but whether Thomas had in fact ever existed at all.¹¹⁰

Further difficulties regarding evidence for Franciscan foundations are demonstrated with regard to the friary at Multyfarnham in Westmeath. It was founded sometime between 1250 and 1264, probably by the Delamars although the Nugents are known to have been connected to the friary. Mooney claimed that the Delamars, also known

¹⁰⁵ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 13; Brendan Smith, *Colonisation and conquest: the English in Louth, 1170-1330* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 93; idem, ‘Tenure and locality in north Leinster in the early thirteenth century’ in T. B. Barry, Robin Frame and Katharine Simms (ed), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland, essays presented to J. F. Lydon* (London, 1995), pp 32-3.

¹⁰⁶ *Annals of Ulster*, ed. B. MacCarthy (Dublin, 1893), ii, p. 317; M. H. McNerney, *History of the Irish Dominicans* (Dublin, 1916), i, 110. For an account of this friary see O’Sullivan, ‘The Franciscans in Dundalk’; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp 60, 90, 110.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Conventus Ardfertensis: fundator ejus est Dominus Baro de Licksna, alio nomine dictus mac morish Kyery.’ ‘Brussels MS 3947’, p. 65.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Conventus Ardfertensis in sede Episcopali ejusdem nominis in Momonía fundatus anno 1253 vel circiter, sub custodia Corcagiensi An. 1260 recensitus... Primus hujus conventus fundator fuit Dominus Macmorish Kiary de Geraldinis, nunc Baro de Licksnave, cujus familia ac plurimum nobilium de cleinmurish, et ditionibus vicinis, sepulturae ibidem habentur.’ ‘Brevis synopsis’, p. 153.

¹⁰⁹ G. H. Orpen, ‘The origins of the FitzMaurices, barons of Kerry and Lixnaw’, *English Historical Review*, xxix (1914), pp 302-15.

¹¹⁰ K. Nicholls, ‘The FitzMaurices of Kerry’, *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, iii (1970), pp 23-42.

by the Irish name MacHerbert, founded the convent in the time of St Francis or soon after.¹¹¹ This assertion must be incorrect since Francis died in 1226 and, as previously stated, there is no evidence of Franciscans in Ireland at that date. Wadding also cited the date of foundation as happening in the life of St Francis, basing his assertion no doubt on Mooney's earlier history. However he also gave another possible date, citing an 'earlier and shorter' history of the province which put the date of foundation as 1270.¹¹² Francis Matthews also gave two dates of foundation – 1270 and 1276. He asserted that the friary was founded in a 'solitary place and boggy marsh' by lord William Hereveard, known also as Delamar.¹¹³ H. G. Leask, in his architectural study of the friary ruins, examined the great window behind the choir and dated it to the end of the thirteenth century, which would seem to confirm Wadding and Matthews's later dates of 1270 or 1276.¹¹⁴ The solitary location of this friary differentiates it from the other foundations mentioned. Mooney, in an extended description of the convent, described it as a place 'well suited to the practice of solitude and recollection, for it is surrounded by marshes and water...so much so that even the villagers are at some distance from the convent, which can only be approached by one road.'¹¹⁵ This was a radical departure from the usual pattern of Franciscan settlement. Dependent upon the general populace for their support, it seems unusual that the friars would choose such an isolated area that was difficult to reach and seems more in keeping with ancient Irish religious and hermits who sought solitude and discomfort as a way of life.

¹¹¹ 'Conventus Montis Fernandi: Hic conventus fundatus est a Domino Delamar, qui Ibernico nomine dicitur Macherbert. Et creditur quod fuerit fundatus vivente adhuc S Francisco, vel paulo post.' 'Brussels MS 3947', p. 92.

¹¹² 'Juxta oppidum montis Fernandi, vulgo Mointerfearnain diocesis Medensis in comitatu Mediae occidentalis in Hibernia, per hoc tempus, vel paulo post mortem sancti Francisci, ut habet secunda et exacta historia MS provincia Hiberniae, constructum est monasterium Minorum, quod tamen in annum mclxx protraxit prima et brevior ejusdem provinciae descriptio.' Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, ii, 479.

¹¹³ 'Conventus Montisfernandi in oppido ejusdem nominis diocesis Medensis loco solitario et paludoso in Media censetur fundatus anno 1270; secundum alios 1276... Primus hujus conventus fundator fuit D. Gullulmus Heverard, alio nomine de Lamare, cujus familia propmodum jam in Comites Midiae occidentalis aliosque nobiles divisa. Cujus sicut et adjacentium aliorum nobilium sepulturae ibi ab antiquo fuisse reperiuntur.' 'Brevis synopsis', pp 151-2.

¹¹⁴ H. G. Leask, 'The abbey buildings in medieval times', *Franciscan College Annual* (1950), p. 10. See O'Donnell, *The Franciscan abbey of Multyfarnham*, pp 3-5.

¹¹⁵ 'Brussels MS 3947', p. 92.

The Annals of Loch Cé tell us that in 1246 the Franciscans were brought to Armagh by Máel Pátraic Ó Scannail,¹¹⁶ the same Dominican prelate who was recorded as being consecrated bishop of Raphoe in 1253 and who was now archbishop of Armagh. In 1264, the annalist records that the archbishop sank a trench around the church of Armagh, although the Four Masters claim that this trench was not sunk until 1266. As seen with previous foundations, Franciscans were often present in an area for a considerable amount of time prior to the formal erection of buildings there. Under the year 1241 two Friars Minor, John de Alneto¹¹⁷ and Thomas de Bartoun, were listed as witnesses to a grant made by Hugh de Lacy to Archbishop Albrecht Suerbeer of lands in Meath.¹¹⁸ The lands were named as ‘Machergalyn and the manor of Nober [Co. Meath] in exchange for the lands of Coulrath [Colerain] in Toscard [Co. Antrim].’¹¹⁹ Donagh Mooney’s account disputes the claims of the Annals of Loch Cé that it was the Dominican archbishop who brought the Franciscans friars there. He accredits the foundation of the friary to an Ua Néill prince, although he adds the disclaimer that ‘which of them [the Uí Néill] was the first founder is not known to me.’¹²⁰ The editor of Mooney’s manuscript, Brendan Jennings, claims that a marginal note in an unknown hand gave the name of the founder as Mac Domnaill gallóglach.¹²¹ But there is no evidence for the presence of members of Clann Domnaill in Ulster until the late thirteenth century, and they had no position of authority in Ua Néill’s lordship until the following century, they cannot have been involved in the original installation of the friars at Armagh, whatever about a later association as benefactors. A second marginal note in a different hand claimed not to know of any other founder than Primate Ó Scannail, who was named by an old Armagh manuscript as the first founder of the friars there.¹²² E. B. Fitzmaurice, in his article on the Franciscans of Armagh, says that the

¹¹⁶ *Annals of Loch Cé*, i, 449.

¹¹⁷ Papally appointed bishop of Raphoe from 1263-5.

¹¹⁸ A. Lynch, ‘Documents of Franciscan interest from the episcopal archives of Armagh, 1265-1508’, *Collectanea Hibernica*, no.’s xxxi and xxxii (1989-90), p. 11.

¹¹⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little say that ‘Machergalyn’ was probably the barony of Morgallion in Co. Meath. *Materials*, p. 7.

¹²⁰ ‘Conventus de Ardmacha: fundator ejus, Princeps Onell; quis autem illorum primum fundaverit, non constat mihi.’ ‘Brussels MS 3947’, p. 36.

¹²¹ He was head of the branch of the Clan-Donald in Ireland: ‘Ali dicunt et verius quod McDomnaill Galloglas sit fundator.’

¹²² ‘Nunquam mihi constare potuit hujus conventus fundatorem alium fuisse a Hiberniae Primate Scannel qui eo primum fratres nostros advexit, ut constat ex veteri manuscripto Armachano quod mihi nunc communicavit per Pr Henricus Mellanus...’. ‘Brevis synopsis’, p. 150.

convent there was named under the custody of Nenagh in the list published by the general chapter of the order held at Narbonne in 1260, and this proves that the friary must have been formally founded prior to 1264.¹²³ He also links the foundation to the Uí Néill, citing an entry in the Annals of Ulster under the year 1353 which states that Gormlaith, formerly wife of Domnall Ua Néill, prince of Ulster, died on 14 April in that year and was ‘buried with the friars of Armagh’,¹²⁴ thus showing a lengthy family patronage of the order. Francis Matthews, in his history of the order, covers all options, stating that the friary was founded before 1260 and that Primate Ó Scannail introduced the friars there but that others claimed it was founded by Dominus Mac Domnaill gallóglach or by an Ua Néill prince.¹²⁵ Under the year 1264 an interpolated entry in the annals of the Four Masters also names Ó Scannail and Mac Domnaill as the founders, claiming that while the archbishop brought the friars to Armagh the gallóglach commander commenced the erection of the buildings, although the reliability of this statement, as already noted, is of dubious merit. The Franciscans had been linked with Armagh since 1241 when they were witnesses to de Lacy’s grant of land and they obviously enjoyed a good relationship with the incumbent archbishop when they established themselves there circa 1264. It seems probable that the establishment of a formal foundation there was at the invitation of the archbishop but that they enjoyed local patronage.

The suggested founders of the other Irish convents, too numerous to include here, were invariably Anglo-Irish magnates or leading native Irish families, with only one or two convents supposedly erected by the ordinary citizens of a given town.

Mooney, for example, noted that Friar Clyn in his annals claimed to have been made first guardian of the convent at Carrick-on-Suir at the behest of Lord James Butler, first earl of Ormond.¹²⁶ The convent of Carrickfergus was linked by him to the

¹²³ Fitzmaurice, ‘The Franciscans in Armagh’, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, p. 66.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 68-9.

¹²⁵ ‘Conventus Ardmachanus in ipsa primatis sede et totius Hyberniae Metropoli Ardmachia in Ultonia fundatus ante annum 1260, eoque fratres diu postmodum introducti solemniter per D. Patricium Scanlanum Primatem, inde orta est opinio asserentium illum fuisse fundatorem hujus loci, qui olim recensebatur sub Custodia Enaghensi in Capitulo Generali Narboniae erecta... hujus conventus praecipuum fundatorem aliqui asserunt D. Mac Domhnall Gallóglach, alii Primatem Ardmachanum praedictum, verius tamen censent fuisse Principem o Nellum’. ‘Brevis synopsis’, p. 150.

¹²⁶ ‘Reperi etiam in quodam veteri manuscripto libro, scripto per fratrem Joannem Clyn qui erat ex Conventualibus, et erat primus Guardianus conventus de Carrignasuire, qui datus est Ordini nostro per

families of either MacGuinness or Aodh Buidhe Ua Néill, although he noted that Hugh de Lacy (the younger) was buried there,¹²⁷ while Francis Matthews maintained that Hugh was actually the founder and that he was buried there in the habit of a friar himself.¹²⁸ He also noted however that the ‘Lord O’Neill’ of the family of Aodh Buidhe was buried there, as were the O’Haras and other noble families.¹²⁹ William de Burgh, ‘first of the family’, was linked by Mooney to the foundation at Galway,¹³⁰ while the convent at Kilconnell, also in Galway, was supposedly founded by a W. O’Kelly, lord of Omayne (Uí Maine).¹³¹ A manuscript uncovered by Martin J. Blake in the British Library would seem to confirm Mooney’s assertions with regard to the latter two friaries. In this document¹³² three Irish convents and their founders are named: William de Burgo who established a friary at Galway; William O’Kelly who brought the friars to Kilconnell and John de Cogan who brought them to Claregalway.¹³³

As already discussed, Henry III provided alms for the repair of the Franciscan house at Dublin in 1233, and in subsequent years for the purchase of tunics throughout Ireland. This patronage was continued under his son Edward I. In December 1293, for example, he granted thirty-five marks annually to the Franciscans at Limerick of whose house, the king claimed, his progenitors were founders. A further twenty-five marks were to be divided equally between the brethren at Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda¹³⁴ where, no doubt, the majority of the friars were of Anglo-Irish extraction. In Roscommon it seems that the native ruler, Feidlim Ua Conchobair,

dominum Jacobum Butler, comitem Urmoniae primum, anno Domini 1336...’. ‘Brussels MS 3947’, pp 26-7.

¹²⁷ ‘Alii dicunt Dominum Maginis esse fundatorum, alii Dominum de Clanniboy. De Antiquitate ejus hoc tantum indicii reperi in quodam vetusto manuscripto: anno 1243 obiit Hugo de Lasy, et sepelitur apud Cragfergas in conventu fratrum minorum.’ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹²⁸ See also *Chartularies of St Mary’s Abbey Dublin*, ii, p. 315.

¹²⁹ ‘Primus hujus conventus fundator fuit Dominus Hugo Lacy comes Ultoniae junior, qui anno 1253 in habitu Fratrum Minorum defunctus ibidem sepelitur. In eodem sepelitur Dominus o Neill de clan Aodh Buidhe; o Hara et adjacentes utriusque familiae et ditionis nobiles.’ ‘Brevis synopsis’, p. 146. Gwynn and Hadcock reject the notion that either the Ua Néill or MacGuinness families were founders of this friary. Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, p. 244.

¹³⁰ ‘Hic conventus fundatus est a Domino Gullielmo de Burgo primo familiae Burgorum...’. ‘Brevis synopsis’, pp 150-1. However, the first William de Burgh died in 1205, too soon to have founded this house and so he must have confused him with someone else, possibly his son Richard or even a later earl of the same name, perhaps Earl William who died in 1280.

¹³¹ ‘Brussels MS 3947’, pp 156-7.

¹³² Which he names as *Sloane MS. no. 4814*.

¹³³ Martin J. Blake, ‘The Franciscan convents in Connacht’, *Galway Archaeological and Historical Society Journal*, xiv (1928-9), p. 26.

¹³⁴ *Cal. documents Ireland*, iii, 52.

introduced the Dominicans in 1253¹³⁵ whilst the Franciscans were introduced to the town in 1269. This foundation did not, however, survive too long. It burnt down the following year and was never rebuilt because, Matthews claims, their founder was dead.¹³⁶ Thus the fate of individual convents was very much dependent upon their patrons. Indeed an account in the register of the Friars Preachers of Athenry shows the importance of patronage for their existence and the competition that existed between the two orders. According to the register, the Friars Minor were invited into county Mayo to establish a house at Strade,¹³⁷ most probably at the request of the de Exonia family. However Stephen de Exonia was married to Basilia, daughter of Myler de Bermingham, a family who had strong links to the Dominican order.¹³⁸ Basilia orchestrated the removal of the Franciscan friary by planning a great feast to which her father, among others, was invited and then in front of her guests embarrassing her husband into granting her a request. She announced that she would neither eat nor drink until the Franciscans were expelled from Strade and replaced with Dominican friars. Stephen had no choice but to comply and by 1252 the Dominicans were in situ and the Franciscans gone.¹³⁹

Although only five convents have been dealt with in any detail above, at least twenty-five friaries had been founded in Ireland by 1270.¹⁴⁰ The friars arrived in

¹³⁵ Williams, *Latin Franciscan Anglo-Irish Annals*, pp 147-8.

¹³⁶ 'Conventus de Roscomaine in oppido ejusdem nominis in Conatia An. 1269 inhabitari ceptus a fratribus, Anno sequenti incendio consumptus, in primo suo ortu interiit, quia ob subsequatam statim mortem fundatoris defuit restaurator.' 'Brevis synopsis', p. 155.

¹³⁷ Also written as Athleathan.

¹³⁸ Myler de Bermingham founded a Dominican house at Athenry in 1241 according to Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, p. 221.

¹³⁹ 'Item domina Basilia dicti Myleri filia, uxor domini de Athleayn videlicet filii Jordani de Exeter [blank] mariti sui invexit fratres Minores in conventu de Athleayn et ipsa misit nuncios ad patrem suum ut [blank] qua veniente in occursum ejus ordinavit magnum convivium, edentibus autem illis et bientibus dicta Basillia juravit quod non comederet nec biberet donec haberet suum optatum a marito suo ut dictum est sed ipse optatum ei concessit. Et ipsa petivit quatenus expellerentur fratres Minores de conventu de Athleayn quo facto ipsa multum gaudens misit nuncios ad Romam cum magna summ pecuniae quatenus fratres Praedicatorum habitarent in conventu illo. Nuncii veniunt cum gaudio asserentes se obtinuisse quod voluerunt, et sic propter rogatum dictae Basiliae fratres Praedicatorum obtinuerunt conventum de Athleayn.' Ambrose Coleman, 'Regestrum monasterii fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry' in *Archivum Hibernicum*, i (1912), pp 201-21; Cotter, *Friars Minor in Ireland*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁰ Ardfert, Co. Kerry; Armagh; Athlone, Co. Westmeath; Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim; Cashel, Co. Tipperary; Castledermot, Co. Kildare; Clane, Co. Kildare; Claregalway, Co. Galway; Clonmel, Co. Tipperary; Cork; Drogheda, Co. Louth; Dublin; Dundalk, Co. Louth; Elphin, Co. Roscommon; Kildare; Kilkenny; Kilnalahan, Co. Galway; Limerick; Multyfarnham, Co. Westmeath; Nenagh, Co. Tipperary; New Ross, Co. Wexford; Roscommon; Trim, Co. Meath; Wexford; Wicklow; Youghal?; Cork.

Ireland and Scotland at about the same time, and Wales less than six years later, and yet this huge variance exists in the number of friaries established. As noted above, in the same period that twenty-five foundations were made in Ireland, no more than four were established in Scotland – at Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries and Haddington – and probably only the friary at Llanfaes in Wales had been founded by this date. There is some suggestion that the order may have been installed in Cardiff but Knowles and Hadcock are not willing to be more definitive than to date the friary there to pre-1284.¹⁴¹ Rice Merrick, writing in 1578, claimed that Richard de Clare brought the Dominicans to Cardiff in 1256 and his son, Gilbert de Clare, also known as ‘the Red’, brought the Franciscans there. According to his account Gilbert, one of the ‘chiefest of the barons in that famous dissension called the Barons’ War’, established the friars in the east part of the castle of Cardiff.¹⁴² It seems from Merrick’s account that the friary was erected about the same time that Gilbert participated in the barons’ war, that is 1263, and although a minor at that time he was in possession of his lands and so in a position to patronise the friars.¹⁴³ Merrick, however, ascribes no particular date to the foundation and so it could have taken place anytime between 1263 and the earl’s death in 1295.

R. C. Easterling, in his study of the friars in Wales, claims not to be aware of any evidence for the existence of the third Welsh friary at Carmarthen before 1284,¹⁴⁴ and Knowles and Hadcock agree.¹⁴⁵ Following an inquisition made by Robert Tybot¹⁴⁶ in that year, Edward I granted the Franciscans there the right to obtain water from a water-course supplying the royal mill.¹⁴⁷ There is, however, earlier mention made of the friary. J. Beverly Smith, in his definitive study of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, states that following the battle of Llandeilo Fawr in June 1282 in which five English knights were killed, William de Valence son of the lord of Pembroke, was buried in the Franciscan friary at Carmarthen.¹⁴⁸ The convent must have been in existence for some time before that date, since it was a consecrated cemetery in which de Valence

¹⁴¹ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval religious house England and Wales*, p. 222.

¹⁴² Rice Merrick, *Morganiae archaioographia, a book of antiquities of Glamorganshire*, ed. Brian Ll. James (Cardiff, 1983), pp 44-5.

¹⁴³ Cronin, *Cardiff Grey Friars*, p. 7.

¹⁴⁴ Easterling, ‘The friars in Wales’, p. 345.

¹⁴⁵ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses England and Wales*, p. 222.

¹⁴⁶ Justiciar of Wales, 1281-98. See also Chapter Three.

¹⁴⁷ Howlett, *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii, 287-8.

¹⁴⁸ J. Beverly Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd Prince of Wales* (Cardiff, 1998), p. 521.

was buried and, as has been seen with other foundations, the pattern was that the friars would have been present for a period of time before a formal foundation was made. Regardless of the date of construction, this was the site for the last Franciscan friary founded in Wales in the period up to 1415.

As previously stated, the first Scottish houses at Berwick and Roxburgh were almost certainly of English provenance, owing to their proximity to the border. Subsequent houses were founded by native Scots who were, according to Moir Bryce, ‘always eager to effect a separation from their parent custody’.¹⁴⁹ The friars arrived at Berwick about 1231 and from there established a foundation at Roxburgh sometime between 1232 and 1234. Despite the relatively slow expansion of the two larger mendicant orders through the country, it appears that there was widespread support for them from their arrival and by 1233/4 Scotland had its first mendicant bishop.¹⁵⁰ According to the Lanercost chronicler, the Franciscans had a foundation at Haddington by 1242, and this would make geographical sense, since the royal burgh of Haddington was close to both Berwick and Roxburgh. Under this year, the chronicler tells us that there was a great gathering of knights from all the kingdom of Scotland for a tournament. During the night certain ‘ministers of evil’ killed Patrick of Galloway heir to the earldom of Atholl, and then set fire to the buildings in which he was lodging to cover their crime.¹⁵¹ The body was carried, we are told, to ‘the place of the Friars Minors in that town, unlamented and buried there.’¹⁵² Bower also includes an account of the incident, naming the perpetrators of the act as the Bissets, who killed the young Patrick because of a long-standing enmity between their ancestors.¹⁵³ His burial in the Franciscan church at Haddington demonstrates that the friars must have been present in the town for some time since they had established buildings and had had them consecrated. Walter Bower claims that Alexander II had

¹⁴⁹ Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 5.

¹⁵⁰ See above.

¹⁵¹ ‘Congregati sunt milites totius regni Scotiae ad quoddam hastiludium apud Hadyngtoun, ubi innocens a nocentibus et malignis, dolo et fine causa, occisus est; videat quo Ultor est sanguinis! Patricius quidem de Athoyle, juvenis aetate et procerus ac formosus corpore, quia seperabatur magnus futurus cujusdam hereditatis sibi attinentis dominus, cum tamen praemunitus effret eo die litteratorie sui interfectoris conjuge, media nocte incensa domo ubi cum comitantibus se receperat, et circumsusis malitiae ministris ne quis egrederetur, affatus est cum suis...’. *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 49-50.

¹⁵² ‘...ac delatus ad locum fratrum Minorum ejusdem villae illamentatus est sepultus.’ *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ ‘...pro quibusdam inimiciis apud antecessores suos inveteratis perimerunt...’. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v, 191

a special affection for the Dominican order in Scotland¹⁵⁴ but there seems no reason to suppose that this did not extend to the other mendicant orders, and the location of the friary in a royal burgh combined with Alexander's known zeal for patronising religious orders would seem to indicate that it was, probably, a royal foundation.

The fourth Scottish friary at Dumfries was founded about 1262,¹⁵⁵ and has a strong tradition linking it to Devorgilla of Galloway. Moir Bryce says that although this tradition originates with Thomas Dempster, 'this would appear to be one of the rare instances in which some degree of confidence may be reposed in this writer'.¹⁵⁶ John Edwards, in his study of the first Franciscan houses in Scotland, disagrees with Moir Bryce, citing Wyntoun's chronicle as casting doubt on this tradition.¹⁵⁷ He also argues that Devorgilla's religious zeal only came to the fore following her husband's death¹⁵⁸ and we know that the Franciscans were already at Dumfries by this time because an entry in the exchequer rolls under the year 1262 records that the friars there were in receipt of an annual allowance of £4.¹⁵⁹ Edwards does not, however, offer an alternative possible founder and, in the absence of any contrary proof, it seems logical to accept Devorgilla as a potential founder at least, especially because she also founded the Franciscan house at Dundee, sometime before 1289.¹⁶⁰ This convent had strong links with the nobility of Scotland. Lord Lindsay, in the biography of his family, claiming that his ancestors were generous supporters of the friary, adopting the title 'Protectors and Defenders, under his Highness the King, of the Friars Minors of Dundee.'¹⁶¹

The fifth Scottish friary at Lanark was definitely of royal provenance. Between November 1328 and May 1329 Robert I acquired by exchange 'a manor and orchard

¹⁵⁴ 'Mira illa [Alexander II] circa religionis augmentum devocio, in construendis ecclesiis fratrum precipue Predicatorum sollicitudo...'. Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ See Anneli Randal, 'The mendicant orders and their architecture in Scotland' in Jurgen Sarnowsky (ed.), *Mendicants, military orders and regionalism in medieval Europe* (England, 1999), p. 253 for a description of this friary; Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 199.

¹⁵⁶ Moir Bryce, *op. cit.*, pp 201-2.

¹⁵⁷ Edwards, 'The Grey Friars and their first houses in Scotland', p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁵⁹ 'Ex computo E. de Maccuswell, vicecomitis de Dunfreis etc... Item, in procuracione fratrum Minorum iiii L...'. *Exchequer rolls*, i, 17.

¹⁶⁰ Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 215.

¹⁶¹ Alexander William Crawford Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays, or a memoir of the houses of Crawford and Balcarres* (London, 1849), i, 104.

within the burgh of Lanark enclosed by a wall',¹⁶² from a woman named Ellen de Quarantly for the Franciscans of Scotland. The friary was certainly established by August 1329 when the exchequer rolls list it as exempted from a tax of 20d. due to the crown.¹⁶³ Clement VI granted the formal bull of erection for the friars in 1346 and decreed that twelve members of the order should always reside there,¹⁶⁴ although Moir Bryce believes it unlikely that such a number ever lived there.¹⁶⁵ The final Scottish friary erected during the period covered by this thesis was that at Inverkeithing, to the north of Edinburgh. Cowan and Easson have two dates of foundation beside this friary: 1289 with a question mark, and an unknown year sometime before 1384.¹⁶⁶ Despite listing the earlier date there is no evidence for the existence of this friary in the thirteenth century. Indeed, there is evidence to the contrary. In 1297 Edward I commanded his treasurer of Scotland, Hugh Cressingham, to examine the accounts of Alexander III and King John Balliol, for the towns of Berwick, Roxburgh, Haddington, Dumfries and Dundee to ascertain what alms the Friars Minors of those towns were entitled to. As a result of this investigation the friars at Berwick were granted three shillings weekly and a *pisa* of wax annually; those at Roxburgh were also entitled to three shillings weekly, eighteen stones of wax and a large jar (*dolium*) of wine; those at Haddington were only granted the three shillings per week, while those at Dumfries were in receipt of three shillings, seventeen stones of wax and a pipe of wine. The largest sum was reserved for those friars at Dundee who received ten pounds sterling and twenty pounds of wax per annum.¹⁶⁷ There is no mention made of a foundation at Inverkeithing. A. G. Little notes that the amounts granted to the friaries indicate that the houses were quite small, guessing that Dumfries contained between four and six friars, Roxburgh five, Haddington probably about the same, while Berwick, as the

¹⁶² '...infra burgum de Lanark sicut jacent et clauduntur in circuitu per muram...'. Moir Bryce, op. cit., p. 240

¹⁶³ Account of William Aldyn, bailie of Lanark, *Exchequer rolls*, i, 163.

¹⁶⁴ *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum constitutiones, epistolas, ac diplomata continens tribus ordinibus Minorum, Clarrissarum et Poenitentium a Sancto Francisco institutus concessa nunc primum in lucem editum notis atque indicibus locupletatum studio et labore Fr. Johannis H. Sbaraleae*, ed. Conrad Eubel and Johannis Hyacinthus Sbaraleae (7 vols, Rome, 1759-1904), vi, 26.

¹⁶⁵ Moir Bryce, op. cit., p. 242.

¹⁶⁶ Cowan and Easson, *Medieval religious houses Scotland*, p. 124.

¹⁶⁷ *Docs. Scotland*, ii, 246-7.

largest, probably varied somewhere between seven and fourteen.¹⁶⁸ Although he makes no mention of the numbers in the friary at Dundee, the sum of money and quantity of wax granted to them indicates that this friary must have rivalled Berwick in numbers.

The final Franciscan convent with which this thesis is concerned is that founded at Bymacan on the Isle of Man. This friary features little in the subsequent history of the Franciscan order in the British Isles but it is interesting to note that it was included as part of the Irish province. In a letter dated July 1373 Gregory XI wrote to Friar Roger Cradock, formerly bishop of Waterford and now bishop of Llandaff, asking him to consecrate the buildings of the friars there or to cause them to be consecrated by some other bishop because the bishop of Sodor was too distant.¹⁶⁹ The pope also referred to an earlier petition by the Irish provincial minister and Friars Minor as well as the earl of Salisbury, William de Montecute, for the establishment of a convent on the island. In response, the bishop of Sodor granted licence to the friars to accept the site granted by the earl, and to build there a church or oratory, with bell-turret, cemetery and houses.¹⁷⁰ J. K. Barrat says in his study of this friary that twelve friars travelled from Ireland but that extant records give no details as to who those men were. As Irish friars they remained subject to the Irish province but in secular ecclesiastical matters they were subject to the diocesan bishop, in this instance the bishop of Sodor and Man.¹⁷¹

The friary on Man was established following a petition from Irish friars in conjunction with the earl of Salisbury, and perhaps this enthusiasm for expansion

¹⁶⁸ A. G. Little, 'Chronological notes on the life of Duns Scotus' written for *English Historical Review*, contained in Little's library, Grey Friars College Oxford.

¹⁶⁹ Michael Robson, 'Franciscan bishops of Irish dioceses active in medieval England: a guide to the materials in English libraries and archives', *Collectanea Hibernica*, xxxviii (1996), p. 23.

¹⁷⁰ '...Sane petitio pro parte dilectorum filiorum Prioris provincialis et fratrum Minorum, provincie Ybernie secundum morem dicti ordinis, ac dilecti filii nobilis viri Guillelmi de Montecuto Comititis Sareshiriensis petitio continebat, quod in diocesi Sodorensi nullus loci dicti ordinis Minorum fore dinoscitur, quodque idem Comes de salute propria cogitans, et cupiens terrena in celestia, et transitoria in eterna felici commercio commutare, ad omnipotentis Dei laudem et gloriam, ac pro sue et aliorum Christi fidelium animarum salute unum locum ad opus et usum dictorum fratrum in parrochia sancte Columbe in Insula Mannie dicte diocesis, cuius idem Comes dominus existit, consistente assignare proponit...'. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta*, pp 331-2; *Calendar of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: papal letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893-), iii, 186.

¹⁷¹ For a full history of the friary see J. K. Barrat, 'The Franciscan friary at Bymacan', *The Journal of the Manx Museum*, vi (1964), pp 209-14.

within the Irish province can explain why there were such a large number of foundations in Ireland. As already discussed, at least one Scottish house was a royal foundation – Lanark – but all the houses founded there were situated in royal burghs. This is not unusual since the mendicant orders were reliant upon patronage for their sustenance. The development of burghs across Scotland flourished under David I (1124-53) and continued up to the Wars of Independence, leading one historian to observe that “the first wave of mendicant foundations coincided with the “good times” of the burghs,¹⁷² and by the end of the thirteenth century sixteen of the thirty-three royal burghs had at least one friary. From their arrival, the Franciscans of Scotland demonstrated a dual allegiance. In the first instance they were of English provenance and obviously displayed no native partiality during the Anglo-Scottish wars of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries since the English kings continued to patronise them. Despite their origins, however, the Scottish friars sought to distance themselves from the English province almost from the beginning, thus maintaining an allegiance to the English king whilst proclaiming a Scottish identity. The situation was only resolved when the border house at Berwick was cleared of rebellious Scottish friars and it reverted to the English province. In Wales the first Franciscan house was established by a native Welsh prince, which would lead to the presumption that the friars situated there were sympathetic to the native cause from their inception. This, however, did not prove to be true. The Franciscans of Wales remained generally impartial throughout the Anglo-Welsh wars of the late thirteenth century, only demonstrating sympathy with the Welsh cause when Owain Glyndŵr rose up against Henry IV in 1400. In Ireland there was widespread support for the order throughout both native Irish and Anglo-Irish communities, and it seems that convents were founded in equal measure throughout the communities *inter Hibernicos* and *inter Anglicos*. In all instances, however, the order was dependent upon the local community for their support.

The difference between the number of foundations in Ireland and those in Scotland and Wales cannot be explained by simple geography or demographics. If all Irish foundations had been in urban centres it might be tempting to claim that this was the sole cause but friaries such as Multyfarnham preclude such a conclusion. In any case

¹⁷² Randal, ‘The mendicant orders and their architecture in Scotland’, pp 245-6; G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and unity, Scotland 1000-1306* (London, 1981), pp 79-80.

Scotland was as urbanised, if not more so, than Ireland. The presence of English magnates in both Ireland and Wales suggests that the colonists should have introduced friaries in equal numbers in both countries, and yet this is not reflected in the numbers of foundations established and so must also be dismissed. It appears, in fact, that the only other country in the British Isles that experienced the expansion of the Franciscans on such a scale was England and this leaves only one logical conclusion – that England and Ireland were somehow equally attractive to the mendicant orders. It is not too hard to see why the Franciscans moved so rapidly throughout England – there was wide-scale urban development, universities and a large population for the provision of alms. Ireland was relatively rural by comparison and, although the Franciscans settled in mostly urban areas, they also chose isolated sites in which to locate friaries. The experiences of the Franciscans in England and Ireland, therefore, cannot be said to mirror each other, nor can they be compared to Wales and Scotland. It seems that Ireland proved fertile ground for the Irish Franciscan ideal – more so than either Wales or Scotland although those countries professed to take the mendicants to their hearts - and the province, independent since its inception, thrived there.

Chapter Two - Rebels and Heretics: the Friars in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the foundation of the mendicant orders re-invigorated religious fervour across Europe. From the outset these new orders, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, enjoyed a good relationship with secular and ecclesiastical authorities.¹ The friars, by virtue of their itinerancy, were able to travel freely in the cause of king or pope, and both made equal use of their diplomatic skills and freedom from diocesan authority.² The friars had other skills that made them highly sought after. They were literate and able preachers, whose sermons were well attended wherever they travelled, and they enjoyed popularity throughout Europe. The intention of this chapter is to consider the reception that the mendicant orders received upon reaching the British Isles, examining both secular and religious reactions to their widespread popularity. It will also examine the political role of the friars in a wider European context, drawing upon examples from the Continent with which to compare and contrast their actions across the British Isles. Finally, it will attempt to determine whether there was an anti-authoritarian attitude among the friars from their inception, with particular reference to the Franciscans.

The name that Francis gave to his new religious order – the Order of Friars Minor – reflected his vision for the men that followed him, and the Rule that he established in 1223 formalized³ the Franciscan way of life. He required that his friars would be ‘gentle, peaceable, modest, merciful and humble, with honourable conversation towards all, as is fitting’ and that they would ‘observe the holy gospel of our Lord

¹ For the friars in France, see Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, crusader king of France* (Cambridge, 1983), pp 106, 160, 225, 227-8; C. H. Lawrence, *The friars: the impact of the early mendicant movement on western society* (London, 1995), pp 166, 167, 170-1 etc.; Richards W. Emery, *The Friars in medieval France: a catalogue of French mendicant convents 1200-1550* (London, 1962); for England see Hinnebusch, ‘Diplomatic activities of the English Dominicans’; idem, *Early English Friars Preachers*; Little, ‘A century of English Franciscan History’, *The Contemporary Review*, no. 706 (1924), pp 449-58; John Sever, *The English Franciscans under Henry III* (Oxford, 1915); for Italy see Carol Lansing, *Power and purity, Cathar Heresy in medieval Italy* (Oxford, 1998); Augustine Thompson, *Revival preachers and politics in thirteenth-century Italy* (Oxford, 1992); in Germany and Spain see Lawrence, *The friars*, pp 179-80.

² See Lawrence, op. cit., p. 188; André Vauchez, ‘The religious orders’, in David Abulafia (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1999), v, p. 249.

³ Confirmed by Pope Honorius III on 29 November 1223. See Huber, *Documented history*, pp 43-4.

Jesus Christ, living in obedience, without personal possessions and in chastity'.⁴ Although at first glance this does not appear to be radically different to the traditional monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, the Franciscan adherence to poverty was not merely personal but institutional.⁵ Francis, from the outset, believed that in order to follow the example of Christ and his apostles his friars should possess nothing, 'neither a house, nor a place, nor anything' but they should go about the world 'as pilgrims and strangers in this world, serving God in poverty and humility'.⁶ However, the success of the order made this strict observance of poverty impractical – as numbers grew, it became virtually impossible to rely solely upon alms for food and shelter. Within a few years of Francis's death a significant section of the Franciscan community had turned its back upon the more difficult aspects of the rule. Naturally, this led to fractious debates within the order, as zealous advocates of total poverty clashed with their moderate brethren. Eventually this ideological divide was formalized towards the end of the fourteenth century when the friars split into Conventual and Observant orders. Indeed, by the late fourteenth century so indistinguishable had most of the friars become from their monastic predecessors in terms of property and possessions, that Chaucer was able to satirise their supposed love of poverty, describing his pilgrim friar as '...the best beggere of his house...And rage⁷ he koude as it weere right a whelp...For there he was nat lyk a cloysterer, With a threadbare cope as is a poure scoler, But he was lyk a maister or a pope...'.⁸

By contrast the purpose of the Order of Friars Preachers as envisaged by Dominic was, as the name might suggest, that of preaching and evangelising the faith. Dominic had been an Augustinian canon in the chapter of Osma in Castille when it was reformed to the Augustinian Rule in 1201,⁹ and it was this rule that he adopted for his newly founded order in 1216.¹⁰ The second aspect of his life that Dominic brought to his new order was his experience of the Albigensian heresy as he travelled

⁴ Ibid., pp 626-32.

⁵ Emery, *Friars in medieval France*, pp 1-2.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Flirt.

⁸ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury tales*, ed. N. F. Blake (London, 1980), pp 39-40.

⁹ Augustinian canons followed the rule of St Augustine of Hippo, who died in 430, and they were officially recognised in 1059.

¹⁰ Confirmed by Honorius II, 22 December 1216.

through France in the early thirteenth century. Although he had little practical influence upon its outcome, he bore witness to the ravages of heresy upon the church and determined to combat its effects through evangelising the faith across Europe.¹¹ This task was something that required learned and able men who had been trained in theology and were zealous in their faith. Dominic summed up the intentions of his order when he reminded Friar Matthew, recently sent to France, that he and his brothers went ‘as students and preachers’ to establish a convent there.¹² Dominic, unlike Francis, wanted educated, able preachers who were not just emulating Christ’s life but were articulating it throughout Europe, whilst leading a life designed to inspire the populations among whom they lived.¹³ For Francis, the mendicant lifestyle emulated the life of Christ as described by the gospels. Secular, and even theological, learning was a vanity; he wished his friars to be poor in all aspects of their lives and even education was a possession that might enrich the order.¹⁴ In 1222, however, Francis wrote to St Anthony of Padua, commanding that henceforth the brethren should be instructed in theology ‘but in such a manner as not to extinguish the spirit of prayer and devotion’.¹⁵ This changed irrevocably the nature of the Franciscan order. Hereafter ‘the friars were not to be mere simple lay brothers who begged their living... but also cultured, educated priests who at the bidding of the pope and bishops might evangelise the poor and the faithful of the world...’.¹⁶

Within four years of his death, the friars had left behind Francis’s ideals regarding humility and education and had established schools at Oxford and Cambridge. Thus, although the two largest mendicant orders had begun in different circumstances with very different aims, within a few short years of their foundation they had come together in the universities of Europe, which were seen as fertile grounds for recruiting the brightest young men of the age.¹⁷ The friars shared another

¹¹ See R. F. Bennett, *The early Dominicans* (Cambridge, 1937).

¹² ‘...ut studerent et praedicarent et conventum ibi facerent...’. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹³ J. J. Berthier (ed.), *Expositio super constitutiones, opera de vita regulari* (Rome, 1889), ii, p. 48; William A. Hinnebusch, ‘Foreign Dominican students and professors at the Oxford Blackfriars’ in *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus*, (Oxford Historical Society, new series, xvi, 1964), p. 101.

¹⁴ H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford, 1936), i, 346.

¹⁵ ‘...placet mihi quod sacram theologiam legas fratribus, dummodo propter hujusmodi studium sanctae orationis et devotionis spiritum non extinguant, sicut in regula continentur...’. Huber, *Documented history*, pp 41-2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁷ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, 346-8.

characteristic. Free from the diocesan boundaries of the secular church or the cloisters of the monastic one, they were at liberty to move within the world rather than sequestered from it, and this advantage was exploited by both secular rulers and the papacy for their own gain. It also ensured, however, that they were exposed far more so than their cloistered monastic brethren, to the criticism of the wider world and very quickly the mendicant orders came into conflict with the established clergy. Francis, fearing such an outcome, had warned his brethren ‘not to preach in the diocese of any bishop who [had] forbidden them to do so’,¹⁸ but his counsel was ignored. The popularity of the mendicant orders combined with their itinerant lifestyle and favoured position with the papacy led inevitably to clashes with both religious and secular ecclesiastics throughout Europe.¹⁹

Agnellus of Pisa led the first Franciscan friars who landed at Dover in September 1224.²⁰ Two of the initial nine friars made their way to Oxford where, Eccleston tells us, they were received with kindness by the Dominicans who had established themselves in the town four years before.²¹ Thus relations between the two orders were cordial at first. This initial cooperation changed, however, as competition for alms developed and relations between the orders soured in the universities of Europe. In 1243 Matthew Paris reports that a controversy arose between the orders of Preachers and the Minors to the astonishment of many because both orders advertised themselves as having chosen lives of poverty and patience.²² According to his account the friars clashed over which order was the more worthy. The Dominicans, he alleges, claimed that their order was the first and that their preaching and adherence to the apostolic dignity gave them precedence over their Franciscan brethren.²³ The Franciscans purportedly countered that they were more humble and

¹⁸ Huber, *op. cit.*, pp 626-32.

¹⁹ See Lawrence, *The friars*, pp 105-6, for clashes between friars and the secular clergy in Cologne and Florence.

²⁰ See Chapter One.

²¹ Eccleston, ‘De adventu Fratrum Minorum’, p. 9.

²² ‘...eo quod viam perfectionis, videlicet paupertatis et patientiae, videbantur elegisse...’: Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard (7 vols, London, 1877), iv, 279-80.

²³ ‘Asserentibus enim Praedicatoribus se fuisse priores, et in hoc ipso digniores, habitu quoque honestiores, a praedicatione merito nomen et officium se sortiri, et Apostolica dignitate verius insigniri.’ *Ibid.*

invited the Dominicans to join their more rigorous, and therefore superior, order.²⁴ The claims of both orders to moral superiority and greater humility show how quickly they had moved from the ideals of their founders. According to the English chronicler there was further trouble between the two orders in the universities, caused by the masters of theology – but especially the chief readers of the Preachers and Minors – disputing and discussing ‘more subtly and deeply than proper or expedient.’²⁵ As a Benedictine monk Matthew Paris was, of course, delighted to report these controversies in detail. The religious orders looked on jealously as the mendicant friars moved rapidly across the British Isles, establishing themselves in most of the major towns and usurping what were seen as traditional monastic and ecclesiastical rights.

Initially the friars were welcomed by the university authorities as they added greatly to their prestige, but even early on there were indications that the relative freedom the mendicants enjoyed from both secular and ecclesiastical authority might be a source of conflict. In March 1231, Oxford was forced to pass a statute limiting the number of friar doctors and securing university control over graduates after a friar circumvented normal procedures and attempted to proceed to the degree of Doctor of Divinity without first graduating in arts.²⁶ The University of Paris faced similar problems with friars who believed themselves above the authority of the governing body. In 1253 the Parisian officials complained that the Dominicans had become so numerous and elevated from being confessors and advisors to kings, that they refused to submit to the approved customs and rights of the university.²⁷ Under the year 1255 the Annals of Burton record further trouble between the Dominicans and the officials at the university at Paris whereby the friars considered themselves above the

²⁴ ‘Respondent Minores, se arctiorem vitam et humiliorem pro Deo elegisse, et iccirco digniorem, quia sanctiorem, et ab ordine Praedicatorum ad ordinem eorum fratres posse et licenter debere, quasi ab inferiori ad ordinem arctiorem et superiorem, transmigrare.’ Ibid.

²⁵ ‘Ipsius quoque temporibus, videlicet post festum Sancti Michaelis, ut moris est, studiis scholarum et scolarium refluentibus, incipiebant magistri theologiae, praecipue tamen praecipui Praedicatorum et Minorum lectores, disputare et dissere subtilius et celsius quam decuit aut expedivit.’ Ibid., p. 280. Although he does not specify at which university the friars were engaged in these disputes it seems fair to assume that it was probably Oxford, where both orders had schools and from where stories regarding the friars would have reached St Albans with ease.

²⁶ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, p. 68.

²⁷ ‘Parisiis orta est discordia sumptuosa inter scolares et fratres Praedicatorum. Noluerunt enim ipsi fratres approbatis consuetudinibus et iuribus universitatis subjacere, sed pro voluntate propria regere et cessare, aliaque communitati contraria perpetrare...’. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Frederic Madden (3 vols, London, 1869), iii, 33

authority of the institutions or ceremonies of the university and insisted on incepting in theology without licence.²⁸ About 1303 Oxford was again forced to address the issue of recalcitrant mendicant scholars and the conflict reached its peak between 1311 and 1314.²⁹ In 1303 the university brought in a statute limiting the number of faculty regents required to pass any future statutes, presumably in an attempt to bypass the need to include the friars in all matters relating to the university. By 1311 the Dominican order had taken centre stage in the dispute with the university, writing to the papal curia that secular masters were obliging friars to become masters in arts before they could proceed to a doctorate and that they were being forced to swear never to oppose the rights and privileges of the university.³⁰ In 1316 agreement was finally reached in favour of the university, with the proviso that no master could oppose the progression of a friar to a doctorate without good cause.³¹

Within the universities there were also fears that the mendicant orders were enticing young boys to join their orders. In 1358 the university authorities at Oxford complained that people were afraid to send their sons there lest they be persuaded to join one of the mendicant orders. In response the university enacted that if any friar induce, or cause to be induced to join their order any member of the university less than eighteen years of age then no graduate of that order would be allowed to give or attend lectures for the ensuing year.³² The statute was annulled in 1366 after the

²⁸ ‘Cum inter universitatem Parisius et fratres Praedicatores suborta fuisset dissensio, eo quod iidem fratres institutis aut caeremoniis universitatis parere contempserint, quinetiam quae cancellarii ac totius universitatis consilio geri consueverant, jurisdictionem sibi incautus super universitatem et contra ejusdem universitatis libertatem vindicantes, suo potius gerenda arbitrio proponebant, videlicet, it pro voluntate sua ipsi inciperent de theologia, absque licentia cancellarii vel universitatis, et quod nullus magistrorum lecturus theologiam examinaretur, ab aliis quam ab ipsis, vel incipiendi licentiam obtineret...’. ‘Annales de Burton AD 1004-1263’ in Henry R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* (London, 1964), i, 347-8.

²⁹ M. W. Sheehan, ‘The religious orders, 1220-1370’ in J. I. Catto (ed.), *The history of the University of Oxford* (8 vols, Oxford, 1984), i, 193-221; A. G. Little, ‘A record of the English Dominicans, 1314’, *English Historical Review*, v (1890), pp 107-12.

³⁰ See Sheehan, ‘The religious orders, 1220-1370’, p. 206.

³¹ ‘...Per vestrae Sanctitatis providentiam tranquillitati consuli et quieti; Clementiae vestrae devotis precibus supplicamus, quatinus super quadam dissensione, inter dictos Fratres et Magistros et Scholares Universitatis praedictae, nuper mota, et in vestra Sacra Curia jam ventilata, de quibusdam impedimentis, quae predicti Magistri et Scholares praefatis Fratribus, in Universitate praedicta, voluntarie, ut intelleximus, irrogarunt, dignemini concordiam taliter reformare, quod privilegia dictorum Fratrum, quibus ipsi, temporibus Progenitorum nostrorum, et nostro, usque ad tempus impedimentorum praedictorum, in dicta Universitate uti consueverunt et gaudere, sibi, de vestrae Benignitatis mansuetudine, confirmentur...’. Rymer, op. cit., pp 588-9.

³² ‘...ad ipsorum Mendicantium ordinem alliciant vel inducant, quodque, ob receptinam talium puerorum ad ordines Mendicantium, tranquillitas studentium istius Universitatis fuerat saepius peturbata... ante annum aetatus suae octavum decimum ad nimis completum, infra hanc

friars had vigorously defended themselves, both before the king in parliament and at the papal curia.³³ It seems, however, that there may have been some truth to the allegations that the mendicants were enticing young boys to join their orders. In February 1411 the schismatic Pope John XXIII issued a mandate to the bishop of Exeter to inquire into a petition received on behalf of one Henry, a donzel³⁴ and the youngest son and heir of John Witberi of the diocese of Exeter. Henry alleged that he had been given to the Friars Minor of Exeter when only eleven years old so as to exclude him from his paternal inheritance.³⁵ The pope decreed that should the allegations prove true, Henry was to be allowed back into the world and released from his professions.³⁶

The debate between the two orders at Oxford, as reported by Matthew Paris, gives an indication of the declining relations between the two main mendicant orders by the middle of the thirteenth century.³⁷ Yet the Dominicans and Franciscans were not just in competition with each other but also with the established monastic orders. Mendicant acquisition of land in particular was a source of friction in the thirteenth century as the monastic orders lost revenue and alms to the highly mobile friars. As discussed in Chapter One, the friars were able to expand quickly throughout the

Universitatem ad habitum eorum receperit, vel induxerit, seu recipi fecerit vel induci, ... per annum immediate sequentem quidquam legat vel audiat in hac Universitate, vel alibi quod in hac Universitate pro forma aliqua sibi cedat; quali poena, tam illi quam sui etiam percillantur, quicumque de ordine Mendicantium per fidedignos convicti fuerint, quod ab Universitate insta seu philosophia audienda juvenes retraxerunt quovismodo...'. *Munimenta academica*, ed. Henry Anstey (London, 1868), i, 204-5.

³³ 'Isto anno in parlamento suo celebrato apud Westmonasterium post pascham dominus rex cassavit et adnullit statutum novum editum per universitates Oxoniensem et Cantebriensiensem contra fratres...'. A. Gransden, 'A fourteenth century chronicle from the Grey Friars at Lynn', *English Historical Review*, lxxii (1957), pp 276-7.

³⁴ Page or esquire.

³⁵ *Cal. papal letters*, vi, 223.

³⁶ *Ibid.* Sometimes the reverse was true, and disgruntled family members abducted friars from the mendicant orders. David de Burgh, younger brother of Walter, future earl of Ulster, for example, joined the order of Friars Minor at Dublin whereupon the earl, displeased at his brother's actions, rode with knights, soldiers, and his satellites against the friary and David was violently forced from the house. A. G. Little, *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicatorum* (Aberdeen, 1908), pp 69-70. See also the *Register of the Abbey of St Thomas, Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (London, 1889), p. 104 for the account of Walter de Hereford who became a Franciscan, and whose inheritance then had to be divided between his three sisters.

³⁷ In both Ireland and Scotland there are instances of Franciscans and Dominicans being unable or unwilling to share a town or location. In Elgin in Scotland the Franciscans declined to stay because the Dominicans were already established there. *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis e pluribus consarcinatum circa AD 1400, cum continuatione diplomatum recentiorum usque ad AD 1623*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1837), p. 281. See Chapter One for the fate of the Franciscan house at Strade, Co. Mayo.

British Isles, accepting any accommodation available to them as they entered a town. This usually meant that friaries were located outside town walls or in less desirable areas, all of which contributed to the friars' high standing among the local populace. The existence of forty-nine friaries in England within thirty-two years of the Franciscans landing at Dover³⁸ both proves how popular the friars were and demonstrates why commentators such as Matthew Paris, Bartholomew Cotton³⁹ and the Worcester annalist⁴⁰ would have taken such pleasure in recording scandalous incidents involving the friars.⁴¹ As discussed in the previous chapter, the accepted belief is that the Franciscans sent friars from England into Ireland and Scotland in the early 1230s. There were Franciscans in Berwick from 1231, although there was no regular friary established until May 1244,⁴² and from there the friars expanded into Roxburgh, another border town, sometime between 1232 and 1234. Shortly after this they came into conflict with the established Scottish clergy for the first time. The friars had marked out a piece of ground for use as a cemetery and requested its consecration under the terms of the papal bull *Ita vobis*⁴³ which had granted friars permission to bury members of their order in their own churches and cemeteries. This was viewed as a serious encroachment on the rights of the established clergy. In 1253 Friar Martin, custos of the Friars Minors of Scotland, and Herbert Mansuel, abbot of Kelso, brought a case before William, bishop of Glasgow. In a letter dated 4 May 1253 the bishop recognised the rights of the friars as granted by *Ita vobis* so long as the rights of the monks of Kelso suffered no prejudice.⁴⁴

In 1245 Innocent IV was forced to address the difficulties arising between the religious orders and the mendicants. Adam de Marisco, one of a number of scholars who had joined the order in maturity, wrote a letter to the provincial minister of the

³⁸ Eccleston, 'De adventu fratrum Minorum', p. 10.

³⁹ Bartholomew Cotton, *Historia Anglicana AD 449-1298*, ed. Henry R. Luard (London, 1859).

⁴⁰ 'Annales Prioratus de Wygornia'.

⁴¹ See Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550-1307* (London, 1974), for other contemporary commentators.

⁴² When David de Bernhame, bishop of St Andrews, consecrated its church and cemetery. Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 6.

⁴³ Promulgated by Gregory IX in 1227.

⁴⁴ '...cum constaret nobis dictos Fratres Minores privilegiatos esse ad habendam sepulturam suis dumtaxat fratribus ubicunque certas mansiones habuerint, nos perpetue pacie et indemnitati partis utriusque in hunc modum dignum duximus providere, videlicet, ut dictum cimiterium loco prenominato dedicaretur, quod eodem die dedicavimus, ita quod juri monarchorum de Kelso in suis ecclesiis in nullo derogeretur.' *Liber S Marie de Calchou, registrum cartarum Abbatie Tironensis de Kelso 1113-1567* (Edinburgh, 1846), ii, 321 no. 418.

Friars Minor of England complaining how members of that order were hated by bishops, and that actions were being brought against them by diverse prelates of the Christian world.⁴⁵ De Marisco had entered the priesthood and lived in Durham for three years before becoming a Franciscan, and so was probably not inclined towards perceiving slights where there were none.⁴⁶ On 17 September Innocent IV issued an encyclical to the prelates of Europe ordering them to ‘restrain all persons from oppressing the Friars Minors.’ In it were outlined some of the difficulties facing the order whereby ‘many prelates and others of the church wish to hear friars’ confessions and impose penance on them, object to friars being buried in their churches, or to their having cemeteries...’⁴⁷ This, however, only went some way to alleviating the disputes between the mendicants and the religious and secular clergy. The Benedictine author of the *Annals of Worcester* reports an incident that took place in 1289-90 between the friars and monks of the town. Following the death of Henry Poche, a citizen of Worcester in 1289, it was alleged that the sacrist of the priory carried off the body by force and buried it in the monks’ cemetery despite the protests of the Franciscans.⁴⁸ The friars complained to the archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham, that they had been beaten and wounded by the monks when they attempted to regain possession of the body. The archbishop wrote to the bishop⁴⁹ demanding an inquiry and threatening all the officials of the priory with excommunication and the church with an interdict unless the body was restored. The bishop discovered that Poche had indeed bequeathed his body to the Franciscans and that no one had deliberately hurt the friars, but that the crowd had pressed in upon them until they fell on some dung-heaps. The body was exhumed and relinquished to the friars but, the annalist complains, ‘they carried [the body] through the streets with

⁴⁵ ‘Putant fratres discreti, quod multa et gravia attemptabuntur contra fratres in instanti concilio per praelatos diversarum partium orbis Christiani. Longe facti sunt fratres a favore curiae in suis petitionibus stultam sapientiam mundi sapientibus; unde plurimum gaudendum videtur in Domino.’ ‘Adae de Marisco Epistolae’ in J. S. Brewer (ed.), *Monumenta Franciscana* (2 vols, London, 1858), i, p. 377.

⁴⁶ He was also a doctor of divinity and the first of the Franciscan order to lecture at Oxford.

⁴⁷ ‘...Volunt namque, etsi non omnes, ipsis invititis, eorum confessiones audire, ac eis injungere poenitentias et Eucharistiam exhibere, nec volunt ut Corpus Christi in eorum Oratoriis reservetur, et fratres ipsorum defunctos apud Ecclesias suas sepeliri compellunt, et illorum exequias celebrari...’ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, i, 372-4; *Cal. papal letters*, i, 226; M. H. McNerney, *A history of the Irish Dominicans* (Dublin, 1916), i, 31-4; John Sever, *The English Franciscans under Henry III* (Oxford, 1915).

⁴⁸ ‘...corpus ejusdem civis Wygorniae, H. Poche, resistentibus fratribus Minoribus multis, sacrista vi praevaluit et in coemeterio nostro tradidit sepulturae.’ ‘Annales prioratus de Wygornia’, pp 499-500.

⁴⁹ Master Geoffrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester 1268-1302. He had been invited to join the Franciscan order by the minister general of the order, Jerome of Ascoli, on 16 November 1277.

pomp and tumult, expounding their privileges to the people in the mother tongue, inviting all they could to the spectacle to our confusion.⁵⁰ One of the more interesting aspects of the monk's complaints is that the friars exhorted the people in the '*materna lingua*', which was obviously English and not Latin. In Ireland similar accusations were made against the friars later in the thirteenth century⁵¹ - that they made much of 'their language', that is, Irish. Although it is impossible to say for certain, it seems that the monk was accusing the friars of Worcester of using populist methods to ingratiate themselves with the townsfolk whilst the monks, less concerned with popularity and more with religion, would never have stooped to such tactics.

About the same time the monks of St Mary's Abbey in Dublin also fell into dispute with the Franciscans over the burial of Milo Talbot, which resulted in the imprisonment of Friar Richard of Britain,⁵² while in 1309 the friars of Ardfert were in dispute with the bishop. In that year the prior of the convent there, Friar William de Bristol, brought an action against Bishop Nicholas of Ardfert and four canons of his cathedral chapter before the justiciar, John Wogan. Friar William alleged that the canons had forcibly removed the body of John de Cantelupe from the friary and buried it elsewhere. Whilst attempting to prevent the removal of the body he claimed that the friars had been beaten and ill treated. In addition to this the bishop had ordered that all parishioners be prohibited, under pain of excommunication, from providing the friars with any necessities. The bishop and his chapter were arrested, their goods were distrained and the money arising from that was ordered to be paid into the justiciar's hands.⁵³ These disputes arose despite repeated papal provisions allowing for burial in friary churches and it seems that the cause was the inherent rivalries between the mendicants and the older religious orders. In the case of Ardfert

⁵⁰ '...cum magno pompa et tumultu, privilegium suum populo materna lingua exponentes et omnes quos poterant ad spectaculum invitantes, ad confusionem nostram per magnam plateam cum cantu tumultuose illud efferebant...'. Ibid., pp 500-4.

⁵¹ See Epilogue.

⁵² '...Jurati veniunt et dicunt quod cum fratres Minores venirent cum corpore Milonis Talbot et dictum corpus quiescerent ad expectandum luminare, ac ipsi Fratres dubitantes quod impedirentur quod corpus predictum secum non haberent ad sepeliendum, se juxta viam regiam dictum corpus portando elongarunt. Tandem venit frater Ricardus Britayn, et manus apposuit super feretrum sic inpediendo ne pacifice corpus posset asportari: propter quod consideratum est quod dictus Frater Ricardus Britayne committatur prisone...'. *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey Dublin*, ed. John T. Gilbert (2 vols, Dublin, 1884), i, p. 3.

⁵³ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 91.

the Franciscans were unlucky in that the local bishop was a Cistercian of Abberdorney,⁵⁴ feeling aggrieved on behalf of his order and so attempting to address the question of mendicant privileges. Even in the midst of the Bruce invasion of Ireland and the severe famine that coincided with it, there were at least two incidents of religious orders clashing over burial rights. In 1317 the Franciscans of Carrickfergus were in dispute with the Dominicans of Drogheda over the burial of a knight, Thomas de Mandeville,⁵⁵ while in January 1318 John XXII ordered an inquiry into a dispute between the Franciscans of Trim and the Dominicans of Mullingar touching the body of Rohesia de Verdon, which she had supposedly left to be buried at Trim but which the Dominicans refused to give up.⁵⁶

Although burial rights and possessions were part of the conflict, it was over land that the religious and mendicant orders clashed most seriously. Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* is littered with references to friars 'forcing' themselves into the towns of England, and taking over rents and alms, hearing confessions and usurping the clergy established there. In 1258 he details how the Minorite brothers 'by virtue of authority from the pope, forced themselves into the city of St Edmund's against the will and despite the opposition of the people.'⁵⁷ He claims that by the agency of laymen, namely the earl of Gloucester – a man he says was the declared enemy of the abbot and convent there – and one Gilbert of Preston, the Franciscans entered the town despite the actions of the abbot who had just come from the Roman court where he sought to protect his community from 'the violence of the said friars.'⁵⁸ Although Paris is not noted for his fondness for the mendicants, the use of the word '*impetum*', meaning 'violence', 'vigour' or 'attack' is certainly not a word one would associate with the gentle brethren Francis had spoken of some thirty-six years before. If it was Matthew Paris alone, it would be tempting to dismiss these complaints as hyperbole but the Worcester annalist also speaks of the friars creating uproar – '*tumultu*' -

⁵⁴ Katherine Walsh, 'Franciscan Friaries in pre-Reformation Kerry', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeology and Historical Society*, ix (1976), pp 24-5.

⁵⁵ '...guardianus et fratres ordinis Minorum de Cragfergiis Connerensis diocesis petitione monstrarent, quod olim ipsi, qui ex indulto sedis apostolice speciali habere noscuntur liberam sepulturam, corpus quondam Thome de Mandeville militis, qui intestatus in eadem diocesis nimis remotus, a quibusdam suis emilis interfectus extitit...'. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta*, p. 197.

⁵⁶ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 105.

⁵⁷ 'Sub eodem temporum voluminibus, fratres Minores auctoritate papali sese ingesserunt et intruserunt in civitate Sancti Edmundi...'. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iii, 688.

⁵⁸ '...contra impetum dictorum fratrum...'. Ibid.

through the streets of his town. The Memorials of St Edmund's elaborates on the uproar caused by the Franciscan intrusion into the city. According to this account, when remonstrated with by town officials, the friars refused to leave and were promptly expelled. They appealed to Rome, and in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury and the dean of Lincoln the pope referred to the monks as 'disobedient sons or more correctly named heretics and apostate'⁵⁹ and he ordered that the friars should be established in another house at Bury. When the friars were again driven away by the monks they appealed to their second source of privilege - the crown. The case shows how powerful the friars were in medieval society. When the papacy proved powerless to help them the Franciscans were able to call upon the help of secular authority in imposing themselves upon the monastic community of St Edmund's.⁶⁰ The conclusion of the case also shows, however, the vulnerability of the friars as they were subject to the whims of whichever pope was in office. Alexander IV died in June 1261 and his successor, Urban IV, was less sympathetic to their case, ordering that the Franciscans pull down their buildings and abandon their site. This dispute was finally concluded in 1262 when the friars quit their house and the monks granted them land at Babwell outside the town.⁶¹

In Dunstable there was a similar dispute over land, but this time involving the Dominicans. The Dunstable annals record under the year 1259 that the Friars Preachers, by great industry and seduction, entered the vill of Dunstable without the permission of the monks and through the agency of the king, his queen and their magnates, they were permitted to stay.⁶² Matthew Paris claimed that the Dominicans, encouraged by the actions of the Franciscans in St Edmund's, had followed their example and obtained a house against the will and to the great injury of the monks there.⁶³ Interestingly, it is the Dominicans' main attribute, their preaching,⁶⁴ which

⁵⁹ '...filios inobedientiae immo hereticos et apostatas denominaret...'. Ibid., p. 266.

⁶⁰ 'Edwardus regis primogenitus et quamplures Angliae magnates... scilicet Minores in possessionem areae praeominatae regali potentia mandavit induci, anno Domini videlicet 1254.' Ibid., p. 267

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 269.

⁶² 'Eodem anno fratres Praedicatores per maximam industriam et seductionem, nobis invititis, villam de ingressi sint, et per dominum regem et reginam et aliquos magnates, moram ibidem a nobis impetraverunt.' 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstapalia, AD 1-1297' in Henry R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* (London, 1866), iii, 213.

⁶³ '...exemplo edocti fratrum Minorum, qui apud Sanctum Edmundum mansionem malo grato abbatis et conventus ejusdem loci adepti, in non minimam illius domus laesionem domicilia adeo sumptuosa construxerant...'. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, v, 742. See 'Annales Prioratus de Dunstapalia', pp 289, 290, 336-7 for continued relations between the monks and the Dominicans.

Paris blames for the facility with which they usurped the alms and offerings that usually went to the convent at Dunstable. The word he uses to describe their preaching - '*urgentibus*' - is unusual, and reminiscent of the terminology used by other accounts to describe the Franciscans.⁶⁵

If such contemporary accounts are to be believed, the mendicant orders appear to have been quite aggressive and unashamed in their acquisition of lands, regardless of the aggrieved feelings of those religious houses already there. Robert Grosseteste,⁶⁶ one of the great champions of the Franciscan order, notes an incident in which the friars used their privileged position against the Cistercians of Scarborough. Following a complaint from the monks regarding the intrusion of the Franciscans into the town, Grosseteste was ordered to have their buildings demolished. The friars responded to the charges by claiming they were in possession of a privilege to the effect that Friars Minors could not be summoned before a tribunal by letters apostolic unless express mention was made of the said indulgence and of their order.⁶⁷ That even Grosseteste records the Franciscans as behaving in an arrogant and dismissive way towards the monastic houses lends some credence to contemporary accounts of mendicants imposing themselves on a given place, attempting to replace ecclesiastics and religious settled there, taking over burial dues and cultivating the wealthy and noble whilst being supported in all their endeavours by papacy and crown. This negative view of the friars was not remedied with time. Chaucer's satire of the friar as a 'wantowne and...merye...[who] knew the tauernes wel in eury town, and eury hostiler and tappestere...'⁶⁸ represented the popular image of the friar by the fourteenth century and even woodcarvings portrayed the friars as foxes. Post-

⁶⁴ '*...praedicationibus suis urgentibus...*'. Ibid.

⁶⁵ See above. Opposition to the mendicant orders did not always come from the established religious orders. In Dublin the Carmelite friars received a less than warm reception from the citizens in 1278 when they were granted a licence to establish a convent beyond the walls of Dublin. The citizens gave several reasons why they were opposed to the friars living there: they claimed that the friars had appropriated two empty plots which were in the king's hands for arrears and had not paid the arrears and also, that should a general war break out as had happened lately in Leinster, the presence of their house would offer a weakness in the defences of the city: '*...de licentia fratribus Montis Carmeli a Rege concessa ad comemorandum infra muros Dublinii, repugnatibus civibus.*' Walter Harris, '*Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicus*', *Analecta Hibernica*, vi (1934), pp 311-12.

⁶⁶ Bishop of Lincoln 1235-53. He was first lector of the Franciscans at Oxford.

⁶⁷ '*...ostensoque quodam privilegio continente ne possent Fratres Minores per liters Apostolicas conveniri, nisi de dicta indulgentia et ordine eorundem expressam facerent mentionem et super his et aliis quibusdam pluribus habitis altercationibus et tandem tertio die litis coram peo tribunali sedentibus...*'. Robert Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, ed. Henry R. Luard (London, 1861), pp 321-3.

⁶⁸ Tapestere – barmaid. Chaucer, *Canterbury tales*, pp 39-40.

Reformation historians took this denigration further. John Spottiswoode, for example, writing his history in 1655, described the friars as insinuating themselves into parish life, usurping the honest parish clergy by their ‘crafty insinuations with people, and the profession they made in leading an austere life...drawing to themselves all the force and credit of the spiritual ministry, and were upheld by the popes, whose designs they studied especially to advance.’⁶⁹

That the friars proved popular amongst the native populations of the British Isles was not surprising. Among the advantages they enjoyed over the secular clergy were two that related to hearing confessions. Firstly, the friars were itinerant and people were, therefore, more inclined to confess to them – they were only passing through a town whilst the parish priest was based there. Secondly, they were perceived as more lenient in the penances they administered. Chaucer, ever the populist, satirised this perception of the friar-confessor: ‘Ful swetely herde he confessioun, And plesant was his absolucion. He was an esy man to yeue penaunce, Ther as he wiste to haue a good pitaunce...’.⁷⁰ The rights of the friars to hear penance thus remained a constant source of conflict between the mendicants and the secular clergy, causing successive popes to intervene on one side or the other. Innocent IV, for example, confirmed the rights of friars to hear confessions and impose penance in 1245,⁷¹ yet on 21 November 1254 the same pope issued *Etsi animarum*, which rescinded many of the friars’ privileges.⁷² His successor, Alexander IV, restored them almost immediately. The situation was addressed once again by Pope Boniface VIII when he delivered his bull *Super cathedram* in 1300. In this friars were granted the right to preach in their own churches and, upon receipt of an invitation, to preach elsewhere; they could choose a certain number of confessors and receive licence from the bishop to hear the confessions of the laity; they could bury laymen in their churches and the *portio canonica* was confirmed.⁷³ The compromise was short-lived, however, and the

⁶⁹ John Spottiswoode, *The history of the church of Scotland, 1655* (Yorkshire, 1972), p. 43.

⁷⁰ Chaucer, *Canterbury tales*, pp 39-40.

⁷¹ See above.

⁷² In this he stated that the faithful could not satisfy their Sunday obligations by attending mass in friary churches, nor could they give confession without first seeking the permission of the parish priest. They also had to seek his permission for burial of parishioners, nor could they preach a sermon before mass on Sunday. He died less than a month later, on 12 December 1254. Huber, *Documented history*, pp 133-4.

⁷³ ‘...Eodem anno condidit papa statutum quod incipit, “Super cathedram,” et caetera, pro concordia inter praelatos ecclesiae et ordines fratrum Praedicatorum et Minorum.’ *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 193;

Dominican pope Benedict XI revoked this bull in 1304. His death the same year saw Clement V elected pope and, following complaints from the secular clergy, he reinstated *Super cathedram*.⁷⁴ Hence, although the friars had enjoyed a certain amount of papal privileges from their inception, these were wholly dependent upon the occupant of the seat of Peter at a given time.

As previously discussed, the rule as established by Francis in 1223 had emphasised the importance of physical and mental poverty for his brethren. Towards the end of the thirteenth century a significant number of the order wished to return to the way of life as established by their founder, rather than follow the watered-down version advocated by the papacy and accepted by the order in general. These two interpretations of the Franciscan rule split the order intellectually into the more zealous followers, who became known as the Spirituals, and their more conservative brethren, the Conventuals.⁷⁵ The death of Pope Nicholas IV in 1292 precipitated a crisis in the European church, which added to the confusion within the Franciscan order. There was a vacancy of two years until the cardinals elected the next pope, choosing the hermit Pietro da Morrone who took the name Celestine V. He was an ascetic and wholly unprepared for the political manoeuvring required. As a result his papacy lasted only five months and it achieved little.⁷⁶ During the short period of time that he was pope, however, he did attempt to address the growing difficulties within the Franciscan order. Matthew of Acquasparta had been minister general of the order between 1278 and 1289, and during his generalate discipline had been

Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the medieval custody of York* (York, 1997), p. 18; Boase, *Boniface VIII*, pp 191-2.

⁷⁴ Walsh, 'Franciscan friars in pre-Reformation Kerry', p. 23.

⁷⁵ Bonaventure, minister-general of the order from 1267 to 1274, attempted to address these concerns in his *Apologia pauperum*, which made the distinction between *usus* [use] and *dominion* [ownership]. Pope Nicholas III followed this with his decretal *Exiit qui seminat* in August 1279. Huber, in his collected documents relating to the history of the Franciscan order, says this a decretal was 'of the greatest importance, not only in the history of the Franciscan order but also of all orders.' The decretal made provision for the use of goods among the friars, and allowances for study and the necessities of life but all things used by the friars remained the possessions of the church. Nicholas III also stated that all previous papal declarations relating to the friars were null and void. For the Spirituals, however, Nicholas III's decretal was a betrayal of Francis's intentions for his order and they continued to criticise their Conventual brethren for their interpretation of *usus pauper*. Huber, *Documented history*, pp 174-6, 189. See also Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, v, 338; *Analecta Francescana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia* (Quaracchi, 1885-1928), iii, 419; Edward Peters (ed.), *Heresy and authority in medieval Europe, documents in translation* (London, 1980), pp 237-8.

⁷⁶ His papacy lasted from 5 July 1294-13 December 1294. See Daniel Waley, *Later medieval Europe 1250-1520* (London, 2001), pp 41-2.

allowed to slip. The newly-appointed minister general, Raymond Gaufredi, was seen as someone who would re-invigorate strict adherence to the rule, while Celestine's papacy would provide the compassionate authority needed to address the growing divide.⁷⁷ Gaufredi advised those friars calling themselves Spirituals to go before the new pope, whose own ascetism would ensure they received a sympathetic hearing. Conrad of Offida, Peter of Monticulo, Thomas of Trivio, Jacobo of Todi, Conrad of Spoleto, Liberato of Macerata and Angelo of Clareno came before Celestine V who informed them that they could keep the rule of Francis, without having to call themselves Friars Minor.⁷⁸ Such a division never came to fruition, however, because Celestine resigned the papacy in December that same year,⁷⁹ and his successor, Boniface VIII, did not share his sympathies towards the Spiritual Franciscans. The new pope also launched an attack against Gaufredi, the minister general of the order who had advised the Spirituals to seek Celestine's help. In 1295 Gaufredi was accused of sympathizing with the Spiritual Franciscans and of having favoured Pope Celestine, and he was deposed by Boniface VIII on 28 or 29 November 1295.⁸⁰ It is surprising, therefore, that when a rift opened between the papacy and Philip IV [the Fair] of France, the Franciscans chose to side with the pope rather than with the king.

Throughout the course of the thirteenth century, the mendicant orders had been considered integral to the good governance of France. In much the same way that Henry III and then Edward I used friars, and especially Dominicans, to carry out diplomatic and administrative activities in England, so too did Louis IX of France. According to one recent biographer, Louis so loved the regular clergy that he would like to have assumed the habit of a monk for himself, and to have placed three of his children in religious houses: one son with the Dominicans, another with the Franciscans and his daughter with the Cistercians.⁸¹ This close association with the crown was not always to their advantage however. C. H. Lawrence, in his account of the impact of the friars across Europe, describes how the prominence of certain individual friars in government service 'associated them with the exercise of political

⁷⁷ Huber, *Documented history*, p. 184.

⁷⁸ See *ibid.*, pp 183, 196; T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933), p. 44.

⁷⁹ His successor, Boniface VIII, had him arrested and held in confinement until his death in May 1296.

⁸⁰ Huber, *op. cit.*, pp 188-9.

⁸¹ Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, crusader king of France* (Cambridge, 1983), pp 225, 228-9; Lawrence, *The Friars*, pp 166-7.

power in the minds of the people and exposed them to attack by radical movements of protest.⁸² In 1251 just such an event occurred. Louis IX was absent on crusade when a popular movement ‘the Crusade of the Shepherds’ arose across France in response to news of the Muslim victory in Egypt. At first welcomed, the movement soon descended into mob-violence, crowds turning against the clergy and looting churches. It seems, however, that the friars were especially singled out for their attacks. At Tours, eleven Dominicans were almost killed and several Franciscan houses across France were razed and the friars driven out. According to the Franciscan chronicler, Salimbene, the mendicants were singled out because they had preached the failed royal crusade.⁸³

During the reign of Louis IX’s grandson, Philip IV, the mendicant orders became embroiled in one of the greatest controversies of the age. A papal bull issued by Boniface VIII in 1296 sparked off a dispute between the papacy and the French crown that ended only with the pope’s death in 1303. The bull, *Clericis laicos*, forbade secular taxation of the clergy, except with papal consent, on pain of excommunication.⁸⁴ Philip responded with a decree forbidding the export of money from his kingdom and thus depriving the pope of access to French clerical funds.⁸⁵ This competition of papal versus royal jurisdiction continued until 1303, when Philip accused the pope of having secured election unjustly and publicly denounced Boniface’s pontificate. On 12 March his minister, Guillaume de Nogaret, pronounced the pope guilty of murder, idolatry, sodomy, simony and declared that a council should be assembled to try the pope.⁸⁶ Philip then authorized his minister to cross into Italy and arrest Boniface so that he could be taken back to France to answer the charges against him. On 7 September 1303 Nogaret, together with several members of the Colonna family, stormed the papal palace at Anagni and arrested the pope.⁸⁷ However, their success was short-lived. The townspeople of Anagni, despite their grievances against Boniface disliked the Colonna family more and so, on 9

⁸² Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁸³ Lawrence, *The friars*, p. 178.

⁸⁴ Strayer, *The reign of Philip the Fair*, p. 251.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*; Waley, *Later medieval Europe*, p. 53.

⁸⁶ See Joseph R. Strayer, *The reign of Philip the Fair* (New Jersey, 1980), pp 275-9 for details of the events of 1303; also Jeremy Catto, ‘Currents of religious thought and expression’ in Michael Jones (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history* (Cambridge, 2000), vi, pp 42-65; Malcolm Barbour, *The trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 24.

⁸⁷ Waley, *Later medieval Europe*, pp 43, 54.

September drove Nogaret and his followers from the town.⁸⁸ The pope was removed to Rome but he failed to recover from the ordeal and died on 11 October.⁸⁹

What of the French clergy during this prolonged quarrel between their temporal and spiritual masters? Waley, in his study of later medieval Europe, argues that national feeling was a powerful force which manifested itself during Philip's quarrel with Boniface.⁹⁰ According to him, the secular clergy for the most part sided with their king, whilst the religious houses were more inclined to support the pope. The reason Waley gives for this division is nationality – the secular clergy were mostly French, whilst those in religious orders were not. As an example, he cites the Franciscan house at Paris. Only seventeen of its seventy-eight friars were French, and the house chose to support Boniface over Philip.⁹¹ Jean Richard, in his account of relations between the mendicant orders and Philip's grandfather, Louis IX, offers a different explanation. He believes that the religious in general, but mendicants in particular, were well protected by papal privileges and so less vulnerable to royal pressure. Since they owned little or no property and held few bishoprics there were few areas where the crown could exert an influence over them.⁹² Boase's study of Boniface VIII reaches a similar conclusion. According to him, the friars felt little gratitude towards the king as they received most of their privileges from the papacy, whilst the secular clergy effectively could be bought off with lands and positions.⁹³ Finally Strayer, in his history of the reign of Philip IV, argues that the French bishops feared their king more than they feared the pope, and thus were persuaded to support the call for Boniface's trial.⁹⁴ He also agrees with Richard and Boase, believing that the mendicants were more inclined to support the papacy because 'they were dependent upon the pope for their very existence.'⁹⁵ It is interesting that the majority of the clergy in France should chose to side with their king, whilst the mendicant orders

⁸⁸ Strayer, *The reign of Philip the Fair*, p. 278.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁹⁰ Waley, *Later medieval Europe*, pp 58-9.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* John Duns Scotus was in France lecturing on the Sentences, and was one of the Franciscans at the convent of Paris who publicly disapproved of Philip IV's appeal for the general council convened against Pope Boniface VIII. He was subsequently sentenced to banishment from France within three days but returned to France in 1305. He was again forced to leave France in October 1307 - for reasons unknown – and was sent instead to Cologne.

⁹² Richard, *Saint Louis, crusader king of France*, p. 228.

⁹³ Boase, *Boniface VIII*, p. 193.

⁹⁴ Strayer, *The reign of Philip the Fair*, pp 273, 276.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 276-7.

sided with the papacy. For the secular clergy it was a choice based on fear but also on nationality, whilst the mendicants - mostly immune from royal censure - made their choice based on political efficacy.

While it is understandable that the French friars would be torn between loyalty to their king and loyalty to their pope, the friars in England during the 1260s should have had no such difficulties. Yet a series of poems and songs, compiled in the fourteenth century and contained in the British Library Manuscript Harley 913, demonstrates a strong bias against Henry III and overt support for Simon de Montfort and the rebel barons. This collection, sometimes called the 'Kildare Poems', was compiled in Ireland possibly by a Friar Michael of Kildare.⁹⁶ The most obviously critical poem in the collection is entitled *The Song of Lewes* and was written by a Franciscan friar shortly after the battle of Evesham where Simon de Montfort fell.⁹⁷ Individual friars had certainly supported the cause of the barons – Adam de Marisco, for instance, had written to warn de Montfort against speaking too openly against the king for fear of incurring his wrath⁹⁸ - but it seems that support for the barons was also widespread amongst the order as a whole. The Melrose chronicler, for example, describes how de Montfort's body was taken and buried with reverence by the Franciscans at Evesham while the Franciscan Lanercost chronicler records that de Montfort's mother fled the country to France where she was buried with the Dominicans.⁹⁹

Although the author of the *Song of Lewes* cannot be cited as representative of his order as whole, he certainly gives some indication of contemporary Franciscan feelings towards royal authority in the middle of the thirteenth century. The poem is particularly concerned with the relationship between the king and the law, describing the defeated barons and those who supported them as languishing under a hard ruler like the people of Israel had beneath a tyrannical Pharaoh. The author criticised the

⁹⁶ Angela M. Lucas, *Anglo-Irish poems of the middle ages* (Dublin, 1995), p. 9.

⁹⁷ 'The Battle of Lewes' in *Thomas Wright's politica songs*, pp 72-124.

⁹⁸ As a close friend and correspondent of Simon de Montfort, he wrote a letter expressing his concern for the earl's safety, warning him against speaking too openly against the king: '...Homo sapiens tacebit usque ad tempus, lascivus autem et imprudens non servabit tempus.' 'Ade de Marisco Epistolae', p. 275.

⁹⁹ '...Quo tempore primogenitus comitis de Munforde, Simon vocatus, obiit, et post infelic mater in transmarinis et miseris apud Fratres praedicatores tumulata, ut sic verificaretur sancti Edmundi verbum, quod non laetaretur in successu filiorum.' *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 82.

future Edward I for using treachery to gain his end in the mistaken belief that it was prudence and for thinking that he should be absolved of all blame because he would be king and thus free from the dictates of the law.¹⁰⁰ He also exhorted the people to rebel against a ruler who would study to degrade his own people, declaring that those who would obey such a man would be fools indeed.¹⁰¹ Two other poems in the collection – *On the Times of Edward I*¹⁰² and *A Song on the Venality of Judges*¹⁰³ – were also critical of the authorities of the day. The former, reminiscent of the *Song*, questioned Edward’s ability to keep his word, accusing him of being a man who believed himself above the law, while the latter criticised those judges who placed money above the law. The strong sentiments expressed in these poems illustrate that the friars were not afraid to express their discontent with the authorities of the day, yet there is no evidence to suggest that the Franciscans were an organised body of men, hostile to the cause of the crown. Rather they were individuals acting as their conscience dictated and it seems that this permeated all the friars who rebelled against authority throughout the century. The Franciscan ideal seemed to attract highly individualistic, well-educated men who were willing to follow the example established by their founder at the beginning of the century, when he turned his back on the comfort and wealth of his family connections.¹⁰⁴

The relationship between the mendicants and the rulers of Germany proves equally instructive. Although initially welcomed by Emperor Frederick II and his son Henry VII, when Frederick II was deposed by Innocent IV in 1245, the friars’ position at court was considered untenable because of their close relationship with the papacy. According to Lawrence, many friars were evicted from their friaries, some were imprisoned and others were killed because they adhered to the mandates of the church.¹⁰⁵ The death of Henry VII in 1313 led to a disputed election between Frederick of Habsburg and Lewis of Bavaria which lasted for more than a decade

¹⁰⁰ ‘Nefas det placentia, fasque nominatur; Quicuid libet licitum dicit, et a lege; Se putat explicitum, quasi major rege. Nam rex omnis regitur legibus quas legit...’. ‘Song of Lewes’, p. 121

¹⁰¹ Si vero studuerit suos degradare, Ordinem perverterit, frustra quærit quare, Sibi non obtemperant ita perturbati; Immo sic facerent essent insensati.’ Ibid.

¹⁰² *Thomas Wright’s political songs*, p. 133.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 224.

¹⁰⁴ C. H. Lawrence, ‘The university in state and church’ in J. I. Catto (ed.) *The history of University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1984), i, 130.

¹⁰⁵ Lawrence, *The friars*, p. 180.

and involved the papacy once again, this time under the guidance of John XXII.¹⁰⁶ Although mendicants had been persecuted in Germany under Frederick II and then Henry VII, ironically the German court became a place of refuge for those Spiritual Franciscans fleeing persecution at the hands of the pope.

The division in the Franciscan order which Celestine V had attempted to formalize in 1295, but which Boniface VIII had effectively ruined, was manifest throughout Europe by 1311. In that year the Annals of Inisfallen recorded that there were friars living in Ireland whom the annalist calls ‘Sarabaites’ but who were, in actuality, Spiritual Franciscans. He described these friars as wishing ‘to deviate from the common rule of the Order and desir[ing] (they claimed) to sweat under the rigours of a sterner life’.¹⁰⁷ The Spiritual Franciscans were effectively living separately to their Conventual brethren when in May 1316 the newly-elected minister general, Michael Fisci of Cesena,¹⁰⁸ wrote an encyclical letter addressed to all the brethren of the order, exhorting strict observance of religious discipline, especially in regard to poverty.¹⁰⁹ Despite these overtures, the Spirituals continued to defy the will of the majority of the order and Michael of Cesena called upon the newly-elected Pope John XXII to intervene. On 27 April 1317 John ordered the recalcitrant friars of Narbonne and Beziers to appear before him at Avignon within ten days on pain of excommunication,¹¹⁰ and received on the appointed day sixty-three friars. The pope initially dealt with the friars with kindness but, when they proved stubborn and unwilling to return to the Franciscan fold, he ordered them to be imprisoned and handed over to the Inquisitor of Provence, Michael of Munich, also a Franciscan.¹¹¹ The majority were frightened into recanting their disobedience but several friars continued to maintain that theirs was the true Franciscan life. John XXII took this as a personal challenge to papal authority and now viewed these friars not as errant religious but as heretics and he ordered that the Inquisitor proceed severely against

¹⁰⁶ Waley, *Later medieval Europe*, pp 72-3.

¹⁰⁷ *Annals of Inisfallen*, ed. Seán Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951), p. 280.

¹⁰⁸ 1316-28.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Praescripsit longitudinem, latitudinem et qualitatem indumentorum; pecuniae receptionem nisi in casibus necessitatis imminenti, et secundum Pontificum declarationem rigorose voluit Fratribus interdictam...’. Wadding, *op. cit.*, vi, 245; Huber, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹¹⁰ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vi, 268-9; *Bullarium Franciscanum*, v, 118; 120.

¹¹¹ *Archivum Franciscanum historicum, periodica publicatio trimesteris cura PP. Collegii D. Bonaventurae* (1914), vii, 353; Huber, *Documented history*, pp 210-11.

these 'pseudo friars'.¹¹² On 7 May 1318 four friars were burnt to death and others were imprisoned in the cavity of a wall.¹¹³ John then issued three decretals in response to the claims of the Spirituals that they were following the example of Christ and his Apostles: *Gloriosam ecclesiam* (1318), *Quia nunquam* (1322) and *Cum inter nonnullus* (1323).¹¹⁴ According to Huber these three bulls issued by John XXII signalled the 'death knell' of the Spiritual Franciscans and the Fraticelli.¹¹⁵

This was not the end, however, of disputes between the papacy of John XXII and the Franciscan order. William of Ockham, a lecturer of theology at Oxford University,¹¹⁶ had been called to the papal curia in 1324 to answer charges of heresies in his teaching. After almost four years of investigation, it became clear that Ockham would be charged with heresy and suffer a fate similar to that of his brethren in 1318 and he fled into exile, accompanied by his minister general Michael of Cesena, who had also fallen out of favour at the papal curia. Letters were sent out in June 1328 ordering their detainment¹¹⁷ and in the same month John XXII also issued sentences of excommunication against them.¹¹⁸ Where the fugitive friars chose to flee to is interesting. John XXII had involved himself in the dispute over the German empire, excommunicating Lewis of Bavaria and seeking to impose a pro-French emperor. Lewis responded by joining with his rival, Frederick of Habsburg and ruling jointly between 1325 and Frederick's death in 1330.¹¹⁹ When Ockham and Michael of

¹¹² 'Adversus eosdem pseudo-fratres procedas, juxta Canonicas sanctiones, et de illis facias justitiae complementum...'. Wadding, op. cit., vi, 270.

¹¹³ Huber, op. cit., p. 211; Peters, *Heresy and authority*, pp 238-9.

¹¹⁴ The first of these defined the errors of the Spirituals; the second reinforced *usus pauper*, and the final decretal declared it heretical to expound the view that Christ and his Apostles had no property. *Cum inter nonnullus* especially was a source of contention within the order: '...the persistent assertion that our Redeemed and Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles did not possess any goods or other property, either privately or in common, should be designated heretical...'. Peters, op. cit., p. 247; Huber, op. cit., pp 225-8.

¹¹⁵ 'The Fraticelli lived in Italy, Sicily and the dioceses of Narbonne and Toulouse, and like the Spirituals of Provence, had assumed a new habit, held chapters, elected ministers, custodes, and guardians; begged publicly and said that they alone were the true Minorites who observed the Rule *ad litteram* even though they were not subject to authorities in the order.' Huber, op. cit., p. 213.

¹¹⁶ He entered the order at Oxford in 1308. John Lutterel, chancellor of the university from 1317 until 1322, travelled to Avignon to prosecute an appeal against Ockham's teachings in the university and, early in 1324, he was summoned to appear before John XXII to answer the charges of heresy brought by Lutterel. John XXII had already issued two decretals, as discussed previously, against the friars focusing on the issue of poverty and had proved himself more than willing to tackle the order over their more controversial doctrines.

¹¹⁷ *Cal. papal letters, 1305-42*, p. 485.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 485, 489, 492.

¹¹⁹ Waley, *Later medieval Europe*, pp 72-3.

Cesena fled John XXII's charges, Lewis offered them a safe haven in Germany. There they remained until Michael of Cesena's death in November 1342¹²⁰ and Ockham's in 1349.¹²¹

Despite Huber's assertions that John XXII had effectively ended the growth of the Spiritual Franciscans throughout Europe this in fact is not true, for the debate was still on-going in 1354. In that year, according to Knighton's chronicle, certain friars of the order of Minorites were preaching 'that Pope John XXII and all his successors were heretical and excommunicate and that they had no right nor power...to enact anything against or to the prejudice of the order of St Francis.'¹²² In a lengthy description Knighton provides details of the trial undergone by four Spirituals, which resulted in them being burnt at Avignon as heretics. One of these, Giovanni de Castiglione, is reported by the chronicler as declaring John XXII to have been a heretic on account of the three decretals he had issued against the friars three decades earlier. He moreover asserted that Popes Benedict XII, Clement VI and Innocent VI were also heretics because they had maintained and promulgated John's doctrines against the friars. The friars were then condemned and 'ended their lives by burning in the fire, to the praise and honour of their Order, as they supposed. For they believed, and to this day their successors still maintain, that no pope should be chosen who is not of the Minorite order.'¹²³

The question of mendicant poverty arose once again later in the decade, but this time it was not restricted to the Franciscans alone. The archbishop of Armagh, Richard

¹²⁰ *Analecta Franciscana*, ii, 181; Huber, *Documented history*, p. 244.

¹²¹ J. A. Weisheipl, 'Ockham and the Mertonians' in J. I. Catto (ed.), *The history of the University Of Oxford* (Oxford, 1984), i, 609; Huber, *Documented history*, pp 811, 826, 831, 835, 871, 883.

¹²² '...Erant quidam fratres de ordine Minorum in illis partibus, qui sepius predicabant et pronuntiabant papa Iohannem xxii hereticum et excommunicatum, et omnes successores suos, et quod nullum ius haberent nec potestatem Sancti Petri edere constitutionem contra ordinem Sancti Francisci aut in preiudicium.' *Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), pp 133-5. The event is also recorded by Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (2 vols, London, 1863-4), i, 278 and the *Chronica Johannis de Reading et anonymi Cantuariensis 1346-1367*, ed. James Tait (Manchester, 1914), p. 119.

¹²³ The four friars were Giovanni de Castiglione, Francesco Arquata, Mauricius and Jean de Narbonne. '...Et in tali confessione vitam finierunt per combustionem ignis ad laudem et honorem sui ordinis ut credebant. Nam illi tenerunt, et adhuc superstites tenent, quod ullus papa deberet eligi, nisi de ordine fratrum Minorum.' *Knighton's chronicle*, pp 132-4.

FitzRalph,¹²⁴ gave a series of sermons at London between 1356 and 1357 in which he railed against all the mendicant orders. FitzRalph, a fellow of Balliol College and chancellor of Oxford University in 1333, had witnessed the controversy over William of Ockham's teachings and he had also accused the friars there of 'stealing' children – some twenty-five years before Oxford introduced its statute referring to the same.¹²⁵ His most famous treatise, *De pauperie salvatoris* written in 1356, attacked the notion of mendicant poverty on theological, philosophical and ecclesiological grounds and argued that the friars violated their vows of poverty and humility by owning property and enjoying pastoral privileges.¹²⁶ FitzRalph further inflamed the situation when he preached a series of sermons against the mendicants whilst travelling to the papal court.¹²⁷ Once again, however, the favour enjoyed by the mendicant orders at the papal curia came to their aid and Innocent IV, in a letter dated 1 October 1358, wrote to the archbishops and bishops of England that 'while the suit is pending between Richard, archbishop of Armagh and the Friars Preachers, Minors, Augustinian and Carmelite, they shall not hinder the said friars in hearing confessions, preaching, giving sepulture to and receiving alms from the faithful, the friars having suffered under pretext of false assertions made against them...'.¹²⁸ The dispute, which had become so bitter in England that Edward III had forbidden further sermons, ended without resolution when FitzRalph died in 1360.

The issue of mendicant poverty, however, refused to go away and contemporary chroniclers continued to berate the friars for their false adherence to poverty. John of Reading, writing about the years 1366-9, condemned roundly the actions of the

¹²⁴ See Katherine Walsh, *A fourteenth century scholar and primate, Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Armagh and Avignon* (Oxford, 1981).

¹²⁵ A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars at Oxford* (Oxford, 1982), p. 79; Huber, Documented history, p. 835.

¹²⁶ Walsh, op. cit., pp 402-3.

¹²⁷ The most famous of these was *Defensorium curatorum* - his defence of a parish clergy under siege from the mendicant orders. Among his accusations was that the friars could not speak of poverty when they owned such fine churches, books and ornaments: '...Sed tandem, proh dolor! clero Anglicano sibi subtrahente promissa, et exuberante in Curia Fratrum satis magna pecunia adhuc lite pendente, Fratres sua privilegia, sicut per ante, sub data nova obtinuerunt...'. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i, p. 285; Theiner, *Vetera monumenta*, p. 313; *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, p. 131; Aubrey Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the time of Wyclif* (Oxford, 1940), pp 86-7.

¹²⁸ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, pp 146-7. A number of mendicant friars challenged the assertions made by FitzRalph, among them John of Ardene, prior of the London Austin friars, Geoffrey Hardeby, also an Austin friar, William Jordan, a Dominican, and the English Franciscan provincial minister Roger Conway. For an account of the part played by John of Ardene, see Gwynn, op. cit., pp 85-6. For Geoffrey Hardeby see J. I. Catto, 'Wycliff and Wycliffism at Oxford, 1356-1430' in J. I. Catto and R. Evans (ed.), *History of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), ii, 182.

mendicants during the period of the Black Death. Although this chronicler is unreliable at best, he does provide some insight into the contemporary popular view of the friars in the fourteenth century. He wrote that the plague dealt the mendicant orders a ‘mortal wound’ because ‘so much superfluous wealth flowed to them from their confessions and the legacies of their penitents that they would scarcely deign to receive the offerings of the faithful.’¹²⁹ It is obvious that by this stage the Franciscans were stretching the terms of *usus pauper* and owned property in all but name and, from the constant reports of their greed and vigorous pursuit of the wealthy, there must have been at least a kernel of truth in these tales. Henry Crump, a Cistercian monk from the Irish abbey of Baltinglass and a doctor of divinity of Oxford, attempted to re-visit the controversy over mendicant poverty in 1382 when he publicly proclaimed that ‘the friars of the four mendicant orders neither are, nor were, of divine institution but were contrary to the General Council of Lateran [1215]...and that Pope Honorius [II] was by pretended and false dreams prevailed upon by the friars to confirm them.’ However the groundswell of opposition to the mendicants had faded by that date, and Crump was compelled by the archbishop of Canterbury to retract his statements.¹³⁰ In fact Crump had timed his attack upon the mendicants very badly. They were in the front line of the church’s defence against the accusations of John Wyclif and his followers, which included the assertion that saints who established religious orders were sinners; that mendicant friars were bound to make their living by the work of their hands and not by begging and that friars who begged after their sermons were simoniacal.¹³¹

¹²⁹ ‘...Creditor ergo Mamona hoc iniquitatis regulares plurimum laesisse, ordinem tamen mendicantium letaliter; quibus adeo per confessiones ac legationes superfluae divitiae affluebant ut vix sibi oblata dedignabantur [perhaps dignabantur?] admittere. Illico, suae professionis obliti et regulae, quae in omni paupertate ac mendicatione consistunt, undique superfluo ornatu in cameris, mensis, equitaturis ex parte diaboli ceterisque inordinatis [a participle seems to have been omitted here], terrena carnaliaque non coelestia appetebant, asserentes in praedicationibus suis Jesum Christum et discipulos suos in hoc mundo eguisse ac mendicasse; pluraque erronea sustinuerunt, ut de nequioribus taceamus.’ *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, pp 109-10.

¹³⁰ St John D. Seymour, *Anglo-Irish literature 1200-1582* (Cambridge, 1929), pp 40-1.

¹³¹ ‘...Et sic per publicam detractionem et invidiosam reprehensionem seipsos commendabant hominibus, licet non Deo et fratrum mendicancium statum in multis maxime denigrabant. Nam fratres per istorum doctrinam et exortacionem illis diebus, exosi multis habebantur. Et Wycliviani ex eo audaciores inde effecti, innitebantur avertere magis animos populorum ab eis et ipsos impedire ne predicarent et ne mendicarent, asserentes tam dantes quam accipientes esse excommunicatos. Set eos debere manuum labore more apostoli Pauli victum et vestitum acquirere.’ *Knighon’s chronicle*, pp 255-7; 304. The Franciscans at Oxford were the first to defend their way of life against Wyclif’s assertions and in 1381 convoked an assembly to condemn his doctrines. On 18 May in the following year an ecclesiastical court was held at Black Friars in London, where representatives from the four mendicant orders signed twenty-four conclusions against Wyclif’s heresy. According to Knighon all

By the end of the fourteenth century the mendicant friars had certainly made their mark upon the fabric of medieval society and their expansion across Europe had seemed to herald a new era in church reform. Certainly the friars initially embodied the zeal of their founders and this carried them into all areas of society, whether ecclesiastic or secular. They established themselves in the towns and universities, and in the political arena as advisors, confessors and diplomats, sometimes to their detriment. Their establishment across Europe made it inevitable that the friars would become embroiled, forcibly or otherwise, in the political conflicts of the age. Where the Continental and English friars differed from their 'Celtic' brethren however, is in the conflicts that involved them, and their reasons for choosing sides. In Ireland, Scotland and Wales, as will be discussed in the next three chapters, the Franciscans became slowly politicised by the recurring wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By the time of Owain Glyn Dŵr's revolt in 1400, for example, Welsh friars had become almost exclusively native in their sympathies in direct contrast to their brethren of more than a century before. European and English friars, however, never faced those choices and so were never forced to decide in favour of race over religious affiliation. Whilst the friars in France had been caught up in the quarrel between crown and papacy, only one historian has argued that it was their lack of 'Frenchness' which directed that they support the pope.¹³² Similarly in Germany, the friars were forced to choose between crown and papacy and, eventually, had that decision made for them. They were perceived as partisans of the pope and accordingly were treated as enemies. In England, the role played by the friars in the conflict between Henry III and his barons is slightly different, not least because the conflict was not between king and pope, but between king and nobleman. Here, the Franciscans chose to support the rebellious barons led by Simon de Montfort, not because he could offer them protection or privileges, but because of some shared sympathy with his ideals. In Ireland, Scotland and Wales it seems that national affiliation ultimately decided the course of action taken by the Franciscans. In

the clergy and laity of London then processed barefoot through the streets of London to 'testify' against Wyclif's doctrines, presumably as a sign of support for the mendicant friars against the accusations made by Wyclif and his adherents. According to this account a sermon was then preached by John Kenningham [Cunningham], a Carmelite and doctor of divinity, at the request of the archbishop of Canterbury. In this he publicly declared Wyclif's conclusions as false and heretical. See *ibid.*, p. 261.

¹³² See above.

England, race played no part. Rather it was social injustice and the perceived cruelties of the crown against the English people that prompted the English Franciscans to support de Montfort's cause.

Across Europe, the higher the orders moved in the hierarchy of medieval life, the further behind were left the ideals with which they had been founded. Thirteenth-century chroniclers such as Matthew Paris concentrated on those aspects of the mendicants that the monastic orders found most repugnant and this, in itself, was a sign of their success. As these chroniclers say it, the friars had managed to insinuate themselves into the niche originally occupied by the regular clergy, and to usurp lucrative activities such as confessions and burial. Their success in the material world necessitated the adoption of characteristics that their founders had decried – avarice, aggression and political wiles. Although some of the accusations were true, such sweeping condemnation is too much of a generalisation. Yet by the end of the fourteenth century the popular caricature of a friar was no longer the wandering preacher, the begging man dedicated to poverty. It was instead the cunning, well-fed man described by Chaucer as being like a master or a pope.¹³³

¹³³ Chaucer, *Canterbury tales*, pp 40-1.

Chapter Three - Friars and the Conquest of Wales.

As the mendicant orders expanded throughout the British Isles, they received a mixed reception.¹ Their widespread popularity among the native populations ensured that they garnered lucrative confessional and burial dues, but often at the expense of the established secular and religious clergy. In addition, the friars enjoyed a good relationship with both secular and ecclesiastical authorities and were highly sought after for administrative and political positions. As a consequence frequently there was resentment between the mendicants and their clerical brethren. Almost from the time of their arrival in the 1220s the friars, and especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, were integral to the diplomatic activities of the English crown. However it was later in the century that their role was crystallised – first under Henry III and then during the reign of Edward I. This chapter will examine the activities of Welsh and English friars during the latter half of the thirteenth century, following Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's rise to prominence in Wales and the outbreak of hostilities with the English crown.

Although only nine mendicant houses in total were founded in Wales during the period in question, members of those orders proved vital to Henry III's and Edward I's dealings with the Welsh. Indeed two mendicant friars - the Dominican archbishop of Canterbury Robert Kilwardby and his successor John Peckham, a Franciscan - were centre-stage in Edward's wars in Wales. The former was archbishop during the first Anglo-Welsh war, while the latter oversaw the war that led to Llywelyn's final defeat. Even if an examination of the role of the friars in Wales were limited to the activities of these two archbishops, their contribution to the history of that country would be considerable. However, mendicant involvement in the conquest of Wales was much greater. Both sides in the conflict, whether negotiating for peace or delivering diplomatic letters, used mendicant friars because their perceived neutrality enabled them to act as ambassadors for both sides without accusations of bias. They were involved in overseeing the provisions of the treaty of Aberconwy [1277], the release of Eleanor de Montfort and in the organisation of compensation for those Welsh churches affected by war. Although the mendicant orders themselves have left

¹ See Chapter Two.

few extant records, the significance of their role can be established through Archbishop Peckham's register and governmental records. From the combined entries in these documents we can gauge the importance of the mendicant orders to the over-all course of the war, and the effect that it had upon them. The former provides access to the archbishop's diplomatic efforts to avert war in 1282 and the names of those he employed to carry out negotiations, while the latter records friars acting in an official capacity and being compensated for damage sustained by their foundations during the years of war.

In the thirteenth century Wales was a frontier society that, along with Ireland, seemed to have frustrated the advances of the Norman conquest.² Before Edward's campaigns in 1276-7 and 1282-4 Wales was a country of two nations - *pura Wallia* and those marchlands that had been firmly established as English lordships. This equilibrium appeared to be cemented in 1267 when the treaty of Montgomery was concluded between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Henry III. Under its terms Llywelyn was formally acknowledged prince of Wales and the principality was confirmed as a separate jurisdiction, held of the English crown but with all rights and dignities pertaining to a distinct principality.³ The accession of Edward I to the throne in 1272 changed the nature of the relationship between the two countries and Llywelyn found his dignity and tolerance severely tested over the course of four years. When he finally went to war with Edward in 1276 it was to his great cost. The hard-won title and lands that had been confirmed in 1267 were limited or removed by the treaty of Aberconwy in 1277, and Llywelyn was returned to the status of petty Welsh prince, his title no longer passing to his heirs but dying with him. The mendicant friars were among those who drew up and oversaw the provisions of this treaty, and they were also among those who tried to prevent the second war, which was made almost inevitable by the terms of the treaty. Finally, it was mendicant friars who travelled to Wales in 1284 at the request of the Franciscan archbishop of Canterbury, with the

² See R. R. Davies, *Domination and conquest: the experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 1990); idem, 'Frontier arrangements in fragmented societies: Ireland and Wales' in Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (ed.), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp 77-81, for an examination of the nature of frontier societies in Ireland and Wales in the thirteenth century.

³ 'Littera Ottobonis, apostolicae sedis legati, de pace facta inter Regem Angliae et Lewelinum principem Walliae; in quo Rex concedit eidem Lewelino et haeredibus suis principatum Walliae, ut principes Walliae vocentur; praedicto principe necnon et successoribus suis, homagium Regi Angliae facientibus.' Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter Reges Angliae*, ed. Adam Clarke and Frederick Holbrooke (London, 1816), i, part i, 474.

aim of compensating the Welsh church for the damage inflicted upon it during successive years of war.

This chapter is not intended to be a re-analysis of the English conquest of Wales; rather it is a re-focusing on the role played by the mendicant orders in this period. The intention, therefore, is not to diminish the part played by any other section of society, whether secular or ecclesiastic, but to examine the role of the friars within the context of the activities of the multitudinous courtiers and diplomats involved in any such undertaking. Although the actions of the friars in this period establish the template for their involvement in subsequent wars, there is no evidence to suggest that the mendicants in Wales showed anywhere near the same degree of partisanship that their confreres did during England's wars with Scotland and the Bruce invasion of Ireland. Indeed their apparent neutrality was most probably the reason that friars were employed by both the Welsh and the English without fear of conflict of interest. The friars, unlike their monastic predecessors, did not enter the order at a given house and then remain attached to that house for their lifetime, nor were they restricted by diocesan boundaries. This dual advantage allowed them to move more easily beyond the bonds of nationality and politics and lent them an aura of impartiality. However, this neutrality was more perception than actuality - the friars were subject to the whims of their secular or ecclesiastical masters just as much as priests and barons were. John Peckham, for example, was an English Franciscan and archbishop of Canterbury but clearly his primary allegiance was to his king and country rather than his order. During the Anglo-Welsh wars the friars in Wales also showed a clear degree of bias in favour of the English cause, notable exceptions to this being Friar William de Merton, guardian of the Franciscan house at Llanfaes and Anian, bishop of St Asaph.⁴ The former was clearly a partisan of Llywelyn's and negotiated on his behalf whilst the latter favoured no one but himself.

Although the Franciscans and Dominicans arrived in England in the early 1220s, it was several years before they expanded into the other countries of the British Isles. As discussed in Chapter One, the first friars did not enter Wales until 1237 when Llywelyn ab Iorwerth invited the Franciscans to establish a house at Llanfaes, over

⁴ See below.

the site of his wife's grave. Prior to this, however, there is evidence that friars were already in Wales despite their lack of formal foundations. In 1234 two Dominican friars, Anian and Llywelyn, were reported as assisting Bishop Elias of Llandaff in a dispute between the Cistercian abbey of Margam and a local Welsh magnate⁵ touching lands and forest rights in the area between the waters of the Garw and the Ogmore.⁶ In 1236 a further two Dominicans, Richard and Philip, witnessed the confirmation of grants made by Madoc ap Gruffydd of Northern Powys to the Cistercian foundation at Valle Crucis; while in the same year a Friar Anian, possibly the same friar who assisted Bishop Elias in 1234, was reported as preaching the crusade in West Wales.⁷ The following year Llywelyn ab Iorwerth granted lands to the Augustinian priory of Penmon in Anglesey, and again the grant was witnessed by friars named as Adam and Anian.⁸ The Franciscan foundation at Llanfaes heralded the formal establishment of the mendicant orders but although the order proved popular, few houses were established there. As discussed in Chapter One, the Franciscans were possibly in Cardiff before 1284 and they were certainly in Carmarthen by that date, but these three houses remained their only foundations in Wales up to the time of the Dissolution. While the Dominicans established more houses in Wales than the Franciscans, they too had far fewer foundations than in the other countries of the British Isles and by the end of the century they had houses at Cardiff, Haverfordwest, Brecon and Rhuddlan only.⁹

Dafydd ap Llywelyn, heir of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, died in 1246 leaving no male heirs and immediately the principality was seized by Llywelyn, Owain Goch and Dafydd, sons of Dafydd's older brother Gruffudd.¹⁰ Conflict did not break out amongst the brothers until 1255 when tensions culminated in battle at Bryn Derwin where Llywelyn defeated his brothers.¹¹ Having imprisoned Owain Goch and forced Dafydd into exile, Llywelyn was able to take sole control of Gwynedd and three

⁵ Named only as Rhys Goch.

⁶ G. T. Gilbert, ed., *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent* (Cardiff, 1910), ii, 499-500.

⁷ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. John Williams ab Ithel (London, 1860), p. 82. For a discussion of the monasteries of Wales see Hays, 'Welsh monasteries', pp 110-138.

⁸ Glyn Roberts, 'The Dominican friary of Bangor' in *Aspects of Welsh history* (Cardiff, 1969), pp 217-18; A. G. Little, *Medieval Wales* (London, 1902), pp 120-1.

⁹ See Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses England and Wales*, p. 222.

¹⁰ See R. R. Davies, *The age of conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1987), p. 309.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

years later his fellow Welsh rulers acknowledged him prince of Wales. This title was formally recognised less than a decade later by Henry III under the terms of the treaty of Montgomery, where the title was granted to Llywelyn and his heirs.¹² It seemed that equilibrium in Wales was thus assured; marcher lands had been pushed back and a Welsh chieftain had been invested by the English king with a recognised and hereditary title. By 1263 it was also apparent that friars had been accepted into the mainstream of political life in Wales. In that year a treaty between Llywelyn and Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn of southern Powys¹³ was overseen by the bishops of Bangor and St Asaph, the abbots of Aberconwy and ‘Pola’,¹⁴ the prior of the Dominicans at Bangor, Friar Iouaf of the same order, and friars Iouaf Goch and Iorwerth, sons of Cadwgan, of the Friars Minor at Llanfaes.¹⁵

Within ten years, however, the progress made by Llywelyn had been undermined by the machinations of Edward I, who sought to press his overlordship first in Wales, and then in Scotland, to devastating effect. Séan Duffy has stated that, although it might be unfair to state that from the moment Edward landed at Dover on 2 August 1274 he and Llywelyn were edging towards war; certainly ‘trouble was brewing’.¹⁶ Even before Henry III’s death in November 1272 Llywelyn had been claiming there were English breaches of the terms of the treaty of Montgomery. The accession of the new king did nothing to allay the prince’s fears. Although Edward was away on crusade, a writ was issued to Llywelyn within two weeks of his accession to the throne. In this the Welsh prince was ordered to present himself at the Ford of Montgomery on 20 January 1273 so that he could take an oath of fealty to the new

¹² ‘...de pace facta inter Regem Angliae et Lewelinum principem Walliae; in quo Rex concedit eidem Lewelino et haeredibus suis principatum Walliae, ut principes Walliae vocentur; praedicto principe necnon et successoribus suis, homagium Regi Angliae facientibus.’ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part i, p. 474; Davies, *Age of conquest*, pp 314-5.

¹³ Dated 12 December 1263.

¹⁴ This is probably ‘Pool’ in southern Powys, now known as Welshpool.

¹⁵ ‘Si vero contigerit quod absit dictum G[riffinum] amittere aliquam partem de terris suis supradictus per guerram, dicto L[ewelino] terras suis in integrum possidente, idem L[ewelinus] dicto G[riffino] restaurabit deperdita in terris ad provisionem subscriptorum virorum, videlicet venerabilium patrum de Bangor et de Sancto Assaph episcoporum, de Aberconeway et de Pola abbatum, prioris Fratrum Predicatorum de Bangor, fratris Iouaf eiusdem ordinis, fratrum Iouaf Goch et Iorwerth filii Cadugan de ordine Fratres Minores de Lammaes...: si vero contigerit aliquem vel aliquos prenominatorum virorum deesse vel abesse fiat dicta provisio per eos qui superstites fuerint vel presentes.’ *Littere Wallie*, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards (Cardiff, 1940), p. 78.

¹⁶ Séan Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea region, 1014-1318* (PhD Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1993) p. 135. See also Davis, *op. cit.*, pp 326-30; David Stephenson, ‘Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and the struggle for the principality of Wales 1258-1282’, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1983), pp 36-48.

king in person.¹⁷ Over the next four years Llywelyn received repeated summons to come and perform public acts of submission¹⁸ and this inevitably led to a breakdown in relations between the two men. By late 1276 it seemed that the outbreak of war was inevitable. On 12 November Llywelyn was proclaimed a rebel and five days later Edward outlined in a letter his dissatisfaction with the prince's constant refusals to come and perform homage.¹⁹ He had, the king claimed, received a summons in the second year of Edward's reign but had failed to respond to it. He had then received a second summons to come to Chester the following year, an invitation the prince declined with 'certain frivolous excuses' sent by envoy and letters. Several more summons were sent inviting the prince to Westminster and Winchester but all were refused with 'insufficient excuses.' Eventually, according to the king's letter, the Dominican archbishop of Canterbury Robert Kilwardby and several senior prelates had urged the king to allow them to intercede, whereupon they sent the archdeacon of Canterbury to Llywelyn as their envoy. He had responded that he would come before the king at either Montgomery or Oswestry but only on three conditions. He wanted assurances of safe-conduct both coming to and going from the meeting; he wanted confirmation of the treaty of Montgomery and he wanted his wife and her train restored to him.²⁰

This last complaint referred to the capture of Eleanor de Montfort in the winter of 1275-6.²¹ During the barons' revolt of the late 1250s and early 1260s in England, Llywelyn had allied himself with the leader of the revolt, the earl of Leicester Simon de Montfort. To reinforce the alliance Llywelyn and the earl's daughter were married 'through words...uttered by proxy.'²² The marriage was never formalised, however, because de Montfort was killed in battle at Evesham in May 1265 and Eleanor, fearing for her safety, fled to France. There she remained until late 1275 when she sailed, with her brother Amaury, for Wales to consummate her marriage. She never made it, however, because the vessel in which they were sailing was intercepted by

¹⁷ *The Welsh assize roll 1277-1284*, ed. James Conwy Davies (Cardiff, 1940), p. 1. See also Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, pp 366, 367.

¹⁸ Beverley Smith, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ *Calendar of close rolls 1272-79*, pp 359-361; William Rishanger, *Chronica et annales*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1865), pp 85, 86. For a discussion of the build-up to war see Beverley Smith, *op. cit.*, pp 402-7.

²⁰ *Close rolls 1272-79*, pp 359-361.

²¹ Beverley Smith, *op. cit.*, pp 390, 393-4.

²² *Brut Y Tywysogyon*, p. 117.

certain ‘merchants’ from Haverford and Eleanor and her brother were imprisoned.²³ In the account provided by Thomas Wykes, two French knights and two Dominican friars accompanied Eleanor and, although he makes no mention of where the friars were from, it seems probable that they were also French.²⁴ Nicholas Trivet, in his annals, records that Simon de Montfort’s wife, having fled to France with her daughter in the aftermath of the battle of Evesham, sought refuge with the sisters of the Order of Preachers at Montargis.²⁵ It seems logical to assume that when Eleanor was returning to Wales she would be accompanied by members of the order with which she had come into contact in France. In addition to this supposition is the testimony in Wykes’s chronicle that the knights and friars who had accompanied Eleanor and Amaury were quickly released and returned to France, following mediation from a nuncio of the French king sent to petition for their return.²⁶ However, J. Beverley Smith disputes the assertion that the friars were French, citing the letter-book of Richard de Bury which includes a letter from Edward informing Archbishop Kilwardby that Eleanor was accompanied by ‘two Dominicans – two of the great men of Wales [*magnates Wallie*] who were now in his custody’.²⁷ Beverley Smith believes that, although the friars were not named, ‘it is certain that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, prior of Bangor, was one of Eleanor’s companions’.²⁸ Such a definite statement from a historian of Beverley Smith’s stature is not easily dismissed, yet he also cites Thomas Wykes as validating his assertion that the friars were Welsh. Wykes, as seen above, stated that the friars and knights accompanying Eleanor were sent back to France on the petition of the French king. The prior of the Dominican friary at Bangor would have had no need to return to France.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 117; ‘Chronicon Thomae Wykes’ in Henry R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* (London, 1869), iv, pp 267-8; Glyn Roberts, ‘The Dominican friary of Bangor’, p. 221.

²⁴ ‘...cum duobus militibus de Gallia, et duobus fratribus Praedicatoribus...’. ‘Chronicon Thomae Wykes’, pp 267-8; Trivet, *Annales*, p. 294; *Calendar of patent rolls, 1272-81*, pp 161-2; William A. Hinnebusch, *The early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951), p. 475.

²⁵ ‘Comitissa Leicestriae, quae marito occiso cum suis in Galliam fugerat, et in domo Sororum de Ordine Praedicatorum apud Montargis a forore viri fui fundata morabatur...’. Trivet, *Annales*, p. 248; According to Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, pp 390-1, the house was a de Montfort foundation and several members of the family were buried there.

²⁶ ‘...sane mediatibus nunciis regis Francorum fratres et milites citissime liberati redierunt in Galliam.’ ‘Chronicon Thomae Wykes’, pp 267-8.

²⁷ *Liber epistolaris de Richard de Bury*, ed. N. Denholm-Young (London, 1950), no. 85: ‘duos fratres de ordine Predicatorum de maioribus parciem Wallie...’; Beverley Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 431. See below for the further involvement of this friar in the Anglo-Welsh conflict.

Following her capture, Eleanor was ‘maintained honourably’ in the company of the queen at Windsor while Amaury was first held in the castle of Corf, and then in the castle of Sherbourne.²⁹ The sailors of Bristol who had effected their capture,³⁰ and the French sailors who had been seized in their company³¹ were issued with letters of protection and granted leave to return home. We know that Eleanor was at Windsor Castle in May 1276 as Geoffrey de Picheford, constable of the castle, was mandated to admit Anian, bishop of St Asaph, to speak with her either openly or privately as she wished,³² and she was almost certainly still there when Llywelyn was declared a rebel on 12 November. Throughout Edward’s campaigns in Wales, Eleanor remained captive but, following Llywelyn’s defeat in 1277 and the humiliating terms of the treaty of Aberconwy, she was released and Edward himself oversaw her marriage to Llywelyn.³³ Her brother Amaury, however, remained in captivity - a situation complicated by the fact that he was a cleric and a papal chaplain. Pope John XXI was naturally interested in the fate of his chaplain and successfully campaigned to have de Montfort transferred to the custody of Robert Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragan bishops in Exeter and Worcester.³⁴ However, it was Kilwardby’s successor, John Peckham, who was instrumental in securing de Montfort’s release. This friar had been a contemporary of Adam de Marisco³⁵ and joined the Franciscan order whilst a scholar at Oxford. He was known for his strict observance of the order’s rule and, before he became archbishop of Canterbury, he

²⁹ ‘...ubi a quatuor navibus Bristollensibus ex insperato supervenientibus comprehendi, ad praesentiam Regis Angliae deducuntur: qui retenta puella honorifice in comitiva Reginae, Aymericum fratrem suum primo in castro de Corf, et postea in castro de Schirebourne [Scherebourne] sub custodia livera detinuit, sed secunda.’ Trivet, *Annales*, p. 248; also ‘...Soror vero sua est tradita in custodia regis apud Wyndesovere...’. ‘Annales de Osney’ in Henry R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* (London, 1869), iv, p. 267.

³⁰ John Martin, Gilbert Dymeyn, John Keft, Hervey Attewatre, Patrick le Rus and Roger Dagebill, and their fellows, sailors of Bristol, who were at the capture of Almaric de Monteforti. *Patent rolls 1272-81*, p. 161.

³¹ John Becard, Peter de Anteylet his groom, Eustace de Ataumbrun, Hugh de Traham and David his groom, Thomas le Mouner, Reginald de Mes, Bochard his groom, Theobald le Barber, Henry le Keu, and Geoffrey de la Cusyne, lately captured in the company of Almaric de Monteforti, who have abjured the realm, in going to the port of Dover, whence they have elected to depart. The like to William de la Fere, Peter Duuech his groom, William del Park, Laurence le Bretun, Godechau le Alemaund, John le Barber, Emeric de Brest, Hervey de Brest, William de Brest, and Ivo de Brest, taken in the company of the same Almaric who have abjured the realm, and are going to Portsmouth to depart the realm. *Ibid.*, pp 161-2.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³³ ‘Rex Angliae filiam Comitiss Leiecestriae apud Insulas Silinas [Sillivas] captam Principi Walliae uxorem dedit, nuptiarum solemnitate inpenis propriis agens...’. Trivet, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

³⁴ Decima L. Douie, *Archbishop Peckham* (Oxford, 1952), pp 202-3.

³⁵ See Chapter Two.

lectured at Paris and was provincial minister of the Franciscans in England.³⁶ In 1278 his career took an unexpected turn when the Franciscan Pope Nicholas III appointed him as archbishop of Canterbury over the canons' favourite, Robert Burnell.³⁷ Decima Douie, in her examination of Peckham's career, feels that Peckham's concern for Amaury may have been partly due to him sharing the veneration and sympathy that the Franciscan order as a body had shown towards the cause of Simon de Montfort.³⁸ But this is perhaps to underestimate the archbishop. Throughout his career he showed the utmost concern for the liberties of the church and Amaury, a cleric imprisoned by secular authority, perhaps was considered by Peckham to be an affront to ecclesiastical jurisdiction.³⁹ The archbishop had support in his endeavours from the Roman see and in 1280 a papal bull was issued for the liberation of Amaury.⁴⁰ In the same year his sister, Eleanor, added her voice to those seeking his release.⁴¹ A papal envoy, Raymond de Nigeriis, was sent to England in 1280 to secure Amaury's release, which was made conditional on his taking an oath never to return to England on pain of excommunication.⁴² It was also agreed that he would travel to France accompanied by the envoy, and remain there. According to Trivet, he was finally released in 1281, although Peckham's register gives the date as April of the following year, stating that the archbishop accompanied Amaury to London, administered the oath and then sent him to France as was agreed. Amaury then passes out of extant records, Trivet recording that he renounced the priesthood and took up arms, in which profession he died.⁴³

³⁶ *Registrum epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. C. Trice Martin (2 vols, London, 1882), i, p. lx; Trivet, *Annales*, p. 253; Douie, *Peckham*, p. 5.

³⁷ See *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, i, pp lxii-iii, for the full details of Peckham's election over that of Burnell.

³⁸ Douie, *Peckham*, pp 202-3.

³⁹ In a letter to Edward I Peckham strongly asserted the superiority of spiritual versus temporal jurisdiction and he implied that, should the king disobey papal authority, his reign might be shortened. *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, i, p. lxxv.

⁴⁰ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 577.

⁴¹ 'Et quia nobis ab aliquibus est relatam quod, in instanti Parlamento, de karissimi fratris nostri Domini Amalrici status relevatione proponitis habere tractatum, ideo complosis manibus, genibusque flexis, ac gemitibus lacrimosis, Majestati vestrae supplicamus, Quatinus, divinam Clementiam ex vestri cordis intimo respicientes (quiae omnibus manum peitatis extendit, praecipue hiis qui se ex toto corde requirunt) praefatum fratrem nostrum, et Consanguinem vestrum (Benignitatem vestram, ut intelligimus, suppliciter postulantem) ad gratiam et pacem vestram misericorditer velit recipere...'. *Ibid.*, p. 587.

⁴² Douie, *Peckham*, p. 203.

⁴³ '...Eodem tempore, procurante Fratre Joanne Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Aymericus de Monte-Forti, quem Rex in custodia detinuerat, liberatur; spondente pro eo Clero, se vel de periculo Regni cavere, qui transfretans in Gallias non multo post Curiam Romanam adivit [adiit], ubi post aliquos

Anian, the bishop who was granted permission to visit Eleanor in May 1276 while she was captive, has been described by one commentator as ‘the most interesting, though not the most important personality among the Dominicans during this period,’⁴⁴ and by another as ‘fiery’ and ‘indomitable’.⁴⁵ This quarrelsome and wayward bishop appears to have been motivated, not by patriotism or partisanship, but self-interest and a determination to preserve the rights of his see characteristics which led him into conflict with both Edward I and Llywelyn. Anian, known as the black brother of Nannau,⁴⁶ was prior of the Dominican convent at Rhuddlan when he was elected to the bishopric of St Asaph in 1268,⁴⁷ the second Dominican friar to be appointed there.⁴⁸ His see was confirmed to him a year later by Llywelyn, on 1 May and, at least at the beginning, he seems to have enjoyed cordial relations with the Welsh prince.⁴⁹ In 1269 he was witness to an agreement between Llywelyn and his brother Dafydd while in 1272 he and Anian, bishop of Bangor, mediated between Llywelyn and his other brother Rhodri.⁵⁰ They were still on good terms in August 1274 when once again Anian and the bishop of Bangor were present for the drafting of an agreement between Llywelyn and Dafydd relating to ‘certain lands, possessions and other things...’.⁵¹

annos renuntians Clericatus, Miles efficitur, citoque post defunctus est.’ Trivet, *Annales*, p. 256; *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, i, pp lxxii-iii.

⁴⁴ Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 474.

⁴⁵ Davies, *Age of conquest*, p. 325.

⁴⁶ This is probably Neath in Glamorganshire.

⁴⁷ E. J. Newell. *A history of the Welsh church to the dissolution of the monasteries* (London, 1895), p. 23; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 474; Lloyd, *History of Wales*, ii, 745.

⁴⁸ The first was Bishop Hugh, 1235-40. See Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁴⁹ ‘Noverit vestra nos impetrasse ac recepisse literas domini Lewelini Principis in hec verba – Lewelinus Princeps Walliae Dominus Snaudonie, balliuis suis de Beruettwlad [Perfeddwlad], salutem. Mandamus Episcopo de Sancto Assaph omnes consuetudines meliores, quas predecessores nostri cum suis antecessoribus Episcopus obseruauerunt, sue nos fecimus obseruari...’. *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (Oxford, 1869), i, 497-8.

⁵⁰ *Close rolls 1272-81*, p. 506; Davies, *Age of conquest*, p. 318; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 474.

⁵¹ ‘...Sane petitio tua, nobis exhibita, continebat, quod dudum inter te, et nobilem virum David fratrem tuum, super quibusdam terris, possessionibus, et rebus aliis, materia quaestionis extorta, tandem, mediantibus venerabilibus fratribus nostris [Aniano] Bangoren’, et [Aniano] Assaphen’, Episcopis, amicabilem super his inter partes compositionem intervenit, de observanda compositione hujusmodi hinc inde corporali praestito juramento...’. *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 501-2.

Later that year, however, the previously cordial relationship began to break down. On 19 October a diocesan assembly was held to consider the liberties of the diocese of St Asaph with regard to the rights of the prince and bishop respectively.⁵² This was not the first time that Llywelyn had clashed with the church in Wales. In April 1261, Anian's predecessor, also named Anian, was one of a number of arbitrators involved in drawing up an agreement between Llywelyn and Richard, bishop of Bangor (1237-67). A dispute had arisen between the prince and the bishop regarding the matter of secular versus ecclesiastical liberties, mainly relating to the 'bishop's men'. A number of clerics were appointed to adjudicate on the matter alongside the bishop of St Asaph, including the prior of the Dominicans at Bangor, Friar Ieuf⁵³ of the same convent, and two Franciscans from Llanfaes, Friars John Rufus and Adam.⁵⁴ In 1274, however, the dispute was more serious and drew in elements of the church from across Wales. The abbots of Whitland, Strata Florida, Cwm Hir, Ystrad Marchell, Aberconwy, Cymer and Valle Crucis strongly defended the prince against Anian's charges, proclaiming him a vigorous champion of the Cistercian order and declaring him a special protector of them and of all ecclesiastical persons and orders in Wales. They humbly begged the pope not to believe such allegations as were made by the bishop of St Asaph concerning the prince.⁵⁵ In May of the following year Llywelyn personally refuted the accusations that he had wronged the bishop and the church but he declared himself ready to accept reasonable terms should both parties be bound to observe them.⁵⁶ Anian, now out of favour with the Welsh prince, found

⁵² '...idem Episcopus expressius investigare, tam per clericos quam per laicos antiquiores et fide digniores, qui super hiis plenarie noverint veritatem, quae essent iura eadem, et diligenti examinatione in lucem proferre; ne per ambicionis ardorem, quo quis minus iuste aliena appetit, alterutra partium contingeret in posterum quod alterius esse noscitur sibi usurpare...'. *Ibid.*, pp 502-3; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 474.

⁵³ Written 'Jewaf'.

⁵⁴ 'Noverint tam presentes quam futuri, quod nos Anianus Episcopus de Sancto Assaph, Frater [missing text], prior Praedicatorum Bangor, Frater Jewaf eiusdem loci conventus, presbyter, [missing text] fratrum [missing text] de Llanvaes, Frater Johannes Rufus eiusdem loci conventus, Gorono et Tudur filii Itneuet, Enner paruus, Ener filius Keirad, ad diffiniendas querelas motas inter dominum Ricardum Bangorensem Episcopum et suum Capitulum ex una parte, et dominum Lewelinum filium Griffini et suos magnates ex altera, electi ex utriusque partis consensu abritrii, anno Domini mccclxi, apud Rydyrarw...'. *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 489.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

⁵⁶ '...Literas vestras nuper recepimus, ex quarum tenore liquide perpendi potuit Episcopum Assaunensem quaedam de nobis et subditis nostris vobis insinuasse, quae non deceret tantum virum prelato suo suggerere, utpote contrarium veritati continenciae. Continebatur enim in literis supradictis, quod nos moti sumus erga predictum Episcopum, pro eo quod ipse Ecclesia memorata: quarum libertatum et consuetudinum possessione satis innuitur in literis vestris supradictis nos predictam Ecclesiam spoliasset. Utpote de emendis pro trangessionibus vassallorum ipsius Ecclesiae, et hiis similibus...'. *Ibid.*, pp 503-505.

himself looking to the English king for protections and, in November 1275, he was granted the ‘use and enjoyment of the same rights, liberties, possessions and customs as he and his predecessors enjoyed in the time of Henry III.’⁵⁷ This confirmation of privileges was renewed again in January 1276⁵⁸ and then on 10 November 1277.⁵⁹

Following Llywelyn’s proclamation as a rebel in 1276, a council at which Anian was present,⁶⁰ the bishop took the opportunity to capitalise on the prince’s misfortunes. On 7 December he issued a list of grievances, twenty-nine in all, against Llywelyn, including their dispute in 1274 when, Anian claimed, the prince had usurped the rights of his see.⁶¹ It appears that the bishop timed his complaint well, for Llywelyn, under pressure from Edward’s campaigns in Wales and censured by the church, sought to make amends with the bishop. Sometime in the spring of 1277 he capitulated, and granted Anian a charter of liberties.⁶² This must have taken place before March of that year since in that month, in compliance with Robert Kilwardby’s pronouncement of excommunication against Llywelyn, Anian published the sentence in his diocese and then fled to the protection of Edward I.⁶³ The war fought between Edward and Llywelyn in 1276-7 had no serious consequences for the church in Wales, although both monastic and mendicant foundations were used by Edward during his campaigns there.⁶⁴ In March 1277, for example, Edward received a letter from Payn de Cadurcis detailing a meeting to take place at the Cistercian abbey of Whitland on Easter Monday. Towards the conclusion of the war in 1283 the Cistercian abbey at Aberconway was the base of operations for Edward,⁶⁵ and there is also evidence that he stayed near Basingwerk, at Valle Crucis, Llanfaes

⁵⁷ *Patent rolls 1272-81*, p. 112; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 474.

⁵⁸ *Patent rolls 1272-81*, p. 129.

⁵⁹ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 509-10; *Patent rolls 1272-81*, p. 235 (although the date here is given as 15 November); Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 474.

⁶⁰ Davies, *Age of conquest*, p. 326; Hinnebusch, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

⁶¹ ‘...quod cum dudum inter praedictos Episcopum et Capitulum ex parte una, et nobilem virum dominum Lewelinum Principem Wallliae ex altera, super quibusdam iuribus, libertatibus, et consuetudinibus Ecclesiae suae Assauiensis exorta fuerit materia questionis; quas libertates, iura, et consuetudines in quarum possessione velut quasi a tempore cuius non extat memoria extitit Ecclesia antedicta, idem Princeps in sue salutis periculum et contra iustitiam usurpabat et adhuc detinebat occupatas...’ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 511-16.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp 519-21; Hinnebusch, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

⁶³ See Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 541 for Llywelyn’s excommunication; Roberts, ‘Dominican Friary of Bangor’, *Aspects of Welsh History*, pp 121-22.

⁶⁴ For the course of the war see Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, pp 414-37; J. E. Morris, *The Welsh wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901), pp 126-35.

⁶⁵ Hays, ‘Welsh Monasteries and the Edwardian Conquest’, pp 118-19.

and Rhuddlan.⁶⁶ On 9 November 1277 Llywelyn was forced to capitulate and accept English terms, as embodied by the treaty of Aberconwy.⁶⁷ A commission was established to negotiate the terms of the peace and acting on Edward I's behalf were two Dominican friars – the prior provincial of the English province, William of Southampton (1273-8) and Anian, bishop of St Asaph – among others.⁶⁸ Under the terms of the treaty Llywelyn was humbled by the English king: the hereditary nature of his title was rescinded; his land holdings were reduced;⁶⁹ hostages were to be provided as a bond of his good behaviour, and a fine of £50,000 sterling was imposed for his disobedience, and the injury and damage caused by his war with the English.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Ibid. In July the same year letters of protection from 'injury, molestation, damage or burdens' were issued by Edward to the Friars Preachers at Bangor: '...Rex, Baronibus quinque Portuum, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos etc. Quia Religiosos et maxime Fratres de ordine Praedicatorum, quod quadam dilectionis praerogativa commendatos habeamus, cum tranquillitate et mansuetudine, qua statui suo convenit, manutenere volumus et tueri: dilectos nobis in Christo Fratres Praedicores de Bangor in protectionem et defensionem nostram suscepimus specialem. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod Fratres praedictos, homines, res et bona in domo eorumdem Fratrum existentia, manuteneatis, protegetis, et defendatis; non inferentes eis, etc., si eos per partes illas transitum facere contigerit, injuriam, molestiam, dampnum, aut gravamen. Et si quid eis, etc. In cujus etc...'. *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 521-2.

⁶⁷ 'Princeps vero Walliae, videns se Regi Angliae, cotidie invalescenti, non posse resistere, pacem petiit, et obtinuit, sub hac forma – videlicet, quod omnes captivi, quos hactenus, ratione Regis Angliae, detinuit in vinculis, simpliciter et sine calumnia liberarentur. Item, pro pace et benevolentia Regis habenda, daret quinquaginta millia librarum sterlingorum... Item, quod terra Quatuor Cantredorum, sine omni contradictione, Regi Angliae et suis haeredibus, cum omnibus terris conquisitis per Regem, hominisque regios, excepta insula Anglesey, in perpetuum remaneret. Insula enim Anglesey concessa est Principi, ita quod solvat pro ea singulis annis Regi mille marcas, quarum solutio incipienda erat in festo Sancti Michaelis proximo tunc instantis: pro ingressu vero quinque millia marcarum daret. Et si Princeps sine haerede de corpore suo moreretur, insula illa in Regis Angliae possessionem deveniret. Item quod Princeps veniret in Natali Domini ad regem, in Angliam, pro homagio faciendo'. Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp 90-1; Beverly Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffydd*, pp 438-44; Davies, *Age of conquest*, pp 335-7.

⁶⁸ The others named were Robert de Tybotot and Anthony Bek on the English side, and Tudur ap Ednyfed [Fychan] and Goronwy ap Heilyn on the part of the prince. Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 545, 546; *Calendar of various chancery rolls 1277-1326* (London, 1912), p. 157; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, pp 478-9.

⁶⁹ '...ibique in praesentia regis et multorum regni magantum fecit regi homagium... quod totam terram suam quamdiu viveret de rege teneret, tanquam de domino, et pro insula Anglesey, quam rex sibi tenendam contradidit, annis singulis certam sibi redderet pecuniae quantitatem; instrumentis insuper inter eos confectis, quod nullum alium, praeter regem, haerodem sibi substitueret successurum; quibus actis sub tutamine regni conductus in Walliam repedavit.' *Chronicon Thomae Wykes*, p. 274.

⁷⁰ '...inobedientia, dampnis et injuriis...'. Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 545. For the English counterpart see p. 546; *Chancery rolls*, p. 157.

In early 1278 the commission led by Friar William of Southampton⁷¹ was replaced by a new commission, appointed to ensure that the provisions of the treaty were enacted. These new appointees consisted of two Dominican friars - Llywelyn and Ifor, priors of Bangor and Rhuddlan respectively - and Gaucelin de Badlesmere, justiciar of Chester, Roger Lestrangle⁷² and Leonius, son of Leonius. In relation to the friars appointed to oversee the provisions of the treaty, J. Beverley Smith, in his paper 'Welsh Dominicans and the Crisis of 1277,' identifies one of the commissioners, Llywelyn, prior of Bangor, as Friar Llywelyn ap Gruffudd who was present at Chester on 21 July 1277 mediating between his uterine brother Rhys ap Gruffudd and his kinsmen Hywel ap Goronwy and Gruffudd ab Iorwerth, on the one part, and the king on the other. The Welshmen had been advised by the friar to come to the king's peace, and they had already executed letters patent agreeing to do homage upon receipt of certain assurances.⁷³ Accompanying Friar Llywelyn in his assurances was Roger Lestrangle, also part of the commission appointed to oversee the treaty of Aberconwy in January of the following year. In this detailed investigative paper, J. Beverley Smith tentatively identifies Hywel ap Goronwy as a brother of Tudur and Goronwy Fychan, albeit one who had previously escaped attention, and Friar William ap Gruffudd as a son of Gruffudd ab Ednyfed, thus making them first cousins.⁷⁴ If, as Beverley Smith claims, Friar Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and Llywelyn, prior of Bangor, are one and the same person, then this friar was a logical choice for Edward when appointing his commissioners – he had a proven track record of negotiating on behalf of the king and of bringing in defectors from Llywelyn's cause.

Under the terms of the treaty the commission was to receive oaths from twenty men in each Welsh cantref to the effect that the provisions of the treaty were being observed; ten hostages from the 'noble men' of Llywelyn's territories were to be

⁷¹ According to Hinnebusch, William of Southampton lodged permanently at Westminster following the conclusion of the negotiations, and while there mediated in a dispute between Anthony Bek and Master Roger de Seiton touching the church of Briggehem. He died in late 1278. William A. Hinnebusch, 'Diplomatic activities of the English Dominicans in the thirteenth century' in *The Catholic History Review*, xxviii, no. 3 (1942), pp 324-5.

⁷² The Lestrangle family owned land in Knockin and Ruyton in Shropshire; he was appointed as royal official in Oswestry where his behaviour led to widespread resentment. Davies, *Age of conquest*, pp 40, 348, 350-1.

⁷³ J. Beverley Smith, 'Welsh Dominicans and the crisis of 1277' in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxii (1968), p. 353. See also idem, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, pp 430-1.

⁷⁴ Beverley Smith, 'Welsh Dominicans', pp 355-6.

delivered to the king; all prisoners taken ‘for the king’s needs’ were to be liberated; the lands of those who had come into the king’s peace were to be restored, and they were to oversee the dower portion to be allocated to Eleanor de Montfort, now Llywelyn’s wife proper.⁷⁵ The order was repeated in June of that year, stating that at all times at least one of the Dominican priors and one of the knights should be sitting on the commission.⁷⁶ The king then restated the terms of the treaty to be undertaken by the commission, the implication being that perhaps the work was progressing more slowly than he would like. In this he also referred to the aftermath of the war, whereby corn and other goods had been unjustly carried away from the king’s men in Anglesey, and other wrongs and damages had been inflicted upon them.⁷⁷ On 17 September Edward adjudged Llywelyn to be returned to the king’s peace and caused the hostages to be restored to the prince.⁷⁸ They were placed into the hands of Ifor, prior of Rhuddlan, who was then to present them to Llywelyn on condition that they not raise arms again against the king or his heirs.⁷⁹ Yet it appears that the commission was still engaged in its work at the end of the year and Edward, obviously frustrated by their lack of progress, wrote once more concerning the restitution of the corn in Anglesey and those matters that remained to be done in accordance with the articles of the treaty.⁸⁰ His tone in this letter is decidedly frosty as he enjoins them to continue their work without further delay or it might behove him to apply a heavier hand.⁸¹ The work of the commissioners was not solely related to the provisions of the treaty. On 5 December 1278 the constable of Montgomery castle was ordered to deliver to Llywelyn, prior of Bangor, and another of the

⁷⁵ *Chancery rolls*, pp 162-3; Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 549.

⁷⁶ *Chancery rolls*, p. 167.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169; ‘Vobis, sub spe hujusmodi fidelitatis vestrae, gratiam facere specialem volentes, ut eo amplius ad terminum nostrum et ad dictam pacem conservandam animari debeatis, obsides illos vobis as praesens duximus restituendos de nostra gratia et curialitate speciali; ita tamen quod, per hanc nostram gratiam, dictae paci in nullo depereat; nec in aliquo de suis articulis, aliquo modo, derogetur eidem. Et ipsos nobis in Christo fratri Tuor’ priori de Rothelan’ liberari fecimus, ad vos, prout ei injunximus, conducendos; sicut ipse, cui in praemissis firmam fidem adhibeatis, vobis plenius dicet ex parte nostra...’. Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 562; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 480.

⁷⁹ ‘...Isti praenominati venerunt, in ecclesiam sanctae Crucis Cestriae...et praestiterunt Regi sacramentum fidelitatis, de vita et membris, &c super crucem praedictam: et quod aliquo tempore non portabunt arma contra dominum Regem, vel haeredes suos, nec in aliquo suo perpetuo erunt contra ipsos: et insuper si contigat quod praefatus L. vel alii de Wallia, contra Regem, vel haeredes suos arma portare voluerint in futurum, ipsi Regi et haeredibus suis fideliter adhaerebunt, contra praedictum L. et alios, hujusmodi arma portantes, erunt suo perpetuo toto posse.’ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 562. There is no record in *Medieval religious houses England and Wales* of a ‘church of the Holy Cross’ in Chester, but presumably it was a parish church.

⁸⁰ *Chancery rolls*, p. 177.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

commissioners, a friar of the Dominican order who had been arrested at Bangor going from house to house with certain goods.⁸²

The Dominican friars in Wales certainly earned Edward's good favour during his campaign of 1276-7. Having used their friary as an administrative base, he now ordered Master Thomas Bek and John de Kirkeby to ensure that the friars at Rhuddlan should have their estovers in the forest of Pevethald, and free fishery in the river there.⁸³ They were also to be allowed to grind corn in the king's mills there. Their prior, Ifor [Juorius], one of the commissioners who had overseen the enactment of the provisions of the treaty, and had received those hostages to be returned to Llywelyn, was to have letters directed to Boggo de Knovill, sheriff of Shropshire, to put one David de Rydemayn into any competent service in his bailiwick.⁸⁴ During the first Edwardian campaign in Wales Anian, bishop of St Asaph, maintained good relations with the English king, despite the considerable destruction that was wreaked in his diocese. The damage done caused the Dominican archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Kilwardby, to write to the English Dominican provincial chapter, then assembling in London, begging prayers for the diocese in its time of need. He also wrote sometime before November 1277 to William Beauchamp earl of Warwick and the other captains of Edward's army staying at Chester.⁸⁵ In this letter he ordered them to restrain those soldiers of their army who were plundering the churches, cemeteries and other possessions of the church in Wales, and complaining especially that they had burnt a manor belonging to the bishop of St Asaph, killing one of his men there, and that they were committing sacrilege and rapine in various places.⁸⁶ In late 1277, sometime before November, the archbishop also wrote on behalf of the clergy of the diocese of St Asaph who were reduced to carrying around the gospels of St Asaph in an attempt to solicit alms for their church. In this letter, the archbishop sought aid and protection from the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield, Hereford and

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁸³ *Calendar of chancery warrants, AD 1244-1326* (London, 1927), p. 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 522-3.

⁸⁶ '...quod homines exercitus vestri, postposito Dei timore, ecclesiis, cimiteriis, aut ecclesiasticis possessionibus et rebus, non parcut; loca et res huiusmodi hostiliter invadentes. quorum aliqui dudum quoddam manerium domini Assavensis Episcopi combusserunt, interficientes unum de hominibus suis ibidem, [et] committendo diversimodo in locis aliis sacrilegia et rapinas...'. *Ibid.*

from all those in Wales.⁸⁷ At the same time Anian appealed to his fellow Dominicans, writing to the provincial of the Friars Preachers in England begging prayers for his church in St Asaph.⁸⁸

In the summer of 1279 Llywelyn was engaged in a dispute with Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn over the cantref of Arwystli in central Wales.⁸⁹ This quarrel had arisen in 1278 when Llywelyn brought his claims before the commission under the authority of Walter Hopton, expecting it to be dispatched quickly but this was not the case, and it was still in dispute when war broke out again in March 1282. About July William de Merton, prior of the Franciscan friary at Llanfaes came before the king to negotiate on behalf of Llywelyn. Despite commending him for his ‘prudence and honesty’, Edward rejected his representations, as he had already arranged passage to France to meet with the French king there and so ‘could not and would not’ settle Llywelyn’s business at that time. He did, however, agree to deal with the dispute at his next parliament at Michaelmas, stipulating that Llywelyn should send discreet and faithful men, versed in the minutiae of the dispute and with knowledge of the law of Hywel Dda and the customs of Wales.⁹⁰ This friar continued to act as messenger for Llywelyn, and in an undated letter contained in the *Calendar of ancient correspondence concerning Wales* he is described as the ‘Warden of Llanfaes, whom Llywelyn is sending to the king on certain secret business’.⁹¹ Goronwy Edwards dates this letter to circa July 1279 and a further one to 6 July of the following year. In the latter, Llywelyn sent the friar to Edward with complaints regarding goods from a shipwreck.⁹² This related to the prince’s seizure of the goods of one Robert of Leicester, a merchant from a wreck, whereby the justice of Chester had seized the prince’s horses and honey by way of compensation. In this letter Llywelyn complained that the king had informed Friar William that he would give no

⁸⁷ ‘...Librum seu tectum Evangeliorum de Ecclesia Assaph, vulgo “Ereuegilthes” appellatum, qui ut didicimus in magna veneratione habetur in partibus Wallie et Marchie apud omnes, et propter casus varios a quibusdam clericis prefate Ecclesie quandoque per patriam tanquam san[c]tuarium honorifice circumfertur...’. *Ibid.*, p. 523.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 523-4; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 476.

⁸⁹ Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn of southern Powys. See Davies, *Age of conquest*, pp 344-7 for the dispute concerning Arwystli.

⁹⁰ *Calendar of ancient correspondence concerning Wales*, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards (Cardiff, 1935), p. 62; Conway Davies, *Welsh assize roll*, pp 52-3; Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, p. 477; Hays, ‘Welsh Monasteries and the Edwardian Conquest’, p. 115.

⁹¹ *Ancient correspondence*, p. 96.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

further credence to the merchant touching the business of the wreck, as he had obtained royal letters by false suggestion from the justiciar of Chester. Despite the king's assurances, the justiciar had distrained Llywelyn's men and goods.⁹³

Friar William wrote again to Edward I in early 1282, warning the king that Llywelyn's loyalty and forbearance were being severely strained by the delay in settling the matter with Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn.⁹⁴ In this letter the friar addressed himself to the king that although 'it might seem presumptuous for him, a poor Mendicant, to address the king's majesty', he was motivated by zeal for the continuance of the peace between Edward and the prince. Declaring Llywelyn to be the king's 'faithful and devoted vassal', he nonetheless had very great occasion of complaint regarding the delays in settling the business between the prince and Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn. Friar William maintained that the Arwystli issue and the restitution of the goods weighed heavily on Llywelyn, for the delay in the former business seemed to run counter to the form of peace, and the latter took away his liberty, since no inquisition into that matter had been made in his land.⁹⁵ Although these letters are undated they must pre-date the outbreak of hostilities in March 1282, as Friar William still believed it was possible to avoid war by warning Edward not to test Llywelyn's patience.

The Welsh attack upon Hawarden castle on the eve of Palm Sunday (22 March), 1282, was regarded by Peckham as a treacherous act of sacrilege, and he did not hesitate in responding to Edward's letter of 28 March which called for the excommunication of those who had raised a disturbance in Wales contrary to the king's peace.⁹⁶ This 'rebellion', Edward believed, would be more easily repressed by the mediation of the spiritual sword which in such cases helped the secular arm.⁹⁷ The sentence was re-issued by Peckham on 1 April,⁹⁸ and then again in May.⁹⁹

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Beverly Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, p. 504.

⁹⁵ *Ancient correspondence*, pp 99-100.

⁹⁶ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 603.

⁹⁷ '...Cum nonnulli malefactores Wallenses, et alii complices et fautires sui, tranquillitati et paci regni nostri invidentes, turbacionem quandam in terra nostra Walliae suscitantes pariter et moventes, ibidem depraedationes, homicidia, incendia, et alia enormia quamplurima perpetrarint, contra pacem nostram... per singulas dioeceses suas publice et solemniter denunciari faciant excommunicatos...'. *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 533-4; *Chancery rolls*, p. 246.

⁹⁸ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 534-5.

However, not all were willing to cooperate with the English regarding their affairs in Wales. Anian, bishop of St Asaph, had enjoyed cordial relations with the English crown prior to the outbreak of war.¹⁰⁰ It was his relationship with Llywelyn that was troubled. Now, however, there was a change in his circumstances as his relations with first Peckham, and then the king, soured. The trouble arose over the burning of the cathedral of St Asaph, to which Anian responded by excommunicating those English soldiers he believed responsible for the fire.¹⁰¹ He compounded his sins in the eyes of his archbishop and Edward by refusing to re-issue the sentence of excommunication against Llywelyn in April 1282¹⁰² and was now cited to appear before Peckham to answer for such disobedience. Anian was forced to leave his diocese and in October Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells, was appointed to take charge of St Asaph during the bishop's enforced absence.¹⁰³ In a letter dated 6 June Peckham warned Anian not to excommunicate hastily the English who burned the church, and expressed his regret at Anian's banishment from his see.¹⁰⁴ He acknowledged the damage caused to the cathedral but reminded the bishop of those sins committed by the king's enemies, the Welsh, whereby they invaded the castles of the king, committed homicides, spoiliations and burnings. He also cast some doubt upon those responsible for the fire, saying that those holy Friars Preachers had been present when the church was burned, and had then said mass afterwards, something the archbishop claims they should not have done.¹⁰⁵ Hinnebusch has argued that Anian's refusal to re-issue the excommunication against Llywelyn was his latent

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp 535-6.

¹⁰⁰ See Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 544, 545; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 476.

¹⁰¹ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 536-7; *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, i, 368; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 473.

¹⁰² William A. Hinnebusch, 'Diplomatic activities of the English Dominicans in the thirteenth century', *The Catholic History Review*, xxviii (1942), no. 3, p. 324.

¹⁰³ '...Cum vener. frater noster Episcopus Assaven. absens sit a sua dioec., nec ei tutum existat ad presens ibidem suam presentiam exhibere; nec nos, variis et arduis Ecclesie nostre negotiis et utilitatibus alibi occupati, possumus ibidem presentialiter remanere...'. *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 541. This is the same Robert Burnell, chancellor of England, and described by Rishanger as having been elected archbishop of Canterbury but having his election overturned in favour of John Peckham: 'Hoc anno, Robertus Burnel, Episcopus Batoniensis, in Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum est electus; sed Papa, electione cessata, Lectori Curiae, Fratri Johanni de Peccham de Ordine Minorum, eandem contulit dignitatem.' Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁴ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 536-7.

¹⁰⁵ '...Hanc autem narrationis seriem videtur probabiliter confirmare, quod nobis scripsistis de illis sanctis Fratribus Predicatoribus, qui coram illis incendiariis, ipsius incendii non ignari, divina postea celebrarunt; quod nulla ratione fecissent, ut credimus, nis sciissent ipsos incendiarios, in tanto, licet non in toto, per istam viam vel aliam excusatos...'. Ibid.

national sympathies coming to the fore¹⁰⁶ but, based on the evidence relating to this prelate's career, it seems more likely that it was an outburst of ill temper. His actions for the earlier part of his career do not appear to be the actions of a Welsh patriot – he quarrelled vociferously with Llywelyn, going so far as to inform the pope of his alleged oppression at the hands of the prince. On the eve of hostilities with the English in 1276 Anian had taken the opportunity to present Llywelyn with his twenty-nine grievances, thus forcing him into a reconciliation of sorts and, in all matters to this point, he had shown a preference for the English cause. It appears that his outburst against Edward's soldiers was less the product of nationalistic feelings, and more outrage that such an action should be taken against his cathedral. He paid dearly for his actions, remaining in exile for two years following his defiance of archbishop and king.

The role of the religious in the hostilities of 1282-3 should not be over-emphasised, yet it was a Franciscan archbishop who directed negotiations throughout 1282, and the priories, friaries and monasteries of Wales were close enough to the fighting to receive compensation for the damage caused following the end of the war. Some of the fiercest fighting took place in Llywelyn's stronghold of Gwynedd where the Franciscan friary at Llanfaes, and the Dominican priories at Bangor and Rhuddlan must have seen more of the war than their sister-houses. The priories, for example, continued to minister to the English wounded despite the sentence of excommunication issued by their fellow Dominican, Anian, and such was the extent of fatalities in the area that on 27 October a mandate was issued to cause a 'competent place by the hospital' in Rhuddlan to be assigned for the burial of the dead.¹⁰⁷ Edward informed Robert Burnell that the cemetery there was no longer sufficient for the numbers of dead, and that a new site was to be chosen to accommodate those English killed in battle.¹⁰⁸ The Franciscans at Carmarthen had buried William de Valence, son of the earl of Pembroke, following the battle near Lladeilo Fawr in June,¹⁰⁹ but it was their friary at Llanfaes that bore the brunt of the

¹⁰⁶ Hinnebusch, 'Diplomatic activities of the English Dominicans', p. 324.

¹⁰⁷ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 540.

¹⁰⁸ '...cimiterium ecclesiae de Rothelan non est competans aut sufficiens pro sepultura mortuorum ibidem; vobis mandamus, quod aliquem locum competentem juxta Hospitale extra Rothelanum assignare faciatis pro sepultura...'. Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ See Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, p. 521.

war being so close as it was to the ill-fated battle of the Menai Straits in November. In his biography of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, J. Beverley Smith gives a detailed account of where precisely he feels the crossing, under the direction of Luke de Tany, took place.¹¹⁰ According to his account, the army were poised to cross from Anglesey to the mainland by way of the Menai Straits and, on 6 November, did so without the king's command, perhaps hoping to surprise the Welsh and thus end hostilities sooner. Walter of Guisborough certainly supports this theory, claiming they crossed the bridge at low tide, but were met by the Welsh coming from the mountains and, trapped between them and the incoming tide, they preferred to face the sea than the enemy, and were drowned because of the weight of their armour.¹¹¹ Wykes puts it even more poignantly, describing how the fleeing men, believing they could save themselves but ignorant of the waters, were drowned, among their number Luke de Tany, William de Dogingeseles and William la Zuche.¹¹² Several of those killed were buried at the Franciscan houses at Llanfaes.¹¹³ Beverley Smith also considers the actual bridging point of the failed expedition to be further north than has been previously suggested which would put the put the fighting much closer to the Franciscan friary at Llanfaes.¹¹⁴

Throughout the summer and into the autumn Archbishop Peckham was attempting to negotiate for peace, mediating personally between Llywelyn and Edward, having openly declared his intention to intervene in a letter to Robert Burrell, dated 24 July.¹¹⁵ It was in Edward's interest to ensure ecclesiastical support for his war in Wales, and a letter sent from Worcester on 20 May ordered that his archbishops,

¹¹⁰ See *ibid.*, pp 536-7 for a full account of the events of St Leonard's Day.

¹¹¹ '...Cumque lustrasent pedes moncium et essent a ponte aliquantisper remoti superque venissent fluctus marisque inundacia ita quod ad pontem redire non possent pro aqua nimia, egressi sunt Wallenses a montibus excelsis dirigentes ad eos iter et gressus suos. At nostri attoniti et multitudinem timentes magis se potius aque quam hosti credere voluerunt. Ingressi sunt aquam ita ut erant onusti et armati et quasi in puncto submersi sunt...'. Walter of Guisborough, *Chronicle*, ed. H. Rothwell (London, Camden Society lxxxix, 1957), p. 219.

¹¹² '...Fugientes quoque transnatione cujusdam fluvii se salvare credentes, vadum fluminis ignorantes, quamplures in fluvio sunt submersi; de quibus famosiores fuerunt dominus Lucas de Tany, Willelmus de Dogingeseles, Willelmus la Zuche, caeteris cum maxima difficultate evadentibus...'. 'Chronicon Thomae Wykes', pp 289-90. See also Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 99.

¹¹³ R. C. Easterling, 'The Friars in Wales' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, xiv (1914), 6th series, p. 343.

¹¹⁴ For a full analysis of the crossing points over the Menai Straits, see Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, pp 538-40.

¹¹⁵ *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, i, 389.

bishops and abbots be present at Rhuddlan by Sunday, 2 August,¹¹⁶ to discuss the course of the war. However it seems that Edward was reluctant for Peckham to treat directly with Llywelyn, and Beverley Smith, the most eminent authority on Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, has argued that this was because he felt it might politicise and/or legitimise Llywelyn's case by placing him centre stage in the negotiations and giving voice to his complaints against the English king.¹¹⁷ The archbishop arrived at the king's base at Rhuddlan in the late autumn, but in the meantime sent a deputy, the Franciscan John Wallensis, to treat with Llywelyn. Perhaps Friar John was chosen because of his nationality, but it seems more likely that it was his eminent suitability for the task. He had been sixth regent master of the Franciscans at Oxford, and had been regent master of the order at Paris.¹¹⁸ His contemporaries whilst at Oxford and Paris were luminaries such as Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon, and even in this company he managed to gain intellectual credit for himself, being called *Arbor Vitae* because of the fruits of his learning.¹¹⁹ On 21 October the archbishop issued a letter appointing Friar John as bearer of his letters to Llywelyn and granting him safe-conduct.¹²⁰ This was confirmed on 25 October when letters of safe-conduct were issued for the friar going as 'a messenger of the archbishop of Canterbury to Lewelin son of Griffin, the king's enemy', but these were granted 'notwithstanding that the king had hitherto proposed not to grant safe-conduct to any to go to the said Lewelin as the king's messenger.'¹²¹

¹¹⁶ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 533-4.

¹¹⁷ Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, p. 531.

¹¹⁸ Williams, *The Welsh church*, pp 26-7.

¹¹⁹ Little, *Medieval Wales*, p. 121. The Lanercost chronicler, probably with some degree of bias towards his confrere described Peckham as '...minister Angliae fratrum Minorum, frater Johannes de Peccham, quo post cathedram Parisiensem ac Oxoniensem, ubi primo omnium disputavit in facultate Theologiae de Quolibet, evocatus ad Curiam, scientiae diviniac ac ordinis sui dilatavit famam; et post biennium vexationis suae quam praecipue habuit quotidie contra diversos haereticos, eorum argumenta et responsiones exsufflando, a domino papa Nicholao publico sermone in convesione sancto Pauli [25 January] Cantuariensis archiepiscopus denunciatus est, antequam factus. Qui quam humiliter, sincere, atque constanter officium illud post executus est, testantur linguae, laudant conscientiae...'. *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 100-101.

¹²⁰ '...Et idcirco praemittimus dilectum nobis in Christo fratrem Johannem dictum Wallensem, sacrae theologiae doctorem, latorem praesentium, ad principem Walliae ac accomplices et subditos suos, dicturum eisdem quaedam ad eorum salutem pertinentia, et eorum responsa nobis fideliter relaturum...'. *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, ii, 421-2.

¹²¹ *Chancery warrants, 1244-1326*, p. 7.

About the beginning of November the Annals of Osney report the archbishop as going to treat personally with the prince in Wales.¹²² We know that Peckham was at Rhuddlan by that stage since several letters are issued from there, not least one dated 31 October addressed to Robert Burnell, stating his intention to go to Wales and appointing the bishop his vicar in case anything should happen to him there.¹²³ Therefore Peckham's visit to Llywelyn must have taken place after that date. There is a gap in the register of letters between his correspondence with Burnell on 31 October and his next correspondence, which was dated 6 November and sent from Rhuddlan to the superior of Rufford.¹²⁴ This would seem to tie in with the Osney annalist's suggestion that the visitation took place about the Feast of All Saints,¹²⁵ and it has to predate the events of St Leonard's Day at the Menai Straits since Edward's attitude towards negotiations with the Welsh hardened considerably following the English defeat there. We have a written record of the negotiations that took place between the archbishop and the prince in that first week of November and in Peckham's initial letter we have confirmation that these negotiations did indeed take place against the wishes of the king¹²⁶ as had been hinted at in the reluctant grant of letters of safe-conduct to John Wallensis. Peckham, having declared his affection for the Welsh people and his desire for their temporal and spiritual welfare, warned the prince that, should his mediation be rejected, he would be forced to write to the pope on behalf of the English who enjoyed the special protection of the apostolic see.¹²⁷ He then scolded the Welsh for their ill treatment of prisoners, comparing them to the heathen Saracens and finding them wanting. The Saracens at least would return captured Christians if ransomed, whereas the Welsh, seeming to

¹²² '...Rege vero in partibus Rothelani usque circiter festum Omnium Sanctorum continue commorante, missus est J[ohannes] Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ad Lewelinum in Snowdoniam, ut tractaret cum eo de pace; quin potius ut ipsum moneret et induceret ut pacem quam cum rege dudum fecerat, scripto pariter et iurejurando callatam, factoque quod pepigerant, observaret. Sed hoc frustra...'. 'Annals of Osney', pp 289-91.

¹²³ '...Intendentes pro salute populi Wallensium ipsos adire... nolentes eetiā dictam nostram Cantuariensem ecclesiam tanquam acephalam et pastoris sloatio destitutam manere diutius, si nostrum regressum violenter et malitiose contigerit impediri...'. *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, ii, 426.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 427. The 'superior of Rufford' was a Cistercian from their monastery in Rufford, Nottinghamshire; see *Medieval religious houses England and Wales*, pp 114, 125.

¹²⁵ 1 November.

¹²⁶ '...quia venium contra domini regis voluntatem...'. *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, ii, 435.

¹²⁷ '...noverint quod regnum Angliae est sub speciali protectione sedis apostolicae, et quod Romana curia plus inter regna cetera diligere consuevit.' *Ibid.*, p. 436.

delight in blood, allegedly cut the throats of those they captured.¹²⁸ The overall tone of the letter must have allayed Edward's fears as to the mediation of the archbishop as this correspondence suggests that Peckham very firmly placed the blame upon the prince's head. His support for the king's cause seems unhesitating and he warns Llywelyn that should he not come to the king's peace, then the forces of the land shall be brought to bear upon him.¹²⁹ Llywelyn's response was, according to Douie, a little over-effusive, perhaps verging on ironical.¹³⁰ Certainly his opening statement was most humble, grateful and devoted, offering the archbishop his '*dilectionem cum omnimoda reverentia, subjectione et honore*', and thanking him for his efforts on behalf of the prince and his people, despite the opposition of the king. He did, however, dispute the archbishop's accusations and, in a series of *gravamina*, lay before Peckham a list of the offences committed by the English since the time of Henry III. The picture presented by these *gravamina* is one of systematic violations of treaties, incursions into Welsh lands, denial of justice through English law and extraction of monies by unscrupulous English officials.¹³¹

Although undated, this correspondence took place over a very short period of time. If, as has been argued earlier, Peckham was with the prince from 1 or 2 November for what we know was a period of three days, then Friar John Wallensis must have returned to Llywelyn's court very shortly after that. Peckham's admonitions to Llywelyn must have been issued about 5 November, and the prince's response to the archbishop must have been equally prompt. We know this because Friar John was sent to treat with Llywelyn once more on Peckham's behalf but certainly before 11 November, since in a letter of this date Llywelyn wrote to the king in reference to proposals that had been put to him.¹³² Friar John was given two sets of proposals, one of which was to be read out before Llywelyn and his council, the other to be declared to Llywelyn in private. The public proposals offered the prince nothing – Edward refused to discuss Anglesey or the four cantref, and could offer no guarantees other

¹²⁸ '...amarissime plangimus hoc quod dicitur Walenses crudeliores existere Saracenis, quoa cum Saraceni capiunt Christianos, eos servant pecunia redimendos, qos Walenses captos dicuntur illico jugulare, quasi solo sanguine delectentur...'. Ibid.

¹²⁹ '...quod nisi modo pax fiat, procedetur contra eos forsitan ex decreto militiae, sacerdotii et populi convocati.' Ibid., p. 437.

¹³⁰ Douie, *Peckham*, p. 239.

¹³¹ See *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, ii, 437-465 for the grievances listed by Llywelyn et al.

¹³² Ibid., p. 466.

than that he would deal mercifully with their inhabitants.¹³³ The private proposals, however, offered the prince slightly more assurances. He would be provided for honourably should he submit absolutely, perpetually and quietly to the king, and provision would be made for him in England such as would benefit his heir, should he re-marry.¹³⁴ His brother, Dafydd would also be provided for, should he choose to go to the Holy Land.¹³⁵ Edward was not offering much – Llywelyn would be forced from Wales to become a minor lord in England and the only guarantee of his safety was a letter read in private by Friar John who, although undoubtedly a man of integrity and convincing testimony, had proven himself a loyal servant of the archbishop and the English crown. Not surprisingly, in a letter dated 11 November, Llywelyn rejected the archbishop’s proposals on behalf of himself and his brother, and it appears that his safety was only one - and probably the least - of the reasons as to why the prince was rejecting the terms of surrender.

On 14 November we have Peckham’s final letter to Llywelyn, responding to the Welsh prince’s rejection of the articles he had negotiated with Edward. The archbishop, no doubt disappointed that his mediation had failed, took his leave of the situation, condemning Llywelyn for his failure to come to the king’s peace and his rejection of the archbishop’s overtures through the mediation of John Wallensis. Sentence of excommunication was passed against the prince and other disturbers of the king’s peace because, the archbishop felt, there was no sufficient excuse or remedy that could prevent it.¹³⁶ Peckham departed Rhuddlan leaving a Dominican friar, Adam of Nannau, as his emissary. We know this because, in a letter dated 11 December, Friar Adam was recalled from his mission to Llywelyn, although presumably he had not yet heard of the prince’s death in conflict that day.¹³⁷ Beverley Smith, building upon Douie’s observation that it was ‘a curious

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ ‘...Ita tamen quod praedictus Lewelinus ponat dominum regem in seysina Snaudoniae absolute, perpetue et quiete... si contigat Lewelinum ducere uxorem, et habera de ea prolem masculam, intendunt impetrate proceres a domino rege ut proles illa succedat perpetuo hereditarie Lewelino in terra illa mille librarum, videlicet comitatu...’. Ibid., p. 467.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 468.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 477. For an account of Peckham’s role in the negotiations with Llewelyn, see Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, pp 545-6; Douie, *Peckham*, pp 247-8.

¹³⁷ ‘Frater J[ohannes] etc., dilecto filio fratri Adae de Nanneu, ordinis Praedicatorum...’. *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, ii, 488.

coincidence' the friar was recalled the day of Llywelyn's death,¹³⁸ has linked this Adam to one mentioned in an article presented in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1919.¹³⁹ In this article, J. Fisher provided the text of three Welsh wills, the first of which belonged to the Dominican bishop of St Asaph, Anian, also called 'of Nannau.' According to Fisher, Anian had one brother, Adam, who is mentioned in the text twice, first as in receipt of Anian's bible, and then as an executor of the will. Fisher has translated the will and he gives Adam's inclusion in the text as 'his [Anian's] brother' rather than just brother, which is how he appears in the list of executors. It seems logical to agree with Beverley Smith that they are in fact related, especially as Adam is the only one singled out by his name, and the intimacy of the gift – the bishop's bible – suggests a close personal link. Finally, two Dominicans, both with the suffix 'of Nannau' and one mentioned in the other's will would seem to provide more than enough evidence for speculation. Following the withdrawal of this emissary Peckham, now at Pembroke, ordered Robert Burnell to provide protection for those clergy at Rhuddlan and in Snowdonia who were implicated in the Welsh war.¹⁴⁰

Llywelyn died on 11 December 1282, killed 'by the hand of a soldier serving the king of England.'¹⁴¹ According to contemporary chroniclers the prince's head was then sent to London and set upon the Tower, crowned with ivy.¹⁴² Although the war continued until Dafydd's capture in June 1283,¹⁴³ there is no evidence of further mendicant involvement in negotiations to hasten the end of hostilities. The recall of Friar Adam on the day of Llywelyn's death seems to have signalled the end of Peckham's involvement with the Welsh regarding the war. He now became

¹³⁸ Douie, *Pecham*, p. 253.

¹³⁹ J. Fisher, 'Three Welsh wills', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, xix (1919), 6th series, pp 181-192; J. Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, pp 545-6.

¹⁴⁰ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 548-9.

¹⁴¹ Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, p. 567.

¹⁴² See 'Chronicon Thomae Wykes', pp 289-90; 'Annales de Osney', pp 289-91; Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1890), iii, p. 57.

¹⁴³ The Lanercost chronicler seems to have taken undue interest in reporting the details of David's gruesome death: '...Proles David carceri perpetuo adjudicata est, ipse vero David prius tractus ut proditor, post suspensus ut latro, tertio vivus decapitatus est et viscera ejus combusta et occisor, quatuor membra ejus in quatuor partes defecta in poenam depellatoris per quatuor solemnia Angliae loca spectaculo sunt suspensa; videlicet, brachium dextrum cum annulo in digito apud Eboracum, brachium sinistrum apud Birstow, tibia et coxa dextra apud Northampton, sinistra apud Herefore. Caput vero iniqui, ne putrifiendo deficeret, ferro est circumligatum, et in longo hastili eminenter Londoniae ludibrio profutum...'. *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 112-13.

concerned with how events were affecting the church in Wales and, even before Dafydd's death, was looking to rehabilitate the bishop of St Asaph in the eyes of the king. As early as 24 December 1282 he had written to Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwy¹⁴⁴ in relation to the confiscated temporalities of the see of St Asaph¹⁴⁵ and in 1283 the fate of the see itself was discussed.¹⁴⁶ In May or June 1281 the translation of the see of St Asaph to Rhuddlan had been discussed but, following the bishop's refusal to publish the sentences of excommunication against Llywelyn the matter had been dropped, and the bishop exiled. Although the discussions in 1283 came to naught, they signalled the beginning of Anian's return to the mainstream of ecclesiastical affairs. Peckham now sought to have the bishop returned to his see and, having stated his intention of going to Wales with the king in March 1284,¹⁴⁷ he then wrote to Edward requesting that the bishop of St Asaph might meet him there. In this letter he appealed to the king's good clemency and asked that his venerable brother, the lord bishop of Asaph, might be allowed to present himself at his church during Peckham's visitation.¹⁴⁸

He petitioned Edward again in June, but here the matter of Anian was secondary to Peckham's concern for the state of the Welsh church and the impoverished Welsh clergy. In this letter he laid some of the blame for the damage caused to churches and monasteries, cemeteries, sacred ornaments and vestments upon the heads of the English army, and warned the king that these malefactors would be subject to the strictest censures of the church.¹⁴⁹ In a second letter to Edward, Peckham suggested

¹⁴⁴ Written 'Wenonwyn'.

¹⁴⁵ *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, ii, 495-6.

¹⁴⁶ '...Sane, sicut alias vobis scripsisse recolimus in dioc' Assaven' noviter contrui, edificari, populari, et inhabitari fecimus quandam vollandam, in loco spaciosi, tutissimo et insigni, qui vocatur vulgariter Rodelan; ad quam non solum dyoc' Assaven' verum diocesum vicinarum popululus, necnon et Anglicani multitudo populi jam confluit; a quo cathedralis ecclesia Assaven' distat fere per duas leucas Anglicanas, quae sita est in quodam loco solitario et campestri...'. Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 629. See *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 529, 530-1 for the initial discussions on this matter.

¹⁴⁷ '...Praeterea noveritis quod vita comite et sanitate oportebit nos cum domino rege Walliam peragere, circa populum illum divisam et dilaceratum non sine multis gravaminibus occupandos.' *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, ii, 681-2.

¹⁴⁸ '...Quia volente Domino juxta officii nostri debitum intendimus partes Walliae visitare, serenitati regiae supplicamus quatenus de vestrae bonitatis clementia liceat venerabili fratri nostro domino episcopo Assavensi, nobis, cum ad ecclesiam suam venerimus, suam exhibere praesentiam, praesertim cum ab ipso debeat visitatio nostra insipi, et de persona sua vel factis nihil possimus inquirere modo debito vel etiam divinare, nisi ipso praesentialiter inibi existente, nec aliquid ipsum tangere credimus propter quod debeat a progressu nostrae visitationis excludi...'. *Ibid.*, p. 705.

¹⁴⁹ '...per partes Wallie visitationis freti officio transeuntes, personas ecclesiasticas et monasticas audivimus conquerentes de ecclesiis et sacris edibus spoliatis et pariter concrematis; laicos etiam de

that a commission be formed to enquire into the damages caused to the Welsh Church during the war. This commission was to consist of two approved men¹⁵⁰ from the order of Friars Preachers, and two from the order of Minors, as well as one or two secular clerks. Those appointed would be responsible for visiting locations in Wales, making inquisitions in parishes, churches and deserted sacred places and assessing the loss, damage and destruction with the aid of local juries.¹⁵¹ The very existence of this commission is evidence for the participation of the religious houses of Wales in the wars between Llywelyn and Edward, whether willing or no. Peckham himself had spent some time at Rhuddlan and so personally had witnessed the damage inflicted by the fighting there; as a Franciscan he was almost certainly in contact with his brethren in Llanfaes and so would be aware of the hardships suffered at that house also; finally as archbishop and primate of the English church, his responsibility was to ensure that compensation was paid to the wider religious community. The friars appointed to the commission were Robert de Chester and Nicholas de Rademere, the third commissioner was Ralph de Brocton, clerk of the king.¹⁵² Robert de Chester had been appointed warden at Llanfaes following the death of Friar William de Merton, who had interceded on Llywelyn's behalf so eloquently before the outbreak of war. Nicholas de Rademere had also fairly recently come to his post as prior at Rhuddlan, since his predecessor Ifor had been part of the commission appointed in 1278 to oversee the enactment of the terms of the Treaty of Aberconwy. In February 1284 Peckham had written to Anian informing him that he intended to visit the diocese of St Asaph by Whitsunday and that due notice would be given once the time was fixed.¹⁵³ This was actually part of a wider visitation,

rebus suis ab ecclesiis et ceteris, in quibus recondite fuerant, sacrilege asportatis... Quod si personarum notitia non valeat indagari, vel note non sufficient satisfacere de predictis, credimus Maiestatem regiam pro ratione pretacta ad satisfactionem huiusmodi obligari; ita tamen quod raptores ad solutionem impotentes, sicut excommunicati, gravi pena canonica percillantur...'. *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 558-562.

¹⁵⁰ 'viros probatos'.

¹⁵¹ '... Ut videlicet duos viros probatos de ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum, et duos de ordine Minorum, et unum vel duos clericos saeculares, qui ab omni munere didicerint excutere manus suas, de fratrum electione [missing text] prioris ac ministri, quos penes vos habetis, conscientias onerantes, per singulas ecclesias et desolata loca sacra alia destinatis, inquisituros per iuramenta parochianorum ac vicinorum de dispendio, auctoribus et ipsorum etiam quantitate... Quod si personarum notitia non valeat indagari, vel note non sufficient satisfacere de predictis, credimus Maiestatem regiam pro ratione pretacta ad satisfactionem huiusmodi obligari; ita tamen quod raptores ad solutionem impotentes, sicut excommunicati, gravi pena canonica percillantur...'. *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, ii, 724-5.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp 735-6.

¹⁵³ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 552.

whereby Peckham travelled to all the Welsh dioceses between May and the autumn of 1284. It is interesting to note that the archbishop had only been in Wales approximately a month¹⁵⁴ when he wrote to Edward suggesting the formation of the commission to investigate compensation for the church in Wales. In July Edward formally acceded to his request, granting letters for the restitution of ecclesiastical goods destroyed during the war in Wales. Witnessing these letters were the bishops of Bath and Wells, St David's and Norwich, and also the prior provincial of the Friars Preachers, and the Minister of the order of Minors.¹⁵⁵

Now that a commission had been established to investigate the material damage to the church in the aftermath of war, Peckham could turn his attention to spiritual matters whereof he felt the Welsh church had fallen into error. In a letter to the bishop of St Asaph, dated 28 June, the archbishop signalled his concern with the practices of the Welsh church.¹⁵⁶ The chief abuses, as Peckham saw them, were failure to wear clerical dress, concubinage, and illiteracy. On this last issue the archbishop felt that the Welsh clergy was populated with '*illiteratos sacerdotes*', and that the solution was to look to the Friars Preachers and Minors, to welcome them rather than repel them.¹⁵⁷ As a Franciscan himself Peckham was naturally biased in favour of the mendicant orders and this order was delivered to the Dominican bishop of St Asaph. It is undoubtedly the case that both men were in agreement on the role the mendicant orders should play in the re-establishment of regular ecclesiastical practice in Wales. Yet they were not isolated in their thinking - it was widely accepted that their level of learning and preaching surpassed that of most diocesan clergy. It was quite in keeping with the philosophy of the day that Peckham would advise the appointment of mendicants to the commission to enquire into damages

¹⁵⁴ He was at Oswestry before 10 May, when he wrote to Anian requesting he come to the archbishop. *Ibid.*, p. 553.

¹⁵⁵ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 642.

¹⁵⁶ '...et si qui sacerdotum vel clericorum in his appareant reprehensibiles in futurum, nisi per decanos vel archidiaconale officium vel officiales modo debito corrigantur, vos eos puniatis graviter, et negligentes gravius correctores... ut, videlicet, quicumque ultra mensem tenuisse repretus fuerit concubinam, nisi extunc monitus penitus absteineat in futurum, nec habitam nec aliam ulterius recepturis, ipso facto omni ecclesiastico beneficio sit privatus; nihilominus, si post monitionem se correxerit, pro preteritis arbitrarie puniendus...'. *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 562-7.

¹⁵⁷ '...Et quia populus uester salutari doctrina indiget supra modum, et siut populus, sic sacerdos; quia tam illiteratos sacerdotes et clericos nusquam meminimus nos uidisse; non sine magno merore cordis audiuimus, quod Fratres Predicatores et Minores, apud qos pene solos in his partibus doctrina residet ueritatis, non recipiuntur nec procurantur a rectoribus et sacerdotibus, cum predicantes circumeunt verbum Dei.' *Ibid.*, p. 566.

caused to church property, as well as exhort that they be looked to for spiritual guidance and welfare. Peckham's concern for Wales was not limited to her church however, and in a letter to Edward dated 8 July he also expressed his 'anxiety' regarding the Welsh people. While his contempt for the Welsh clergy might have stemmed from the alleged arrogance displayed by the mendicant orders towards their ecclesiastical brethren,¹⁵⁸ his contempt for the Welsh people, as expressed in this letter, is that of an English archbishop towards a lesser people. These Welsh, he claimed, were all savages and the only method of civilizing them was to force them to live and work in towns whilst their children should be taken from them and sent to England to learn manners.¹⁵⁹

It seems the investigative work of Peckham's commission was completed by 22 October when Stephen de Howeden was ordered to deliver £2,000 to the prior of the Friars Preachers at Rhuddlan and to Ralph de Brocton to compensate those who had incurred loss or damage.¹⁶⁰ The monies were then delivered at Chester to individual religious houses and dioceses over the period of a few days in November. If the receipts are an indication of the extent of the damage done to religious establishments then the diocese of Bangor, and especially the Dominicans there, were the most severely affected by the war. In total, the diocese received £430 – of which Anian, bishop of Bangor, acknowledged receiving £250 from the commissioners.¹⁶¹ In contrast the diocese of St Asaph only received £100 despite the burning of the cathedral in 1282. The Cistercians at Strata Florida must also have suffered considerable damage as they received £70 whereas the Dominicans at Rhuddlan and the Franciscans at Llanfaes must have escaped such destruction, being allocated only £17 10s. and £8 respectively.¹⁶² It seems unusual that the Dominicans at Bangor would have suffered such terrible damage while monies received by the friary at Llanfaes imply that it escaped the worst of the war. Both foundations are geographically very close to where the bulk of the fighting took place in late 1282

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter Two.

¹⁵⁹ '...Kar il les fist en sembler e habiter en birgs; e de co sunt il apele borgoyniuns. Queke co, Sire, la malice de Galeys surt mut de leur oysuse; ker il sont oysus, e pur co pensent il tute malices...e ce no pent estre si len no les destreynt de enuoyer lur enfauntz en Engleterre pur aprendre clergie e manier...'. Ibid., pp 570-1.

¹⁶⁰ *Close rolls, 1279-88*, p. 281.

¹⁶¹ *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, i, 581.

¹⁶² Ibid., pp 581-2.

and there is no obvious explanation for why one would require over £100 in compensation, whilst the other received only £8. There is no question of dishonest dealings among the commissioners since two of their numbers were friars from those houses that received the least compensation, and the presence of Ralph de Brocton would have deterred such ‘un-mendicant’ behaviour in any case. It seems that either the Franciscans had a miraculous escape from the ravages of war, or that the presence of men such as William de Merton deterred the Welsh from attacking the friary, whereas they had no such compunction with the Dominicans at Bangor.

In conjunction with the monies granted, there were other compensations for the mendicant orders in Wales. In March of that year the king had granted to the Friars Preachers of Rhuddlan fishing rights on the river Clwyd, except in those parts where the king had caused a dam to be erected.¹⁶³ In a similar vein, following an inquisition made at Carmarthen by Robert Tybotot,¹⁶⁴ who must surely be the same Tybotot as was commissioned in the aftermath of the first war to oversee the provisions of the treaty, the Friars Minor at Carmarthen were granted certain rights on the river there.¹⁶⁵ But it seems that all this munificence eventually struck a chord with Edward, and on 28 January he wrote a letter pleading with his archbishop to grant a subsidy to one who had ‘contracted an almost infinite multitude of debts’ in connection with the settlement of Wales.¹⁶⁶

The Welsh wars cost Edward dearly, and much of the money spent went on fortifying Wales to ensure there was no further challenge to English domination. In this he was mostly successful and the next serious rebellion was that of Owain Glyn Dŵr in the early fifteenth century. The rebellion of Madog ap Llywelyn, which lasted from September 1294 to March 1295, had a strange effect on the fate of the Franciscans at Llanfaes.¹⁶⁷ Following Madog’s defeat in 1295 there were a series of castles built, and the one planned for Beaumaris had its foundations laid by April. James of St George, one of the foremost castle-builders in England at that time, was

¹⁶³ *Chancery rolls*, p. 284.

¹⁶⁴ Justiciar of Wales 1281-1298.

¹⁶⁵ *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii, 287-8.

¹⁶⁶ *Close rolls, 1279-88*, pp 350-51.

¹⁶⁷ See John Griffiths (ed.), ‘Documents relating to the rebellion of Madoc, 1294-5’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, iii (1935-7), pp 147-159 for an account of Madog’s rebellion.

given charge of its construction and from that time was known by the title *magister operacionem de Bello Marisco*.¹⁶⁸ In conjunction with the building of the castle was the creation of a new town,¹⁶⁹ and inevitably Llanfaes was deserted as the townspeople were drawn to the protection and commerce offered by the castle. On 23 November 1296 Edward ordered that the market, originally held on Saturdays at Llanfaes should now be removed to Beaumaris, where there would also be two fairs held annually.¹⁷⁰ The Franciscans, an order who by virtue of their mendicancy chose to establish houses in towns, found themselves in a position that was quite the reverse of anything experienced by their brethren before – they had not been forced to leave the town, rather the town had left them, and removed about a mile westwards.

At the end of Edward's reign the Franciscan order was entering a new period in its history. Wales remained quiet for almost a century, with only periodic outbreaks of rebellion such as that of Llywelyn Bren in 1316.¹⁷¹ In Ireland, however, the order was experiencing grave divisions, such as mirrored those apparent in the order as a whole. Whilst the larger Franciscan world was debating the doctrine of poverty, divided upon itself between the *fraticelli* and the conventuals, their brethren in Ireland were dividing along racial lines, something that was to become very apparent when the Scottish lord, Edward Bruce, invaded in 1315.¹⁷² In Scotland the Franciscan experience was different again: their support for Robert the Bruce and his war against the English seems to have been unanimous, and their part in the war was punished by Edward III upon his accession to the English throne.¹⁷³ The friars had played a significant part in the Welsh wars but it was not in the mode of their Irish or Scottish brethren. There was no overt support for the Welsh cause, and no convincing signs of rebellion or unease at the actions of the English king. The friars seem to have been regarded as onlookers in Edward's Welsh wars, mediators at best,

¹⁶⁸ Arnold Taylor, 'The Beaumaris Castle building account of 1295-1298' in John R. Kenyon and Richard Avent (ed.), *Castles in Wales and the Marches; essays in honour of D. J. Cathcart King* (Cardiff, 1987), p. 125.

¹⁶⁹ '...idcirco rex E[dwardus] adveniens Cestriam circa festum Sancti Nicholai, cepit insulam Angleseiam, aedificavitque de novo urbem et castrum de Bello Marisco...'. Ibid., pp 338-9.

¹⁷⁰ Charles R. Hand, 'Llanfaes friary and its mystery monuments', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, iv (1934), 7th series, p. 130.

¹⁷¹ See Chapter Five.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ See Chapter Four and Epilogue.

and their role while not quite passive, did not further the hostilities as it did subsequently in Scotland and in Ireland.

Chapter Four - The Friars and the Scottish wars of independence.

In the previous chapter, I argued that the friars in Wales took on the role of mediators, negotiating between king and prince in their ever-escalating war of words which led, eventually, to the outbreak of actual war in 1282. When it did, it was the Franciscan house at Llanfaes and the Dominican priory at Rhuddlan that bore witness to the major battles between the English and Welsh armies. Although the Franciscans did not ostensibly choose sides, certain friars such as William de Merton of Llanfaes were very obviously biased in favour of Llywelyn's cause.¹ In Scotland, however, the role played by the friars was more complex. At the outset of war between Scotland and England in 1296, the Franciscans emulated their Welsh brethren and remained, for the most part, removed from the politics of the period. Their role in the Anglo-Scottish wars of the early fourteenth century, however, is a great deal less ambiguous as the Scottish and English friars divided along national lines and became vocal advocates of their respective kings. Once again, they were employed as diplomats and negotiators by both sides but, because the neutrality they had previously displayed had now become blurred along national lines, they were treated in a manner far more hostile than their brethren during the Anglo-Welsh wars. Robert Bruce and Edward II especially treated the Franciscans as English or Scotsmen first, and friars second. The actions of the friars in Scotland are more difficult to pin down conclusively because, almost from their arrival in Scotland, the Franciscans were involved in conflict involving national identity. As discussed in Chapter One, the first houses north of the border sought to break away from English provincial authority within a few years of their foundation. Under the vicariate of John de Kethene,² the Scottish friars enjoyed a period of independence before internal strife within the order forced them back into the custody of Newcastle and the authority of the English provincial minister. Throughout the thirteenth century, the Scottish friars endeavoured to re-establish their initial independence but they were unable to do so until Robert Bruce, now king of Scotland, secured the

¹ This compares to Franciscan involvement in the politics of thirteenth century Germany when loyalty to the papacy embroiled the friars in Frederick II's dispute with Innocent IV. Because their primary loyalties lay with the papacy, when the Franciscans were instructed by the pope to preach a crusade against the Hohenstaufen and rally public opinion behind the anti-king William of Holland they obeyed. For two decades the friars were treated as enemies of the German emperor and many were ejected from their friaries, exiled or even killed. Lawrence, *The friars*, p. 180.

² See Huber, *Documented history*, p. 766.

separation of the two provinces for a period of forty years. It seems that this independent national spirit permeated the order as a whole in Scotland, defining their attitude towards the Scottish war with England, and making them more willing participants in the affairs of their temporal masters than their Welsh brethren had been. The intention of this chapter is to examine the role of the friars in the period circa 1286 to the death of Robert I, and to determine whether they were siding with the English cause or supporting the Scottish struggle for independence. The Franciscans, especially, were supporters of Bruce's cause - their church at Dumfries was the location of the murder of John Comyn and they were involved in negotiating on behalf of Bruce, as well as on the receiving end of his harsh treatment when acting as envoys of Edward II. Chapter Five will broaden out this examination of the role played by the friars in the Scottish Wars of Independence, looking at the reaction of the friars in Ireland to the conflict when it crossed the Irish Sea, and the repercussions for the order there when they split along racial lines.

Colm McNamee, in his 1997 study of the wars of the Bruces, has argued that the situation of 'two kings on one poor island' was bound to bring an English king into conflict with a Scottish one eventually. Co-existence, he claimed, was broken 'not by geo-political necessity but the rivalry between Bruce and Balliol for the kingship of Scotland and by the overweening ambition of Edward I.'³ As with the previous chapter, the focus of this thesis is not a re-investigation of the political events that unfolded in Scotland at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. It is, rather, one perspective on those events: an examination of the role played by the mendicant friars in the secular affairs of kings. For this we have several extant sources which can provide us with some insight into how the mendicant orders viewed the events in which they were caught up. John Fordun,⁴ and other Scottish historians such as Andrew of Wyntoun⁵ and Walter Bower,⁶ wrote after Scottish independence had been secured and so sought to re-interpret events in a more favourable light, one more '[in] harmony with the national feeling which

³ Colm McNamee, *The wars of the Bruces; Scotland, England and Ireland 1306-1328* (East Linton, 1997), p. 21. See also G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 11 for a discussion of the historical relationship between England and Scotland.

⁴ Fordun, *Chronicle*.

⁵ Andrew of Wyntoun, *The orygyne chronykil of Scotland*, ed. D. Laing (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1872-9).

⁶ Bower, *Scotichronicon*.

existed when these chronicles were severally written.⁷ In contrast, the *Lanercost Chronicle*, written by two Franciscans, provides us with a more contemporary view. A. G. Little has argued that this chronicle was very obviously the work of two hands – the first chronicling the years 1200 to 1297, the second 1298 to 1346.⁸ Although this chronicle was most certainly written by Franciscans its presence at the Augustinian priory of Lanercost has caused some debate, as has the inclusion of several events relating to the monastery that are very obviously first-hand accounts. There are too many references to the Franciscan order and their way of life to believe other than that the chronicle was written by members of that order, but it seems that the monks at Lanercost must have included several accounts themselves, which makes the chronicle even more relevant to a study of this period.⁹ In his analysis of the authors, A.G. Little believes that Friar Richard of Durham wrote the first part of the chronicle. He was from the custody of Newcastle and, Little claims, seems to have resided at all the houses of that custody, including Berwick. According to Little’s description of him, Friar Richard was an ‘enthusiastic admirer of Simon de Montfort, and a vigorous hater of the Scots.’¹⁰ Although he draws no ultimate conclusions, Little says he is tempted to identify this Richard with Richard de Sleekburn, confessor to Devorgilla de Balliol and herself a founder of at least one Franciscan house in Scotland.¹¹ He does not identify the second author except to say that he resembles the first ‘only in being a Franciscan and a patriotic hater of the Scots.’¹²

As discussed in Chapter One, Franciscan penetration through Scotland was slow in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Despite crossing the border in 1231, there were only five Franciscan houses established there by the end of the century and only two more erected in the following century. Although the first Franciscan friars to enter Scotland were certainly of English provenance,¹³ within four years their

⁷ *Docs. Scotland*, i, p. xxix.

⁸ A.G. Little, *Chronicles of the mendicant friars*, given in a lecture presented at King’s College, London on 15 November 1921, and read at Grey Friars College, Oxford, pp 96-7. See also Gransden, *Historical writing in England, c. 550-1307*, pp 494-501.

⁹ Gransden believes that a canon of the priory copied Roger of Howden and then appended the two Franciscan chronicles interpolated with material of his own. *Ibid.*, p. 494.

¹⁰ Little, *Chronicles of the mendicant Friars*, pp 96-7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Most probably from the custody of Newcastle.

southern affiliations had weakened to the point where they sought to establish a province independent of English authority.¹⁴ They succeeded in achieving their aim three times during the period covered by this thesis.¹⁵ It would appear, therefore, that the partisan nature of the Scottish friars was present almost from the time they first crossed the border. They were aided in their endeavours to become independent by the Scottish monarchs of the time – Alexander II, Alexander III and Robert I. Alexander III in particular demonstrated a keen interest in the affairs of the Scottish Franciscans when he wrote to Pope Alexander IV requesting that he consider the Scottish friars’ petition to be erected into a province.¹⁶ The Welsh friars had never made such a stand, and the Irish friars never found it necessary to assert their independence in this way since this was assured from their arrival in that country. The Scottish friars alone, of the Franciscans in the British Isles, defined themselves almost from the start, as separate and not English and this permeated all their actions later in the century when they were involved in the Wars of Independence. Whether it was geographical necessity or national imperative shall be discussed later in this chapter.

By virtue of their mendicancy the friars were obliged to settle in urban areas where the local populace could provide for their needs, and their experiences in Scotland were no different. If the location of castles there is examined, it seems that three Franciscan houses and five Dominican houses were located near royal castles. There were Franciscans at Berwick, Roxburgh and Dumfries and Dominicans at Edinburgh, Berwick, Wigtown, Ayr, Dundee and Elgin.¹⁷ The Franciscans had been invited into Elgin but refused on the grounds that the Dominicans were already there.¹⁸ However, the three main mendicant orders - the Dominicans, Franciscans and Carmelites - all gravitated to Berwick in the thirteenth century, which gives some indication of its size and importance at that time. Writing in 1315, the author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* described it as ‘a strong and well-walled town situated on the coast of the borders of Scotland... a town which will never be subject to Scotland unless we are

¹⁴ It appears that the Franciscan provinces of Austria and Bohemia experienced similar attempts to establish their independence. See Huber, *Documented history*, pp 721-2, 722-4.

¹⁵ 1234, 1260 and 1329.

¹⁶ *Bullarium Franciscanum supplementum*, p. 140.

¹⁷ See Cowan and Easson, *Medieval religious houses Scotland; Docs. Scotland*, pp xliv-xlv.

¹⁸ See Chapter Two.

cheated out of it by treachery'.¹⁹ The Franciscan house there featured largely in Anglo-Scottish affairs, not least because their adherence to the Scottish cause was more ambiguous than that of their brethren. Situated on the border between England and Scotland, and tugged back-and-forth between the two nations, it seems that the fate of Berwick was mirrored in the torn allegiance of the Franciscans there. The Lanercost chronicler, himself a Franciscan, spent a period of time in that house and his clearly anti-Scottish sentiments must have reflected the general ethos of the house. It seems that it was not until the time of Edward III that the Berwick friars had become truly Scottish in their sympathies.²⁰

The location of mendicant houses near royal castles is of no surprise, since many of them were royal foundations. Indeed Cowan and Easson state that, of the nine Dominican houses which came into being in Alexander II's reign, all but one were royal foundations.²¹ His successor established the first Scottish Carmelite house at Tullilum near Perth in 1262,²² while Robert I established an Augustinian friary at Strathfillan about 1317, a Carmelite house at Banff between 1321 and 1324 and a Franciscan convent at Lanark in 1328.²³ It seems that the Dominicans were the order favoured during the successive reigns of Alexander II and Alexander III. Bower reports that the former had a wonderful zeal for religion that could especially be seen in his desire to build churches for the Friars Preachers.²⁴ Successive grants of money made to the Dominicans during the reign of his son show that he also favoured this order, using their diplomatic skills to negotiate on his behalf.²⁵ There is only one mention of the Franciscan order in conjunction with the royal household during this period and this comes, unsurprisingly, from the pen of the Lanercost chronicler.

¹⁹ '...Est autem Berewyke villa fortis et bene murata in initio Scotie super mare posita, mercatoribus in tempore pacis satis accomoda; que si prodicione non fraudetur nunquam Scotie subicietur; obsidionem non formidat, dum tamen Anglia sibi succurrat. Naves enim Anglicane totam terram circueunt, et in arte navigandi et in conflictu navali principatum gerunt; unde, si tota Scotia Berewyk invaderet, a parte maris timeri non oportet.' *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. N. Denholm-Young (Edinburgh, 1957), pp 59-60.

²⁰ See Epilogue.

²¹ *Medieval religious houses Scotland*, p. 7.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²³ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v, 334; Cowan and Easson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²⁴ 'Mira illi [Alexander II] circa religionis augmentum devocio, in contruendis ecclesiis fratrum precipue Predicatorum sollicitudo...' Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v, 191. See also *Collections for a history of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1843), p. 201; P. J. Anderson, *Aberdeen friars: red, black, white, grey* (Aberdeen, 1909), p. 12.

²⁵ See *Exchequer rolls*, i, 17, 19, 22, 41, 47.

Under the year 1274 the death of Margaret, queen of Scotland and sister of the king of England, is recorded. She was a pious lady, we are told, who combined beauty, chastity and humility in one soul and who had as her confessor a Friar Minor.²⁶ In 1281 another Franciscan was present at the royal court but this time it was as a visiting diplomat. Friar Maurice of the Order of Minors was among a number of delegates sent by Eric, king of Norway, to negotiate his marriage to Margaret, daughter of Alexander III.²⁷

Alexander III's death in March 1286²⁸ ushered in a period of crisis in Scotland during which, A.D. M. Barrell says, the English kings involved themselves in Scottish affairs 'on an unprecedented scale', which led to a real danger that Scotland would cease to be an independent realm.²⁹ In a short period of time the Scottish throne lost two heirs³⁰ and Alexander III died without having further children.³¹ Geoffrey Barrow in his authoritative survey of this period of Scottish history, believes that Edward I, although away in Gascony at the time, can hardly have seen Alexander's death as anything other than divine providence: 'an event which would make renewed English intervention in Scotland both possible and respectable.'³² It certainly seems that Edward I seized the death of the Scottish king as an opportunity to involve himself in the affairs of that realm and he was quick to capitalise on the crisis. A series of events had conspired to leave a three-year-old girl, born in

²⁶ 'Hoc anno mortua est Margareta, regina Scotiae et soror regis Angliae, quarto kalendas Marcii [27 February], mulier magnae formositatis, castitatis, ac humilitatis; quae tria raro conveniunt in uno animo. Ad ipsam utique infirmatam, causa visitationis, confluerunt tam abbates quam episcopi, quibus illa omnibus camerae siae interdixit introitum; nec a perceptis a confessore suo, fratre Minore, omnibus sacramentis, aliorum admisit usque ad animae exitum colloquium, nisi forte contingeret suum adesse maritum...' *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 97.

²⁷ 'Inter illustram Principem, Dominum Alexandrum, Dei gratia Regem Scotiae nomine suo, et nomine Nobilis Domicellae Margaretae filiae suae karissimae, de consensu Domini Alexandri filii sui et totius Consilii dicti Domini Regis ex parte una: Et venerabilem Patrem Dominum Petrum Orchardensem Episcopem, et Nobilem Virum Dominum Bernweium Baron de Berkey, Magistrum Bernardum Cancellarium, et fratrem Mauritium de ordine Minorum, Procuratores et Nuncios sollempnes et speciales Domini Eryci, Dei gratia Regis Norwagiae illustris ex altera...' Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, 1079-1083.

²⁸ 'Istius anni circulo repentina morte subtractus est de medio Alexander rex Scotiae, cum principatus fuisset annis triginta sex et mensibus novem ...'. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 115; Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 28.

²⁹ A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 92.

³⁰ 'In festo sancta Agnetis secundo [28 January, 1284] subtrahitur e seculo filius regis Scotiae Alexander [David], viginti tantum annorum, eo die mortuus quo natus... Subiit similiter viam mortis soros ejus [Margaret], regina Norwagiae, proximo Februarii mense, triginta tantum diebus interpositis...' *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 111.

³¹ Barrow, *Kingship and unity*, pp 157-8.

³² *Ibid.*

Norway, as the sole heir to the throne of Scotland and the potential succession of an infant girl afforded Edward an opportunity to unite the two kingdoms in a way that would ensure English dominion north of the border – the marriage of the Scottish queen with his young son, Edward of Caernarvon.

Within two weeks of Alexander's death it seems that the magnates of Scotland had accepted the inevitability of Edward's involvement in the affairs of their realm. On 29 March 1286 the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow wrote to Edward I in 'the name of the clergy, of the earls and barons and of all others of the realm of Scotland, who were present at the burial of the lord Alexander of good memory, late king of Scotland'.³³ In this letter credence was granted to John of St Germane [*Sancto Germano*], prior of the Friars Preachers at Perth, and Arnold, a friar of the same order going to treat with the English king.³⁴ Although the nature of this embassy is not mentioned its timing, and the opening clause indicating the consent of the realm, seems to imply that the two Dominicans were being sent to parley on matters important to Scotland as a whole. At an assembly held at Scone about 28 April the magnates, prelates, abbots and priors of Scotland gathered and, Barrow believes, it was at this 'parliament' that fealty was sworn to Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway and heir to the Scottish throne.³⁵ These two events, so close in timing, imply that the realm of Scotland had decided that the best course of action was to ensure the succession of Margaret and forge an alliance with Edward I through her marriage to his son. To prevent discord throughout the kingdom, a panel of six magnates was elected to govern Scotland. These 'custodes' or Guardians, as they became known, represented the church and nobility of Scotland: two earls, Alexander Comyn of Buchan and Duncan of Fife; two barons, John Comyn of Badenoch and James the Stewart; and two bishops, William Fraser of St Andrews and Robert Wishart of

³³ "Excellentissimo principi, domino Edwardo Dei gratia regi..., Willelmus et Robertus, miseracione Divina Sancti Andreae et Glasguensis ministri humiles, nomine suo, cleri, comitum, baronum et omnium aliorum regni Scotiae qui sepulturae bonae memoria domini Alexandri, quondam regis Scotiae illustri, intererant, salutem...". *Docs. Scotland*, p. 5.

³⁴ "...Mittentes ad celsitudinis vestrae praesentiam religiosos viros fratres Johannem de Sancto Germano, priorem ordinis Praedicatorum de Pert, et Arnaldum ejusdem ordinis, vobis supplicamus quatenus hiis quae iidem, vel eorum alter, vobis dicent vel dicet ex parte nostra, fidem adhibere velitis indubitam; nobis per eosdem, vel eorum alterum, significantes vestrae beneplacita voluntatis. Valeat excellentia vestra per tempora longa." *Ibid.*

³⁵ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 15.

Glasgow.³⁶ They were charged ‘to keip all Scotland into peax and rest... To keip the law and gouernouris to be...’.³⁷

The Lanercost chronicler records that in 1289 Edward I returned from three years in Gascony, where he had spent his time ‘[putting] down sedition among the people of Bordeaux.’ While in France he had, alleges the chronicler, received an embassy from Scotland ‘urgently beseeching him that he would deign to assist them in their leaderless condition, and that he would take charge of their realm until they should succeed in getting a prince regularly elected...’.³⁸ Walter Bower also records this embassy, stating that the Scone parliament appointed three envoys to find Edward in Gascony and to beseech him for his advice and protection regarding the Scottish kingdom.³⁹ According to Barrow, this ‘high-powered’ mission shows that the Scottish magnates were anxious from the outset to enlist Edward I’s support, but without ceding overlordship to him.⁴⁰ It seems obvious to the modern-day commentator that the Scottish magnates were, at best, naïve in inviting Edward to interfere in their internal affairs without expecting him to seek further control but, in 1286, the Scottish realm was kingless and on the verge of civil war – a powerful and friendly ally south of the border could help settle the situation. Nonetheless the Scots must have sensed Edward’s underlying ambitions as the treaty of Birgham, concluded in July 1290, and went to great pains to secure guarantees that the

³⁶ See *ibid.*, pp 15-16; Barrell, *Medieval Scotland*, pp 94; Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages*, p. 28 for an analysis of the composition of the Guardians.

³⁷ William Stewart, *The buik of the chronicles of Scotland or a metrical version of the history of Hector Boece*, ed. William B. Turnbull (London, 1858), iii, pp 137-8. It seems that not all the magnates of the realm were agreed upon the course implied by the embassy in March and the assembly in April and Barrow believes that in September 1286 the gravest threat to Scotland’s peace came, not from Edward I, but from Scotsmen and especially those with power-bases in the south-west, John Balliol and Robert Bruce. In that month Bruce, and his son Robert earl of Carrick, seized the royal castles of Dumfries and Wigtown and the lord of Galloway’s castle at Buittle and entered into a bond with certain nobles of Scotland and Ireland for their mutual defence. Besides the Bruces, among those party to the agreement were Patrick, earl of Dunbar, James the Stewart, Richard de Burgh earl of Ulster and Thomas de Clare. This bond makes no mention of the succession of Princess Margaret, referring instead to any potential heir as one who should obtain the throne according to ancient customs hitherto approved and observed in the realm of Scotland.’ See *Docs. Scotland*, pp 22-3; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 17-18; *idem*, *Kingship and unity*, pp 159-60.

³⁸ *Rediit rex Angliae de partibus Vasconia [Gascony], quo profectus fuerat ob seditonem sedandam civium Burdegaliae. Susceptis enim inibi Scotiae nunciis solemnibus obnixè petenitibus ut acephalis auxilium ferre dignaretur, ac curam regni gerere quousque rite electum contingeret eos principem habere, cum eis in patriam regionem profectus est, ubi statim audivit gravem, quæromiam corruptelae justiciariorum provinciae, donis oculos excaecantibus, rege absente, justiciam subverterant patriae...’* *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 125.

³⁹ Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ii, 138.

⁴⁰ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 16.

kingdom of Scotland would continue to be governed by its own laws and customs, regardless of Margaret's status as wife of the future king of England.⁴¹ With the marriage arrangements concluded, all that remained was for the future Scottish queen to be brought home. To this end a delegation was sent from Scotland and among the delegates were John de Bekingham and Geoffrey de Fugere [Fugeriis] of the order of Minors.⁴² Between May and June of 1290 the abbot of Welbeck, Master Henry de Ry, clerk of the bishop of Durham, Master Henry de Craneburne and the two Franciscans were sent into Norway for the purposes of making arrangements to bring Margaret back to the British Isles.⁴³ A further payment was made in September to Friar John de Beckingham who was going to Norway by mandate of the king.⁴⁴ The plans came to nought, however, when Margaret died en route to Scotland just before reaching the Orkney Islands.⁴⁵

The absence of a direct heir to the throne, however grave for the kingdom of Scotland, gave Edward an opportunity to directly influence the course of events there. On 10 May 1291 he came to the bishop of Durham's castle at Norham on the River Tweed and assured the Guardians and Scottish magnates of safe passage to come and meet with him there.⁴⁶ Once there, however, Sir Roger Brabazon, speaking on Edward's behalf, confronted them with demands for recognition of English suzerainty of the Scottish realm, something the Scots considered over three weeks and then politely refused to grant.⁴⁷ Having failed to secure outright recognition,

⁴¹ Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, pp 158-9; idem, *Robert Bruce*, pp 27-8; Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages*, pp 33-4.

⁴² 'Thomae de Londone, servienti regis ad arma, eunti per praeceptum regis cum fratre Johanne de Bekingham et fratre Galfrido de Fugeriis, de ordine minorum, missorum in nuncium regis in Norwegiam...' *Docs. Scotland*, pp 138-9.

⁴³ 'acta maritagii inter dominum Edwardum, filium regis, et domicellam Scotiae consummando, et pro domicella illa abinde usque in Scotiam ducenda...' *Ibid.*, pp 142-3.

⁴⁴ 'XX die Septembris, fratri Johanni de Bekingham, de ordine minorum, venienti ad curiam de mandato regis et trahenti moram in eadem, expectando quando iturus fuerit versus Norwegiam in nuntium regis, pro expensis suis dum sic morabatur in curia et nihil cepit de curia; per manus Hugonis de Bekingham, gacionis sui, xx s.' *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xli; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 29; Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages*, p. 35.

⁴⁶ See E. L. G. Stones and Grant G. Simpson, *Edward I and the throne of Scotland 1290-1296* (2 vols, Glasgow, 1978), i, 11; ii, 15-28.

⁴⁷ 'Eodem anno, post Pascha, Rex Angliae, Scotiae appropinquans, Parliamentum tenuit apud Norham; ubi consultis praelatis ac utriusque juris peritis, revolutisque priorum temporum annalibus, vocari fecit praelatos ac majores regni Scotiae, et coram eis in ecclesia parochiali de Norham jus suum in superius dominium regni Scotiae fideliter declaravit...' Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 123; E. L. G. Stones (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish relations, 1174-1328: some selected documents* (Oxford, 1965), no. 16; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 32.

Edward I now required his representative Robert Burnell⁴⁸ to secure what Barrows calls his ‘other recognitions’: physical control of Scotland, especially castles and strongpoints; and a tribunal under his presidency to determine the successor to the Scottish throne.⁴⁹ The claimants were asked to accept Edward’s judgement in his capacity as overlord of Scotland, and they agreed.⁵⁰ In a statement read at the parliament, it was then declared that a search of the chronicles, privileges and letters – both papal and regnal – would be conducted to establish the antiquity of England’s claim to overlordship of Scotland. According to Walter of Guisborough, the drafter of this statement was William de Hotham, prior provincial of the Dominicans of England, Wales and Scotland.⁵¹ This friar enjoyed a widely lauded diplomatic and academic career.⁵² He was a master of theology and had lectured at both Paris and Oxford universities; he was twice provincial prior of the Dominicans in England (1282-7 and 1290-6) and in 1297 Boniface VIII appointed him archbishop of Dublin.⁵³ Over a series of sessions held between 2 and 13 June the magnates of Scotland met and, eventually, agreed that those competing for the throne should accept Edward’s legal overlordship.⁵⁴ A council of assessors was appointed to consist of twenty-four members of Edward’s council,⁵⁵ and another eighty assessors – forty to be chosen by Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, and forty to be chosen by

⁴⁸ See Chapter Three.

⁴⁹ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 33.

⁵⁰ Stones and Simpson, *op. cit.*, i, p. 12.

⁵¹ ‘...et eam praeordinaverat frater Willelmus de ‘Hothom’ tunc prior provincialis fratrum Praedicatorum Angliae recitatique erant articuli a chronicis, privilegiis, et aliis litteris papalibus et regalibus extracti, quomodo reges Scotorum regibus Anglorum homagia fecerant et eos vocaverant dominos suos; datusque est dies brevis ad consulendum et respondendum...’. *Chronicon Domini Walteri de Heminburgh*, ed. Hans Claude Hamilton (London, 1849), pp 32-4. See also *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough previously edited as the chronicle of Walter of Hemingford*, ed. Henry Rothwell (Camden Series lxxxix, 1957).

⁵² See Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, pp 481-3 for his career.

⁵³ In 1282 he accompanied Edward I to north Wales and was with the king at Rhuddlan in October, presumably staying at the Dominican friary there. See M. H. McNerney, *A history of the Irish Dominicans* (Dublin, 1916), i, 388-9 for details of this mission.

⁵⁴ See Stones, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, nos 17, 18, 19; Barrow, *Kingship and unity*, p. 161; *idem*, *Robert Bruce*, pp 29-30 for a discussion of the competitors; also Stones and Simpson, *Edward I and the throne of Scotland*, ii, 38, 40, 42.

⁵⁵ Among them the Dominican Robert Burnell, chancellor and bishop of Bath and Wells, his confrere William de Hotham, and the Franciscan William de Gaynesburgh. For the full list see Stones and Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp 80-1.

John Balliol.⁵⁶ They met in the deserted church of the Dominicans of Berwick to receive the petitions of the competitors for the throne.⁵⁷

There were fourteen claimants to the throne including Robert Bruce, John Balliol, John Comyn, Patrick of Dunbar, John Hastings and William de Ross, although only Bruce and Balliol were considered to be serious contenders. Balliol's claim was based on primogeniture, Bruce's on closeness of the generations. Bower, in his *Scotichronicon*, gives some indication of the debates that took place whilst considering the claims of both men. He relates how the minister general of the Friars Minor consulted with his order at their convent at Paris before returning their conclusions to Edward. According to Bower, they argued that if a custom had been applied in the kingdoms of England or Scotland in the case in question that was to be followed in preference to other laws. If not, however, the king must make use of imperial or divine law. If he looked to imperial law 'his lawyers know well enough what ought to be done in accordance to it', if however he used divine law then the bible clearly stated that it was the nearer in degree, that is Bruce, who had legal claim to the throne.⁵⁸ He also reported the conclusions of the Order of Preachers. In his account 'the more important and experienced of the Order of Preachers' gathered at Paris and, while claiming to be profoundly ignorant of the diverse customs of kingdoms regarding succession, nevertheless agreed with the Franciscans. If divine law was the basis for such a decision then the nearest in degree, that is Bruce, should in all ways take precedence on account of the Book of Numbers.⁵⁹

Despite the mendicant orders at Paris favouring Bruce's claim, the clergy gathered in Scotland reached a different conclusion.⁶⁰ According to one account, amongst those

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp 82-5; Barrow, *Kingship and unity*, p. 161; F. M. Powicke, *The thirteenth century* (Oxford, 1953), pp 603-604.

⁵⁷ Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp xxvii-viii. According to Stones and Simpson, in 1285 the Dominicans asked permission from the pope to move to a new site in the town of Berwick, as their present house was too remote. The now-deserted friary church proved ideal for the assessors to meet. *Edward I and the throne of Scotland*, i, 230; ii, 130-44, 157.

⁵⁸ 'Magister generalis fratrum minorum, deliberato consilio cum toto conventu Parisium, sic respondit quod si in casu de quo agitur in regno Anglie vel Scocie fuerit optenta consuetudo, illa pre ceteris legibus est sequenda; sin autem aut rex vult lege imperiali aut legi divina. Si lege imperiali, quid secundum eam fieri debeat satis noverunt sui juris periti. Si lege divina, expressus est textus Bible, pro eo qui propinquior est in gradu sic enim legitur in libro Numerorum xxvii capitulo in principio.' Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vi, 24.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

⁶⁰ Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages*, p. 43.

who adjudged in favour of Balliol were the Dominicans, William de Hothum and William de Malmecstre, and Friar William de Gaynesbrough of the order of Friars Minor.⁶¹ Balliol was inaugurated at Scone on St Andrew's Day (30 November) and he swore homage to Edward at Newcastle on 26 December. It is interesting to note that the mendicant friars at Paris - both Franciscan and Dominican - had argued in favour of Bruce's claim, whilst their Scottish and English brethren considered the Balliol claim to be the stronger. Certainly the sixteenth century author of the *Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland* viewed the decision as Edward giving false sentence against the claims of Robert Bruce.⁶²

Balliol's reign lasted from his coronation in November 1292⁶³ until July 1296 and from the outset Edward I made it clear that relations between the new Scottish king and his English overlord would be different to those that had gone before.⁶⁴ Barrow believes Edward behaved 'precisely as if the court of claims had in fact divided Scotland and awarded Balliol no more than the courtesy title of "king"'.⁶⁵ It was a period characterised by Edward's insistence upon his rights as overlord which, one historian believes, may have been his way of deliberately seeking to humiliate the Scottish king, to make his rule in Scotland 'untenable', thus forcing Balliol to become a 'recalcitrant vassal' who had forfeit the right to his kingdom.⁶⁶ It seems unusual that the English king would have so little sympathy for his Scottish vassal given that he himself was in a similar position over his lands held in France.

Relations between Edward and Philip the Fair of France had been deteriorating, Philip insisting on exercising his overlordship of Gascony and this situation came to head in May 1294 when Philip declared the duchy of Aquitaine forfeit.⁶⁷ Edward reacted by renouncing his homage as duke on 24 June and arranging to have an embassy formalise his renunciation before the French king. In the parliament held at London, which Balliol attended, it was agreed that Edward would send Hugh of

⁶¹ *Annales Regni Scotiae*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1865), pp 255-6.

⁶² 'This Robert Bruce than hald and be the hand, Ane man he wes of greit auctoritie, To king Edward that samin tyme said he: "O unjust king! without in dreid or aw, Of god or man, without reason or law; Thy fame and conscience quhilk hes maculat, Throw unjust sentence thow hes fulminat...'. *The buik of the chronicles of Scotland*, iii, 144-5.

⁶³ Stones and Simpson, *Edward I and the throne of Scotland*, ii, 254, 256, 259, 260.

⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, pp 282-7 for relationship between Balliol and Edward I.

⁶⁵ Barrow, *Kingship and unity*, p. 162.

⁶⁶ Barrell, *Medieval Scotland*, p. 104.

⁶⁷ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 63.

Manchester of the order of Preachers, and William de Gaynesborough of the order of Minors, both doctors of theology, to France to present his renunciation of homage.⁶⁸ Hugh of Manchester was a former provincial of the Dominicans of England⁶⁹ while William de Gaynesborough was the friar named as being present at the decision to favour Balliol's claim over that of Bruce.⁷⁰ In a lengthy description, Peter de Langtoft describes the ordeal undergone by the friars when they arrived in France. According to his account, the men were captured upon their arrival at Calais and were imprisoned for a week by the count of Artois. When they finally came before Philip to renounce on Edward's behalf his homage, de Langtoft reports Hugh [whom he calls 'the Jacobin'] as addressing the king sharply regarding his treatment of ambassadors of the English king:

'We are poor brothers, we possess nothing but that of others,
And messengers ought not to receive ill-treatment;
Conduct through thy land and recognition
Grant us for God and for thy courtesy'.⁷¹

That the Scottish king was in attendance at the parliament wherein Edward declared his intention to renounce his homage shows that, firstly he was obeying the terms of his vassalage, but also that he was present when Edward reneged upon the terms of his relationship with the French king. Whatever Edward's motives may have been, the cumulative result of his actions was to push Scotland into an alliance with the French, who were themselves engaged in war with England. Balliol seemed helpless in the face of Edward's demands for displays of submission and in July 1295 at a parliament held at Stirling it was decided, by common assent, that 'their king could

⁶⁸ '...igitur, Rex Angliae, convocato Londoniis Parlamento, cui Johannes Rex Scotorum interfuit, de consilio praelatorum et procerum, censentium terram sub dolo ablatam recuperandam gladio, Rex Angliae ad Regem Francorum misit nuncios, Hugonem de Mancestria de Ordine Praedicatorum, et Willelmum de Ginesburn de ordine Minorum, Doctores Theologiae, viros providos ac discretos; mandans ei per eosdem, quod cum pacta inter progenitores eorum habita, et ispsso, necnon et secretos tractatus, quos, mediante germano suo, cum eo habuit, violasset; non videbatur sibi, quod ipsum Regem Angliae, Ducemque Aquitanniae, hominem suum reputabat, nec ipse homagio suo astringi ulterius intendebat.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i, 46-7.

⁶⁹ He was also signatory to an ordinance made by Edward I in 1305 for the good order of Scotland. See Stones, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, no. 33.

⁷⁰ *Patent rolls 1292-1301*, p. 85; Trivet, *Annales*, p. 331; Rishanger, *Chronica*, i, 142; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 484.

⁷¹ See *The chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1868), ii, 205-11 for a full description of this embassy. On 24 August safe conduct was granted for the two friars who had recently been sent on an embassy to France. *Patent rolls 1292-1301*, p. 85

do no act by himself, and that he should have twelve peers, after the manner of the French'.⁷² Geoffrey Barrow believes this assessment to be a 'red herring' and feels that Tout was correct when he compared the Scottish council to the English council of fifteen appointed in 1258.⁷³ These twelve, consisting equally of bishops, earls and barons of the realm,⁷⁴ sought to make common cause with the French. When, in October 1295, a treaty of alliance was signed between the kings of France and Norway, Scotland was also a signatory.⁷⁵ William Fraser, bishop of St Andrews and Matthew of Crambeth, previously dean of Aberdeen and bishop of Dunkeld were sent as nuncios to Philip's court, accompanied by John de Soules⁷⁶ and Ingelram de Umfreville, knights, to contract a marriage between Edward, Balliol's son and Joan, niece of the king of France and to pledge an alliance against the English king.⁷⁷

These same bishops are denounced by the Lanercost chronicler who lamented that 'evil priests are the cause of the people's ruin'.⁷⁸ His interpretation of the events leading to the first Anglo-Scottish war is naturally tainted, as he was an English Franciscan situated on the border with Scotland. Yet his view may offer the historian an interesting insight into the populist view of why the war began. Franciscans, as mendicant friars, were immersed in the communities in which they lived and so their writings possibly reflect views that were commonly held at the time. His willingness to condemn the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld as instigators of the conflict removes blame from the English and places it squarely upon the occupant of the throne of Scotland and its senior prelates: 'so the ruin of the realm of Scotland had its source within the bosom of her own church; because they who ought to have

⁷² 'In octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli [6 July] congregatis principibus et praelatis et caeteris nobilibus regni Scotiae, factum est parlamentum solemne apud Strivelyn, ubi communi consilio decretum est, ne rex eorum aliquid per se efficere posset, ut duodecim pares haberet, more Francorum, quos ibidem elegerunt et constituerunt.' Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 151.

⁷³ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 63-4.

⁷⁴ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 151; Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁷⁵ *Docs. Scotland*, pp 8-12; Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁷⁶ Brother of William de Soules, hereditary butler of Scotland and lord of Liddesdale. Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁷⁷ 'Johannes, Rex Scotiae, homagii et fidelitatis suae immemor, destinatis ad Regem Francorum nunciis, Willelmo Sancti Andreae et Willelmo Dunkelaensi, Episcopis, Johanne de Soules, et Ingelrame de Umfrevile, militibus, clam contra Regem Angliae foedus iniit; petens, in affirmationem negotii, matrimonium contrahi inter filium suum Edwardum, ac nobilem puellam Johannem, filiam Karoli, germani Regis Francorum; spondens se velle Regem Angliae totis viribus impugnare...' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i, 52.

⁷⁸ 'Verum quemadmodum scriptum novimus causa runiae populi sacerdotes mali...'. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 165.

led... misled them, they became a snare and a stumbling block of iniquity to them, and brought them all to ruin.⁷⁹ His interpretation of the bishops' embassy to France is of 'certain mercenary [priests]... not really pastors, pretending to be dealers in wool' crossing into France 'who, according to the prophetic saying, "delighted the king by their wickedness and princes by their fraud." For not long afterwards they succeeded in making them believe their falsehoods and sent letters by their servants announcing that the king of France was most favourably inclined towards them...'.⁸⁰ The chronicler adds that these envoys took with them a procurator, endeavouring to bring about war and Edward, upon hearing this, sent commands repeatedly to the king of Scotland requiring him to attend parliament in accordance with his legal obligations. We are told that, not only did Balliol refuse to attend, but also began gathering a large army 'to withstand the king of England'.⁸¹ With the council of twelve controlling Scottish policy it seems probable that Balliol had little choice but to ignore these summons. On 16 December 1295 Edward summoned his army to assemble at Newcastle on 1 March of the following year to march upon the rebellious Scottish king.⁸²

The proximity of Lanercost monastery to the war in Scotland means that this chronicler in particular was well situated to comment upon events there. Although the biased nature of this account must cast some doubt upon the selective nature of its reports it does, nonetheless, offer a contemporary insight into the course of the war. We are told, for example, that on the Monday of Passion week [26 March] 1296 John Comyn invaded England with an army of Scots, burning houses, slaughtering men and driving off animals and two days later attacked the city of Carlisle. No doubt this account was related to the Franciscan chronicler by his confreres in their

⁷⁹ '...sic ruina regni Scotiae ex gremio processit propriae ecclesiae, quia dum illi eos seducerent qui ducere deberent, facti sunt eis in laqueum et iniquitatis offendiculum, et corruerunt in eis...' Ibid., pp 165-6.

⁸⁰ 'Mercenarii quoque, non pastores, qui, ad praecedens sancti Laurentii festum [10 August, 1294] legatione gentis suae functi, quasi negotiatores lanarum ad partes Francorum transfretaverant, ut facinosum consilium regi eorum detegerent ac ejus auxilio fulcirent; erant autem episcopi Sancti Andreae et dunkeldensis, qui, juxta propheticum dictum, 'in malitia sua laetificaverunt regem, et in mendacio suo principes.' Nam non multo post, remissis litteris per suos domesticos, confidere eos fecerunt in mendaciis, nunciantes se regem Galliae inclinasse ad libitum...' Ibid.

⁸¹ 'Scoti callide contra dominum suum, Edwardum regem Angliae, nuncios, scilicet Willelum Sancti Andreae et Matthaum Dunkeyldyn episcopos, et Johannem de Soules, et Ingeramum de Umfravile, milites, miserunt ad regem Franciae, ad tractandum cum eodem rege et regno contra regem Angliae et regnum; bellum moliri vonantes, et procuratorem secum ferentes nuncii praedicti...' Ibid., pp 161-2.

⁸² Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 68; McNamee, *Wars of the Bruces*, p. 22.

house there. We are then told that Edward, hearing of these incursions, in Easter week sent an expedition against the Scots to Berwick and they took the city and its castle, putting about seven thousand men to the sword.⁸³ In another account, the town was so surprised by the English attack that no one put up a fight except for thirty Flemings who were burned or suffocated in the Red Hall when it was set alight.⁸⁴ Balliol's response to Edward's capture of Berwick was to send Friar Adam Blunt, guardian and lector of the Franciscan house at Roxburgh, and three of his confreres, to deliver his renunciation of fealty and allegiance. In this letter, written at the house of the Carmelite friars at Berwick, Balliol complained of the grave injuries suffered by him and his realm at the hands of the English king, the injury to his rights and liberties, the seizing of castles and the incessant demands placed upon him.⁸⁵

In April the Scots were defeated near Dunbar⁸⁶ and, following a meeting with Anthony, bishop of Durham, at Brechin, Balliol sued for peace,⁸⁷ was divested of his royal garments and imprisoned in the Tower of London.⁸⁸ Edward, a believer in symbolic as well as practical action, removed the Stone of Destiny and the Black Rood of St Margaret to England. He also, according to the author of the *Buik of Scottish Chronicles*, put out of memory all Scottish stories, and sent virtuous men out of the country including:

‘...the blak freris than of Inuernes,
Ane ellevin doctouris that tyme and no les

⁸³ ‘...dominus Johannes Comyn de Bouhan cum exercitu Scotorum in Angliam veniens, incendia domorum, strages hominum, et depredationes animalium commisserunt; et duobus diebus sequentibus civitatem Karlioli viriliter impugnarunt, sed frustrati a proposito tertio die recesserunt. Hoc audito, ex adverso rex Angliae contra Scotos vexilla apud Berwike direxit, et in septimana paschae, scilicet tertio kalendas Aprilis [30 March 1296], dicta illa capta fuit per regem, et castrum de eadem eodem die, quo ceciderunt gladio circiter septem millia hominum.’ *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 161-2.

⁸⁴ ‘Mercatores enim Flandrenses, qui in villa eadem domum ad modum turris fortissimam habebant, jacula mittentes in Anglicos et pila, Ricardum de Cornubia, Militem strenuum [nobilem], a casu spiculo trajecerunt. Ad quos cum non de facili pateret accessus, allato igne, incendio suffocantur...’. Trivet, *Annales*, pp 289-90.

⁸⁵ ‘Cum vos ac alii de regno vestro nobis non ignorantibus vel saltem ignorare non debentibus per violentam potenciam vestram nobis et regni nostri incolis graves et intollerabiles iniurias contemptus et gravamina necnon et dampna enormia contra nostras et regni nostri libertates ac contra deum et iusticiam notorie et frequenter intuleritis... Receptique rex homagium resignatum et precepit ut inrotularetur in rotulis cancellarie sue ad perpetuam rei geste memoriam et factum est sic...’. *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, pp 275-6; Trivet, *Annales*, pp 289-90; Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp 158-9; Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 836-7; Stones, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, no. 23; Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages*, p. 50.

⁸⁶ For Edward's itinerary in Scotland see *Docs. Scotland*, ii, 25-32.

⁸⁷ For the form of this submission see Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp 161-162; Stones, op. cit., no. 24.

⁸⁸ Barrow, *Kingship and unity*, p. 164; Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages*, p. 50.

In theologie, as my author did mene,
Of Carmelitis alss out of Abirdene'.⁸⁹

It is interesting that the only mendicant friars named by the author as being expelled from Scotland were Carmelite and Dominican, and that there is no mention of the Franciscans. Although the Dominicans feature very little in extant records regarding their support for Bruce, their inclusion here proves that, at least in the sixteenth century, they were perceived as stirring trouble against Edward I in 1296.

The seizure of Berwick, and the Scottish defeat thereafter, was obviously witnessed first hand by the Lanercost chronicler, since his account of those events is both immediate and unique. His interpretation is, of course, wildly biased against the Scots and everything is viewed as a consequence of divine judgement. Nonetheless it is worth including since it gives the view of a friar present at Berwick when the English army attacked. 'That this [disaster] befell the Scots in 1296 is shown by their manifest arrogance. Notwithstanding that in past ages they [had] always been subject to the English sceptre, they now lapsed into callous hatred...'⁹⁰ Having seized corn and cattle and other supplies, they repaired their castles and fortified Berwick which, the chronicler says, was the principal seaport and town of the kingdom. They also brought in mercenaries, 'paying no heed to the divine wrath which was impending over them.'⁹¹ Throughout his account the fate of the Scots is seen as divine judgement upon their shoddy treatment of Edward's benign overlordship. Yet the townspeople brought more misfortune upon themselves by their treatment of the friars themselves. In the manner of one preaching orally against the vices of a people, the friar tells how 'shortly before the impending misfortune [of the taking of Berwick]... I beheld a winged man all in white whom I recognised immediately as an angel, holding a sword...brandishing [it] in a menacing fashion against the book-cases of the library, where the books of the friars were stored, indicating by this that which I saw afterwards with my own eyes – the pillaging of the books, vestments

⁸⁹ *The buik of the Chronicles of Scotland*, iii, 191-2.

⁹⁰ 'Hoc Albanactis accidisse anno Domini MCCXCVI qui utique fuit bisextilis, eorum evidens demonstrat elatio. Siquidem cum semper retroactis seculis sceptro subjecti fuerint Anglicano... nunc in ossatum odium repedantes...' *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 171.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

and materials of the friars...'.⁹² If this account is true, then the Franciscans of Berwick were quite obviously viewed hostilely by the Scots there and it comes as little surprise, therefore, that they were in receipt of so many donations from Edward following his suppression of Scotland. Certainly the Lanercost chronicler had spent time at the house there and it seems unlikely that he would have been alone in his dislike of the Scots. This house, the first Franciscan foundation in Scotland, appears to have been decidedly English in its make-up during the initial stages of the war. This is despite looking to become independent of the English province earlier in its history.

In a further example of the divine judgement that had been passed on the Scots, the Lanercost chronicler recalls how the citizens of that town, which 'might as well be called a second Alexandria, its wealth being the sea and the waters its defence',⁹³ some three years before its destruction allotted a sum of money annually for the celebration of every festival of St Francis, and for the provision of clothing for the friars there. They were, however, persuaded by the suggestion of a certain John Gray to reduce their accustomed charity '[whereby] God warned the populace of their imminent danger...'.⁹⁴ This warning took the form of the vision by Thomas Hugton, younger son of the lord John de Gray in which his father appeared surrounded by bands of friars and dressed in their habit. He was told by the vision to go "to our neighbours in Berwick, and summon them publicly on behalf of God to revive and restore that charitable fund... otherwise they shall speedily experience not only the decay of their worldly possessions but also the dishonour of their bodies."... As they

⁹² 'Siquidem paulo ante futurum infortunium cum, die Dominico, synaxi persoluta, membra quieta commendassem, depressisque superciliis soporem desiderarem, vidi virum per torum candidum et alatum, quem statim concepi esse angelum, gestantem in dextra gladium evaginatum, qui ab extremitate domus progrediens usque ad alteram, et forulis studiorum, quibus libri fratrum recondebantur, minacem vibrabat ense, designans hoc indicio quod deinde vidi oculo, librorum, indumentorum, et utensilium fratrum celerem quin potius sceleratam direptionem. Justorem siquidem vita saepe atteritur in peccatorum poena, et dum illos cruciat istos purgat.' *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁹³ 'Ipsa civitas quondam adeo populosa ac negotiosa exstiterat, quo merito altera Alexandria dici poterat, cujus divitiae mare, et aquae muri ejus.' *Ibid.*, pp 185-6.

⁹⁴ 'Illis diebus cives praepotentes effecti et Deo devoti, largas erogabant eleemosynas; inter quas praepotentes effecti et Deo devoti, largas erogabant eleemosynas; inter quas ob amorem et reverentiam sancti Francisci ordini providere volentes, staturunt de communi arca annuatim sumere quandam certam expensarum summam pro utroque festo beati Francisci honorifice procurando... Quia vero hujus devotionis inventor exstiterat dominus Johannes Gray, tam miles, quam burgensis, qui ante annos plurimus ex hac luce subductus fuerat, praemunivit Deus plebem adversus imminens periculum, hoc modo.' *Ibid.*, p. 86.

paid no heed to him, events followed in an order confirming the vision, for first their trade declined, and then the sword raged among them.⁹⁵

Although Balliol had been deposed and Edward had seized administrative control, certain of the Scots continued to oppose English rule. Certainly, contemporary chroniclers such as the English Dominican Nicholas Trivet and, of course, the Lanercost chronicler, record numerous attacks by the Scots upon the English stationed there, including incursions south of the border.⁹⁶ An interesting aside by the latter refers to the presence of several tonsured men found amongst the bodies of more than ten thousand rebels.⁹⁷ Although the numbers of the dead are probably exaggerated it seems unlikely that he would fabricate the presence of religious upon the field of battle. Meanwhile, the fate of Balliol was undecided. In 1297 nuncios sent by the French king arrived at the English court to negotiate for the deposed king's release and for the execution of the treaty between the two countries. Two friars, Geoffrey de Ablines and Odet de Sens of the order of Preachers, and Peter de Laudosies and Robert de Progue of the order of Minors, were sent with letters enquiring as to the condition of the Scottish king.⁹⁸ Balliol was a prisoner at Hertford from November 1296 until August 1297, when he was transferred to the Tower of London. In the same year Edward sailed to France, accompanied by the now archbishop-elect of Dublin William de Hothum and in October a preliminary truce between the two kings was signed.⁹⁹ According to Trivet, de Hothum was the leading negotiator of the truce in January 1298¹⁰⁰ and it was he who then led an English delegation to the Roman court to seek the adjudication of Boniface VIII.¹⁰¹ He made

⁹⁵ 'Anno praecedente querram Scotiae visum fuit Thomae Hugtoun, dicti militis juniori filio, quod in loco quodam deliciarum, inter catervas sanctorum fratrum, cerneret patrem suum dudum mortuum, habitu ac gestu caeteris Minoribus conformem...' Ibid.

⁹⁶ For examples see Trivet, *Annales*, pp 289-90; *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 190.

⁹⁷ 'Caesa sunt itaque non minus decem mille de perjuris, et aliqui tonsorati postea inter mortuos sunt reperti...' *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 176.

⁹⁸ '...prince Jean Roy d'Escosse [Scotland], et as prelatz, barons, chevaliers, et autres nobles, comunitiez et universitez, de villes, et as habitan du royaume d'Escosse, de quelle condition ou estat qu'il soient...' Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 860-1. For Edward's response, dated April, 1298, see *ibid.*, pp 890-1.

⁹⁹ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 878-9, 881-2, 885-6; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, pp 485-6.

¹⁰⁰ '...per cuius mediationem ex parte Anglicorum, et ducis Britanniae ex parte Gallicorum, inter reges acceptate sunt induciae, et ultra datos terminos saepius prorogatae.' Trivet, *Annales*, p. 364.

¹⁰¹ See bull of Boniface VIII, 1299 in Stones, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, no. 28. De Hothum left for England after 14 June but fell ill en route and died at Dijon. Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 887, 893-5,

his position clear, sending the master of the order of Preachers and the minister general of the Friars Minor before the French and English kings with threats of excommunication and interdict should a treaty not be concluded.¹⁰²

Although Edward had concluded a peace with France, Scotland continued to be in a state of unrest. Resistance, under the leadership of William Wallace, Andrew Moray and Sir John de Soules among others, meant that the English king was obliged to make several musters into Scotland in the closing years of the thirteenth century.¹⁰³ According to Walter Guisborough, he also sent at least one embassy into Scotland to treat with Wallace. In this account, two Dominican friars were sent to find Wallace and his army who were in the monastery of ‘*Scambyscynel*’¹⁰⁴ in the mountains to demand that he come to the king’s peace.¹⁰⁵ The English king was also still engaged in negotiations with the French and in 1299 embassies continued between the two royal courts and the papal court. The Scottish church had been declared a ‘special daughter’ of the Apostolic see in the late twelfth century,¹⁰⁶ and the treaty signed between Balliol and Philip IV of France in 1295 had made them allies. These

896-8; *Patent rolls 1292-1301*, p. 332; *Close rolls 1296-1302*, pp 198-9; *Papal letters*, i, 579; Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 486.

¹⁰² ‘...venerunt Magister Ordinis Praedicatorum et Minister Generalis Fratrum Minorum; sub eadem form qua antea Regem Franciae, ex parte Domini Papae, rogaverunt, supplicantes, quatenus nuncios solemnes ad Curiam Romanam, concessa eis plena potestate tractandi, ordinandi, et perficiendi, omnia, quae pacis reformationem tangerent... indixit de novo sub poena excommunicationis et interdicti terrarum suarum.’ Rishanger, *Chronica*, pp 183-4.

¹⁰³ See Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages*, pp 52-8 for Wallace’s campaign against Edward I.

¹⁰⁴ Although I cannot be sure, this is possibly the Trinitarian foundation at Scotlandwell in Kinross. See *Medieval religious houses Scotland*, p. 110. Seán Duffy has suggested that it could also be Cambuskenneth, an Augustinian abbey to the east of Stirling Castle, founded by David I in 1140.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Mittebantur eciam interim duo fratres predicatores ad exercitum Scottorum qui in altera parte montis supra monasterium de Scambyscynel cum illo latrone Willelmo Waleys (Wallace) latitabat si forte pacem amplecti vellent quam tendebant. Ad hec illo latro, ‘Renunciate’, inquit, ‘vestris quod pro bono pacis non venimus, sed parati sumus ad pugnam ad vindicandum scilicet nos et liberandum regnum nostrum. Ascendant ergo cum voluerint et nos paratos invenient eciam in barbas eorum.’ Erant autem ut dicebatur centum octoginta equestres et quadraginta milia peditum...’. *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, p. 300.

¹⁰⁶ In 1192 the Scottish church was declared a special daughter of the Roman see. Pope Celestine III granted the bull *Cum universi* to King William I which declared the Scottish Church, consisting of nine bishoprics, to be a special daughter and independent of the Churches of York and Canterbury. This declaration of *Ecclesia Scoticana* – to include the sees of St Andrew’s, Dunblane, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross and Caithness – marked the emergence of an independent Scottish church but one that had no metropolitan of its own. Episcopal elections had to be confirmed by the pope and no one was authorised to convene or preside over a synod. The situation was finally concluded in 1225 when Pope Honorius III granted authority to the Scottish bishops to hold provincial synods and councils and established regulations for this. A president was to be appointed for one year to preside over such gatherings, and the position was to be held by each of the bishops in rotation, beginning with the bishop of St Andrew’s. In 1472 St Andrew’s was finally raised to metropolitan status.

powerful friends negotiated with Edward for a truce between the kingdoms of England and Scotland. On 30 October 1300 Edward announced that, at the request of the French king, he had agreed a truce with the Scots to last until Pentecost 1301.¹⁰⁷ One of negotiators who helped formulate the conditions for peace on behalf of Edward was the Franciscan bishop of Worcester, William de Gaynesborough.¹⁰⁸ In November of the same year the king sought the advice of the prior provincial of the Friars Preachers and the provincial minister of the Friars Minor. Letters were sent to both men requesting that they attend the parliament to be held at Lincoln in January of the following year. They were to come accompanied by two or three of the wiser friars of their orders and these letters were to be dispatched quickly as possible so that the king might have an answer before Christmas.¹⁰⁹ While there is no mention of what it was that Edward so urgently required of the mendicant provincials, their presence at the Lincoln parliament, where Edward issued writs to the earls, barons and gentry of the shires to appear at Berwick for a further campaign against the Scots, seems to imply that he wished for advice on matters relating to this. Indeed Powicke believes that they were summoned to advise the king on doubts regarding his rights in Scotland.¹¹⁰

Friar William de Gaynesborough - accompanied by another Franciscan identified only as 'H. de Hertepole' - was again sent as part of a delegation to the pope in September 1302, with reference to the peace formed between Edward and Philip.¹¹¹ Whether Edward was referring to the ongoing peace between France and England, or the truce established between the Scots and the English in January of that year is not made clear, but it seems probable that these were the concluding negotiations for a definitive peace with France. Another ambiguous mission involving members of the

¹⁰⁷ F. M. Powicke, *The thirteenth century*, p. 693.

¹⁰⁸ '...affectantes ea celeriter terminari, ad petendum et audiendum, recipiendum et acceptandum complementum, perfectionem, et consummationem pronunciationis ac reformationis pacis praedicatarum, dilectos et fideles nostros...'. Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 920-1. See above for his involvement in choosing Balliol and renouncing Edward I's homage to Philip IV of France.

¹⁰⁹ *Chancery warrants*, p. 121.

¹¹⁰ Powicke, *The thirteenth century*, pp 701-2.

¹¹¹ 'De circumspectione et fidelitate religiosorum virorum, fratrum W. de Geynesburgh, et H. de Hertepole, de ordine fratrum minorum, ac dilectorum clericorum, magistrum Johannus de Sancto Claro canonici Londoniensis, Philippi Martel juris civilis professoris, et Willielmi de Dene millitis, fiducia plenitudinem obtinentes; Ipsos, super finali expeditione negotii reformationis pacis, inter Regis Franciae et nos...'. Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 943. For a second letter sent at the same time see *ibid.*, pp 943-4.

mendicant orders took place in 1304 when the king sent Friars Walter de Wynterburn, Thomas de Jorz, and John Hotham, along with Otto de Grandison, knight to the pope regarding ‘secret negotiations.’¹¹² In a certain difficulty relating to ‘our crown’ the king requested for two or three of the men named to partake in secret talks.¹¹³ The same Walter de Wynterburn, named as a cardinal of England, appears in a letter from the king to the pope and sent at the same time asking that he be received ‘because of certain negotiations touching us,’ which would not take place without his presence.¹¹⁴ In a similar vein, credence was asked for Friar John Hotham.¹¹⁵ As was discussed in the previous chapter, Edward depended considerably upon the mendicant orders to carry out negotiations and embassies on his behalf in Wales and his patronage of both orders showed his regard for them. The Lanercost chronicler, when recording the death of Edward’s mother Eleanor in 1290, described how Edward enshrined her heart in gold before giving it to her ‘near relative, the minister general of the Minorite Friars’ who was in England at that time. Edward allegedly gave it with the words: ‘I commit to you, as the nearest in blood to my mother, the dearest treasure I have; and do you lay it up honourably with your brethren in London whom she herself loved most of all in the world.’¹¹⁶ A less embellished version of the story is included in Rishanger’s annals¹¹⁷ and is probably the more factually correct. That the Lanercost chronicler would stress the closeness of the familial connection through Edward’s supposed words to the Franciscan minister general does not surprise, since such a royal connection enhanced the prestige of his order greatly. That Rishanger corroborates the story does, however,

¹¹² ‘...secretis negotiis...’.

¹¹³ ‘Quaedam negotia statum nostrum et coronae nostrae specialiter tangentia, commisimus dilectis nobis in Christo venerabili patri, fratri Waltero de Wyterburn, presbetiro cardinali, fratri Thomae de Jorz, Ottoni de Grandisono militi, et fratri Johanni de Wrotham, vestrae clementiae per eosdem tres vel duos eorum, secretius intimanda.’ Ibid., p. 964.

¹¹⁴ ‘Quaedam negotia statum nostrum et coronae nostrae specialiter tangentia, commisimus dilectis nobis in Christo venerabili patri, fratri Waltero de Wyterburn, presbetiro cardinali, fratri Thomae de Jorz, Ottoni de Grandisono militi, et fratri Johanni de Wrotham, vestrae clementiae per eosdem tres vel duos eorum, secretius intimanda.’ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ ‘Humiliter supplicantes quatinus eidem fratri Johanni, tanquam illi de quo plenam confidentiam optinemus, super negotiis, que pro nobis et nostris in vestrae sanctitatis praesentia habuerit expedire...’ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ ‘Cum vero commendatum esset corpus ejus terrae cum multa ambitione, rex Edwardus dedit manu propria cor matris auro inclusum parenti proprinquo, Ministro Generali fratrum Minorum tunc in Provincia existenti, in his verba: “Tibi, tanquam genitricis meae propinquissimo, thesaurum mihi charissimum committo, et tu istud honorifice Londoniis reconde apud fratres tuos, quos ipsa amplius dilexit de mundo.”’ *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 140-1.

¹¹⁷ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 129.

prove that indeed the old queen had held the order in high regard, with or without the family connection.

The friaries of Scotland played host to Edward and his retinue on several occasions, and for this they were in receipt of donations, as well as assured of their continued receipt of royal alms. On 7 May 1296, for example, Edward lodged with the Franciscans at Roxburgh¹¹⁸ while the castle there was besieged. It surrendered the next day and Edward moved from the friary. He was there again in July and for this accommodation the friars received five shillings of the king's alms.¹¹⁹ In November 1297 he ordered that an inquiry be made respecting certain receipts of the Friars Minor in Scotland and it was agreed that the friars would continue to enjoy the alms that they had received in the time of King John Balliol.¹²⁰ In 1300 Edward lodged with the Franciscans for three days in their house at Dumfries, for which they received ten shillings, while on his return from besieging the castle at Caerlaverock he again lodged with them, remaining four days and giving them in return 5s. 4d.¹²¹ The friars at Roxburgh also received five shillings from the king who, we are told stayed three days there and gave the money into the hands of Friar Robert de Rotheley.¹²² Religious establishments throughout Scotland were in receipt of monies from the royal coffers for damages sustained during the initial phase of the war. The nunnery at Coldstream, for example, in 1296 received £1 17 15s. for damages caused by the English army. Crops, animals and the orchard had been damaged whilst carts, ploughs and timber had been destroyed.¹²³ In 1299 Boniface VIII responded to the hardships endured by the religious of Scotland. He referred first to the imprisonment of Robert, bishop of Glasgow, Mark, bishop of Sodor and other ecclesiastics who were being held in squalor,¹²⁴ before complaining about damage done to the church as a whole whereby clerks, ecclesiastics and other persons of the said kingdom had

¹¹⁸ *Docs. Scotland*, ii, pp 25-32.

¹¹⁹ John Edwards, 'The Grey Friars and their first houses in Scotland', *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* (1906-7), p. 14.

¹²⁰ See Chapter One for the alms granted to the Scottish friaries.

¹²¹ Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 21-2.

¹²² 'Fratrum Minorum de Rokesburgh, pro putura sua trium dierum in adventu regis ibidem, per manus Fratris Roberti de Rotheley apud Kelshou XX IIII die Julii, five shillings.' *Ibid.*, p. 168.

¹²³ *Docs. Scotland*, ii, pp 32-35.

¹²⁴ '...venerabilibus fratribus nostris, Roberto Glasgauen' et Marco Sodoren' episcopis, et nonnullus clericis, et aliis personis ecclesiasticis dicti regni, ut dicitur, captis, et carceralibus vinculis traditis (quorum aliquos, sicut asseritur, squalor carceris violentus extinxit)...'. Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 907-8.

been molested,¹²⁵ and monasteries and other religious houses had been occupied and destroyed.¹²⁶ Moir Bryce believes that the favour shown by Edward I to the Franciscans of Scotland in this period demonstrates that they had not as yet ‘displayed those keen Scottish sympathies which compelled Edward III to regard them as one of the most formidable influences to be dealt with in the subjugation of the country.’¹²⁷ As proof of this he cites the ‘Ragman rolls’, which were drawn up at Berwick in August 1296. These rolls required every landholder of consequence to swear fealty to Edward I as lord of Scotland and to append their seal.¹²⁸ Moir Bryce claims that no Franciscan names appear on the roll because of the ‘meagre acreage of their friary lands’ combined with the royal favour they enjoyed.¹²⁹ However, the name of one friar does in fact appear on the Ragman rolls: on 28 August ‘Adam Frere’ signed the roll at Berwick.¹³⁰ It is impossible to say, however, if he was a Franciscan, Dominican or Carmelite friar since all three orders had a presence in the town.

One of the most extraordinary roles played by the Scottish Franciscans was the staging of the murder of John Comyn by Robert the Bruce in their church at Dumfries.¹³¹ On 10 February 1306 Bruce and Comyn agreed to meet at their church there and there are several contemporary accounts of the story, both Scottish and English, veering from a curt acknowledgement of the event¹³² to the chronicle in verse by Peter de Langtoft where we are told how:

‘...[Bruce] invited

The Lord of Badenagh to come and talk with him,

¹²⁵ ‘...in ejusdem regni partibus officialles regios posuisti; qui praelatos, caeteros clericos et ecclesiasticas ac etiam seculares dicti regni personas multimodis pertubare molestiis, et afflictionibus variis et diversis impetere non verentur...’. Ibid.

¹²⁶ ‘...ac etiam occupatis castris et prout fertur, monasteriis, aliisve religiosis locis quampluribus dirutis sue destructis, ac dampnis gravibus ejusdem regni habitatoribus irrogatis...’. Ibid.

¹²⁷ Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 20-21.

¹²⁸ See Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 76-7 for a description of the process.

¹²⁹ Moir Bryce, op. cit., pp 20-1.

¹³⁰ *Cal. documents relating to Scotland*, ii, 207.

¹³¹ See Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 145; Alexander Grant, *Independence and nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (London, 1984), p. 7; McNamee, *Wars of the Bruces*, p. 28; Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea region*, p. 176.

¹³² See the *Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, pp 366-7; Trivet, *Annales*, p. 342; Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 229; Thomas Gray, *Scalachronica, the reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III*, trans. Herbert Maxwell (Ceredigion, 2000), pp 28-30; ‘Annales prioratus de Wygornia’, p. 557; ‘Annales Londonienses’ in William Stubbs (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II* (London, 1882), i, 147; ‘Annales de Osney’, pp 341-2.

At Dumfries in the church of the Friars Minor;
Where Earl Robert, leaning upon the altar,
Slew the Badenagh through felony of heart...
And by dint of sword obtain[ed] the kingdom
For him, who then said he was the right king.’¹³³

John Fordun described how a day had been appointed for the two men to meet together at the Greyfriars church at Dumfries, where ‘the evil-speaker’, that is Comyn, was ‘stabbed and wounded unto death, in the church of the friars; and the wounded man [was] by the friars laid behind the altar.’ Fordun states that Comyn, when asked if he might live, replied ‘I can’ whereupon he was wounded again ‘and thus was he taken away from this world on the 10th [day] of February.’¹³⁴ Bower’s version in the *Scotichronicon* provides even greater detail, stating that Bruce was seeking to pay Comyn back ‘in a way that was fitting for his offence’ – presumably this ‘offence’ was the accusation levelled at Comyn by Langtoft, that he had refused to raise war against Edward I.¹³⁵ Bower describes how Bruce came upon Comyn in the choir in front of the high altar and that ‘after an animated greeting and an exchange of remarks for a time on lesser topics, the missive letters of the same John were produced and the same John was attacked for his betrayal and breach of faith.’ Having struck Comyn down Bruce supposedly made for his horses at the entrance to the cemetery where his companions, James Lindsay and Roger of Kirkpatrick, rushed to him. Having asked how the meeting had gone, Bower reports that Bruce replied, ‘badly, for I think that I have killed John the Red Comyn’. Lindsay, looking for confirmation of the deed, asked ‘Should so vital and assumption be left in doubt?’ and, entering the church with Kirkpatrick, asked if Comyn might survive the blow, to which Comyn himself replied, ‘I can if I have a doctor’. Upon hearing this, Lindsay and Kirkpatrick dealt him a mortal blow.¹³⁶ The chronicler then describes how the friars placed the corpse upon a bier and gathered either side of the choir to repeat the psalter and prayers of the dead but that ‘the unreality of sleep crept over [them] shortly before the day break except for a certain old retired father, more painstakingly vigilant than the rest, who as he devoutly recited the general absolution

¹³³ *Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, i, 364-7.

¹³⁴ Fordun, *Chronicle*, ii, 332-3.

¹³⁵ *Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, i, 367.

¹³⁶ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vi, 310-12.

of souls suddenly heard a voice like that of a crying child shouting out in piercing tones: “How long Lord will you put off your vengeance?” At once he heard the answer from another in a remarkable unknown voice: “Wait patiently for what you seek, and on the fifty-second anniversary of this day you will achieve your aim.”¹³⁷ Later in the chronicle he records how divine revenge was taken upon the heirs of Kirkpatrick and Lindsay. In 1358, he alleges, Sir James de Lindsay murdered Roger de Kirkpatrick in his bed and then failed to make good his escape. He was ‘found guilty of blood-feud and punished with a capital sentence at Dumfries.’¹³⁸ Although much of this story has been embellished, it is interesting to note that Bower seeks to distance Bruce somewhat from the event. It was his accomplices, and not he, who struck the fatal blow and it was their heirs who received the divine justice supposedly promised to the elderly Franciscan on the night of Comyn’s murder. The Lanercost chronicler passes by the opportunity to comment upon the murder in the church of his brethren, content to comment on Bruce as ‘seditiously and treacherously’ calling for Comyn to meet him there¹³⁹ before murdering him. He says that on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin next [25 March] he was crowned king of Scotland at Scone and many of the nobles and commonalty adhered to him.¹⁴⁰

Although Comyn’s murder had taken place in the Franciscan church at Dumfries there is no indication that the Scottish Franciscans had as yet chosen sides in the Anglo-Scottish war. However, the fact that there was no sentence of excommunication passed against Bruce or condemnation of his actions published indicates that, although the Scottish church as a whole might not have approved of the murder, it was unwilling to denounce him.¹⁴¹ It was another Franciscan, William de Gaynesburgh, who brought news of Comyn’s murder to Edward I in the cathedral church at Carlisle, where he was completing marriage arrangements between his son and the daughter of the French king.¹⁴² Cardinal Peter, sent by the

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid., vii, 309.

¹³⁹ ‘...dominus Robertus Bruse, comes de Carrike, seditione et in dolo misit pro domino Johanne Cumyn...’.

¹⁴⁰ ‘...et postea cepit castra Scotiae, et custodes et in annuncuacione beatae Virginis proximo sequenti [25 March] factus fuit rex Scotiae apud Sconam, et adhaeserunt ei multi majores et minores de terra...’ *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 203.

¹⁴¹ Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, pp 7-8.

¹⁴² Friar William died shortly after Edward II succeeded to the throne when returning from the court of France, where he had been sent to confirm the king’s nuptials. He was buried with the Franciscans at

pope to oversee the negotiations, agreed that a one-year indulgence would be granted to those who prayed for the soul of the murdered Comyn and he denounced the murderers as ‘excommunicate, anathematised and sacrilegious.’¹⁴³ The pope confirmed the cardinal’s mandate by issuing a sentence of excommunication against Bruce and an interdict upon those lands, castles and villages supporting him,¹⁴⁴ while Edward commanded the detainment of those supporting him,¹⁴⁵ including Robert Wishart, bishop of St Andrews, William Lamberton,¹⁴⁶ bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone.¹⁴⁷ In 1306 these men were described as being sent to prisons in England secured in iron chains.¹⁴⁸ William Comyn and Walter de Moubray were papally appointed to fill the now-vacant bishoprics.¹⁴⁹ In March of the following year, some months before his death, Edward wrote to the king of Norway reminding him of the good relations the two countries had enjoyed, and asking that any rebels or enemies of the king fleeing there be refused entry to the kingdom.¹⁵⁰

Beauvais. The Chronicler tells us that almost all his household died there with him, and it is believed that they perished by poison. It is possible that Edward himself could have ordered the poisoning since he had undertaken to rid himself of those men his father had surrounded himself with. Walter de Langton, bishop of Chester and Edward’s treasurer had been arrested, for example, and it is quite possible that Geynesburgh was also targeted. For details of the poisoning see *Chron. Lanercost* p. 210.

¹⁴³ ‘...surrexit dominus Willelmus de Gaynesburgh eipscopus Wygorniae et ex parte regis narravit domino cardinali et omnibus qui adveniant, sub brevis, modum interfectionis domini Johannis Comyn... interfectores dicti domini Johannis excommunicatos, anathemizatos, sacrilegos denunciavit, cum omnibus auxilium, consilium vel favorem praestantibus, et a sancta matre ecclesia separavit donec ad condignam satisfactionem venirent...’ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

¹⁴⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 987.

¹⁴⁵ ‘...ad distringendum omnes illos, quos in hac parte inveniri contigerit contrarios et rebelles...’ *Ibid.*, pp 982-3.

¹⁴⁶ In October 1317 this bishop was described as having been condemned to perpetual imprisonment as a traitor of England. Clement V gave his see to Thomas de Riveriis, a Friar Minor. Although William, on being released, took an oath that he would do nothing against the realm of England, he has, as the king asserts, constantly and openly sided with Robert de Brus. Wherefore the king has prayed the pope to depose him and restore Thomas to the see. But the pope can find no record of Thomas’ appointment. *Papal letters*, ii, 421.

¹⁴⁷ ‘..... Episcopum autem Sancti Andreae, quem constituerat rex Angliae custodem Scotiae, qui cum praedicto Roberto foedus amicitiae inierat, sicut per inventas suas literas ostensum, episcopum etiam Glascuensem, qui in illo facto exstiterat consiliarius principalis, et abbatem de Scona, qui supradicto Roberto in honore regio suscepti astiterat, usque in Angliam adduxerunt et carceri tradiderunt.’ *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 204-5.

¹⁴⁸ ‘De conducendo episcopos Sancti Andreae, Glasguen’ et abbatem de Scone prisonarios in Angliam’, and ‘Episcopi S Andreae et Glasguen’ salvo et secure in compedibus ferreis, a vicecomite Suth’ custodiuntur.’ Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 996.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 999-1,000.

¹⁵⁰ ‘...Inter vestros Progenitores et nostros, Norwagiae et Angliae quondam Reges, ac vos et nos subsequenter, mutua dilectio et bona concordia... Quicquid autem, ad hanc nostram instantiam, tam de praefato Episcopo [the bishop of Moray], quam etiam de aliis inimicis et rebellibus nostris, si quos ad partes vestras declinare contigerit, facere proponitis, nobis rescribere velitis per praesentium portitorem.’ *ibid.*, i, part ii, 1010.

Within three months of being crowned king of Scots, Robert Bruce was forced to flee Scotland and it has been argued that he took refuge on Rathlin Island, off the coast of Antrim in Ulster.¹⁵¹ When he returned to Scotland he did battle in May 1307 with Aymer de Valence and defeated the English army. An eye-witness to the battle – Alexander Abernethy has been proposed by Geoffrey Barrow¹⁵² – wrote to an English official: ‘I hear that Bruce never had the good will of his own followers or of the people generally so much with him as now. It appears that God is with him, for he has destroyed King Edward’s power both among English and Scots. The people believe that Bruce will carry all before him, exhorted by false preachers¹⁵³ from Bruce’s army... May it please God to prolong King Edward’s life, for men say openly that when he is gone the victory will go to Bruce. For these preachers have told the people that they have found a prophecy of Merlin, that after the death of ‘le Roy Coveytous’ the people of Scotland and the Welsh shall band together and have full lordship and live in peace together to the end of the world.’¹⁵⁴ Seán Duffy has argued that the phrase ‘*faus prechours*’ probably refers to Friars Preachers, that is Dominicans, who were travelling with Bruce’s army, stirring up the people to his cause.¹⁵⁵ Geoffrey Barrow also translates it as ‘false preachers’ but does not delve any deeper into what this phrase might mean.¹⁵⁶ Alexander Grant, on the other hand, gives the translation as ‘false prophets’,¹⁵⁷ which would leave no room for interpreting these men as friars. It is possible that Duffy is correct and that these men were Dominicans, but the use of the lower case letter ‘p’ for *prechours* seems to indicate otherwise. In most instances, where Dominicans are referred to as preachers it is usually in the form ‘Friars Preachers’ or ‘*fratres Praedicatorum*’; only very occasionally do the words appear in the lower case, and then ‘preachers’ is usually preceded by the defining word ‘friar’. Of course, it is possible that capital letters are sometimes the product of editorial intervention and that the original manuscript, on which a printed source is based, may have used the lower case.

¹⁵¹ See Chapter Five for Bruce’s links with Ireland, and his stay there.

¹⁵² Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 172-3.

¹⁵³ ‘...les faus prechours...’.

¹⁵⁴ *Cal. documents relating to Scotland*, ii, 513.

¹⁵⁵ Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea Region*, p. 178.

¹⁵⁶ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 172-3.

¹⁵⁷ Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, pp 7-8.

The death of Edward I and the accession of Edward II changed the nature of the war between England and Scotland. Bruce's kingship was in the ascendancy and, on 16 and 17 March 1309, he held his first parliament at St Andrews.¹⁵⁸ At the same time a declaration from the 'the bishops, abbots, priors and others of the clergy duly constituted in the realm of Scotland' was issued, declaring that Bruce was the legitimate king and that Balliol had been imposed on the people.¹⁵⁹ The following February a 'general Scottish council' was allegedly held in the church of the Friars Minor of Dundee.¹⁶⁰ D. W. Hunter Marshall, in his paper for the *Scottish Historical Review* in 1926 provided a detailed and thoroughly researched argument as to why this meeting could never have taken place,¹⁶¹ and there is little point in re-writing it here.¹⁶² He does, however, concede that such a document of support might have been drawn up around the same time by at least some of the Scottish bishops.¹⁶³ Geoffrey Barrow, conversely, does not believe that this tradition can be so easily dismissed, stating that the meeting possibly took place during the Anglo-Scottish truce in early 1310.¹⁶⁴ If such a meeting had taken place at the church of the Friars Minor of Dundee, it would be conclusive proof that the Franciscan order in Scotland had publicly declared their support for Bruce's kingship. As no new evidence has been uncovered to prove or disprove it, however, it remains one more 'tradition' that links Bruce to the Franciscans.

Bruce used 'secret warfare' or guerrilla tactics to keep border areas in a heightened state of anxiety and, in June 1314, the English were convincingly beaten at the battle of Bannockburn.¹⁶⁵ On 22 July 1315 the Lanercost chronicler described how Bruce besieged the town of Carlisle for ten days, whereby crops were ruined, suburbs

¹⁵⁸ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 183.

¹⁵⁹ Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 184; Grant, *op. cit.*, pp 8-9.

¹⁶⁰ Barrow, *op. cit.*, pp 268-9, gives the source as the Scottish Record Office, HM General Register House, Edinburgh: State Papers, no. 4. (Written in a chancery hand of the earlier fourteenth century) but I have been unable to view it in person. There is also another version provided in *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, i, p. 460 but this is reportedly flawed in its dating: see Hunter Marshall below.

¹⁶¹ D. W. Hunter Marshall, 'A supposed provincial council of the Scottish church at Dundee in February 1310', *Scottish Historical Review*, xxiii (1926), pp 280-294.

¹⁶² See Stones, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, no. 36 for the text of the declaration purportedly issuing from Dundee in 1310

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp 292-3. Ranald Nicholson in *Scotland: the later middle ages*, p. 81, believes that the statement was probably issued at the St Andrews parliament.

¹⁶⁴ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 268-9.

¹⁶⁵ See McNamee, *Wars of the Bruces*, p. 160; Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 10; Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages*, pp 87-90 for the battle of Bannockburn. See *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 229, 233, 234, 235 etc. for a contemporary account of some of the battles of the period.

wasted and the whole of that district burned. On the ninth day they attacked the eastern side of the city against the place of the Franciscan friars in ‘order to draw thither the people who were inside’.¹⁶⁶ According to his account, it was only by divine intervention that just one Englishman was killed and a few were wounded. In 1318 the pope intervened in the ongoing war, advising that a truce of two years’ duration be established between the two countries. To this end he sent two nuncios, cardinals John Gaucelin¹⁶⁷ and Luke¹⁶⁸ to England.¹⁶⁹ They were enjoined to reconcile the king with Thomas, earl of Lancaster as a means of making peace between England and Scotland. The pope mandated the cardinals to publish a truce between the two countries and to announce that those who broke it would incur a sentence of excommunication.¹⁷⁰ The Lanercost chronicler says that although the English received the truce with satisfaction ‘both on account of the dissension between the king and the earl of Lancaster, and because of excessive molestation by the Scots arising out of the said dissension’, the Scots refused it and paid it no manner of respect.¹⁷¹ Bruce ignored the papal bull commanding the truce because of its failure to acknowledge his title as king of Scotland. The pope had deliberately refrained from using Bruce’s title because ‘the matter of dispute regarding the kingdom of Scotland is still pending between you and the aforesaid king [of England].’¹⁷² He could not, he felt, ‘with propriety address to you the name of the royal title...especially as the council of our brethren would by no means sanction a denomination of that kind’. The cardinals then carried out the second part of their mandate and issued a sentence of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents who had broken the truce made with the king of England.¹⁷³ The fate of those chosen to bear the letters to Bruce is recorded in the register of William Melton,¹⁷⁴ who was appointed archbishop of York on 25 September 1317, and in Rymer’s *Foedera*.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Cito etiam postea eodem anno, in festo sactae Mariae Magdalene, venit rex Scotiae, congregata tota fortitudine sua, usque Karliolum...’. *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 230-232.

¹⁶⁷ Cardinal priest of SS Marcellinus and Peter.

¹⁶⁸ Cardinal deacon of S Maria in Via Lata.

¹⁶⁹ Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, part i, 334, 337; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 246.

¹⁷⁰ *Papal letters*, ii, 420.

¹⁷¹ ‘Post festum vero sancti Michaelis [29 September] misit papa bullam in Angliam, per quam induxit treugam inter Angliam et Scotiam duraturam per duos annos sequentes a receptione dicta bullae. Anglici autem, tum propter discordiam inter regem et comitem Loncastriae...’. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 234.

¹⁷² *Papal letters*, ii, 420.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Rosalind Hill, ‘An English archbishop and the Scottish War of Independence’, *Innes Review*, xxii (1971), pp 59-72.

Melton was given the task of publishing the papal bull throughout the northern dioceses and to this end he appointed envoys to go into Scotland bearing copies of it for the attention of Bruce. In her investigation of Archbishop Melton's register, Rosalind Hill lists three missions into Scotland. The first of these was by two Franciscans who were set upon by the Scots and had their letters taken from them and torn to pieces.¹⁷⁵ The second was the unsatisfactory embassy of Friar Peter of Bologna and Master Aymeric Gerard archdeacon of Ely into Scotland to meet with Bruce. Finally, she gives the disastrous embassy of Friar Adam de Neuton into Scotland in 1318. Rymer only includes the last of these - the embassy of Friar Adam - and the date he gives is 1317. As he has proved somewhat unreliable in his dating, I am more inclined to accept the evidence of Melton's register as presented by Hill. Following the initial mission of the two friars the Scots, far from observing the truce, attacked Berwick in April 1318, 'through means of a certain Englishman, Peter of Spalding, living in the town who being bribed by a great sum of money... allowed them to scale the wall and to enter by that part of the wall where he himself was stationed as guard and sentry.'¹⁷⁶ In response the cardinals wrote to all the prelates of England that Bruce, his counsellors and adherents were to be thrice denounced as excommunicate¹⁷⁷ but, as Rosalind Hill points out in her discussion of these events, 'the problem now was to inform the Scots of what had happened to them.'¹⁷⁸ Two men - Master Aymeric Gerard, archdeacon of Ely, and Friar Peter of Bologna, of the order of Friars Minor - accompanied by an unnamed suffragan of Melton, were instructed to go into Scotland and publish the sentence against Bruce.¹⁷⁹ The envoys reported crossing the border 'not without great difficulty' and obtaining a safe conduct to Roxburgh castle, from where they demanded an audience with Bruce. They were not granted one, and James Douglas and Alexander Seton demanded to see the contents of both the papal bull and letters of the cardinals before any such audience could be granted. Finally they were taken to Melrose where Bruce informed them that he would receive no bulls or letters in which he was not addressed by his

¹⁷⁵ *Register of Archbishop Melton*, f. 499v, in Hill, 'An English archbishop', p. 66.

¹⁷⁶ *Secundo die mensis Aprilis [Scotti] villam Berwici in medio quadragesimae, circa mediam noctem post diem Sabbati, proditiose ceperunt per unum Anglicum in villa existentem, Petrum de Spaldynge, qui, pro maxima summa pecunia ab eis recepta et terris sibi promissis, permisit eos ascendere murum, et intrare in illam partem muri ubi ipse custos et vigil fuerat deputatus...* *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 234-5.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 237-8.

¹⁷⁸ Hill, 'An English archbishop', pp 66-7.

¹⁷⁹ Rosalind Hill, *The register of William Melton, archbishop of York 1317-1340* (York, 1988), iii, 4.

proper title. They were then sent back across the border, uninjured although minus a reply.¹⁸⁰ The final attempt by the cardinals was to send Friar Adam de Neuton, guardian of the Franciscan house at Berwick, across the border. Hill says that the choice of a friar 'seems to have been designed to reassure the Scots that no aggression was intended'¹⁸¹ although it had made no difference with earlier embassies. The use of Franciscans in all three delegations to treat with Bruce implies a certain respect for the order - both from those sending them and, presumably, those receiving them. Friar Adam's treatment, however, did not reflect that respect. He was met by Alexander Seton, who took the letters by force saying that he would deliver them to Bruce himself. Upon Seton's return, the friar was told to 'take himself off at once from the land and the kingdom of Scotland' on pain of losing his head. He attempted to do so but was attacked by those men who had watched Seton humiliate the friar. He was robbed of his clothes and provisions and all that he had.¹⁸² They allowed him to live, probably because he was a friar, and he returned to England. In response to Friar Adam's 'mishandling', sentence of excommunication were again published against Bruce and his supporters throughout England, Ireland and Wales in August that year.¹⁸³

The following year, Archbishop Melton was involved more personally in the war when he was in a disastrous confrontation with the Scots near York. Edward II and the earl of Lancaster, having reached a 'permanent agreement, as was thought...entered Scotland together...and set themselves to attack the town of Berwick.'¹⁸⁴ The Scottish army, under Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and James Douglas chose not to relieve the castle there however, but to ride south into England 'burning the country and taking captives and booty of cattle', moving quickly towards York. Edward responded to this threat, not by lifting the siege at Berwick, but by ordering his chancellor John Hotham, bishop of Ely, and William Melton to organise the defence of the city.¹⁸⁵ The Lanercost chronicler tells us that the

¹⁸⁰ Register, f.500v in Hill, 'An English Archbishop', p. 67.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., pp 67-8.

¹⁸² '...In itinere meo obviam habui Quatuos Vispilonos armatos, obsidiose et infidiose destinatos, qui spoliarunt me omnibus Litteris et Vestimentis usque ad carnem...' Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, 683-4.

¹⁸³ Ibid., pp 711-12.

¹⁸⁴ *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 238-9.

¹⁸⁵ Hugo Schwyzer, 'Northern bishops and the Anglo-Scottish War in the reign of Edward II' in Michael Prestwick, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame (ed.), *Thirteenth century England* (1997), iii, pp

archbishop and bishop, ‘with a great number of priests and clerics, among whom were sundry religious men both beneficed and mendicant’ attacked the Scots after dinner near the town of Myton, some twelve miles north of York. ‘As men unskilled in war, they marched all scattered through the fields and in no kind of array’ whereupon the Scots ‘uttered together a tremendous shout to terrify the English, who straightaway began to take to their heels...’.¹⁸⁶ According to the chronicler, the Scots then mounted their horses and rode down the scattered army, killing four thousand and perhaps another thousand drowning in the river.¹⁸⁷ The archbishop had no military command experience and the description of priests, friars and townsfolk marching against an experienced and battle-hardened Scottish army gives an indication of the poor judgement shown by Edward II throughout his dealings with the Scots. Indeed the chronicler is himself critical of Edward’s actions, reporting that upon hearing of the events at York he ‘wished to send part of his forces to attack the Scots still remaining in England, and to maintain the siege with the rest of his people’ but was advised by his nobles not to divide his forces.¹⁸⁸ The victors re-entered Scotland and the king returned unsuccessful to England ‘without any good business done.’¹⁸⁹

In January 1320 the pope ordered Bruce, with his bishops of St Andrews, Dunkeld, Aberdeen and Moray to come before him in May of the following year. Letters were issued for their protection and these were given to Melton with the charge of delivering them to Bruce. He in turn passed them on to Lewis de Beaumont, bishop of Durham, with instructions to sent them into Scotland by ‘some religious man of the order of Mendicants, or another suitable messenger.’¹⁹⁰ The man chosen was the guardian of the Franciscans at Newcastle, Friar Alexander of Carlisle and, although the register contains no details about the success of his mission, the failure of the Scots to respond to the pope’s command seems to indicate that he received the same

249-250; Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the medieval custody of York* (York, 1997), pp 16-17; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 239-40.

¹⁸⁶ ‘...Quod audientes Eboracenses cives, ignotis sibi hominibus de patria, quorum duces erant dominus archiepiscopus Willelmus de Meltoun, et dominus episcopus Elyensis, cum magno numero sacerdotum et cleri, inter quos etiam erant diversi religiosi, possessionati et mendicantes, occurrerunt Scottis post prandium uno die juxta villam de Mitoun...’. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 239.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

¹⁹⁰ Register, f.507v., in Hill, ‘An English Archbishop’, p. 70.

treatment as his predecessors. In October 1322 another friar Robert de Stayndrop, guardian of the Franciscan house at York, was sent into Scotland. He was granted safe conduct for his mission concerning John, earl of Richmond, who had been taken and imprisoned by the Scots. Robert, with another unnamed friar of the same order, was granted permission to stay with the earl if he wished, for his recreation and solace.¹⁹¹

According to the Lanercost chronicler, in 1322 Andrew de Harcla, earl of Carlisle, concluded that ‘the king of England neither knew how to rule his realm, nor was able to defend it against the Scots’ and so chose to negotiate directly with Bruce.¹⁹² On 3 January 1323 he met with Bruce at Lochmaben and agreed a bond of mutual defence and guarantees as to the independence of the two kingdoms.¹⁹³ This was, however, formed without Edward’s knowledge or consent and upon hearing of it he sent Anthony de Lucy to take the earl into custody.¹⁹⁴ We are told that de Harcla, when in custody, first made confession to the parish priest about his whole life, and then on the same day confessed to a Preaching friar and then a Minorite friar, ‘all of whom acquitted him of intention and taint of treason.’¹⁹⁵ On 2 March the earl was condemned to be first degraded and stripped of his dignity, then drawn by horses through the town, before being hanged and beheaded.¹⁹⁶ Although de Harcla was hanged for negotiating a truce with Bruce, later in the Spring Edward was forced to engage in negotiations for a truce between the Scots and the English. On 30 May that year it was agreed that there should be peace between the countries until June of the following year, and for the thirteen years after that.¹⁹⁷

Edward II was deposed in 1326 and his son Edward was crowned king of England on 1 February 1327. The deposed king had been informed of his fate by a delegation consisting of the bishops of Winchester and Hereford, the earls of Lancaster and

¹⁹¹ *Patent rolls, 1321-24*, p. 210.

¹⁹² *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 248; Stones, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, no. 39.

¹⁹³ *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 248.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Eodem anno Robertus de Brus, per litteras missas per solemnes nuncios, requisivit Regem Angliae de treugis per annos tresdecim duraturis. Rex vero Angliae, fatigatus per verras Scotiae multipliciter, concessit in treugas voluntarie, quae sub tresdecim Articulis claudebantur; quod qui videre desiderat, respiciat Chronicas Fratris Henrici Blankeforde, monachi Sancti Albani, quae habentur in monasterio memorato.’ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i, 170.

Warren, two barons, two abbots, two priors, two justiciaries, two Dominicans and two Carmelite friars. No Franciscans were included at the insistence of the queen who claimed 'that they should not be the bearers of such a dismal message' because the king so loved their order.¹⁹⁸ The following year Henry Percy and William de Denum were appointed to conclude a final treaty with the Scots and by 30 October the basis for peace had been established. Bruce was secured in his right to the throne of Scotland and he committed himself to paying £20,000 and to a marriage between the two royal households.¹⁹⁹ Although Bruce dealt harshly with the Franciscans in his negotiations with the English this is possibly because he viewed the envoys, not as friars, but as English friars and treated them as such. Certainly his attitude towards the order following the conclusion of a peace with England was positive. In 1328, for example, he granted a charter confirming to a certain woman, Elene de Quarantley, certain lands in the forest of Maldisley in exchange for a manor and orchard within the burgh of Lanark, which the king had granted to the Friars Minors as a site for their monastery.²⁰⁰ Papal sanction for the friary was granted in 1346 on the petition of David II and his wife Joan, who claimed that this order had suffered more severely than others during the War of Independence and that they desired also to gift the Franciscans a site 'far removed from attack.' In his bull the pope referred to the order as having been 'oppressed by the tyranny of wars more than any other orders have been...'.²⁰¹ It was decreed that twelve friars should live there 'decorously and fitly' but, according to Moir Bryce, it seems unlikely that this number was ever reached given the numbers known to have been resident in larger friaries such as Dumfries.²⁰²

The Franciscan experience in Scotland during the Wars of Independence has more in common with their confreres in Ireland than with those in Wales. The position of their houses at Roxburgh and Berwick, on the border with England, reflected a division within the order itself. The Franciscan house at Berwick, in particular, was very much southern-facing in its affiliation, whilst the friars deeper into Scotland

¹⁹⁸ 'Fratres autem Minores ad preces dominae reginae non sunt missi, ne essent bajuli nuncii tam displicentis, quia Minores multum amabat.' *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 258.

¹⁹⁹ See Stones, *Anglo-Scottish relations*, no. 41; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 256-60; McNamee, *Wars of the Bruces*, p. 245; Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 17

²⁰⁰ Robert Renwick (ed.), *Extracts from the records of the royal burgh of Lanark with charters and documents relating to the burgh, AD 1150-1722* (Glasgow, 1893), pp xvii-xviii.

²⁰¹ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vi, no. 192; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vii, 338; *Papal letters*, iii, 231.

²⁰² Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 242.

were more sympathetic to the native cause. That Edward I was welcome to rest with the Franciscans in the initial stages of the wars demonstrates that the friars had not yet become partisan in nature, and his confirmation of their alms proves that the relationship between English monarch and Scottish friars was relatively untroubled. Yet by 1306 the political situation in Scotland had changed and with it the mood of the friars. In that year Bruce killed John Comyn in their church at Dumfries and yet no outcry took place. Indeed, in the following year friars were possibly travelling with Bruce's army exhorting the people to rise up and defeat the English. Bruce's treatment of those friars sent to present him with papal letters demonstrates that he himself differentiated between the friars in the order. The friars sent by Melton into Scotland were obviously considered, not as Franciscans, but as envoys of an English archbishop acting on the remit of an English king and thus were treated accordingly. Yet some years later Bruce was seen granting lands at Lanark to the order that had suffered so much during these wars. The friars themselves seem to have split along racial lines and this is unusual since, almost from their arrival the friars in those houses that showed a pro-English bias had attempted to establish an identity separate to that of their English brethren. It seems that the border friars were torn between their southern origins and their Scottish location; that geography and culture clashed in those houses. This identity crisis was only resolved under the reign of Edward III when friars with Scottish sympathies were removed from border houses.

Chapter Five - Mendicant involvement in the Bruce invasion of Ireland.

As previously discussed, events in Scotland and Wales in the latter half of the thirteenth century saw members of the mendicant orders become involved in the affairs of state. Both countries experienced war with England but in very different circumstances. By logical extension, the friars in those countries reacted to circumstances differently. It also seems logical to conclude that the longer an order was established in a given country, the more it identified with the native population among whom it lived rather than with the country whence it had originated – in the case of the Franciscan order, the first friars to arrive in Ireland, Scotland and Wales were of English provenance. The Franciscan friars in Wales were not inclined to choose sides overtly. They negotiated on behalf of both Edward I and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in the build-up to the war of 1282-3, maintaining at least some semblance of neutrality, although the warden of Llanfaes argued on behalf of the Welsh prince in a manner that belies his order's neutral stance. In Scotland the friars, especially those located in border areas, appeared to adopt a slightly more Anglicised stance at first. However as the war with Scotland wore on into the fourteenth century, it seems very obvious that their sympathies shifted towards the native cause. Although Robert Bruce treated later English Franciscan embassies with contempt, his affection for the order was confirmed when he established a house for them at Lanark,¹ and made available to the Franciscans of Scotland a generous annual allowance.² In the same period, Irish friars reflected yet a third way of experiencing the wars of this period. In Wales, Edward I led a successful conquest of the country; in Scotland, he and then his son were never fully successful, and the Scots regained their independence through successive years of war. Ireland was separate from these events and yet very much a part of the warring parties' strategies. England needed Ireland to provision and finance her war in Scotland,³ whilst Robert Bruce understood Ireland's strategic importance and disruptive influence on England's war.⁴ By the second decade of the

¹ Robert Renwick (ed.), *Extracts from the records of the royal burgh of Lanark with charters and documents relating to the burgh, AD 1150-1722* (Glasgow, 1893), pp xvii-xviii.

² See Chapter Four.

³ J. F. Lydon, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland' in *Historical Studies*, iv (1963), pp 112-13; idem, 'The impact of the Bruce invasion, 1315-27' in F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, Art Cosgrove, J. R. Hill (ed.), *New history of Ireland* (Oxford, 1987), ii, p. 275.

⁴ Lydon, 'Impact of the Bruce Invasion, 1315-27', pp 281-2; Robin Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-18', *Irish Historical Studies*, xix (1974-5), pp 3-17; A. A. M. Duncan, 'The Scots invasion of

fourteenth century it had become clear that Ireland would no longer passively provide men, ships and food for an English army in Scotland but that the Scots would take the war to Ireland, hoping to engage the disaffected natives in a mutual defence of their 'Gaelic' ideals. The mendicant orders, and especially the Franciscans, became inextricably linked to this war – in both defending the colony and exhorting the indigenous people to rise up in support of the Scots – and this chapter will examine how a Scottish war came to engage Irish friars in acts of rebellion.

Chapter One examined the arrival of the Franciscans into Ireland and Chapter Two looked at the reception the friars received from the secular clergy and religious orders across the British Isles. This chapter must, however, re-visit the experiences of the Franciscan order in Ireland from their arrival in order to understand how these friars had divided so completely along racial lines by the time Edward Bruce landed near Larne in May 1315. The Welsh friars had acted according to their order first and as Welshmen second, whilst the Scottish friars had reflected a torn allegiance initially but had come to favour firmly the native cause within years of John Balliol being captured and exiled. The Irish friars, however, experienced the thirteenth century differently from their brethren across the sea. Although all three provinces were of English provenance, from the beginning the Irish province was separate with an independently appointed provincial minister. The Scots attempted to establish such independence whilst the Welsh friars were always firmly tied to the English province. Although from the outset Ireland was independent of the English province, most friaries established in the early years were in areas closely associated with the colonists rather than the native Irish. As the order grew in popularity however, so too did the establishment of Franciscan houses in native areas of Ireland. This does not appear initially to have created a division within the order. Indeed the order as a whole flourished in all parts of Ireland, with perhaps forty-six houses founded in the period up to the mid-fourteenth century.

As argued in Chapter One, the first Franciscan friars in Ireland established themselves at Dublin, under the provincialship of an English friar Richard de

Ireland, 1315' in R. R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles, 1100-1500, comparisons, contrasts and connections* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 103.

Ingworth. From this base the Franciscans expanded throughout the country, in parts both native and Anglo-Irish in character, with no indications of internal disagreement. Indeed, it appears that the difficulties faced by the Franciscans in Ireland were those common to all the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century – quarrels with the established religious orders and secular clergy. It seems, however, that racial divisions within the order began to emerge towards the end of the century, and this split manifested itself most seriously during Edward Bruce’s invasion of Ireland. Mendicant friars, and especially Franciscans, were accused of sedition and treachery and, following Bruce’s defeat, such friars were removed from houses in troubled areas and dispersed around the country. Thus the mid-1320s marked a watershed in the history of the Franciscan order in Ireland. Up to that point the greatest threat to the order had come from the divisive question of nationality; after this it was external forces seeking to limit the power of the order, and internal forces seeking to split it apart, that threatened the stability of the Franciscan order in Ireland. The behaviour of the friars during the Bruce invasion – whether Irish or Anglo-Irish – can only be understood when placed within the context of the racialism that went before. This chapter will look at the growing divisions within the order as it expanded during the thirteenth century, and the emergence of the Irish Franciscans as a perceived threat to the English governance of Ireland. It will examine the stances adopted by the friars during the invasion and, while the main focus of this chapter is the Franciscan order, where evidence is available this chapter will examine all four mendicant orders as a source for fomenting rebellion in Ireland during these years. It is an Irish perspective on the war in Scotland, looking at the actions of the friars when the conflict crossed the Irish Sea.

Any history of the Franciscan order in Ireland must, of necessity, include the racialism that split the order in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.⁵ It was not the first religious order to experience such division however – a precedent had been set during the first two decades of the early thirteenth century when the

⁵ The Irish Franciscan province appears to have been the only one in Europe to have experienced such racial divisions although, as mentioned in Chapter Four, other provinces had difficulties asserting their independence. However, the order as a whole was undergoing serious disputes throughout the latter part of the thirteenth century as the friars divided into Spirituals and Conventuals. See Chapter Two.

Cistercian order experienced a serious division over the question of nationality.⁶ The ‘Mellifont Conspiracy’, as it has become known, arose when armed Irish monks prevented Visitors of the order from entering their house at Mellifont.⁷ This was the oldest Cistercian house in Ireland: it had been established in 1142 and its foundation was at the invitation and encouragement of one of Ireland’s leading churchmen, St Malachy.⁸ The order proved popular and by the end of the century there were at least thirty-two foundations, of both native and Anglo-Irish provenance.⁹ From the outset race played a role in the establishment of the Cistercian order in Ireland. The house at Mellifont was founded by monks of mostly French origin and these monks fled back to France complaining, according to St Bernard, of Irish ill-discipline. Eventually the issue of nationality spilled over into the relations between those houses founded by the native Irish and those founded by the newly arrived Anglo-Normans.¹⁰ Starting in 1216 and lasting into the 1230s and beyond, Cistercian Visitors to Irish monasteries faced rebellious Irish monks barring their way. J. A. Watt, when examining the issue, notes that the order informed Pope Gregory IX that such visitors were chosen from a variety of nationalities “‘Irish, Welsh, English, Flemish, French, Lombard, and many from Clairvaux itself” in order to avoid suggestion that disciplinary action was being influenced by any national bias’.¹¹ The visitation by Stephen of Lexington in 1228 attempted to address the issue of rebellion and, in tandem with this, the issue of race. Stephen exiled those monks guilty of rebellion and, among other things, insisted that the monks of the order have a good knowledge of both Latin and French. It was, as Watt says, ‘a combination of administrative, coercive, pastoral, and educational devices’.¹² It is especially interesting that Stephen focused on language – Latin was the universal language of the church while French was the language of communication within the order. By clinging to their native language, Irish Cistercians were defining themselves by nationality first and order second. Stephen’s remedy was to insist that all learn those languages that would internationalise them.

⁶ Brendan Smith has argued that race was simply one element in an already fractious situation. See idem, ‘The Armagh-Clogher dispute and the ‘Mellifont Conspiracy’: diocesan politics and monastic reform in early thirteenth century Ireland’, *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, xiv (1991), pp 26-39.

⁷ Ibid., pp 33-4; Watt, *Church and the two Ireland*, pp 87-8.

⁸ B. W. O’Dwyer, *The conspiracy of Mellifont, 1216-1231* (Dublin, 1970), p. 7.

⁹ Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, pp 121-44.

¹⁰ O’Dwyer, op. cit., p. 10; Watt, op. cit., pp 85-7

¹¹ Watt, op. cit., pp 88-9.

¹² Ibid., p. 97.

In January 1217, the minority government of Henry III, acting no doubt at the behest of the lord of Leinster, William Marshall, decreed that ‘no cleric from Ireland, no matter how educated or good-living’ should be elected to any ecclesiastical office.¹³ In 1220 Pope Honorius III condemned these Englishmen of ‘unheard-of temerity’, and ordered that Irish clergy be freely admitted to ecclesiastical offices if their learning and conduct were fitting and their election canonical.¹⁴ Despite this, a royal mandate was drawn up in 1258, recommending that native Irish be excluded from bishoprics and archbishoprics because of their predilection for choosing from among their own so as to maintain their ‘language’.¹⁵ Where language [*lingua*] is cited, I believe we should read ‘nation’ or ‘blood’; Stephen of Lexington had focused on the issue of language for Irish Cistercians earlier in the century, and now royal officials were citing it as a cause of division within the Irish church. Thus ‘*lingua*’ must have been almost synonymous with nationality by this date.¹⁶ Significantly, the charge was repeated in 1284 or 1285,¹⁷ at a time when Edward I was concluding his war with Wales, which could have led to a revival of racial tensions across the British Isles.¹⁸ An English official, conducting an investigation into the affairs of the archbishop of Armagh, recommended to the king that no Irishman should ever be an archbishop or bishop because they always preached against the king, and always provided their churches with Irishmen ‘to maintain their language’, and it was the Dominicans and Franciscans who were singled out as chief promoters of the Irish language.¹⁹ In a letter dated sometime between 1283 and 1299, but probably from

¹³ *Cal. documents Ireland*, i, 112.

¹⁴ Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica*, i, 226.

¹⁵ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. xxii. This exclusion seemed to work both ways: in 1250 there is an instruction to the archbishop of Dublin and the bishop of Ossory from Pope Innocent IV instructing them to revoke, within one month, the statute of archbishops and bishops in Ireland excluding Englishmen from their benefices. Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica*, i, 159-60.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the role of language in medieval identity see for example Davies, *Age of conquest*, p. 317; idem, *Domination and conquest*, p. 117; John Gillingham, *The English in the twelfth century, imperialism, national identity and political values* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 6-7, 100, 151.

¹⁷ The accusation came after an investigation into the archbishop of Armagh, Nicholas Mac Maol Íosa. On 9 September 1284 he was ordered to present himself for examination at Drogheda regarding charges that he had committed misdemeanours, appropriated temporalities of vacant sees, had consecrated the Anglo-Irish Walter de Fulburn as bishop of Meath without the king’s licence and that he had held pleas which belonged to the crown. *Cal. documents Ireland*, ii, 524, 551-3.

¹⁸ See the comments of Fitzmaurice and Little, op. cit., p. xxii.

¹⁹ ‘...fratres predictores et minores de lingua illa faciunt (multum?)...’ *Cal. documents Ireland*, iii, 10. A similar complaint was made regarding the Scottish clergy four or five years later, on 1 April 1289, when Pope Nicholas IV complained about the ‘detestable’ custom whereby religious houses only

1284 or 1285 Nicholas Cusack, the Franciscan bishop of Kildare,²⁰ warned Edward I that ‘certain arrogant Irish-speaking religious’ were holding ‘secret counsels...and poisonous colloquies...with the Irish and their princes.’²¹ At these secret meetings he claimed that rebellion was being encouraged and he advised that religious of Irish sympathies should be removed from convents in dangerous districts, and that only good and select Englishmen, with English companions should be sent among the Irish in future.²² Again here a link is made between those rebelling against the king’s peace and those of the native Irish tongue and nation.²³ As Watt says, the problem faced by the royal government was twofold: the first was political – how to keep Irish religious loyal to the crown; while the second was ecclesiastical – how to maintain the unity of religious orders splitting along racial lines into ‘two hostile factions’.²⁴ And the Franciscan order, towards the end of the thirteenth century, typified this dilemma. Although Nicholas Cusack did not specifically single out the Franciscan order it seems reasonable to assume that, as this was the order with which he was most familiar, they must have been to the forefront of his mind when he referred to ‘certain Irish-speaking religious’ as fomenting rebellion.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the success of all four mendicant orders across the British Isles engendered great jealousy from the established secular clergy and religious orders. Their widespread popularity ensured that they received their share of revenues from the administration of sacraments and other offices, as well as diplomatic and administrative posts. In addition mendicant friars were elected to

admitted native Scots. Rymer, *Foedera*, i, part ii, 707; Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: the later middle ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 32.

²⁰ In 1279 the bishopric of Kildare was vacant and two candidates were elected – the dean, Master Stephen, and the treasurer William. Following an appeal to Pope Gregory X he appointed a compromise candidate Nicholas Cusack ‘...cui clara morum vita, ac scientiae merita, prudentia, spiritualium et temporalium providentia suffragari dicuntur...’. On 24 February Cusack wrote from Paris to Edward I announcing the disputed election and his own appointment to the see by the pope. Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, pp 46-7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp 52-3.

²² ‘Suggestunt enim iidem religiosi lingue hibernice et precipue magis famo... et in officiis constituti eisdem regulis hibernice lingue et eorum subditis et asserunt quod secura...licite secundum jus humanum et divinum possunt iidem reguli et eorum subditi lingue hibernice...[pro patria?] nativa pungnare et anglicos hibernie conquis[itores]...pro viribus (?) impugnare eorumque mobilia invadere et sibi penitus applicare canonice...boni et electi anglici...cum sociis anglicis...’. *Ibid.* See also Canice Mooney, *Racialism in the Franciscan order in Ireland, 1224-1700* (PhD thesis, University of Louvain, 1951), pp 4-5; Watt, *Church and two nations in Ireland*, pp 181-2.

²³ See also Chapter Two for the incident involving a dispute between the monks of Worcester and the Franciscans over the burial of Henry Poche. One of the accusations against the friars was that they expounded ‘their privileges to the people in the mother tongue.’

²⁴ Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

bishoprics, thus usurping the former position of near-monopoly of the secular clergy at the highest level. Nicholas Cusack, as bishop of Kildare, was just one of several Franciscans who were appointed to Irish bishoprics in the course of the thirteenth century.²⁵ Indeed the order itself was concerned with this development and attempted to prevent friars from being postulated to such positions.²⁶ A brief examination of the Franciscan friars being appointed to bishoprics in Ireland in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries illustrates a number of things. Their names can indicate the nationality of these friars and allow us to examine the division of office between those friars of native and Anglo-Irish origin. Secondly, it is possible to see the close ties that existed between the church in England and the church in Ireland as many of these bishops acted as suffragans in English dioceses. Finally, during the Bruce invasion bishoprics were viewed as intrinsic to English control of Ireland and the government sought to appoint trusty men to those areas that had demonstrated sedition during the period.

The first Franciscan to be elected as a bishop in Ireland was clearly of native Irish origin. In 1244 Tomás Ó Cuinn was elected bishop of Elphin, Co. Roscommon. Although his election was disputed and eventually overturned, it raised a major problem for the Franciscan order as a whole. Francis had founded the order of Friars Minor to be itinerant and mendicant – attached to neither house nor possessions and especially not limited by diocesan boundaries. For a friar to be elected as a bishop was to undermine fundamentally the basic tenets of the order. Since its inception only two other friars had been proposed to bishoprics – in Milan²⁷ and Morocco²⁸ – but these had both been papally appointed, whereas Tomás Ó Cuinn was the first Franciscan to be proposed by the canons of the see.²⁹ The Annals of Loch Cé tell us that a ‘great contention and dispute’ arose in Elphin when the archdeacon, deacon and priest objected to his election.³⁰ According to the same annals, in the following

²⁵ For examples see Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica*, i, 135, 183, 265; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, iv, 152-3; Harris, ‘Collectanea’, p. 284; *Annals of Loch Cé*, i, 403; Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, pp 15, 18, 22.

²⁶ *Cal. documents Ireland*, i, 406; *Calendar of patent rolls, 1232-47*, p. 444. Also Michael Robson, ‘Franciscan bishops of Irish dioceses active in medieval England: a guide to the materials in English libraries and archives’ in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xxxviii (1996), pp 7-39.

²⁷ This was an archbishopric.

²⁸ Friar Lupo. See Huber, *Documented history*, p. 769.

²⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. xix; Robson, ‘Franciscan bishops of Irish dioceses’, p. 9.

³⁰ ‘...volentes unum de choro eligere sicut jus fuit...’. *Annals of Loch Cé*, i, 367.

year Archdeacon John travelled to Lyons where he obtained papal confirmation despite his supporters being in the minority.³¹ Although Tomás was not elected, the Franciscan order felt obliged to deal with the issues that his nomination raised and in 1244 Henry III, in response to a request from ‘divers good men of the order of Friars Minors’, decreed that no friar of that order should ‘be elected to any dignity of archbishopric or bishopric in Ireland henceforth’ and, if elected he should not obtain assent and his election without the ‘consent and testimony of his provincial minister and the discreet friars of his order.’³² Despite this decree a Franciscan friar, Daniel, was postulated for the bishopric of Cloyne in 1247. On 12 October of that year Innocent IV ordered that David, archbishop of Cashel, and the bishops of Killaloe and Lismore make inquiry as to the validity of his postulation and, should it be found to be canonical, consecrate him to that see. The temporalities of the see were restored to Friar Daniel on 2 July 1248.³³ Tomás Ó Cuinn, described as the guardian of the Franciscan friary at Drogheda³⁴, was eventually postulated to the bishopric of Clonmacnoise in 1252, where he remained for the next twenty-seven years.³⁵ In 1256 another Franciscan of obvious Irish origin, James Ó Lachtnáin, was postulated to the see of Tuam. However his appointment was overturned by Pope Alexander IV in favour of Master Walter, dean of St Paul’s London, who claimed that the postulation of James, ‘a Friar Minor’, was not acceptable to the pope.³⁶

Fitzmaurice and Little provide a list of those friars who were provided to Irish bishoprics through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and beyond.³⁷ Through the thirteenth and into the early fourteenth century the names indicate that it was

³¹ ‘Magister vero Johannes electus in Elfinensem episcopum per Clarum archidiaconum ejusdem sedis, et per Malachiam decanum cathedralem, et per Gelasium sacristam, perrexit ad dominum papam usque as Liuns-sur-Rhona [Lyons] ubi fuit in exilio a sede Romana, dejectus per Romanorum imperatorem; et tantam gratiam habuit in oculis domini papae et curiae Romanae quod cassata electione facta de Comarb Coman per juniores Elfinensis chori canonicos, electio de ipso facta per majores licet pauciores reverenter obtinuit, et quod dominus Papa misit literas suas cum ipso ad Tuamensem archiepiscopum, ut in episcopum consecratur.’ Ibid., i, 371

³² ‘Rex universis capitulis Ecclesiarum Cathedralium et Ordinis fratrum minorum in Hibernia salutem. Cum nonnulli boni viri de ordine Fratrum Minorum nobis supplicarunt quod concederemus eisdem quod nullus Frater ordinis sui ad aliquam dignitatem Archiepiscopatus sive Episcopatus in Hibernia wligatur de caetero, nec si aliquis Fratrum eorundem forte sic eligatur idem Electus assensum praebere possit hujusmodi Electioni sine Consensu et Testimonio Ministri sui Provincialis et Fratrum ejusdem Ordinis discretorum.’ Harris, ‘Collectanea’, p. 275; *Patent rolls, 1232-47*, p. 444.

³³ Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica*, ii, 135.

³⁴ ‘...custodem fratrum Minorum de Ponte Armachane diocesis...’.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 183; *Annals of Loch Cé*, i, 403

³⁶ Sheehy, *Pontificia Hibernica*, ii, 265.

³⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 211.

predominantly native Irish friars who were being appointed to bishoprics – Ualter Ó Mithigéin, Alanus Ó Longáin, Uilliam Ó Dubthaigh, Domnall Ó Bráein, Michael Mac Lochlainn and Gilbertus Ó Tigernaig.³⁸ Of these men at least one, Bishop Gilbertus, served as a suffragan in England thus showing the close ties that existed between the English and Irish churches prior to the Bruce invasion of Ireland. On 3 December 1310 the *Liber Albus* of Worcester priory records that Ó Tigernaig wrote to the prior, John de Wyke, announcing his return from Ireland. In this letter he informed the prior that he had worked as a suffragan in several English dioceses, including Chichester and Coventry, and that he would be visiting the priory a week later. In August 1313 the *Liber* records that Walter Reynolds delegated the consecration of churches, altars and cemeteries and the confirmation of children to Ó Tigernaig so busy was he with royal business.³⁹ Another of these friars with an Irish name but not with Irish sympathies was Friar Malachy of Limerick, whose disputed election to Tuam took place between 1279 and 1286. This Franciscan was probably the author of a treatise on the seven deadly sins called the *Venenum Malachiae*⁴⁰ in which, among other things, Malachy denounced the hereditary bards of the Irish as one of the poisons which infest Ireland ‘by whose accursed praises the robber chiefs are so puffed up with pride that they cannot be converted to any good.’⁴¹ He also had a poor opinion of the sexual morals of the Irish, especially Irish women, and one of his biggest complaints was of the spendthrift hospitality of the indigenous population. He felt that the Irish showed excessive generosity, but only in order to impress. Two friars clearly of Anglo-Irish origin were John de Alneto and the aforementioned Nicholas Cusack. The former was appointed bishop of Raphoe in 1263 but excused from his see in 1265, having pleaded incurable infirmity.⁴² The latter, as already seen, was clearly English in his sympathies, his letter to Edward I illustrating suspicion and hostility towards the native Irish. We have a record of this bishop being invited by the abbot of Bury St Edmund’s John of Northwold,

³⁸ Elected to the following bishoprics respectively: Ross (1269), Cloyne (1275), Tuam (1279), Clonmacnoise (1290), Clonmacnoise (1303), Annaghdown (1306).

³⁹ J. M. Wilson (ed.), *The Liber albus of the priory of Worcester* (London, 1919), no. 609, p. 41; Robson, ‘Franciscan bishops of Irish dioceses’, p. 28

⁴⁰ Fitzmaurice and Little, op. cit., pp 56-7 say that the full title under which it was printed was: ‘F. Malachie Hibernici, ordinis minorum, doctoris theologi, strenui quondam diuini verbi illustratoris necnon vitiorum obiurgatoris acerrimi Libellus, septem peccatorum mortalium venena eorumque remedia describens; qui dicitur Venenum Malachiae’. See also Mario Esposito, ‘Friar Malachy of Ireland’, *English Historical Review*, xxxiii (1918), pp 359-66.

⁴¹ Fitzmaurice and Little, op. cit., p. xxvi.

⁴² Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, pp 92, 96.

sometime between 1280 and 1294 to come and perform certain duties. He needed the abbot's permission since, by papal privilege, no one could 'exercise episcopal functions within the boundaries of St Edmund's liberty without his [the abbot's] consent.'⁴³

The appointment of these friars to bishoprics and their involvement as suffragans in England shows that, despite recommendations that Irishmen be excluded from episcopal sees, native Irish friars continued to be appointed. It also shows that these native friars functioned as suffragans in England, thus demonstrating that throughout the thirteenth century these friars were concerned less with the politics of the age and more with carrying out their episcopal duties. Towards the end of the thirteenth and into the early decades of the fourteenth century there was a clear sea-change in appointees to bishoprics, whereby the majority of Franciscans appointed were clearly of English or Anglo-Irish origin. In some cases these men also held important administrative posts. Friar Stephen de Fulburn, bishop of Waterford, was also justiciar of Ireland until his death in 1288 and he was replaced in the post by the archbishop of Dublin, the Franciscan John de Saunford.⁴⁴ In 1290 the provincial prior of the Dominicans, William de Hothum,⁴⁵ succeeded de Saunford as archbishop of Dublin and he, in turn, was replaced by William Darlington, also a Dominican. In the following century Richard Ledred and Robert le Petit were two Franciscans obviously not of native Irish origin, and Ralph Kilmessan was probably a third, who were appointed to bishoprics in the years after the invasion, while Edward II's attempts to get Geoffrey of Aylsham appointed to the archbishopric of Cashel clearly illustrate the significance the crown placed on such strategically important positions.

⁴³ '[ohannes] eiusdem permissione abbas Sancti E[dmundi] salutem in scinceram in domino caritatem. Cum ex speciali romanorum pontificum indulgentia nobis nostroque [mo]nasterio fuerit acsi privilegialiter indultum, ne quis nostro irrequisito consensu infra septa nost[tri] teritorii actus aliquos excerceret episcopales set nostro spontaneo arbitrio prelatum pro nostra et n[ost]ra necessitate eligeremus, hinc est quod vestram paternitatem duximus exorandam quatinus ad nostrum mo[na]sterium declinantes vestri officii debitum in instanti solemnitate Quatuos Temporum, pro nostra util[itate] ad dei honorem et laudem, explicare dignemini gratiose voluntatem vestram in premissis de equo et aliis necessariis vobis mittendis per presentium portitorem nobis si placet rescribentes. Valeat.' A. Gransden (ed), *The letter book of William of Hoo, sacrist of Bury St Edmunds*, Suffolk Records Society, v (Ipswich, 1963), pp 117-18, no. 217; Robson, 'Franciscan bishops of Irish dioceses', pp 29-9.

⁴⁴ 'Brevis synopsis', p. 185.

⁴⁵ Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 481.

The death of Clement V in April 1314 left the Roman see vacant until August 1316 when the college of cardinals appointed John XXII as his replacement. Thus, as Watt points out, Edward Bruce had already been proclaimed king of Ireland when John became pope.⁴⁶ In 1316 the English king was facing difficulties on a number of fronts. The Anglo-Scottish war was ongoing, Edward Bruce had a strong presence in Ireland and in the same year Llywelyn Bren led an uprising in Wales. It is not surprising that he should seek to enlist the sympathy and support of the new pope in securing appointments favourable to the Crown in Ireland, and papal condemnation for his enemies.⁴⁷ In 1316 the archdioceses of Dublin and Cashel were vacant and Edward sought to ensure that favourable candidates were appointed in both sees. Alexander Bicknor, an Englishman and former treasurer of Ireland, was elected archbishop of Dublin 1317. A letter had been sent to Clement V in January 1314 giving Edward II's assent to his election, stating that he had been unanimously elected by the dean and canons of St Patrick's and the Church of the Holy Trinity, and that he was highly spoken of by Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster and other Irish nobles.⁴⁸ Because of the papal vacancy this appointment came to nothing until 1317, and it was not until the following year, on 9 October 1318, that he was 'received with a procession and great honour by the religious and others of the clergy and laity', having made a solemn entry into Dublin city.⁴⁹ The vacant archdiocese of Cashel was a little more problematic. The nominations had split between two candidates⁵⁰ and on 20 August 1316 Edward II wrote to eight cardinals stressing the importance of having an Englishman in the diocese and proposing Geoffrey of Aylsham, a Franciscan, as archbishop. In this letter Edward described the state of Ireland as being one of war, contention and miserable oppression and the archdiocese of Cashel as 'situated among pure Irish, men bestial and ignorant'. He complained that these Irishmen were a great danger to both the crown and its adherents in Ireland, especially in Cashel where the Scots had recently entered and committed 'various

⁴⁶ On 20 August 1316. Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, part i, 293; Watt, *Church and two nations*, pp 184-5.

⁴⁷ J. A. Watt, 'Negotiations between Edward II and John XXII concerning Ireland', in *Irish Historical Studies*, x (1956-7), p. 1.

⁴⁸ *Patent rolls*, 1313-17, p. 79; *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee (London, 1908), pp 473-4.

⁴⁹ J. T. Gilbert, *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin* (London, 1884-6), ii, p. 359.

⁵⁰ '...venerabilem patrem Johannem episcopum Corcagensem, postularunt in archiepiscopum ecclesiae supradictae: Quidam vero alii canonici ejusdem ecclesiae, ad ecclesiam Cashellensem accedentes, magistrum Thomam, archidiaconum ecclesiae illius, in suum archiepiscopum elegerunt...'. Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 97.

shameful acts', causing the people there to join with them, making common cause and rebellion.⁵¹ In order to promote tranquillity and reform Edward suggested the appointment of Geoffrey, a Franciscan for whom he had great affection as a man well versed in the practice of his religion.⁵² On 4 January 1317 Edward II formally sought Geoffrey's election from John XXII but, for reasons we do not know, he was passed over by the pope in favour of William FitzJohn, bishop of Ossory and chancellor of Ireland since August 1316.⁵³ Thus the appointment of bishops and archbishops, although it had always had political connotations for the English crown, took on an especial significance during and after the Bruce invasion. English appointees were sought to secure or, in the case of Cashel, subdue the native Irish and this situation was reflected in the history of the Franciscan order from the latter decades of the thirteenth century. As Watt says, 'the order came to reflect within itself the strife of the country as a whole, as it moved inexorably to the separation of an Irish from an Anglo-Irish part of the province.'⁵⁴

One of the events that perhaps best illustrates this growing dissension, as well as the problem of locating contemporary records, is an incident that may or may not have taken place in 1291. In that year, according to the *Annals of Worcester* and Bartholomew of Cotton's *Historia Anglicana*, a provincial chapter held in Cork resulted in the deaths of sixteen friars. The Worcester annalist tells us that on 10 June there was a general chapter of the Friars Minor held at Cork 'where the Irish friars came armed with a papal bull: a dispute having arisen regarding this, they fought against the English friars; and after many had been killed and wounded...the English

⁵¹ '...Nos considerantes statum terrae Hibernie, qui, furente quorundam insania, bellis et contentionibus variis miserabiliter oppressus est hiis diebus; et quod, si quisquam Hibernicus praeficiatur in archiepiscopum ecclesiae supradictae, quae inter puros Hibernicos, homines siquidem bestiales et indoctos, situatur, majora pericula nobis et fidelibus nostris in dicta terra poterunt de facili evenire; praesertim cum jam quamplures ex illis, relicta ligintia sua Scotis, inimicis nostris, nuper quasdam partes in dicta terra hostiliter ingressis, et varia ibidem committendo flagitia, prodionaliter adhaeserunt, et nobis, una cum ipsis, inimice palam effecti sunt et rebelles...'. Ibid., pp 97-8.

⁵² '...Ac sperantes quod, per sollicitudinem praelati ydonei, dictae ecclesiae praeficiendi, dictorum rebellum tumultus melius sedari poterunt et pacis tranquillitas facilius reformari..., tunc dilectum nobis in Christo fratrem Galfridum de Ailham (Aylsham) de ordine Minorum, virum utque in religionis observantia probatum et divini verbi exhortatione facundum, velitis, si placet, eidem domino summo Pontifici, nostri rogaminis contemplatione, sinceris affectibus commendare; et ut idem frater G, regimini dictae ecclesiae praeponeatur, intuitu Dei et nostri, efficaciter interponere partes vestras.' Ibid., p. 98.

⁵³ For a more detailed account of Geoffrey's postulation see Watt, 'Negotiations between Edward II and John XXII concerning Ireland', pp 1-3; idem., *Church and two nations*, pp 184-5.

⁵⁴ Watt, *Church and two nations*, p. 181.

at length gained the victory by the help of the city...'. He adds 'papal bulls are disastrous to the friars, and turn gentle and mild men into fighters.'⁵⁵ The Norwich monk adds slightly more detail telling us that 'The minister general of the Order of St Francis, making visitation throughout the world, came to Ireland to visit there and in his general chapter, sixteen brothers with their brethren were slain, several were wounded and some more imprisoned by action of the king of England.'⁵⁶ The validity of this account has been questioned, not least because the only two accounts are both English Benedictine annals and relations between friars and monks in England were strained at this time.⁵⁷ In conjunction with the bias evident in the English annals are several other factors that call the event into question. F. J. Cotter points out that the Worcester annalist referred to a general chapter of the Franciscan order being held at Cork. Although this argument is based on semantics it is an important point as the meeting held at Cork was a provincial chapter not a general one, a crucial difference in terms of Franciscan governance.⁵⁸ Secondly he cited the issue of timing. Cotton claimed that the minister general, Raymond Gaufredi, attended the chapter meeting but records show that he arrived in Ireland in September, some months after the province met. There is some speculation that the minister general might have been obliged to visit the Irish friars in the aftermath of such a scandalous affair⁵⁹ but, because he had made a visitation of England in August, it seems logical to assume that this visit to Ireland was merely part of a general visitation of the northern European provinces.⁶⁰ The final issue surrounding the historicity of this incident is a lack of evidence. There is a reference to a papal bull armed with which the native Irish friars came to the chapter, and that a disagreement over this document was the source of the strife. Yet no bull has yet been uncovered which might explain the conflict. Also, with such an unusual

⁵⁵ 'Bullae papales sunt fratribus exitiales, Qui quondam mites, faciunt nunc praelia, lites.' 'Annales prioratus de Wygornia', p. 505; *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. Richard Howlett (2 vols, London, 1882), ii, xiv.

⁵⁶ 'Tempore sub eodem generalis minister ordinis Sancti Francisci per mundum universum visitando, in Hirlandam causa visitandi accessit, et in capitulo suo generali xvi fratres cum confratribus suis interfecti sunt, nonnulli vulnerati sunt, et quidam eorum per regem Angliae incarcerationati sunt.' *Bartholomei de Cotton monachi Norwicensis historia Anglicana*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1859), p. 431.

⁵⁷ See Chapter Two.

⁵⁸ Cotter, *Friars Minor in Ireland*, pp 34-5.

⁵⁹ See Watt, *Church and two nations*, pp 182-3.

⁶⁰ For an account of the minister general's itinerary, see A. G. Little, 'Two sermons of Fr. Raymon Gaufredi, minister general, preached at Oxford 1291', *Collectanea Franciscana*, vi (1934), pp 161-74; Cotter, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

incident taking place one might assume that the Irish annals would at least make a brief reference to it. John Clyn, the Franciscan annalist, merely records the occasion of a provincial chapter at Cork in that year,⁶¹ while the *Annals of the Four Masters* and the seventeenth century histories of the order written by Donagh Mooney and Luke Wadding make no mention of any such event.⁶²

In spite of the contrary evidence, eminent historians such as Canice Mooney⁶³ and Watt⁶⁴ have accepted the validity of the incident, while Bernadette Williams in her 1992 doctoral thesis argues that the incident cannot be dismissed too easily since there are two seemingly independent sources that record the event.⁶⁵ However, although both annals are Benedictine, no obvious link can be found between the authors.⁶⁶ In conjunction with this are two further pieces of evidence that may corroborate the Norwich and Worcester accounts. The first is an entry included by FitzMaurice and Little in their *Materials* which states '[civi]tatibus regiis utpote de Cork'⁶⁷ but the rest of the letter is so mutilated that the context is lost.⁶⁸ The second is a patent letter issued on 17 September in that year. In it Edward I expressed a desire that 'peace and concord may prevail among the brothers of the Order of the Franciscans in Ireland.' To this end he commanded that the 'justiciary and sheriffs, bailiffs and ministers in that country ... assist Brother Reymund, general minister of that order, and the other brothers commissioned in his place, that they may freely when need be, correct the excesses of the brothers according to the discipline of their order, and restrain those who rebel against it.'⁶⁹ Obviously there was some cause for concern within the order in Ireland, and it is possible that an incident in Cork could have prompted Edward to write such a letter. However it was about this time that Friar Nicholas had reported the treasonous and rebellious actions of the native Irish friars, and this letter may have been a response to those warnings. Indeed the relevance of the incident may not lie in whether it is true or not; that two English

⁶¹ 'Capitulum Cork.' Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling, *The annals of Ireland*, ed. Richard Butler (Dublin, 1849) p. 10.

⁶² Wadding, *Annales*; Brendan Jennings, 'Brussels MS 3947'; The Four Masters, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland from the earliest times to the year 1616*, ed. John O'Donovan (Dublin, 1990).

⁶³ Mooney, *Racialism in the Franciscan order*, pp 12-13.

⁶⁴ See above.

⁶⁵ Williams, *The Latin Franciscan Anglo-Irish annals of medieval Ireland*, pp 66-8.

⁶⁶ Gransden, *Historical writing in England c.550 to c.1307*, pp 444, 449.

⁶⁷ The city of Cork is governed as usual.

⁶⁸ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, pp 52-3.

⁶⁹ *Cal. documents Ireland*, iii, 422.

annals record tension between the two nations in the Irish Franciscan province shows that the racial divide developing there was common knowledge. Possibly as a result of this incident, in May 1312 the Irish province lost the right to elect a provincial minister and the power was vested in the minister general, with the advice of good men of the order.⁷⁰ Colmán Ó Clabaigh, however, disputes this, claiming that the Irish province had always been one of three provinces which, by virtue of being so distant from the central administration of the order, had traditionally had their provincial minister appointed by the minister general and that this was merely formalised in 1312.⁷¹

By the time of Edward Bruce's arrival in Ireland in 1315 there is ample evidence to suggest that the Franciscan order would reflect the divisions that his invasion engendered in the country as a whole. Nicholas Cusack had warned Edward I as far back as possibly 1284/5 about religious holding 'secret counsels and poisonous colloquies' with Irish princes in order to foster rebellion, while reports of the incident in Cork, whether true or not, suggest that rumours of racial conflict within the order had travelled as far as England. Even the papacy had deemed the Irish Franciscan province untrustworthy and had limited its independence in the matter of choosing a provincial minister. To understand correctly the role played by the friars, Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland must be viewed in the context of events in Scotland, since it signified an expansion of the Scottish war with England to that country. Historians such as Seán Duffy have put forward compelling evidence for political links between Wales, Scotland and Ireland in the period from the middle of the thirteenth century and throughout the Scottish wars of independence.⁷² Indeed Edward I can be seen as the common thread that eventually bound the fates of the three countries together. He had completed his conquest of Wales by 1284 and begun

⁷⁰ 6 May 1312 Clement V issued his papal bull *Exivi de paradiso*: '... Verum si ministro praedicto et in capitulo generalibus ex certa ac rationabili causa videtur aliquando in provinciis Ultra marina [in Terra Sanctae], Hiberniae, Graeciae sue Romaniae, in quibus hacatenus alius providendi modus dicitur ex causa certa et rationabili fuisse servatus, expedire, ministrum provinciale per ministrum generalem cum proborum ordinis consilii potius quam per capituli praedicti electionem praefici: in provinciis Hiberniae et etiam Ultramarina irrefragabiliter, in Romaniae vero vel Graeciae, quando minister dictae provinciae moreretur vel absolveretur citra mare, illa vice servetur absque dolo partialitate et fraude.' Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 94.

⁷¹ Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland 1400-1534* (Dublin, 2002), p. 38.

⁷² Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea Region*; idem, 'The Bruce brothers and the Irish Sea world, 1306-29', *Cambridge Medieval Studies*, xxi (1991), pp 55-86; idem, 'Medieval Scotland and Ireland: overcoming the amnesia', *History Ireland*, vii, no. 3 (1999), pp 17-21.

his war with Scotland in 1296. In 1316 his son Edward II was facing a rebellion in Wales, the continuance of his father's war in Scotland and was now fighting the Scots on a new front – Ireland – opened up by Edward Bruce in May of the previous year. To view the Bruce invasion of Ireland as separate somehow from the events that preceded it would be to present only part of a wider picture, one where elements of the Franciscan order can be seen to encourage the native populaces in their wars against the English in all three countries.

Duffy has argued that the Scots only truly felt sympathy for the Welsh when they faced a similar fate in 1292.⁷³ Indeed, both he and Geoffrey Barrow have put forward the case that the rebellion of Madog ap Llywelyn in 1294⁷⁴ 'stiffened the resolve' of the Scots, who quickly sought to release themselves from the oaths they had been forced to make to Edward I in 1292.⁷⁵ They followed this up by becoming signatories to the treaty drawn up between the French and Norwegian kings in October 1295,⁷⁶ an act which Edward I interpreted as an act of war. On 16 December he summoned his army to assemble at Newcastle by 1 March the following year for a muster into Scotland. By this time he had also ordered that all ports and merchant towns of Ireland were to prohibit to be taken out of Ireland 'any victual or other thing which [might] advantage any person in Scotland.'⁷⁷ Edward himself, however, had no such qualms about plundering Ireland to prosecute his war in Scotland and over the course of the war provisioned his armies with corn, wine, ships and men.⁷⁸ Thus long before Edward Bruce arrived in Ireland the country was involved in the Anglo-Scottish war. Indeed his brother Robert Bruce already had strong connections with the country. His father-in-law was Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster and, as lord of Carrick, he had claim to lands on the coast of Antrim and Derry, including Olderfleet (Larne), Glenarm, and lands near Coleraine and Port Stewart.⁷⁹ Following John Comyn's

⁷³ Duffy, 'Medieval Scotland and Ireland', p. 21.

⁷⁴ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i, 48; *Chron. Lanercost*, pp 156-7; 'Annales de Oseneia', pp 338-9.

⁷⁵ Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea Region*, p. 166; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 63.

⁷⁶ See Chapter Four.

⁷⁷ Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea Region*, p. 167.

⁷⁸ See J. F. Lydon, 'The years of crisis 1254-1315' in F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, Art Cosgrove, J. R. Hill (ed), *New History of Ireland* (Oxford, 1987), ii, pp 179-204; idem, 'An Irish army in Scotland, 1296', *The Irish Sword*, v (1961-2), pp 184-90; idem, 'Irish levies in the Scottish wars, 1296-1302', *The Irish Sword*, v (1961-2), pp 207-17; idem, 'Edward I, Ireland and the war in Scotland, 1303-4', *England and Ireland in the later Middle Ages*, ed. J. F. Lydon (Dublin, 1972), pp 43-61.

⁷⁹ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, p. 163.

murder in the Franciscan church at Dumfries on 10 February 1306, Bruce was forced to flee Scotland and it is believed that he took refuge for a period of time on Rathlin Island off the coast of Antrim.⁸⁰ Certainly at this time Scottish agents were in Ulster, being received by certain ‘religious persons and others.’⁸¹ Although there is no mention of whom these ‘religious persons’ are, it indicates that as early as 1306 the Scots enjoyed support amongst some religious of Ireland, at least in Ulster. Dauvit Broun and Seán Duffy have both put forward the idea the Bruce wrote a letter addressed to the kings, prelates, clergy and inhabitants of all Ireland at this time⁸² while Geoffrey Barrow believes it was written about 1315.⁸³ The date of the letter is not relevant to this thesis but the message is, for in it Bruce firmly ties the Scottish cause to that of Ireland’s. In this letter he speaks of the ‘common language and custom’ shared by ‘our people and yours... who were sprung from the seed of one nation.’⁸⁴ Bruce claimed that he was sending the bearers of the letter to negotiate with the Irish ‘about permanently strengthening and maintaining inviolate the special friendship’ that the two countries enjoyed so that ‘our nation’ might recover her ancient liberty. Whether this letter was written in 1306 or 1315 there is no question but that Bruce intended to invoke a common heritage and therefore a common threat that Ireland and Scotland faced in a war with England. This theme of a common cause is further taken up by a contemporary observer writing after Bruce’s defeat of Aymer de Valence upon his return to Scotland. In a letter to an unnamed English official dated 15 May 1307, an eye-witness spoke of false preachers who now told the people that they had found a prophecy of Merlin which stated that, after the death of ‘le Roy Coveytous’, the people of Scotland and Wales would band together ‘and have full lordship and live in peace together to the end of the world.’⁸⁵ Thus the Welsh also stood to gain their liberty should Bruce succeed against the English in Scotland.

⁸⁰ Duncan, ‘Scots Invasion of Ireland’, p. 102; Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, p. 135; Lydon, ‘Bruce invasion of Ireland’, pp 113-14; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 163-4.

⁸¹ Lydon, ‘Bruce invasion of Ireland’, p. 114.

⁸² Dauvit Broun, *The Irish identity of the kingdom of the Scots* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 1; Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, p. 135.

⁸³ Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

⁸⁴ ‘...populus noster et vester ab olim liberi ab uno processimus germine nacionis...’. *Regesta Regum Scottorum* (Edinburgh, 1958-), v, 695; Ranald Nicholson, ‘A sequel to Edward Bruce’s invasion’ in *Scottish Historical Review* xlii (1963), pp 30-40.

⁸⁵ See Chapter Four for a discussion of these ‘false preachers’.

There are as many theories as to why the Bruce brothers expanded their war with England into Ireland, as there are histories of the Bruce invasion of Ireland.⁸⁶ From Robert Bruce's letter to the Irish it seems clear that he sought to evoke in them a commonality of cause, 'our nation' against those threatening their liberty, and perhaps Edward Bruce was merely a facilitator for the Irish element of this pan-Gaelic struggle. Whatever their reasons, Ireland's role in the Anglo-Scottish war was dramatically altered for the next three years. No longer was the country a passive provisioner of both Scots and English, but was now fully engaged in a war of her own. The Bruce invasion itself has been evaluated by many fine Irish and Scottish historians to the point where every minor skirmish has been investigated in depth. Each of these histories mentions in passing the role played by the religious in stirring up support either for or against the Scots in Ireland. Although the part played by the religious was minor in the context of the over-all war, it was considered important enough that several letters were sent between the papacy and the English crown expressing concern over these activities. The Franciscans especially were singled out as fomenters of rebellion, exhorting the people to rise up against the English in Ireland.

In May 1315 Edward Bruce, earl of Carrick and brother of Robert, king of Scotland, landed with a fleet of ships near Larne in the north of Ulster.⁸⁷ Thus began the Bruce invasion and almost immediately mendicant friars were witness to the events. Having attacked Rathmore, the Scots then burnt the towns of Dundalk and Ardee, before retreating to Coleraine.⁸⁸ The Franciscan annalist John Clyn tells us that when the Scots, together with the Irish, burnt the town of Dundalk they plundered the house of the Friars Minors there, destroying books, chalices, clothes and vestments and killing

⁸⁶ For example: '...Premiserat quoque fratrem suum Edwardum cum electa manu militum in Hiberniam, qui gentem ullam adversus regem Anglie excitaret, et terram si posset sue dominationi subiceret. Et erat rumor quod, si ibidem ad votum proficeret, statim ad partes Wallie se transferret, et Walenses similiter contra regem nostrum procuraret. Hec enim duo genera facilliter in rebellionem excitantur, et iugum servitutis egre ferentes dominationem Anglorum execrantur.' *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, p. 61. For a few of the different contemporary theories see Duncan, 'The Scots invasion of Ireland, 1315', pp 100-4; McNamee, *Wars of the Bruces*, p. 166; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, pp 315-16; Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 13; Lydon, 'Impact of the Bruce invasion', pp 275-302; Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland', pp 4-10; Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea Region*, p. 195; idem, 'The Bruce brothers', p. 55.

⁸⁷ See *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 268; *Annals of Inisfallen*, p. 419 etc.

⁸⁸ See Seán Duffy, 'The Bruce Invasion of Ireland: a revised itinerary and chronology' in Seán Duffy (ed.), *The Bruces Irish Wars, the invasions of Ireland 1306-1329* (Stroud, 2002), pp 9-44 for Edward Bruce's progress through Ireland.

many.⁸⁹ A later history adds that the guardian of the convent was killed, along with twenty-three of his friars.⁹⁰ The assault was so destructive that the Dublin government provided the town with nearly £50 for repairs for the town ‘recently robbed and burned by the Scots.’⁹¹ An entry in the *Annals of Inisfallen* describes Bruce’s subsequent retreat to Coleraine, pursued by Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster. According to this account, Bruce became alarmed at the pursuit and burned the whole town, saving only the Dominican friary there.⁹² In September of the same year Edward II ordered the justiciar, Edmund le Botiller, to take information concerning the residence of Irish friars and clerks amongst the English in Ireland, whereby danger might arise to the cities, boroughs and towns of the country.⁹³ Thus in three separate records we have an immediate idea of the experiences of the Franciscans at the start of the Bruce Invasion – in the first their friary at Dundalk was plundered and many of its friars were killed; in the second Coleraine was burned but the Dominican friary was spared;⁹⁴ while in the third there was a warning that friars were adhering to the Scots. What is particularly interesting about these three accounts is that they demonstrate, over a very short period of time, how the mendicant orders of Ireland experienced the Bruce invasion in very different ways: the Franciscan house at Dundalk was burned by the Scots, yet the Dominicans of Coleraine were spared; while in September no distinction was made between the orders, Edward expressing concern about Irish friars in general possibly threatening the security of the areas in which they lived.

⁸⁹ ‘...Eodem anno Scoti cum Hibernicis combusserunt Dondalk et locum Fratrum spoliarunt libris, pannis, calicibus, vestimentis, et multos occiderunt.’ Clyn, *Annalium Hiberniae*, pp 11-12.

⁹⁰ ‘Temporibus Eduardi Regis Angliae, Scotobritanni facta irruptione in proximas sibi Hiberniae partes, civitatem Dundalkensem in Ultonia depredantes incenderunt, ablatisque libris, calicibus, et ornamentis Conventus Sancti Francisci in eadem civitate, gardinaum et 23 ex ipsis fratribus crudeliter occiderunt Anno Domini 1315.’ ‘Brevis Synopsis’, p. 173.

⁹¹ Lydon, ‘Impact of the Bruce invasion’, pp 285-6. According to Brendan Smith a similar fate befell the Carmelite friars of Ardee. The men, women and children of the town sought refuge in the friary church there, but it was burned down by supporters of Edward Bruce: *Colonisation and conquest: the English in Louth, 1170-1330* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 110. See also *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, p. 286.

⁹² *Annals of Inisfallen*, p. 419.

⁹³ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, pp 94-5.

⁹⁴ Duffy believes this house was spared because it was founded by the Ó Catháins, Irish allies of Bruce. However, although Gwynn and Hadcock name the Ó Catháins as possible founders, they believe it more probable that the house was founded by the MacEvelins (Mac Quillans). See Duffy, ‘The Bruce Invasion of Ireland’, p. 16; *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, p. 223.

Bruce was initially successful in prosecuting his war in Ireland but his arrival coincided with one of the most severe periods of famine in Europe in the medieval period and the presence of his army added to the general hardship. The indiscriminate nature of Bruce's warfare meant that churches and friaries continued to be caught up in the fighting, and in two accounts we have records of the Scots spoiling religious institutions across Ulster.⁹⁵ Yet, despite the hardship suffered by their brethren in Ulster, Bruce seems to have enjoyed widespread support among the religious of Ireland. As his army moved south out of Ulster we have a record of Brother Robert, prior of St Mary's Abbey in Louth, being accused of entertaining Edward Bruce and other Scottish enemies of the king, as well as warning them that the justiciar was gathering an army to destroy them. He was fined £40.⁹⁶ However it was the mendicant orders, and especially the Franciscans, who were singled out as adhering to Bruce's cause. Edward II's letter to Edmund le Botiller in September 1315 had warned of 'friars' in dangerous areas but in 1316 he was more specific. On 20 August of that year he wrote to the minister general of the Franciscan order, Michael Cesena, with reference to rebellious friars of that order in Ireland. This is the first clear indication we have that it was native Irish Franciscan friars who were leading religious support for Bruce in Ireland. In this letter, entitled 'Correcting the friars of the order of Minors in Ireland', Edward complained that friars of the Irish province were in confederation with the Scots, instigating rebellion and exhorting the people to support Bruce.⁹⁷ He informed the minister general that he was sending two friars – Geoffrey of Aylsham, whom he proposed for the archbishopric of Cashel,⁹⁸ and Thomas Godman, provincial minister of the Irish province. These friars were to provide the minister general with full information regarding the activities of these

⁹⁵ '...Monasteria Sancti Patricii de Duno et de Saballo et diversa alia tam monachorum quam canonicorum Predictorum et Minorum spoliatur in Ultonia a Scotis...' *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey Dublin*, ii, 352; *Holinshed's Irish Chronicle*, ed. Liam Miller and Eileen Power (Dublin, 1979), pp 210-11.

⁹⁶ *Medieval religious houses Ireland*, p. 186; Smith, *Colonisation and conquest*, p. 110; Lydon, 'Bruce invasion of Ireland', p. 115.

⁹⁷ '...Quia, ex frequentibus relatibus diversorum fidelum nostrorum, didicissem quod quidam Fratres Hibernici de vestro Ordinis, suae professionis immemores, et rejecta propriae honestate, quosdam, de ligeantia nostra, in Terra nostra Hiberniae, ad Confoederationes cum Scotis, inimicis nostris, faciendas, fuis persuasionibus instigarunt (ex quibus jam in eadem Terra, tam nobis, quam fidelibus nostris, diversa dampna et dispendia contigerunt) et adhuc, de die in diem, Hibernicos laicos ad rebellandum nobis et ad adhaerendum dictis Scotis, jam dictam Terram hostiliter ingressus, modis, quibus poterunt, non definint incitare...' Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, part i, 294.

⁹⁸ See above.

rebellious friars.⁹⁹ Subsequent royal and papal letters referred to rebellious friars and religious in general throughout Ireland but in 1316 Edward's letter twice refers specifically to '*fratrum Hibernicorum*' – that is, native Irish Franciscans. As seen above, Bruce had had no compunction about burning the Franciscan house at Dundalk, yet their Irish confreres were singled out as Bruce's staunchest adherents. Clearly the racial division that opened in the 1290s had now fractured the order to the point where it demanded governmental attention. Yet Edward II's proposed manner of keeping peace in the archdiocese of Cashel, which he considered brimming over with *puros Hibernicos*, was to have the English Franciscan Geoffrey of Aylsham appointed archbishop there. Edward was attempting to appoint loyal Franciscans to troubled areas, whilst complaining of rebellious friars of the same order to their minister general.

In 1316 the spectre of the pan-Celtic alliance that Robert Bruce had alluded to in 1306 seemed a possibility. A short-lived rebellion led by Llywelyn Bren in Glamorgan had taken place, according to John de Trokelowe, because the Welsh took courage from the success of the Scots.¹⁰⁰ This was similar to the rebellion of Madog ap Llywelyn in 1294-5 which had 'stiffened the resolve' of the Scots.¹⁰¹ On 28 January 1316 Llywelyn Bren launched an attack on Caerphilly Castle and for almost two months his revolt encompassed the greater part of Glamorgan¹⁰² until he

⁹⁹ '...nos, ob specialiem affectum, quem erga vestrum Ordinem et fratres ejusden, hactenus habuimus et adhuc habemus, desiderates potius dictorum fratrum insolentiam, per vos, juxta Ordinis vestri disciplinam, cohiberi, quam per nos, seu Ministros nostros quicquam fieret contra ipsos in hac parte, dilectos nobis in Christo, fratrem Thomam Godman, Ministrum Ordinis vestri in Hibernia, et fratrem Galfridum de Aylsham, Confratres vestros, de itatu dictorum fratrum Hibernicorum informatos, ad informandum vos, conjunctum et divisim, de actibus eorundem fratrum Hibernicorum, ad vos duximus destinandos.' Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, part i, 294.

¹⁰⁰ '...Ad confusionem etiam Regis Angliae et regni, quidam in Wallia erecerunt se, oppressiones et gravamina, patribus suis ab Anglis olim illata, ad memoriam reducentes; et tempus ultionis sibi arridere cernentes, castra Regis et terras invadebant; homines Domino Regi fideliter adhaerentes, cum omnibus bonis suis, in igne et gladio consumebant, audaciam resistendi a victoria Scottorum sibi assumentes, foedusque et fiduciam cum eis ineuntes.' *Chronica Monasterii S Albani, Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blandeforde*, ed. H.T. Tiley (1866), pp 91-2.

¹⁰¹ See above.

¹⁰² '...Rex Vicecomitibus etc... Sciatis quod, Cum Lewelinus Bren, in terra de Glomorgan, quae fuit Gilberti de Clare, nuper Comitis Gloucestriae et Hertfordiae defuncti, qui de nobis tenuit in capite, et quae, per mortem ipsius Comitis, in manu nostra existit, et partibus vicinis, aggregati sibi ingenti multitudine Malefactorum et pacis nostrae perturbatorum, homicidia, depraedationes, incendia et alia dampna innumera perpetres hiis diebus, in nostri contemptum et dispendium non modicum, ac populi partium illarum terrorem manifestum, et contra pacem nostram...' Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, part i, 285. For details of Llywelyn's revolt see *Vita Edwardii Secundi*, pp 66-7, 69; Ralph Griffiths, 'The revolt of Llywelyn Bren, 1316', *Glamorgan Historian*, ii (1936), pp 186-195; Michael Altschul, 'The Lordship of Glamorgan and Morgannwg, 1217-1317' in T. B. Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History: the*

was forced to surrender on 18 March to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford. He was executed two years later - drawn and hanged, his intestines publicly burned and his limbs scattered about Glamorgan.¹⁰³ About October 1316 Edward Bruce addressed a letter to the Welsh magnates and to 'all desiring to be freed from servitude.' In this he referred to the Christian duty of all to aid their fellow man, especially when they stemmed 'from the same race, ancestors or a country of origin.'¹⁰⁴ This appeal to a common ancestry and the commonality of their cause against the English mirrors very closely Robert's emotional appeal to the Irish some years before, as well as containing elements of the rumours of Merlin's prophecy put about by the 'false preachers'.¹⁰⁵ Edward claimed that the Scots were now 'overwhelmed by sympathy with you [the Welsh] in your servitude and oppression [and] affronted by the vexations of the English' and he bound himself to the Welsh plight.¹⁰⁶ In both letters the Bruce brothers implied that freedom for the Irish and Welsh could only come through Scottish assistance something, Duncan points out, that was not borne out by the Irish experience during Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland.¹⁰⁷ As early as 21 June 1315 the English were aware of the possibility of the Bruce brothers' wars in Ireland and Scotland spilling over into Wales and had ordered that the Welsh coast be defended and its castles provisioned because of the arrival of the Scots in Ireland.¹⁰⁸ When a messenger of the bishop of 'Enadens' was caught at Caernarvon with 'litteris suspectis' - presumably Bruce's open letter to the Welsh - it must have confirmed their worst fears.¹⁰⁹ Duffy has argued that this bishop of 'Enadens' was probably the bishop of Annaghdown, the Franciscan Gilbertus Ó Tigernaig. In 1310 he had been acting as a suffragan bishop in Chichester and Coventry, among other dioceses.¹¹⁰ In 1315 he was again acting as a suffragan, this

middle ages (Cardiff, 1971), iii, p. 77; J. Beverley Smith and T. B. Pugh, 'The lordship of Gower and Kilvey in the middle ages', *Glamorgan County Historian*, iii (1971), pp 205-265.

¹⁰³ What remained of his corpse was buried with the Franciscans at Cardiff, whose friary was outside the town walls. Rice Merrick, *Morganiae archaioграфия, a book of the antiquities of Glamorganishire*, ed. Brian Ll. James (Cardiff, 1983), pp 77-8; Griffiths, 'The revolt of Llywelyn Bren, 1316', pp 195-6; Altschul, 'Lordship of Glamorgan', pp 85-6.

¹⁰⁴ J. Beverley Smith, 'Gruffydd Llywd and the Celtic alliance, 1315-18', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 26 (1976), pp 477-8.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter Four.

¹⁰⁶ Beverley Smith, 'Gruffydd Llywd', pp 477-8.

¹⁰⁷ Duncan, 'Scots Invasion of Ireland', p. 114.

¹⁰⁸ *Calendar of close rolls, 1313-18*, p. 186.

¹⁰⁹ J. Beverley Smith, 'Edward II and the allegiance of Wales', *Welsh History Review*, viii (1976), pp 139-71.

¹¹⁰ See above.

time in Hereford, something Duffy says would have had him ideally placed should the new king of Ireland, Edward Bruce, need an intermediary in his dealings with the Welsh.¹¹¹ If Gilbert Ó Tigernaig were indeed the bishop sending messengers to Wales with these ‘suspicious letters’ it confirms Edward II’s complaints regarding friars promoting the Scottish cause in Ireland.

Although the Cambro-Scottish alliance seems to have come to nothing in Ireland the situation was about to change. In the winter of 1316-17 we are told that ‘Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, came to Ireland with many gallowglasses in aid of Edward his brother, to expel the foreigners from Ireland.’¹¹² On 23 February the Scottish army had reached Castleknock and the citizens of Dublin panicked. An account by the Dublin annalist tells us that ‘by the assent of the commons of Dublin, for fear of the Scots’, St Thomas Street, together with the suburbs, the church of St Mary del Dam and St Patrick’s, was set alight.¹¹³ St John’s church and St Mary Magdalene chapel were burned in the ensuing fire. The townspeople also tore down the walls of St Saviour’s Dominican church and used the stones to build up the walls on the north side of the quay. We are told by the annalist, however, that ‘as soon as the king understood the casting down of the Friars’ Abbey, he commanded the mayor and citizens to make it up again.’¹¹⁴ Robert Bruce, unwilling to engage in a lengthy siege of the city, passed it by and continued southwards through Naas, Castledermot, Gowran, Callan, Kells, then through Cashel and Nenagh towards the Shannon. In three of these towns there were Franciscan friaries – Castledermot, Cashel and Nenagh – and we know that the Scots destroyed at least one of these, Castledermot.¹¹⁵ We also know that while passing through Naas Bruce’s army plundered churches and opened tombs.¹¹⁶ Thus in a way far more serious than that of their confreres in Scotland and Wales, the churches and friaries of Ireland were on the front-line of conflict. Robin Frame has published an itinerary of the Bruce

¹¹¹ Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea Region*, p. 218.

¹¹² *Annals of Ulster*, ii, 429.

¹¹³ ‘Et eadem nocte, per assensum concivium, per Dublinenses, pro timore Scotorum, fuit vicus Sancti Thome combustus et per dictum ignem fuit ecclesia Sancti Johannis cum capella Beate Marie Magdalene, cremata per infortunium, et omnia suburbana comburuntur Dublin, una cum monasterio Sancte Marie, et ecclesia Sancti Patricii, Dublin per dictos villanos spoliuntur...’. *Chartularies of St Mary’s Abbey Dublin*, ii, 353. See also Duffy, ‘Bruce invasion of Ireland’, p. 35.

¹¹⁴ ‘Sed postea Rex Anglie jussit eisdem Maiori et communitati ut facerent Conventum ut prius.’ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Duffy, ‘Bruce invasion of Ireland’, p. 36.

¹¹⁶ Jacobi Grace, *Annales Hiberniae*, ed. Richard Butler (Dublin, 1842), p. 81.

brothers' campaign across Munster between February and April 1317 based on the accounts taken by a clerk of wages, John Patrickschurch¹¹⁷ and this gives a clear picture of the movement of the Scottish army through Ireland. In conjunction with this we also have Friar Clyn's annals. He tells us that a great army of the magnates of Ireland gathered at Ludden near Limerick, forcing the Scots to retreat rather than join them in battle.¹¹⁸ The aid promised by Donnchad Ó Briain had failed to materialise and the Scottish army were forced back into Ulster by 1 May. Later that month Robert returned to Scotland.¹¹⁹

Early 1317 marked the apex of Scottish attempts to defeat the English in Ireland. Although Edward Bruce remained in Ulster for another eighteen months, once they had been pushed back into the province and his brother had returned to Scotland the threat to the English colony had passed. However, several significant threats to peace within the colony remained, not least of which were the rebellious clergy preaching sedition against Edward II's government. We know that Edward II was getting counsel from friars within the Irish Franciscan province as two friars from their convent at Drogheda were recorded as travelling to Clarendon for 'certain negotiations' concerning Ireland in April 1317.¹²⁰ These friars, Simon le Mercer and Adam Blound, returned to England in August of the same year for further negotiations with the king. Yet despite the support of certain religious for the English cause, there was obvious concern in both royal and papal circles regarding the activities of others of the religious orders in Ireland. On 10 April John XXII wrote to the newly appointed archbishops of Cashel and Dublin, William FitzJohn and Alexander Bicknor, about certain friars of the mendicant orders, as well as rectors,

¹¹⁷ Robin Frame, 'Select documents XXXVII: the campaign against the Scots in Munster, 1317', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxiv (1984-5), pp 361-73.

¹¹⁸ 'In Paschate, fuit magna congregatio magnatum Hibernie sub montem de Loddyn juxta Lymericum, contra Scotos; Scotis ex opposito apud castrum Conyl existentibus; et facti fuerunt ibi de Anglicis 6 milites; et in hyeme precedente dominus Ricardus de Clare tenuit magnam gardam apud Dernaht. 1317. Dominus Rogerus de Mortuo Mari justiciarius factus, applicuit in Pascha apud Yohel, cum militibus 38, exiens de navibus fecit 2 milites; et applicans ad se dominum Johannem de Brimegham, dominum Nicholaum de Verdona, ejecit omnes de nacione et cognomine de Lacy ex Hibernia; et coegit fugere ad Scotiam in estate...' Clyn, *Annalium Hiberniae*, p. 13; Lydon, 'The impact of the Bruce Invasion', p. 292.

¹¹⁹ Lydon, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

¹²⁰ '[Elemosina regis] Fratres Minores Hibernie. Fratri Simoni le Mercer et Ade le Blound, confratri suo de ordine minorum de Drougheda in Hibernia venientibus ad Regem usque Claryndon pro quibusdam negotiis ipsius domini Regis dictam terram suam Hibernie tangentibus, et redeuntibus ad easdem partes suas de dono et elemosina ipsius domini Regis nomine expensarum suarum sic redeundo per manus proprias ibidem X die Aprilis – xxs.' Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, pp 101-2.

vicars and chaplains who stirred up the Irish people against the king. Their ‘secret persuasion and base counsel’ through preaching and public advice, had promoted rebellion and provided absolution for those guilty of homicides, burnings, sacrileges and rapine.¹²¹ The pope decreed that all such offenders were to be publicly excommunicated if these activities did not cease within eight days of issuing of his mandate.¹²² There is also an obscure reference in the *Annals of Inisfallen* to an incident at Cork: ‘The Friars Minors at Corcach are cited as defendants at Corcach; they are summoned to appear in the king’s court contrary to the common and ecclesiastical law.’¹²³ This is an entry that has puzzled two of the foremost contemporary historians of the order. A. G. Little, in *Materials*, merely notes that ‘the events referred to in the last sentence remain obscure’¹²⁴ but Canice Mooney believes that they must have been indicted for encouraging the king’s enemies.¹²⁵ In the 1933 facsimile version, Eóin Mac Neill and R. I. Best provided an analysis of the script in their introduction.¹²⁶ According to their interpretation, the scribe responsible for this entry - whom they believe was ‘hand 35’ - was also responsible for the years AD 1289, 1290, 1296 and 1311-19. They make no mention of an interpolation by any other hand into this section. They also believe that this scribe was a copyist, claiming that he made too many errors and so was obviously working from a defective source. In this, they liken him to a previous scribe - ‘hand 30’ - who, they believe, was also a copyist and who was responsible for the periods 1215-53, 1253-8, 1266 and 1311.¹²⁷ By contrast, Mac Airt believes that ‘hand 30’ may have been responsible for the entry relating to the friars in Cork. This scribe was, he says, an orthodox Franciscan who added entries under several years as well as dealing with his own period and so, he believes, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this rogue entry relating to the Franciscans in Cork comes from him.¹²⁸ It is interesting to

¹²¹ ‘...nedum persuasiones occultas, et prava consilia, quin etiam per praedicationes et monita publica, temerariis oculis retrahunt, et ad impugnandum jura Regalia, et Rebellionis calcaneum, guerram turbinibus concitatis, erigendum in Regem eundem, potenter inducunt... ac etiam perpetrands in hujusmodi prosecutione guerrum homicidiis, incendiis, sacrilegiis, et rapinis, absolvere rebrobra temeritate praesumunt....’

¹²² Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, part i, 325.

¹²³ *Annals of Inisfallen*, p. 429.

¹²⁴ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 102.

¹²⁵ Mooney, *Racialism in the Franciscan order*, pp 22-3.

¹²⁶ *The Annals of Inisfallen reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript (Rawlinson B 503) in the Bodleian Library with a descriptive introduction by R. I. Best and Eóin Mac Neill* (Dublin, 1933).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 4, 20, 23.

¹²⁸ See *Annals of Inisfallen*, pp xxxvi-vii.

note that it is the friars at Cork who were named as coming before the king's court, since it was at their friary that the alleged incident in 1291 took place. Indeed Munster as a whole must have been causing grave concern to the Dublin administration since it was in reference to the postulation of Geoffrey of Aylsham to the archbishopric of Cashel that Edward II had written to the cardinals and new pope the previous year.¹²⁹

Pope John XXII was obviously kept informed of events in Ireland through correspondence with Edward II, who was keen to gain the support of the new papacy for his endeavours there. In 1317, however, the pope received a letter putting forward the Irish version of events, purporting to be from all inhabitants of the island. This 'Remonstrance of the Irish Princes' was probably written while Robert Bruce was still in the country, that is to say, before the end of May 1317,¹³⁰ and although it is of unknown authorship several possibilities have been put forward. The full text of the Remonstrance has been printed in full in Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* so there is no need to quote extensively from it here, but its main import develops the themes used by Robert and Edward Bruce in their letters to the Irish and Welsh respectively. Domnall Ua Néill, king of Tír Eóghain, is credited with commissioning the writing of the letter. In it he referred to 'the harsh and unsupportable yoke of servitude' that the country has been forced to bear at the hands of the English and how, 'in order to recover our native freedom... we are compelled to enter a deadly war.' He then justified Bruce's presence in Ireland saying that 'in order to achieve our aim more swiftly and more fitly in this matter' they had called upon Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, king of Scots 'and sprung from our noblest ancestors', and established him as 'our king and lord.'¹³¹ This reference to Robert Bruce and the Irish enjoying a common ancestry echoes strongly the sentiments put forward by Bruce on 1306 when he also spoke of the Irish and the Scots being 'sprung from one seed.' The Remonstrance was very obviously a political case being put before a churchman, as there are several references to the malpractice of religion in Ireland since the arrival of the English: the Irish complained that the terms of the papal bull *Laudabiliter* were being ignored and that 'some of their [the English] regular clergy dogmatically

¹²⁹ See above.

¹³⁰ Beverly Smith, 'Gruffydd Llwyd', p. 473.

¹³¹ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vi, 401.

assert the heresy that it is no more a sin to kill an Irishman than a dog or any other animal... And in the same way Brother Simon of the order of Friars Minors, brother of the bishop of Connor, is a particular exponent of this heresy. For in the year just past, unable to remain silent from the malignancy overflowing in his heart, he burst out shamelessly into speech like this in the court of the noble lord sir Edward Bruce earl of Carrick in the presence of the said lord (as he himself testifies), claiming that it is not a sin to kill an Irishman, and that if he himself were to commit such a deed he would nonetheless celebrate mass.¹³² That the Remonstrance should name a Franciscan, widely recognised as among the staunchest supporters of Bruce in Ireland, as making such a proclamation shows how clearly the order was divided. In the same year that John XXII was issuing his bull of excommunication against friars who preached in favour of Bruce, Friar Simon was demonstrating his contempt for the native Irish. This is possibly the same friar, Simon le Mercer, who was named as going to treat with Edward II in April of the same year and was clearly English in his sympathies.¹³³ According to the letter, at least twelve bishops of Ireland and ‘many other prelates’ were ready to defend the articles of complaint set out by the Remonstrance. In 1317 Franciscans occupied three of the bishoprics of Ireland. At least one of these, Richard Ledred, most certainly would not have signed the Remonstrance. The other two, however – Gilbertus Ó Tigernaig and Domnall Ó Bráein¹³⁴ - were probably amongst the twelve bishops named.

With regard to the author of the Remonstrance there seems to be general agreement that he must have been a clergyman and most probably Irish rather than Scots. Duncan has argued that the cross-over of phrases from Robert Bruce’s letter such as ‘*tam lingua communis quam ritus*’ into ‘*linguam nostram et conditiones...retinentes*’ in the Remonstrance shows that a borrowing must have occurred, that the author had access to the letter sent by Robert to the Irish and that therefore the Remonstrance

¹³² ‘Et similiter frater Simon de ordine Minorum Conorensis episcopi frater germanus istius heresis precipuus domini Eadwardi de Brois comitis de Carrik, ex maligni cordis habundancia silere non valens, in presencía dicti domini (prout idem testatur) in huiusmodi predicacionis verba impudenter prorupit, videlicet quod non est peccatum hominem Hiberniacum interficere, et si ipsemet istud committeret non minus ob hoc missam celebraret...’ Ibid., 396-7.

¹³³ See also J. R. S. Phillips comments regarding the Remonstrance in *Scotichronicon*, vi, pp xxi-xxiv; idem, ‘The mission of John de Hothum to Ireland, 1315-16’ in J. F. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the later middle ages: essays in honour of Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven* (Dublin, 1981), pp 62-86.

¹³⁴ Bishops of Annaghdown and Clonmacnoise respectively.

could not have been penned in Scotland.¹³⁵ To this end J. R. S. Phillips has proposed the Franciscan, Michael Mac Lachlainn. He had been elected to the archbishopric of Armagh in 1303 but had his election overturned by the then pope, Benedict XI, ostensibly because of his illegitimacy. He eventually became bishop of Derry in 1319 but Phillips believes that in 1317 he was a man whose ‘ambitions for high office had been disappointed but who still hoped for advancement.’¹³⁶ As a Franciscan, Mac Lachlainn was a member of a religious order with a proven record of dissent, one that was clearly racially divided at this stage and openly accused of preaching rebellion against the king. He was, according to Phillips, ‘exactly the sort of person who could have composed the Remonstrance.’ If he did still harbour ambitions towards high office it is only logical that he would wish to remain anonymous since the sentiments expressed in the Remonstrance were unlikely to earn its author any favours with the papacy. If, however, we are using Mac Lachlainn’s membership of the Franciscan order as a possible reason as to why he might agree to pen such a letter another candidate presents himself. Gilbertus Ó Tigernaig¹³⁷ was also a Franciscan and he possibly had a record of dealing with Edward Bruce. It was probably his representative who had been arrested in Wales with the ‘suspect letters’ exhorting the Welsh to embrace a Cambro-Scottish alliance. Thus he was a Franciscan with a track record of sympathising with the Scottish cause. Also, the Remonstrance named twelve bishops as giving it their support – Michael Mac Lachlainn was not a bishop at this date, but Gilbert Ó Tigernaig was. However he had not suffered the same ‘thwarted ambitions’ as Mac Lachlainn - if such credentials would make him a likely author - and the latter, as lector of the Franciscan house at Armagh, would have had the requisite academic training needed for a letter of such literary skill. As the author chose to remain anonymous it is impossible to say conclusively which of the two men, if either, was responsible for writing the Remonstrance, but it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that it was Ó Tigernaig rather than Mac Lachlainn.

¹³⁵ Duncan, ‘Scots Invasion of Ireland’, pp 110-111.

¹³⁶ J. R. S. Phillips, ‘The Remonstrance revisited: England and Ireland in the early fourteenth century’ in *Men, women and war: papers read before the XXth Irish conference of historians, held at Magee College, University of Ulster, 6-8 June 1991*, ed. T. B. Fraser and Keith Jeffrey (Dublin, 1993), pp 18-19.

¹³⁷ Bishop of Annaghdown and suspected of sending a messenger into Wales with suspect letters. See above.

There can have been little hope that John XXII would take the Irish side over that of the English, especially since he had issued his papal bull on 10 April threatening with excommunication all who preached sedition against the king. He did, however, write to Edward II on 13 May 1318 that he had been made aware of Irish grievances and he warned the English king to ‘scrupulously refrain from all such courses as may justly provoke against you the wrath of God.’¹³⁸ He also appointed two papal legates, cardinals Gaucelin and Luke, to go to England in the hopes of establishing a truce between the Scots and the English, but also to make inquiries ‘*ad Anglie et Scotie regne, et Hibernie ac Wallie partes, pro magnis et arduis negociis.*’¹³⁹

Edward Bruce’s invasion of Ireland ended on 14 October 1318 when he was killed in battle at Fochart, near the town of Dundalk.¹⁴⁰ According to a later tradition preserved in the *Book of Howth*, the night before the battle the English army, led by John de Bermingham, came to the south of Dundalk and camped there. De Bermingham, ‘anxious to see Bruce, the Scots captain...apparelled himself in a friar’s weed, and came to Bruce [who] was upon his knees and mass...and asked his alms. Bruce, being occupied with his book, did not make answer...’. The account continues that Bruce then looked up and said to those who stood by, “‘Serve this saucy and unportunate friar with somewhat, he doth disturb me in my service.” De Bermingham replied, “And even so doth I mean, unless I have my desired purpose”’, and he departed. Finally Bruce is reported as saying to his men, “‘I pray you sirs, where is this bold friar that hath thus disturbed me, for I assure you since I saw his face my heart was not quiet.” This friar was sought for but could not be found. “No?” said Bruce, “cannot he be had? My heart tell[s] me that this friar is Bermingham. Well”, said Bruce, “we shall meet ere evensong, where as he shall have a better reward; but it was evil done to suffer him to depart, for then we easily should win that which with great travail is doubtful to get.”’¹⁴¹ Although there may be little substance to the story, what is interesting is that it records de Bermingham as choosing the attire of a friar in which to wander into the Scottish camp. So entrenched in anecdotal evidence has the role played by the friars in supporting the

¹³⁸ Watt, ‘Negotiations between Edward II and John XXII’, p. 4.

¹³⁹ Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, part i, 648, 655; Clyn, *Annalium Hiberniae*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁰ Lydon, ‘The Impact of the Bruce Invasion’, pp 293-4.

¹⁴¹ *Calendar of the Carew Manuscript: Books of Howth Miscellaneous*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1871, 1974), ii, 144-5.

Scots in Ireland become that such a story, while almost certainly untrue, was not totally implausible. At the very least it indicates a later belief amongst the Anglo-Irish that an individual dressed as a friar might have ease of access to Edward Bruce's camp, which may have been an impression of long standing. In addition to this tradition, Thomas Walsingham places the Dominican archbishop of Armagh, Roland Jorz, at the battle.¹⁴² His presence there is upheld in a later account, which claims that the archbishop accompanied the English army to Fochart and 'blessing their enterprise, gave them such comfortable exhortation, as he thought served the time ere they began to encounter.'¹⁴³ Thus historical tradition records friars as being welcome on both sides of the battlefield prior to Bruce's death. Roland Jorz's brother, Walter, was also his predecessor in the archbishopric, as well as a Dominican. He was critically cited in the Remonstrance of 1317 as having passed an unjust statute barring all members of religious orders who 'lived in the land of peace *inter Anglicos*' from receiving into their orders any but those of the English nation.¹⁴⁴ The most vigorous upholders of this statute, the author complained, were the Dominicans, Franciscans, monks, canons and other English religious.¹⁴⁵

The Irish annals, to say the least, do not record Edward Bruce's death with any great sadness, calling him 'the destroyer of Ireland in general' and proclaiming that 'there was not done from the beginning of the world a deed that was better for the Men of Ireland.'¹⁴⁶ Bruce's campaign in Ireland had coincided with the worst famine of the age and his style of warfare had added considerably to the hardship of the native Irish. It is little wonder that he eventually had few supporters in Ireland if, as the annals report, 'theft, famine and destruction of men occurred throughout Erinn during his time, for the space of three years and a half; and people used to eat one another...'¹⁴⁷ So why did certain native Irish Franciscans adhere so closely to his cause? We know, for example, that they were not the only religious order that was racially divided about that time. In 1322 the Cistercian order in Ireland was cited for

¹⁴² '...praeter milites et nobiles supradictos, Primate de Armach pro rege Anglorum capitaneo existente...'. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i, 154.

¹⁴³ *Holinshed's Irish chronicle*, , p. 218.

¹⁴⁴ '...per quosdam episcopos Anglicos, inter quos principalis extitit vir pave prudencie et nullius sciencie archiepiscopus Hardmachanus, quoddam iniquum statutum in civitate Sancti Keymici [Kilkenny] in Hibernia...'. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vi, 393.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ See *Annals of Ulster*, ii, 433.

¹⁴⁷ See *Annals of Loch Cé*, pp 595-7.

admitting no one to the order unless they had taken an oath swearing that they were not of the English nation nor related to the English. Edward II complained to their general chapter that the house at Mellifont and others were acting ‘in contempt of the king, in opprobrium of all his nation and in subversion of his lordship.’¹⁴⁸ In response the abbot of Citeaux sent the abbots of Dore and Margam to Ireland ‘to dispose and ordain concerning houses of the order, and to compel the abbots of these houses to receive without distinction any who wish[ed] to enter the religious life, so long as they are able an/d suitable.’¹⁴⁹ This racialism in the Cistercian order, as already noted, stretched back to the early decades of the thirteenth century and the so-called ‘Conspiracy of Mellifont’, but there is little evidence to show that the Cistercians were accused of supporting Bruce in the same manner as the Franciscans were. For the latter order the repercussions were immediate. Even before Bruce’s death in October 1318 royal alms had been transferred from the Franciscan friary at Athlone to that at Cashel as the king was given to understand ‘that no English friars dwell [in Athlone] and that Irish friars occupy it at present.’¹⁵⁰ By 1324 it had become apparent that measures would have to be taken against certain friars of the order in Ireland. William Rudyard, dean of St Patrick’s and chancellor of the newly-erected university at Dublin led a papally-mandated investigation into the on-going hostilities between Irish and English Franciscans. At their provincial chapter at Dublin that year the commission’s findings were discussed. According to Rudyard’s investigation, friaries at Cork, Limerick, Buttevant, Ardfert, Nenagh, Claregalway and Athlone now harboured friars whose conduct had been deeply suspect during the recent Scottish invasion. The continued dwelling of such men in these places constituted a serious danger to the king’s peace and to the common welfare of the country unless a mix of Anglo-Irish and Irish friars were introduced to these houses. To that end Irish friars living in these places were to be scattered about the country, ensuring that no more than three or four of the least suspect remained behind in these rebellious houses. It was also decreed that no native Irish were to be appointed guardian in these houses. On 27 May Rudyard amended his decrees somewhat,

¹⁴⁸ *Close rolls*, 1318-23, p. 404. In 1274 Irish Cistercian houses had been restored to the control of Mellifont, following the petitions of the archbishop of Cashel, David Mac Carwell, to the chapter-general of the order in that year. See J. R. S. Phillips, ‘David Mac Carwell and the proposal to purchase English law, c. 1273-c. 1280’, *Peritia*, x (1996), p. 258.

¹⁴⁹ *Close rolls*, 1318-23, p. 404.

¹⁵⁰ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 129.

stating that Claregalway and Galway were to be granted a special grace enabling them to appoint guardians of the Irish nation.¹⁵¹ In the following year Friar Clyn complained that there was ‘discord, as it were universally, amongst almost all the poor religious of Ireland, some of them upholding, promoting and taking the part of their own nation, and blood and tongue.’ The general chapter of the order, meeting at Lyons that year, was obviously informed of Rudyard’s investigation and agreed with his recommendations. The minister general ordered the creation of an extra Irish custody so that the ‘suspect’ Franciscan houses at Cork, Buttevant, Limerick and Ardfert, as well as Timoleague, were placed into the new custody of Cork under the guardianship of English friars.¹⁵² In 1345 the number was once again reduced to four, the change being made necessary Watt says, by the changing balance between the two nations.¹⁵³ In a similar fashion Philip of Slane, the Dominican bishop of Cork, was sent on two missions to the papal curia in 1324 for ‘certain negotiations touching reform of our land.’¹⁵⁴ In the first of these visits he informed the pope of the need for reform of the Irish church as a whole following the divisions created by Bruce’s time in Ireland, whilst the second formalised proposals as to how this reform should be carried out. The complaints laid before the pope were that ‘discord is fomented and wars promoted because monks and regular canons in some areas have large possessions among the English and other religious in the mendicant orders in various places wish only to allow pure Irishmen to make profession in their houses...’¹⁵⁵ The bishop also singled out the native Irish mendicant friars as buying ‘certain places for friars of their own nation’ whereas they should ‘live communally and mixed

¹⁵¹ See Watt, *Church and two nations*, pp 190-2.

¹⁵² ‘Fuit discordia ut communiter inter religiosos pauperes Hybernie quasi omnes, quidam eorum nacionus sue et sanguinis et lingue partem tenentes et foventes ac promoventes... 1325 in Pentecoste capitulum generale celebratum Lugduni: ubi loca de Cork, Boton (Buttevant), Lymyric et Tartdart (Ardfert) auferentur ab Hybernicis fratribus et Anglicis et Quinta custodia assignatur, cum ante tantum fuissent quatuor custodie...’. Clyn, *Annalium Hiberniae*, p. 17; Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 120; Watt, *Church and two nations*, p. 192; Katherine Walsh, ‘Franciscan friaries in pre-Reformation Kerry’, *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, ix (1976), pp 24-5.

¹⁵³ Watt, *Church and two nations*, p. 192.

¹⁵⁴ ‘...quibusdam negotiis reformationem status terre nostre contingentibus.’

¹⁵⁵ ‘...fovetur discordia et promoventur guerre eo quod monachi in quamplurimus locis, et canonici regulares largissimas possessiones habentes in medio Anglicorum, et religiosi etiam alii in diversis locis de ordinibus mendicantium, nullos alios admittunt in suis monasteriis ad ordinem nisi mere Hybernicos, cum tamen in monasteriis Anglicis passim recepiantur Hybernici.’

throughout all the houses of their order in Ireland,¹⁵⁶ the solution proposed by William Rudyard to the Franciscan provincial chapter in 1324.

The Franciscan order, by 1325, had had its autonomy regarding the election of a provincial minister taken away, it had received papal and royal censure and native Irish friars had been scattered about the country, preventing the formation of houses of 'pure Irish' in certain areas. Their adherence to Edward Bruce in 1315-18 cannot be viewed as an isolated incident of friars rebelling against royal power in Ireland, but must instead be seen as the continuation of a period of unrest within the order that stretched from the 1280s through to 1325. With so much to lose it must be asked why certain members of the order were so vocal in their support for the Scottish cause and to do this, the actions of the friars throughout the period in Ireland, Scotland and Wales must be taken into consideration. The Franciscans in Scotland, as dealt with in the previous chapter, had wavered between supporting the English and the Scots but, by 1310 could be seen to have firmly decided in favour of Robert Bruce. There was no history of racialism within the order there - the only battle the Franciscans in Scotland had fought was to free themselves of the English province. Thus, the Bruce wars did not reveal any deep-seated divisions within Scottish friaries. In Wales the situation was even more straightforward. Welsh friars remained almost completely aloof from the politics of Edward I's war there, with a few minor exceptions. Yet towards the end of the fourteenth century, as will be discussed in the next chapter, it was the Franciscans who were among Owain Glyndŵr's staunchest supporters. Henry IV felt obliged to have friars removed from their house at Llanfaes, so overt was their support for his rebellion. It seems that Franciscan support for rebellions against the English, whether in Wales, Scotland or Ireland was something that began towards the end of the thirteenth century and developed throughout the fourteenth. The mere fact of situating their friaries amongst the poorest of the community perhaps made it inevitable that the friars would come to sympathise more with the conditions of their fellow man than with the high ideals

¹⁵⁶ '...Et quod fratres mere Hybernici de ordinibus mendicantium non se faciant parciales sicut hactenus fecerunt aliqui de dictis ordinibus vendicando sibi loca certa pro fratribus nationis sue, sed quod communiter vivant, et permixtum per omnes conventus sui ordinis dicte terre.' Full text of the letter is given in Watt, 'Negotiations between Edward II and John XXII', p. 18.

with which their order had been founded.¹⁵⁷ In the 1280s Nicholas Cusack's warning to Edward I about rebellious friars and religious signalled that racialism was becoming a reality of the order in Ireland but this did not necessarily make it inevitable that the native friars would have adhered to the Bruce cause. If the Franciscan order in Ireland had been united at that time, the destruction of friaries at Dundalk and Castledermot would have ensured that Bruce enjoyed little support from the order as a whole. Instead, those friars cited in 1324 as taking part in 'suspect activities' obviously had little sympathy for their supposed confreres who had suffered the brunt of Bruce's war, considering them less as members of the same order and more as Englishmen. The racialism that had been developing throughout the latter part of the thirteenth century definitively split the order during the Bruce invasion, ensuring that English friars such as Geoffrey of Aylsham, Adam de Blound and Simon le Mercer would continue to enjoy the trust and patronage of the king, whilst he was able simultaneously to condemn their fellow-friars for fomenting rebellion among the native Irish.

¹⁵⁷ According to Augustine Thomson, *Revival preachers and politics in thirteenth-century Italy* (Oxford, 1992), pp 9-10, in Italy the people turned more and more to the mendicants to provide for their religious needs, because the bishops and their clergy looked 'suspiciously like the allies of the old regime'. See also Chapter Two for English friars sympathizing with Simon de Montfort because of perceived social injustice.

Epilogue - The mendicant orders in the later fourteenth century.

The bulk of this thesis has dealt with the activities of the friars in a mainly chronological way, successive chapters examining their arrival, their reception, and their involvement in the Conquest of Wales, the Scottish Wars of Independence and the Bruce invasion of Ireland. The activities of the friars in the middle and later parts of the fourteenth century, however, are less cohesive and so require a different approach. As I have maintained throughout the course of this work, this thesis is not intended to be a political history of the British Isles. What I have attempted to do is to place the friars within the context of these events, examining their activities during the political upheavals of the years under consideration. This chapter, because of the time period involved, is less a comprehensive investigation of the friars' involvement in certain events, and more an overview of their activities throughout the later fourteenth century. Because this century was such a turbulent period across Europe, including the Hundred Years War, the Black Death and the Great Schism, it would be impossible for a single chapter to provide the wealth of information required without it becoming an all-too brief history of the British Isles. Instead, it is more appropriate perhaps to view what follows as an 'Epilogue', given the brevity of the political framework I have sketched in so as to contextualize the activities of the friars.

The intention of this epilogue is to sketch the fate of the mendicant orders in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales during the reigns of Edward III, Richard II and Henry IV, after which point the Franciscans in particular enter a new era with the rise of the Observants¹. By the close of the period under consideration, the Franciscan order was almost two hundred years old. Their first century in existence had recaptured the zeal of the early monastic reformers and caught the imagination of the people. They had expanded rapidly throughout the British Isles, establishing houses in the poorest areas of every major urban centre and they enjoyed enormous support from both papacy and crown. Their second century was less auspicious. Irish and Scottish friars were accused of preaching rebellion and were duly punished – Irish friars were removed from those houses that had engaged in 'suspicious' activities,

¹ See Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400-1534*, (Dublin, 2002), for his history of the Observant reform in Ireland.

whilst Scottish border houses were cleared of those with native sympathies. The pope, siding with the English king over his wars in Ireland and Scotland, also censured the order as a whole in the 1320s, while in the 1350s all four mendicant orders were forced to defend themselves from allegations regarding their professions of poverty versus their large property holdings.² Indeed it seems that the Franciscans' second century in existence was characterised by defensiveness – against royal policy, papal and secular censure,³ dwindling popularity and, finally, further accusations of sedition when friars in England and Wales proclaimed their support for the deposed Richard II and the rebellious Owain Glyn Dŵr.⁴ This defensive stance they were forced to adopt lessened their impact upon the political affairs of Ireland and Scotland

The late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries had been characterised by prolonged periods of war between England and Wales, England and Scotland and the extension of the latter war into Ireland. The Anglo-Scottish war continued after Edward Bruce's defeat at Fochart near Dundalk, but after that date their relationship was characterised by sporadic skirmishes and brief incursions across the Border. Ireland, never truly a 'land of peace', remained a source of constant irritation to the English crown and attempts to deal with matters, such as by the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366, were sops to a worsening situation. Wales alone of the three countries seemed resigned to English governance. With the exception of Llywelyn Bren's uprising in 1316, there was, according to R. R. Davies, 'an unprecedented period of peace'⁵ in the country. This came to a sudden end when, in 1400, Owain Glyn Dŵr rose up and engaged the English army in a war such as it had not seen since the final days of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and his brother Dafydd. As discussed in previous

² See Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i, 285; Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Hibernorum*, p. 313; *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, ed., James Tait (Manchester, 1914), p. 131; A. Gwynn, *The English Austin friars in the time of Wyclif* (Oxford, 1940), pp 86-7.

³ See Chapter Two for the Franciscan quarrel with Pope John XXII; defending themselves from the attacks of the archbishop of Armagh, Richard FitzRalph; their condemnation by John Wyclif; and the division of the order into Conventual and Observant brethren.

⁴ *An English chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI*, ed. J. S. Davies (London, 1856), p. 24; F. S. Haydon, *Eulogium Historiarum* (London, 1863), iii, pp 389-90; R. R. Davies, *The revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995), p. 212; R. Griffiths; 'Some secret supporters of Owain Glyn Dŵr', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxviii (1964), p. 86; Glyn Roberts, 'The Anglesey submission of 1406', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xv (1954), pp 39-61; Tomos Roberts, "'An ancient record?'" Anglesey adherents of Owain Glyndŵr', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxxviii (1991), pp 129-34.

⁵ R. R. Davies, *The age of conquest, Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 2000), p. 412.

chapters, the Franciscans had been vocal supporters of the native causes in both Ireland and Scotland. The friars in Wales, on the other hand, had remained largely neutral throughout Llywelyn's war with Edward I. There was no such reticence on their part when Glyn Dŵr rallied the Welsh to his cause in 1400. The Franciscans were cited as his principle supporters and punished accordingly.⁶

The death of Edward Bruce in October 1318 ended the Scottish war in Ireland and, as previously discussed, those who had adhered to Bruce's cause were investigated and punished. However, despite Bruce's defeat in Ireland, the English were unable to capitalize upon their success and the cross-border war between England and Scotland continued for another ten years.⁷ The treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, drawn up on 17 March 1328,⁸ supposedly concluded a final peace between the two countries, although the name given to it in England – 'the shameful peace'⁹ – indicated that it would not last long. In exchange for payment of £20,000 Robert I secured from the English crown the surrender of its claims to the Scottish throne. A marriage alliance between Robert's young heir, David, and Edward III's sister, Joan, cemented the treaty.¹⁰ Seán Duffy draws attention to an interesting aspect of the treaty, which gives some indication of Bruce's attitude towards Ireland and Wales. Despite letters sent by Robert and his brother in the early decades of the century claiming common bonds of nationhood, by the time of the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, Wales and Ireland clearly were not priorities for Robert Bruce. As part of the treaty Bruce agreed not to 'assist the said enemies of the king of England should another war arise in Ireland.' In return he received assurances from the English crown that they would not interfere in the Isle of Man or the other islands of Scotland as such territories were the sole concern of the Scottish king. Duffy believes that this was Robert's 'core' objective: he gained Scotland, the Isles and Man and in return England were

⁶ See below.

⁷ See R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots, the formative years of a military career* (Oxford, 1965); idem, *Scotland, the later middle ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), chapter five.

⁸ G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 260. See also Alexander Grant, *Independence and nationhood, Scotland 1306-1469* (London, 1984), p. 17; Colm McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces, Scotland, England and Ireland 1306-1328* (Scotland, 1997), p. 245.

⁹ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, chapter iv; William Croft Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times to 1603* (London, 1965), p. 176.

¹⁰ For the text of the treaty see E. L. G. Stones (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish relations, 1174-1328: some selected documents* (Oxford, 1965), pp 161-70.

assured of an Ireland free from Scottish interference.¹¹ Wales was never even mentioned, a sure indication that previous attempts to include the Welsh in a pan-national alliance had been for the furtherance of Scottish aims rather than pursuance of Welsh independence as a brother nation.

Much as the death of Edward I in 1307 had changed the nature of Anglo-Scottish relations, so too did the death of Robert I in June 1329.¹² The accession of the four-year-old David ushered in a long period of minority on the Scottish throne, just as Edward III declared his at an end, taking control from his mother and her lover, Roger Mortimer.¹³ His actions against the unpopular Mortimer proved that his reign would be more akin to that of his grandfather, Edward I, than that of his weak and generally ineffectual father Edward II.¹⁴ According to an account by the Lanercost chronicler, Edward had Mortimer arrested about 18 October 1330 and taken to the Tower of London. On 29 November he was hanged and drawn, and his body was left exposed for three days before being taken to the Friars Minors and buried with honours.¹⁵ Isabella, the Lanercost chronicler says, was deprived of the towns and castles which she possessed in England, and ‘seeing the earl’s death and hearing the charge upon which he was condemned, took alarm on her own account and, as was

¹¹ Seán Duffy, *Ireland and the Irish Sea Region, 1014-1318* (PhD Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1993), p. 196.

¹² He died on 7 June and his heart was given to Sir James Douglas to take on crusade. Douglas died in battle on 25 Aug. 1330 and his body was returned to Scotland. Bruce’s heart was interred at Melrose abbey. Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 122.

¹³ Michael Prestwich, *The three Edwards, war and state in England 1272-1377* (London, 1980), p. 215; W. M. Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III, crown and political society in England 1327-1377* (New Haven and London, 1990), pp 6-7.

¹⁴ Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times*, p. 176.

¹⁵ ‘Circa festum sancti Lucae Evangelistae, tenuit rex parlamentum suum apud Notyngham, in quo caute captus est dictus comes Marchiae [Mortimer] per regem, et inde ductus est usque Londonias, et ibi in vigilia sancti Andree apostoli proximo sequenti, in parlamento condemnatus est morte, et eodem die in fero tractus et suspensus ad furcas, ubi per tres dies pependit, et postea depositus est et sepultus apud Fratres Minores.’ *Chron. de Lanercost*, pp 265-6. Also Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p. 193. In contradiction of this account, an extant letter from Edward III orders that the body be delivered for burial with his ancestors at Wigmore. Paul Dryburgh, in his thesis *The greatest traitor: the life and career of Roger Mortimer* (PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2002), p. 207, says that ‘initially local Minorite friars gathered up his corpse. However, at some point it must have been transferred to Coventry, as, on 7 November 1331, Edward III ordered the Franciscans there to release the body to Mortimer’s widow for burial at Wigmore. This order was not carried out. In September 1332, Joan had to re-petition the king for delivery. On this occasion she received the blunt response that the body should “remain at peace”, and it is possible that Roger Mortimer did not return to the marches at all.’

said, assumed the habit of the Sisters of the Order of St Clare.¹⁶ The chronicler is correct in asserting that Isabella took the habit of the Poor Clares, the sister-order of the Franciscans, although his timing is wrong. Isabella entered the order near the end of her life when, perhaps, she was to hoping to take advantage of the spiritual reputation of the order before meeting her maker.¹⁷ Her actions do, however, tie in with a previous assertion made by the Lanercost chronicler. As mentioned in Chapter Four, when the delegation was being sent to Edward II to inform him of his deposition, Isabella insisted that Franciscans not be included as her husband ‘so loved’ their order.¹⁸ It seems that both husband and wife, although personally estranged, were united in at least this one thing. In 1358 Isabella was buried with the Franciscans at Newgate, an action totally in keeping with her comments of 1327 and her religious vows. The mid-fourteenth century chronicler, John of Reading, tells a different story.¹⁹ According to his account, the queen was ‘seduced’ by the London Franciscans to change the terms of her will and request burial with them rather than at Westminster Abbey.²⁰ This version can, I believe, be discounted. Not only does the chronicler give an incorrect day and date for her death,²¹ but he is also known for his bitter diatribes against the friars throughout his chronicle, and this is just one of several complaints made against them. Isabella’s devotion to the Franciscans was in keeping with the historical attachment shown by the English crown to the order, and her burial with them mirrored Edward I’s request that his mother’s heart be given to the minister general of the Franciscan order.²²

Following his deposition of Mortimer and Isabella, Edward III almost immediately showed an interest in undermining the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton - a treaty of

¹⁶ ‘Domina autem Mater Regina, visa morte comitis et auditis causis condemnationis ipsius, timuit sibi, ut dicebatur, et assumpsit habitum sororum de ordine Sanctae Clarae, et spoliata est villis et castris et terris multis, quas habuerat in Anglia...’. *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 266.

¹⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 120.

¹⁸ *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 258.

¹⁹ See Antonia Gransden, *Historical writing in England* (London, 1982), ii, pp 105-9.

²⁰ ‘Quo anno defuncta... licet domina Isabella dudum regina, mater gratiosi domini Edwardi iii regis ejusdem, apud Westmonasterium in loco a beato Petro apostolo spiritualiter consecrato sepulturam praelegit, ut ibi perpetuam memoriam, cum aliis humatis ibidem regiae dignitatis, haberet, seducta tamen per fratres Minores, qui sibi adhaerentes semper pejorant, in eorum ecclesia, nondum dedicata, xxvii die Novembris sepelitur; cujus memoria, vivente adhuc rege filio suo, post bien[n]ium emarcuit.’ *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, pp 128-9.

²¹ He gives the date of Isabella’s death as 27 August 1357 when she actually died on 22 August in the following year.

²² See Chapter Four.

which he had never approved²³ – and resuming his father’s war with Scotland.²⁴ In 1330 Edward Balliol, son of the deposed King John Balliol, was granted safe conduct to travel anywhere within Edward III’s domain, an action which Grant believes ‘set the stage for the re-opening of the Bruce-Balliol civil war...[and] in its wake, inevitably, the whole Anglo-Scottish conflict...’.²⁵ By late 1331 Balliol was in England, a situation guaranteed to make the Scots uncomfortable, and Nicholson believes this may have galvanised the Scots into holding the young king David’s coronation at Scone in November that year.²⁶ Edward III, newly come into his majority, was concerned about his kingdom’s security on a number of fronts.²⁷ In Ireland unrest had continued into the late 1320s, and in the autumn of 1331 an expedition to Ireland for the purpose of establishing law and order and putting down the rebellious Irish was proposed for August of the following year.²⁸ By that time, however, it seems that the opportunities available in Scotland were too tempting and Edward III turned his attentions northward.

In July 1332 Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, died. The sixteenth-century *Buik of the chronicles of Scotland* gives a detailed account of Moray’s death, claiming he was murdered on the orders of Edward III by a ‘subtill fals freir’, who administered poison to the earl before fleeing back to Ireland. According to the author the poisoner was a black friar ‘full of rycht evill...Ane Rome-raker.’ Taking advantage of the earl’s good nature and hospitality, he offered him a drink ‘Of poyssoun, vennome, contagius and fell’, and ‘That poyssoun was of sic nature and strength...Ilk da be da it wroucht without remeid, With greit dolour ane man on to the deid.’²⁹ Although the validity of this account can probably be dismissed there is certainly some truth to the author’s assertion that it was in Edward III’s interests that Scotland be robbed of effective leadership. Randolph’s death, in conjunction with Douglas’s the year before, weakened Scotland considerably and signalled to Edward Balliol that the

²³ Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 18.

²⁴ Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, p. 8; Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 124.

²⁵ Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²⁶ Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 125; *idem*, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 73. Also Michael Lynch, *Scotland: a new history* (London, 1991), p. 129.

²⁷ See Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, p. 8; Prestwich, *The three Edwards*, pp 167-8.

²⁸ Rymer, *Foedera*, ii, part ii, 825, 828, 829, 831, 832, 840. See Robin Frame, *English lordship in Ireland 1318-1361* (Oxford, 1982), pp 197-202; Ranald Nicholson, ‘An Irish expedition to Scotland’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xii (1962-3), p. 198, for an account of this planned expedition.

²⁹ *The buik of the chronicles of Scotland*, iii, 276-80.

time was ripe for him to attempt to re-take his father's crown.³⁰ Edward III also saw his opportunity, and on 15 September 1332 a writ was issued cancelling preparations that had been made for the Irish expedition.³¹ Nicholson claims that these preparations had not been in vain however – they had ‘veiled the activities of Edward Balliol's supporters and they had provided an exercise in national mobilisation’.³² With Moray dead, the way was clear for Edward Balliol and the disinherited to invade Scotland and, with Edward III's blessing, re-establish a Balliol presence on the throne there. On 6 August he landed an army at Kinghorn near Fife and six days later did battle with the Scots under the leadership of the earl of Mar.³³ The armies that met at Dupplin Moor near Perth on 12 August differed greatly in size.³⁴ According to the Lanercost chronicler the Scots marched 30,000 men against Balliol's mere 4,000 but the superior force was defeated because ‘there fell vengeance upon the heads of the Scots through the pope's excommunication for breach of the aforesaid truce, and through the excommunication by the cardinal and the English church because of the support and favour shown to Robert Bruce after the murder of John Comyn.’³⁵ Divine judgement against the Scots recurs as a theme throughout the Lanercost chronicle which, although written by two hands, shows a unity of intent. Both authors were Franciscan and both blamed Scottish godlessness for bringing misfortune upon the country. The first blamed the siege and defeat of Berwick in 1296 upon the neglect shown to his order there by the townspeople, while the latter now blamed the defeat of the Scots at Balliol's hands on Bruce's actions in the church of the Grey Friars of Dumfries some twenty-six years before. Although the second author has obviously inflated the number of Scots that battled against Balliol in August 1332, there is no doubt that a numerically superior Scottish force was defeated by Balliol's small army and, on 24 September that year, Edward Balliol

³⁰ Donald, earl of Mar was appointed in Randolph's place. According to the Lanercost chronicler he was a man who had adhered to the Balliol cause, encouraging Edward to come to Scotland to regain his kingdom but that, upon being appointed guardian, he switched his allegiance and adhered to the party of David: *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 267. Also Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 73.

³¹ *Calendar of patent rolls 1330-4*, p. 323.

³² Nicholson, ‘An Irish expedition to Scotland’, p. 199.

³³ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 83; Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, pp 18-19; R. Mitchison, *A history of Scotland* (London, 1982), pp 49-50.

³⁴ Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 126.

³⁵ ‘...Sic ergo in hoc bello et in sequentibus venit super capita Scottorum vindicta pro excommunicatione papae in fraticone treugare suae supradictae, et pro excommunicatione cardinalis et ecclesiae Anglicanae in adhaesione et favore exhibito Roberto de Brus post interfectionem Johannis Comyn.’ *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 268.

was enthroned at Scone.³⁶ In the same month Pope John XXII, alarmed by the seemingly inevitable renewal of hostilities between England and Scotland, ordered Gerald Othonis, minister general of the Franciscans, and a Dominican, Arnold de Sancto Michaelae, ‘to betake themselves to Scotland and to England...to induce the kings of those realms to make peace.’³⁷ It seems, however, that their mission was never even attempted because, according to Moir Bryce, by the time they had reached Paris they learned that King David had already left Scotland for exile in France, and that their mission ‘for the good of Christendom and the prevention of bloodshed’ could no longer take place.³⁸

In 1333 the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton was finally abandoned when Edward III came out from behind Balliol’s cause to make his war with Scotland official.³⁹ It had been hoped that Ireland would provide troops for Edward’s march into Scotland but the murder of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, on 6 June meant that Irish forces were instead used to put down the resulting unrest in the province.⁴⁰ In July a Scottish army, attempting to relieve the English siege of Berwick, did battle with Edward III’s army at Halidon Hill, two miles to the north-west of the town, and were resoundingly defeated.⁴¹ According to Grant, part of the problem was the ‘disastrous reversal of Robert I’s policy of avoiding pitched battle’ while the rest was down to poor leadership.⁴² Berwick, which had been fortified the previous year using, among other things, 535 eastland boards⁴³ and 240 other boards from the Franciscan friary at Roxburgh,⁴⁴ fell to the English.⁴⁵ King David fled to Dumbarton Castle and by May

³⁶ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 93-4. Balliol left Roxburgh in the second week of December and stayed at Annan from where he escaped on 17 December following an attack by Sir Archibald Douglas, Simon Fraser, and John Randolph earl of Moray. *Ibid.*, pp 104-5. According to the Lanercost chronicler he crossed the border into Carlisle and spent Christmas at the Franciscan friary there, receiving money and praise from the people there because of his exploits against the Scots. *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 271.

³⁷ *Calendar of papal letters 1305-42*, p. 511.

³⁸ Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 33-4.

³⁹ Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, p. 8; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 177.

⁴⁰ R. Frame, *English lordship in Ireland*, pp 197-202; Nicholson, ‘An Irish expedition to Scotland’, p. 199.

⁴¹ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 177; Prestwick, *The three Edwards*, p. 59.

⁴² Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 19.

⁴³ Timber planks imported from the Baltic.

⁴⁴ *The exchequer rolls of Scotland*, i, 411; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 111.

⁴⁵ *Chron. de Lanercost*, pp 274-5; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, chapter ix; *idem*, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, pp 128-9; Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 19; John Edwards, ‘The Grey Friars and their first houses in Scotland’, *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, 1906-7 (Aberdeen, 1907), p. 10.

of 1334 was sheltering in France.⁴⁶ The Lanercost chronicler reports that following the surrender of the town it was found that the clergy of the town had ‘given great offence to the king during the siege’.⁴⁷ To certain religious houses clemency was granted but the mendicant orders were singled out for their strong Scottish sympathies and expelled from border houses. In a letter, dated 10 August, to the provincial minister of the order of Friars Minor in England, the king blamed the ‘preaching of certain religious mendicants of the Scottish nation who, under a fictitious cloak of sanctity, encouraged the Scots in their tyranny...’. Having inquired ‘into the means by which the source of this malice and disorder [might] be removed...’ Edward felt that all Scottish Franciscans dwelling in the town and county of Berwick should be sent to the houses of the order in England and that ‘there be put in their place wise and capable English friars who, by their salutary ministrations, may instruct the people, win them to our allegiance and affection and, under the guidance of God, implant a true friendship between the nations...’.⁴⁸ The wording of the letter shows the important place the mendicant orders held in the hearts of the Scottish people. That Edward III believed English Franciscans could win the Scots ‘to our allegiance and affection’ implies that he believed the order had a great deal of influence north of the Border – Scottish friars had exhorted the people to resist English lordship and now English friars would bring them into the king’s peace. The house at Berwick, founded by English friars in 1231, reverted to being an English house and remained so for the rest of its history. According to the Lanercost chronicler, however, the Scottish friars did not go meekly into England. He claims that when two English friars arrived at the Berwick friary ‘the Scottish friars prepared for them a good breakfast [and] during the meal some entertained the English friars in comfort and familiar talk whilst others broke into the storehouse, gathered together all the books, chalices and vestments, and bound them up in silken and other cloths, alleging that all those things were the deposits of the lord, earl Patrick.’⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Prestwich, *The three Edwards*, p. 60; Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, pp 8-9; Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times*, p. 179.

⁴⁷ ‘...sed quia viri religiosi de villa tempore obsidionis ejusdem animum regis multum offenderant...’. *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 275.

⁴⁸ *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, p. 258; *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 275; Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 33-4; Edwards, ‘The Grey Friars and their first houses in Scotland’, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Ninth earl of Dunbar. ‘...quod fratres Scotti, quum tunc oppotuit eos exire conventum Berwici et duo fratres Anglici essent introducti, fecerunt eis Scotti bonum festum, et tempore prandii aliqui

In the meantime Edward Balliol performed homage to Edward III⁵⁰ and ceded to him the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh, Peebles and Dumfries, the towns of Haddington and Jedburgh and the forests of Selkirk, Etrick and Jedworth ‘so that all these should be separated from the crown of Scotland and annexed to the crown of England in perpetuity.’⁵¹ With this agreement much of southern Scotland was ceded to Edward III and Balliol, indebted to the English king, could hardly consider himself sovereign.⁵² But in securing Scotland Edward III had raised the spectre of his second cause of concern – France.⁵³ Having provided refuge for the exiled King David, Philip IV signalled clearly his intent to continue the alliance formed some forty years before. French ships harassed English ones, French supplies of arms and food were sent into Scotland and the constant threat of French troops landing on English soil presented Edward with a new set of problems.⁵⁴ Although campaigning in Scotland, he was constantly watching his sea borders for the seemingly inevitable French attack.⁵⁵ To add to his difficulties, a revolt led by followers of Robert the Steward ousted the English from Rothesay castle on the Isle of Bute in September of 1334 and Edward III was forced to organise a campaign into Scotland that winter.⁵⁶ Balliol assured the English king that the men of the Western Isles were behind him and suggested that Irish troops be included in the expedition.⁵⁷

Despite a temporary truce announced on 4 April 1335, Edward III went ahead with plans for a further Scottish campaign in the summer of that year and, heeding Balliol’s advice, decided to avail of the Irish resources available to him.⁵⁸ In response to Balliol’s assertions that he enjoyed the full support of the Western Isles, Edward

tenerunt in solatio et garulatione donec alii, fracto armario, librorum et calicum et vestimentorum omnia congregabant, et in pannis sericis et aliis colligabant et asportabant, dicentes quod omnia illa erant deposita domini comitis Patricii.’ *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 275.

⁵⁰ On 19 June in the house of the Dominicans of Newcastle. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 162.

⁵¹ ‘... ita quod omnia ista sint seperata a corona Scotiae et annexa coronae Angliae in perpetuum...’. *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 277; Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 130; Prestwich, *The three Edwards*, pp 59-60.

⁵² Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 150.

⁵³ Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 158.

⁵⁵ Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 22.

⁵⁶ Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 132.

⁵⁷ Nicholson, ‘An Irish expedition to Scotland’, p. 200.

⁵⁸ See *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, 336-41, 351; Nicholson, ‘An Irish expedition to Scotland’, pp 201-10 for a full account of this expedition.

sent an envoy, Friar Andrew Leynagh, guardian of the Franciscans of Kildare to treat with John of the Isles. For his troubles he was granted sixty shillings.⁵⁹ These summer campaigns marked the high point of Balliol's presence in Scotland and seemed to signal the end of Scottish resistance to English overlordship.⁶⁰ The Lanercost chronicler reports how the English army 'marched through all the land...burning, laying waste and carrying off spoil... Some of them, especially the Welsh, spared neither the clergy nor their monasteries.'⁶¹ He also records that Dundee was attacked by sailors from Newcastle, who burnt the town and the dormitory and schools of the Franciscans there, killing one friar who had formerly been a knight, and carrying off the friary's great bell. This bell was then 'exposed for sale at Newcastle, where it was bought by the Preaching friars of Newcastle for ten marks, although one party had no right to sell it and the other none to buy.'⁶²

On 30 November, St Andrews Day, a seemingly minor skirmish marked a change in Scottish fortunes. At Culblean near Ballater on Deeside, Sir Andrew Moray killed one of Balliol's chief supporters in battle.⁶³ The death of David of Strathbogie on the patron saint's day seemed auspicious and was enough to raise flagging Scottish hopes. Over the next two years the Scots rolled back the gains that had been made by Balliol and his supporters with the aid of the English king.⁶⁴ Indeed Balliol's ally was finally confirmed in his fears regarding France as open war broke out between the two countries in 1337.⁶⁵ This Hundred Years War would consume large amounts of revenue⁶⁶ and, although Edward III continued to campaign there on and off for another twenty years, Scotland was no longer his priority. Moray was able to

⁵⁹ 'Quia concordatum est quod frater Andreas Leynagh guardianus domus fratrum Minorum de Kildaria, qui nuper proficiscebatur in nuncium Regis ad partes Insularum Scocie tractatus cum Johanne de Insula super retinencia sua et aliis dicendis et sciendis ex parte Regis habeat 60s. mandatur quod liberari fac.' Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 136; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 220-1.

⁶⁰ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p. 235; idem, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 131

⁶¹ '...Intraverunt ergo ambo reges Scotiam diversis viis, nec aliquem invenerunt qui vim ullam alteri ausus esset occurrere, et ideo libere perambulaverunt totam terram citra Mare et ultra, facientes incendia, devastantes sata, praedas et spolia capientes. Aliqui etiam, et maxime Wallici, nec viis religiosiis nec eorum monasteriis pepercerunt, quin regulares sicut seculares aequaliter spoliaverunt.' *Chron. de Lanercost*, pp 281-2.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁶³ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, pp 234-6; idem, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 133.

⁶⁴ Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 21; Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 135.

⁶⁵ Prestwich, *The three Edwards*, p. 60; Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, p. 9; Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 135.

⁶⁶ Ormrod, *op. cit.*, pp 10-11.

capitalise on Edward III's distracted approach to Anglo-Scottish affairs and, reverting successfully to the guerrilla tactics employed by Robert Bruce in the first War of Independence, he was able to push Balliol's supporters into an ever-decreasing triangle of land in the south-west. When Moray died in 1338 his replacement, Robert Stewart, continued the strategies he had employed. Edward III, pre-occupied, was now more interested in defending his northern border than offensively pushing into Scotland and, by 1342 all remaining major towns and strongholds, with the exception of Berwick and Lochmaben, had been re-taken by the Scots.⁶⁷ Among those commended for their part in re-claiming Scotland's strongholds during this period was a Franciscan by the name of John the Carpenter. This friar was noted for his skill in the manufacture and use of military weapons and, despite his holy orders, was not afraid to participate in the actual fighting. Having rendered yeoman service in the defence of Dumbarton castle he was granted an annual pension of £20 by the governor of the castle, Malcolm Fleming, and this was confirmed by King David upon his return to Scotland.⁶⁸ In 1342 Friar John was also paid £13 6s. 8d. for his 'skilled work and labour executed everywhere by the king's orders.'⁶⁹ We know little about this friar other than this commendation for his service to the Scottish wars, although John Edwards, in his article on the first Franciscan houses in Scotland, maintains that he was from the Franciscan house at Kirkudbright.⁷⁰ He claims that this house was founded in Alexander II's time and that Edward I made an oblation of seven shillings to the altar there in 1300.⁷¹ However, Moir Bryce says that this house was not founded until 1455-6,⁷² and Cowan and Easson agree with his account,⁷³ so it seems unlikely that Edwards is correct in this assertion. While Edward III had removed Scottish Franciscans from Berwick because of their vocal support for the nationalist cause, Friar John's physical participation in the war of the late 1330s proved that members of the order were also capable of contributing in other ways. While this may not be representative of the order as a whole, it certainly indicates that individual friars were taking part in

⁶⁷ Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, pp 139-40; Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times*, p. 180.

⁶⁸ Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 35.

⁶⁹ 'Pro artificio suo et labore...'. *Exchequer rolls*, i, 510.

⁷⁰ John Edwards, 'The Grey Friars and their first houses in Scotland', pp 24-5.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Moir Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁷³ Cowan and Easson, *Medieval religious houses Scotland*, pp 124-7.

Scotland's war with England, and for this to happen there must have been some level of compliance from their superiors.

The return of David II to Scotland in 1341 changed the nature of the warfare between England and Scotland once again.⁷⁴ To this point, the Scots had fought to regain territories lost during the 1330s. Now David pursued a policy similar to his father, and staged raids across the border into England.⁷⁵ In conjunction with having to defend his northern border from the Scots, and his sea-borders from the French, Edward III also faced a crisis in Ireland in the winter of 1341-2. Having imposed a series of English-born administrators upon the Anglo-Irish community, he finally forced a confrontation with his Irish-born magnates when he charged his justiciar, William Epworth, with revoking all grants of Irish lands made since 1307.⁷⁶ This measure proved so unpopular, with his magnates complaining of 'oppression, corruption, slackness and want of military skill', that they threatened to withdraw obedience to the Dublin government, forcing Edward to back down.⁷⁷ Having defended against successive raids in 1342 and 1346, Edward III faced the most serious Scottish raid across the border in 1346.⁷⁸ The gap between Edward's war with France and his war with the Scots narrowed in October of this year, when David II crossed the border in an attempt to divert English resources from French soil, where Philip VI had just been heavily defeated at the battle of Crecy.⁷⁹ The Franciscan author of the Lanercost chronicle includes eyewitness accounts of the Scottish raids along the border, including their incursion into the priory at Lanercost itself, where they 'threw out the vessels of the temple, plundered the treasury, shattered the bones, stole the jewels and destroyed as much as they could.'⁸⁰ His account of the attacks on Lanercost and Hexham, among others, shows that he was obviously in contact with the other religious orders situated along the border and

⁷⁴ Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 143.

⁷⁵ Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, p. 17.

⁷⁶ Robin Frame, 'English policies and Anglo-Irish attitudes in the crisis of 1341-1342' in J. F. Lydon (ed.), *England and Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1981), p. 86.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; Duffy, *Ireland in the middle ages*, p. 150.

⁷⁸ Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 145; Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times*, p. 181; Ormrod, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Prestwick, *The three Edwards*, p. 61.

⁷⁹ Ormrod, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸⁰ 'Venerunt igitur ad prioratum de Lanercost, ubi manent canonici, viri venerabiles et Domino devoti, ibi intraverunt cum superbia in sanctificationem, vasa templi projecerunt, thesauros rapuerunt, ostia frerunt, jocalia ceperunt, omnia quae poterant in nihilum redigerunt...'. *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 346.

party to first-hand information. In his description of the English army that was led against the Scots by the archbishop of York, he tells of an unnamed bishop of the order of Minorite friars who ‘commanded the English to fight manfully, always adding that under the utmost penalty, no man should give quarter to the Scots, and when he attacked the enemy he gave them no indulgence from days of punishment of sin, but severe penance and good absolution with a certain cudgel.’⁸¹ According to the author, so effective was this friar in stirring up the English forces that ‘nearly the whole of the army of Scotland was either captured or slain...’ and David, king of Scots, was taken prisoner.⁸² This was the battle of Neville’s Cross, just outside Durham.⁸³ That an English Franciscan bishop was travelling with the army exhorting them to greater acts of valour against the Scots demonstrates that the order was active on both sides of the conflict – as already seen, Friar John had actively participated in the earlier stages of the war. Now this friar was described as participating, not with platitudes and prayers of salvation, but with words of war backed up by ‘a certain cudgel’.

According to Grant, Neville’s Cross was like the battle at Halidon Hill in its immediate effect – the English entered southern Scotland and, the following year Balliol led an expedition north.⁸⁴ The situation had changed, however, in that Edward III was distracted by events in France and Edward Balliol was largely unaided by his former ally.⁸⁵ The English king now accepted that Balliol’s claim to the Scottish throne was effectively untenable and, with David II in an English prison, Edward stood to gain if he acknowledged his captive as the true king of Scots. Instead of supporting Balliol in his new attempts to claim the Scottish throne, Edward now sought to capitalise upon his prisoner and gain ransom and favourable terms of peace from the Scots in return for their king.⁸⁶ Ironically, David II’s capture had forced an

⁸¹ *Erat etiam alius episcopus de ordine fratrum Minorum, hic pro sia benedictione viriliter pugnare praecepit Anglicis sub poena maxima, ne quis Scottis parceret semper addidit, et quando hostibus obviabat nec a poena nec a culpa sed cum quodam baculo dierum indulgentiam, magnam poenitentiam et bonam absolutionem illis tribuit...*. Ibid., pp 350-1.

⁸² Ibid., p. 351.

⁸³ See Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, pp 22-3; Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, pp 146-7; Prestwich, *The three Edwards*, p. 61.

⁸⁴ Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁸⁵ According to Ormrod, following the battle of Neville’s Cross, Edward III raised the largest English army of the Hundred Years War and laid siege to Calais. It eventually fell in the summer of 1347. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸⁶ Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, pp 156, 157, 158, 160.

admission of legitimacy from the English crown and in 1356 Edward Balliol fully renounced his claim to the throne.⁸⁷ The Scots, however, were not willing to get back their king on any terms and for three years Edward III tried in vain to press his demands for acknowledgement of English overlordship, the restoration of the disinherited and custody of major English castles. Under the leadership of Robert Stewart, the Scots resisted Edward's demands and continued to fight, regaining much of the territory they had lost following their defeat in 1346.⁸⁸ In 1350 Edward reduced his demands, and in 1352 he allowed David into Scotland in person to press the Scots to accept English terms.⁸⁹ According to Henry Knighton, the Scots 'answered with one assent and once voice, that while they wished to ransom their king, they would never submit themselves to the king of England. Whence David returned to the Tower of London.'⁹⁰ In the face of such determined Scottish resistance Edward was forced to make further concessions and in 1354 he reduced the terms of David's return to a ransom of £60,000, payable over nine years, and a truce until full payment had been made.⁹¹ The truce was never ratified and cross-border skirmishes continued into 1356 when in February one of the most devastating English raids into Scotland took place. This event, known as the 'Burnt Candlemas', resulted in the destruction of the friary and church of the Franciscans at Haddington, a church that Walter Bower described as 'the famous church of the Friars Minors at Haddington – a building work that was undoubtedly costly and wonderfully beautiful and the one source of comfort for the whole countryside (whose choir was commonly called the Lamp of Lothian on account of its remarkable beauty and the brightness of the light)...'. He then describes how Edward III moved his camp and set off through Lothian, 'burning and laying waste everything round about, and as far as possible saving nothing, until he might come to the burgh of Edinburgh. Leaving there after burning everything that would burn...he dishonourably made his way home.'⁹² This show of English force demonstrated to the Scots that the terms of 1354 could probably not be improved upon and in October 1357 the treaty of Berwick gave the

⁸⁷ *Cal. documents relating to Scotland*, iii, no's 1594-5, 1598-9, 1601; Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁸⁸ Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 35.

⁸⁹ Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, p. 158.

⁹⁰ '...Scoti vero unanime assensu sub una voce responderunt se velle regum suum redimere, set se subdere regi Anglie nequaquam velle. Unde rex David reversus est ad turrim Londoniarum.' *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 112.

⁹¹ Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁹² Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vii, pp 288-90.

Scots back their king while Edward III gained 100,000 marks, payable over ten years, and the ability to focus fully on his war with France.⁹³

The period in which Edward pursued his wars with Scotland and France was marked by one of the worst disasters the medieval world had known and, perhaps because of the horror it engendered, there are many vivid contemporary accounts of the plague that spread across Europe in 1347-8 and became known as the Black Death. Three of these, Friar John Clyn, Henry Knighton and John of Reading, are deserving of mention here, and each provides very different observations. John Clyn, an Irish Franciscan gives a very personal account, possibly dying of the disease before completing his annals; Henry Knighton, a canon at the Augustinian abbey of St Mary of the Meadows, Leicester, was writing towards the end of the fourteenth century, possibly with access to papal records, and thus provides a less personal and more European view,⁹⁴ while the Westminster monk, John of Reading, spitefully takes the opportunity to criticise the friars for using the pestilence to further their wealth. According to Knighton's account, the Dominicans of Provence lost 358 friars during March to April of 1348 and of 140 of their brethren at Montpellier only seven survived. The Franciscans of Marseilles lost 150 friars, so that only one remained while sixty-six of the Carmelites at Avignon died before the citizens knew what was happening. Not one Augustinian friar survived at Avignon.⁹⁵ In the course of counting the dead in France, the chronicler makes two very unusual observations. The first is when he is numbering the Franciscan dead and he comments that 'only one remained to tell the tale (and just as well)', while the second relates to the Augustinians of whom sixty-six died before the townspeople realised it – according

⁹³ 'Et venit apud Berwycum in die Sancti Michaelis, ubi venerunt quidam de Scotis cum medietate dicte summe, et cum certis viris hostiagiis mansuris in Anglia donec altera medietas soveretur. Et facta est proclamacio de una trewga x annorum inter Angliam et Scociam, sub pena forisfacture corporis et catallorum. Et post x annos lapsos, eligerent Scoti utrum vellent pacem vel guerram.' *Knighton's Chronicle*, pp 157-9; Grant, *op. cit.*, pp 36-7; Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, pp 25-6; Prestwich, *The three Edwards*, p. 61.

⁹⁴ See Gransden, *Historical writing*, ii, 178-181.

⁹⁵ 'Mortui sunt Avinonie uno die mille cccxii persone secundum computationem factam coram papa. Item alio die cccc persone et ultra. De fratribus predicatoribus in regione Provincie in xl mortui sunt cclviii. Item ad Mounpeleres de centum xl non remanserunt nisi vii fratres. Apud Magdalene de viiix remanserunt vii fratres, et tamen satis. Apud Marsiliam de viiix et x minoribus, non remansit solus unus qui nunciaret ceteris, bene quidem. De Carmelitis mortui sunt Avinione lxx antequam cives casum eventus perciperent. Credebat namque quod alter alterum peremisset. De heremitis Augustiniani non remansit unus in Avinonia. Nec cura. Eodem tempore eadem pestis invaluit in Anglia incipiens in autumpno in quibusdam locis, et discurrens per patrias finiuit eodem tempore anno sequenti.' *Knighton's Chronicle*, p. 97.

to the chronicler, this is because they were believed to have slain each other! Knighton's chronicle, unlike John of Reading's, is not especially hostile to the mendicant orders in general, and he refrains from making such comments regarding the Dominicans and the Carmelites but his remark in relation to the Franciscans suggests that their behaviour at Avignon had made them less than popular with the regular clergy. Knighton then tells us that the pestilence raged in England, beginning at several places in the autumn⁹⁶ and, by the following year there was such a shortage of priests that many churches were unable to celebrate mass, and other sacraments or observances. The Black Death may have created a shortage of peasants to work the land but, as far as Knighton was concerned, a far graver situation arose from the multitude of deaths whereby the church was forced to accept inferior candidates.⁹⁷ He complains that '...there came into holy orders a great multitude of those whose wives had died in the plague, many of them illiterate, the merest laymen, who if they were able to read at all were unable to understand what they read.'⁹⁸

In contrast to Knighton's rather dispassionate account is that of Friar John Clyn. He begins by saying that the pestilence 'was so contagious that whosoever touched the sick or the dead was immediately infected and died; and the penitent and the confessor were carried together to the grave; through fear and dread men scarcely dared to perform the offices of piety and pity in visiting the sick and in burying the dead; many died of boils and abscesses, and pustules on their shins or under their armpits; others died frantic with the pain in their head, and others spitting blood...'⁹⁹ This is certainly the account of a man who viewed first hand the effects of the pestilence. Indeed, so personal is his account that he informs his reader that he committed these things to parchment 'lest the writing should perish with the writer, and the work fail together with the workman...', and he left materials for continuing the work 'should any of the race of Adam escape this pestilence.' Having written one more paragraph, an eulogy for Sir Fulc de la Frene, there is only one more entry and

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 97.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 102.

⁹⁸ '...Sed infra breve confluebant ad ordines maxima multitudo, quorum uxores obierant in pestilencia, de quibus multi illiterati et quasi meri laici, nisi quatenus aliquialiter legere sciebant licet non intelligere.' Ibid.

⁹⁹ Clyn, *Annalium Hiberniae*, pp 36-8.

that reads: ‘Here it seems the author died.’¹⁰⁰ Although at first glance the numbers might seem considerably smaller, the mendicant orders in Ireland proportionally fared as badly as their confreres in France. In August 1348 the plague had broken out in Dublin and Drogheda and by Christmas twenty-three and twenty-five friars respectively had died in those houses. In Lent 1349 eight Dominicans died at Kilkenny in one day, while the Franciscan house at Nenagh lost its custodian, Odo O’Neill, its guardian Robert O’Fynain and its lector William Mulcahy.¹⁰¹ As contemporary Franciscan records are so scarce it is quite unusual to find a record of the men who resided in any given convent, and the surnames of those who died at Nenagh in 1349 indicate that its composition at its erection as a native-Irish convent some twenty-five years earlier had endured.

Although John of Reading’s chronicle is not contemporaneous with the first outbreak of the Black Death, he was certainly alive and of an age to comprehend its impact. Writing as he did circa 1366-9, his account has the same advantage that Knighton’s has – the benefit of hindsight. Both men were able to take the longer view of the effects of the disease, unlike Clyn who wrote when the plague was peaking across Europe and who truly believed that none would survive. However, where Knighton capitalized on his distance from the outbreak to compile information, John of Reading allowed his normal bias against the mendicant orders to undermine the validity of his observations. In his initial statement he claims that ‘barely a tenth of the people survived, the great majority having been carried away by the plague, leaving behind them all the wealth of this world.’ Of all those who had been left behind, it was the mendicant orders who were dealt a ‘mortal blow’ by the temptation all this excess of unclaimed wealth caused and they ‘found so much superfluous wealth flowing to them from their confessions and the legacies of their penitents, that they would scarcely deign to receive the offerings of the faithful...they no longer sought heavenly things but earthly and carnal pleasures, whilst asserting in their sermons to the people that Jesus Christ and his disciples had been poor in this life, and had begged for their livelihood...’.¹⁰² This is the same

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Little and Fitzmaurice, *Materials*, pp 141-2.

¹⁰² ‘...Illico, suae professionis obliti et regulae, quae in omni paupertate ac mendicatione consistunt, undique superfluo ornatu in cameris, mensis, equitaturis ex parte diaboli ceterisque inordinatis [a participle seems to have been omitted here], terrena carnaliaque non coelestia appetebant, asserentes

monk who had accused the mendicant orders of ‘seducing Isabella’ to seek burial in their church¹⁰³ and if he was a lone voice, his accusations could be dismissed. However, he was writing in the years immediately after Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh, had made his accusations against the mendicant orders – that they could not speak of poverty when they owned such fine churches, books and ornaments.¹⁰⁴ The accusations are very similar in nature; the difference is that FitzRalph was a respected scholar and important prelate, whilst John of Reading was a monk who spared no opportunity to criticize the mendicant orders and so lessened the validity of this criticism. A third contemporary source who levels similar accusations at the friars is Chaucer. As discussed in Chapter Two, he likened his friar, travelling to Canterbury on pilgrimage, to a ‘maister or a pope’¹⁰⁵ rather than the strict adherent to poverty that he should be. These three individuals, writing at about the same time, criticized the mendicant orders for hypocrisy in proclaiming themselves to be living the life of poverty advocated by Christ in the bible when they actually possessed what these writers regarded as excessive wealth. While this may not have been true of the order as a whole, certainly in England at least the Franciscans and other mendicant orders were seen as falling into decadent ways by the latter half of the fourteenth century,¹⁰⁶ and they were forced to defend themselves against such attacks.

While the Franciscan order throughout Europe was divided over the question of poverty¹⁰⁷ the Dominicans at Oxford also faced severe criticism. The minister general of the order, Berengar of Landorra in 1314, had granted Irish Dominicans the right to send two of their brethren to Oxford, two to Cambridge and one to Paris¹⁰⁸ and presumably this continued to be the case throughout the Bruce invasion and

in praedicationibus suis Jesum Christum et discipulos suos in hoc mundo eguisse ac mendicasse; pluraque erronea sustinuerunt, ut de nequioribus taceamus...’. *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, pp 109-10.

¹⁰³ See above.

¹⁰⁴ Katherine Walsh, *A fourteenth century scholar and primate, Richard Fitzralph in Oxford, Armagh and Avignon* (Oxford, 1981); A. Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the time of Wyclif* (Oxford, 1940), pp 86-7. See Chapter Two for a further discussion of this affair.

¹⁰⁵ Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, pp 40-1.

¹⁰⁶ See *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, pp 109-10; *Knighton’s chronicle*, pp 255-7; 304; St John D. Seymour, *Anglo-Irish literature 1200-1582* (Cambridge, 1929), pp 40-1.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter Two for a discussion of the Spirituals versus the Conventuals and the burning of friars at Avignon in 1354.

¹⁰⁸ William Hinnebusch, ‘Foreign Dominican students and professors at the Oxford Blackfriars’, *Oxford studies presented to Daniel Callus* (Oxford Historical Society, new series xvi, 1964), p. 114.

beyond. However a mandate, dated to 1355, ordered the provincial minister of the order to punish English friars who impeded the promotion of Irish friars to degrees, and who attempted to bar these friars from English houses of study. In 1369 the Hundred Years War re-ignited after a period of peace¹⁰⁹ and Edward III ordered Oxford priory to expel those friars who came from ‘enemy’ countries on pretence of engaging in study, but who actually came to spy out the king’s plans, discover the state of the realm and pass on such information to the king’s enemies.¹¹⁰ The behaviour of the Dominican order at Oxford illustrates the divisive nature of race. Irish brethren were excluded from English houses of study and those ‘foreign’ friars accused of behaving as spies complained that Edward III was acting on the advice of their English brethren.¹¹¹ In Ireland the Franciscan order had experienced similar upheavals earlier in the century and, even after Edward Bruce’s defeat, race continued to be an issue. As discussed in the previous chapter, an investigation ordered by John XXII in 1324 found that certain native Irish friars continued to constitute a serious danger to the king’s peace and recommended that they be removed from the houses that harboured them, and scattered about the country.¹¹² This recommendation seemed to foreshadow Edward III’s removal of Scottish friars from Berwick almost ten years later and, in both instances, the policy worked. In Berwick at least, the Scottish friars were a spent political force, whilst the racial divide in the Irish province seems to have diminished to the point where Edward III was able to revoke his predecessor’s decree that no Irishman be admitted to religious houses. On 24 March 1337 the king ordered that ‘faithful subjects’, regardless of race should be admitted to houses in English areas.¹¹³ However, the question of race continued to dog the church as a whole in Ireland for the rest of the century, as described by J. A. Watt.¹¹⁴ A papal mandate dated July 1330 summed up the difficulties faced by the church there. In a letter dealing with attacks on the liberties of churches and ecclesiastics, the pope, while acknowledging that the king must take such action as would put an end to these grievances, recommended that ‘some impartial person(s) should be sent, as there are in that country two sorts of people,

¹⁰⁹ Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, pp 27, 32, 33.

¹¹⁰ *Calendar of close rolls, 1369-74*, p. 517; Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, part ii, 991; Hinnebusch, ‘Foreign Dominican students and professors at the Oxford Blackfriars’, p. 123.

¹¹¹ Hinnebusch, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹¹² See Chapter Five.

¹¹³ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. xxv.

¹¹⁴ J. A. Watt, *The Church and the two nations in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 1970).

pure Irish and those of mixed race’ and that care should be taken to have governors and officers of the same respectively.¹¹⁵ In November 1360 Edward III, in a mandate reminiscent of those issued in 1217, 1258 and 1284-5,¹¹⁶ wrote that he was informed that ‘damage and disadvantage’ had come to the king and his liegemen in Ireland because ‘mere Irishmen, clerks and lay, his enemies’ had been deputed as ministers and officers in boroughs, counties, towns, castles and other places, and were promoted to canonries and prebends in cathedral churches and other ecclesiastical benefices among Englishmen. He ordered that a public proclamation be made that ‘no mere Irishman, being of the Irish nation, be made mayor, bailiff, porter of any other office, or minister of the king in any place subject to him, and that no archbishop, bishop, abbot, prior...receive any mere Irishman of the Irish nation...’¹¹⁷ In the following March he was forced to rescind this order following a petition from clerks of the Irish nation who were able to demonstrate loyalty to the crown despite the question of their race.¹¹⁸

Although the problem of racialism in the Franciscan order of Ireland appears to have been solved by the mid-1320s, the order continued to court controversy throughout the rest of the century. Roger Craddock, Franciscan bishop of Waterford from 1350 to 1361¹¹⁹ came to blows with Ralph, the Carmelite archbishop of Cashel, over the trial and burning of two heretics at Bunratty castle in 1353. According to this account the archbishop retaliated to the encroachment by the bishop upon his metropolitan jurisdiction by entering the cemetery at Waterford by St Katherine’s Gate with a great many armed men and insulted Roger Craddock there, causing damage and grave injuries to him.¹²⁰ Two years later this same bishop received a mandate from

¹¹⁵ *Calendar of papal letters, 1305-42*, p. 500.

¹¹⁶ See Chapter Five.

¹¹⁷ *Patent rolls, 1358-61*, pp 492-3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 575.

¹¹⁹ He was translated to Llandaff in 1361 and was involved in the foundation of the friary at Bymacon in the Isle of Man. See *Analecta Hibernica*, vi, pp 81, 147; Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 142; David Walker, ‘The medieval bishops of Llandaff’, *Morgannwg*, vi (1962), pp 26-7; Mooney, ‘Franciscans in Waterford’, p. 88; Michael Robson, ‘Franciscan bishops of Irish dioceses active in medieval England: a guide to the materials in English libraries and archives’ in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xxxviii (1996), p. 24.

¹²⁰ ‘Dominus [Thomas de Rokeby] Justiciarius Hibernie subiugavit sibi cum vexillo regis Momoniam et Tothemoniam et reges illarum, videlicet McDermot et McKilmar, et restoratur castrum de Benrat [Bunratty], ubi duo Hibernici de cl[an] Kollanes convicti sunt de heresi, videlicet de contimelia in beatam virginem Mariam per modum humani coytus commissa, videlicet coram ven. in Christo fratre et domino Rogero [Craddock] Dei et apostolice sedis gratia Waterford’ episcopo de ordine Minorum et

Pope Innocent VI to publicly excommunicate named persons¹²¹ and the Franciscan bishop of Ossory, Richard Ledred, who had caused Stephen de Kerkyom [Kerlyon], prior of St Mary and Columba in Innistegau Co. Carlow to be attacked. In the attack the bishop of Ossory and his accomplices had wounded Stephen, killed one of the canons and torn out the eyes and tongue of another.¹²² This same Richard Ledred had been involved in the famous Alice Kytler witchcraft trial at Kilkenny in the 1320s, and we can only presume that he suspected the prior and his canons of similar offences when he arranged the attack in 1355. Eight years later, in 1363, friars of the Franciscan convent at Cashel were accused of cutting down, by force of arms, a quantity of timber belonging to the lord chief justice of the Common Bench at Dublin, Sir Robert Preston. Maurice Hamond, guardian of the Cashel convent, along with four of his brethren, was accused of entering the justice's lands at Ballytarfyn and le Hethon, taking timber to the value of 100 marks and committing 'divers other enormities' to the damage and loss of the said Sir Robert.¹²³ Whether the Franciscan community at Cashel had been driven by need to commit such an act is impossible to say but an indication of the state of the order in Ireland is given on 22 August 1375 when the friars of Ennis were granted permission to obtain food in English-held land. The grant was made because of the scarcity of victuals in 'the aforesaid parts' and the guardian of the convent and his friars were given permission to seek bread, beer, corn, oats etc. among 'our good and faithful people' for their sustenance.¹²⁴ Their brethren at Limerick were forced to seek protection the following year from the excesses of the local bishop, Peter Curragh. In an appeal to the Franciscan archbishop of Cashel, Philip de Torrington¹²⁵ the friars complained that they were being 'grievously oppressed.' Pope Gregory XI appointed Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to investigate the incident whereby Archbishop de

sunt combusti in eodem loco: propter quod orta est discordia inter Radulfum archiepiscopum Casselensem de ordine Carmelitarum et dictum episcopum Waterford...'. Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 144.

¹²¹ Robert Dobine, John Arnold and other laymen.

¹²² Fitzmaurice and Little, *op. cit.*, pp 145-6.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹²⁴ '...Compatientes exilitati domus de Ord. Fratrum Minorum de Clonraven [Ennis] in Tathmonia ac paucitati frugem et aliorum victualium quae in dictis partibus habent hiis diebus ac volentes proinde et pro eo quod guardianus et fratres domus praedictae ad fidem, pacem et ligeantiam nostras jam existunt, pro eorum sustentatione providere, concessimus et licentiam dedimus dicto guardiano et fratribus, quod ipse per se, vel per servientes suos, quamdiu bene et fideliter se gesserint erga nos et pacem nostram et fidelem populum nostrum...'. *Ibid.*, pp 157-8.

¹²⁵ Appointed archbishop on 5 September 1373.

Torrington had gone in person to Limerick to meet with the bishop with regard to the friars' complaints. In a letter to Sudbury the pope described how the bishop of Limerick had 'laid violent hands upon him [de Torrington] and tore the citation which the bishop held so violently from his hands that blood flowed...'. He then refused to attend the archbishop's metropolitan court and went so far as to issue excommunications against all who went to the church of the friars or requested burial there. When the archbishop returned to Limerick to discuss the matter, Bishop Curragh came out with 'armed clerks and laymen [and] would certainly have beaten the archbishop if the latter had not fled', proclaiming that any who attended the archbishop's sermon speaking out against him, or gave food or lodging to him, would be excommunicated. As the archbishop was leaving the city the bishop sent his retinue after him, and they insulted him and tore the bridle off his horse as he rode through the streets.¹²⁶

Unfortunately we have no record of the outcome of Sudbury's investigations into the behaviour of the bishop.¹²⁷ It does not appear that he was alone in oppressing the Franciscan order, for in 1384 King Richard II was obliged to issue letters of protection for all four mendicant orders, but especially the Friars Preachers and Minors in Ireland. In his letter he claimed that he had heard that allegations were being made against the orders, that they were 'ill-founded' and that certain persons sought to make 'sinister and evil interpretations of the privileges and graces' granted to them by the apostles and the king's progenitors. These same persons 'by open and secret incitements' encouraged the destruction of their houses and tore their habits from them and beat them. Richard's grandfather, Edward III, had removed friars from certain houses in Ireland because they preached sedition against him and his government. Richard II's letter of 1384 indicates how far from this the order had moved, for he says 'they are most assiduous orators for the good estate of the king and his realm.'¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, pp 158-9.

¹²⁷ Egan, *Franciscan Limerick*, p. 9.

¹²⁸ *Patent rolls, 1381-85*, p. 480.

Turbulent as Edward III's reign had been, the period during which his grandson Richard II reigned saw great upheaval in England,¹²⁹ which spilled over into Ireland, Scotland and Wales.¹³⁰ Eleven-year-old Richard, son of Edward the Black Prince, succeeded Edward III in 1377 and, according to the chronicler Adam of Usk, 'he was as fair among men as another Absalom...[and] great things were looked for.'¹³¹ The court of Edward III had slipped into disrepute as the aged king surrounded himself with corrupt ministers and poor advice¹³², and it was hoped that Richard would bring a new authority to the crown despite his minority. Circumstances dictated otherwise. The lingering effects of the Black Death and prolonged periods of war against France meant that England was suffering a financial and social crisis.¹³³ The heresy of Wyclif and the Lollards was being exposed¹³⁴ and, at a time when European kings might have looked to the church for leadership, there was a protracted papal schism that divided Europe and the church along national lines.¹³⁵ England, at war with France since 1337 and engaged in an uneasy truce with the Scots since 1357, was now divided from her enemies by an ideological as well as political gulf. The papacy of Clement VII, based at Avignon, naturally enjoyed French support and, as their historical allies, the Scots adhered to that papacy. The Castilians, although not the Aragonese, joined them in this. The Italian church, by the same logic, favoured the papacy of Urban VI based at Rome, and in this they had the support of the English and Germanic churches. The Franciscan order across Europe was not immune to the effects of the schism and divided along national lines as ministers general were appointed by the factions supporting the rival popes.¹³⁶ The Scottish friars were only too happy to capitalise on the opportunity the schism presented. As discussed previously, the Franciscans of Scotland had sought to establish a province

¹²⁹ For a history of the reign of Richard II see Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven and London, 1999); Michael Senior, *The life and times of Richard II* (London, 1981); C. Oman, *The history of England from the accession of Richard II to the death of Richard III* (London, 1906); Alastair Dunn, *The politics of magnate power in England and Wales, 1389-1413* (Oxford, 2003); Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990).

¹³⁰ See Duffy, *Ireland in the middle ages*, pp158-65; Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, pp 195-9, R. R. Davies, *The age of conquest*, pp 431-61; idem, *The revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*.

¹³¹ *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk AD 1377-1421*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (1990), p. 7.

¹³² See Ormrod, *The reign of Edward III*, pp 31-9; Prestwich, *The three Edwards*, chapter 10.

¹³³ See Prestwick, *op. cit.*, chapter 9.

¹³⁴ See Chapter Two.

¹³⁵ Anthony Goodman, 'Religion and warfare in the Anglo-Scottish marches' in Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (ed.), *Medieval frontier societies* (Oxford, 1989), p. 256; Nicholson, *Scotland, the later middle ages*, chapter 8; Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. xxx.

¹³⁶ Huber, *Documented history*, pp 287-97.

independent of the English control, and for a number of years they had succeeded.¹³⁷ The years of the schism afforded them fresh possibilities to pursue this independence, especially as there was now two ministers general adhering to two different popes.¹³⁸ They were not the only ones who turned the schism to their advantage. In July 1378 King Robert II of Scotland seized the chance to expel English monks from the Benedictine priory at Coldingham and replace them with monks from Dunfermline abbey. In the following year a consistory court was held at St Andrews and the charges made against the expelled monks sound remarkably similar to those allegations that had been made against French and Irish Dominican friars at Oxford at the end of the previous decade. The English monks were accused of spying, smuggling bullion and the relics of Scottish saints out of Scotland and of terrorising the Border area with a hired retinue.¹³⁹ In Ireland the division created by the schism was not so straightforward because of the gulf that already existed, splitting the Irish church into *ecclesia inter Hibernicos* and *ecclesia inter Anglicos*. The dioceses in Ireland which were under effective English control adhered to the Roman papacy but, according to Gwynn, ‘less than half the dioceses of Ireland were effectively controlled by English prelates.’¹⁴⁰ The dual adherence in the country led to the confusion of multiple appointments to vacant bishoprics. In 1382, for example, Clement VII appointed Friar Michael to the vacant archbishopric of Cashel although Philip de Torrington, the previous archbishop had been a supporter of the Urbanist papacy. Friar Michael was rejected and for four years attempted in vain to press his claim. He was finally defeated in 1384 when Peter Hackett was elected.¹⁴¹ In a similar fashion Tomás Ó Colmáin, a Franciscan friar described as being ‘of noble parentage but illegitimate birth’¹⁴² was proposed by the anti-pope for the archbishopric of Armagh.¹⁴³ He was rejected and Urban VI’s nominee John Colton was appointed in the same year.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷ See Chapters One and Three.

¹³⁸ Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 13-14.

¹³⁹ Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ii, pp 161-3; *Papal letters*, iv, p. 236; Goodman, ‘Religion and warfare in the Anglo-Scottish marches’, p. 256; R. B. Dobson, ‘The last English monks on Scottish soil’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 46 (1967), p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ A. Gwynn, ‘Ireland and the English nation at the Council of Constance’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xlv (1939-40), section c, p. 206.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp 206-7.

¹⁴² Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. xxix

¹⁴³ *Papal letters*, 1362-1404, p. 242.

¹⁴⁴ Fitzmaurice and Little, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

The Great Schism was just one of a number of events which troubled Richard's reign. However, his minority appears to have protected him, indeed helped him, in the events that surround the so-called Peasants' Revolt of June 1381: contemporary chroniclers such as Henry Knighton, Adam of Usk, Thomas Walsingham and the Westminster chronicler¹⁴⁵ all give lengthy accounts of the uprising and in each the king emerges unscathed, in fact heroic, from his dealings with the crowds of peasants, whilst his ministers, advisors, and especially his uncle John of Gaunt bear the brunt of blame for the revolt.¹⁴⁶ The Westminster chronicler, for example, records that although the men of Kent 'behaved like the maddest of dogs',¹⁴⁷ rampaging through the countryside, those they forced to join their 'fellowship' were told that it was 'in the defence of King Richard, since they held themselves out as champions of the king and the welfare of the kingdom against those who were betraying them.'¹⁴⁸ Adam of Usk, meanwhile, says that the Savoy palace of the duke of Lancaster, 'the fairest in the kingdom', was targeted by the rebels because of 'the commons' hatred of the duke.'¹⁴⁹ This rage, turned against Richard's ministers rather than the king himself, culminated in the deaths of the archbishop of Canterbury, the treasurer and several others who had fled to the Tower of London for safety.¹⁵⁰ Henry Knighton describes how Simon Sudbury, the king's chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury,¹⁵¹ Brother Robert Hales, prior of the Hospital of St John in England, the treasurer John Legg and a Franciscan were taken from the Tower and beheaded. The friar mentioned by Knighton is described as 'an experienced knight and a learned physician' who was a trusted member of John of Gaunt's household. Knighton, however, is confused and calls him 'John of the order of Minors' when the friar's name was in fact William Appleton – according to the editor of Knighton's chronicle, the author probably confused the friar's forename with that of John

¹⁴⁵ *The Westminster chronicle 1381-1394*, ed. L. C. Hector and B. F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982).

¹⁴⁶ See R. B. Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London, 1991). For the career of John of Gaunt, see Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt, the exercise of princely power in fourteenth century Europe* (New York, 1992); H. G. A. Hughes, *John of Gaunt: duke of Lancaster 1340-1399* (Clwyd, 1991).

¹⁴⁷ '...uti rabidissimi canes discurrentes...'

¹⁴⁸ '...et quosque sibi occurrentes qui de eorum contubernio non fuerant ut eis adhererent et cum eis in defensionem regis Ricardi interposito juramento contringebant, pretendentes se defensores regem et regni commoditatem contra suos traditores.' *Westminster chronicle*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ *The chronicle of Adam of Usk*, pp 8-9.

¹⁵⁰ *Westminster chronicle*, p. 6.

¹⁵¹ See above for his appointment to investigate the dispute between the bishop of Limerick and the archbishop of Cashel in 1378.

Legg.¹⁵² The archbishop and his companions were led from the Tower, their feet bare, their heads uncovered and their belts loosened ‘like men taken for murder or robbery’ but here the chronicler draws a distinction between the worthy and the unworthy. According to him the crowd placed the heads of John Legg and his three companions on lances and staves ‘that they might be known from the rest’,¹⁵³ while the head of the archbishop was placed in the middle and higher up than the others with a scarlet cap nailed to it to make it stand out.¹⁵⁴ William Appleton was not the only friar to be caught up in the Peasants’ Revolt. In the following year, on 18 February 1382, a letter was sent to John of Gaunt from the wardens of the four mendicant convents at Oxford in which they denied charges that they had fomented the Peasants’ Revolt. A copy of the letter contained in Thomas Netter’s *Fasciculi zizaniorum*, named Wyclif’s disciple, Nicholas Hereford, as their chief accuser. According to the friars, Hereford alleged that the four mendicant orders were responsible for the uprising on three accounts: they impoverished the people for their own support; they set an example of idle mendicancy; and in their position as general confessors they could have prevented it.¹⁵⁵ The third reason allegedly given by Hereford for the friars bearing responsibility for the Peasants’ Revolt is especially interesting. They were general confessors and therefore would have had access to such information as could have alerted the authorities to the stirring rebellion. According to Hereford, instead they chose to keep it to themselves.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² *Knighton’s chronicle*, p. 213.

¹⁵³ ‘Dum hec sic agerentur, ecce degeneres filii remanentes patrem suum archiepiscopum cum sociis antedictis absque vi vel impetu, absque gladio vel sagitta vel quacumque alia oppressione set solum verbis minacibus et clamore turbido evocaverunt, et ad mortem invitaverunt; qui sponte non reclamantes, non reluctantes tanquam agni coram tondente se nudipedes, capite discoopto, cingulis abiectis, acsi homicidio vel furto rei, et sic vindictam meriti essent, libere se morti indebite optulerunt. Et sic heu prodolor duo luciferi regni, indigni cum dignis, antequam rex revereret super le Tourehylle decollati sunt septem in numero. Nam Iohannes Leg et iii socii eius ut antedictum est, causa fuerunt istius irrecuperabilis dampni. Capita vero illorum in lanceis et baculis transfixerunt, ut a reliquis sic dinoscerentur.’ *Ibid.*, pp 213-15.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7. See also *The chronicle of Adam of Usk*, pp 7-8.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Netter, *Fasciculi zizaniorum magistri Johannis Wyclif cum tritico*, ed. W. W. Shirley (London, 1858), pp 292-5.

¹⁵⁶ ‘...tertio, quoque nobis imponunt quod major pars dominorum et populi, sicut nobis praecipue confitentur, ita et nostro, ut fingunt, consilio in agendus potissime regulantur. Unde et concludunt nos maxime dominos contra populum ac populum contra dominos incitasse.’ *Ibid.* See also Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 243; A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars at Oxford* (Oxford, 1982), p. 79; Huber, *Documented history*, pp 835-6; Saul, *Richard II*, chapter 4. This was at the height of the friars’ dispute with Wyclif and his followers. See Chapter Three.

Having survived the Peasants' Revolt, Richard reigned for another eighteen years.¹⁵⁷ The leadership and bravery that he had shown in 1381, however, did not filter through to the rest of his reign. One notable exception to this was his campaign in Ireland of 1394-5.¹⁵⁸ Leading the largest army Ireland had seen in medieval times, Richard landed at Waterford in early October 1394 and by the early months of the following year had forced the submission of several of Ireland's greatest chieftains.¹⁵⁹ Of those who submitted, we know that Niall Mór Ua Neill gave homage to Richard at the house of the Friars Minors at Drogheda on 19 January¹⁶⁰ and that the king was in the town again on 16 March to receive the homage of Niall's son, Niall Óg, but this time at the house of the Friars Preachers.¹⁶¹ In April Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair Donn made his submission in the Franciscan church at Waterford, and on the same occasion William de Burgo of Clanrickard, Brian and Diarmait Ua Briain of Thomond, and two O'Kennedy chieftains also made their submissions.¹⁶² But Richard's military accomplishments in Ireland were not matched by popularity back in England and were, in any event, short-lived. The death of John of Gaunt on 3 February 1399 left the way for his exiled son Henry, now duke of Lancaster, to return from exile and claim his inheritance. With the king in Ireland attempting to pacify the Irish chieftains once again, England was open to invasion. Henry, exiled in France nine months before, garnered widespread support among those magnates who had grown weary of Richard's rule, and returned to England to seize the throne from his cousin.¹⁶³ When rumours of Lancaster's actions reached Richard he fled to Wales, seeking to raise support in defence of his throne, but he was seized and taken to meet Henry at Chester. The two cousins then travelled to

¹⁵⁷ See Saul, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, chapter 12.

¹⁵⁹ 'Rex Angliae, circa festum Nativitatis Beatae Virginis, cum Duce Glovorniae et Comitibus Marchiae, Notynghamiae, et de Ruthland, ac familia multa valde, in Hiberniam transfretavit. Hibernienses nimirum, de tanto apparatu territi, quia palam non audebant occurrere, clandestinis irruptionibus frequenter Regis exercitum fatigarunt. Coacti sint tamen, Anglis praevalentibus, se Regi submittere plures reguli illius terrae; quorum quosdam Rex secum detinuit, ne nova aliqua molirentur. Erant autem qui se submiserant...'. *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, pp 172-3. See J. F. Lydon, 'Richard II's expeditions to Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xciii (1963), pp 135-49; D. Johnston, 'Richard II and the submissions of Gaelic Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxii (1980), pp 1-20.

¹⁶⁰ *Calendar of the Carew manuscript*, v, pp 381-2.

¹⁶¹ Little and Fitzmaurice, *Materials*, p. 167.

¹⁶² C. O'Connor Don, *The O'Connors of Connaught* (Dublin, 1891), pp 155, 343-4. Also E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland* (Oxford, 1927), pp 90-3, 446-7; C. Mooney, 'Franciscans in Waterford', p. 77.

¹⁶³ For Henry IV's seizure of the English throne, see Gwilym Dodd and Douglas Biggs (ed.), *Henry IV: the establishment of the regime 1399-1406* (York, 2003); Saul, *Richard II*, chapter 16.

London where Richard, imprisoned in the Tower, was forced to compose his formal act of resignation. In parliament Richard's resignation was read out in English and in Latin, and it was followed by a lengthy list of his crimes and defects.¹⁶⁴ The king was then sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and his cousin declared rightful heir to the throne by virtue of his descent from Henry III. An incident recorded by the Westminster chronicler gives a strange foreshadow of these events. Under the year 1384 he claims that Friar John Latimer, an Irish Carmelite friar, came to Richard's court with 'the object of accusing the duke of Lancaster himself [John of Gaunt] of a crafty and treasonable plot against the king's life.'¹⁶⁵ In 1384 the duke was giving all indications of being a staunch loyalist, so it seems unlikely that there was any truth to the friar's claims. Goodman believes Latimer was a friar most probably with a personal grudge against John of Gaunt, and that he was definitely acting against the wishes of his order.¹⁶⁶ Although the duke was a great patron of the Carmelite order and all four mendicant orders had turned to him for assistance against accusations that they had contributed to the Peasants' Revolt, there is a previous record of enmity between John of Gaunt and certain friars. A letter dated 1376, and included in John of Gaunt's register, warns that Friars Hugh Bandon and John Drynkester of the order of Minors, and John Pykworthe, John Robert and John Hill of the order of Preachers, all based at Canterbury, were speaking evilly and treasonously about the duke. The writer warned the duke to take care and listen out for such treacherous speech.¹⁶⁷ According to the account in the Westminster chronicler, the Carmelite friar, having celebrated mass attended by the king and the queen obtained leave to speak freely to the king, whereupon he revealed the duke's alleged intentions. Persuaded not to put the friar to death for his impudence, Richard ordered the man imprisoned in Salisbury castle to where he was followed by a party of knights who tortured him almost to death.¹⁶⁸ The duke of Lancaster, meanwhile, hastened to Richard's court

¹⁶⁴ For the full list see *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, pp 259-77.

¹⁶⁵ *Westminster chronicle*, p. 69. See Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 100 for a discussion of this incident.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ '...tres redoubte seignur, que je vouz d'ascuns de voz enemys, come j'ay bien aperceu par evident experience, vuille garnier, est assaver dez friers Hugh Bandon et Johan Drynhkester de l'ordre des friers Menours de Cantebrigg, et dez friers Johan Pykworthe, Johan Robert et friere Johan Hill, de l'ordre de friers Prechours de Cantabrigg avandite, qu'ont malveisement et traitouusement parle de vouz, mon tres redoubte, come je le oiay a grand deshertement de mon cuer, dount vouz supplie, mon tres puissant seignur, que vouz gardez bien de eaux et de touz autrez pur Dieux et en oeuvre de seynt charite...'. *John of Gaunt's Register*, ed. Sydney Armitage-Smith, Camden 3rd series, xxi (London, 1911), vol. ii, p. 355, no. 1809.

¹⁶⁸ *Westminster chronicle*, pp 71-3.

and, according to the chronicler, ‘disposed so brilliantly of the slur upon him that the king thenceforward regarded him as cleared.’¹⁶⁹ That it was a friar who warned Richard of the alleged threat to his kingship is interesting because it was the mendicant friars of England who proved to be among Richard’s staunchest supporters following his deposition.

Although widely supported in seizing the throne from his cousin, the reign of Henry IV proved no less troubled than that of his predecessor.¹⁷⁰ Despite the death of Richard II in 1400, from starvation or illness depending on which account is read,¹⁷¹ rumours that he was alive and living in Scotland continued to circulate.¹⁷² In addition to battling these rumours, Henry faced a more serious problem on his northern border. The peace treaty signed at Berwick in 1357 had lasted twenty years but, by the middle of the 1380s, there were constant skirmishes across the border increasing in intensity throughout the 1390s.¹⁷³ According to Grant, the Scots saw Henry as an ‘insecure usurper’¹⁷⁴ and they were eager to capitalize upon the rumours that Richard was alive and living in Scotland. In September 1402 they launched an invasion across the Border, making their way as far as Newcastle. They were met in battle by the English under the command of Henry Percy and convincingly defeated at Homildon Hill near Wooler.¹⁷⁵ The Scots were not Henry’s primary concern however. The last rebellion in Wales had taken place in 1316 under Llywelyn Bren and been quickly put down. Throughout the fourteenth century whilst successive English kings attempted to pacify Ireland and defeat the Scots, their holdings in Wales had remained remarkably peaceful.¹⁷⁶ The endemic warfare that had taken place for over a century was at an end and Wales had settled into a secure holding that no longer troubled the English crown. In 1400 Henry IV was taken unawares when the Welsh rose up in support of Owain Glyn Dŵr. This Welsh magnate had been a student of law at Westminster for several years and had served with the

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 75-7.

¹⁷⁰ For Henry IV’s reign, see Alastair Dunne, *The politics of magnate power in England and Wales*; Dodd and Biggs, *Henry IV: the establishment of the regime*.

¹⁷¹ *Ypodigma Neustriæ a Thoma Walsingham*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1876), p. 391; *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, pp 330-1.

¹⁷² See Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ii, pp 248-9.

¹⁷³ *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, pp 320-32; Grant, *Independence and nationhood*, p. 40.

¹⁷⁴ Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹⁷⁵ *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, pp341-5.

¹⁷⁶ Davies, *Age of conquest*, p. 412.

English king in August 1385 when he was campaigning in Scotland. That he should rise up against the English presence in Wales was totally unforeseen. J. E. Lloyd, in his history of Glyn Dŵr, says that the rebellion broke out when Owain took up arms against Reginald Grey, lord of Ruthin, over lands that he claimed belonged to him, and the account in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* seem to justify this.¹⁷⁷ R. R. Davies, however, believes that Glyn Dŵr merely provided the focal point for Welsh unrest that had been growing throughout the latter part of the century; that there was a vacuum of leadership that ‘allowed a festering sense of disenchantment with English rule to well to the surface once more.’¹⁷⁸ On 16 September 1400, at Glyndyfrdwy, Glyn Dŵr was proclaimed prince of Wales. By 18 September he had marched north to Ruthven, lordship of Reginald Grey, and from there he raided Oswestry and Welshpool. On 24 September he was met on the banks of the Severn by an army led by Hugh Burnell, defeated and scattered but by then it was too late. The revolt spread to Anglesey where Glyn Dŵr’s cousins Rhys and Gwilym ap Tudur attacked English forces at Rhos Fawr near Beaumaris. It must have been during this revolt that the English army destroyed the Franciscan house at Llanfaes, which implies that the friars there were almost certainly Glyn Dŵr’s earliest religious adherents. The friars of Llanfaes had survived several years on the front-line of Edward I’s war against Llywelyn ap Gruffudd with their friary intact, but its destruction in 1400 by the royal army indicates that the friars must have been overt in their support for the Welsh uprising. The fate of the friary at Llanfaes was revealed on 28 January 1401 when a commission led by Richard Hoghton, Gilbert Halsall, Thomas Gerard and John Botiller of Rouclif was ordered on the supplication of the provincial minister and friars of the order of Minors in England regarding their house there. According to the provincial minister the house was deserted and divine services had ceased because ‘certain friars of the house have been separated and dispersed as rebels’, and all the goods of the house had been seized by the English army. The friar pleaded that the

¹⁷⁷ ‘...Interea Wallici, nacta occasione de Regis absentia, rebellare coeperunt, duce quodam Howeno de Glendor. Hic primo juris apprenticius fuit apud Westmonasterium, deinde armiger non ignobilis Regi moderno, ante susceptum regnum, laudabiliter militavit; sed orta discordia inter eum et Dominum Reginaldum Grey de Ruthyn, pro terris quas asseruit haereditario jure sibi competere, cum rationes suas et allegationes parvipensas cerneret, primo in Dominum de Grey hostilia commovit arma, vastans possessions ejus per incendia, et ferro permiens plures de familia sua nimis crudeliter et inhumane...’. *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, pp 333-4; J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, (Oxford, 1966), pp 29-30.

¹⁷⁸ R. R. Davies, *Conquest and domination*, p. 442; idem, *The revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 174.

goods be restored 'for the good of the friars there and the salvation of the house.'¹⁷⁹ In April of the same year a writ dated 1382 was confirmed. In it the guardian and convent of the Friars Minors of London were ordered not to permit alien friars of the order, whether sent at the mandate of superiors or others, to remain at the house for more than two days and to remove all such friars there at present, with the exception of those who were necessary and 'for whom they are willing to answer at their peril, as these aliens bear little or no affection to the king and the realm.'¹⁸⁰ The original writ had referred to French and Irish friars spying on behalf of their respective countries, and its confirmation in April 1401 raises the suspicion that it was now aimed at Welsh friars fleeing the rising in Wales.

However, it was not with alien friars in the Franciscan houses of England that Henry should have concerned himself, but with the English friars themselves. In 1402 Roger Clarendon, bastard son of the Black Prince, and therefore Richard II's half-brother, joined a conspiracy to overthrow Henry.¹⁸¹ He was joined in this by several Franciscans who admitted, under interrogation, that they had spread rumours of Richard being alive. Eleven friars were hanged and drawn for treason.¹⁸² In the same year Henry IV heard accusations from a Franciscan of the Aylesbury convent that a confrere had declared himself glad that King Richard was alive.¹⁸³ This friar was then brought before the king and questioned before being hanged and beheaded.¹⁸⁴ Two friars from the convent at Leicester were also drawn and hanged, one of them having claimed that 500 laymen and clerks planned to assemble near Oxford on 23 June in King Richard's name, among who would be nine friars of his own house. His head was carried about Oxford in procession, the people crying 'Here is the Master Friar Minor of the convent of Leicester, long preaching falsely hypocrisy and adulation, saying that King Richard lives, and he incited the people and they looked

¹⁷⁹ *Patent rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 418.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

¹⁸¹ See Chris Given-Wilson and Alice Curtis, *The royal bastards of medieval England* (London, 1984), pp 143-6 for his rebellion.

¹⁸² Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ii, 250; Davies, *An English chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI*, p. 23; *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, p. 341.

¹⁸³ Haydon, *Eulogium*, iii, 389-90.

¹⁸⁴ Davies, *An English chronicle*, p. 24; Griffiths, 'Secret supporters', p. 86.

for him in Scotland', before placing his head on a stake.¹⁸⁵ In the following year it was claimed by Thomas Walsingham that Owain Glyn Dŵr was prevailing against the English by the use of magical devices, which were attributed by some to the Minorite friars.¹⁸⁶ The combination of Franciscan loyalty to the deposed King Richard, and native support for Glyn Dŵr made the friars in Wales formidable political opponents of Henry IV.¹⁸⁷ However, it also placed them in a difficult position and the siege and sacking of Cardiff in 1404 shows Glyn Dŵr's regard for the friars, but also illustrates the dilemma faced by the order as the revolt spread across Wales. Although the Franciscans at Cardiff had been assured that their friary, just outside the town walls, would be spared in the siege the friars could not be sure of such assurances and placed their books and chalices in the castle for safe-keeping. Glyn Dŵr kept his word and the friary was untouched. However, the town was burnt, the castle seized and the friars' possessions taken. According to one account when the Franciscans asked for the return of their goods Glyn Dŵr replied 'Why did you place your goods there? If you had kept them they would be safe.'¹⁸⁸

Despite his initial success against the English,¹⁸⁹ by 1406 Glyn Dŵr's rebellion was effectively over, although he continued to fight for another eight years. On 11 March 1405 the Welsh were defeated in the valley of Monnow and in May of the same year Glyn Dŵr's eldest son Gruffudd was defeated and captured at Pwell Melyn in

¹⁸⁵ 'Hoc autem anno duo alii fratres de conventu Leycestriae capti fuerunt in partibus Lichfeld' fer faliam principis, et ibidem tracti et suspensi sunt et decollati. Caput Magistri delatum est Oxoniae in Vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistae, et coram processione Universitatis clamabat praeco: "Iste Magister Fratre Minor de conventu Leicestriae in hypocrisi et adulatione et falsa praedicavit multotiens, dicens quod Rex Ricardus vivit; et excitavit populum ut quaerent eum in Scocia." Et caput ejus ibi super palum positum est.' Haydon, *Eulogium*, iii, 394; Griffiths, 'Secret supporters', p. 86.

¹⁸⁶ 'Fuerunt plures, si fas sit credere, qui dicerent haec adversa arte Fratrum Minorum contra Regem fuisse commentata, quo parti Wallici favere dicebantur. Sed absit hoc ab hominibus tam sanctam professis regulam, ut cum daemonibus tantam contraherent familiaritatem, et ponerent in gloria sua maculam nullo saeculo detergendam. Rex autem, necessitate cogentem rediit in Angliam, post incensiam patriam et praedatam.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ii, 251.

¹⁸⁷ Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh church from conquest to reformation* (Cardiff, 1976), pp 219-21.

¹⁸⁸ '...Audoenus Glendor (Owain Glyn Dŵr) partes Australes Walliae incendit et villam de Kaierdief (Cardiff) et castrum obsedit. Qui vero intus erant miserunt ad regem petentes auxilium, sed ipse neque succursum misit. Audoenus villam cepit, et incendit praeter unum vicum in quo fratres minores habitabant quem amore fratrum cum conventu stare permisit. Cepit insuper castrum et destruxit, multasque divitias ibi repositas abstulit. At cum fratres minores peterent ab eo libros suos et calices quos in castro deposuerant respondit: "Quare ea retinissetis apud vos salva vobis fuissent." Haydon, *Eulogium*, iii, p. 401; J. M. Cronin, *Cardiff Grey Friars 1280-1538* (Cardiff, 1924), p. 15.

¹⁸⁹ See *The chronicle of Adam of Usk*, pp 117-35 for accounts of Glyndŵr's battles against the English.

Usk.¹⁹⁰ Among those who fell at the battle was John ap Hywel, prior of the Cistercian house of Llantarnam near Caerleon. The Scots chronicler Walter Bower's description of this man is interesting for a variety of reasons. First, it gives a vivid description of a religious man exhorting his nation to battle; secondly it shows the Scottish interest that was being shown in Welsh affairs and the level of commonality shared by the two nations. Bower describes how the abbot was scarcely strong enough to continue preaching to the Welsh troops having prayed and spoken until 'his throat was sore and his sight failed.' However, he continued to urge them to 'fight for their fatherland, and to defend their lands and possessions, to save their children and wives, and to suffer even death for their ancestral freedom.' In a fashion similar to Friar John the Carpenter who had fought alongside the Scots in the 1330s, the abbot was not content merely to preach war but joined in the fighting and 'met his temporal end along with seven hundred Britons, and it is hoped that in consequence he has earned eternal life.'¹⁹¹ Bower also described another religious who preached to the troops before battle but this man, a friar, was not of the calibre of Abbot John. The friar, also a preacher and hearer of confessions, ended his address saying 'Be men, be comforted and act in manly fashion! Because your cause is just and [you are fighting] for the defence of your side.' He then promised that they would be dining with Christ that very night but, according to Bower, scarcely had he said the words before he hastily made his way from the battlefield and danger. When taunted for cowardice he replied that he was not fit to dine with Christ that evening, as it was a fast time for him. Bower ends scornfully 'From this it appears that this friar was one of those who, Christ said: "They say one thing and do another..."'.¹⁹²

In England, those adhering to Glyn Dŵr were accused of sending money into Wales to help his cause. One such adherent, John Oke of Newent in Gloucestershire admitted to stealing horses, sheep and lambs and to carrying gold and silver into Wales, supposedly at the behest of a number of prominent ecclesiastics.¹⁹³ A second

¹⁹⁰ '...et quinto die mensis Maii, altero facto conflictu, apud Usk, inter Wallicos et Anglicos, familiares Domini Principis, captus est filius Oweni Glendor, captis cum eo, vel peremptis, mille quingentis de parte rebellium. Expost, circa festum Sancti Dunstani, captus est in bello Cancellarius Oweni Glendor, multis ex Wallensibus interemptis.' *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, p. 399; Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 96.

¹⁹¹ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, viii, 106-8.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Griffiths, 'Secret supporters', p. 77.

man, John Veys of Holbeach in Lincolnshire made similar allegations, stating that English abbots, priors and other clerks secretly supported Glyn Dŵr's revolt.¹⁹⁴ In 1952 Glyn Roberts published two documents,¹⁹⁵ the first of which named large numbers of the inhabitants of Anglesey who had adhered to Glyn Dŵr, but who now submitted to the special commissioners appointed. The second document was a list of those 'indicted... for being in arms and rebellion'.¹⁹⁶ Among the names in the former document are thirty-three clergy, while the latter contains five more.¹⁹⁷ There are six friars in all named as supporters of Glyn Dŵr and these are the brethren that had been removed from the friary at Llanfaes in 1400.¹⁹⁸ The friars were named as Tudur Cayn; Tegw ap Blethy; Madog Dewi; Gruffith Nannay; William Conway and Gron ap dd Jthel,¹⁹⁹ and given their very obvious native Welsh origins, it is little surprise that Henry IV viewed native Welsh friars as fomenters of rebellion. Among the other clergymen named in the documents were Lewys Byford, bishop of Bangor, Gruffydd Young, archdeacon of St Asaph, Hywel ap Gwilym, abbot of Conway and David Daron, dean of Bangor.²⁰⁰ By 1414 Glyn Dŵr was a spent force and the Franciscans in Wales were obviously deemed suitably chastised. In that year Henry V issued a charter re-establishing their house at Llanfaes and granting it royal alms in perpetuity. However, all was not forgiven and the king stipulated that only two of the eight friars houses there were to be of native Welsh origin.²⁰¹

The suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII offers a final glimpse into the friars in Wales. On 9 December 1537 Richard Ingworth, formerly a Dominican of the house at Langley Regis, was appointed Lord Visitor of the Friars. It is ironic that the friaries of Wales were visited and suppressed by a man who bore the name of one of

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Glyn Roberts, 'The Anglesey submission of 1406', pp 39-61.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 40; Tomos Roberts, "'An ancient record?' Anglesey adherents of Owain Glyndŵr', p. 129.

¹⁹⁷ Glyn Roberts, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁹⁸ Davies, *Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp 60, 212, 279.

¹⁹⁹ Glyn Roberts, op. cit., p. 41.

²⁰⁰ Roberts, "'An ancient record?' Anglesey adherents of Owain Glyndŵr', p. 130.

²⁰¹ 'Concessimus pro nobis et haeredibus nostris quantum in nobis est, quod in eadem domo sint imperpetuum octo fratres ibidem divina sevitia celebraturi, et Deum, pro salubri statu nostro, ac carissimorum fratrum nostrorum, et aliorum de sanguine et progenie nostris, et pro anumabus patris et matris nostrorum et progenitorum nostrorum et eorum qui in domo praedicta, it praedictum est, sunt sepulti, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, exorature imperpetuum. Quorum quidem octo fratrum volumus quo duo sint de natione Wallensi, ratione victus sui et aliorum, ad sustentationem sui necessariorum adquirendorum.' Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, 'Some account of the friary of Llanvaes', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, xi (1875), 4th series, pp 138-139; *Patent rolls, 1413-16*, p. 234.

the first friars to land at Dover in 1224, the friar who had become first provincial minister of the Franciscans in Ireland.²⁰² On 19 August 1358 Ingworth visited Llanfaes and oversaw the sale of goods and perishables to pay the friary's debts, Ingworth took into his possession the communion vessels and cash, and left directions for the harvesting of corn and the sale of the bells.²⁰³ The Dominicans and Franciscans of Cardiff were suppressed on 6 September the same year. At their dissolution the Black Friars' priory had only seven friars in the house, three of their brethren having died ten or twelve days before. They were heavily in debt, even for food, and their friary was confiscated and leased for twenty-one years to Thomas Litchfield. The Franciscans fared little better. There were nine friars in their house and they had been forced to pawn two chalices to pay their debts. Their friary was leased to John White.²⁰⁴ For the other friaries of Wales, Arthur Jones compiled their gross earnings. They were meagre at best – for example the Dominicans of Rhuddlan had an income of just 28s. 6d., while their brethren at Bangor fared little better at 35s.²⁰⁵

1415 marked the end of an epoch in the history of Europe and the Franciscan order. The Council of Constance, convened the previous year, resolved the papal schism that had opened in 1378,²⁰⁶ while in Wales the revolt which had been led and maintained by Owain Glyn Dŵr was finally finished upon rumours of his death. When this ended, so too did almost two centuries of Franciscan political activity across the British Isles. Henry V's re-establishment of the friary at Llanfaes in 1414 saw the friars there welcomed back into royal favour; whilst their confreres in Scotland and Ireland had long-ceased to be mentioned in contemporary sources as agitators for their respective national causes. The split that had been present in the order since the 1260s was formalized towards the end of the fourteenth century and it now fractured into two distinct orders of Franciscan friars: Conventual and Observant.²⁰⁷ The Conventual Franciscans, a major presence in the British Isles since

²⁰² C. R. Hand, 'Llanfaes friary and its mystery monuments', in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, iv (1934), 7th series, pp 131-2.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp 133-4.

²⁰⁴ Arthur J. Richard, 'The religious houses of Glamorgan', in *Glamorgan Historian*, ii (1936), p. 67.

²⁰⁵ Arthur Jones, "Welsh friaries at the Dissolution," in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, xci (1936), p. 37.

²⁰⁶ Gwynn, 'Ireland and the English nation at the Council of Constance', p. 191; Williams, *Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, pp 227-8.

²⁰⁷ See Ó Clabaigh, *The Franciscans in Ireland*.

their arrival in 1224, ceased to be a significant part of the political landscape as they fought to maintain their identity in the face of shrinking numbers and fading public interest. By the time of the Reformation, the Conventual Franciscans of Ireland, Scotland and Wales were a spent force. Their Observant brethren, however, continued to thrive, capitalizing on the failures of their Conventual confreres and breathing new life into the ascetic monasticism of centuries past.

Conclusion

The formation of the four orders of friars – Minor, Preachers, Carmelites and Augustinians - ushered in a new period of reform for the European church in the late twelfth century. Their rigorous adherence to poverty and reliance upon alms seemed to re-invigorate the church across Europe, and the populations of the British Isles were no exception. By the end of their first century in existence, the friars had certainly left their mark upon the fabric of medieval society. They had established houses in towns and universities, and in the political arena friars acted as advisors and confessors, diplomats and negotiators. As they became entrenched in the secular and political activities of the period the friars, and especially the Franciscans, moved ever further away from the ideals of their founders. Thirteenth-century chroniclers such as Matthew Paris concentrated on those aspects of the mendicant friars that the monastic orders found most repugnant and this in itself was a sign of their success. They had managed to supplant to a great extent the niche originally occupied by the secular clergy and other religious: they were widely favoured as preachers and confessors; they were consulted by crown and papacy in matters of diplomacy; they were ensconced in trusted administrative positions, and they led the way in learning in the universities of Europe. The mendicant orders differed from their monastic predecessors in several ways that appealed to both secular and ecclesiastic authority: they were free of diocesan limits, answerable only to the papacy, highly mobile and largely well educated. These qualities enabled them to move freely in the world rather than being cloistered from it, and it was supposed that their mendicancy protected them from the avarice that had become associated with the monasteries. However, even before the death of St Francis in 1226, the key tenets upon which his order was founded were being neglected. As the order expanded it became impossible for such a large organisation to survive on alms and borrowed churches, and many of those joining the order did not see the conflict between their vows and the building of a friary and church. They believed that education made them better preachers and confessors – something the papacy wished to encourage – and they established colleges in the universities of Europe, eventually dominating the study of philosophy and theology. By the end of the thirteenth century individual Franciscans had occupied the papal see and the archbishopric of Canterbury, friars were regularly

elected to bishoprics and members of the order were among the best-known intellectual minds of the age.

Their immense popularity across Europe ensured that monarchs engaged the friars across the Continent. Their perceived ascetism enabled them to take part in government institutions without suspicion of their actions being for personal enrichment or power. It also, however, ensured that they were participants – willing or otherwise – in the major political conflicts of the medieval period. In France and Germany, friars were placed upon the horns of a dilemma when quarrels between monarch and papacy forced them to choose sides. In France, the friars mostly chose to side with the pope, while in Germany the choice was taken from them when friars were considered papal spies and were evicted as enemies. In England the friars faced a different choice – Henry III entered into conflict, not with the papacy, but with his barons – and here the Franciscans demonstrated sympathy for the noble cause espoused by the rebel barons. Although all engaged in the conflict were most probably English by birth, the Franciscans chose to side with those they considered acting on behalf of the common good – the barons – against the tyranny of a corrupt king. However, although they were embroiled in these controversies, none of these friars could be said to have become ‘politicised’. The French and German friars sided with their spiritual master, whilst the English friars refrained from engaging physically in the conflict, choosing to express their support for de Montfort in words, and in his burial at their convent. By contrast, in Ireland, Scotland and Wales the Franciscans slowly became politicised through the thirteenth and into the fourteenth centuries. From the 1280s onwards, Edward I went to war with the Welsh and the Scots; and Ireland was in a constant state of unrest throughout his reign. Yet it was not until the early decades of the fourteenth century that the Scottish friars started to manifest any overt sympathies towards the native cause, while in Wales it was not until the end of that century that the friars could be said to have definitively chosen in favour of the native Welsh. In Ireland friars were accused of being native in their sympathies far earlier than in either Scotland or Wales. Possibly this is because of the unique situation there, where two nations had co-existed since 1169. The Welsh, although in a similar position to the Irish, had failed to keep institutions such as the church independent of English rule. Furthermore, the Franciscan houses in Wales had never been autonomous – from their inception they were subject to the English

provincial minister. Scottish friars attempted several times over two centuries to erect an independent province, but the Irish friars never faced that dilemma – from their arrival they were identifiable as a separate Irish Franciscan province – and this must have affected their response to events in Ireland.

The question, then, is how did the friars become so politicised in the ‘Celtic’ countries of the British Isles? Edward I was certainly not the first English king to employ friars to negotiate on his behalf, but he was the first to conduct successive wars with the Welsh, the French and the Scots. In Wales especially, the friars mediated between the king and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in their attempts to prevent the outbreak of war in 1282. Archbishop John Peckham, himself a Franciscan, was integral to these diplomatic efforts and he employed several friars to represent the English crown in his absence. When war became inevitable, the friaries of Wales and especially the Franciscan house at Llanfaes and the Dominican priory at Rhuddlan bore the brunt of the fighting, both houses being in receipt of monies afterwards to help repair the damage caused by the conflict. Although these Dominican and Franciscan friaries were not the only religious establishments to suffer during this period, Llanfaes and Rhuddlan were witness to some of the most ferocious fighting, most likely because of their proximity to Llywelyn’s stronghold of Anglesey. Despite the actions of individual friars such as William de Merton, guardian of Llanfaes, the Franciscans of Wales remained very much aloof from the politics of the war, providing shelter and sepulture to both sides of the conflict. In the aftermath of the war, Edward was confident enough in the loyalty of the friars to use them for inquiries into damages caused to churches and religious foundations across Wales.

Franciscan involvement in the Scottish wars of independence differed greatly from that of their Welsh confreres. Almost from the time they crossed the border and established a house at Berwick-on-Tweed, the Franciscans were involved in conflict involving national identity. Although of English provenance, the first Scottish friars attempted almost immediately to erect a province independent of English control. Their ambiguous position on the border between England and Scotland, and the constantly-changing status of their house at Berwick mirrored the confused national sympathies of the friars in Scotland. During the first Anglo-Scottish conflict in 1296 the Franciscans maintained a neutrality similar to that of their Welsh brethren. For

the most part the friars of Scotland were aloof to the events taking place, although in a similar vein to William Merton making representations on behalf of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, King John Balliol used a Franciscan friar, Friar Adam Blunt, guardian and lector of the Franciscan house at Roxburgh, to present his renunciation of homage to Edward I. The first indication that the Scottish Franciscans were sympathising with Robert Bruce's war for the throne of Scotland was the use of their church in 1306 for his meeting with John Comyn. Although this resulted in the latter's murder, no word of condemnation is found in any extant records – a later account by Lord Lindsay records that an elderly friar foretold of revenge upon the perpetrators' ancestors but this is hardly conclusive evidence that the order was shocked by Bruce's actions. Indeed, some have argued that the Friars Minor of Scotland hosted a general meeting of the clergy in 1309 with the purpose of proclaiming their support for Bruce. Although reputable historians have discredited this, as discussed in Chapter Four, the existence of such a claim at least indicates that anecdotal evidence deemed the Franciscans as predisposed towards Bruce's cause. By the time Edward Bruce arrived in Ireland in 1315, there is much to suggest that the friars had abandoned their previously neutral stance and embraced the Scottish cause. Certainly Edward III viewed them as a threat to the stability of the border in 1333 and had them removed, citing their nativist sympathies.

The Franciscan experience in Scotland during the wars of independence, therefore, has less in common with their Welsh brethren during the Edwardian Conquest, and more with their confreres in Ireland. The most obvious area of commonality is the presence of a Scottish lord on Irish soil prosecuting a war against the English. Such a situation could not help but add confusion to an already volatile political situation in Ireland. Scottish friars had sought independence of England almost from the time they crossed the border, something that the Irish Franciscans did not have to undertake. However, internal divisions within the latter province were manifesting themselves by the end of the thirteenth century and Edward Bruce's arrival in 1315 exacerbated the situation. The Irish province fractured along racial lines and the English crown was forced to use friars to attempt to subdue certain areas, whilst condemning their confreres for fomenting rebellion and exhorting the people to follow Bruce. This racial split was clearly defined in 1316 when Edward II and the pope were commissioning letters condemning the activities of certain Franciscans in

Ireland, whilst simultaneously the English king was seeking to appoint the Franciscan Geoffrey of Aylsham to the archbishopric of Cashel. The conduct of certain Irish friars during the Bruce invasion led to severe censure in the 1320s and, although it was not the sole contributor to the trouble experienced by the order later in the century, it certainly added to its beleaguered image. The fourteenth century witnessed, not the decline of the Franciscans in Ireland, but rather their failure to grow significantly. This was due to several factors, not least of which was the friars' actions in support of Edward Bruce. The popular view in the later fourteenth century was of a religious order that had fallen into disreputable ways and Geoffrey Chaucer made the image of the lusty friar a popular caricature. The order throughout Europe suffered several setbacks regarding its relationship with the papacy, and the outbreak of the Black Death affected mendicants more severely than their monastic brethren because of the location of their dwellings inside the towns. Richard FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh, attacked their adherence to absolute poverty in the 1350s while Wyclif and his followers continued FitzRalph's accusations into the 1370s. In England friars were forced to defend themselves against accusations that they had helped to foment the Peasants' Revolt and in the following reign Henry IV had several Franciscans hanged for allegedly treasonous activities against his crown and their part in the rebellion of Owain Glyn Dŵr. The fourteenth century was, therefore, a turbulent century for the order and as well as defending the order from external forces, the Franciscans also had to combat internal divisions. These had first manifested themselves during the thirteenth century when the Spirituals sought to reinstate a strict interpretation of Francis's Rule. Their spirit lived on into the fourteenth century despite the best efforts of the papacy and the order's hierarchy, and eventually led to the formal split of the Franciscans into Conventual and Observant friars. The former faded quietly into the political background whilst the latter thrived across the British Isles.

Franciscan involvement in the politics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not a uniform experience. Across the continent of Europe the friars faced different challenges and responded to them appropriately. It seems unique to the 'Celtic' countries of the British Isles that nationality came to dictate the friars' responses. Yet even this was unpredictable and seems to have only slowly come about after a long exposure to the countries in which the friars settled. In Wales, for example, there was

more than a hundred years between the impartiality of their role in the Edwardian Conquest of 1282 and the destruction of their house at Llanfaes in 1400 because of their support for Owain Glyn Dŵr. What, then, can be said for the commonality of Franciscan behaviour during England's wars with Ireland, Scotland and Wales? It seems fair to say that the longer the friars were established in each of these countries, the more inclined they were to support the native cause. It was English friars who initiated the expansion of the order into the other countries of the British Isles but the further away in time those foundations moved from their original provenance, the less inclined they were to consider themselves as Franciscans rather than Welshmen, Scots or Irishmen. Welsh friars were mostly neutral during Edward I's war with Llywelyn, yet were cited as among Owain Glyn Dŵr's staunchest supporters just over a century later. Scottish friars maintained a dual identity throughout the thirteenth century, seeking to establish an independent province whilst maintaining a neutral stance during the course of the Edward I's deposition of John Balliol. It was only in the fourteenth century that their identity was clearly established as Scottish, and they were declared rebels by the English king. Finally, the Irish friars were, perhaps, the most conflicted of the brethren in all three countries. From their foundation, Irish Franciscans consisted of two nations co-existing in a single order. While it was not inevitable that they would clash, the Franciscan order in Ireland came to embody the political divide that was present from the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1169. Edward Bruce's invasion merely clarified for Irish friars where their loyalties lay – not with the Franciscan order or the English government, but with other Irishmen who supported Bruce in his bid to become king of Ireland.

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