

## SIR OTHO DE GRANDISON 1238?-1328.

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### I.—THE FRIEND OF KING EDWARD.

THERE is perhaps no incident in the history of the later Crusades that has so caught the fancy of succeeding generations as the story of how Queen Eleanor, with true wifely affection, sucked the poison from her husband's wound. But that story does not appear in any contemporary writer: and when fifty years after the event it at last makes its appearance, it is given only as a hearsay tale.<sup>1</sup> Yet, after all, one is inclined to believe that the legend may not have been entirely ill-founded, when a few years later we find the credit of this act given to a man, who is known to have rendered Edward some signal service and to have been united to him in a lifelong and peculiar friendship. The later story is the more remarkable because the writer who preserved it had no knowledge of these other facts which make his version the more appropriate.

The Flemish historian, John of Ypres, after relating the circumstances of Edward's Crusade, goes on to say: 'I have heard the following story from the lips of certain honourable and trustworthy men of Savoy, who, however, told me not of what they had seen but of what they had heard. Now these men alleged that once upon a time there was in Savoy

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, xxiii. 6.

a certain lord of Grandson, whose wife bore him a son. When the astronomers were summoned to examine, calculate, and decide the child's nativity, they declared that if he grew to manhood, he would be great, powerful, and victorious. There was also present on this occasion a person full of superstition, or shall I rather say of divine inspiration, who taking a brand from the hearth declared that the boy would live only so long as the brand lasted, and that he might live the longer thereupon had the brand built up in a wall. The boy lived, grew to manhood, and to old age, with ever increasing honour; until at last, weary of life through the burden of his years, he ordered the brand to be taken out of the wall and cast into the fire. Hardly was the brand consumed, ere the good knight expired. My informants told me further that this fateful lord of Grandson was beyond sea in the company of the son of the King of England; and that when he heard how the prince had been poisoned, he alone, trusting, as I suppose, in the fate that had been foretold for him, dared to suck the venom from the wound; and thus through his aid was Edward healed. Afterwards this lord of Grandson and his kinsfolk rose to high honour with the Kings of England, and unto this day have they great repute in that country. But of this can I avouch no more than was told to me.'<sup>1</sup>

It is strange that John of Ypres should not have discovered the full name of his hero. Perhaps, however, he regarded the story as no more than a romantic fable, and knowing nothing of English Grandisons hardly credited their existence. None the less, his informants did not speak without reason, and we have no difficulty in identifying their child of destiny with Sir Otho de Grandison,<sup>2</sup> the trusty secretary and friend from youth of Edward of England.

The town of Grandson on the bank of the Lake of

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon S. Bertini*, ap. Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, iii. 751. John of Ypres died in 1383, but he entered the monastery in 1339, and may have heard the story not many years after Otho's death.

<sup>2</sup> Though the credit has been erroneously given to his grandfather, Ebal IV. See Meredith Read, *Historic Studies in Vaud*, i. 453-4.

Neuchâtel has become famous as the scene of the victory in which the Swiss patriots of 1476 routed Charles the Bold. In the early Middle Ages the Castle was the seat of a family which claimed to spring from an imperial stock.<sup>1</sup> Towards the close of the first half of the thirteenth century its lord was Peter de Grandson, who, having played his part wisely in a stormy time, won for his family the protection of the famous Count Peter of Savoy. Count Peter was grand-uncle, through his niece Eleanor, of our own Edward I., and being himself Earl of Richmond by grant from King Henry, obtained for many young nobles of Savoy and Burgundy advancement at the English Court. The lord of Grandson seems to have died about 1258,<sup>2</sup> leaving to his widow, Agnes, daughter of Count Ulric of Neuchâtel, besides several daughters, the charge of six sons, Otho, Gerard, James, Henry, Peter and William.<sup>3</sup> No doubt Agnes was glad enough when Peter of Savoy provided for the half of them by taking them in his train on his fourth visit to England in 1258. The eldest was Otho, then probably a little over twenty years of age, who entered the service of Edward, the English King's elder son. Gerard, the second, continued as a chaplain in Peter's own service; he was canon of Lyons in 1259, was afterwards in

<sup>1</sup> On the early lords of Grandson see L. de Charrière, *Les Dynastes de Grandson jusqu'au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Lausanne, 1866, and B. Egger, *Geschichte der Cluniazenser Kloster in der Westschweiz*, Freiburg, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Peter de Grandson was one of the three sons of Yeblo or Ebal IV. The others were Henry de Chanvent, and Gerard de La Sarraz, who with their descendants took name from the castles of which they were lords. The earliest known members of the family are Lambert and Adalbert de Grandson in 981-2 (*Cartulaire de Lausanne*, ap. *Soc. de la Suisse Romande*, vi. 609). Peter I. was alive on September 28, 1257, but dead before August 31, 1263. (*Minutes of Evidence concerning the Barony of Grandison*, 169. See also Wurstemberger, *Peter der Zweite, Graf von Savoyen*, iv. 127, 177, 286, 377.)

<sup>3</sup> The order is determined by a deed of August 31, 1263, under which Agnes and her sons sold the 'Peage de Grandson' to Peter of Savoy for an annual rent charge on Cuarnie, Pomers and Crotnei. It begins: 'Nos Agnes, domina de Grandisono, tutrix legitima liberorum nostrorum Petri et Willelmi, Girardus, Jaquetus et Henricus, pro se et fratre suo Otonino, filii predictæ domine &c.' Peter and William were clearly under age. Henry was probably just of age, for, having no seal of his own, he was 'contentus sigillis aliorum.' Otho was plainly absent; for his brothers contracted in his behalf, and promised to obtain his consent. *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 169, with the deed in full.

the confidence of King Edward and his brother Edmund, and died Bishop of Verdun in 1278.<sup>1</sup> For William the youngest of the family, a post was found in the household of Edmund of Lancaster; from him descended the English Grandisons, and we shall hear much of him hereafter. Of the others Henry also at a later date entered the service of the English King.<sup>2</sup> Peter became Sire de Belmont, and was ancestor of the later lords of Grandson.

Sir Otho de Grandison (or Graunzun) appears as one of Edward's knights in 1268,<sup>3</sup> and had no doubt fought under him at Lewes and Evesham. He accompanied his master on the Crusade, landing with him at Acre on May 9, 1271.<sup>4</sup> When Edward made his will on the day after his attempted assassination—June 18, 1272—Otho de Grandison was named as one of the executors.<sup>5</sup> With Edward he returned to the West, and journeyed through Italy to the lands of his ancestral lord, the Count of Savoy. He was with Edward when he compelled William de Tournon, the robber-knight of Burgundy, to become a vassal of Savoy,<sup>6</sup> and, as we may fairly conjecture, charged by his side in that strange tournament which came to be known as 'the little battle of Chalons.' Edward, though his father had been dead more than six months, put off his return to England and went instead to Gascony, where Otho may have made acquaintance with his fellow-countryman, Jean de Grailly,<sup>7</sup> his future comrade-in-arms at the siege of Acre, who was then in the service of King Edward.

Otho de Grandison probably accompanied the King to England in August 1274, and from this time forward his

<sup>1</sup> Wurstemberger, iv. 507, 657. *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 135, 161-2. *Foedera*, ii. 563. *Ancient Correspondence*, xiii. 70, xiv. 77-82, xxi. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xviii. 32-3. See below, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii. 140, 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Cont. William of Tyre*, 460. He was with Edward in Sicily on January 15, 1271, cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward. I., iii. 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Foedera*, i. 495.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* i. 504.

<sup>7</sup> From Grilly or Gilly in Vaud. He was the founder of the Gascon family De Grailly. For a Life of Jean de Grailly see M. Bémont, *Rôles Gascons*, iii. pp. xxxiii-xlvii.

name occurs frequently in our national records. He never held any official position of the first importance, though Edward employed him from the start, not merely in personal matters suited to a trusty and confidential servant, but also on those affairs of state which it was expedient to preserve from public notoriety. 'There was,' writes Edward on one occasion, 'no one about him who could do his will better; nay, it could not be better done if he were to attend to it himself in person.'<sup>1</sup> So we find Otho sent abroad to purchase horses for the King's use, to negotiate a loan with the merchants of Florence and Piacenza, to discharge a mission of courtesy at the French Court, or to arrange details of administration in Gascony.<sup>2</sup> Upon such matters of delicacy he was employed during three years or more without holding any higher office than that of the King's confidant or private secretary.<sup>3</sup> His good service had, however, received practical recognition by a grant in November 1275 of the Wardenship of the Channel Islands at an annual farm or rent, which fourteen months later was exchanged for a free grant for life. The second grant was specially declared to be made 'on account of his intimacy with the King, of his long and faithful service from an early age, and in acquittance of debts incurred in the King's service.' A special proviso was added that Otho's executors 'should hold the islands, and their issues, for five years after his decease, for the acquittance of his debts, and the fulfilment of his will, without rendering any accounts therefore.'<sup>4</sup> This grant gave Otho a position of singular authority. But of his connection with the Islands I shall have more to say in another place.

The royal favour brought Otho wealth and influence in abundance. Of the King's grant he held in Ireland by the service of two knights' fees the castle, cantred, and land of Okonagh, the town of Tipperary, the castle and land of

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I., i. 493.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I., i. 77, 85, 98, 112, 156, 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 389: Otho de Grandison, 'one of the King's household and the King's secretary'; *Rôles Gascons*, 558, 1488.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I., i. 125, 188, 193.

Kilfekle, the land of Muskerye, the manor of Kilselam, the town of Clonmel, and the land of Estremoye.<sup>1</sup> In England he had a house at Westminster,<sup>2</sup> with tenements in London, and lands in Kent and other counties, which he owed to his friendship with Robert Burnell, the famous Chancellor, with Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and with Eleanor, the King's mother.<sup>3</sup> The circle of his friends included, in addition to those already named, Antony Bek, the future Bishop of Durham, John Langton, afterwards Chancellor to Edward I. and Edward II., with whom he corresponded on friendly terms,<sup>5</sup> and John de Vesci, who had been his companion in arms during the Crusade. Otho, on his part, was not unmindful of his friends. Richard Guydechon, merchant of Lucca, sought his aid in a financial dispute with the abbot of Meaux.<sup>4</sup> When Thomas Salekyn, the boatman at Dover, feared that he would lose the house which he was alleged to have built on the common soil, it was to his 'very dear lord, and it please him friend, Sir Otho de Granson,' that he appealed for protection.<sup>6</sup> Many, too, were the nephews and kinsfolk from Savoy and Burgundy for whom Otho was able to obtain ecclesiastical preferment and profitable employment in England, establishing a connection which we can trace far into the fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Clearly it was no ordinary position which enabled Otho, within a few years after his

<sup>1</sup> See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I., i. 296, ii. 337, 372; *Cal. Close Rolls*, iii. 88, 137; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 254, 366; and *Minutes of Evidence, Barony of Grandison*, pp. 5, 6 (giving the grant in full). The original grant was for life only; exchanged for one in fee in 1281.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 435. In 1292 a royal council was held 'in domo Ottonis de Grandison extra palacium domini regis apud Westmonasterium.' *Rot. Parl.* i. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 221, 346, 465; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 357 (Sheen, Surrey), ii. 417 (Ditton, Cambridgeshire, and Thurveston, Bucks), iii. 57 (Shenley, Herts), 188; *Cal. Close Rolls*, i. 510, ii. 241 (Kemsing and Seal, Kent). See also Hasted, *History of Kent*, i. 128, 231, 328, 338. The manor of Grandisons at Wilmington in Kent preserves his name. Knole in the same county was at one time his property.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Correspondence*, xxvi. 34, and xxxv. 59. See pp. 159, 192, below.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xxx. 101. See p. 189, below. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* xxxi. 5. See p. 191, below.

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 179-188, below.

return to England, to thus command the friendly favours of the great, and in his turn do service for others less fortunate.

When trouble began with Llywelyn of Wales Sir Otho de Grandison found more active employment. At the commencement of hostilities in January 1277, he was serving as banneret under the Earl of Lincoln, with four knights and ten troopers as his personal following, a number of lances which was equalled only by those of his friend, John de Vesci. With Vesci as his colleague Otho during the summer had charge of the operations in Anglesey, which helped materially to bring about the temporary submission of Llywelyn. In November he was again to the front as one of the commissioners who arranged terms of peace with the Welsh Prince.<sup>1</sup>

The Welsh war had but just ended, when in January 1278 Otho was appointed with Robert Burnell to settle the King's affairs in Gascony, where during a tour of six months they administered the duchy with vice-regal powers.<sup>2</sup> Other business had kept them for a time in Paris, and they only reached La Reole on May 22. On November 14 they were back at St. Denis, whence Otho went on to pay a visit to his native land. There he thought of marrying a daughter of Count Otto of Burgundy. On March 11, 1279, Edward wrote that out of regard for Otho's honour and advantage, he would have desired that such an affair should be arranged in his presence, or at least after conference with him, but since in matters of this sort the wishes of the contracting parties commonly defeat the wishes of others, he would agree to whatever Otho's kinsfolk and friends might approve.<sup>3</sup>

This matrimonial scheme came to nothing, and a little later Otho returned to England to resume his routine duties

<sup>1</sup> Morris, <sup>Welsh</sup> *English Wars of Edward I.*, pp. 121, 134, 142; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 197-8, 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 253, 298; *Cal. Close Rolls*, i. 493. See also M. Bémont's Introduction to *Rôles Gascons*, p. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Correspondence*, xiii. 51. See p. 188, below.

as one of the king's councillors.<sup>1</sup> Then in the late summer of 1280 he was again sent abroad on a confidential mission to the Papal Court.<sup>2</sup> This embassy was concluded within the year, for on July 6, 1281, he was once more engaged on military service with John de Vesci in Anglesey.<sup>3</sup> In the following year came another foreign mission, on this occasion to his native land to arrange terms of peace between Count Philip of Savoy and Rudolph of Habsburg.<sup>4</sup> His brother Gerard, the Bishop of Verdun, had died four years before; the chapter, supported by the Count of Champagne wrongfully withheld part of his estate; James and Henry de Grandison, who were then at Orvieto in the king's service, petitioned Edward on June 11 to allow Otho to use the opportunity of his presence in Germany to secure a just settlement.<sup>5</sup>

In the spring of 1282 Llywelyn had renewed the war in Wales. When Otho came home at the close of the year, he was at once appointed to his old command in Anglesey. The position was an important one; for by securing that island and the command of the sea Grandison was able to cover the King's triumphant advance from Bangor to Carnarvon and Harlech. His services marked him out for high office when peace was secured, and in March 1284 he was made Justiciar of North Wales. Nominally Otho retained that post for nine years, though during the greater part of the time the duties were discharged by a deputy.<sup>6</sup> But in the earlier and more

<sup>1</sup> e.g. as an auditor of the accounts of the Ricardi on Dec. 10, 1279; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 354. See p. 189, below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 389.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 448. He was at Westminster on June 8.—*Rôles Gascons*, 479.

<sup>4</sup> *Rôles Gascons*, 558. See Pauli, *Bilder aus Alt England*, 105; *Ancient Correspondence*, xiii. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Champollion, *Lettres de Rois et Reines*, i. 161, from *Ancient Correspondence*, xviii. 33. On the same date Henry de Grandison wrote to Edward on behalf of John de Pontisara, and reporting the news of the Sicilian Vespers, 'the whole island is in open rebellion'—*Revue Historique*, lxxxvii. 66, from *Ancient Correspondence*, xviii. 32, formerly *Royal Letters*, 1215. M. Langlois, *Philippe le Hardi*, p. 140, has erroneously suggested that Otho himself was at Orvieto, and sent the news to England.

<sup>6</sup> Morris, *English Wars of Edward I.*, pp. 189, 191, 209, 218.



critical period he was present in Wales in person. He had a special charge, as it would appear, for the building and care of Edward's famous castles. His brother William, who served as his lieutenant, is mentioned as employed on the fortifications of Carnarvon,<sup>1</sup> and when the see of York fell vacant Otho had custody of it in order that he might apply the issues to the construction of castles in Wales.<sup>2</sup> There was something peculiarly appropriate in this appointment. Otho was not only familiar with the finest of mediaeval fortresses in the great castles of Palestine, but in his native land had witnessed the rebuilding of Chillon, of his own ancestral home at Grandson, and of other famous castles, by his first patron, Count Peter. We have no means of determining what share Otho may have had in designing the Edwardian castles, though he is mentioned as having the oversight of the building of Builth.<sup>3</sup> However, his tenure of office in Wales supplies a curious personal link between the English, Continental, and Crusading fortresses.

At the close of 1285 King Edward, freed at last from the anxieties of the Welsh war, was contemplating a visit to Gascony. The immediate purpose of his going was that he might if possible arrange the quarrel between the rival claimants to the Sicilian throne, Charles of Anjou and James of Aragon. For Edward that dispute had a practical interest, through its indirect bearing on the fortunes of Gascony. It touched also his more sentimental ideals, by making all his efforts for a renewal of the Holy War of none effect. It was for this double purpose that in December 1285 Otho de Grandison was sent to Rome on a mission to Honorius IV. His first business was no doubt to ascertain for his master

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I., ii. 302, 329, 397. See also as to Conway on p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 193—date September 1285. From this source 1,378*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* was received between Sept. 15, 1285, and April 16, 1286—Raine, *Historians of Church of York*, iii. 236. See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 151, for supplies to be sent from Somerset for the castles in Wales, in January 1285; and *Cal. Close Rolls*, ii. 273, for supplies to be sent from Ireland, in August 1284. See also *Rôles Gascons*, 1420.

<sup>3</sup> Morris, *English Wars of Edward I.*, p. 148.

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the intention of the Papal Court in the Sicilian affair, but he was also instructed to urge the Pope, in the general interest of Christendom, to secure an early settlement. In the following May Edward himself left England, and early in the summer Grandison rejoined him in Gascony to report the results of his mission.<sup>1</sup> In the long negotiations which followed, in the abortive treaty of Oloron in July 1287, in the arrangement of a marriage between the King's daughter Eleanor and Alfonso of Aragon, and in the eventual treaty of Canfranc in October 1288, Otho had an important and confidential share.<sup>2</sup> Under the latter treaty Charles the Lame, the Angevin claimant to the crown of Sicily, obtained his release from captivity in Aragon, upon conditions and under a guarantee from the English king. Charles went at once to Italy, where Nicholas IV., who had succeeded Honorius as Pope, abrogated entirely the treaty, and encouraged him to renew the war with James of Aragon. Edward, naturally indignant at so flagrant a breach of good faith, thereon sent Otho de Grandison to expostulate with Nicholas for stirring new strife among Christians at the very time when the cause of the Cross in Palestine was threatened with imminent and overwhelming disaster.<sup>3</sup>

## II.—THE FALL OF ACRE.

During the seventeen years that had elapsed since Edward and Otho left Palestine, the fortunes of the Christians in that country had gone from bad to worse. The phantom kingship of Jerusalem, reft of all reality of power, was disputed for by rival claimants, who could impose no restraint on the military jealousy of the great Orders of the Hospital and Temple, or on the commercial antagonism of the Venetians and Genoese. So while the Christians

<sup>1</sup> *Foedera*, i. 653, 666; *Registrum*, Honorius IV., 371, 620, 625, 686.

<sup>2</sup> *Foedera*, i. 678, 685, 689, 693.

<sup>3</sup> *Foedera*, i. 708—May 8, 1289. Otho left Bastida de Meason (Mézin) in Guienne on May 10, on his way to the Roman Curia. (Gough, *Itinerary of Edward I.*, ii. 57.) See also Amari, *War of Sicilian Vespers*, and *Rôles Gascons*, 1488, 1495, 1496.

were destroying each other with internecine strife, the Saracens were conquering one by one the strongholds of the military Orders and the villages and towns of the Franco-Syrian lords. Markab, the majestic maritime castle of the Hospitallers, was taken by Sultan Kalawun in 1285. Four years later, in the summer of 1289, the city of Tripoli, which was so rich and populous that four thousand weavers are said to have found employment in its factories, fell a prey to the infidel. The city was sacked and burnt with every circumstance that could add horror to war, and thousands of the citizens slain. Those who escaped on board the ships that lay at anchor in the harbour, took refuge at Acre, as many from other towns and places had done before. Thus the population of Acre was much increased, and in the expressive words of an English chronicle: 'There were gathered together, not as of old time holy and devout men from every nation under the sun, but wantons, wastrels, toppers, mimes and players out of every country in Christendom. All such manner of folk had flowed into that sacred city as it were into a sink, and polluted it with the foulness of their lives and habits.'<sup>1</sup>

The Syrian Franks had long since abandoned themselves to the luxury of the East. The West recruited them no more with religious enthusiasm, but only with the trader's greed for gain, and the dissolute violence of a hired soldiery. So Acre in the last years of the thirteenth century had come to present in combination all the worst features of a military camp and of a great commercial port. The evil was increased by the lack of any central power which could enforce its authority upon all. The city was indeed a curious microcosm of mediaeval life. The traders of Venice, Genoa, Marseilles, and other towns had each their separate quarters, fortified, not against the Saracen foe, but against their Christian rivals. The lords of the land and the Masters of the three great military Orders had each their strong towers. The legate of the Pope, the bailiffs of the Kings of England, France,

<sup>1</sup> Hemingburgh, ii. 23.

and Cyprus all exercised their authority in independence. Thus within the walls of one city there were seventeen separate and distinct communities. 'Whence,' says Villani quaintly enough, 'there sprang no small confusion.'<sup>1</sup>

To this ill-assorted assemblage of merchants and mercenaries the news of the fall of Tripoli came as a sudden shock. It may have stirred them for the moment to remember the original purpose of their presence in Palestine. It must have forced them to realise that, unless there arose some great and marvellous deliverance out of the West, the day would soon arrive when Acre should share the fate of her sister city. For the time all seem to have accepted the leadership of Henry of Cyprus, who represented in his own person the lines of Baldwin of Jerusalem and of Bohemond of Antioch. Henry's first care was to conclude a two years' truce with the Sultan of Egypt; his next was to send Jean de Grailly, 'captain of the soldiers of the King of France,' to beg for the Pope's assistance in the present miserable condition of the Holy Land.

Jean de Grailly reached Italy while Sir Otho de Grandison was still at the Papal Court.<sup>2</sup> Nicholas IV. was in the thick of his strife with James of Aragon. But this double appeal seems to have roused him to some sense of the special duty which as Pope he owed to the Christians in the East. In reply to Jean de Grailly he promised to send a fleet of twenty galleys to the assistance of Acre, while under the influence of a fresh remonstrance from Edward of England he abandoned for the time his Italian schemes, and endeavoured to arrange a truce between the rival claimants to the throne of Sicily.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Muratori, xiii. 338. On the state of Acre just before its fall see also *Chron. Equitis Teutonici*, cclx-cclxvi, ap. Matthæus, *Veteris Aevi Analecta*, v.

<sup>2</sup> Otho was with Nicholas at Rieti on Aug. 26, 1289; he was at Rome on Nov. 5 and as late as Dec. 13. *Registrum*, Nicholas IV., 1351, 1648, 1892, 2162.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 2252, 2260. The galleys were promised at Rieti on Sept. 13. In October William de Houdon came to Rome on a mission from Edward 'in re Terræ Sanctæ.'

Sir Otho de Grandison, when sent on his mission to the Pope, had been charged also by his master to seek the help of James of Aragon for the proposed Crusade. Edward himself, though by position and experience marked out as the most natural leader of the West, was of an age that should exempt, if it did not debar, him from so perilous an undertaking. In the youthful James of Aragon there appeared to be combined the power, the ability, and the spirit of adventure, which were needed for the leader of a new Crusade. James was now at Gaeta, and thither Otho, accompanied by Raymond the Catalan, bore to him the invitation of the English King and of the Pope. Their proposals were dazzling enough to blind that prince to the warnings of his councillors, who reminded him of the fate of Frederick II., but they did not overcome his natural astuteness. James bargained for a truce in Italy, and for an assurance that he should hold his conquests as King of Jerusalem: on these terms he would go to the East in person with thirty galleys, three hundred knights, and ten thousand foot soldiers.<sup>1</sup> Such an arrangement would have deprived Charles of Anjou of his titular kingship in Palestine, without securing to him his more valuable claims in Italy. It was a bargain that was perhaps not intended seriously. Certainly it was not one to which Charles, or Nicholas as his ally, was likely to assent. In the result Otho returned to his master in England without having accomplished much that was effectual to the purpose in hand.<sup>2</sup>

The chivalrous aspect of the Crusades appealed strongly to one side of Edward's character, and to the very day of his death he cherished the hope that he might yet fulfil the promise of his youth. The comparative failure of his envoy, therefore, only confirmed his desire to render aid in person to the Christians of Palestine. Still he had but lately returned to

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomew de Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, ap. Muratori, xiii. 1159; Dr. H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, i. 2-7.

<sup>2</sup> He was back in England before April 18, 1290 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, Edward I., iii. 152). While at Rome he had suffered from recurrent fever (*Various Collections*, i. 256, Hist. MSS. Comm.).

England after his prolonged absence in Gascony, and domestic affairs required his attention. His own departure must therefore be postponed for two years at least. In the meantime Sir Otho de Grandison was to go to Acre, and prepare the way for the King's own coming. All this had been definitely arranged before the middle of May,<sup>1</sup> but the work of preparation required some time. Otho must have felt it not improbable that he would never return. His own affairs had therefore to be set in order; his Irish lands were with the king's licence transferred to his nephews and his brother William, who also became his lieutenant for the Channel Islands.<sup>2</sup> The expenses of the journey must likewise be provided for. Under the pledge of the royal security the merchants of the Society of the Amanati at Pistoja advanced three thousand marks;<sup>3</sup> and the money thus obtained was supplemented by contributions from English sources.<sup>4</sup> Early in July Otho received the cross at the hands of Archbishop Peckham,<sup>5</sup> and a few days later set out for Palestine with a small company which included more priestly pilgrims than men-at-arms.<sup>6</sup> He would, however, find at Acre the force of soldiers whom Edward maintained there under the command of the Knights of St. Thomas.<sup>7</sup>

On his way through Italy Otho went again to the Papal

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti Eboracenses*, 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 366; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edward I., iii. 137, 359; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 372.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 373.

<sup>4</sup> John Romanus, archbishop of York, gave the first fruits of the archdeaconry of Richmond (*Fasti Eboracenses*, 337). William de St. Rémy, bailiff of Guernsey, had stringent orders from the King to collect all arrears and dues without delay, since Otho was in great need of money (*Rôles Gascons*, 1924).

<sup>5</sup> B. Cotton, *Chron.* 177.

<sup>6</sup> The following were some of Otho's companions: Alexander de Esselington; Robert de Cadbury, canon of Wells; William de Cestria, parson of Great Acle; Hugh FitzJohn; Ralph de Whaddon; William le Lange; Peter de Wyppayns, and Peter d'Estavayer, his nephews. Otho had letters of protection on June 10. The latest document relating to his mission is dated July 20, but he may himself have started somewhat earlier. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 356-376.)

<sup>7</sup> *Chron. Equitis Teutonici*, cclxiv., where it is stated that the Master of St. Thomas of Canterbury had under him 5,000 soldiers, whom the King of England had sent. The number is no doubt a gross exaggeration.

Court at Orvieto to learn what arrangements had finally been made for the relief of Acre. For though Nicholas had not been willing to lay aside his schemes for Papal aggrandisement at King Edward's bidding, he was for very shame compelled to perform his promise to Jean de Grailly. Nicholas had also prepared an abundance of good counsel for the patriarch, which he sent him in letters, no doubt by the hands of Otho de Grandison, who, after spending a month at Orvieto, started on the last stage of his journey about mid-October.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the year, at the Pope's request, the Republic of Venice had despatched a fleet of twenty galleys to Acre under the command of Jacopo Tiepolo, son of the late Doge Lorenzo.<sup>2</sup> At his own cost Nicholas had equipped a force of 1600 mercenaries, and had furnished Jean de Grailly and another captain, named Rubeus de Suilly, with a thousand ounces of gold apiece.<sup>3</sup> The Venetian fleet, which probably conveyed the Pope's contingent, reached Acre at the beginning of summer to find the truce still in force, and the prospect of active warfare somewhat remote. With most of these so-called Crusaders the hope of profit, or love of adventure were more lively motives than zeal for the faith. So after a little, Tiepolo and Suilly went home with the fleet. The Papal mercenaries, who thus formed the only effective force that had come from the West, were destined to be the immediate cause of the disaster which they were intended to avert. Eager for plunder and impatient of restraint, in spite of remonstrances from the Syrian Franks, they began to raid the neighbouring country, where they destroyed and burnt many Saracen villages.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards, being left without pay,

<sup>1</sup> Otho was at Orvieto on Sept. 15, and had apparently left or was leaving on Oct. 15. *Registrum*, Nicholas IV., 3279, 4385-88, 4391.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobus Tepuli de Venetis, ap. *Registrum*, Nicholas IV., 4400; cf. *Acta Aragonensia*, i. 1. Elsewhere he is called 'Scopulus' or 'Rocco.' In the *Gestes des Chiprois* (480) it is stated that 'Lescouple' was son of the Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. S. Bertini*, 770.

<sup>4</sup> *De Excidio Urbis Acconis*, i. 2. This was in August; cf. Makrizi, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks* (ed. Quatremère), ii. 109, who gives the date as Shaban, A.H. 689, i.e. August, 1290.

and in lack of the means of subsistence, they fell to plundering the Mohammedan merchants, who had come to Acre, under cover of the truce, for the purposes of peaceful trade.<sup>1</sup>

These repeated outrages excited the liveliest indignation in the mind of the Egyptian Sultan, Kalawun, who early in November left Cairo for Syria, with the intention of taking vengeance on Acre in the following spring. Kalawun had hardly begun his journey when he was seized with a sudden fever of which, after a month's illness, he died.<sup>2</sup> He had already sent ambassadors to Acre with a formal demand for the surrender of the truce-breakers under pain of open war.<sup>3</sup> Many, and among them the Master of the Temple, urged the justice and policy of yielding to the Sultan's demands. Others, however, declared that it had been the custom time out of mind, for the princes of the West, or their representatives to have liberty to disregard any truce that might be of force in the East. In the end the views of the latter party prevailed. An embassy was despatched to the Sultan with offers of liberal compensation, and an assurance that the late offenders should be held in custody till the expiration of the truce.<sup>4</sup> Khalil, who had succeeded his father as Sultan, listened to the pleading of the Christian envoys in silence. When they had done, he replied after a short interval with kingly dignity. Their words were as the honey and sugar used to conceal the presence of a deadly poison. He had kept the truce with loyal intent, but such an offence he could not, consistently with his duty, suffer to pass unpunished. They might depart in the assurance that within the appointed time he would come against their city with a mighty host, and destroy all, from the least to the greatest, by the sword.<sup>5</sup>

With this gloomy intelligence the envoys returned to

<sup>1</sup> Villani, vii. 144; *Chron. Lanercost*, 139; *Chron. S. Bertini*, 770.

<sup>2</sup> Makrizi, ii. 69, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Rohricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 1508; *De Excidio*, i. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *De Excidio*, i. 4, 5; Makrizi (ii. 120) fixes the date of the embassy to Khalil in Moharram, A.H. 690, i.e. January 1291, A.D.

<sup>5</sup> *De Excidio*, i. 5, 6; *Gestes des Chiprois*, 481, 485, 487.



Acre shortly after the arrival of Sir Otho de Grandison in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> The spirits of the citizens had risen at the prospect that Edward of England would ere long come to their aid in person. Now under the fresh shock of a common apprehension they forgot for the moment their mutual discord. One and all united in the heroic resolve to defend their city to the death, rather than incur eternal infamy by flight. 'Surely the princes over-sea will send us timely help when they hear with what peril we are encompassed.' At these words the Patriarch thanked God, who had made them to be of one heart and mind, and dismissed them to their homes with the charge: 'Be ye therefore constant, and ye shall behold the great help of the Lord come upon you.'<sup>2</sup>

Viewed in the light of later events there is a touch of tragic irony alike in the resolve of the citizens and in the words of the Patriarch. But for the time the old quarrels were hushed, and all joined heartily in the work of preparation for the siege. An urgent appeal was sent not only to the distant princes of the West, but also to the Christian states more near at hand. Henry of Cyprus came in haste from his island kingdom with three hundred knights. Help came also from the islands and cities on the coast of Asia Minor, until at last there was mustered in Acre a force of nine hundred knights and eighteen thousand foot. Abundant store of the arms and engines of mediaeval warfare was provided. The fortifications were repaired and set in order. The custody of the walls was arranged for by the division of their circuit into four wards, to each of which two captains were assigned, who should keep watch and guard in turn. The first ward on the south was under Jean de Grailly and Otho de Grandison. The second was commanded by the King of Cyprus and the Master of the Teutonic Knights. Over the third and fourth were set the Masters of the Hospital and of the Temple, with whom there served as lieutenants the Masters of the Knights of the Sword, and of the Knights of the Holy Ghost. 'These are the eight men.

<sup>1</sup> Hemingburgh, ii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *De Excidio*, i. 6, 7.

by whose prudence and counsel the city was to be governed. Had they been of one heart and mind, Heaven is our witness, Acre would still rejoice in the fulness of her strength.<sup>1</sup>

The jealousy and discord which prevailed among the defenders of Acre are reflected in the inharmonious narratives that record the history of the siege.<sup>2</sup> It would seem that each survivor who told his story, did so in such manner as best might serve the reputation of the party to which he had himself belonged, but distorted or ignored the share which others had taken in the defence. Our accounts of the siege are consequently so hopelessly at variance that it is impossible to restore with certainty the exact progress of events within the walls of Acre. So far as we can judge from the contradictory statements that have survived, the root of the discord lay in the ancient jealousies of the Templars and Hospitallers. The Hospitallers could depend

<sup>1</sup> *De Excidio*, i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The principal account is that contained in the tract *De Excidio Urbis Acconis* (ap. Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, v. 757-84), which was compiled soon after from the narratives of survivors; it favours the Patriarch and Hospitallers, and is for the most part hostile to the Templars and Otho de Grandison. Next in importance comes the *Gestes des Chiprois*, probably written by Gerard de Monreal, secretary to Guillaume de Beaujeu, Master of the Temple, who was present at Acre; naturally he praises his own Order and incidentally Grandison; nevertheless he does honour to the Marshal of the Hospital. The old-German *Chronicon Equitis Teutonici* (ap. Matthaëus, *Veteris Aevi Analecta*, vol. v. ed. 1738) is also the work of an eye-witness; while emphasising the part of the Teutonic Knights, it is not obviously partisan; the loss of Acre is attributed to the dissensions and divisions of the Christians, and to the licence of the Pope's mercenaries. Of the minor authorities Giovanni Villani (ap. Muratori, xiii. 338), Marino Sanuto (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 229-32) and the *Chronicon S. Bertini* (Martene, *Thesaurus*, iii. 770-1) favour the Templars, though the two last praise the heroism of the Patriarch at the close. Bartholomew de Neocastro (Muratori, xiii. 1182-4) refers to the hostility of the Pisans and Venetians for the men of religion, and to the quarrels of the two Orders, while praising Henry of Cyprus. The continuator of William of Nangis (i. 276-78) favours the Hospitallers, and condemns Henry. Of English writers Bartholomew Cotton and the Chronicle of Lanercost praise Otho de Grandison (who perhaps inspired the last) and also the Templars. The brief account in Trivet's *Annals* is colourless; it comes from a source used in the *De Excidio*. On the other hand, Hemingburgh is very disparaging to Otho, though not unfavourable to the Templars. The alleged treachery of the Templars at Acre was one of the charges brought against them in 1310.

on the support of the Patriarch, and perhaps in consequence have fared best at the hands of ecclesiastical chroniclers. With the Templars were ranged Sir Otho de Grandison, and probably Jean de Grailly, and perhaps also the King of Cyprus.

At the beginning of March 1291 the respite which the Sultan had allowed expired. Khalil himself left Cairo on the sixth of that month.<sup>1</sup> His emirs in Syria were already mustering his forces, and about the same time the advanced guard of the Saracen army appeared within a few miles of Acre. The bombastic writer, whose compilation is our main authority for the siege, is at a loss how to describe sufficiently the splendid terror of the Mohammedan host. The very earth trembled at the tramp of mailed men, and shook with the clangour of their trumpets, drums, and cymbals. The gilded shields of the soldiers flashed the rays of the sun across the hills as they marched through the valleys. Their spearheads danced in the sunlight like stars in the midnight sky. In mid-March the forefront of the Saracens appeared before Acre, and from that time till mid-April they gave the citizens no rest from constant alarms and incursions. Day and night they kept up an incessant din. They bellowed like bulls. They barked like dogs. They roared like lions. Ever, as is their wont, they drummed their huge tom-toms with their heavy knotted sticks.<sup>2</sup>

It was not till Thursday, April 5, that Khalil himself reached the camp before Acre. The siege then began in real earnest. Two days later the engines of war arrived, and in the space of four days were set in position.<sup>3</sup> When they were all complete, they 'numbered, great and small, six hundred and sixty and six, which poured by day and by night a ceaseless hailstorm of stones upon the walls and city.'<sup>4</sup> During the first week of the siege, while the Saracens were busy with their preparations, Otho de Grandison and

<sup>1</sup> Makrizi, ii. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *De Excidio*, ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Makrizi, ii. 125.

<sup>4</sup> *De Excidio*, ii. 3. Makrizi, *u.s.*, says 'four-score dozen,' which is perhaps accurate enough.

the Templars made a successful sortie, driving the infidels in headlong rout before them, and bringing back five thousand captives to the city.<sup>1</sup> But the host of the besiegers ever increased, and as one who was there—perhaps Sir Otho himself—told the Chronicler of Lanercost, ‘the arrows flew thicker than the flakes of snow upon your hills in winter.’

Encouraged by their previous success, Otho and the Templars planned to make a second great sortie on the day of our common redemption (Good Friday, April 20), with their recent captives massed as a screen before them. When, however, they sought a blessing for their enterprise from the Patriarch, he, acting by the advice of traitors, forbade it altogether.<sup>2</sup> So the last chance of retrieving the fortunes of the city was let slip, and the time when the enemy was weakest was wasted in vain sallies and skirmishes. In one of the more successful Otho de Grandison was again joined with the Templars. They fired a part of the besiegers’ works; but when the knights were emboldened to charge into the Saracen camp, their horses stumbled over the tent-ropes and many of their riders were slain.<sup>3</sup>

As the prospects of a successful resistance grew less, the citizens began to prepare for flight. Many sent their treasure and merchandise, their wives and little ones to Cyprus, so that there remained in Acre few besides those that were needed for the defence.<sup>4</sup> Some even of the fighting men fled away. Among these latter the slander of his enemies asserted falsely that there went Sir Otho de Grandison.<sup>5</sup> Yet for all such treasons, there were still left, if we may credit our most exact account, 12,000 fighting men, of whom 800 were knights.<sup>6</sup> Had they been of one mind, they might, in the face of all dangers, have held their charge till help came to them from the West. But the counsels of the Christians were

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Lanercost*, 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes des Chiprois*, 491. The original has ‘Messire John de Granson’; but no doubt Otho is meant.

<sup>4</sup> *De Excidio*, ii. 3. It is of course impossible to reconcile this with the vast numbers alleged to have perished at the fall of the city.

<sup>5</sup> Hemingburgh, ii. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *De Excidio*, ii. 3.

divided by many dissensions. The merchants of Pisa and Venice had interests and ideas which ran counter to those of the whole-hearted soldiers of the Cross. Not even at this supreme moment could the Templars and the Hospitallers sink their old rivalries. Worst perhaps of all was the presence of the Pope's dissolute mercenaries, who had more liking for wine than for war, and when the trumpet sounded to battle could not tear themselves from the charms of love.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of April Khalil had his siege-train in readiness, and pushing forward his lines began to undermine the walls of the city.<sup>2</sup> On May 4 a bombardment was opened, which continued for ten days without intermission. At the end of this time Khalil ordered the first direct assault to be delivered. The point chosen for attack was the ward of Henry of Cyprus, and the day went so badly for the Christians that darkness alone prevented the complete success of the Saracens. In the ensuing night the Cypriot prince with 3,000 of his followers went secretly aboard ship, and sailed away to his island kingdom. Henry's desertion was not, as it would seem, due to cowardice, but rather to despair and indignation at the petty jealousies which had led his allies to leave him without efficient support in the battle of the previous day.<sup>3</sup>

The mutual jealousies of their leaders had ever been the bane of the Crusaders since the time of Raymond of St. Gilles and the first Bohemond. But never did they work more powerfully on the side of the infidel than during the last four terrible days of the siege of Acre. The rival parties of the Christians fought bravely enough, each in their own ward; but without the guidance of a common leader whom all obey, even the most heroic valour must be spent in vain. The knights of the two great military Orders would render no help

<sup>1</sup> B. de Neocastro, *Hist. Sicula*, 1183.

<sup>2</sup> *Gestes des Chiprois*, 491.

<sup>3</sup> B. de Neocastro, 1183; *De Excidio*, ii. 3. Even the latter allows that Henry's flight was 'propter discordiam.' In the *Gestes des Chiprois*, 493, Henry is said to have only arrived at Acre on May 4, having been previously represented by his deputy; so also Marino Sanuto, ii. 231.

to one another. Both in the council chamber and on the battlements the Christian commanders worked at cross-purposes. The discords within the city were apparently well known to Khalil. It is probable that he made use of his knowledge so to direct his assaults that he might destroy his opponents in detail. Such, at all events, was the practical result of his operations.

The flight of the King of Cyprus had left his ward inadequately guarded. When on May 16 the Saracens renewed their assault, the weakness of the defence at this point was soon made manifest. Khalil was quick to take advantage of the opportunity. By his orders stones and earth and timber, and even the dead bodies of horses and other animals which had perished during the siege, were brought up and cast into the moat. Thus a practicable passage was made for the scaling party, who then carried the *Turris Maledicta*—name of evil omen—by assault. Before reinforcements could come to the help of the Christians, the Saracens had sprung their mines and broken down the walls for a space of sixty cubits. Through the breach they poured in overwhelming numbers. Across the outer bailey and back within the walls of the city proper they drove the defenders. The captains, as it happened, were then sitting in council. At the news of this disaster the Master of the Hospital, and his Marshal, Matthew de Clermont, who was perhaps the hero of these fateful days, donned their armour and rode forth, to find the streets packed with a panic-stricken crowd. ‘Shame upon you!’ they cried. ‘Fools! you are not hurt. To the battle with you, by the faith of Christ.’ Thus chiding their cowardice, Matthew rallied the fugitives, and charging at their head drove the Saracens back through the breach.<sup>1</sup>

Night once more came to the aid of the Christians, who under cover of the darkness made good their walls with a barricade of timber and stones as best they might. In such labour and in anxious council the night wore away. But mutual jealousies turned the wisdom of the captains to folly.

<sup>1</sup> *De Excidio*, ii. 5.

Though the barricade was stoutly defended, it was lost and recovered, only to be lost again. Thus the third day ended in disaster for the Christians, and at nightfall the Saracens encamped in full possession of the breach. Such credit as the undisciplined valour of the defenders deserved is claimed by the historians on either side for the leaders of their own party. The friends of the Hospitallers alleged that the Templars had lent no aid, while others asserted that the construction of the barricade and its defence were due to the energy of the Master of the Temple alone.<sup>1</sup>

Next morning at daybreak, on Friday, May 18, Khalil mustered his forces for the final assault. He had mounted his drummers on three hundred camels,<sup>2</sup> and amid their terrible din hurled the whole weight of his army through the breach. Part turned south to break open St. Nicholas' Gate and attack the Legate's Tower, where Otho de Grandison and Jean de Grailly still held their ward. The rest went north to assault the Gate of St. Antony in the inner circuit of the walls. The Master of the Temple was at his lodging, but when he heard the news rode in haste to St. Antony, where the Master of the Hospital and his knights soon joined him. Early in the day the Master of the Temple was shot through the joints of his harness as he raised his arm to direct the troops.<sup>3</sup> Soon after the Master of the Hospital was also mortally wounded. In the confusion caused by this double loss the Christians were overwhelmed and St. Antony's Gate was forced.

Meantime affairs had gone little better at the Legate's Tower, where Otho de Grandison and Jean de Grailly, attacked on all sides, made a great defence; until, when many were killed and wounded, their post became untenable, and they also were compelled to retreat.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Excidio*, ii. 6-10; Villani, vii. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Makrizi, ii. 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes des Chiprois*, 498. The writer saw the Master fall from his horse, and carried on a shield to the Temple, where he died at evening.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 499, confirmed by *Chron. S. Bertini*, 770. The author of the *De Excidio*, ii. 12, however, alleges that Otho and Jean de Grailly did not quit the conflict this day, because they had never entered it; they abandoned their ward and fled to the ships.

All general hope of resistance was now abandoned. Every man acted as he thought best for his own safety, and one after another took flight for the harbour. It was in vain that the brave Marshal of the Hospital strove to restore the fortunes of another day, and fighting in the midst of the foe, like a faithful soldier of Christ, 'rendered up his soul to God who gave it.'<sup>1</sup> The Saracens swept all before them, pillaging and burning as they fought their way through the narrow streets of the town. Then, as though fire and sword were not sufficient to work the ruin of the Christian cause, there arose the ominous murmur of a coming storm. Never were the defenders of a beleaguered town left in more desperate plight. In the rear were the flaming streets, in front the surging sea. Between fire and water, slavery and the sword, must the Christians, as it seemed, make their choice. The very element to which they had looked to ensure them in their extremity a means of salvation, now turned itself to their destruction. So many of the citizens had already fled over-sea that only a few vessels still lay at anchor in the harbour. Among the few was the Patriarch's own galley, to which his attendants had borne him against his will. On this occasion, at all events, the Patriarch showed that he could act as became his heroic words. In his anxiety to save as many of his flock as possible, he suffered the vessel to be so crowded that she could not weather the storm, and was lost with all on board.<sup>2</sup> Others of the fugitives were drowned in the attempt to reach the ships by swimming or in little boats. Yet many made good their escape, and it is hard to believe that, as one account alleges, there were 60,000 persons who fell into captivity through the fall of Acre.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Excidio*, ii. 12; *Gestes des Chiprois*, 505.

<sup>2</sup> The *Gestes des Chiprois* has another story, according to which a sailor who was helping the patriarch on board let him slip, and he was drowned.

<sup>3</sup> Villani, vii. 144; Bartholomew Cotton, 217, says that the Saracens took so many women captive that they were sold for a drachma apiece. Makrizi, ii. 125, says that an immense number of men were slain, and an incalculable multitude of women and children carried into captivity.



The Chronicler of Lanercost,<sup>1</sup> probably writing from the information of Otho de Grandison, relates that 'the Patriarch, that vain image, was the first to flee, whom followed other rich folk; but those defended themselves longest who had no desire save for righteousness.' The Templars had carried their Master to die in the great fortress of their Order by the waterside. It was the strongest place in the city, with massive walls, tall towers, and free access to the sea. There the remnant of the Templars were joined by other knights, including Otho de Grandison,<sup>2</sup> and by many of the citizens with their women-folk. The Templars still had numerous Saracen prisoners, and with these they bargained for their own safety. Khalil apparently accepted their overtures, and in reply offered them a safe-conduct with forty days wherein to depart. When the terms were arranged, an emir was sent with an armed force to superintend the embarkation. While all were busy preparing to leave, some of the Saracens who had been admitted to the castle offered violence to certain women among the fugitives. In their wrath at this outrage the Christians took up arms once more, closed their gates, and massacred all the Saracens who were within the Temple. The Sultan, dissembling his wrath, professed that his men had been to blame, and declared that the safe-conduct still held good. When, however, the Marshal of the Temple, trusting in his word, went out to a conference, Khalil promptly had him and his companions beheaded. A remnant of the Christians held out in the Temple and, when at last the great tower was undermined, perished with their assailants amid its ruins. This was on the tenth day after the fall of the city. In the meantime Sir Otho de Grandison and many others of the fugitives had been able to make good their escape.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Lanercost*, 139-40.

<sup>2</sup> B. Cotton, *Chron.* 431, mentions Otto expressly as present in the Temple, and taking a principal part in events there.

<sup>3</sup> The author of the *Gestes des Chiprois*, 507-8, who was present part of the time, gives the best account of the defence of the Temple. This is supplemented from *De Excidio*, ii. 12; B. Cotton, 431; Hemingburgh, ii. 25; and *Chron.*

Such was the grievous fate of unhappy Acre. 'Holy Father!' cried Arsenius, the Greek monk, who bore the news to Pope Nicholas at Rome—'Holy Father! if thou hast not heard of our sorrow, out of the bitterness of my heart will I reveal it. Would to God that thou hadst not been so intent on the recovery of Sicily!'<sup>1</sup>

### III.—FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Otho de Grandison, faithful to the end, was one of the last to leave Acre. Probably he accompanied the small remnant of the Templars in their flight, first to Sidon, and, on the fall of that city soon afterwards, to Cyprus. Some reminiscence of hazardous adventure may be preserved in the slanderous tale that Otho had fled under a false name, bearing with him for his own use the treasure which his master had intended for the service of the Cross.<sup>2</sup> In point of fact, he seems to have lost all that he had, and to have reached Cyprus in absolute need.<sup>3</sup> In the following January his friends in England were sending his yeoman, Peter de Weston, to Cyprus with a horse, clothes, and other requisites for his use.<sup>4</sup> Ten years afterwards the Pope ordered the Dean of St. Paul's, as collector of the tithes for the Holy War in England, to pay Otho de Grandison three thousand marks in compensation for his expenses on the Crusades, and for his losses at the sack of Acre.<sup>5</sup>

Otho remained in Cyprus over three years<sup>6</sup> endeavouring

*Equitis Teutonici*, cclxxvi. (where it appears that some of the other towers held out also). All but the last agree in the story of the outrage, though other details are not quite clear. Even Makrizi, ii. 126, says that when Acre was taken ten thousand Franks asked for amnesty, but Khalil divided them amongst his emirs, who slew them every one.

<sup>1</sup> B. de Neocastro, 1182.

<sup>2</sup> Hemingburgh, ii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Gestes des Chiprois*, 516, reference is made to the poverty and straits in which the refugee knights from Acre found themselves.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I., ii. 465.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers*, i. 599.

<sup>6</sup> On May 24, 1293, Otho de Grandison, 'going to the Holy Land,' had safe-conduct for three years (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 17). But a document

to appease the disputes of the Christians in the East. The author of the *Gestes des Chiprois* gives us one dramatic glimpse at his labours to this end. Of all troubles in the East at this time the most serious was the naval warfare of the Venetians and Genoese, which broke out with fresh vigour soon after the fall of Acre. When the Genoese fleet was on its way to encounter the Venetians at Layas, or Ayas, in the Gulf of Skanderoon, there fell in with them at Corycus a galley of Cyprus. 'She was manned by Syrians, Pisans, and Venetians, people hateful to the Genoese. There was also on board Messer Otho de Grandison, a knight from over-sea of great renown. Then Messer Otho spake unto the Genoese, and begged them earnestly to let him go with them to do some good. But the Genoese would not suffer it, and bade him keep his galley at a distance lest some evil might befall; for his galley-men were folk who had offended them in times past, yet for love of him would they fain do them no harm. So Messer Otho departed thence and came unto Cyprus, for he had been to visit and have speech with the King of Armenia.'<sup>1</sup> We know from other sources that in 1294 Thoros of Armenia invited a number of nobles from Cyprus, and among them Otho de Grandison, to give him their assistance in settling the affairs of his kingdom. No doubt it was during this visit that Otho made the acquaintance of Hayton, the Armenian historian, who, when describing his own labours for the good of his native land, cites 'that wise and noble lord, Otho de Grandison,' as one who could bear witness on his behalf.<sup>2</sup>

of identical date relating to Otho's lands in Kent shows conclusively that he was still in the East (*Placita de Quo Warranto*, 354). Probably the safe-conduct was in renewal of that which had been granted for a like term on June 10, 1290 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 363).

<sup>1</sup> *Gestes des Chiprois*, 542. The writer puts the events in 1293, but the correct date of the battle of Layas is that given above. Moreover, Otho's visit to Thoros was clearly in 1294.

<sup>2</sup> *Flos Historiarum*, ap. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, Documents Arméniens, ii. 327, 330. Otho cannot, as the editors conjecture, have been in Armenia between 1299 and 1303. Hayton was at the Papal Court during 1307.

The battle of Layas was fought on May 28, 1294.<sup>1</sup> If it were possible to accept the story that this was the occasion on which Marco Polo was captured by the Genoese, it would be interesting to speculate that Otho might have taken ship with his Genoese friends, have talked with the famous traveller, and been the bearer of his message from the Great Khan to the King of England. That Otho went home to the West on one of the Genoese galleys that fought at Layas is very probable. At all events, we find him visiting his relatives at Grandson during the summer of 1295, when he seems to have taken part in the warfare of the Bishop of Lausanne and the principal Vaudois nobles against Louis of Savoy.<sup>2</sup> In August of that year he was preparing to go with Amadeus of Savoy to discuss certain matters on Edward's behalf with two of the Cardinals. In the following November he was sent on a further mission to the King of the Romans in Germany.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was not till the spring of 1296 that Otho de Grandison returned to England after nearly six years' absence. On May 16 he was with Edward at Roxburgh, and at Whitsuntide, together with his old comrade, Jean de Grailly, was present in the army before Berwick.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever slanders about Otho may have reached England, it is clear that Edward put no belief in them. Otho at once resumed his old position, and for the next ten years was again the most trusted confidential envoy of the King of England.

During the greater part of these ten years Otho was employed on a series of diplomatic missions arising out of Edward's dispute with Philip of France. For this service his family ties with the nobles of Savoy and Burgundy, his

<sup>1</sup> See Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, i. Introduction, p. 43. At all events, Otho will have known Marco Polo's scribe, Rusticien de Pise, who obtained his knowledge of the Arthurian Romances from a book of King Edward of England in 1270; *ibid.* pp. 62, 63. He might also have met the Polos at Acre in 1271.

<sup>2</sup> *Soc. de l'Histoire de la Suisse Romande*, v. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Foedera*, i. 834, 837; *Anc. Correspondence*, xiv, 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I. iii. 188; B. Cotton, *Chron.* 312; Langtoft, ii. 238.

long experience at the Roman Curia, and his familiarity with the affairs of Gascony gave him peculiar qualifications. The negotiations of the previous autumn had reference to this matter, and it was no doubt to report their results that Otho came to the King at Roxburgh. Immediately afterwards he was sent on a fresh mission to arrange, with the help of Cardinals,<sup>1</sup> appointed by the Pope, for a truce between Edward and Adolph of Nassau, King of the Romans, on the one part, and the King of France on the other. His colleagues on this occasion were Walter Langton, the King's treasurer, and Amadeus of Savoy. The embassy was at Paris during July, and on September 14 was at Moulins.<sup>2</sup> Their powers were renewed in November, and Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, was then associated with them. At the same time Otho was directed to negotiate with the Duke of Lorraine and the nobles of Burgundy for their assistance in the event of war with France.<sup>3</sup> Apparently Otho allowed his compatriots to make too good a bargain; for, when some years later Edward sanctioned the payment of 10,000*l. tournois* under the agreement, he did so with a remonstrance 'believing that he owed them nothing, as their claim for the subsidy related to the time of truce.'<sup>4</sup>

In the spring of 1297 the centre of interest moved north, and Otho after a short visit to England was sent with Walter Langton and Amadeus to open negotiations with Guy, Count of Flanders.<sup>5</sup> A Flemish historian relates that 'le seigneur de Grénésie' was one of an embassy which came to treat with Guy for a marriage between his daughter and the son of the King of England, and was received very honourably

<sup>1</sup> Berard de Goth, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, and Simon Cardinal Bishop of Praeneste; *Foedera*, i. 840, 842.

<sup>2</sup> Walter de Langton's accounts for this mission are preserved in *Exchequer Accounts* (K.R.) 308 (19). They include several payments to Otho de Grandison in July–October 1296 amounting to 725*l.*, one of 100*l.* at Cambrai on Oct. 27, 1297, and another of 400*l.* at Brabant in January 1298: all of course *Livres Tournois*. The modern silver value of the Livre Tournois would be rather over 14 shillings; that of the English pound of the same time about 3*l.* 5*s.*

<sup>3</sup> *Foedera*, i. 857.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 432.

<sup>5</sup> *Foedera*, i. 857.

at Ghent.<sup>1</sup> The reference must be to this mission of 1297, and it is tempting to find in the 'seigneur de Grénésie' an allusion to Otho's island lordship.<sup>2</sup> But though Otho occasionally styled himself 'dominus Insularum' there is no evidence for the use of the title here given, which may be only a corruption of Grandson. Count Guy, when seeking Otho's help for a merchant of Douai, who had been defrauded at Winchester, addresses him as 'Oste de Greencon.'<sup>3</sup> The English ambassadors were at Bruges on May 3, 1297,<sup>4</sup> and Otho remained abroad on this business throughout the summer. On August 2 Edward wrote to his 'trusty and loyal' Otho de Grandison, that he was shortly coming to Flanders and desired to meet him there. Otho took part in the subsequent negotiations with the French king, which led up to the agreement of January 31, 1298, referring the whole dispute to the arbitration of Boniface VIII.<sup>5</sup> He was naturally chosen to be one of the proctors to represent the English interests when the case was heard before the Roman Curia. His presence at Rome and his familiar acquaintance with Eastern troubles may have had something to do with the suggestion, which the Pope made at this time, that Edward should help the King of Armenia with a subsidy.<sup>6</sup>

Boniface delivered a preliminary award in the Anglo-French dispute on June 30, 1298. Otho apparently remained abroad for some time longer, though he was certainly back in England before July 30, 1299. To the Parliament which met in the following September he received a summons as baron,<sup>7</sup> his highest English dignity. His brother William

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil des Hist. de France*, xxii. 352-3. Edward 'envoya son cousin l'evesque de Lincolle et le seigneur de Grénésie par devers le conte Guyon.' The chronicler dates it in 1291; his editors in 1294; but Otho can only have taken part in the embassy of 1297.

<sup>2</sup> As by M. Dupont, *Hist. du Cotentin et ses Iles*, ii. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Correspondence*, xxx. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Foedera*, i. 860-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* i. 881-885. Otho was at Grolingues, near Courtray, on Nov. 23, 1297, and at Tournay on January 31, 1298. For his share in the treaty of Jan. 31, 1298, see Funck-Brentano, *Chroniques Artesiennes*, 24-5, 28.

<sup>6</sup> *Foedera*, i. 900.

<sup>7</sup> *Parliamentary Writs*, i. 642.

had been summoned for the first time in the previous February, which seems to show that Otho was not then present. Meantime the negotiations with France had been progressing, and on September 26, 1300,<sup>1</sup> Otho de Grandison was nominated with the Earl of Lincoln and Amadeus of Savoy to again plead the English cause before the Pope.<sup>2</sup> Otho himself had left England much earlier, for in October 1301 he was allowed 332*l.* for expenses incurred as envoy at Rome from June 21, 1300, to May 31, 1301.<sup>3</sup> The negotiations dragged on slowly, and Otho remained abroad. In the autumn of 1301 he was again appointed with Walter Langton, Bishop of Lichfield, Amadeus of Savoy, and his nephew, Gerard de Wyppayns, to represent English interests at Rome. Otho and Amadeus were entrusted with special powers, but much to Edward's vexation allowed some other business to detain them, presumably in Savoy.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless Otho was one of the envoys who in April 1302 were appointed to conduct the negotiations at Paris.<sup>5</sup> In the summer he was back in England, no doubt to report progress,<sup>6</sup> and on October 29 was again appointed as one of the envoys to France.<sup>7</sup> However, Otho and his colleagues only crossed the Channel on February 14, 1303.<sup>8</sup> From that time till June they were busy with the negotiations relating to the definitive treaty of peace between Edward and Philip IV.<sup>9</sup> The treaty concluded, Otho de Grandison, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and Amadeus were sent on to Gascony to take seisin of the territory which Philip had

<sup>1</sup> Otho was in England in April 1300; see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iii. 501-5, and *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I., iv. 334, 341, 355.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iii. 543.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 607. He had letters for going abroad on Aug. 3, 1300 (*Ibid.* iii. 530). Possibly he went backwards and forwards between Rome and England, for on Feb. 1, 1301, he had letters again (*ibid.* iii. 568).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 616, iv. 24; *Cal. Close Rolls*, iv. 580.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 54, 56, showing that Otho was at Westminster on Aug. 15, 1302.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 67.

<sup>8</sup> *Chron. Edw. I. and Edw. II.*, i. 129. Cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 114.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 56, 67, 128, 152.

agreed to surrender.<sup>1</sup> Otho and his colleagues were styled the king's vicegerents in the duchy, and while their mission lasted the seneschals, John Hastings, and John de Havering, acted under their orders. They were still at Bordeaux on June 24, 1304, when they received the oath of Margaret de Foix. The mission was certainly over before April 6, 1305,<sup>2</sup> and Otho was probably then back in England.

Before long Otho was sent again to Gascony, reaching Bordeaux about August 1, when he received an allowance of ten casks of wine.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this second mission was probably connected with the recent election of Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, to be Pope by the title of Clement V. It was under Otho's advice, as chief of the King's Councillors in the duchy, that John de Havering, the Seneschal, made arrangements for providing the Pope with a suitable escort for his journey through the English King's dominions on his way to be crowned at Lyons.<sup>4</sup> On August 16, there came the alarming news that the Count of Foix had invaded Armagnac and was plundering the country far and wide. By Otho's advice the Seneschal hastily assembled the forces of the duchy, and within a short space compelled the Count to sue for the Pope's mediation.<sup>5</sup> This danger had probably called Otho away from Bordeaux, for John de Benstede, who was bringing despatches from the King, had to send a messenger to seek Otho in the parts of Toulouse, and to turn out of his direct road to receive a reply at Rocamadour. Benstede had come to explain certain matters to the Pope, and to take the advice of Sir Otho de Grandison in dealing

<sup>1</sup> *Rôles Gascons*, 4589. The date was June 4, 1303, but Otho and Lincoln had been at Bordeaux on March 6 of the same year, and at Mirambeau on March 9 (*ibid.* 4746; *Ancient Correspondence*, xxx. 118, 119).

<sup>2</sup> *Rôles Gascons*, 4865, where Otho and Lincoln are styled 'nuper vice-gerentes.' On this Gascon mission see further *ibid.* 4602, 4700, 4731-2, 4736, 4828, 4841.

<sup>3</sup> Account of John de Havering ap. *Rôles Gascons*, iii. p. cc. 'Domino Othoni de Grandisono, recipienti in eodem festo S. Petri ad Vincula predicto, in primo adventu suo Burdegale, 10 dolia vini, de vinis provisitis et emptis ad opus domini Regis et ducis, precii cujuslibet 15 l.t.'

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iii. p. cxcix.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* iii. pp. cxcvii-cxcix.



therewith.<sup>1</sup> He reached Bordeaux on August 29, stayed but two days, and returned in haste to England, reaching London on September 20. Pope Clement left Bordeaux on September 4, and travelled slowly by way of Agen, Toulouse, Beziers, Montpellier and Nismes to Lyons. Otho probably accompanied him, for he was apparently with the Pope at Lunel on October 19, and at Nismes two days after.<sup>2</sup> There was indeed hardly time for him to have returned to England before his appointment on October 15, with the Earl of Lincoln and Walter Langton, to represent the English King at the Pope's Coronation, and discuss the possibility of a new Crusade.<sup>3</sup> On the same date Otho was commissioned to treat with John, Count of Bar, touching the assignment to him of lands in Scotland, and the coming to England of the King's granddaughter Joan of Bar.<sup>4</sup> John de Benstede held a subordinate post in the mission, and has again left us a precise account of his expenses.<sup>5</sup> The embassy left London on October 23, and reached Lyons on November 12, two days before the Pope's Coronation. Benstede remained at Lyons till March 3, and only reached London on the 26th of that month. The Earl of Lincoln had returned much sooner, for he had a public reception at London on February 16.<sup>6</sup> Otho de Grandison was still at Lyons on January 20.<sup>7</sup> He may possibly have gone on to visit his native land and remained abroad through the summer; for

<sup>1</sup> *Exchequer Accounts* (K.R.), 309 (9). Benstede left Dover on July 19, was delayed a few days in Paris, and was at Rocamadour on August 25. 'Parisius: pro expensis Guillot, nuncii Regis deferentis litteras predicti domini Regis domino Ottoni de Grandisono directis et eundem querentis in partibus Tolosanis, xl. viiis. Item nuncio domini Otonis de Grandisono venienti ad dominum in partes de Rochemadour cum litteris domini sui directis dicto domino Johanni pro negociis Regis.'

<sup>2</sup> *Regestum Clementis Quinti*, 22, 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 287; *Foedera*, i. 174.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 386.

<sup>5</sup> *Exchequer Accounts* (K.R.), 309 (10). The account begins on October 15, and includes later expenses in England on an errand to the king at Winchester down to April 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Chron. Edw. I. and II.*, i. 143-4.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers*, i. 7.

he was absent from England when on May 8 he was directed to negotiate a marriage between Robert, son of Count Otto of Burgundy, and the King's daughter Eleanor, then two days old.<sup>1</sup> A month later he was apparently once more at the Papal Court.<sup>2</sup> Otho came home in the autumn, and probably joined Edward at Lanercost, where he may have supplied the northern chronicler with details of the siege of Acre. He was at Carlisle on January 21, 1307, and attended the Easter Parliament there.<sup>3</sup> On June 21 he had letters of protection as going beyond seas in the King's service.<sup>4</sup> This was in fulfilment of his appointment to accompany the Prince of Wales on his intended visit to France. Probably Otho now bade his friend and master of fifty years farewell; for, when Edward died at Burgh-on-Sands a fortnight later, Otho de Grandison was apparently present as one of the King's Council in London.<sup>5</sup>

#### IV.—THE ISLAND LORDSHIP

Edward's death broke the long tie of affection which had bound Otho de Grandison to this country. His duties as one of his old master's executors detained him for a few months, but about the end of October 1307, he left England never to return.<sup>6</sup> One chronicler implies that his departure was due to disgust at the promotion of Piers de Gaveston.<sup>7</sup> But for this there is no other evidence. It was natural that Otho de Grandison, who had contracted no new relationships in England, should desire to return to the native land in which he had always preserved his interest. For nearly fifty years he had been Lord of Grandison, and the wealth which he had

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 431; on May 10 John de Ditton was appointed attorney for Otho de Grandison staying beyond seas.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, v. 450.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Parl.* i. 210 b, 214 b; cf. *Cal. Close Rolls*, v. 491, 531.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 531.

<sup>5</sup> Gough, *Itinerary of Edward I.*, ii. 293.

<sup>6</sup> *Ancient Correspondence*, xxviii. 15, documents dated October 2; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II., i. 9, Letters of protection dated October 26.

<sup>7</sup> Murimuth, *Chron.* 11.

acquired in the English service had enabled him to increase his importance as one of the greatest feudatories of the Count of Savoy.

In his ancestral home by the Lake of Neuchâtel Sir Otho de Grandison spent the last twenty years of his life. With characteristic activity he entered at once upon great plans suited to his retirement. He increased the ancient priory of Grandson, the church of which, with a fine Early Romanesque nave, still survives, and obtained for it with Pope Clement's aid fresh endowments.<sup>1</sup> More, he began to build a church at Grandson for the Franciscans very sumptuously,<sup>2</sup> and later on, in 1320, was a benefactor of the Carthusian monastery at La Lance close by.<sup>3</sup> So powerful was he that three of his kinsmen, Gerard de Wyppayns, Otho de Chanvent, and Pierre d'Orons were successively Bishops of Lausanne from 1301 to 1323. Yet amid his new occupations he did not lose touch with his old friends in England. We find him corresponding on friendly terms with John de Langton on behalf of his nephew Eudric de Wyppayns, and more formally with Walter Reynolds.<sup>4</sup> As the sons of his brother William grew to manhood they found in Otho their patron. John, who was the second of them and afterwards the famous Bishop of Exeter, owed to his uncle's influence his early promotion at the Papal Court. Otho, the youngest, was abroad three years, between 1317 and 1320, visiting, as we may fairly suppose, the famous uncle after whom he was named, and whose principal heir in England he became.<sup>5</sup>

For some years to come Otho was still from time to time employed on diplomatic missions in the English service. In November 1307 he was commissioned to treat at Paris for the new King's proposed marriage with Isabella of France. In June 1308 Edward II. appealed to him to intervene with the Pope on behalf of Piers Gaveston, and a little later Clement

<sup>1</sup> *Regestum Clementis Quinti*, 3141, 3161.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 2885-6.

<sup>3</sup> Matile, *Monuments de l'Hist. de Neuchâtel*, ii. 1173.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Correspondence*, xxxv. 59, 108.

*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II., iii. 10, 499, 599.

himself recommended Otho to Philip of France as the most suitable agent to be employed in reconciling Edward to his barons. In March 1309 Otho was at the Papal Curia on a mission for Edward II., and in 1311 was appointed as the English representative at the proposed General Council. When Edward II. had to go to Paris in May 1313, he appealed successfully to his father's ancient councillor to give him the benefit of his long experience in the negotiations with the French King. Even as late as December 1316 Edward II. was begging Otho to go again as his representative to the Papal Court.<sup>1</sup>

When Otho de Grandison left England he seems to have intended to go once more to the Holy Land,<sup>2</sup> possibly to fulfil his old master's wish that a hundred of his knights should do him posthumous service in Palestine. The downfall of his friends, the Templars, may have caused Otho to abandon this design. In the troubles of the Templars he was, however, no more concerned than that he had to use his influence with Pope Clement to obtain compensation for an annuity of two thousand livres Tournois, which he had from the Order. This annuity had been granted to him, over thirty years before by Jacques de Molay, the Master, 'in consideration of the great services which the noble and puissant Sir Otho de Grandison hath done and doth to us.' Such had been the magnificent reward of one who could command the favour of Edward of England. Now, in August 1308, Clement, anxious to do Otho meet honour, and mindful of certain hindrances which had befallen, granted him for life three houses of the Temple in France.<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> *Foedera*, ii. 11, 12, 25, 50, 68, 128, 136, 145, 303; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. II., i. 579, 585; Baluze, *Vit. Pont.* ii. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Otho's intention is alluded to under date May 25, 1308, ap. *Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 2785.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 2938: 'Lugudiaci,' August 17, 1308, reciting the original grant of July 7, 1277, from Jacques de Molay: 'de Turribus, de Espallierco, et de Coulours, domos ejusdem ordinis Lingonen. Senonen. et Treacen. diocesium.' The houses were Thors (dep. Aube, arr. Bar-sur-Aube, cant. Soulaines), Epailly (dep. Côte d'Or, arr. Chatillon-sur-Seine, cant. Montigny-sur-Aube) and Coulours (dep. Yonne). See Delaville Le Roulx,

business had taken Otho on a visit to the Pope at Poitiers. He made good use of his opportunity to obtain the customary shower of promotions<sup>1</sup> for his kinsfolk and friends, and of privileges for his foundations at Grandson, and for the Abbey of Lac de Joux,<sup>2</sup> where the bodies of his ancestors lay buried.

In English records there would during these latter years be little mention of Otho de Grandison other than the periodical issue of letters of protection, were it not for his Lordship of the Channel Islands. To the history of that lordship we may now fitly turn back.<sup>3</sup>

The original grant of the Islands to Otho on November 25, 1275,<sup>4</sup> was liberal enough, but the remission of the farm in January 1277 made him practically supreme lord.<sup>5</sup> He styled himself 'dominus Insularum,'<sup>6</sup> and had his own silver seal like the King's privy seal, which was called the seal of the Baillie.<sup>7</sup> While his government lasted the King had no more

*Cartulaire de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers*, I. p. xcix, and Michelet, *Procès des Templiers*, i. 317, ii. 265. Otho was also on friendly terms with the Hospitallers: see Delaville Le Roulx, *u.s.* iv. 169, for a grant made on February 26, 1308, to Jacques de Laviegea in consideration of the services to the Order of his master, 'magnificus et potens vir dominus Otho de Grandissono, miles egregius.'

<sup>1</sup> *Regestum*, 2785, 2844, 2885-6, 2930-34, 3096-8, 3123, 3141, 3154-6, 3161-6. The dates are between May 25 and September 8, 1308, but chiefly in August and September. Otho may not have been present so early as May.

<sup>2</sup> The printed record (*Reg.* 3123) has 'Lacviren,' no doubt in error for 'Lacu iuren.' *sc.* 'Lacu Jurensi'; now Lac de Joux. The Abbey (a house of the Premonstratensian Order) is over twenty miles from Grandson. The village is still called L'Abbaye; there is nothing left of the church but the very ancient tower, though some remains of the gateway and cloisters are incorporated in the adjoining houses.

<sup>3</sup> The history of the Islands during this time may be studied in M. Julien Havet's *Gardiens et Seigneurs des Iles Normandes*, ap. *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xxxvii. 201-6, 225-31, and *Les Cours Royales des Iles Normandes*, Paris, 1878. See also *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of the criminal law in the Channel Islands*, 1848; *Documents tirés des Rôles des Lettres Closes*, 1205-1327; *Ancient Petitions of the Chancery*; the two last are publications of the Société Jersiaise, Nos. 9 and 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 125.

<sup>5</sup> The grant of 1277 is printed in full by Havet, xxxvii. 225.

<sup>6</sup> See Havet, *Cours Royales*, 31, quoting from *Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Lat. 10072 f. 201*, 'magister Gulielmus de Sancto Remigio, attornatus domini Ottonis de Grandisono domini insularum.' Date November 20, 1280.

<sup>7</sup> The 'Communitas de Jereseye' complained of its use in 1320. Havet, *Cours Royales*, 160-61, 213. See also p. 194, below.

than the position of a suzerain, with a reversion of his rights five years after Otho's death. The islanders of Jersey and Guernsey were always jealous of their ancient privileges, and seem not at all to have liked the interposition of a permanent ruler between themselves and their sovereign. It was, moreover, a period acute with constitutional development, and the crisis was aggravated by the rigid and unsympathetic rule of an absentee lord. Otho on his part apparently regarded his government as a domain to be exploited. Only once, and that in his latest years, is he known to have visited the islands. With the exception of an interval from 1293 to 1298 the royal power was exercised during more than half a century, not by an officer of the King, but by the deputies of a lord who had no lasting interest in his lordship. Naturally the deputies made the immediate interest of their master their chief concern. The evil was increased by Otho's long absences from England, during which the deputies had to take their orders from his attornies.

Apart from the constitutional questions, which were the real subject of controversy during the early years of the fourteenth century, the Islanders had many practical grievances, for which Otho and his deputies were more directly responsible. Much of the trouble was due to the claims of alien priories on the mainland of Normandy, who held lands in the islands, to levy dues on the fisheries. The matter was complicated by the harshness with which Otho's officers exercised their master's own rights in the same regard. Probably these revenues were farmed to persons who had to make a profit for themselves, for in November 1278 Otho had licence to so demise to Amatus de Saubanichaz all the King's fisheries of 'Garnesin, Gesin, Rouni, and Cert.'<sup>1</sup> Complaints began in 1280 when the men of Jersey and Guernsey represented that Otho's bailiffs had taken possession of lands without reasonable cause, had immoderately

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 283; the editor refers this to places in Landes in Gascony; but clearly it means 'Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark.' For Les Laundes' in Guernsey see *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. II. i. 34.

amerced those who caught rabbits unlawfully, and would not suffer the islanders to salt, dry, and sell their fish as they had been always used to do.<sup>1</sup> Edward was not negligent of the possibility of injustice, and a mandate was issued to Otho to cause his bailiffs to make amends. The grievances of the islanders nevertheless continued, and came to a crisis a dozen years later under the strain of war with France. When Otho went to the Holy Land in 1290 he appointed as his attorneys the famous Robert Burnell, and his brother William de Grandison. At this time William de St. Rémy was bailiff of Guernsey, Peter de Arcis of Jersey, and Ralph Codon of Alderney and Sark. They had orders to render their accounts to Denis de Tilbury, a clerk of Otho de Grandison, whom Burnell had with the King's consent appointed for that purpose. They had orders also to preserve the King's liberties, rights, and customs in the islands, as well as in rents of mills and fisheries as in the custom of mackerel and other rents, and to levy and collect what was due to Otho de Grandison.<sup>2</sup> The King's rights were, of course, at this time in practical abeyance since all had been granted to Otho. Denis de Tilbury, besides the oversight of the bailiffs, whose title and judicial functions date from about this time,<sup>3</sup> had in addition considerable powers of his own; in February 1290 he had a commission of gaol-delivery in the islands, and was then directed to act in all that concerned Otho by advice of the jurats.<sup>4</sup> He was no doubt a faithful servant to his master, and saw that the bailiffs discharged their duties. The first complaint was against William de St. Rémy, on the ground that he had exacted more than was due. The King sent Thomas de

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 339, 393, 440, 484, 486.

<sup>3</sup> Havet, *Cours Royales*, 34-5: 'Othon de Granson prit l'habitude d'abandonner cette partie de ses attributions à des délégués spéciaux, qui reçurent le nom de *baillis* (nom auparavant synonyme de celui de gardien) et dont les fonctions formèrent dès lors un office distinct.' Otho's bailiffs are referred to in 1280; W. de St. Rémy was bailiff of Guernsey, Sark, and Alderney in February 1290.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. 339, 440, 496.

Sandwich in June 1292 to make inquiry into all grievances, whereupon St. Rémy abjured the island. With strict justice it was ordered that if his property was not sufficient to provide compensation Otho de Grandison, as responsible for the acts of his bailiff, must make it good. However, St. Rémy appealed to William de Grandison, and with his help obtained pardon.<sup>1</sup> Presumably, he did not recover his office, for when we next hear of him he had gone over to the popular side.

Edward was no doubt anxious to do justice to all parties. Some means must be found to stop the disorder, which the outbreak of war with France made doubly dangerous. He took the islands into his own hands; but, with scrupulous regard for the interests of his absent friend, entrusted the keepership to Henry de Cobham, an old-time associate of Otho de Grandison.<sup>2</sup> Cobham's first charge was apparently to see to the safety of the islands, and it was probably on this occasion that William de Grandison had orders to send men-at-arms, horses, and crossbows to Jersey and Guernsey.<sup>3</sup> The war fell heavily on the islanders. The quay at Peter Port was twice destroyed by the French, many were killed in resisting the invaders, and much injury was done to fisheries and trade. Cobham was directed to make compensation, but none was granted. At last the 'Ylemans' got a hearing in Parliament at the time when the king was going to Flanders (August 1297). Cobham replied that he had spent all his receipts on the defence of the islands, but if he had remained in office would have dealt with the matter. 'After this Sir Otho de Grandison had a grant of the Islands by a new charter, like as he had had in times past.'<sup>4</sup> But though

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I., iii. 319, 359; Havet, xxxix. 207-8. The cause of the complaint seems to have been that St. Rémy had supported the alien priories in their claim for dues on the fisheries. Dupont, *Hist. du Cotentin*, ii. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Parl.* i. 464, cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Correspondence*, xxvi. 35. An undated letter from W. de Grandison to John de Langton. See p. 192, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Parl.* i. 464. Cf. *Ancient Petitions*, 5, 6, and *Cal. Close Rolls*, iii. 427-30—petitions dated August 1295. Henry de Cobham was still keeper on August 25, 1295—*Ancient Correspondence*, xii. 127. On April 13, 1298, Nicholas



his bailiffs had since received goods to the value of 10,000*l. tournois*, no compensation had been paid. Nevertheless the islanders could get no redress, and continued their complaints that Otho's officers disregarded their ancient laws and customs. On September 16, 1299, Edward directed that the islanders should put their laws and customs clearly in writing. For this purpose justices were sent to hold inquiry, which took the form of pleas *de quo warranto*. To this the islanders seem to have taken exception on constitutional grounds, and so began a controversy which lasted thirty years.<sup>1</sup> The inconvenient request was evaded, but the allegation that the bailiffs had exceeded their duties was renewed. Probably there was some show of reason in this; for it transpired that against Otho's express orders his bailiff had refused to restore the lands of William de St. Rémy until he had obtained excessive security.<sup>2</sup> On a fresh complaint the King appointed a hearing for both parties in September 1302,<sup>3</sup> and two years later Henry de Guildford, John de Ditton, and Reginald Carteret as justices itinerant visited the islands.<sup>4</sup>

After Otho's final departure from England his control over his deputies probably diminished, and the grievances of the islanders proportionately increased. In June 1309 there was a grand judicial eyre held by John de Frisingfield, William Russel and John de Ditton as the King's commissioners; the two last at all events were servants of Otho's. The old complaints of excessive exaction of dues on fisheries and wreck, of vexatious restrictions on rabbit-catching, and of burdensome privileges of alien priories were brought up. Remedy was decreed for individual complaints, but this did not remove the cause of the grievance. When the islanders were called on to prove their privileges, they could only plead

de Cheny, then keeper, had orders to deliver the islands to Otho or his attorney, according to the form of grant made to the said Otho, before the beginning of the war, by reason of which the king caused them to be taken into his hands. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iii. 342.

<sup>1</sup> Havet, xxxvii. 226-7; *Cours Royales*, 10, 193-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, iv. 418.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 591; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 215; *Rot. Parl.* i. 180-1; *Cours Royales*, 195-7.

immemorial custom. The justices did not venture on a decision, and referred the matter to the Court of King's Bench.<sup>1</sup> The islanders replied by a petition representing that the justices had made grievous amerçiements without calling the jurats, that for twenty-four years Otho's deputies had sought to be justices, and praying for others to be appointed, 'who were not allied to the said Sir Otho and his people.'<sup>2</sup>

So the sore remained open, and for nine years all parties argued to no purpose. In 1313 the islanders once more complained that Otho's bailiffs paid no heed to their laws and customs. The King with an easy evasion bade Otho allow their ancient rights. Otho, or his agents, made answer that nothing was charged against the laws and customs of Jersey, which were certain and declared, but those of Guernsey were uncertain and could never be reduced to writing. Frisingfield and his colleagues had found that the islanders were abusing their privileges to the detriment of the royal prerogative, and Otho therefore prayed that the men of Guernsey might be compelled to put their customs in writing as those of Jersey had done.<sup>3</sup> On this the King, in March 1314, ordered the jurats of Guernsey to render obedience to Otho and his bailiffs, or in default to appear before the King on the octaves of Trinity and show cause why the bailiffs should be sworn to observe the customs, which it was alleged they had refused to explain.<sup>4</sup> Thus for five years more the matter rested without any definite attempt at a conclusion. At last, however, on June 26, 1319, in response to the repeated complaints, four justices, of whom the chief were John de Stonor and William de Bourne, were appointed to review the process of the commission of 1309, and to inquire into the alleged grievances during the whole time that Otho had been keeper.<sup>5</sup> The new judges held long sessions, and on this occasion the

<sup>1</sup> *Placita de Quo Warranto*, 822-840; *Second Report*, 293-5; *Cours Royales*, 10, 11. Cf. also *Rot. Parl.* i. 416, and *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, i. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Petitions*, 18, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 21, 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, ii. 91.

*Cours Royales*, 211-13; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iii. 375.

first results were to the liking of the islanders, who obtained all they desired. Otho, however, got a writ of *supersedeas*, on August 20, 1320, suspending the commissioners. Though on the complaint of the islanders in Parliament this writ was on October 6 recalled, a further inquiry was ordered. In the result it was found that Stonor and his colleagues had in error condemned Otho to pay great sums of money, and since their orders were to the King's disherison and to Otho's great loss their proceedings were annulled.<sup>1</sup> This was on July 30, 1321. A few days later the knights and jurats of Guernsey were ordered to render obedience to Gerard d'Oron, whom Otho had appointed as his deputy.<sup>2</sup> Gerard was a countryman, and kinsman, of Otho de Grandison, who had been long in the English service. As such he was not likely to be too favourable to the islanders, who stubbornly resisted him, and refused to obey the decree reversing the decisions of Stonor and Bourne.

On February 2, 1323, Gerard d'Oron and Robert Kellesye were appointed by the King to inquire and report as to the persons who were responsible for the continued disorder.<sup>3</sup> Otho de Grandison seems at the same time to have realised the serious character of the crisis. In spite of his great age—he was at least eighty-five—he journeyed across France to pay his only visit to the islands. On June 6 Gerard wrote to Henry de Clif that 'Monsieur de Grantson came to the Islands, to the Castle of Jersey, the first day of the month of June,' and now desired to consult him on the subject of the dispute with the Abbey of Mont S. Michel, touching the Priory of St. Clement in Jersey.<sup>4</sup> Otho de Grandison made a prolonged stay in the islands. In the following year Thomas de Estefeld, a brother-in-law of William de St. Rémy, complained that on October 6 'M. Otes de Grauntsoune and

<sup>1</sup> *Second Report*, 296–8; *Rot. Parl.* i. 378–9; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 9; *Cours Royales*, ii. 127, 213–9; *Ancient Petitions*, 61–2 (the document clearly relates to 1320).

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, iv. 8. For Gerard d'Oron, see p. 185, below.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 235–6.

<sup>4</sup> Havet, xxxvii. 229, from Archives de la Manche, fonds du Mont S. Michel.

M. Gerard de Orens' had come to St. Peter Port, to a place called La Ville-au-Roi, and carried away his corn.<sup>1</sup> Not long afterwards Gerard d'Oron was entrusted by Edward II. with a mission to Burgundy and Savoy.<sup>2</sup> He left Guernsey for this purpose on December 23, 1323, and it is probable that Otho de Grandison took the opportunity to go home in his company.

Otho had so long done service with his subjects as a monstrous if distant ogre that he is not likely to have been made welcome when he came suddenly among them in the guise of a wrathful old man. His presence was probably not unconnected with the visit, in September 1323, of fresh justices—Henry Spigurnel, Henry de Clif, John de Ifeld, and William Denon—to review once more the proceedings of 1320. They sat during two months and annulled the decision of their predecessors by which the customs of the islands had been confirmed, as given in error, but without substituting any decision of their own; 'so that the said Community is in the same state as regards laws and customs as it was in, before the delivery of the judgment aforesaid.'<sup>3</sup>

No sooner were Otho and the justices departed than the islanders put up a petition in Parliament in which they reviewed all the grievances of the past half-century. They alleged that Otho by his influence and by great bribes had defeated the wishes of the King, securing that all commissions of inquiry should be entrusted to his own ministers in defeasance of immemorial law, and procuring briefs in super-session of the royal orders. Frisingfield and Ditton, who were Otho's clerks, had neither tried nor decided their plaints. Spigurnel and his colleagues had been appointed by Otho's procurement, and had no thought save how they might turn all to his profit, and defeat the old laws. So they begged for a fresh inquiry, and ended with the bold assertion that

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Petitions*, 33—on octave of St. Michael in the 17th year of Edward II.

<sup>2</sup> *Pipe Roll*, 17 Edward II. : see also pp. 185-7, 195, below.

<sup>3</sup> *Second Report*, 295-99 ; *Cours Royales*, 11, 127, 221-2.

'if the Justices did right to King and people the said Sir Otho would be expelled from the Islands.'<sup>1</sup>

Parliament simply remitted the petition to Chancery. But almost immediately afterwards, on August 4, 1324, John de Clyveden was appointed to be Keeper of the Islands during pleasure, as Otho de Grandison, who held them for life, had retired from them, and there was danger of their safe custody, especially from France.<sup>2</sup> The absence of Gerard d'Oron may have given a specious excuse, but it is a curious instance of the weakness of the English government under Edward II. that advantage should thus have been taken of the employment of the responsible officer in the King's service elsewhere. When, however, Clyveden came to the islands he found that Gerard d'Oron had already returned, and since he could in consequence do nothing for the King begged that he might be discharged.<sup>3</sup>

Some allowance must no doubt be made for the difficulties of Edward II., and the allegation of ill custody was perhaps not unwarranted. The appointment of Ralph Basset and John de Roche to be Keepers on July 25, 1326, 'because Otho de Grandison does not stay in the Islands, and has not made sufficient order against danger from France,'<sup>4</sup> might be due to Edward's fears lest the islands should fall into the hands of his enemies. But this will not explain the renewal of a commission to John de Roche by Edward III. on March 29, 1327.<sup>5</sup>

It is perhaps going too far to describe Otho's government of the Channel Islands as one long record of oppression.<sup>6</sup> The evils of an absentee governorship are indeed obvious enough. But constitutional troubles were more in evidence than individual wrongs. The islanders made the most of fancied privileges based on immemorial customs, which furnished a good basis for grievances, but turned out some-

<sup>1</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 416; *Ancient Petitions*, 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. v. 14, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 416.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. v. 302.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* Edw. III. i. 63.

<sup>6</sup> As M. Havet does.

what hazy when put to the test of proof. After Otho's death they thanked God, who had again put them under the King's lordship, and the King, who had sent them as Warden Sir John de Roche, who was so good a castle-keeper. But within a little their complaints began again. First it was of John de Roche, who was so unreasonable that he would not accept debased French money in payment for taxes. Then it was of the farmers, whom the King sent to represent him in place of a Warden appointed from the Knights of England like Otho de Grandison.<sup>1</sup> It was probably not without reason that Otho de Grandison had argued that the preservation of the royal rights was his first duty. When such questions were not involved he was not blind to the material interests of his subjects. After peace was concluded with France, in 1303, he wrote to the Chancellor in England, begging for orders to be given to the keepers of the ports 'to let my people of the Isles and their goods pass freely.'<sup>2</sup> Again, in August 1308, he obtained from Pope Clement an order forbidding the Bishop of Coutances to cite the islanders to appear before him beyond sea.<sup>3</sup> Still it must be admitted that the administration of the Channel Islands during these fifty years was an unfortunate experiment in the rule of dependencies, and reflects little credit either on Otho, or on the home government.

The latest reference to Otho de Grandison in connexion with the Channel Islands occurs on March 8, 1328.<sup>4</sup> He died less than a month later, on April 5, and was buried in accordance with his will in the cathedral at Lausanne, where his tomb with an effigy, attributed commonly to Otho III.,

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Petitions*, 47-9, 55-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Correspondence*, xxxvi. 133. The letter is undated, but must belong to this time. See p. 186, below.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers*, ii. 45; *Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 3165. In *Ancient Petitions*, 2439 (Record Office), Otho's attorneys represent the hardships and loss which the bishop's conduct caused to the islanders.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. i. 251. John de Roche was appointed keeper in place of Otho de Grandison, deceased, on June 4, 1328 (*ibid.* i. 301).

may still be seen.<sup>1</sup> He must have been at least ninety years of age, and had indeed fulfilled the destiny that was foretold for him. Apart from the legends which so soon gathered about his name, and the mystery which has so long obscured his renown, there is something of an epic quality in the story of his romantic career. Born a simple knight of Burgundy, his sound had gone out into all lands, and his fame unto the ends of the world. There was hardly a country of Christendom in the history of which he had not played his part. The mountains of Wales and the Marches of Scotland, the most southern lands of France and Italy, the islands of the West, and the shores of the distant East, all bore witness to his fame. Like another Ulysses, he returned after his long wanderings to spend a prosperous old age in the castle of his fathers.

Much had he seen and known, cities of men,  
And manners, climates, councils, governments,  
Himself not least, but honoured of them all.

#### V.—THE LATER GRANDISONS

Otho de Grandison was never married. His chief English heirs were his nephews, Peter and Otho. John de Grandison, the lately consecrated Bishop of Exeter, wrote in 1328 to the Bishop of Lausanne: 'The news of my uncle's death has stricken me to my inmost heart, for with him the crown of my head has fallen. The islands of Guernsey, which the noble King Edward of blessed memory granted to my uncle for life, should have remained to my two brothers for five years; but some defect has been discovered in the King's Court, which will, I fear, preclude their claim. I beg you to help my brother Otho in obtaining possession of our uncle's property in your diocese. And if there be anything of value belonging to his chapel, more particularly books of the English Use, pray reserve them for me, and send them hither

<sup>1</sup> *Soc. Suisse Romande*, Ser. II. ii., 153-61; *Register of John de Grandison*, 173-4. There had been a false report of his death in April 1318, as shown by grants then made; cf. *Cal. Charter Rolls*, iii. 407.

by the bearer of these presents.’<sup>1</sup> John’s fears for his brothers’ claim on the islands were realised. It was only after much trouble and a petition to Parliament that they at last obtained in compensation a grant of 500*l.* apiece.<sup>2</sup> Clearly the revenue which Otho de Grandison derived from his island lordship had been very substantial.

At Grandson Otho was succeeded by his nephew Peter, probably the eldest son of his brother of the same name. When at Paris in May 1303 he had negotiated for this nephew, then Sire de Belmont, a marriage with Blanche, daughter of Louis, the Baron of Vaud, and niece of Amadeus of Savoy. He contracted to make Peter heir to all his property outside England, and leave him his Castle of Grandson.<sup>3</sup> Peter II. of Grandson had by Blanche of Savoy two sons—Otho, who was Sire de Grandson in 1343, and William, Sire d’Aubonne and de Ste Croix, who was a famous soldier under Amadeus VI. of Savoy. William eventually succeeded to Grandson and died in 1389.<sup>4</sup> His son, Otho III., was the poet from whom Chaucer adapted his ‘Complaint of Venus,’ styling him :

Graunson, flour of hem that make in Fraunce.<sup>5</sup>

Otho III. fought for the English in France in 1372 and 1379, and paid a visit to this country in 1383–5, when he was involved in a dispute with his cousin the Earl of Salisbury.<sup>6</sup> He was one of the evangelists of the Order of the Passion instituted by Philip de Mézières, who calls him chamberlain of honour to Richard II. and John of Gaunt. When in 1392 he was charged with having procured the death by poison of Amadeus VII., he took refuge in England, and swore fealty

<sup>1</sup> *Register of John de Grandison*, 174–5.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. iii. 35; *Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 111–12.

<sup>3</sup> Contract of Marriage ap. *Minutes of Evidence*, 172–4.

<sup>4</sup> *Suisse Romande*, xxvi. 250, 257; Verdeil, *Hist. de Vaud*, i. 218–30. On Peter and his sons see also Matile, *Mon. de l’Hist. de Neuchâtel*, i. 336, 418, ii. 1174.

<sup>5</sup> Chaucer, *Works*, i. 404, 562, ed. Skeat. See for a fuller account of Otho III. and his poetry *Romania*, xix. 237–59, 403–48, and *Suisse Romande*, Ser. II. ii. 162–200.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Rich. II. ii. 216, 556.



to Richard II., who gave him two grants of pension in June 1392 and November 1393.<sup>1</sup> After a while he went home to Vaud. There he was challenged to mortal combat by his accuser, Gerard d'Estavayer, whose wife he was alleged to have seduced. He was slain in the duel at Bourg, in Bresse, on August 7, 1397. All his lands in Vaud were forfeited, and his son William de Grandson withdrew to his estate at Pesne in Franche Comté, where his line continued but a little longer.<sup>2</sup> This is perhaps the William de Grandison who served under Henry V. in Normandy from 1416 to 1419.<sup>3</sup> At a later time the Castle of Grandson was one of the residences of the Bernese bailiffs in Vaud. About thirty years ago it was purchased by Baron Gustave de Blonay, whose ancestor, Amadeus de Blonay, married a daughter of Lambert III. de Grandson in 1080. The castle has since been judiciously restored, and is now in excellent preservation.<sup>4</sup>

Otho's youngest brother, William, made his permanent home in England. Before January 1287<sup>5</sup> he had married Sybil, daughter and coheir of John de Tregos, of Lydiard in Wiltshire. At the partition of the estates in 1300 William and his wife received Lydiard, Burnham in Somerset, and Eton in Herefordshire.<sup>6</sup> In the last county he had other estates, at Stretton Grandison and Asperton, where he had licence to crenellate his house on May 3, 1292.<sup>7</sup> He was, as we have seen, his brother's lieutenant in North Wales; served in Gascony under Edmund of Lancaster in 1294, and

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Rich. II. v. 63, 342. For a present of a 'curser' from 'Otes Granson' to Henry of Lancaster in 1392, see Wylie, *Hist. of Henry IV.* iv. 163. See also Froissart, xiv. ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove.

<sup>2</sup> Verdeil, *Hist. de Vaud*, i. 252, 257-9, 263-5. The lines of La Sarraz and Champvent were already extinct. But the D'Yverdun family, which came from the same stock, lasted till the eighteenth century. (Read, *Historic Studies*, i. 83).

<sup>3</sup> *Forty-first Report of Dep. Keeper of Public Records*, pp. 707, 716, 723, 44th Rep. p. 589.

<sup>4</sup> Read, *Historic Studies*, i. 80-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III., iii. 105; *inspeximus* of Charter of January 21, 1287.

<sup>6</sup> *Minutes of Evidence*, 10, 11, 84-5; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I, iv. 477.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I., ii. 496.

under the Earl of Lincoln in 1296, and in the Scottish war; was present at the siege of Carlaverock; and was a person of sufficient importance to be summoned to Parliament as a baron on April 10, 1299. In 1322 his eldest son sided with Thomas of Lancaster, and his estates were taken into the King's hands, because he had failed to answer the royal summons. The family politics were naturally Lancastrian, for William de Grandison had begun his career in the household of Edmund Crouchback, and been his executor.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless on March 18, 1322, all his lands were restored, since the King desired to show special favour to William de Grandison, who was so infirm that he could not travel without great danger to his body.<sup>2</sup> If William could not rival the green vigour of his elder brother, who in the following year journeyed from Grandson to Guernsey, he nearly equalled him in length of days. He must have been close on ninety years of age when he died, on June 27, 1335. His wife, who was a grand-niece of Thomas de Cantelupe, the saintly Bishop of Hereford, had died on September 21 in the previous year. They were both buried at Dore Abbey, of which they had been great benefactors.<sup>3</sup>

William and Sybil de Grandison had five sons and four daughters.<sup>4</sup> Peter de Grandison, who was returned as over forty years of age at his father's death, and must have been a good bit more, was a noble of no great distinction. He married Blanche, daughter of Roger Mortimer, before 1321,<sup>5</sup> but died without surviving issue on August 10, 1358.<sup>6</sup>

John, the second son, was the famous Bishop of Exeter, and founder of the College of St. Mary Ottery. Murimuth, who was a Canon of Exeter under him, is careful to describe him as 'son of the lord William de Grandison, brother of the lord Otho, that most famous knight from Burgundy in

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 387.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Edw. II. iii. 523, 641.

<sup>3</sup> *Register of John de Grandison*, 110.

<sup>4</sup> See *Tabula de Genealogia Joannis Grandisoni* ap. Leland, *Itinerary*, i. 237-8, ed. Toulmin Smith.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. iii. 552.

<sup>6</sup> *Minutes of Evidence*, 96.

the Empire.<sup>1</sup> Of John no full account need here be given. The first mention of him is in a dispensation obtained for him by his uncle in November 1305, when he was about fourteen years of age.<sup>2</sup> He was consecrated Bishop of Exeter at Avignon on December 23, 1327, and died on July 26, 1369.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas, the third son, was provided to a canonry at Lincoln in 1305, when about thirteen. He died at the Papal Court before August 1317.<sup>4</sup>

William, the fourth son, was a canon of Salisbury, who died Archdeacon of Exeter in 1330.<sup>5</sup>

Otho, the youngest, was probably abroad with his uncle at Grandson from 1317 to 1320. He inherited his uncle's estates at Kemsing and Seal in Kent, besides other lands from his father at Dartford in the same county. There he lived the life of an ordinary country gentleman, serving on the commission of peace and in other like offices, and representing the county in Parliament from 1347 to 1357. He married Beatrix, daughter of Nicholas Malmayns, and died in October 1358. By his will he directed that he should be buried at St. Mary Ottery, and bequeathed his tenements at London, in the parishes of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, and St. Margaret Patins, for the maintenance of chantries there.<sup>6</sup> Thomas, his only son, succeeded his uncle as fourth baron in 1369, though he was never summoned. He married Margaret, sister of William de Caru (or Carew),<sup>7</sup> but died without issue in 1376. His widow survived till October 2, 1394.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Murimuth, *Chron.* 56 n. (Rolls Soc.). Compare Leland's *Tabula*: 'Hic erat filius Gul. Grandisoni de genere Imperatoris, qui frater fuit nobilissimi Dni. Othonis de Grandissono in Burgundia Diocesis Lausenensis ubi Castrum de Grandisono est situm firmis saxis.'

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.* ii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> For his Will, and for the Inquisition on his death, see *Minutes of Evidence*, 105-111.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pap. Reg.* ii. 5, 152.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 101; Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 393.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. ix. 85, 206; *Minutes of Evidence*, 112; Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills in the Court of Husting*, ii. 10; Hasted, *His. of Kent*, i. 128, 231, 328; *Reg. John de Grandison*, 1226, 1236.

<sup>7</sup> Margaret de Grandison granted her manor of Burnham to some of her Carew relatives (*MSS. of Wells*, 454).

<sup>8</sup> *Minutes of Evidence*, 113-4.

With Thomas de Grandison the English male line of Grandison became extinct. But to one or other of the daughters of William de Grandison all our Kings since Edward IV., and many noble families, trace their descent.

Agnes was probably the eldest daughter,<sup>1</sup> for she was old enough to be married and have a son in 1306. Her husband, John de Northwood, son of the first baron of that name, died in 1317. Roger, her eldest son, succeeded his grandfather as second baron; the title fell into abeyance in 1416.<sup>2</sup> Two other sons, John and Otho de Northwood, were successively Archdeacons of Exeter and Totnes under their uncle. A fourth son, William, was a Knight Hospitaller. Agnes de Northwood had a grant of Lydiard Tregoze from her father for life. She died in 1348. Her undivided third of her father's barony is now held by Sir Anchitell Ashburnham-Clement, who is thus the senior and principal co-heir of Grandison.<sup>3</sup> None of the other heirs can claim a larger representation than a twelfth.

Mabilia, the second daughter, married John de Pateshull of Bletsho; she was foundress of the Grey Friars house at Bedford, where she was buried.<sup>4</sup> Her only son, William, died without issue in 1368, leaving as his co-heiresses four sisters.<sup>5</sup> Sybil, the eldest, who was married to Roger Beauchamp, inherited Bletsho and Cayshoe from her brother, and held Lydiard Tregoze by grant from her uncle, Peter de Grandison. Her great-grand-daughter, Margaret Beauchamp, married (1) Oliver St. John (*d.* 1437), and (2) John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. By her second husband Margaret Beauchamp was mother of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, and ancestress of the royal house of Tudor. Oliver St. John's descendants split into two lines at Bletsho and Lydiard Tregoze. Oliver, head of the elder line, was created Baron St. John of Bletsho in 1558, a title which still survives.

<sup>1</sup> So she comes first on the *Tabula*, ap. Leland, *Itinerary*, i. 237.

<sup>2</sup> No summons was issued after the death of the third baron in 1378.

<sup>3</sup> *Minutes of Evidence*, 397-443.

<sup>4</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, iv. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Minutes of Evidence*, 121.

His contemporary Nicholas St. John (*d.* 1589) of Lydiard Tregoze, had two sons, John and Oliver. Oliver, the second, was deputy of Ireland, and created Viscount Grandison of Limerick in the Irish peerage in 1621. By a special remainder this title passed to his grand-nephew, William, son of Sir Edward Villiers by Barbara, daughter of Sir John St. John. The second Viscount Grandison was father of the notorious Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland. John, fifth Viscount (whose sister was mother of the elder William Pitt) was created Earl Grandison in 1721, a title which became extinct at his death, in 1766. The Irish Viscounty then passed to his cousin, the Earl of Jersey, and thus by a strange accident Jersey and Grandison were once more united. From the male line of Lydiard Tregoze descended Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. From the same stock sprang Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, and through him Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, whose adventurous and varied career as soldier, sailor, and diplomatist suggests comparison with that of Otho de Grandison.

The other three daughters of Mabilia and John Pateshull were: Matilda, married William de Fauconberg, whence the Barons of that title; Alice, married Thomas Wake of Blisworth, whose line is believed to be extinct; and Katherine married Robert de Tudenham, whence Sir Thomas Tuddenham, who was executed in 1462. Thomas Tuddenham's sister Margaret married Edward Bedingfield, whose descendant, Sir Henry Bedingfield, claimed the barony of Grandison in 1854, but was found to be heir of only one twelfth, the other co-heirs being legion.<sup>1</sup>

The third daughter of William de Grandison was Matilda, who was prioress of Acornbury in Herefordshire.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth daughter of William de Grandison was Katherine, probably the youngest of the family, and

<sup>1</sup> They include the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, the Earls of Loudon and St. German's, the Countesses of Romney, Powis, and Yarborough, and Lord Grey de Ruthyn. See Debrett, *Peerage*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, i. 237-8; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, i. B. 159.

perhaps younger than her husband, William de Montacute (1301–1344), whom she married about 1327. William de Montacute was created Earl of Salisbury, and Katherine Grandison is the Countess who was the legendary heroine of the Order of the Garter; if the story is ill-founded there was nothing in her age to have made it impossible. Alice, only daughter of Thomas, last Montacute Earl of Salisbury, who was killed at Orleans in 1429, was mother of Warwick, the King-maker. It was presumably as part of her inheritance that Warwick held the manor of Grandisons at Wilmington in Kent, which had belonged to Sir Otho de Grandison. This estate descended to Warwick's granddaughter, Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, on whose execution in 1541 it was forfeited to the Crown.<sup>1</sup> Katherine Grandison's third daughter, Philippa, married Roger Mortimer, second Earl of March, and was by him ancestress of the royal house of York.<sup>2</sup>

The original Grandison arms were: Paly of six, argent and azure, on a bend gules three escallopes or. These appear to be the arms shown on a seal of Otho de Grandison in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 11582; though M. Havet thought the charges on the bend rather resembled 'martlets.' The arms used by Bishop John de Grandison and some others of the English family were: Paly of six, argent and azure, on a bend gules three eagles displayed or. In the fourteenth century the foreign branch used as crest, a bell, with the punning motto 'A petite cloche, grand son.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, i. 231–2.

<sup>2</sup> On the history of William de Grandison's descendants see the lengthy *Minutes of Evidence concerning the Barony of Grandison*, with many original documents. The judgment of the House of Lords in 1858 is recited by Burke, *Extinct Peerage*. For the Northwood line see also *Archaeologia Cantiana*, ii. 9–42, Hasted, *History of Kent*, ii. 456, 625, and *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser., x. 442. A Grandison appears in the *Battle Abbey Roll*; this alone would prove the late date and unauthentic character of that record.

<sup>3</sup> M. Havet ap. *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xxvii. 201; *Mémoires et documents*, Soc. de l'Hist. de Genève, vii. 40–41; Bedford, *Blazon of Episcopacy*; Papworth, *Ordinary of British Armorial*s. The bishop may have adopted 'eagles' in the place of 'escallopes' on the ground of his supposed imperial descent;

## VI.—HIS COUNTRYMEN AND KINSFOLK

Otho de Grandison introduced so many of his countrymen and kinsfolk to the English service that some account of the chief of them is necessary to the completion of his history.

BONVILLARS or BONO VILLARIO, HENRY de, from Bonvillars near Grandson, and possibly an uncle of John and William. He was a Cluniac monk, and for a short time Prior of Bermondsey, previous to his appointment as Henry de Bono Villar to be Prior of Wenlock on September 10, 1284 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, ii. 192). He was one of Otho de Grandison's attornies in 1290 and 1294, and received delivery of the Channel Islands on Otho's behalf from Nicholas de Cheney in 1298. In the following year he was Otho's lieutenant in the islands, and a justice itinerant for the King. There is mention of him in 1302 as Henry le Beuelard, Prior of Wenlock (*ibid.* iv. 94, 185), and as Henry Beular in 1303 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, v. 72). His name occurs for the last time in 1315, when he had protection as going beyond sea. His successor at Wenlock was appointed on February 26, 1319 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*. Edw. I. ii. 362, 424, 481, iii. 342, 436; Edw. II. i. 59, 139, ii. 273; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 73; *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xxvii. 204, 227).

BONVILLARS or BONO VILLARIO, JOHN de, a nephew of Otho de Grandison, who in 1305 obtained for him a dispensation to hold the living of Middleton, Yorkshire, besides benefices in the diocese of Lausanne. He was an attorney in England for Gerard d'Oron in March 1318, and an executor of Otho de Grandison's will, in which capacity he is mentioned in 1334 (*Cal. Papal Registers*, ii. 59; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. ii. 283, iii. 118; Edw. III. iii. 35).

BONVILLARS or BONO VILLARIO, OTTO de, was a justice in the Channel Islands under Otho de Grandison in 1278. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 296).

BONVILLARS or BONO VILLARIO, WILLIAM de, another nephew of Otho de Grandison, canon of Lausanne in 1308,

and prebendary of Coringham, Lincoln, 1324-6 (*Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 3097; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*. Edw. II. v. 187; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 134).

CHANVENT, CHAUVENT, or CHAUMPVENT, JOHN de; see under Chanvent, Peter.

CHANVENT, OTHO de, a cousin of Otho de Grandison, perhaps a son of his uncle, Henry de Chanvent; Chauvent or Champvent is about four miles from Grandson. Was dean of Seliriac, Geneva, in 1289, had canonries at Maurienne and Rheims and the living of Havant in England. Was in England in February 1302, when he had letters of attorney as going over sea with Otho de Grandison. Was Bishop of Lausanne 1310-12 (*Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 508; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 114, 123; *Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 2840, 2933-4).

CHANVENT or CHAUMPVENT, PETER de. Was in England as 'vallettus Regis' in 1254 (*Rôles Gascons*, i. 3458). Probably a cousin of Otho de Grandison. Is mentioned in 1273, and was steward or seneschal of the King's household in 1283 and for many years after. Served Edward I. in Gascony in 1286-89, in Scotland in 1291, and in Flanders in 1297. He died about 1303, leaving, by his wife Agnes, a son, John, then over thirty years of age. John de Chanvent married Joan, daughter of Philip Marmion, had lands in Somerset, Cambridgeshire, and Suffolk, and is mentioned as late as 1321 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 89, 245, 468, iii. 302, iv. 55; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 31, 354, iii. 317; Edw. II. i. 572, ii. 584, iii. 335; *Rôles Gascons*, 1189, 3415; *Calendarium Genealogicum*, 642; *Year Books*, vol. iv. pp. 128, 129 (Selden Soc.).

CHANVENT or CHAMPVENT, WILLIAM de, was presented by Henry III. to the living of Filgrave, Bucks, in 1257 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247-58, p. 603), and was Dean of St. Martin le Grand from 1262 to 1274, sub-Dean of York in 1266, and Bishop of Lausanne from 1274 to 1301 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 49; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi. 1323; Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii. 128; *Gallia Christiana*, xv. 362).

COSENAY, JAMES de, monk at Wenlock in 1292, as also



was Conon de Cossenay in 1308 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 481 ; Edw. II. i. 66). From Cossonay in Vaud.

CUSANCIA, a numerous family avowedly of Burgundian origin (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. v. 59), and obviously connected, whether by blood or friendship, with the Grandisons. From Cusance (dept. Doubes) in the County of Burgundy.

CUSANCIA, GERARD de, attorney for his brother Peter in 1299, in the service of Queen Margaret in 1308, and with John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, in Gascony in 1313. Parson of Wermyn-ton, Lincoln, on March 12, 1313, of Wyberton in 1316, and of Bassingbourn, Cambridge, before 1323. Prebendary of Willesden, St. Paul's, London, before 1313. Attorney for Gerard d'Oron in 1318, and for William de Bono Villario in 1325. Last mentioned in 1327. Was uncle of William de Cusancia, Dean of St. Martin le Grand. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I., iii. 441 ; Edw. II. i. 34, 556, 576, ii. 350, iii. 118, iv. 244, v. 30, 39, 187 ; Edw. iii., i. 24 ; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. II. i. 562.)

CUSANCIA, JAMES de, a Cluniac monk of Lewes ; made Prior of Prittlewell, Essex, on December 1, 1316, and still held the priory in 1341. Was a brother of William de Cusancia (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. ii. 570, iii. 261, v. 30 ; Edw. III. v. 239).

CUSANCIA, JAMES de, prior of St. Mary, Thetford, from 1338 to 1355 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. iv. 91, v. 239, viii. 568 ; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 146.)

CUSANCIA, JOHN de, attorney for Peter de Cusancia in 1294, for Otho de Chanvent in 1302, and for the Prior of Prittlewell in 1305 ; parson of Rayleigh, Essex, in 1294 (*Rôles Gascons*, 2671 ; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 95, iv. 114, 321). Probably a different person from John, brother of William de Cusancia, who was Prior of Bermondsey from 1323 to 1359 (*ibid.* Edw. II. iv. 407, v. 30 ; *Annales Monastici*, iii. 471, 476).

CUSANCIA, PETER de, Knight, served in Gascony under William de Grandison in 1294, and in 1296 with Edmund of Lancaster. Attorney for Otho de Grandison in Ireland in

1299. Had lands in Berks, Bucks, Hereford, Somerset and Wilts, and at Downampney, Gloucestershire; the last were acquired in 1312. His son William, of Wyke and Downampney, died before January 1340, leaving a son, Peter, aged fifteen. (*Rôles Gascons*, 2516, 4203; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 437; Edward III. vii. 29; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 502, iv. 8; Edw. II. i. 562-3).

CUSANCIA, REGINALD de, parson of Eckington, Sussex, in 1303, in service of Queen Margaret in 1308, and of the Earl of Richmond in Gascony in 1313, parson of Fouldon in 1323, prebendary of Coringham, Lincoln, 1326 to 1335 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 118; Edw. II. i. 34, 576, iv. 244 v. 39; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 134).

CUSANCIA, WILLIAM de, born in Burgundy, was in the service of Queen Margaret in 1308, parson of North Repps in 1317, canon of Ripon, 1320-34; prebendary of West Thurrock, 1320, and of St. Wolfram, Abbeville, 1333-4, of Wenlakesbarn, at St. Paul's, 1338, of Sleaford, Lincoln, 1340; Dean of St. Martin le Grand, June 19, 1349, and Archdeacon of Exeter, February 15, 1350. He also held the livings of Lyming, Kent, in 1348, and Bredon, Worcestershire, in 1349 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. II. i. 34, ii. 614, iii. 417, 430; Edw. III. ii. 469, 536, iv. 47, v. 69, viii. 146, 305, 401, 462). William de Cusancia had a long official career: he was Clerk of the Great Wardrobe in 1321-2; treasurer for Edward III. when Earl of Chester from 1323 to 1325; Keeper of the King's Wardrobe 1340-41; and treasurer of the Exchequer from October 28, 1341, to April 10, 1344. He was also employed in some minor diplomatic and judicial services. He died early in 1362. Besides the relatives already named he had a brother, Peter, who was parson of South Repps in 1323, a younger brother also called William, and a kinsman, Hugh de Cusancia (*ibid.* Edw. II. iii. 504, iv. 41, 189, 302, v. 30, 39; Edw. III. ii. 523, iii. 41, 321, 566, iv. 543, v. 265-9, 298 vi. 235, vii. 268).

ESTAVAYER, PETER d', from Estavayer on the east shore of the Lake of Neuchâtel. In English records Staneye

or Estaney. He was a nephew of Otho de Grandison, and first appears as one of the King's yeomen in 1280-82. On July 3, 1220, his uncle gave him Okonagh and Tipperary for life. He went with Otho to Acre, and does not seem to have returned to England. In 1298 Peter de Stratelinges, and in 1303 Perrotus de Staniaco and William de Gyes were attornies for him. He may be the Pierre d'Estavayer, who took part in the Vaudois war of 1295. The castle of Estavayer is one of the finest in the district. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 359, 402, 460, ii. 22, 372, 374, iii. 337, iv. 118; *Suisse Romande*, v. 67.)

ESTAVAYER, WILLIAM d', a brother of Peter. In English records Estanie, Estanayaco, Estiniaco, Estainaceo. He first appears as one of the King's clerks on February 16, 1283, when Edward gave him a prebend at St. Wolfram, Abbeville. In 1289 Otho de Grandison obtained for him the reservation of a canonry at Lincoln, though he already held canonries and prebends at Wells and St. Maurice, Llangadok, and the churches of Grinstead, Sussex, and of Llampadarnfawr. He accordingly held the prebend of Coringham, Lincoln, from 1291 to 1324. In 1290 Nicholas IV. made him Archdeacon of Lincoln, an office which he exchanged on September 13, 1319, with John de Stratford for the Rectory of Stratford-on-Avon. He was abroad in June 1306, and from that time had periodical letters of protection as beyond seas down to 1323. In 1316, when he is described as William de Estavayé, Archdeacon of Lincoln, he sold Surpierre (a place about six miles south of Estavayer) to Otho de Grandison. He probably died in 1324, for in that year William de Bono Villario received the prebend of Coringham (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 357, iii. 268, iv. 530; Edw. II. iv. 272; *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 505, 508, ii. 45; *Rôles Gascons*, 5051-2; *Le Neve, Fasti Eccl. Angl.* ii. 44, 134; *Suisse Romande*, v. 85).

ESTRATLINGES: *see* STRATELINGES.

GOFYN or GOUSYN, JOHN de, of Grandson, attorney for Gerard de Wyppayns in 1300, and for Otho de Grandison of Mancetter in 1304 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 509, iv. 217).

GRANDISON, GERARD de, nephew of Otho de Grandison, received the prebend of Apesthorpe and 50 marks a year from Archbishop Wickwaine of York in 1283. Occurs in connexion with Peter de Chanvent in 1297 (*Fasti Eboracenses*, 324; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 20).

GRANDISON, HENRY de, born about 1242, brother of Otho de Grandison, was parson of Greystoke, Cumberland, from 1276 to 1285 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 143; *Close Rolls*, ii. 312). He was at the Roman Curia in June 1282, when he sent Edward I. news of the Sicilian Vespers; in the same letter he excused John of Pontisara for his share in conveying letters from Archbishop Peckham to some of the cardinals, in which the archbishop had made derogatory reference to the English King (*see above*, p. 132). Henry de Grandison was still at Rome two years later, when Peckham wrote to the Bishop of Tusculum asking him to deny the injurious reports which Grandison had circulated about these letters (*Registrum*, ii. 714). Grandison held a canonry at Wells in 1284 (*Hist. MSS. Dean and Chapter of Wells*, 34, *Hist. MSS. Commission*). He succeeded his brother Gerard as Bishop of Verdun and died in 1286. (*Gallia Christiana*, xiii. 1217.) Probably he was not consecrated for some time after Gerard's death.

GRANDISON, JOHN de, attorney for Otho de Chauvent in 1303, probably a brother of Gerard, Otho and Theobald. Perhaps the John de Grandison, who was prebendary of Heydour-cum-Walton, Lincoln, in 1317, and is said to have died in 1328 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 114; Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 155).

GRANDISON, OTHO de, nephew of Sir Otho de Grandison, presented to living of 'Mamcestre' (Mancetter, Warwickshire) on September 27, 1299, a clerk at Cambridge in 1301. On March 4, 1301, his uncle obtained for him a canonry at York, though he already held canonries at Lausanne and Autun, and the churches of Mamcestre, Wilquinton (probably Wilmington, Sussex) and Pickhill, Yorkshire, on condition that he resigned the two last. Left England in 1304, was

Bishop of Toul in 1306, and of Basle from 1306 to 1309. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 440, 629, iv. 217; *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 594).

GRANDISON, PETER de, clerk, in 1337 had letters of attorney in Ireland; probably one of the foreign branch of the family (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. iii. 535).

GRANDISON, THEOBALD de, nephew of Sir Otho de Grandison, and brother of Peter, Sire de Belmont. He received a Bursal prebend at Wells in June 1299. (*MSS. Dean and Chapter of Wells*, 159.) By his uncle's influence provided to a canonry at Lincoln on March 4, 1301, though he held canonries at Geneva and Wells, and the church of Eckington, Sussex. Resigned Eckington and went over sea in 1303. Acquired the manor of Morton, Devon, from Gerard d'Oron, and sold it in 1310 to Hugh de Courtenay. Attorney for Otho de Grandison in Ireland in 1325. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iv. 37, 117; Edw. II. i. 212, v. 192; *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 579; Matile, *Mon. de l'Hist. de Neuchâtel*, i. 336).

GRANDISON, WALTER de, had letters of attorney in Ireland in 1327; probably one of the foreign branch. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. III. i. 184).

ORON, or ORONS, GERARD d', appears in English records as Oram, Dorum, Dorme, Doronis or de Orons. M. Havet thought his name was Derous. But the point is settled by Gerard's reference in his letter to Hugh Despenser to 'ma maison Dorons, qui est trois lees pres de Losanne,' which clearly indicates Oron-le-Château about ten miles north-east of Lausanne. He was a nephew of Otho de Grandison, and may be the Gerard, son of Rodolph, Seigneur de Orons, who sold Concise to him in 1282 (*Minutes of Evidence*, 170). Another of Otho's nephews, Pierre d'Orons, was treasurer of Lausanne in 1305 (*Reg. Clementis Quinti*, 22) and Bishop of Lausanne from 1313 to 1323. The first mention of Gerard in England is in July 1290, when Otho de Grandison gave his nephew Gerard de Orons<sup>1</sup> the reversion of Estremoye and

<sup>1</sup> The *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (Edward I. ii. 372) reads 'Crous'; but compare *ibid.* iii. 245.

Otheny on his Irish estate. This interest Gerard in 1304 exchanged with Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, for the manor of Morton, Devon. Then and for many years afterwards he was a yeoman in the royal household; on June 5, 1317, Edward II. granted him in reward for his good service to himself and to his father the reversion for life of Ditton Camoys, and Shenley, of which Otho de Grandison had a life tenure. Gerard's name occurs frequently in connexion with those of his countrymen, John de Chanvent, Gerard de Cusancia, and Gerard and Eudric de Wyppayns. He was deputy for his uncle in the Channel Islands in 1321-23, and 1324-25. In the Pipe Roll for 17 Edward II. there is a 'compotus Gerardi de Oroms, militis,' going on the King's business to Savoy, Burgundy, and Alemannia, from the time when he left Guernsey on December 23, in the seventeenth year, till his return to England on July 21 following, 211 days at 5s. a day, making 52*l.* 15*s.* His business was no doubt to hire men for Edward's service, as shown in the letter which he wrote to Hugh Despencer from Chambéry under date March 9. This should fix the date as from December 1323 to July 1324. Gerard was certainly in the Islands with his uncle in June to December 1323 (see p. 167, above), and apparently was absent immediately before the appointment of John de Clyveden in August 1324. But according to the Patent Rolls he had protection in May 1324, for six months, as going to Scotland to treat for the ransom of John of Brittany, and on June 12 of that year was going beyond seas in the king's service, while on May 27, 1325, he is said to be beyond seas on the king's service. On May 25, 1328, after his uncle's death the grant of Ditton and Shenley was confirmed to him at the request of Queen Isabella. In 1328-9 he was beyond seas in the king's service. From December 22, 1330, to October 24, 1331, he was Seneschal of Ponthieu and Monstreuil. The last mention of him in English records is as receiving letters of protection in April 1334. He probably died soon after, for a little later John de Pulteney was in possession of Ditton and Shenley. There are two

letters from Gerard in *Ancient Correspondence*, viz. xxvi. 32 to John de Langton, and lviii. 11 (see below) to Hugh Despenser. His letter of June 6, 1323, to Henry Clif is printed in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xxxvii. 229. (See *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 372, iii. 383, 583, iv. 26, 102, 139, 208, 245, 392, 396, 447; Edw. II. i. 79, ii. 656, iii. 118, 242, 396, 419, 559, iv. 220, 235, 339, 411, 422, 428, v. 123; Edw. III. i. 5, 300, 302, 328, 452, ii. 34, 168, 214, iii. 529; and *Rolls of Parliament*, i. 419. For some account of the Seigneurs d'Oron see Meredith Read, *Historic Studies in Vaud*, i. 414-16, 450-52).

SANCTO SIMPHORIANO, PETER de, a monk, beyond seas with Otho de Grandison on the king's service in 1297 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 289). From St. Saphorin near Lausanne.

STRATELINGES, STRADELINGES, or ESTRATELINGES, Sir JOHN de, a nephew of Otho de Grandison, who granted him the reversion of Okonagh and Tipperary in 1290. He died in January 1293. He was also called Rousselet (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 372, iv. 116; *Close Rolls*, iii. 146, 309.)

STRATELINGES, Sir PETER de, attorney for Peter d'Estavayer or Staneye in 1298 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 337.) Perhaps from Strättligen, near Thun.

WYPPAYNS, EUDRIC de, nephew of Otho de Grandison, attorney in England for Aymo de Quarto, provost of Lausanne in 1294; parson of 'Wyrkyngton' in 1303. It is not clear what place is meant by 'Wyrkyngton'; it is called 'Vyrkinthone' in the letter to John Langton on p. 193, below. That letter makes it likely that the place was in the diocese of Chichester; if so, it was probably identical with 'Wilquinton' (Wilmington, Sussex) which Otho de Grandison of Mancetter resigned in 1303 (see p. 184, above). On the other hand, Sir Otho de Grandison speaks of Eudric as 'en mon servise en l'eglise de Vyrkinthone'; this rather suggests Wilmington in Kent (see p. 178, above). Eudric is last mentioned in 1312, when he was beyond seas, and Gerard de Wyspayns (probably a nephew) was his attorney. Otho de Grandison

wrote on Eudric's behalf to John de Langton in 1309. Eudric and his brothers came from Vuippens or Wippingen in canton Freiburg (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. iii. 99, iv. 102, 139, 245, 392; Edw. II. i. 411; *Ancient Correspondence*, xxxv. 59, see p. 68, below).

WYPPAYNS, GERARD de, brother of Eudric and Peter, and nephew of Otho de Grandison. Parson of Greystoke in 1285, prebendary of Strensall, York, in 1288, student at Orleans in 1290, archdeacon of Richmond 1290-1302. Also held living of Waddington, Lincoln, with a prebend at Lincoln before 1289. Going beyond seas in 1294, when Henry, prior of Wenlock, was his attorney. Proctor at Rome for Edward I. from May 15, 1300, to June 23, 1301. In August 1301 Edward thanked the Pope for his munificence at the hands of Gerard de Wypeins. Again employed in negotiations at the Papal Curia from November 1301 to March 1302. Bishop of Lausanne from 1302 to 1309, and of Bâle from 1309 till his death in 1325. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 354, iii. 98, 607, 617, iv. 206; *Cal. Close Rolls*, ii. 312; iv. 392, 580; *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 505, 507; *Suisse Romande*, xxxvi. 388; *Gallia Christiana*, xv. 364, 474.)

WYPPAYNS, PETER de, brother of Eudric and Gerard, nephew of Otho de Grandison, who granted him Estremoye in 1290. Went with Otho to Acre, and probably died there. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. ii. 372, 376.)

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## VII. APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

(1.)

EDWARD I. TO OTHO DE GRANDISON.

MARCH 11, 1279.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xiii. 51.

[See on this letter p. 131, above.]

Edwardus, dei gratia Rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, et dux Aquitannie, dilecto et fideli suo Otoni de Grandisono salutem. Scripsit nobilis vir egregius et amicus noster karissimus, Comes Burgundie, quod inter ipsum et vos de filia sua vobis matrimonio



copulanda habita sunt diebus istis colloquia et tractatus. Set quia vestrum sicut proprium commodum et honorem cupimus et optamus, nollemus, quantum in nobis est, quod ibi vel alibi nisi in nostra presencia, vel saltem quousque vobiscum super hiis et aliis loqueremur, aliquam duceretis in uxorem: ut negocium sub illa honorificencia, quam vellemus et que decet statum vestrum, per nostram presenciam honorabilius posset et sollempnius expediri; verumptamen considerantes quod voluntates contrahencium vincere solent in huiusmodi voluntates aliorum, volumus et assentimus, quod si contractus ille vobis cordi sit, et vir nobilis et dilectus noster Otto de Burgundia, et alii consanguinei ac ceteri zelatores honoris vestri id ad vestrum profectum et honoris titulum cedere videant et id vobis consulant cum effectu, tunc premissa, iuxta cor vestrum et ipsorum consilia et secundum ordinaciones et tractatus inter predictum Comitem et vos inde habitos vel habendos, fini debito mancipientur, prout statui vestro congruit et fore videritis, facienda. Et hoc ipsum eidem Comiti per nostras litteras respondemus. Teste me ipso apud Wodestoke xj die Martii, anno regni nostri septimo.

(2.)

RICHARD GUYDECHON TO OTHO DE GRANDISON.

1279 or 1281.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxx. 101.

[Richard Guydechon, or Guidicionis, was the chief representative in England of the Society of the Ricardi of Lucca, who had an extensive banking and commercial business in this country between 1275 and 1290 (see numerous references in Calendars of Close and Patent Rolls). They had charge of the custom of wool as early as 1277, and in December 1279 their accounts were audited before Robert Burnell, Otho de Grandison, and Antony Bek. In July 1280, the Ricardi advanced the money for the expenses of Grandison's mission to Rome (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edw. I. i. 354, 387). Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Chancellor, is L'esveske of this letter. 'Sire Antoine' is no doubt Antony Bek, who was elected Bishop of Durham in July 1283. Both Bek and Kirkby (who was afterwards Bishop of Ely) were officials of the royal chancery. St. Botolph's Fair at Boston was held in August. Since Grandison was clearly in England, the date of this letter can thus be fixed for the autumn of either 1279 or 1281; cf. pp. 131-2, above.]

A lor tres chier seignor mon sire Otte de Grancon, Richart Guydechon e ses compaignons saluz. Sachiez, sire, que le Abbe de Meaus nos a fet tres grant faussine e desloiaute, que a la Saint Botouf out j. an achatames de lui vj<sup>xx</sup> sacs de laine de toilette,

selonc que est contenu en j. cirograf entre nos e lui, e devons estre paieiz a ceste Saint Botouf, qui est passez, de quoi il ne a nient fet. E nos porchacames une lettre nostre seignor le Roi al vesconte de Everwik, quil attachast les biens le dit Abbe por ceo quil sont en son conte, e attachez en sont bien tant que a la value de ceo quil nos doit e des damages receus. Por quoi nos vos prions que vos avisez mon sire Antoine, e nostre chier seignor Lesueske, e sire Johan de Kyrkeby de ceste chose, que se le Abbe viegne a la cort ou soit venu por porchacer delivrance de ses biens, que il lui en parlent en maniere quil soit tenu por fol e que il se haste a fere nostre gre. E se vos puissez porchacer une lettre nostre seignor le Roi al vesconte de Everwik que des biens le Abbe quil a attache face vendre tant que a la somme de nostre dette, ceo serroit bon por nos. E que Lesveske de Ba, e vos, e sire Antoine envoieiz lettres al vesconte, que de cette besoigne se porte vigreusement e bien, ainsi que vos lui sachez gre, e que nos aions le nostre ou ceo que les laines valurent a Saint Botouf, car nos ne demandons autre chose que raison e droiture. E les lettres que vos porchacerez dou Roi, e les lettres Lesveske, e de vos, e de sire Antoine, vos prions que vos nos envoieiz. E nos les envoieions a nostre compaignon a Everwike. Endroit de la maison que entre vos e Richart en parlastes, sofrez vos ent tant que a vostre venue a Londres, de ceste chose en fetes tant come par vostre compaignie. E a dieu, sire, qui vos gart.

(3.)

WILLIAM DE GRANDISON TO — ?

1284 ?

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxx. 92.

[William Sikun (Chicoun or Cygoune) was Constable of Conway Castle from 1284 to 1293; Morris, *English Wars of Edward I.* pp. 200, 219. This letter was apparently written in the first year.]

A son tres chier e tres ame seigneur, le sien Guillaume de Grançon toute reverence e honneur. Comme monseigneur mon frere me ait mandez par sa lettre, qe ie face allouer a mons. Guillaume de Cykoun, ce qe il a mis en toutes maneres d'ouvraignes en chastel d'Aberkoneway, e en garder les prisons, vous faz ie assavoir qe ie ai vehai ses roulles e ses ouvraignes e les tesmoin a bons e a loiaux, e au prou nostre seigneur le Rois. Pour quei ie vous pri chèrement qe vous en vueillez tant faire qe le chevalier n'en soit perdenz ne qe l'on nen neit peche de lui. E ainsi comme vous savez [qe il fait

a faire, tant en facez chier sire qe ie vous en soie plus tenuz. Notre seigneur vous ait en sa garde. Donec a Alinton le vendredi prochein apres la Goule d'aoust. E sachiez sire qe ie vous en pri si ateignanement, pour ce qe mon seigneur mon frere a ce qe ie enteng vous en pri, e pour ce qe le chevalier est des noz.

(4.)

THOMAS SALEKYN TO OTHO DE GRANDISON.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxxi. 5.

[The Salekyn family were engaged in business as boatmen at Dover. In *Exchequer* (K.R.) *Accounts*, 308 (17), Christina, 'que fuit uxor Willelmi Salekyn de Douorr,' accounts for xxvjs. viijd. paid to her husband, and John Salekyn for 10*l.* paid for the crossing of the Cardinals in August 1295. A Thomas Salkin was a member of the 'Company of fferschip' (the boatmen's guild) at Dover in 1312 (Statham, *Dover Charters*, p. 35). The following letter has no sufficient indication of date. William de Orlaveston (Orleston) was surrogate for Stephen de Pencestre, Constable of Dover in 1282 (Statham, *Hist. Dover*, 355). His name does not appear in the list of known bailiffs ap. *Dover Charters*, p. 471.]

A sun tres cher seigneur, e si le plest amy, Sire Otes de Gransun, le seon marener Thomas Salekyn de Douere saluz, e quant ke il poit de honur e de seruisse a tuz iurs. Sachez, sire, ke ieo ai fet leuer vne mesun . . . la vile de Douere, ou ieo enteng ke ieo la porray certeynement leuer com sur mon soil propre, e sir [Willame] de Orlauestune, Baillif de la Ville, par enticement de aukune gentz e pur mey greuer dit ke l[auant]dite mesun esta sur le soil le Rey, e par tant me desturbe ke ieo ne pois la mesun parfere a mon profit. De quey ieo vus pri, cher sire, par deu e pur quant ke ieo porrai fere de seruisse a vus ue a voz, ke en ceste besoigne me voillez estre seigneur e amy si com souent avez este, nostre merci. E me voillez fere auer vn Bref le Rey a prudeshommes del Vynne, chevalers, ou autres, ke la place seit vewe, e si la mesun soit leuee al damage le Rey ieo le amenderai, si com vus e les autres prudeshommes du conseil voderez ordener, e si nun ke lauandit sire Willame ne me desturbe ne autre a parfere lauandite mesun a mon profit. Cher sire, en ceste chose, si vus plest, uostre amitie e uostre aide me voillez graunter, e ieo a tuz jurs serai uostre seriant a fere ceo ke vus comanderez. A deu, sire, seez vus comande, ke vus gard e vus dont bone uie e longe.

*Endorsed.* Otes de Gransun par le seon Thom. Salekyn de Douere.

(5.)

WILLIAM DE GRANDISON TO JOHN DE LANGTON.

1294-5.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxvi. 35.

[This letter was probably written in 1294-5, when the Channel Islands were in danger from France, and William de Grandison, as his brother's attorney, was responsible for their garrisoning. Langton was then Chancellor.]

A sun tres cher ami, si vous plest, a sire John de Langeton, le seon Guill. de Granson saluz e bon amor. Come par le com-maundement nostre seignur le Roy enueyons gens a armes, e cheuals, e arbalestes a ses yles de Gernes. e Gers., je vous pri ke au portour de ceste lettre faiez auer letre de passage, si come vos verrez ke a feyre seit &c.

(6.)

OTHO DE GRANDISON TO THE CHANCELLOR.

1303?

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxxvi. 133.

[The date is probably June 1303, after the conclusion of the peace with France. The Chancellor will therefore be William de Greenfield.]

Sire, mandez moy se vous auez mande aus pors qui les chouses des ij Royames soient comunes, si come il a este ordene, et veuillez mander aus gardeyns des pors & aus ballifs que eus leysent passer ma gent des yles et leur chouses franchement.

*Endorsed*: Au Chancelier. O. de Granson.

(7.)

OTHO DE GRANDISON TO JOHN DE LANGTON.

JANUARY 16, 1309.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxxv. 59.

[Since Langton is described as Bishop of Chichester and Chancellor the date must be January 1308 or 1309. 'Espalli' is no doubt Epailly, one of the houses of the Templars granted to Otho de Grandison by Clement V. in August 1308 (see p. 160, above). This fixes the date for 1309. On Eudric de Wyppayns see p. 187, above.]

A reverent pere en dieu et son chier seignur et amy, mon seignur Jehan par la grace de Dieu, Evesque de Cycestre, Chancelier

d'Angleterre, Othes de Gransson salut et li apparellie a son playsir et a sa volunte. Sire, pur ce que ie sui desiranz doir bones nouvelles de voustre estat, le quel Diours face touz iours bon, je vous pri sire que le plus sovant que vos porrez le me veuillez mander. Endroit dou mien sire, sil vous plait a savoir, i'estoye seins et haitiez, le dieu merci, quant ceste lettre fu faite. Sire, cum aucunes genz facent grief a sire Wdry de Wyppeyns, mon clerc, et le quel est en mon servise en l'eglise de Wyrkinthone dont il est persone, je vous pri, sire, que vous ses procurours voulliez avoir recommande aus besoignes qui le thocheront, et que vous, sire, pour ce qu'il est en mon service, li veuillez aydier, s'il vous plait, comant il ait la proteccion le Roy a toutes ses clauses tant que a iij anz. Et me veuillez, sire, si vous plait, voustre volonte mander, la quel ie feroye a mon povoir. Sire, nostre seignur vous gard. Donees Espalli le xvj iour de Jenuier.

*Endorsed*: A Reverent pere en dieu, mon seigneur Jehan, par la grace de Dieu Evesque de Cicestre, Chancelier d'Angleterre.

(8.)

EDWARD II. TO OTHO DE GRANDISON.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1312.

*Ancient Correspondence*, xxxii. 108.

[There were many subjects of dispute with the Abbey of Mont St. Michel. On the judicial Eyres referred to see pp. 165-6, and on the Seal of the Baillie see p. 161. The endorsement illustrates the attitude of Otho's lieutenants on political questions.]

Edwardus, dei gratia Rex Anglie, Dominus Hibernie, et Dux Aquitanie, dilecto et fideli suo Ottoni de Grandisono, Custodi suo Insularum de Gernesye et de Geresye, vel ejus locum tenenti, salutem. Ex parte abbatis Sancti Michaelis de Periculo Maris per petitionem suam coram nobis et consilio nostro exhibitam, nobis est ostensum, quod licet ipse et predecessores sui, Abbates loci predicti, attornatos suos per litteras suas patentes ad omnimoda placita ipsum abbatem et predecessores suos predictos racione terrarum et tenementorum suorum in Insulis predictis tangencia hucusque facere, et huiusmodi attornati ad placita illa prosequenda et defendenda coram Justiciis ad assisas in dictis Insulis capiendas assignatis, et aliis ballivis quibuscunque Insularum earundem a tempore, quo non extat memoria, loco Abbatis et predecessorum

suorum predictorum admitti consueverint, nichilominus dilecti et fideles nostri Henricus de Guldeford, et Johannes de Dytton, quos nuper ad assisas in dictis Insulis capiendas Justicios nostros duximus assignandos, attornatos, quos idem Abbas coram ipsis per litteras suas patentes fecerat, ut predictum est, loco ipsius Abbatis ad placita ipsum coram eisdem Justiciis tangencia prosequenda et defendenda, voluntarie et absque causa rationabili admittere recusaverunt; propter quod idem Abbas super hujusmodi attornatis suis in Insulis predictis per suas patentes litteras faciendis semper postmodum extitit impeditus, in ipsius et domus sue predictae dispendium manifestum, super quo sibi per nos petit remedium adhiberi. Nolentes igitur ipsum abbatem in hac parte taliter pregrauari, vobis mandamus quod si vobis modo debito constiterit ita esse, tunc attornatos quos idem Abbas ad placita ipsum in Insulis predictis ratione terrarum et tenementorum suorum predictorum tangencia prosequenda et defendenda per litteras suas patentes attornaverit loco ipsius Abbatis admittatis, et ab aliis ballivis et ministris nostris Insularum predictarum admitti faciatis, prout hujusmodi attornati per litteras patentes ipsius Abbatis et predecessorum suorum predictorum constituti semper a tempore predicto ante adventum Justiciorum nostrorum predictorum in eisdem Insulis admitti consueverunt. Datum apud Westmonasterium xij die Septembris anno regni nostri sexto.

*In dorso:—*

Dum ego, locum tenens O[thonis] de Grandissono in Insulis, nuper essem in Anglia pro negociis Regalibus de dictis Insulis prosequendis, hoc breve fuit presentatum cum ballivo de Gerseyo et de Guern[esye], et licet prohibuissem eisdem ballivis, quod aliquod breve dominum Regem vel abbatem Montis sancti Michaelis tangens nisi me presente reciperent vel aperirent, nichilominus iidem ballivi, me absente et ultra inhibitionem meam, hoc breve receperunt et aperuerunt. Et fuit repertum coram eis minus bene quod dictus Abbas debet admitti per attornatum secundum formam in brevi contentam. Idem quidem nisi aliud super hoc apponatur remedium cedit et cedit perpetuo in juris Regis detrimentum. Sicut per Henricum de Guldeford et socios suos, et preterea per Johannem de Frisingfeld et socios suos Justiciarios vestros clare poterit reperiri. Et si unquam idem admissus fuerit in casibus contentis in brevi, hoc fuit per favorem aliquorum ballivorum, vel per preceptum Regium ad certum terminum. Que vobis notifico sub sigillo ballivie vestre de Guernerton hic inserta.

*De attornatis.*

(9.)

GERARD D'ORONS TO HUGH LE DESPENSER.

MARCH 9, 1324.

*Ancient Correspondence*, lviii. 11.

[The date of this letter is shown to be 1324 by the record of Gerard d'Oron's expenses in the Pipe Roll for 17 Edward II. See pp. 185-7, above.]

Cher sire j'envoie lettres a mons. le Roy d'Engleterre, par lesquelles je li fais savoir ce que j'ai fait de ce qu'il me chargea de faire es parties de Savoie et d'autres lieux. Je sai ben que vous verez, s'il vous plaist, les lettres que j'envoie sus ce a mons. le Roy, parquoi je ne vous envoie mie la forme des chouses qui si contentent. Cher sire, je vous pri que vous atez la response, que Mons. le Roy voudra faire sus ce, et qu'il ne soit mie eschars orendroit s'il a mestier d'avoir genz, quar certainement li Roys de France nen est mie eschars en ce, mais se porchace d'avoir genz tant comme il puet. Et si mons. pert orendroit ceux a qui j'ai parle, il ne les aura mie autre foiz, quant il les li plaira avoir. Cher sire, faites que c'il que mons. envoiera a traitier ces chouses, qu'il soient genz tractables, et qu'il aient poer de ce faire et soent garni d'avoir argent. Et quant il venront a Losanne il me troveront ou a ma maison Dorons, qui est trois lees pres de Losanne, si que lan poist sattifier a ceux qui iroent servir mons. le Roy, selonc ce que lan duroit, et que lan accorderoit. Cher sire, faites et ordenez sus ce que la response soit a Losanne dedanz Pasques, ou tant au moins dedanz les eytaues de Pasques. Cher sire, mandez moi touz jourz, et commandez vostre bone volunte comme celui, qui est apareliez de faire la par mon poer, et comme celui qui est touz vostres. Nostre sire vous donne bone vie. Donees a Chamber' en Savoie, le noven jour dou mois de Marz. De par le vostre.

GIRART DORENS.

*Endorsed*: A mons. Hue le Despenser seigneur de Glamurgant.