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Exemplar King and Doting Parent

Examining the Role of Fatherhood in the Life of Edward III c. 1320 - 1377

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Introduction

To adapt a phrase from Simone de Beauvoir, one is not born a father but rather becomes one. That is to say that whilst fatherhood is presented as an innate quality of the physically mature masculine identity, it is a quality which is culturally constructed and chronologically specific. The knowledge of how to be a father and its application to their own lives was an essential part of being a medieval king. It is both a contemporary and scholarly assumption that late medieval kings would have a family – a wife and at least one child – and the lack of one was as a result of a deficiency.[1] The idea of the king as father is deeply ingrained, yet little explored. The role of father for a king was important in many ways – for a king to reign effectively he needed a son to succeed him and further children with whom to make alliances based on marriages; he needed people absolutely loyal to the crown to take on roles as the king's representatives and to be faithful vassals; he needed a family to provide a stable and appropriate public image. The royal family was a complex institution however: at once both public and private, a functional family unit as well as a means of political support which could sometimes have conflicting aims. The royal family were well-placed to challenge the king because they were lords and leaders in their own right and held enough resources to rival the king, or a son could rise up and depose his father, or family members could turn against the king and lead a rebellion. Kingly fatherhood in the medieval period is almost exclusively presented as a conflict between the father and his eldest son, or sons which s informed by the conflict between Henry II and his sons, see below. I argue that this scholarly view of the dysfunctional relationship does not fully explore kingly fatherhood. Edward III successfully negotiated the issues which all kings faced with their children and caused the divisions between father and son, as I explore in Chapter One, and he managed to have successful relationships with his children both politically and personally as I explore in Chapter Two. In order to assess the way in which being a father was important for a king it is necessary to create a distinction between the two inter-related but distinct aspects of "being a father": firstly how the king manages his children as royal resources, and secondly how the king negotiates a workable, or even affectionate, relationship with his offspring.

As Chris Given-Wilson and Alice Curteis's analysis suggests, it was necessary for the king to have a good relationship with his family, particularly his eldest son because it was essential to his public image as a good or bad king and to the stability of his reign – only three kings from William the Conqueror to Edward V managed to attain the throne 'without serious challenge' and lived out their reigns 'without serious opposition from within their own families'.[2] Given-Wilson and Curteis's analysis provides an important context to the exploration of Edward's fatherhood and to fatherhood in general: many English kings suffered one or the other of the fates which Given-Wilson and Curteis outlined, because they were not good fathers. Promoting good family relations and keeping one's heir happy could stop a usurpation or deposition from

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[1] See section on Richard II, p. 18. The early medieval period was slightly different as there were kings who were presented as not having children by choice, such as Edward the Confessor. For the importance of chastity see, for example, Pat Cullum, "'Give Me Chastity': Masculinity and Attitudes to Chastity and Celibacy in the Middle Ages," *Gender and History* 25, no. 3 (November 2013): 621–36.

[2] Given-Wilson and Curteis place Edward III in the category of having attained the throne 'without serious challenge' which I disagree with. Edward deposed his own father at the head of a rebellion alongside his mother and Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, after which his father died in mysterious circumstances. This is far from the usual method of attaining the throne (i.e. after the death of the father), which cannot then be categorised as 'without serious challenge'.

Chris Given-Wilson and Alice Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England* (London, 1984), p. 6.

the throne, or could stop familial politics distracting from other, more serious issues which a king faced. In the earlier Middle Ages the line of succession was not focused on agnatic primogeniture, but in the later Middle Ages this was an essential and reliable facet of lordship.[3] Edward's succession to the throne therefore was one of the most controversial of the period despite him being the eldest male heir of the king's body firstly because he had not attained the crown in the traditional manner – he deposed his father long before Edward II would have been expected to die.[4] Secondly the deposition was led by the king's own wife, and her lover, and was justified by Edward II's incompetence as a king including being 'inept in war and injudicious in his use of patronage' which meant that Edward was the son of a traitor and a weakling; neither of which were appropriate characteristics for a king to inherit from his parents.[5] Despite this problematic nature of the succession, by the fourteenth century primogeniture was of the utmost importance and the fact that Edward II's son was the new king made it less problematic or controversial than, for example, the deposition of Richard II by his cousin Henry Bolingbroke.[6]

By the nature of this study and of the sources, it is necessary to focus more tightly on the father-son relationship, rather than the father-child relationship. This is due to the pertinence of the male children, or heirs, to the structure of kingship and the paucity of information about the king's daughters in the extant records. Sons on the other hand would have been noted from birth by chroniclers and in administrative records. The position and identity of the son, particularly the eldest son, is essential to this study as in many ways this study explores the clash of the masculinities of the father and of the son. The royal son expected to be treated as an adult and an important lord from a relatively young age, with adequate resources as befitted his status as son, and heir if appropriate, of the king – a demesne, an income, and titles were essential for the royal prince.

In order to explore the way in which Edward practised fatherhood it is necessary to begin by exploring the ways in which other kings practised fatherhood so that a comparison can be made between them. I look at Henry II, William the Conqueror, Richard II, Henry III, Edward I, and Edward II as men with different relationships with sons, daughters, and with the practice of fatherhood to explore the range of ways in which kings acted as fathers and what success they had. This will illuminate the common problems which medieval kings faced, particularly with their sons and the common solutions to these problems. Secondly I consider Edward's fatherhood through two lenses – firstly that of Edward as the "Kingly Father", or the manager of royal resources; and secondly Edward as the Fatherly King, or the father who happens to be king. In this second chapter I will discuss how Edward managed the two aspects of being a kingly father, particularly looking at Edward's attitude to his children before and after death and the ways in which Edward's use of his children was similar and how is was different to the kings who came before him, such as allowing his two of this children to make their own choice of partner and the pensioning of his eldest daughter before her late marriage. Finally in Chapter Three I will explore the ways in which the public image of Edward utilised the fatherly aspect of his kingship

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[3] See William the Conqueror, p. 15.
[4] Henry III lived to 65, Edward I lived to 68 and Edward II lived to 64 so it is reasonable to extrapolate a death from natural causes might come in his mid-60s. This would have meant that Edward II may have lived for another twenty years and therefore Edward III would not have been king until the 1340s.
[5] Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England: 1225 - 1360* (Oxford, 2005), 266.
[6] Given-Wilson and Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England*, 6.

and how this was constructed in terms of being part of an ideal family and as an enduring image after his death which enabled him to promote himself as the ideal father. Edward was unusually successful as a father and it was his unusual success at maintaining his close connection to his children and the cultivation of his public image which helped him to achieve this.

A Note on Names and Titles

For the sake of clarity regarding persons and their titles I will be using one name to refer to each person, and using later titles only when it is pertinent to the discussion. I will be using the birth name and birth place to identify most people.[7] For example, Edward III's eldest son Edward will be referred to as Edward of Woodstock in order to differentiate him from his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. The title "the Black Prince" will not be used as this was not a contemporary name for Edward of Woodstock.

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[7] The exception will be William Rufus, whose name is not entirely contemporary but is not a post-medieval construction.

Historiography

This work draws upon the relatively recent historiographical trend of using a gendered approach. Until the 1990s, the field of gender studies within medieval history was mainly focused on looking at women and femininity. However two decades ago Clare A. Lees edited a collection of essays about masculinity, which was quickly followed by three other edited collections about the subject.[8] Since the 1990s the study of masculinity has grown exponentially, addressing the objections of academics such as Angela V. John who stated in 1988 that considering a category of "men" within social history would be 'absurd', and even 'superfluous'.[9] In 1988 many gender scholars were still focused on addressing the lack of women in historical research and the problem that women had been considered unworthy of study and biography in the same way that the great men of history had been which may explain her opposition to more study of men. In the late 1980s and early 1990s there were a number of studies considering medieval women, including a great deal about queens and queenship.[10] The study of men in the same way in which women had been scrutinised – i.e. as subjects of their gender and the implications of this – came later; the study of masculinity began to gain momentum in the late 1990s.[11] One of the most influential, and one of the earliest, texts about masculinity is R. W. Connell's sociological work *Masculinities* which was first published in 1995, revised in 2005 and has been translated into several languages.[12] One of Connell's greatest influences over the study of historical gender is the idea of multiple masculinities, as the book title indicates, and that there is a dominant, or 'hegemonic', form of masculinity against which other types of masculinity are measured, with all other types of masculinity being considered 'subordinate'.[13] Connell stressed that the idea of what constitutes masculinity changes over time and different men have different interpretations of what masculinity means, which in turn means that there is more than one masculinity.[14] This discourse of multiple masculinities has been adopted by many medieval scholars, such as Christopher Fletcher and Jacqueline Murray, but Connell's influence

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[8] Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis and London, 1994); Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, eds., *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages* (New York and London, 1997); Jacqueline Murray, ed., *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1999); D. M. Hadley, *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London: Longman, 1999).

[9] Angela V. John, "What Is Women's History?," in *What Is History Today?*, ed. Juliet Gardiner (Basingstoke, 1988), 89.

[10] See, for example, Judith M. Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague* (New York and Oxford, 1987); Edith Ennen, *The Medieval Woman* (Oxford, 1989); P. J. P Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire C. 1300-1520* (New York and Oxford, 1992); Goldberg, P. J. P, *Woman Is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society C. 1200-1500* (Stroud, 1992); Lois L. Huneycutt, "Medieval Queenship," *History Today* 39, no. 6 (1989): 16–22; Julius Kirshner, Suzanne F. Wemple, and Mundy, eds., *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy* (Oxford, 1985); Margaret Wade Labarge, *Women in Medieval Life: A Small Sound of the Trumpet* (London, 1986); Angela M. Lucas, *Women in the Middle Ages: Religion, Marriage and Letters* (Brighton, 1993); D. D. R. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Legend* (Oxford, 1993); Nancy F. Partner, *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages* (London, 1983); Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1983).

[11] Karen Harvey, "The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005): 296, n 1.

[12] R. W. Connell, "Raewyn in Translation," *Raewyn Connell*, 2010, http://www.raewynconnell.net/2011/08/raewyn-in-translation.html.

[13] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, Second Edition (Cambridge, 2005), 77–79.

[14] Ibid., 68 and passim.

can be seen most clearly in the most influential study of medieval masculinity, which is Ruth Mazo Karras's book *From Boys to Men* which illustrates the different ways in which masculine identity is formed for three important groups of men in the medieval world: scholars, knights and urban men, all of whom have slightly different forms of masculinity but all of whose masculinities were created through antagonism with other men's and through social dominance.[15] Like Derek G. Neal however, I reject the idea that masculinity is in fact multiple masculinities on the basis that considering masculinity in such fragmentary terms denies the commonality of the expectations placed upon the gender performance of a man.[16] R. W. Connell is right to place such an emphasis on the varying perceptions of what masculinity is and to acknowledge that there are changes in masculinity over time but I am convinced by a sliding scale of masculinity where there is at the core a set of common characteristics whilst for different groups of men the periphery characteristics have different emphases. For example young men and old men both needed to be independent of external control and should have resources adequate to their station, however it was only important for the older man to have married and started a family; for a young man it was more appropriate to be engaging in short-term liaisons.[17] Despite the result of the second expectation being different – the family versus no family – they both fall under the category of expectations regarding sexuality and sex, and the station and part of the life cycle determine the correct outcomes of these expectations. The importance of fatherhood is foregrounded in Karras's work as she places it as an essential part of attaining adult masculinity and it is from this approach that my work explores the importance of fatherhood to kingly masculinity. Karras acknowledges the problem of studying the contemporary conceptions of what historians now consider as gender construction as in this period most texts about masculinity were written by clerical men, whose view on the matter was very specific and far from encompassing of all manly experiences.[18] The problem with this fact is that one very specific viewpoint is overrepresented and it is tempting to consider that this was what all men were aiming for. This was a viewpoint informed by religious and philosophical concerns, whereas most men would not have the same emphasis and therefore the clerical sources cannot be used as a yardstick used to measure all men.

From the beginnings of masculinity studies until the present day, as Christopher Fletcher states, the study of men has taken three routes:

> 'The first of these draws more or less directly on the psychoanalytic proposition that adult males need to engage in sexual activity in order to demonstrate that they are indeed men. ... The second approach ... makes use of [R. W. Connell's] suggestion that it might be possible to analyse men, just as Simone de Beauvoir did with women, in terms of certain gendered "types", male "ways of life", or even specifically male "cultures." ... Finally a

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[15] Christopher Fletcher, "The Whig Interpretation of Masculinity? Honour and Sexuality in Late Medieval Manhood," in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke, 2013), 57–75; Murray, *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities*; Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), 1, 10–11.

[16] Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self* (Chicago and London, 2008), 244.

[17] Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, 10–14, 16, 165–6.

[18] Ibid., 10.

third pole of research has developed around the analysis of gendered ideologies and symbolic structures.'[19]

Masculinity studies have largely followed the first two strands and this is clear in the work which has been recently produced by Derek G. Neal. Neal's monograph, published in 2008, considers the ways in which "being a man" was presented, adhered to and explored between c. 1350 and c. 1530 by men who were not part of the aristocracy.[20] Neal's synthesis of a wide range of material including court records and the portrayals of men in fiction makes for an innovative, inter-disciplinary approach. He argues that masculinity was formed in the interactions of all men, and does not simply come from prescriptive literature and that the use of a wide selection of source material enables the historian to gain a fuller understanding of the way in which masculinity worked in the past, rather than just using source material which is more explicitly about gender.

Whilst Neal's work is one of the most comprehensive studies of masculinity in the later part of the Middle Ages, as Neal himself admits, the field was at the time he was writing 'the province of a rather small number of writers' and I argue that little has changed in the intervening six years.[21] He acknowledges that the majority of contributions are 'small-scale' articles rather than monograph length analyses, which continues to be true.[22] Neal's type of contribution to the field of masculinity studies is a rare one. There has been, however, a small amount of work which study the masculinity of medieval kings – for example Christopher Fletcher's biography of Richard II, subtitled 'Manhood, Youth, and Politics' and Katherine Lewis's more recent book which explores the lives of Henry V and Henry VI – which have developed the use of the gendered lens for medieval scholarship into a more sophisticated approach, especially when considering a king.[23] Christopher Fletcher's definition of masculinity produces a concept of an identity proved only when under attack and in conflict with other masculinities.[24] This type of the writing of "men's history" has been problematic – more specifically it has been problematised by the people writing it. There is a tendency for historians of masculinity to present its subjects in all time and in all places as being 'fragile and endangered and even in constant crisis', as Toby Ditz suggested in his analysis of the state of the study of masculinity in 2004.[25] This approach to historical masculinity is not constructive, despite its appearance in almost all studies of masculinity to date. As pointed out by Alexandra Shepherd, this view does to some extent follow previously drawn periodization of times which are (perceived to be) where social order breaks down.[26]

The other tendency of current gender studies, and perhaps all social history, is to only consider those who fail to live up to contemporary expectations which makes it easy to frame the enquiry

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[19] Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99* (Oxford, 2008), 5.
[20] Neal, *The Masculine Self*.
[21] Ibid., 5.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99*; Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (London and New York, 2013).
[24] Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99*, 277–8.
[25] Toby L. Ditz, "The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History," *Gender and History* 16, no. 1 (April 2004): 5.
[26] Shepard, Alexandra, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, C. 1500-1700," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005): 281–95.

as an exploration of what the contemporary expectations of people were, the ways in which the subject was unable or unwilling to live up to those expectations, and the consequences of not doing so. I argue that it is important to deconstruct the men and the periods which are considered to be successful in order to produce a more nuanced understanding of who success and failure worked. This study will address this concern as it is based on a man whose masculinity or kingly success are well though of.

The scholarship about fatherhood as a subject of historical study is very recent and mostly regards men of the modern period. The first monograph on the subject was *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* by T. L. Broughton and H. Rogers, published in 2007.[27] In 2013 Joanne Bailey produced an article titled 'Masculinity and Fatherhood in England c. 1760-1830' in which she explores the issue of the father as a marker of identity and a marker of the attainment of adult masculinity in which she positions fatherhood as 'one of a constellation of markers of authority' and outlines how different types of fatherhood interplay with the masculine identity.[28] She foregrounds the reasons why the study of fatherhood is so important for historical perspective – it was 'part of the process of achieving "full" or "patriarchal" manhood'.[29] Similarly John Tosh posits that fathers in the nineteenth century are representative of authority and male roles more broadly in society: they are either the 'root of patriarchy', or the 'absent authority figure [which is] a cruel distortion of men's potential'.[30] Within the scholarship of the modern period achieving fatherhood is a means to achieving social dominance and authority rather than an identity of its own to be explored on its own terms. As John Tosh acknowledges in his book *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* the history of the family would not have been possible without the history of women coming first; that it was '[o]nce the focus shifted to the structure of gender relations, rather than the experience of one sex' when the experience of men within "private" institutions such as the family could be explored.[31] Even though women's studies opened up the possibility of studying the domestic sphere, the 'cultural and emotional life' of the household has hitherto been dismissed as a worthwhile endeavour by monarchical scholars and whilst I accept the assertion that this is one of the most difficult places to shine the light of historical analysis, it is by no means impossible and provides an essential layer of understanding to the study of kings such as Edward III.[32] I argue that there are ways of reconstructing the roles of family members, the relationships between them and the effect which this had externally to the royal family such as considering grants of titles and lands, household accounts and chronicle evidence for the public actions of members of the family.

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[27] T. L. Broughton and Helen Rogers, *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2007).

[28] Joanne Bailey, "Masculinity and Fatherhood in England c.1760-1830," in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke, 2013), 167, 180.

[29] Ibid., 168.

[30] John Tosh, "The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?," in *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (Basingstoke, 2013), 28.

[31] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London, 1999), 2.

[32] David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (London: Harvard University Press, 1985), 112.

For the medieval period fatherhood has mainly been considered as an aspect of attaining one's adult masculinity, rather than as an identity of its own. Karras, in her *From Boys to Men*, reflects that fathers were largely absent from their children's lives and that it was their 'patrilineal reproduction' which created manhood, rather than any relationship between father and son.[33] Karras places the continuation of the dynasty as the most important factor in the development of the father's masculinity – and therefore the ability and means to produce and support a child was the key to adult masculinity. Karras demonstrates this with her assertion that university scholars 'lacked some of the aspects of masculinity available to men in other segments of society - marriage and fatherhood', and that 'vowed celibates… had not even the potential ever to have legitimate children. One could even indeed make a case that such men were never fully adult or fully masculine', which contrasts to the experience of most men in the Middle Ages.[34] She goes on to assert that 'fatherhood formed a central component of the medieval ideology of manhood'; being a father was essential to being a man in the Middle Ages.[35]

Rachel E. Moss's *Fatherhood and its Representations in Middle English Texts* goes beyond the implications of simply producing a biological child and considers the ways in which fathers interacted with their sons and the complications of non-biological relationships such as that between step-fathers and step-sons.[36] This analysis provides an important dimension to the field of fatherhood studies as Moss looks at what it meant to be a father, whether biological or not, from the perspective of both father and son and how the constraints of the father-child, particularly the father-son relationship, were tested and what these constraints actually were. Her use of letters and romances in an interdisciplinary approach makes for a particularly innovative and illuminating book as the concept of what fathers were is demonstrated to be central in the medieval mind and imagination. The figure of the father was an essential component for the medieval romance: the absent father allowed the hero to attain his masculinity by going on a difficult and dangerous quest to find him, or the deceased father allowed the son to prove his masculinity by avenging his death and to 'easily take up his inheritance' without challenge from the dominant figure in the household, the father.[37] Moss demonstrates that by removing the father from the story the problem of conflicting masculinities was circumvented – the symbiotic and 'uneasy' relationship between father and son was no longer a problem. In reality this magical removal of the father was not possible and it is this tension between the father having a son who would be strong enough to successfully challenge his father, and therefore strong enough to succeed him, but who would not actually do so which I will explore in Chapter One.[38]

W. L. Warren, William Aird and others have demonstrated that certain medieval kings had a difficult relationship with their sons through their explorations of chronicle evidence regarding the interaction between king and son(s).[39] Through their exploration of the chronicles these

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[33] Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, 166.
[34] Ibid., 1, 17.
[35] Ibid., 16.
[36] Rachel E. Moss, *Fatherhood and Its Representations in Middle English Texts* (Cambridge, 2013).
[37] Ibid., 37, 72 – 74.
[38] Ibid., 110.
[39] For example. W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973); W. L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1978); W. M. Aird, "Frustrated Masculinity: The Relationship between William the Conqueror and His Eldest Son," in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, by D. M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), 39–55; David Bates, *William

historians indicate that there are several factors which lead to the rebellion of a royal son, or sons. These are that the son is perceived to desire more power than their father is giving him – usually wanting to have control over a dominion within his father's empire; secondly that the sons feel that their father is not keeping them in a manner befitting their status and therefore want greater resources; and that the royal sons are encouraged by their peers to rebel against their fathers. David Bates suggests that this is a problem for many high status men and states that this father-son dynamic is a 'classic conflict' in the eleventh century and that it is easy to see that this tension between the generations continues throughout the Middle Ages.[40]

Most scholarship on kings does not use a gendered approach to the fullest, most productive extent, and neither does the scholarship on masculinity in the Middle Ages assess the lives of high-status men in the way in which high status women have been assessed for over thirty years.[41] Kings have not been considered through a gendered lens as much as queens have been; nor have kings been considered fathers through a gendered lens to any great extent; whereas a norm of the study of medieval queens is the assessment of their lives as mothers and how this contributes to their femininity.[42] The approach to queens and queenship still has a lot of value and I will be using this approach in order to evaluate the fatherhood of Edward III.

Finally, in order to fully evaluate the role of fatherhood within the kingship of Edward III I will use the theory proposed by Judith Butler of performativity which was initially used to describe the interaction of gender, identity and the individual. Judith Butler's theory indicates that there are no innate qualities of gender, but simply 'acts, gestures [and] enactments' which are repeated and indicate '*fabrications* manufactured and sustained through [these] corporeal signs and other discursive means' (original emphasis) which lead to the creation of what we understand to be gender.[43] Butler goes on to state that these collections of gestures become "styles of the flesh" which are not unique to the individual but are collective identities because 'styles have a history, and those histories condition and limit the possibilities' and therefore a group of people will perform their gender in a similar fashion: imitating each other and learning how to be a man or a woman from one another.[44] Butler's theory can be extrapolated to explain

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the Conqueror (London, 1989); Elizabeth J. Anderson, "Establishing Adult Masculine Identity in the Angevin Royal Family C. 1140 - C. 1200" (University of Huddersfield, 2013).

[40] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 99.

[41] See, for example, Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages*.

[42] See, for example,: J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens* (Oxford, 2004), chap. 8; J. L. Laynesmith, "Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual? The Queen's Coronation in England 1445–87," in *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 2000); J. L. Laynesmith, "The King's Mother," *History Today* 56, no. 3 (2006): 38–44; Louise Wilkinson, "Queenship in Medieval England: A Changing Dynamic?," *Historian* 119, no. Autumn (2013): 6–11; Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages*; Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith* (Oxford, 1997); Pauline Stafford, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Stroud, 1994), 143–68; Theresa Earenfight, "The Royal Bump," *Theresaearenfight.com*, February 5, 2013, http://theresaearenfight.com/2013/02/05/the-royal-bump/; Retha Warnicke, "Queenship: Politics and Gender in Tudor England," *History Compass* 4, no. 2 (2006): 203–27; John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, *Medieval Mothering* (New York and London, 1996).
For one example of a king's fatherhood being considered through a gendered lens, see Katherine J. Lewis *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (London and New York 2013).

[43] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (London and New York, 2008), 185.

[44] Ibid., 190.

other forms of identity, which in this case is the identity of "father". As I have said, one must learn to become a father, and it is through observing the way in which other people perform that identity and then to continuously repeat those acts which perpetuates these forms of identity.[45] Yet it is through this repetitious performance that deviation from the 'rigid codes of hierarchical binarisms [of gender]' becomes possible and even that such failures are 'necessary'.[46] Therefore it is essential to discover how other people within Edward's group – i.e. medieval kings – performed fatherhood and how they deviated from one another's performances. With this aim in mind I have selected several kings from whom Edward could have taken examples and discussed the ways in which they performed fatherhood – particularly from a political and from a personal point of view.

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[45] Ibid., 191.
[46] Ibid., 198–9.

Chapter One: Models of Kingly Fatherhood

For men to become fathers they must learn how a father acts, how to perform fatherhood. Therefore it is necessary to analyse the ways in which other kings performed as fathers and to explore the examples which Edward had for his own fatherhood. The issue of how to manage one's family was a perennial problem for medieval kings. Over the medieval period all of the kings attempted to manage their children and to give them a role within their kingship, and they all found different ways to do this and Edward III's approaches to the personal and political must be placed within this tradition of other medieval kingly fathers. To fully explore the range of the fatherly experiences of medieval kings I will consider six kings: William I, Henry II, Henry III, Richard II, Edward I and Edward II. William I and Henry II had a difficult relationship with their son(s) which impacted their domestic and foreign policies; Henry III had a strong connection to his children but a difficult one with his heir; Richard II provides an foil to the other kings as he had no children and was unsuccessful in managing this aspect of his kingly image; and finally Edward I and Edward II were the immediate examples for Edward III to follow with two very different approaches – Edward I was a geographically distant but passionate father and Edward II was a distant father with a difficult political relationship with his son. The historiography focuses particularly on the conflict between kings and their children, which is relevant to some kings such as Henry II but conflict was not the only way of conducting a father-son relationship in the medieval period. Even Henry II had some periods of peace and respect with his sons, despite his reputation.

Henry II

When considering kingly fatherhood Henry II never fails to be mentioned because Henry is well known for having had rebellious sons; his eldest son Henry (the Young King) wanted more power and money than his father was willing to give and resorted to armed conflict against his father to achieve this. Problematically for Henry II there were three other sons who also participated in rebellions against their father. With his sons both rebelling against him in various alliances and fighting one another, Henry's reign was characterised by conflict and instability. Henry's poor reputation as a royal father is due to his repeated failure to halt the destruction wrought by his sons against him. W. L. Warren attributes this failure to his 'capacity for deceiving himself about his sons, and an astonishing indulgence even to their most patent duplicity' which places the blame for the poor relationship with his eldest son squarely on Henry's shoulders.[47] Henry's ideal situation was to integrate his sons into a cohesive structure of sub-rulers across the Plantagenet Empire – with Henry the Young King as a semi-equal king, Geoffrey ruling over Brittany and Richard ruling his mother's lands in Aquitaine. For example, as demonstrated by W. L. Warren's use of Henry's will from 1170 when Henry had fallen very ill and was expected to die, Henry demanded homage from his barons to his sons – not just his heir but to all of his sons.[48] In order to enact his plan Henry attempted to distribute territories between his sons which worked better for some than others. Geoffrey, for example, was gifted Brittany and made

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[47] Warren, *Henry II*, 587.
[48] Ibid., 110.

it his powerbase, which meant that he gained some independence from his father.[49] Despite Henry's largesse, the brothers were not appeased and they continued their rebellious ways.

As I have indicated, all of Henry's sons rebelled against their father at some point. Henry the Young King was the instigator of most of the trouble because he was dissatisfied with his position as a crowned and anointed king; he became frustrated at his mere ceremonial role after his coronation in 1170 as he felt that he should have greater responsibility and finances as befitted his status in his view – Henry was only able to stop another outbreak of hostilities in 1182 by agreeing to give Henry more funds.[50] As W. L. Warren stated, for the heir of a ruler at peace in a stable realm, 'there was little for him to do'.[51] Henry the Young King had not proved his maturity, for example there is the famous story, according to Robert de Torigni, of Henry throwing an elaborate banquet with one room filled with knights named only William.[52] Other disputes revolved around the gifting of territories to one of the sons and not another, or the status of Richard and John as their father's heir after the deaths of Henry the Young King and Geoffrey.[53] These acts of disobedience and conflict demonstrate the stubborn and greedy personalities of Henry's sons yet he continued to invest in the hierarchy which he imagined his sons participating in with him. Whilst Henry had an idealised fantasy of the potential of the dynasty, Henry's sons were not able to behave long enough to bring Henry's plan to fruition, nor was Henry able to control his sons adequately to enact his plan.

Whilst Henry's ideas were good in theory, the nature of the conflict meant that it was impossible to resolve. As Rachel E. Moss described, the medieval son was constrained by the very things which made him a man – he learned his masculinity from his father but equally it was his father who held him back from attaining full adult masculinity so that the son would not depose the father, which was the cause of the 'chaf[ing] under the yoke of the paternal *auctoritas*'.[54] Here the sons were hoping for greater power, authority and resources but the father was limiting them which is why resolution was difficult – the sons could not back down and reintegrate themselves into Henry's hierarchical plan as this would mean accepting Henry's overlordship and authority. Henry attempted to control his sons' attainment of adult masculinity through the management of their marriages and their entry into knighthood. As Beth Anderson perceptively notes, it is possible that 'Henry saw the dubbing of his sons as a means by which he could

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[49] Anderson, "Establishing Adult Masculine Identity in the Angevin Royal Family C. 1140 - C. 1200," 32.
[50] Henry the Young King was eventually crowned twice – initially in 1170 and again, this time with his bride Margaret at the insistence of her father Louis VII, in 1172. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs, vol. 2 (London, 1869), 4–5, https://archive.org/details/chronicamagistr00hovegoog; Warren, *Henry II*, 117; Anderson, "Establishing Adult Masculine Identity in the Angevin Royal Family C. 1140 - C. 1200," 29.
[51] Warren, *Henry II*, 580.
[52] *The 'Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumieges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed Elizabeth M. C. van Houts, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1995), 56.
[53] Elizabeth Hallam, "Henry (1155-1183)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2006, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12957; Michael Jones, "Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany (1158-1186)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10533; Thomas K. Keefe, "Henry II (1133-1189)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12949; J. Gillingham, "John (1167-1216)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2010, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14841; J. Gillingham, "Richard I (1157-1199)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23498.
[54] Moss, *Fatherhood and Its Representations in Middle English Texts*, 72.

reconfirm his own power and his status in relation to theirs. A means by which he could maintain and/or reflect the masculine hierarchy of the royal family to his sons and also in the eyes of his subjects and remind them that what his sons had they had only through him' which was the sons' problem with Henry.[55] Henry did not help the situation by wilfully misleading himself about the activity and demeanour of his progeny, but that does not mean that, had he been able to bring his sons into line, that the plan would not have worked. Henry did not manage to attain this control over his sons and it is said that the final betrayal of his favourite son John, who sided with Richard in the revolt of 1199, was the final straw for Henry II and the contemporary story was that it killed him.[56] Evidently this story was believable enough to be repeated at the time of Henry's death, but it has also shaped the discussion of Henry II in the modern literature which further underlines the perception of the importance of his sons' rebellions in Henry's life. Whilst Henry did not manage his sons effectively as lords Henry was not a complete failure as a father due to the brief reconciliations between father and son. The story of Henry's death demonstrates the basic nature of Henry's categorisation as a complete failure as a father, both for contemporaries and for modern scholars. Understandably, allowing your sons to rebel against you was at best foolhardy, but this should not be the only factor to define Henry's fatherhood.

Henry was not entirely successful as a father due to his inability to manage his sons' behaviour nor did he, could he, minimise the damage which they wrought. He did manage to reconcile with each of his sons for at least a short period of time which redeems his fatherhood to a small extent but the fact that this was not a permanent resolution of the conflict shows there was not a strong enough relationship between either side of the conflict – without a personal relationship Henry II could not enforce his political plans nor make his sons see the advantages of remaining on good terms with their father, not least of which was the cessation of the chaos which engulfed the realm. Henry at least acknowledged his responsibility for his sons enough to attempt to look after their political futures by creating them as powerful lords within the Empire. Unwisely, he made them too powerful, too soon to maintain peace and stability in the dominions over which he supposedly had power. Henry evidently saw the value in creating them powerful lords – whether for the sake of the dynasty, because he loved his sons, or another reason entirely such as political expediency, it is impossible to tell. Henry's primary focus, ruling the Plantagenet Empire, was disrupted by those whom he had hoped would, and should have, assisted him demonstrates that Henry was an inadequate father to his sons; the conflict between Henry II and his sons undermined both Henry's fatherhood and kingship.

William the Conqueror

William, duke of Normandy and later king of England was put in a similar situation to that of Henry II, but he managed the rebellion of his eldest son, Robert Curthose, more successfully than Henry II did. William can also be seen as two different fathers: the relationship between William and Robert Curthose was very different to the relationship between William and his other sons. The main problem between Robert Curthose and his father was that Robert became

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[55] Anderson, "Establishing Adult Masculine Identity in the Angevin Royal Family C. 1140 - C. 1200," 88–89.

[56] Warren, *Henry II*, 626.

impatient for the greater rewards and responsibilities which came to an heir after the death of his father and this led to a strained and hostile relationship between father and son. On the other hand, William Rufus and Henry did not cause problems for William and therefore their relationship both politically and personally was good.

Robert had probably been invested with the duchy in 1066, but he felt that he did not have enough control over the lands which made up his inheritance.[57] Finances were also an issue between Robert and William. Robert was looking for more resources with which to expand his influence, but William intentionally kept his eldest son short of money in order to stop this from happening. The battleground was the size of Robert's retinue – as the heir to at least the duchy of Normandy and possibly the throne of England Robert attracted many young men to his retinue and, as William Aird stated, it would have been difficult to turn them away for a number of reasons.[58] The retinue also demonstrates another aspect of the conflict between father and son – that of the 'classic' conflict between the generations.[59] Robert's retinue contained a number of young men whose fathers were those who had been the conquerors of England and the men who accompanied Robert in his exile and rebellion were notably part of this generation.[60] These were young men who wished to carve out their place distinctly from the achievements of their fathers, and were hoping for the rewards of being close to the eventual duke of Normandy, count of Maine and possibly king of England. Orderic Vitalis particularly lambasts them for being bad influences upon Robert and for causing the conflict between Robert and William to last for such a long time, calling them, for example, 'factious young knights'.[61] The denial of Robert's request from William was humiliating for Robert and his retinue: '[it] was an intolerable restriction on [Robert's] ability to fulfil his social role as the king's heir' – to provide for his retinue, which meant that the public view of Robert as a lord and man was diminished and the resulting embarrassment drove a wedge between William and Robert.[62] From this evidence it is clear that the role of the father was to limit the masculinity of the heir and to prevent them from reaching an adult masculinity too early in order to avoid these problems. William did not manage this relationship adequately either before or during the rebellion and as a consequence Robert was allowed to put the Norman duchy as risk, as well as the life of its duke: in 1079 both William and the Norman "empire" was put in danger by Robert's actions as William and Robert met on the battlefield outside Gerberoy where William was unhorsed and injured, possibly by his own son.[63] England was at risk because Malcolm Canmore recognised that Robert's rebellion had diverted most of the Conqueror's attention to Normandy and thus started raiding across the English-Scottish border, reaching as far as the

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[57] C. W. David, *Robert Curthose* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920)., 12 n. 42.

[58] Aird, "Frustrated Masculinity: The Relationship between William the Conqueror and His Eldest Son," 73.

[59] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 99, 106.

[60] David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1983), 238.

[61] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis Books V and VI*, ed. Marjorie Chibnal, vol. III (London, 1975), 97.

[62] W. M. Aird, *Robert "Curthose", Duke of Normandy (c. 1050-1134)* (Woodbridge, 2008), 79.

[63] William was injured in a skirmish outside Gerberoy in 1078, possibly by his own son. Kathleen Thompson, 'Robert [Curthose], Duke of Normandy (b. in or after 1050, D. 1134)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23715.

river Tyne.[64] This extent of raiding was a threat to the security which William had built in the North after the first few years of the post-Conquest period and it was Robert's actions which made Malcolm's success at raiding possible. This became not only an internal issue but a matter of international importance.

The issue of who inherited what should have been simple for, as David Douglas indicates, usual Norman aristocratic practice was that 'the Norman lands of a family (the lands of inheritance) should pass to the eldest son, whereas the English lands (the lands of conquest) should devolve on the second son'.[65] The complications were that William's conquered lands were greater than those of his inherited lands. Between 1066 and his death in 1087 William had decided that Robert was not an appropriate king of England and on his deathbed bequeathed the crown and sceptre on William Rufus.[66] It is possible that, despite Robert's investiture in 1066, his rebellion had permanently soured William's impression of him and from that point onwards resolved to pass the crown to his middle son. This did not settle the issue of Robert's inheritance and it seems that he was not the only dissatisfied eldest son. David Bates presents the conflict between William the Conqueror and Robert Curthose as being a 'classic conflict' and suggests that this is a common problem in the eleventh century.[67] William Aird on the other hand presents this conflict as being inevitable for a different reason; conflict between father and son is a representation of how patriarchy works in this period. Patriarchy is about the 'subordination… of other men, either younger [or] weaker' and therefore is a natural part of being men of such status.[68] William was torn between good governance, i.e. not naming Robert heir to the throne of England, and good fathering. The lack of a workable relationship was a deciding factor in this case and William's practical nature outweighed his relationship with his eldest son.

Whilst the relationship between himself and his eldest son is one aspect of William's fatherhood, William had two more sons and daughters. I would argue that he would have been seen very differently by his other two sons William Rufus and Henry. William was particularly fond of his namesake whilst Robert Curthose was the favourite son of their mother, Matilda of Flanders;.[69] William appears to have had a positive relationship with his younger two sons – William Rufus even fought at his father's side against Robert during his rebellion in 1079 and Orderic Vitalis has Henry by William's bedside at the time of his death.[70] At William's death, Henry got money with which to buy land, in contrast to the lands which his elder brothers received.[71] The bequests to his sons reveal the relationship between William and his sons: he had a much more positive relationship with his younger sons.

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[64] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Michael Swanton (London, 2001), 214., Ibid. [E] 1079, pp. 213-4 and [D] 1080, p. 214.

[65] Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 361.

[66] *The 'Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumieges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, 1:178; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 360.

[67] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 99.

[68] Aird, "Frustrated Masculinity: The Relationship between William the Conqueror and His Eldest Son," 40.

[69] Aird, *Robert "Curthose", Duke of Normandy (c. 1050-1134)*, 33.

[70] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [E] 1079 p. 214; Vitalis, p. 414.

[71] Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, 2:414.

William the Conqueror as a father was a man of two faces. The dominant view of William is that, similarly to Henry II, of the man in conflict with his eldest son over the duchies of Normandy and Maine, but this is not the full story of William's fatherhood. William was a man whose sons' personalities affected his treatment of them as adults under his lordship and within the hierarchy of the family. Robert was allowed to grow into a lord without 'statesmanship and sagacity' and William reaped the failure of not managing the burgeoning masculinity of his eldest son, on the other hand William had a good working relationship with his middle and youngest sons.[72] It must be considered that a father was not the same over time, nor with different children as I have demonstrated here. Fatherhood, like masculinity, is always in flux and is flexible so that it is possible to respond to all challenges. William's attempt to control Robert and later to subdue his rebellion prove that giving one's son a title but no power – i.e. a socially and politically recognised position but no currency for the system in which it is placed – did not work. This generational conflict was one which was common in twelfth century Normandy and England and I argue that the peculiar circumstance of the Conquest was one which crystallised the usual inter-generational tension into blooded conflict because the sons had to define themselves against a generation of men who had attacked a kingdom and won it with their military strength, led by the strong personality of the Conqueror, which meant that the sons had to carve out a more extreme identity for themselves to distinguish them from their elders. In contrast to Warren's assertion about Henry II being at fault for the conflict between him and his sons, William is seen as the victim of a generational divide which was almost inevitable due to the extreme difference between the generations. This conflict was the natural result of the omnipresent tension between fathers and their sons and the peculiar circumstances of the Conquest.

Richard II

After the examples of Henry II and William the Conqueror in which the rebellion of the sons was so damaging it would be easy to declare that having children was too problematic for kings; that the advantages which they brought could not be outweighed by the trouble they caused and that childless kings would find ruling easier. Richard II provides the example as to why this is a false conclusion. Richard was a childless king and I argue that this was essential to his deposition for two reasons. His childlessness was one of the factors in his perceived lack of adult masculinity which made him inappropriate to be king and secondly Richard's lack of children meant that he did to have loyal supporters to work against the deposition.

The discourse surrounding Richard's deposition was that Richard was a child who was unfit to rule in contrast to his far manlier cousin Henry Bolingbroke. Richard was named 'boy' in contrast to Henry Bolingbroke's 'man' in Archbishop Thomas Arundel's sermon delivered on 30 September 1399 in Westminster Hall to the gathered parliament.[73] Richard was an 'ill-counselled youth' whose 'changeability, his vanity and susceptibility to bad counsel, his vulnerability to the evils of a decadent court and his taste for pleasing appearances' were all contemporary

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[72] Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 237.
[73] Adam of Usk, *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson, Second Edition (London, 1904), https://archive.org/stream/chroniconadaedeu00adamuoft/chroniconadaedeu00adamuoft_djvu.txt; Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99*, 1.

concerns regarding the king's masculinity.[74] Richard was unable to marshal the power of the king effectively or appropriately, and the example which was given to prove Richard's unsuitability was Henry Bolingbroke's disinheritance from his father's estate.[75] The case was inextricably bound up with the idea of fathers and sons due to the fact that Henry Bolingbroke was claiming his inheritance, and, as Fletcher has noted, he claimed it in the manner of a romantic hero avenging the death of his father. Henry's claim for inheritance made Richard's denial of the reinstatement of Henry's birthright seem unreasonable and petty – the values of a child with more in common with Robert Curthose and Henry the Young King than the kings who ruled them. It also put a finer point on the fact that Richard had no child to inherit his estate, the crown. As Karras stated, 'fatherhood formed a central component of the medieval ideology of manhood' and therefore without children, and with his ill-advised actions and attitudes Richard was neither a man nor a king.[76] This was the view that was presented by the victors of the deposition, so whilst the extent to which Richard was a youth and inappropriate to rule may have been exaggerated, it is important to note the efficacy of the presentation of the child-less man as being a weak and inconstant youth. There was no civil war over the deposition or resistance to Henry taking the throne which demonstrates that either the people believed that Richard was inappropriate to be king, or that the character assassination of Richard was believable.

Whilst the deposition was presented with hindsight as being a *coup de grâce* for both Richard and for the country, it was a hostile and forceful takeover by Henry. Richard's lack of children was detrimental to his cause in 1399. Richard and Henry were presented as being very different in Archbishop Arundel's sermon for good reason. Richard was childless with an infant bride, whilst Henry was already the head of a family by the time of the deposition: he had been married in the early 1380s and had six children with his (by then dead) wife Mary de Bohun whereas Richard had been married to his wife Anne of Bohemia for approximately the same period of time but had not produced a single child. Richard's heir presumptive was Edmund Mortimer, his first cousin once removed, who was only seven years old at the time of the deposition. Bolingbroke was a jousting champion, a crusader and the father of four sons and heirs whilst Richard had no children and little military success.[77] Without children Richard had no opportunity to make political alliances through marriage, nor could he be certain of the secure succession of the crown through his bloodline. Richard did not have the opportunity to raise allies at the deposition – he had no sons who were lords who could raise their own troops, nor did he have the opportunity to marry his children for military assistance as his great-grandmother Isabella did with Edward III and the Hainaulters. Without children Richard was exposed and vulnerable to an attack of force and a credible alternative king, which Henry Bolingbroke exploited.

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[74] Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377-99*, 25.

[75] Ibid., 278.

[76] Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, 16.

[77] Tuck, Anthony, "Richard II (1367 - 1400) King of England and Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23499; A. L. Brown, "Henry IV (1367 - 1413)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2010, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12951.

Having children was thus very important for a medieval king. If Richard had children with either of his wives, and particularly with Anne of Bohemia, it would have been more difficult to overthrow him. Richard had to be presented as a failure as a man to be deposed successfully, which included the fact that he had no children and his lack of children meant that he could mount little defence to the deposition when it actually happened. Richard's lack of children was a major flaw in his kingship and his masculinity and he suffered because of it.

Henry III

In contrast to the above examples, Henry III did not have a permanent rift with his son and his attempt to integrate his son into his kingship was successful, from the point of view of the stability of the realm and of the working relationship between father and son. Henry and Edward were opposed to each other during the civil war but they made peace and Edward became an integral part of Henry's administration in the later years of his reign. Henry also demonstrated his commitment to his role as father through his extreme reaction to the early death of one his daughters, Katherine.

The relationship between Henry and his eldest son, Edward of Westminster, later Edward I, was mostly stormy and difficult. During the civil war, Henry and Edward found themselves on different sides and it was even rumoured that Edward was planning on deposing his father.[78] Edward was important to Henry's reign as a resource for the crown however and in 1254 he married Eleanor of Castile in order to avoid a Castilian attack on Gascony or a Castilian claim over the territory.[79] Edward was also used as a hostage during the Second Barons' Revolt in order to hold Henry to the reforms he agreed to. Henry became 'increasingly dependent on Edward's advice and military skills', and Edward came to dictate many of Henry's actions as king, including continuing the civil war for two more years due to Edward's desire for revenge. Even in 1262, after Henry's serious illness it was to Edward he turned to assist him in the running of the country, even calling upon Edward's growing adult masculinity to encourage him and to validate his role: 'I am growing old, while you are in the flower of early manhood'.[80] Clearly, as Ridgeway says, Henry was 'devoted to [his and Eleanor's] five children' but his eldest son was difficult to control after 1263. Henry was focused on conciliation, peace and mercy – he was concerned for the 'welfare of widows and orphans of his slain enemies', but he was unable to compensate for the harsher aspects of Edward's unyielding personality due to Edward's position as a noble and leader in his own right, to whom some people looked before they looked to the king. Henry was also forced to grant Edward a greater income than he could afford to give due to Edward's unilateral decision to join Louis IX's crusade in 1268 and he was forced to seek taxation, which was granted in April 1270.[81]

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[78] H. W. Ridgeway, "Henry III (1207-1272)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2010, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12950.
[79] F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1966), 232–3.
[80] *Calendar of Close Rolls for Henry III: 1261-4*, vol. 12, 273.
[81] Ridgeway, "Henry III (1207-1272)."

Henry was an extravagant, arrogant king, yet seems to have been humbled by the birth of a disabled daughter Katherine, born 25 November 1253.[82] She was a silent child and it was later realised that she was both deaf and blind. [83] When she died at a young age, according to Paris, the grief of both her parents was such that they both became seriously ill, although this may be exaggeration on Paris's part.[84] Henry had spent some time at St Albans Abbey in 1257 and spent time in Paris's company, which may have swayed Paris to exaggerated Henry's grief to make him seem less kingly and more human, or recorded the overdramatic performance of Henry's grief which he gave in public.[85] Later the king ordered a solid silver figure for her tomb in Westminster at a cost of seven hundred pounds which was an inordinate sum of money, especially for such a poor king.[86] Henry's spendthrift and careless ways made him unpopular, yet in this situation his extravagance seems not to have been resented by the public who otherwise disliked his spending habits. Henry III clearly grieved for his daughter – possibly not just publically but certainly extravagantly.

Henry III struggled as a father because he was not well thought of as a king. His son Edward was a more attractive prospect as king and it was easy to secure a 'quiet succession' for Edward before he went on crusade.[87] Despite this by the time of Edward's departure on Crusade 'the royal family was more united in the closing years of Henry III's reign than it was at any time between the Norman Conquest and the accession of the house of Stuart. Edward was already king in all but name, and the rights of his sons were, so far as we know, taken for granted' so therefore this hand-over of power was good for the country as it lead to greater stability.[88] Henry was a devoted father and husband, as we have seen in his reaction to Katherine's untimely death and the fact that there are no bastards attributed to him.[89] Henry's strengths lay in his eldest son's abilities and the use of his eldest son in his kingship which was hugely beneficial to the stability of the realm and for the smooth succession after Henry's death. Henry can be categorised as a successful father, but only in the absence of a disaster.

Edward I

When considering the relationship between Edward I and his sons, the traditional image of him is of a man who was cold and distant to his children. This view is typified in the view of Alison Marshal who stated that 'the extant correspondence between Edward I and his younger sons does little to dispel *this image of austerity*, and it is clear that he had high expectations of

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[82] Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 304 and passim.
[83] Matthew Paris, *English History From the Year 1235 to 1273*, ed. J. A. Giles, vol. 3 (London, 1854), 232.
[84] Ibid.; Thomas B. Costain, *The Magnificent Century: Book Two of The Pagent of England* (London, 1973), 178.
[85] Paris, *English History From the Year 1235 to 1273*, 3:220.
[86] Costain, *The Magnificent Century: Book Two of The Pagent of England*, 178.
[87] Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 586.
[88] Ibid., 583.
[89] T. Anna Leese, *Blood Royal: Issue of the Kings and Queens of Medieval England, 1066-1399* (Bowie, Maryland, 1996), 92.

Thomas and Edmund' (my emphasis).[90] She uses the example of a letter sent in September 1302 in which Edward instructs the steward of his sons' household, John de Weston, that the boys were to 'attend a mass at Canterbury and to make an offering of 7s. each' and also instructs Weston to report back on their conduct during the aforementioned mass.[91] The boys were thirteen months and twenty-six months old respectively and evidently Edward placed untimely, adult responsibilities on his two youngest sons.[92] Yet what Alison Marshal does not account for is Edward I continuing his letter requesting news of the boys' health from Weston.[93] Two years later Edward sent a letter to Margery de Haustede in which he expressed surprise of the lack of news regarding his children, particularly how they behaved and played and what their progress was like; especially that of his four month old daughter Eleanor which does not conform to the picture of Edward as an unfeeling father.[94] Marshal is overly selective in her use of parts of the letter and therefore presents an incomplete picture of Edward I as a father. With the other parts of the first letter and the contents of the second letter Edward is demonstrating how much he has concern for his children; about their welfare and their development in particular. He may not be addressing the children themselves but that does not mean that he ignored them completely. I argue that even the passages which Marshal used in her article demonstrate the way in which Edward cares for his youngest boys – the royal family has a public image which must be carefully cultivated and secondly that royal children have to grow up fast; Edward expecting their decorous behaviour in mass is a pragmatic step as these boys would be expected to take part in royal ceremonies as soon as possible and, presumably, the quicker they learned how to sit quietly in official functions and to do as they are told, the better. Therefore the evidence of Edward's letter to his young sons in 1302 which has been used to demonstrate the king's distance from his children, at least to the children of his second wife, can be used with the proper context to determine that the opposite was in fact true.

Bolstering this new image of Edward as a caring father, Louise J. Wilkinson has produced ground-breaking research regarding Edward I and his daughters in which she asserts that Edward I had a close relationship with his five daughters and that he had a positive political relationship with them too.[95] Edward's daughters had extremely prominent, active roles at court, despite their roles in later life being arranged early in their lives – Mary was to be a nun, Eleanor, Joan, Margaret and Elizabeth were to be married, which 'reflect[ed] their value to their natal family' as brokers of alliances and proponents for the English crown and its causes in their new positions of influence across the Continent.[96] The sisters often went on pilgrimage together, for example in 1284-5, and especially to shrines dedicated to saints with particular links to the

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[90] Alison Marshal, "The Childhood and Household of Edward II's Half-Brothers, Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock," in *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives*, by Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson (Woodbridge, 2006), 196–7.

[91] Ibid., 197.

[92] Pierre Chaplais, "Some Private Letters of Edward I," *English Historical Review* 77, no. 302 (January 1962): 81.

[93] Ibid., 82, 83.

[94] Ibid., 81–2, 86; John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke, 1995), 39.

[95] Louise J. Wilkinson, 'An English King and His Daughters: Domestic Politics at Edward I's Court', unpublished paper presented at the International Medieval Congresses, Leeds, 8 July 2014.

[96] Ibid.

English crown, for which Edward I subsidised their offerings.[97] Their role as the king's representatives at the shrines gave them a high profile role within the political community. Edward I's daughters were also known for their role as intercessors within the court of their father, which suggests that their father was willing to listen to his daughters and actively took their counsel.[98]

Edward also used his daughters in the conventional fashion as brides. Edward had been planning the marriages of his children for a long time; in 1287 Pope Honorius IV granted a general act of dispensation that Edward's sons and daughters could marry within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity to enable Edward to make suitably glorious matches for his children.[99] Three years later Edward married Joan to the earl of Gloucester and Margaret was married to John, heir to the duchy of Brabant. Edward also ratified the treaty by which Edward of Caernarvon was to marry the queen of Scots.[100] Powicke states that the reason for these marriages was to secure the realm before he went on crusade, as well as to secure the succession.[101] The dispensation was a future assurance of the ability for Edward to marry his children into the greater houses of England who shared some royal blood and to gain them good marriages as befitted their status as children of the king. He was politically calculating and married his daughters into houses which would benefit the English crown, but he did not do so at the expense of the happiness of his daughters. Louise Wilkinson posits that Edward was mindful of whether the husbands he chose for his daughters would be appropriate partners for them and ensured that the circumstances were right for them – for example in the case of Eleanor's betrothal to Alfonso of Aragon Edward refused to acquiesce to the Aragonese demands for her presence in Aragon for the duration of the interdict which had been placed upon the Aragonese due to their claim on the kingdom of Sicily. Another reason for her absence was that Eleanor's mother and grandmother had 'uncharacteristically' united, saying that Eleanor was too young to be married and Edward agreed.[102] When Edward did agree to their marriages he also made sure that he did not give his daughters away cheaply, for example Edward secured Joan of Acre's marriage with the condition that the de Clare lands were to pass to Joan's children by any marriage after her husband's death.[103] This policy of strong negotiations over their marriages was not only beneficial for the crown but publically placed a high value on his daughters.[104] In the case of Margaret, she married John of Brabant in 1290 but did not join him for almost seven years, staying instead at her father's court.[105] Not only did his daughters have a high profile role at court throughout their lives they also remained in regular contact with each other and their father.[106] Edward even rewarded messengers when they provided news of the births of

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[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

[99] *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ed Joseph Stevenson, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1870), 35–6.

[100] Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 732.

[101] Ibid., 733.

[102] Wilkinson, "An English King and His Daughters: Domestic Politics at Edward I's Court."

[103] Jennifer C. Ward, "Joan, Countess of Herford and Gloucester (1272-1307)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14821; Wilkinson, "An English King and His Daughters: Domestic Politics at Edward I's Court."

[104] Wilkinson, "An English King and His Daughters: Domestic Politics at Edward I's Court."

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

grandchildren – including £100 for the message about the birth of one of his grandsons.[107] Edward helped his daughters throughout their lives for example Edward allowed Joan to do homage for the de Clare lands after the death of her husband Gilbert in 1295 and when Margaret died Edward paid to have the body prepared for burial.

Given the evidence of Edward's treatment of his sons and daughters it is possible that Michael Prestwich's assertion that '[Edward] seemed fonder of his daughters than his sons' may be correct.[108] There are some distinctions to be made between the groups of progeny that I have discussed – Edward's sons Thomas and Edmund were his sons by his second wife and he already had an heir which meant that his distance may have been reflective of the lesser importance which they had to Edward politically. Edward's daughters were his daughters by his beloved first wife and, I argue, the relationship with daughters as a king is simpler because the life cycle of a princess was much simpler – they would be educated to some extent, and then would be married off to a politically expedient spouse in their teens, after possibly having been betrothed at an earlier age. The relationship Edward had with his heir Edward of Caernarfon was a lot more complex as he was the fourth son and never meant to inherit, but by the time of his birth he was the only living son of Edward I.[109] In 1290 Edward I secured the rights of his daughters in the line of succession, despite his son already being six years old.[110] Edward I was also absent for much of his son's early existence and there were very few other close family members near to Edward for the first ten or so years of his life.[111] There was little personal relationship between father and son, especially after their quarrel throughout 1305.[112] Politically Edward I used Edward of Caernarfon before he was even born; Edward I contrived Edward's birth at Caernarfon in order to draw upon the supposed Roman connections to Caernarfon. Later Edward I attempted to marry Edward to Margaret the Fair Maid of Norway in order to attain the Scottish throne and then, after Margaret's death, to a daughter of the Count of Flanders which was specifically aimed at assisting Edward I in his war with France and had to be annulled by the pope a year after it had been arranged.[113] Edward of Caernarfon's eventual marriage with Isabella of France brought peace between the two countries, along with Edward's own marriage to the king's sister Margaret.[114]

Edward I used his fatherhood as an avenue through which to utilise his political perspicacity and to achieve his political and military aims, particularly in regard to his relationship with his heir. With his other children Edward I had more of a personal relationship and was demonstrably more concerned by their welfare. This does not necessarily indicate a lack of affection for his heir, rather that Edward I recognised the political currency which Edward of Caernarfon had and that it was important to capitalise on this at the opportune moment which was more important

[107] Ibid.

[108] Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272 - 1377* (London, 1980), 52.

[109] Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England*, 38.

[110] J. R. S. Phillips, "Edward II (1284-1327)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8518.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid.; John Carmi Parsons, "Isabella (1295-1358)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14484.

for the relationship with his eldest son than the relationships with other children. Edward I was a sagacious king and his fatherhood was an extension of this.

Edward II

Edward II's lack of success at kingship made him a bad father. As a father he did not successfully manage the two aspects I have already outlined as being essential to success as a father for a medieval king: having a working relationship with their offspring and managing their children as political resources. Edward II did not have a strong enough relationship with his eldest son to stop him from deposing his father nor did Edward II make the best use of Edward of Windsor within the political sphere. Edward of Windsor was not swayed by his father's threatening and begging letters asking him to return to England after he and his mother Queen Isabella had stayed in France, ostensibly on a diplomatic mission.[115] This demonstrates the lack of affection or respect which Edward of Windsor had for his father. Evidently Edward II had no power over his son and Edward of Windsor felt no filial loyalty to his father. This may be explained by the fact that Edward spent a lot of his childhood away from his parents; for example in 1313 his parents made three visits with gaps of three months, although as Ormrod states it was 'customary' for the heir to have an independent household and his parents were needed on diplomatic and military expeditions elsewhere, therefore this situation would not have been odd.[116] This distance between Edward of Windsor and his parents did not mean that they did not care for their son – there is evidence of letters from both his mother and father to Edward's household, although there probably was not a close relationship between Edward and his parents.[117] There was also a political distance between Edward II and his eldest son – Edward of Windsor did not have a political function in the realm before 1325 which indicates a lack of concern for Edward's role in his father's kingship which meant that Edward II was not making the most out of Edward of Windsor's political capital.[118] It may also indicate Edward II's insecurity in starting Edward of Windsor on a path to adult masculinity which as both William the Conqueror and Henry II found could be creating a possible rival for himself. Secondly Edward did not arrange Edward of Windsor's marriage. Edward had attempted to arrange a marriage between Edward of Windsor and Margaret of Valois, but this was resisted by nobles at the French court, and the possibility of a Castilian or Portuguese alliance was explored in early- to mid-1326 by Edward II.[119] Eventually, Edward of Windsor's marriage was arranged by his mother to be a distinct disadvantage for Edward II. Part of the negotiation of Edward and Philippa's marriage was the use of Hainaulter military support for the coup which Isabella and Roger Mortimer were planning upon their return to England.

As a father Edward II failed on all counts. He did not manage a working relationship with his son, to the point that his son was on the side of the deposers and would not obey him either out of

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[115] For example *Foedera. Conventions, Literae et Cujuscunque Generic Acta Publica*, ed T. Rymer, vol. II (London, 1816), ii 579–80; ibid., II:ii. 543, 576–8.
[116] W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III*, Second Edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 9–10.
[117] Ibid., 10.
[118] Ibid., 19.
[119] A. Wathey, "The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45, no. 1 (1992): 13–14; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 37.

fear or respect, nor did Edward use his son to the best political advantage as he was unable to secure an appropriate bride for his eldest son. Edward II was a failure as a king, even from the beginning; the author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* gave Edward II's only redeeming feature in the first six years of his reign as his marriage and the birth of Edward of Windsor: he 'had achieved nothing praiseworthy or memorable' apart from those two things.[120] It is important to recognise the contemporary emphasis on paternity as being a desirable quality in a king, particularly as a redeeming feature of a king such as Edward II who had been unsuccessful in other important areas of kinship. Edward II's lack of capacity for kingship created a barrier between him and his eldest son. He was unable to successfully manage his own kingship and masculinity, let alone that of his son and therefore was unable to control his son's entrance onto the political stage which, as I have demonstrated with the above examples, was a disaster for the incumbent king. Edward of Windsor's entrance on to the political stage coincided with the demise of Edward II as king and had Edward II cultivated a better relationship with his son and/or managed his political career better Isabella, Roger Mortimer and Edward of Windsor would have found a deposition much more difficult or possibly would not have attempted a coup. This most recent example of the fatherhood of a medieval king was entirely unhelpful for Edward III and it is surprising that he managed to avoid the pitfalls which befell his father and made a success of being a father. This gave something for Edward III to react against and an example to avoid.

From studying these kings it seem that it was inevitable that sons would rise up against their father in order to wrest power from them during their journey from being a youth to being an adult in order to prove their worth. Whilst there are examples of this "Young King Syndrome" such as Henry the Young King, Richard the Lionheart, Geoffrey duke of Brittany, John Lackland, and Robert Curthose for example, I argue that it was never inevitable that the king's son(s) would attempt a coup because the circumstances for a coup were the product of luck and of personality. It was, however, almost unavoidable that there would be tension between father and son. A royal heir could have seen himself as being held back by their royal father in comparison to his peers as he tried to attain his full adult masculinity; his identity was predicated on becoming king and whilst his father was still alive there was no possibility of attaining his adult masculinity, and he was therefore in limbo, waiting for his father to die. For the father this meant striking the right balance between allowing his son the rights and responsibilities which were appropriate to his station and which would prepare him for kingship or lordship, and the control over one's son which was necessary to contain his influence in order to minimise the risk of them destabilising the reign.

Secondly the aggregate picture of these kings is that they cannot be categorised as either a "good" or "bad" father as their practice of fatherhood was contingent on many things; most importantly the political situation and the personality of the child influenced the character of their relationship. The gender of the child was also a huge influence on the ways in which kings interacted with their offspring. Males were judged on their qualities as potential heirs and therefore their lordly skills and ability to complement their father's kingship were influential in

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[120] *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed Wendy Childs (Oxford, 2005), 69.

way in which their fathers treated them. Daughters, on the other hand, occupied a more ambiguous role. Kings "fathered" daughters both as vessels of alliances and as close companions. All of these kings attempted to control and support their children with lands, titles and marriages and attempted to include their sons, and some included their daughters, within their kingship but not all of them were successful in their attempts at integrating both generations.

These kings set a precedent for Edward and gave him a script to follow, or to reject, when he was learning how to perform "father", as Judith Butler described the process. The plans which Edward made for his children reflected the plans of kings who had gone before him, but Edward successfully avoided some of the problems which these kings had faced, such as the overt rebellion of their sons. Some of their circumstances were also similar, for example the disarray which preceded his accession to throne was matched and exceeded by that which preceded Henry II's accession to the throne. Very little changed over the three hundred year period covered by this study but Edward's success as a father built upon the experiences of the kings who came before him combined with his own flair for the diplomatic process.

Chapter Two: Edward's Practice of Fatherhood

Having explored the way in which other kings practised fatherhood and the successes, or failures, that they had in exercising control over their offspring and what their relationships were like, a comparison can be drawn between them and Edward III. Edward III was a successful king in that he had many children, and most survived into adulthood. Edward III is considered in the historiography to be a broadly successful king, despite his deterioration in his later years and his affair with the unsuitable and unpopular Alice Perrers. Ian Mortimer named his biography of Edward *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III, Father of the English Nation* which indicates his admiration for Edward's successes.[121] This Whiggish biography is novel in its use of rumours and personal stories to support more traditional evidence and assesses Edward's reputation, his image as king and his success as a medieval king. It concludes that Edward was greater than the sum of his experiences and that some innate quality of his enabled him to overcome the difficulties he faced: inadequate parents, the military opposition of France and Scotland and all of the other smaller incidents which were part of Edward's rule. The only failing which Mortimer finds with Edward is that he grew old disgracefully. Mortimer writes to persuade his audience that Edward was the ideal medieval king and that as such his perceived foibles were in fact strengths. Ormrod on the other hand is more circumspect in his treatment of much the same material, albeit in a more comprehensive biography. Ormrod makes greater use of the parliamentary and administrative records and uses the themes of military ventures, domestic policies, the family and chronological comparison to produce an account of the reign, man and king of Edward III. Nonetheless Ormrod produced a compelling biography in which Edward is presented as a dynamic ruler with a strong kingly skill set – diplomacy, war-making and image cultivation. He was also able to take the monarchy and his family from complete disarray to the most stable and successful regimes in Western Europe, which is reflected in Ormrod's earlier article 'Edward III and his Family'.[122] Regarding his children, Bevan found the fact that Edward had a good working relationship with his sons (and daughters) so notable that he was compelled to comment on it: '(u)nlike earlier Plantagenet kings, such as Henry II, Edward did not quarrel with his sons, indeed his generosity towards them should be commended'.[123] This comment exposes an expectation of rebellion by the royal sons, the surprise that Edward suffered no such fate is shared by much of the secondary literature. Edward managed the expectations of his sons and avoided the problem of the Young King Syndrome by allowing them powerful positions, plentiful resource and enough money to keep them satisfied.

I will firstly consider how Edward managed his children as his subjects and nobles beneath him in the hierarchy of late medieval society in the first sub-chapter *The Kingly Father*. Edward used his children as diplomatic chess pieces to advance his kingly status and to further his diplomatic aims. Therefore in this section I argue that the princes' and princesses' marriages, titles, land-ownership and interaction with the crown as subjects were successful uses of the political structures available to Edward. In this sense he is very similar to most of the kings, particularly his grandfather, whom I discussed in Chapter One because he used his children's political capital as brides and grooms to make alliances and to tie himself into the nobility in England. In the second sub-chapter, titled *The Fatherly King* I consider Edward as a parent with a personal

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[121] Ian Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation* (London, 2006).
[122] W. Mark Ormrod, "Edward III and His Family," *Journal of British Studies* 26, no. 4 (1987): 398–422.
[123] B. Bevan, *Edward III: Monarch of Chivalry* (London, 1992), 114.

relationship to his children. It is this strong connection to his children, nurtured from a young age, which marks Edward out from the other kings I have looked at. He unusually and unexpectedly allowed his eldest son and daughter to marry for love, not through mismanagement but deliberately encourages them to find a partner of their choosing. This sub-chapter includes evidence about his personal relationship with his offspring through evidence of their interactions over their lifetimes. To these ends I have compiled several tables which contain aggregate data regarding Edward's children such as their birth dates, death dates and their mother which demonstrates Edward's fidelity to the women he had sexual relationships with. I have also compiled data on the men who were genetically close to Edward which demonstrates the extent of Edward's fecundity; Edward's children's marriages and betrothals which demonstrate the policy which Edward had regarding making alliances and the successes of these; and the grandchildren of Edward III which demonstrates the long-term success of the Edward's dynastic plan. I have also used administrative records to demonstrate the political uses of his children and interactions between them and their father, such as the Calendar of Patent Rolls as well as contemporary chronicles to demonstrate their reputations.

Chapter Two, Part One: The Kingly Father

As king, Edward had to manage his children as the important royal resource which they were. The utilisation of royal children was an essential part of being king as they could bring advantages where no-one else could: through marriages with foreign powers which created political alliances and through ruling dominions on behalf of their father. Edward made use of both of these advantages with his children, particularly his sons. As Lisa Benz St. Johns stated, Edward's use of the children for political gain though 'political and dynastic bonds' was by no means unusual. The manipulation of the children's marriages for the benefit of the crown and the dynasty was 'integral to landed and urban elite society', not just the royal family.[124] The alliances made through marriage could determine success or failure as a monarch. Edward and Philippa's marriage for example was a deciding factor in the successful deposition of Edward II. Children's marriages could bring alliances to the crown with neighbours or politically significant foreign powers, or bring peace with enemies. This was why the marriages of Edward of Woodstock and Isabella were so controversial (see below, pp. 38-41). The king's children could also provide stability within domestic politics as they were part of the extended network of nobility working to support the aims of the crown.

Whilst princes and princesses were useful for a medieval king, they could also be problematic for his kingship. Firstly a king had to provide lands, titles, marriage and incomes for each child at the expense of his own estate or of resources as patronage. Not only did he have to provide for them, but he had to provide enough for them to be seen to be appropriately glorious for the children of the king. Politically a king also wanted to ensure that his children made the best marriages that they could – i.e. marriages with the greatest political advantage for the crown. Edward diligently worked towards these objectives from the births of each of his children – arranging betrothals and demesnes for each of them. Edward's main problem was that he had so many children which meant the division of royal lands and titles into many parts.

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[124] Lisa Benz St. John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth Century England* (Basingstoke and New York, 2012), 97.

The second problem for kings was that their children became political entities of their own with lands and titles held as independently from the crown as any other noble, and, as previously discussed in Chapter One, they could then use their political standing and resources to work against their father. Therefore finding an appropriate plan for his children was an essential part of Edward's kingship in order to keep them busy and satisfied enough not to do so. Due to this careful balancing act between giving one's children enough resources to adequately communicate an image of royalty and glory and to maintain their own households and retinues, and ensuring that one's children could not afford to usurp their father by keeping them a little short of money, the relationship between father and children was likely to be fraught from the beginning. Edward managed to balance these two opposing factors extremely well with his systematic use of betrothals, marriages, titles and place within the political structure and ensured that his children would not lead a coup against him, as so many medieval kings had experienced.[125] From the beginning of his majority rule Edward pursued a system of prestigious betrothals and marriages; estates for his eldest sons; and finally a hierarchical system of Edward as overlord with his eldest three sons as his viceroys within the Plantagenet Empire. Edward was improving on the system which Henry II attempted with the hierarchical system, but Edward was more ambitious in the territories which he claimed. Edward's situation was different because he had so many more children to use which meant that he could be more diverse in his approach: he could attempt to make Continental matches as well as local ones for example. To fully exploit this abundance of children, Edward divided his children into two age groups: firstly Edward of Woodstock, Isabella, Joan, Lionel and Joan; secondly Edmund, Mary, Margaret and Thomas.

The fact that Edward had so many children survive infancy was extremely unusual. Nicholas Orme's statistical analysis of the children of the medieval kings of England reveals that Edward III had significantly more than the average of four children who did not die at birth, a statistic which does not even account for those children of kings who survived infancy but who died before reaching adulthood.[126] Edward had fourteen children with his wife Philippa of Hainault, of whom nine survived beyond the age of ten; or 64.29%.[127] In contrast, Edward's grandfather Edward I had twenty-one children with his two wives, but only eight survived past the age of ten; or just 34%. He had sixteen children with his first wife alone.[128] Edward's own father, Edward II had just five children. John of Gaunt was similar to his own father in having thirteen children and for nine to survive (70%), however he had them with four different women which increased John's potential for children as the women could be pregnant simultaneously.[129] None of the rest of Edward III's close relatives fathered more than five children each and not all of

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[125] Given-Wilson and Curteis, pp. 5–6.

[126] Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven and London, 2003), 52.

[127] One of Edward III's daughters died at 14 or 15 of the plague however. His only children not to survive were William of Hatfield, Blanche of the Tower and Thomas of Woodstock. See Tables One and Two.

[128] Eleanor, Countess of Bar (1269 - 1298), Joan of Acre (1272 - 1307), Margaret, Duchess of Brabant (1275 - after 1333), Mary of Woodstock (1279 – c. 1332), Elizabeth of Rhuddlan (1282 – 1316), and Edward's successor to the throne Edward II (1284 – 1327). Alphonso, Earl of Chester (1273 – 1284) survived long enough to be recognised as heir to the throne and for a prestigious marriage with the Count of Holland's daughter to be arranged.

[129] Two of whom were mistresses. Katherine Swynford has been categorised as a mistress here because the children were born out of wedlock and legitimised after John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford married in 1396, when their eldest child was at least in his mid-twenties.

these survived to adulthood.[130] In fact the lack of fecundity of Edward's sons and grandsons was problematic in later years, causing to some extent the Wars of the Roses. Taking into account these statistics, it is clear that the fecundity of Edward III and Philippa was impressive, as well as the survival rates of their children.

Whilst the consideration of the legitimate children of a king is important for exploring kingly politics and the domestic politics of a king's reign; studying the illegitimate children of a king is more informative about the type of man which the king was. That is to say, the number of illegitimate children, the date of their births, and their maternity are all important elements in the analysis of the personality of the king. Chris Given-Wilson and Alice Curteis divided the medieval kings into three groups: those who had the 'occasional affair'; those who were 'notorious libertines'; and those who had no affairs.[131] Given-Wilson and Curteis declare their socio-sexual politics by placing Edward III into the second of these groups, along with Henry I, Henry II, John and Edward IV.[132] There are only three illegitimate children attributed to Edward, all of whom were with his long-term mistress Alice Perrers.[133] With this information I rebut Given-Wilson and Curteis's claim and suggest that Edward was actually a serial monogamist. As Ian Mortimer accurately notes, there are no bastard children attributed to him 'before… the onset of his wife's protracted final illness' which suggests that she was unable to act as his wife as she once did and Edward therefore found a replacement companion and sexual partner.[134] Given-Wilson and Curteis even acknowledge that it was not surprising that kings had mistresses and being a womaniser was not a problem, therefore I consider that Edward III had children with only one confirmed mistress was much more unusual than the fact that he had children with a woman other than his wife.[135] Given-Wilson and Curteis's labelling of Edward cannot be correct.[136] Alternatively perhaps the reason why Given-Wilson and Curteis categorised him as a 'notorious libertine', which reflected contemporary opinion, was because Edward had committed to Alice Perrers, a woman who was entirely unsuitable for the long-term companion of the king due to her birth, her marital status and her greedy reputation.[137] Edward's illegitimate children reveal a man who was largely loyal to his wife and who was a serial monogamist. His actions were within the tone of what was acceptable for a medieval king and crucially neither his illegitimate children nor his mistress interrupted the plan which Edward had for his children, despite Edward's kingship and public image suffering due to Alice's presence at the end of Edward's life.

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[130] See Table One, p. 50 for the amount of children born to each family member.

[131] Given-Wilson and Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England*, 8.

[132] Ibid.

[133] See Table Two, p. 50.

[134] Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 401.

[135] Given-Wilson and Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England*, 8 and 11; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 96; Leese, *Blood Royal: Issue of the Kings and Queens of Medieval England, 1066-1399*, 182.

[136] Given-Wilson and Curteis may have been taking into account that Edward was said to have raped his friend's wife the Countess of Salisbury. This story has been dismissed as being a fabrication due to the inaccuracies of the story, including the Countess of Salisbury's name. It is suggested that the story was constructed for French propaganda. See Ian Mortimer *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 191–198.

[137] Jessica Lutkin, "Isabella de Coucy, Daughter of Edward III: The Exception Who Proves the Rule," in *Fourteenth Century England VI*, ed. Given-Wilson, Chris (London, 2010), 147.

Whilst Edward's sexual relationships did not destabilise his reign, having so many children was problematic for Edward because of the timescale of his children's births (see Table Two). There could be no peace for Edward as a father until about the end of 1341 by which time he had an heir, Edward of Woodstock, who was eleven and probably out of the dangers of childhood illnesses; Lionel of Antwerp who was five; John of Gaunt who was fifteen months old; and Edmund of Langley who was about six months old. With these four boys Edward could build his kingdom. Compared with the end of the 1339, just two years earlier, when Edward had been on the throne for twelve years; Edward had an heir who could still be taken by childhood illness or accident as he was aged just nine; two girls, Isabella of England and Joan of England, who were aged seven and five; and Lionel who was aged about one and was very much in danger of dying from a childhood illness. Edward had already lost a son: the death of William of Hatfield in 1337 must have been a concern for Edward as his second son had lived barely six months, leaving him with one boy and two girls – an uncertain position for a man who had deposed the king before him. Edward's position was more uncertain due to the death of his brother John of Eltham in September 1336 as he had no adult heir should his son die.[138] This uncertainty must have influenced Edward's desire for more children – Lionel was born sixteen months after the early death of William, and John and Edmund were born at fifteen month intervals after that. Edward may have also been driven by his youthful experiences having been fairly isolated from his family as a child, as I have explored in Chapter One. Edward's younger siblings had joined his household briefly in 1319-20 but this was swiftly abandoned.[139] It is possible that Edward wanted a large family for personal reasons, although this is purely conjecture. Edward's position was much more secure on the throne by 1341 because he now had several heirs to succeed him as long as they grew up, married, and had children of their own – a situation which had to be carefully managed. He had to institute a plan for the continuing Plantagenet line which not only included the births of the later children, but also the marriages and offspring of the elder children. This is the beginning of the split between the children of Edward III. Before c. 1350 Edward focused on marrying Edward, Isabella and Joan into foreign ruling dynasties and marrying John and Lionel into the upper echelons of the British nobility. After c. 1350 Edward focused on the marriages of his younger children (Edmund, Margaret, Mary and Thomas) and the realisation of the plans which Edward had been making for the elder five children and therefore prioritised the most important alliances.

The elder children of Edward II were essential to his kingship because they were his heirs and the most prestigious prizes on the marriage market. Although the marriages of Edward's two eldest children did not follow this plan, despite the early efforts of their father, they did not represent a failure of Edward's planning or strategy, as will be fully discussed in Chapter Two Part Two. Edward's plan for his elder children started with prestigious betrothals, particularly for Edward of Woodstock, Isabella, and Joan. For Edward, Isabella, Joan, Lionel and John Edward planned prestigious marriages.[140] From Edward of Woodstock's birth Edward planned a foreign princess for his bride. This practice was the usual policy of the royal family – most royals married

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[138] Waugh, Scott L., "John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall (1316 - 1336)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14842.
[139] Ormrod, *Edward III*, 10.
[140] See Table Four, p. 52.

for politics and for financial gain; to be otherwise was a very small minority.[141] He attempted to make not only politically beneficial marriages, but also matches which were appropriately prestigious for the children of the king of England, France, Wales and Ireland. Even in July 1331 Edward had sent a party to treat with Philip VI of France for a marriage between the then one-year-old Edward of Woodstock and a daughter of Philip.[142] Later this was clarified as being Philip's daughter Joan.[143] This alliance would have brought peace between the two kings and tied their houses more closely together. It could have brought traditionally Plantagenet lands back into Plantagenet control too. Even at this early stage it is clear that the relationship with France and the origins of the Hundred Years War affected Edward's policy and his fatherhood. By 1337 the two kings were at war which inevitable changed who Edward wanted to pursue as allies.

In the mid- to late-1330s Edward was focused on his ambitions in France and his marriage policy reflected this. In 1337 and 1338 Edward looked to Louis, the Count of Flanders for an alliance against France and first offered Joan and then later Isabella as a bride for the Count's eldest son.[144] Edward was now looking to the advantage of allying with France's close neighbours in the Low Countries and what military support they could offer him. The alliance created through the joining of the two families would have been advantageous for Edward's plans to invade France from the Low Countries from 1337-8 because Edward would have military support and a base from which to enter France, echoing the tactics of his grandfather in the 1290s.[145] The pursuit of an alliance with Flanders was also important for Edward because of the trade links with the 'great cloth-making centres' in Flanders, which received English wool – the 'richest exportable product for England' in this period.[146] Louis was not in a position to revolt against his overlord King Philip, however, and the marriage and resulting alliance would not have been enough recompense to sustain the wrath of the French King. Flanders was not a possible marital ally after the opening of hostilities between Edward and King Philip therefore and Edward had to look elsewhere for an alliance to help him conquer France.

By 1340 Edward had completely abandoned an alliance with France as they were now at war. He started to create an anti-France "coalition" of the duke of Gelderland, the counts of Hainault, Berg, Juliers, Limburg, Cleves and Marck, and especially John, duke of Lorraine, Brabant and Limburg, marquis of the Holy Empire.[147] In 1340 the possibility that Edward of Woodstock could marry John's daughter Margaret was explored, even going so far as to account for her dowry should the marriage not occur.[148] Brabant had replaced Flanders in the trade of English woollen cloth in order to 'punish Louis [of Flanders]'s attachment to the King of France' and for his failure to assist Edward.[149] Brabançon merchants were granted the right to import the English

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[141] Given-Wilson and Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England*, 7.
[142] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III 1330 - 1334*, vol. 2, 157.
[143] Ibid., 273.
[144] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III 1334 - 1338*, vol. 3, 420; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III 1338 - 1340*, vol. 4, 193.
[145] Prestwich, Michael, *Documents Illustrating The Crisis of 1297-98 in England*, vol. 24, Camden Fourth Series (London, 1980), 3.
[146] Edouard Perroy, *The Hundred Years War* (London, 1965), 37, 51.
[147] Ibid., 96.
[148] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III 1338-40*, vol. 4, 510.
[149] Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*, 94.

wool they needed for their international cloth trade, 'on the sole condition that they should not re-export it to Flanders' thus completely cutting Flanders out of their cloth trade.[150] Not only was this punishment for Flanders, but Edward also was recognising 'the growing influence, economic and political,… [of] the great duchy of Brabant' which meant that the duchy of Brabant was an attractive ally as part of the Holy Roman Empire.[151] Edward bought the alliance of Brabant at a high price. Instead of using a payment of a different kind: the marriage of his heir and the daughter of the Count would have replicated the settlement of Edward and Philippa's marriage with military assistance part of the negotiations but Edward instead made a big financial commitment to his allies. The marriage alone would not have been enough to give him authority within the Holy Roman Empire, so he was forced to buy the title of "Vicar of the Empire in lower Germany" in 1338.[152]

Throughout Edward's manoeuvring with the French king and possible local allies on the Continent, he maintained his pursuit of a marriage with another royal house in Western Europe. In 1335 Edward courted Alfonso king of Castile and the dukes of Austria for marriages between their first-born sons and his daughters Isabella and Joan for example.[153] By 1347 Edward had successfully arranged Joan's marriage with Peter of Castile.[154] Problematically, however, Joan died *en route* of the plague leaving Edward without one of his strongest avenues of diplomatic recourse.This pursuit of various ruling houses across the Continent in the 1330s and 1340s shows that Edward wanted the Plantagenets to be seen as worthy of marrying into other royal houses; and that his children and descendants would rule across Western Europe.[155] Another function of these marriages was that they would create peace with the other ruling families who might attack England while Edward was occupied with France. They would become allies against France and provide military and financial support to Edward. Edward's problem was that none of the marriages were realised. This could constitute a failure of the original plan because Edward now lacked the dynastic ties which he had sought; however this "failure" reflected the changing nature of what Edward needed. Edward's eldest children were now in their adolescence and this meant that Edward of Woodstock was growing into his masculinity. As I have discussed in Chapter One, it was important for Edward to oversee his son's burgeoning masculinity carefully as, if mismanaged, Edward could find himself in a precarious position. By not marrying his eldest son off at this age Edward delayed Edward of Woodstock's entrance into his adult masculinity which enabled Edward to maintain control and stability in his realm.[156]

Edward's other plan, alongside his marriage plan, was to create his three eldest sons demi-kings beneath him. Throughout their lives he attempted to attain lands and titles for them which would give them this status; by mid-1362 Edward had decided which dominions he would target. Edward of Woodstock was to become the 'resident seigneurial lord' in Aquitaine, as Barber stated he was the most obvious choice, given his position as his father's heir; Aquitaine was a prestigious settlement especially after the Treaty of Brétigny was sealed in 1360 and it

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[150] Ibid., 95.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid., 101.
[153] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III 1334 - 1338*, vol. 3, 133, 157, 191.
[154] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III 1345 - 1348*, vol. 7, 430.
[155] Ormrod, *Edward III*, 414.
[156] See Chapter Two Part Two, p. 38.

would need governing by a trusted member of Edward's inner circle.[157] It would also allow Edward of Woodstock to gain invaluable experience of ruling on a smaller scale so that when he succeeded his father he would not find the transition difficult.[158] Edward of Woodstock had already been granted the Principality of Wales, but it was the gift of the Principality of Aquitaine which really reflected the status and the role Edward of Woodstock was expected to have as successor to his father as a ruler. The grant continued the path which Edward had started his son upon by granting him the guardianship of the realm into 1338, which should have ended with Edward of Woodstock acceding to the throne.[159] The manner of the transfer of Aquitaine from father to son was surprising: Edward of Woodstock gave homage in July 1362 to his father as the ruler of an independent territory, rather than as a lieutenant or a duke, which shows how much trust Edward had in his son and the honour which he bestowed upon his eldest child.[160] For his next two sons Edward had to be more tactical. Lionel had been married to the heiress to the earldom of Ulster and baronetcy of Connaught in 1352 which legitimised Edward's attempt, through Lionel, to bring Ireland into the 'Plantagenet confederation' of territories and 'back into line with royal authority'.[161] Lionel was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland on 1 July 1361 which indicated Edward's long-term plan – Lionel was intended to be a permanent leader in Ireland under the lordship of his father.[162] Finally John of Gaunt was to be the lord in the North – he had been married to Blanche of Lancaster who was co-heiress of the large estate of Henry Grosmont, duke of Lancaster; at his death and the subsequent death of Blanche's sister in 1362 John inherited one of the largest estates in the realm.[163] Edward looked to add to this by suggesting in 1362 that John should be the heir of His Majesty's brother-in-law David II, king of Scotland who had no children of his own.[164] Whilst the Scottish throne eluded Edward's grasp, John then married Constanza, the heiress of the previous king of Castile and claimed the Castilian throne in her name. Edward recognised his son's claim to the Castilian throne in 1372.[165] For Edward this plan had a number of advantages. This use of his sons would have given him the 'Plantagenet confederation' which Henry II and Edward I had attempted to create during their reigns but had failed to attain, which would have increased his status on the world stage, making him almost an emperor, and would have increased his earnings and military capabilities.[166] Secondly it would have increased the status of his sons into rulers who were semi-autonomous with large incomes and estates of their own. More tactically, it also meant that his sons were too busy to attempt to overthrow Edward or make trouble for him and they were satisfied with their important roles within his kingship – Edward of Woodstock especially would remain under his father's control whilst attaining his adult masculinity through mostly

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[157] Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 350; Richard Barber, "Edward, Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine (1330-1376)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8523.

[158] David Green, *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 2007), 22.

[159] Barber, "Edward, Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine (1330-1376)."

[160] *Fœdera* ed T. Rymer III. ii 667-70.

[161] Ormrod, *Edward III*, 414; Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 350.

[162] *Fœdera* ed T. Rymer III. ii 621-2.

[163] Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 350.

[164] Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (Harlow, 1992), 43.

[165] Ibid., 111–2.

[166] Ormrod, *Edward III*, 414.

self-governance and responsibility.[167] Edward's plan for a hierarchy of demi-kings and lieutenants did not come to fruition but the pursuit of these goals maintained a positive relationship between Edward and his sons. Each of his sons were kept busy by their respective lands; Lionel, for example, spent almost five years in Ireland attempting to recall loyalty to the Plantagenet dynasty which was, as Green states, 'the longest period spent in Ireland by a member of the English royal family' up until that point.[168] Edward's effort to attempt to make these plans into reality, and the perception of such by his sons, was the most important part of this process. Edward had a role for his sons to play within his kingship which kept them occupied and would allow them some freedom as adult members of the royal family not only halted the problems which Henry II and William the Conqueror faced, but maintained a strong family bond.

Edward's marriage plan was successful with his other children during the late 1350s and early 1360s.[169] Margaret, Mary, Edmund and Thomas married as befitting their status as the younger children of the king – Margaret married the second Earl of Pembroke in 1359 and Thomas married Eleanor de Bohun in 1376 which brought substantial English lands and influence into the hands of the monarchy. Both Mary and Edmund married into prestigious Continental families – Mary married John duke of Brittany in 1361 after a betrothal lasting since their births and Edmund married the illegitimate daughter of the previous Castilian king Pedro in 1372.[170] Edward want to keep the de Montforts close to the English crown, specifically because he had given up his ancestral claims to Brittany with the Treaty of Brétigny, and John remarried after Mary's early death to Edward's step-granddaughter Joan Holland in 1366.[171] Edmund's wife was the sister of his brother John of Gaunt's wife, who was contesting the Castilian throne as the daughter of the previous monarch. Edward had recognised John's *jure uxoris* claim to the Castilian throne in 1372 and with Edmund's marriage to the younger daughter was clearly supporting his elder son's claim.[172] Whilst his younger children did not have the international political capital which his elder children did, Edward's younger children enabled him to make alliances through marriages which he would not have been able to consider had he only had the average of four children survive to adulthood. For example Edward may not have been able to justify marrying one of his elder children to the duke of Brittany in order to keep it within Plantagenet grasp, however his third daughter was perfect for this coupling.

Edward made the best use he could out of his many children through their marriages and their positions as close members of the royal family. Without their use as alliance-makers both at home and abroad Edward would not have been able to make other plans for his children – specifically the marriages of Lionel and John legitimised their claims to the territories with

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[167] Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272 - 1377*, Second Edition (London and New York, 2003), 246.

[168] Green, David, "Lordship and Principality: Colonial Policy in Ireland and Aquitaine in the 1360s," *Journal of British Studies* 47, no. 1 (2008): 8.

[169] G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1951), 9.

[170] Both Isabella and Constanza were daughters of Pedro and his mistress Maria de Padilla. The course of the Castilian throne had been disputed since 1366 by Pedro's half-brother Henry. After Pedro's death in 1369 Henry took the throne whilst his half-nieces and their husbands claimed it as Pedro's descendants.

[171] Michael Jones, "Montfort, John De, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond (d. 1399)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53088.

[172] Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe*, 112.

which Edward was attempting to create an empire. Edward managed to keep his children busy enough to stop them from becoming "Young Kings" and kept them satisfied with their political good fortune. Edward most importantly managed his son's entrances into their adult masculinities by carefully selecting their marriages and to give them increasing amounts of political rights and responsibilities when they were in their twenties or thirties. Edward managed his children more successfully than the other kings whom I discussed in Chapter One, but it was the personal relationship with his children which really made Edward a success as I shall discuss in Chapter Two Part Two.

Chapter Two, Part Two: The Fatherly King

Edward cultivated a personal relationship with his children which helped him to maintain the political relationship which I have already assessed. Ormrod assessed Edward's family life as 'a matter of genuine affection and unalloyed joy' and this can be seen in the way he treated his eldest children's marriages and the interactions he had with them throughout their lives.[173] As small children Edward appears to have been a 'doting parent': for example in 1331 Edward was extremely concerned that his infant son would have appropriate clothing in which to meet his maternal grandmother and aunt.[174] Later in life their children joined Edward and Philippa at the gambling tables for their evening entertainment.[175] Whilst it is impossible to accurately reconstruct the relationship between Edward and his children, this rare account of the domesticity of the royal family makes it difficult to deny close relationships within the family.

This strong connection during the children's childhood went on to make strong bonds between adults. Most significantly Edward III allowed his two eldest children –the children with the most utility in forming diplomatic alliances – to wait to marry, which was surprising given the political capital which they both had on the international marriage market as I have already discussed. Both Edward of Woodstock and Isabella of England married when they were at least thirty years old, an 'unconscionable age' for the heir to marry according to David Green, and they both seemingly married for love.[176] Edward of Woodstock married Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, in 1361. The marriage of Edward and Joan was problematic for several reasons: firstly Joan's status as a noble English woman with the title of Countess of Kent in her own right from 1352 made her a woman of good standing, but not good enough for the heir of the King of England, Scotland and France. Ideally Edward would have married a foreign bride as his predecessors did, due to the advantages which a foreign bride brought to the crown and this marriage was seen as, if nothing else, a 'lost political opportunity', which has been commonly argued in the historiography.[177] Secondly Edward and Joan were related within the restricted degrees of consanguinity – they were first cousins once removed as they both were descendants of Edward I, and Edward was godfather to Joan's eldest son. Being related within three or four degrees to your spouse was not uncommon for fourteenth century nobles, but the fact that one of the spouses was the heir to the English throne put a finer point on Joan not being a foreign bride who brought political advantages. Not only was Joan an inappropriate bride for the heir to the throne and related to her groom, she had what David Green has euphemistically termed 'a colourful past'.[178] Joan had been married twice before – to Sir Thomas Holland and to William Montagu. In the view of the public, Joan was initially married to William Montagu but after six or seven years of marriage Montagu's steward Sir Thomas Holland claimed that Joan had married him in secret before she married Montagu. Montagu and Joan's marriage was annulled by papal bull in 1349 and she proceeded to be recognised as Holland's wife. Sir Thomas died in late December 1360 and by mid-1361 Edward and Joan were betrothed which suggests that Edward

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[173] Ormrod, *Edward III*, 126–7.
[174] TNA E 101/385/20 found in Ormrod, *Edward III*, 130.
[175] TNA E 159/120, rot. 17d, found in Ormrod, *Edward III*, 131.
[176] Green, *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe*, 22.
[177] For example, his father married Philippa of Hainault, his grandfather married Isabella of France, his great-grandfather married Eleanor of Castile and Margaret of France etc. Post-Conquest there had not been a British-born Queen Consort before or since Matilda of Scotland, wife of Henry I.
Ibid.; Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 335.
[178] Green, *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe*, 22.

had waited for Joan to be available in order to marry after having known her since childhood.[179] A second embarrassment for the two Plantagenet sub-families was that Joan's father Edmund of Woodstock had rebelled against Edward II, his half-brother, and was instrumental in the rebellion of Isabella and Mortimer and the subsequent deposition of Edward II.[180] Joan's background and parentage was therefore an embarrassment for the royal family. The only positive for Edward marrying Joan was that she was proven to be fertile having already borne five children to Thomas Holland, of whom four were still alive when Joan married Edward.[181] Contemporary chroniclers such as the anonymous chronicler at Canterbury assumed that Edward was angry with his son for making such a poor match, understandably given the nature of the marriage, however, as Bevan stated, there is 'no evidence that Edward quarrelled with his son after the marriage' and the lack of an enduring or permanent rift between father and son suggests that Edward III held the attitude that either it was expedient to remain on his son's good side –after all, he had deposed his own father at a much earlier age than his eldest son was by his marriage; or that Edward was content that his heir had chosen his own bride, or a combination of these things.[182] Edward had actively helped his son and daughter-in-law to obtain the papal licenses necessary to legitimise their marriage by sending his own petition to the pope after his son's.[183] Edward of Woodstock's marriage both represented a problem and an achievement for Edward. As I have demonstrated the attainment of an adult masculinity for the king's heir was a problematic time for the king, which is what Edward of Woodstock's marriage represented. However the marriage was desired by his son and, as a father, Edward supported his son. The importance of this personal touch cannot be overstated as Edward had been given the means to overthrow his father by this point – Aquitaine was under Edward of Woodstock's control and he has the means to create his own dynasty, and it would have been a matter of waiting for the birth of son as Edward III had done to overthrow his regents (in all but name); except that Edward of Woodstock did not do so.

Isabella had been betrothed to the son of a Gascon lord in 1351, but simply refused to get on the ship which was to take her to her prospective groom and her marriage.[184] Edward pensioned her off in 1358 with 1000 marks, which was a remarkable sum on money for an unmarried daughter of the king of England, and allowed her to live as an active member of court, but an

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[179] As was appropriate for his station and age, Edward did not wait sexually for Joan – he had an illegitimate son by Edith de Willesford as well as at least two more illegitimate children, a boy and a girl. Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*, 10–14, 16, 165–6; Richard Barber, "Joan, Suo Jure Countess of Kent and Princess of Wales and of Aquitaine [called the Fair Maid of Kent] (c. 1328-1385)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14823; Leese, *Blood Royal: Issue of the Kings and Queens of Medieval England, 1066-1399*, 140, n. 3.

[180] Scott L. Waugh, "Edmund [of Woodstock], First Earl of Kent (1301-1330)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

[181] Barber, "Joan, Suo Jure Countess of Kent and Princess of Wales and of Aquitaine [called the Fair Maid of Kent] (c. 1328-1385)."

[182] *Chronicon Anonymi Cantuariensis - The Chronicle of Anonymous of Canterbury, 1346-1365*, eds C Scott-Stokes and Chris Given-Wilson (Oxford, 2008), 116–7; Bevan, *Edward III: Monarch of Chivalry*, 119.

[183] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope, 1342-419* (London, 1896), 376.

[184] Ormrod, "Edward III and His Family," 409; James L. Gillespie, "Isabella, Countess of Bedford (1332-1379)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14485; Mary Anne Everett Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England*, Volume 3 (London, 1857), 192.

unmarried one.[185] Whilst B. W. Tuchman states that Isabella did not agree to the marriage because she wanted to humiliate her father, it is more likely that Edward was happy for Isabella to decline the marriage because the advantage of marrying a d'Albret had passed for the English crown.[186] Between 1343 and 1359 Isabella was one of only two royal children to receive English lands, the other being Edmund of Langley.[187] I suggest that Edmund was given lands in order to equalise his status to that of his elder brothers and the reason that the other children did not receive lands was because the other sons died too young, except Thomas, and the other daughters were not worth bestowing lands on. Thomas here was an anomaly, although there may not have been enough lands left to bestow upon him which would have equalled him to his brothers and therefore Edward waited until more lands came into the royal hands so that he could bestow lands upon his youngest son. This demonstrates that Edward wanted his daughter to be a successful member of the landed elite and which placed Isabella in a unique position within the royal family. Edward clearly was satisfied with Isabella remaining unmarried and once again there could be two explanations. First of all, that Edward wished to restrict the fertility of his eldest daughter so that there would be no dynastic confusion between the sons' lines and her line as the throne should pass in an unbroken line of sons. The later she married, the less likely she would be to have a viable heir by the time of Edward's death. This explains why marrying four years after her brother – after the birth of his male heir – was acceptable as if he had produced a daughter and Isabella and another brother had both produced a son it would have been a difficult dynastic settlement. In Table Four however, I demonstrate that Edward continued to seek marriages for Isabella. This can be explained by two factors: firstly that the desired allies were changing from the mid-1330s onwards and Edward needed the flexibility to make new alliances as the war with France developed. Had Isabella married, her political capital as a bride would potentially have already been spent elsewhere, somewhere less than useful. Secondly Edward was able to use Isabella as bait to encourage his potential allies to believe that he was sincere without committing himself to a useless marriage. This can be seen in Isabella's betrothal to Bernard d'Albret, as I have already discussed above. The final explanation is that Edward was, as he was for Edward of Woodstock, happy for his eldest daughter to marry the man she had chosen for herself – Enguerrand de Coucy, French lord and prisoner at the English court at the time of their marriage.[188] This explanation would be supported by the fact that Edward ennobled de Coucy in England as Earl of Bedford in 1366 to complement his French title and lands, which he did not do for Mary's husband John de Montfort who was Duke of Brittany. I argue that this was Edward's blessing on Isabella and Enguerrand's marriage as he made Isabella's husband equal to and worthy of her in status within the English context with such a public statement of his willingness to make the marriage work. Edward, of course, may not have been entirely selfless in his support of his daughter and his actions may be seen as his implicit approval of his daughter's choice, or even the public proclamation of his explicit approval of her choosing a powerful French noble.[189]

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[185] Gillespie, "Isabella, Countess of Bedford (1332-1379)."

[186] B. W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century* (London, 1979), 91, 205; Lutkin, "Isabella de Coucy, Daughter of Edward III: The Exception Who Proves the Rule," 136.

[187] Gillespie, "Isabella, Countess of Bedford (1332-1379)."

[188] Leese, *Blood Royal: Issue of the Kings and Queens of Medieval England, 1066-1399*, 141.

[189] Lutkin, "Isabella de Coucy, Daughter of Edward III: The Exception Who Proves the Rule," 137.

Edward's lack of action against his children's marriages, and his actions promoting their unions, indicate a man who was comfortable with his children's choices, no matter what the reason. He accepted the fact that they chose their own partners and most likely saw the advantages of the respective bride and groom – Joan of Kent's proven fertility would maintain the dynasty which meant that Edward's political plans would not go to waste and Enguerrand's position as a lord in France brought a high status position for the king's daughter. These late marriages of Edward's eldest children had a political advantage in the fact that it controlled their fertility, sexuality and entrance into their adult identities which could have been problematic for Edward if they had entered it too soon.

Edward's personal relationship with his children, although difficult to reconstruct, is hinted at in the evidence of the way in which he treated his children. One of the most fruitful ways of reconstructing the relationship between Edward and his children is to consider how he mourned those who predeceased him. In contrast to the view of Philippe Ariès Edward's grief at their deaths is evident, particularly in the case of Joan's death in 1348 from the plague, regarding which there is an extant letter between him and Alfonso, King of Castile.[190] He wrote:

> …destructive Death… has lamentably snatched from both of us our dearest daughter (whom we loved best of all, as her virtues demanded). No fellow human being could be surprised if we were inwardly desolated by the sting of this bitter grief…[191]

Edward displayed his sadness for the court of Alfonso to witness which probably reflected genuine sorrow at the death of his daughter. The letter may however represent an attempt by Edward to maintain the alliance which would have been created had Joan and Peter married, as Edward still wanted a diplomatic tie to Castile, which would eventually be created through John and Edmund's marriages, and therefore his outpouring of grief may have been a cynical attempt at capturing Alfonso's sense of his own fatherhood. Whilst there may have been a mixture of these two reasons for his letter, the fact that the Black Death killed so many and killed all people equally must have meant that Edward was worried for all of his children, both on a personal level and as a king managing his heirs. Edward lost three children in 1348 due to the plague – his fourteen year old daughter Joan, who died en route to her marriage in Castile; his one-year-old son Thomas of Windsor and the two-month-old William of Windsor. Not only that, but by 1361-2 the Black Death had become the Grey Death, or the 'plague of children', which affected children, infants and young men more than any other group, and this would have been an even more terrifying prospect for a man who had three boys in their early twenties and a son aged just six who were all at risk.[192] Edward also displayed his grief publically at the deaths of other family members, particularly his children, such as William of Hatfield whose funeral cost the 'not inconsiderable sum of £142 3s. 10d.'[193] Edward was also the first monarch to memorialise the deaths in the royal family with alabaster figures. More commonly alabaster was used for devotional sculpture; Edward may be drawing a link between those who he memorialised –

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[190] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York, 1962), 40.
[191] Rosemary Horrox, ed., *The Black Death* (Manchester, 1994), 250.
[192] Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* (London, 2003), 212; Jim Bolton, "'The World Upside Down': Plague as an Agent of Economic and Social Change," in *The Black Death in England*, by W. Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley (Stamford, 1996), 27–8. See Table Two, p. 50.
[193] Mark Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, 2011), 128.

Edward II, John of Eltham and William of Hatfield – and the saints.[194] Edward attempted to glorify the dead members of his family and elevate them on to the same level of the venerated saints which not only demonstrates the importance of those individuals to Edward, but also glorified the royal family into a saintly family, reflecting that of the Holy Family. Edward could present himself as the grieving, doting father which would have helped his reputation during the Black Death as he was seen to be suffering alongside his people. The deaths of his children were also probably difficult personal occasions given the amount of socialising Edward did with his progeny.

Edward cultivated strong relationships with his children from an early age which kept the family a strong unit into adulthood. This personal relationship is what marked Edward III out from his predecessors, although Edward I had a strong relationship with his daughters. It was this aspect of Edward's relationship with his children which meant that Edward did not suffer the same fate which Henry II or William the Conqueror suffered. The combination of Edward's plan for his children's marriages and lordships which had been a hallmark of all of the kings previously studied with such a strong personal connection meant that the only thing which could, and did, interrupt Edward's plans was circumstance.

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[194] Ibid., 109.

Chapter Three: The Royal Family and the Family Image

As I have discussed Edward learned how to be a father and then performed his version of fatherhood which was very successful in addressing the problems of the kings who came before him. Edward also performed fatherhood in a more conscious way and created himself and the his family as the ideals of their trope. The royal family was essential to Edward's image as king and this aspect of his public identity was something that Edward used throughout his reign; as Mortimer indicates, he 'knew the value of publicity'.[195] Edward created his family as the perfect royal family with the ideal queen and 'archetypal wife and mother' in Philippa; the ideal knightly king in Edward; and their abundance of knightly and maidenly offspring.[196] This image was created through and for special public events, such as Philippa's churchings and the enduring image of the person in death: the tomb. As Shenton states, Philippa's churchings were an 'ideal opportunity' to communicate the desired message to a 'receptive audience' because the very theme of the occasion was the celebration of the birth of a child, specifically Edward's child.[197]

Another Mary – Philippa and the Perfect Queen

Essential to Edward's public image as the perfect kingly father was the portrayal of Philippa as the ideal motherly queen. If Philippa was not presented as the ideal queen, Edward's own image would have suffered. Part of being the ideal queen was being a mother, and she successfully negotiated the intersection of the characteristics of being a perfect queen and of being a perfect mother – she acted as the mother of the nation by interceding in the lives of her subjects for their benefit, she produced many healthy children, particularly males who would be heirs, and she supported her husband in his endeavours – which in this case meant not interfering in the business of running the country, in contrast to her predecessor and mother-in-law, Isabella. I have named this confluence of female ideals in Philippa "Another (Virgin) Mary" due to the links with both of these aspects with Marian imagery as explored by John Carmi Parsons.[198]

The pregnant Philippa was created as the intercessor queen; a popular queenly image in the earlier Middle Ages, particularly from the early thirteenth century onwards.[199] As early in her role as queen as 1328, Philippa interceded in the case of a young girl in York who had been convicted of theft and obtained a pardon for her.[200] Women and girls were often the

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[195] Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 273.

[196] W. Mark Ormrod, "Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity: England in the Later Middle Ages," in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Cardiff, 2004), 178.

[197] Caroline Shenton, "Philippa of Hainault's Churchings: The Politics of Motherhood at the Court of Edward III," in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England*, by Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas (Donnington, 2003), 111.

[198] Parsons, John Carmi, "The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood," in *Medieval Mothering, Medieval Motherers*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York and London, 1996), 42 – 44.

[199] For discussions of the creation of the ideal queen, images of queens and their role(s) as queen, see, for example, Lois L. Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, by Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (Urbana, 1995), 126–46; Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*; Janet L. Nelson, "Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, 1997), 301–16; Stafford, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries"; Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*.

[200] Jeffrey Hamilton, *Plantagenets: History of a Dynasty* (London, 2010), 140.

beneficiaries of Philippa's intercession during her tenure as queen.[201] In 1331 the pregnant Philippa begged for the lives of the carpenters whose scaffold had broken with the royal party on it at a tournament in Cheapside at which Edward wanted to execute those responsible for the scaffold's failure.[202] Edward relented and Philippa's image as the intercessor was cemented. It is through this practice of interceding with the king and his representative on behalf of those unfairly attacked that Philippa is seen to be mothering the subjects of the English crown, and particularly for those who could not speak up for themselves. This intercession allowed Edward to display the feminised virtues of 'peacemaking, love, mercy and reconciliation' without jeopardising his own masculinity which was a 'normative and normal' practice of kings and queens in this period.[203] Philippa as the ideal queen allowed Edward to fully exploit the limits of his kingship and to avoid the criticisms of an unjust king without seeming weak.

Philippa provided Edward with an extensive clutch of children, including several male heirs and therefore fulfilled the main part of her role as queen. She spent most of her adult life and marriage pregnant, with over a dozen children born to her. The exhibition of Philippa as a model of queenly ideal was linked to her fertility. As Caroline Shenton has explored, the opportunities of the many births of their children were ripe for exploiting for the royal image. Not only were the births of their children good for their diplomatic plans but they had 'immediate political capital' with which to promote Philippa's churchings were big, public spectacles through which it was possible to 'promote specifically chosen images of queenship, fertility, and dynasty'.[204] The churchings were an expensive occasion. For the churching after the birth of Edward of Woodstock, receipts totalled £2042 17s. 2 1/2 d., although this cannot be taken as indicative of the spending for the churchings of all of Edward and Philippa's children as Edward of Woodstock was the first child and the first male, and therefore had to be particularly splendid.[205] Edward and Philippa had matching robes of purple velvet embroidered with golden squirrels with images of animals and mythical beasts on the counterpanes and lined with various furs, as described by Staniland.[206] Through these opulent clothes the royal couple was created in an image of complementary femininity and masculinity, of fertility and of the glory and splendour of the crown. Lisa Benz St John argues that this image was achieved by the emphasis not on dynasty and the succession, but on 'the domestic family' as the imagery was not focused on the Plantagenet dynasty but of family and family ties.[207] The reflection of each other in the robes was also a public reminder that the queen's power derived from her 'intimate relationship with the king's body' which further emphasised the family imagery due to the sexual and personal

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[201] Ibid.

[202] Richard Barber, ed., *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince: From Contemporary Letters, Diaries and Chronicles, Including Chandos Herald's Life of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, 1986), 18.

[203] Ormrod, "Monarchy, Martyrdom and Masculinity: England in the Later Middle Ages," 175.

[204] Shenton, "Philippa of Hainault's Churchings: The Politics of Motherhood at the Court of Edward III," 105; Benz St. John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth Century England*, 101.

[205] TNA E/101/384/20 found in Shenton, "Philippa of Hainault's Churchings: The Politics of Motherhood at the Court of Edward III," 108.

[206] Kay Staniland, *Embroiderers* (Toronto, 1991), 23.

[207] Benz St. John, p. 101.

nature of the said relationship.[208] The realm was reminded, through these repeated churchings, of Edward's success as a father and of his image as the father.

Edward and Philippa were created as the perfect family through the image of Philippa as the ideal queen and as the mother of his children. This was done publically through presenting Philippa as the interceding queen and through the spectacle of the churching after the births of their children. With Philippa as the ideal wife, queen and mother, their children would be part of the ideal family and Edward could be created as the ideal father, in a complementary fashion to his wife's perfection, which became the enduring image of Edward through his tomb.

Tomb

Edward's tomb is a testament not only to the king, but to his representation as a father. The tomb decoration proclaims Edward as father; the location proclaims him as king and a part of a dynasty. His tomb chest was once surrounded by twelve weepers; statues of his children.[209] Today, only the south side of the tomb chest still contains weepers, but the niches of the missing six remain. The use of weepers has some basis in other similar tombs, such as that of John of Eltham and Philippa of Hainault's tombs, but Edward's tomb is the only one to include just his own children.[210] Philippa's weepers included three different generations of her family – her parents, her siblings and her children and John of Eltham's weepers emphasised his 'England and French royal ancestry' and were both used to identify the subject of the tomb through their familial links.[211] I argue that the weepers on both Philippa and John's tombs justify their presence in the most hallowed English royal burial place – Westminster Abbey. Philippa's noble background is emphasised through the weepers of her parents and siblings, as well as her links to other royal and noble houses through her natal family. Secondly her children justify her place in the English monarchical dynasty as she birthed them. For John of Eltham the emphasis on his royal blood on both the English and French sides could have been a denial of the allegations that Edward had his brother killed in a rage, which appears in John of Fordun's account of the Scottish campaign in 1336, and a demonstration of the love which Edward had for his brother.[212] Although the weeper design was evidently not unique to Edward's tomb it is significant that the tradition of the type of weepers was broken for his tomb – his children were enough to identify him and to proclaim his glory.[213] The tomb was also a proclamation of the royal family perfection as the children are in supplication to God on behalf of, or to, their parents; respectful, prayerful and youthful.[214]

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[208] Pauline Stafford, "Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, 1997), 10.
[209] Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England*, 149.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid., 111.
[212] John of Fordun, *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, ed. F. J. H. Skene and W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1872), 353; Thomas Beaumont Jones, "John of Eltham, History and Story: Abusive International Discourse in Late Medieval England, Scotland and France," in *Fourteenth Century England*, ed. Given-Wilson, Chris, vol. 2 (Woodbridge, 2002), 66 – 80; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 126.
[213] Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England*, 111.
[214] Orme, *Medieval Children*, 82.

The second aspect of Edward's tomb which exploited the family semiology for his public image was that the location was resonant with Plantagenet dynastic imagery and with kingly semiology. Edward was aware of the importance of his legacy after death and he chose his tomb location accordingly. He wanted to be buried in Westminster Abbey 'close to the sepulchre of his esteemed grandfather', who in turn had wanted to be buried near another Edward, Edward the Confessor, with whom Edward I was linked through his own father, Henry III.[215] Henry was very involved in the cult of Edward the Confessor and translated his relics into a more glorious tomb in 1269 as well as renovating Westminster Abbey.[216] Initially Henry's body was placed in the space so recently vacated by the remains of the Confessor, in the tomb behind the high altar, but in 1290 was moved to the existing tomb.[217]

VI.—Chapel of St. Edward.

1. Henry the Third, 1272.
2. Queen Eleanor, 1290.
3. Henry the Fifth, 1423.
4. Queen Philippa, 1369.
5. Edward the Third, 1377.
6. Margaret Woodville, Daughter of Edward the Fourth, on which is placed a Sword and Shield of State, carried before Edward the Third, 1316.
7. Richard the Second and Queen, 1399, 1394.
8. Coronation Chair of Edward the First, 1297.
9. Coronation Chair made for Mary, Wife of William the Third.
10. Tomb of Edward the First, 1307.
11. Shrine of Edward the Confessor, 1065.
12. Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, 1397.
13. John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, 1388. Pavement laid down in 1260.
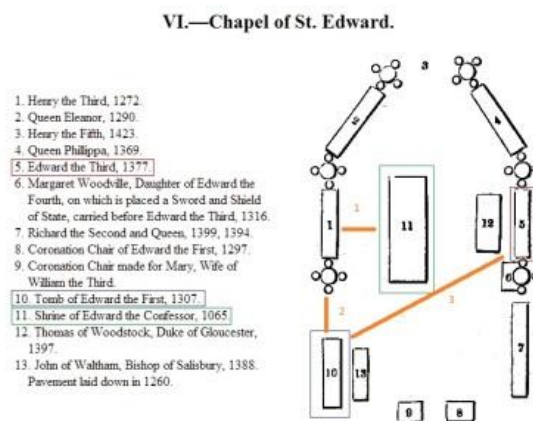
Figure 1. A diagram of the The Chapel of St Edward in Westminster Abbey, taken from Historical Description of Westminster Abbey: Its Monuments and Curiosities. [218]

As can be seen from Figure 1 of The Chapel of St. Edward in Westminster Abbey, Edward chose a prime location to be associated with the two Edwards he wanted to create a link with.[219] He associated himself with these two other excellent kings and not only did he glorify his own reign by doing so, but also justified his rule through the line of succession. This way of thinking became quite popular with later Plantagenet kings and, as Steane points out, '[g]radually, a dynastic aura developed as successive Plantagenets were interred [at Westminster Abbey]' and it became the singular place to be buried for Plantagenet kings.[220] The orange lines on the diagram indicate the links between the men buried in this chapel. Line 1 indicates that Henry III was inspired by Edward the Confessor to name his son Edward; line 2 indicates that Edward I is buried next to Henry III; line 3 indicates that Edward II was inspired to name his own son Edward

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[215] Ormrod, *Edward III*, 102; Ormrod, "Edward III and His Family," 400; John Steane, *Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (London, 1998), 46, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/uoh/docDetail.action?docID=10061010; Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 336.

[216] Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 558, 565, 567–576.

[217] Ibid., 589 and n. 1 ibid. .

[218] *Historical Description of Westminster Abbey: Its Monuments and Curiosities* (London, 2012), 34, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/41195/41195-h/41195-h.htm.

[219] Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England*, 145.

[220] Steane, *Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*, 42.

after his father.[221] This physical manifestation of the kingly lineage highlights the importance of royal fathers within the structure of the monarchy and the ways in which dynasty, the extended royal family as it were, was essential to the legitimate kingship of medieval monarchs. Whilst he could not claim the link of dynasty to Edward the Confessor, Edward III could make the explicit blood-link with his grandfather Edward I, and through him, 'Edward, the first of his name since the Conquest', Edward could be linked with Edward the Confessor through their shared name.[222]

The "Edwards"

The name "Edward" was extremely important during the Edward's reign as it drew together the family and dynasty is an explicit way – the name acted as a touchpoint for Edward's use of the dynasty and the kings who had come before him during his reign. Edward consciously emulated the example of his grandfather and he publically drew attention to the similarities between himself and Edward I. For example, at his coronation in Westminster Abbey Edward had the tomb of his grandfather covered in a cloth of gold which, as the only tomb resplendent in gold, would have naturally drawn the eyes of the witnesses to the young man's crowning.[223] Hamilton suggests that this predicted the 'lifelong affinity' which Edward would have with his grandfather.[224] As Michael Prestwich points out, 'Edward was an unusual name in thirteenth-century England'.[225] Yet it was the influence of the cult of Edward the Confessor on Henry III which started the succession of five royal fathers and sons.[226] Ironically Edward the Confessor was not himself a father and so it would seem to be an accident of the Confessor's popularity with Henry III that this Old English-derived name came to be an integral part of the Plantagenet dynasty. Although, as argued by Pat Cullum, Edward the Confessor's virginity was 'presented not as a denial of sexuality, but as a necessary precondition for the proper performance of sexuality by others' and therefore the evocation of his name was an appropriate use of it.[227] Edward's pursuit of both France and Scotland were attempts to restore the lands and glory which his grandfather had held in a hitherto unrepeated golden age of (attempted) dominance over the countries adjacent to England.[228] Edward was extremely well informed about the actions of his grandfather and was thus aware of the 'historical context of his new strategy' in Scotland.[229] This was not merely research into his grandfather's policy; he was inspired by his grandfather and

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[221] Ibid., 45.

[222] As Prestwich points out in his *Plantagenet England* (Oxford, 2005), the fact that a cult developed around Edward the Confessor as the ideal king is 'odd' given his lack of successful military campaigns and his failure to create and maintain a dynasty. Having said that, in some ways Edward the Confessor was more of an ideal king than the previous statement gives him credit for, given that he was a saintly king.

[223] Hamilton, *Plantagenets: History of a Dynasty*, 137.

[224] Ibid.

[225] Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272 - 1377*, 2003, 5.

[226] Ibid.

I have counted Edward of Woodstock and Edward of Angoulême as part of the unbroken line of Edwards, despite neither of them outliving their fathers or becoming king because they were both intended to inherit.

[227] Cullum, "'Give Me Chastity': Masculinity and Attitudes to Chastity and Celibacy in the Middle Ages," 627.

[228] Ormrod, *Edward III*, 147.

[229] Ibid., 148; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, eds J. Bain, G. G. Simpson, and Galbraith, vol. 5 (Edinburgh, 1881), 259.

was attempting to emulate his policies, and to finally succeed where Edward I had failed.[230] It could have been to over-write history and remove suggestions that kings could fail.[231] Edward's attempts to link with his grandfather were not limited to his battles in Scotland or his tomb however; Edward also cultivated a link between the crown and St George following the example of his grandfather by creating St George as the emblem of the Order of the Garter.[232] The name "Edward" therefore drew together several generations of Plantagenets and the generations of kings who came before Edward III and placed him within a long tradition of rulers which augmented his own reputation.

In all of these situations Edward was either consciously performing the role of the father for a public audience and identifying himself as one father in a long line of fathers, or having that identity placed upon him, as with his tomb. The enduring image which was selected to represent Edward after death and to the illiterate masses was that of the father. This indicates that Edward was well-known as a father, his weepers even communicating his identity to the people whose lives were not connected to the king beyond his overlordship, and it was the occasions such as Philippa's churchings which cemented this reputation. The longevity of his image as father indicates the utmost importance of being a father to Edward and to a king. Throughout his reign Edward's children were inextricably linked to everything he did, and especially his successes – the beginning of his majority rule was heralded by the birth of his first son, his successes at Crécy and at Poitiers were the successes of his eldest son; his alliances across Europe were the result of his children's marriages; and his attempted creation of a Plantagenet Empire was headed by his sons, just for a few examples. Edward was publicising the importance of his children within his reign and using it as a political tool in order to allow him to make the most of his kingship and masculinity.

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[230] Ormrod, *Edward III*, 148–9; Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 11.
[231] Mortimer, *The Perfect King: The Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation*, 282.
[232] Hugh E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), 20.

Conclusion

Edward's success was the extent of the personal relationship which he had with his children. I argue that his acceptance of his eldest two children's marriages was the defining feature of his fatherhood because he managed the balance between political gain and personal gain perfectly. This was neither failure nor mismanagement which has been argued, but recognition of his role as a parent and it was even a successful political strategy because it kept his eldest son and daughter happy. Edward addressed everything which was a problem for his kingly predecessors – firstly he was a strong king with a strong military record and thus could not be challenged in that arena unlike Henry III and Edward II, and crucially he had fathered children unlike Richard II. Secondly Edward managed the masculinities of his sons successfully which avoided the problem which Henry II and William the Conqueror faced: the conflicting masculinities of father and son produced by a mismanagement of the son as he grew into his masculinity which unavoidably resulted in tension and even in explicit conflict. Edward managed the masculinities of his sons by having a clear marriage strategy which gave them status, estates and resources in order to be lordly, as well as creating them as men in the eyes of their peers but which kept them busy and satisfied, and critically were unable or unwilling to oppose him. As Michael Bennett accurately stated, Edward managed to strike the right balance between promoting the 'interests of his lineage' with promoting 'harmony within the family' which was what marked him out from the medieval kings who went before him.[233] This domestic harmony had two effects: firstly it broke the connection with the previous reign in which chaos brought Edward to the throne within a royal family which was fighting amongst themselves, and secondly it meant that Edward was able to rely on the support of his family unlike Henry II, William the Conqueror and Henry III. This enabled Edward to focus his attention elsewhere, rather than being distracted by in-fighting and squabbling which could be exploited by his enemies, as William the Conqueror found.

Along with Edward's deliberate support of his two eldest children, the other thing which marks Edward out from his peers was his use of the public image of father. Edward communicated to the realm that his identity was that of "father" on the public stage which was important for his kingship because it was so different to other kings. In living, or recent memory, there had been the failure and weakling who had been Edward II and before him was Edward I, Hammer of the Scots, who had been a superb military commander. Whilst these descriptions are reductive of two complex reigns over fifty five years, people are inevitably remembered for either their highest high or lowest low. Edward's image of "father" was a positive attribute which could not be erased by later failures, such as a reputation built on military success. His role as father also allowed Edward to act in a way which could have contravened his masculinity; allowing his children to marry for love could have been seen as a weakness or failure on his part, however if it was within his role as father it was more acceptable.

Edward would not have been such as successful king without the three aspects of his fatherhood which I have discussed: his political management of his children as royal resources; his strong personal connection with his children, built from their early childhood; and Edward's identification as a father on a public stage. Overall, I conclude that fatherhood was essential to Edward III's reign and to his masculinity.

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[233] Michael Bennett, "Edward III's Entail and the Succession to the Crown 1377-1471," *The English Historical Review* 113, no. 452 (June 1998): 584.

Appendices

Table One – Number of Children of English Kings and Relatives

All data have been collected from T. Anna Leese's *Blood Royal*, unless otherwise stated.

Name	Total children (illegitimate) – survived past 10 years (illegitimate)[234]
Edward I	21 – 8
Edward II	5 (1) – 5 (1)
Edward III	12 (3) – 9 (3)
Edward of Woodstock	3 (3) 1 (2)
Lionel of Antwerp	1 – 1
John of Gaunt	13 (4)[235] – 13 (4)
Edmund of Langley	3 – 3
Thomas of Woodstock	5 – 4
John de Southray	0
Richard II	0

Table Two – Issue of Edward III by Mother

Mother[236]	Name	Dates
Philippa of Hainault	Edward of Woodstock	15 June 1330 – 8 June 1376
	Isabella of England	16 June 1332 – 1382[237]
	Joan of England	February 1334 – 2 September 1348
	William of Hatfield	16 February 1337 – 8 July 1337
	Lionel of Antwerp	29 November 1338 – 7 October 1368
	John of Gaunt	6 March 1340 – 3 February 1399
	Edmund of Langley	5 June 1341 – 1 August 1401
	Blanche of the Tower	1342 – 1342
	Mary of Waltham	10 October 1344 – 1362
	Margaret of Windsor	20 July 1346 – 1361
	Thomas of Windsor	1347 – 1348
	William of Windsor	24 June 1348 – 5 September 1348
	Joan	1351 – 1351
	Thomas of Woodstock	7 January 1355 – 8/9 September 1397
Alice Perrers	John de Southeray	1364 – 1381
	Joan	? – April 1437
	Jane	? – ?

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[234] Leese, *Blood Royal: Issue of the Kings and Queens of Medieval England, 1066-1399.*

[235] John of Gaunt had the children by his then mistress Katherine Swynford legitimised after he married her. However, as the children were illegitimate at birth, I have included them in the illegitimate count.

[236] Leese also lists Nicholas Litlynton, Abbot of Westminster as an illegitimate son of Edward III but more recent research has placed him as a member of the Despenser family, a son of a 'Hugh and Joan', and therefore I have not included him here. Leese, *Blood Royal: Issue of the Kings and Queens of Medieval England, 1066-1399*, 182; Barbara F. Harvey, "Litlynton, Nicholas (b. before 1315, D. 1386)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16775.

[237] The date of Isabella's death is contested. Jessica Lutkin puts forward a convincing case for 1382, as opposed to the earlier date of 1379 which I have used. Lutkin, "Isabella de Coucy, Daughter of Edward III: The Exception Who Proves the Rule," 131–133.

Table Three – Marriages of Edward III's Children by Year

Year	Child	Age	Type of spouse	Name	Marriage
1352 [238]	Lionel	14	Local	Elizabeth de Burgh	1
1359	John	19	Local	Blanche of Lancaster	1
	Margaret	13	Local	John Hastings, earl of Pembroke	1
1361	Edward	31	Local	Joan of Kent	1
	Mary	17	Foreign	John de Montfort, duke of Brittany	1
1365	Isabella	33	Foreign[239]	Enguerrand de Coucy	1
1368	Lionel	30	Foreign	Violante of Milan	2
1371	John	31	Foreign	Constanza of Castile	2
1372	Edmund	31	Foreign	Isabella of Castile	1
1376	Thomas	21	Local	Eleanor de Bohun	1
1393	Edmund	52	Local	Joan Holland	2
1396	John	56	Local (mistress)	Katherine Swynford	3

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[238] Lionel and Elizabeth consummated their marriage in this year and therefore were considered to have been married in the eyes of the Church from that point onwards. Jennifer C. Ward *Medieval World: English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (Abingdon, 2013), p. 13.

[239] The prestige which was associated with the fact that her husband was a foreign noble is negated here as he was a prisoner of the English crown at the time, although he was made a Duke in England by his father-in-law at the time of their marriage, returned his ancestral lands in England and released as a prisoner to take up his lordship in France. See Chapter Three.

Table Four – Betrothal Attempts

Data collected from the Calendar of Patent Rolls Vols 2-11 as well as Leese.[240]

Year	Child	Betrothal attempt	Success?
1331	Edward	Daughter of King Philip VI of France	N
	Edward	Joan, daughter of Philip VI of France	N
1332	Edward	Joan, daughter of Philip VI of France	N
1335	Isabella	First born son of Alfonso, king of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Sevilla, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen and Algarves	N
	Joan	First-born son of the Duke of Austria (Otto)	N
	Joan	Frederick, the first-born son of the Duke of Austria	N
1337	Joan	First-born son of Lewis, Count of Flanders	N
1338	Isabella	First-born son of Lewis, Count of Flanders	N
1339	Isabella	Lewis, the first-born son of Lewis, Count of Flanders	N
1340	Edward	Margaret, daughter of John, duke of Lorraine, Brabant and Limburg, marquis of the Holy Empire	N
1341	Lionel	Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster	Y
1345	Edward (or any other of the king's sons)	Daughter of Alfonso, king of Portugal and Algarves	N
1347	Edward	Leonora, daughter of Alfonso, king of Portugal and Algarves	N
	Isabella	Son of Lewis, count of Flanders	N
	Joan	Peter, son of Alfonso, king of Castile.	Y
1349	Isabella	Charles, king of the Romans	N
1362	Edmund	Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, daughter of Lewis count of Flanders	N
1365	Edmund	Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, daughter of Lewis count of Flanders	N
1366	Lionel	Violanta, daughter of Galeazzo, lord of Milan	Y
1374	Thomas	Eleanor de Bohun	Y

N.B. 'N' indicates that the marriage did not occur. 'Y' indicates that the marriage did occur.

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[240] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III 1330 - 1361*, Volumes 2–11 (London, 1891-1916).

Table Five – Grandchildren of Edward III

Year	Grandchild	Parent
1355	Philippa of Ulster (16 August 1355 – 7 January 1381/2)	Lionel
1360	Philippa of Lancaster (31 March 1360 – 19 July 1415)	John
1362	John (1362/4 – died young)	John
1363	Elizabeth of Lancaster (21 February 163 – 24 November 1425)	John
1365	Edward of Angoulême (27 January 1365 – 1372)	Edward
	Edward (1365/8 – died young)	John
1366	John (before 4 May 1366 – died young)	John
	Mary de Coucy (April 1366 – 1404)	Isabella
	Henry of Bolingbroke (4 April 1366 – 20 March 1413)	John
1367	Richard of Bordeaux (6 January 1367 – February 1400)	Edward
	Philippa de Coucy (1367 – October 1411)	Isabella
1368	Isabel (1368 – died young)	John
1370	John Beaufort (1370/3 – 16 March 1409/10)	John (KS)
1373	Catherine of Lancaster (31 March 1373 – 2 June 1418)	John (2nd wife)
	Edward of Norwich (1373 – 25 October 1415)	Edmund
1374	Constance Plantagenet (1374 – 28 November 1416)	Edmund
	John (1374 – died young)	John (2nd wife)
1375	Richard of Cambridge (September 1375 – 5 August 1415)	Edmund
	Henry Beaufort (1375 – 11 April 1447)	John (KS)
1377	Thomas Beaufort (January 1377 – 31 December 1426)	John (KS)
1379	Joan Beaufort (1379 – 13 November 1440)	John (KS)
1382	Humphrey (April 1382 – 2 September 1399)	Thomas
1383	Anne of Gloucester (April 1383 – 16 October 1438)	Thomas

N.B. '(KS)' denotes Katherine Swynford.

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