


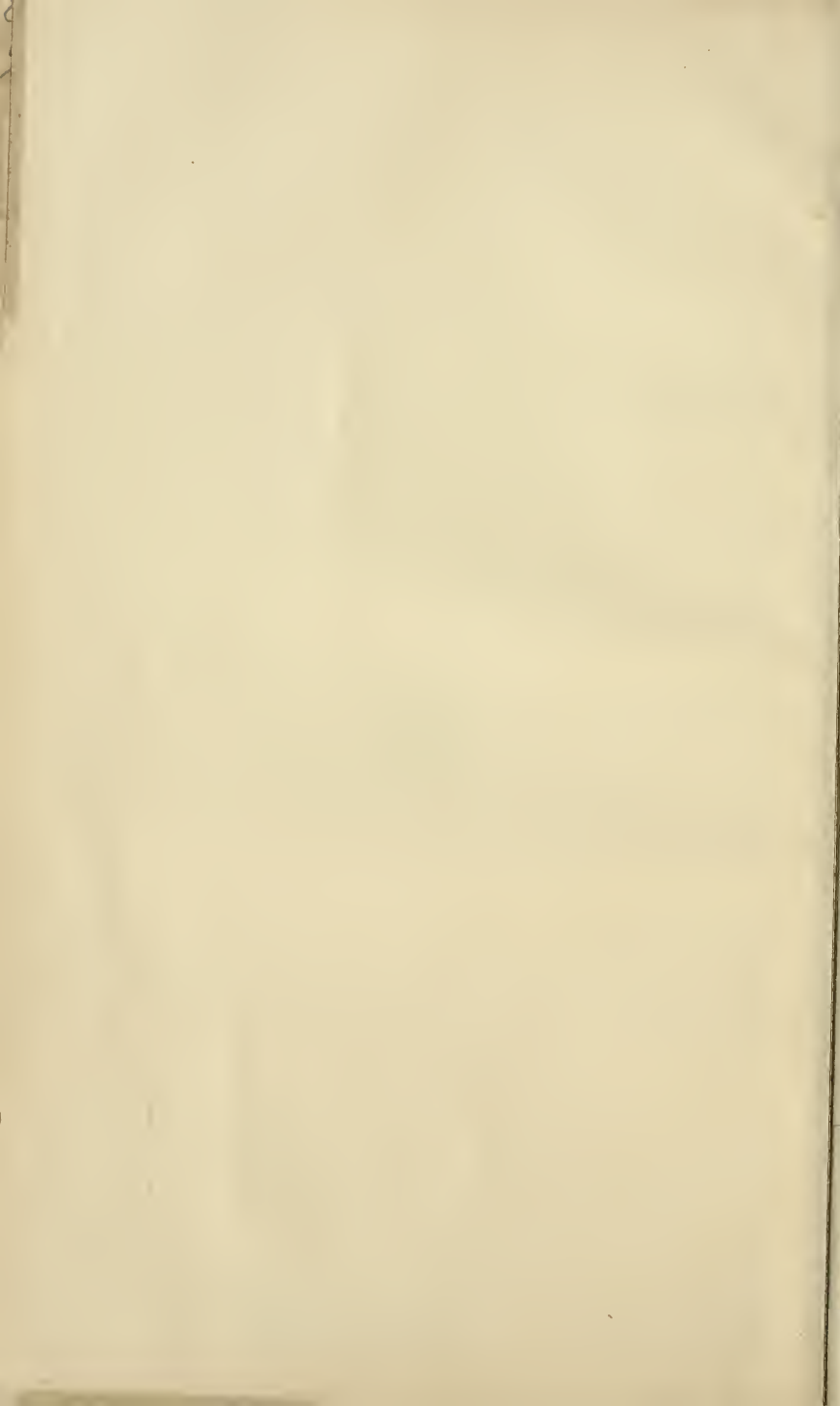
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HEIRS OF THE ROYAL HOUSE OF BALIOL.

I propose to give a few observations on the history and representation of the Royal House of Baliol. No family which attained the pre-eminence of royalty has been subject to such gross inaccuracies. It may be thought that this is not a matter of much moment to us; but that would be begging the question. Is truth of any value, and is history of no more use when proved true, than when full of error? Is it not a curious speculation to see who, *by divine right*, should have inherited these realms, as representing the munificent Dervorgilda, the foundress of Baliol College, and, through her, the aboriginal Kings of Scotland, and the Saxon Kings of England? In short, if we look back from the mere passing events and politics of the day, and read anything besides newspapers, magazines, and novels, why not rectify long continued mistakes, and elucidate controverted points regarding personages who ought to be more interesting to us, than many whose history is deemed of importance, merely because they lived a little more remotely either as to time or place?

The late Mr Surtees, the distinguished antiquarian, in his invaluable History of the County Palatine of Durham, has done much to throw light upon that subject, as upon every other which came within his range; but Mr Surtees' work being in three thick folio volumes, enriched with plates, with a fourth added since his death, is not generally accessible.

The oldest blunder of consequence respecting this family regards their alliance with the Lords of Galloway, Constables of Scotland, and, through them, with the ancient kings.

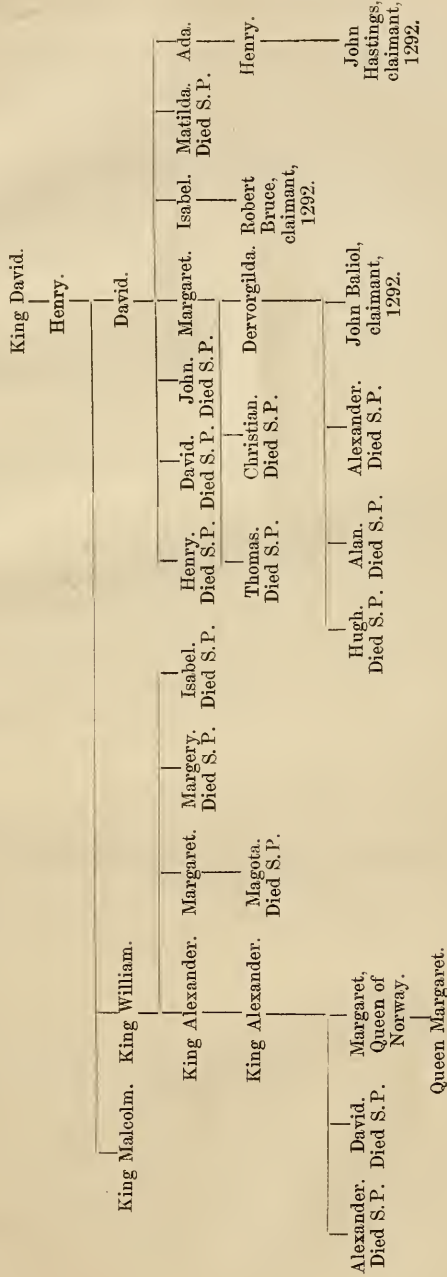


The English Heralds of former times,—perhaps not enquiring with much zeal as to a Scotch descent,—with a view to verify a preconceived notion, transposed Alan, Lord of Galloway's three daughters, and made Margaret of Scotland mother of them all, viz.:—1. Dervorgilda, married John Baliol; 2. Christian, married William, Earl of Albemarle; 3. Helen, married Roger de Quinci, Earl of Winchester. But this is all wrong. It is surprising that so much confusion should prevail as to these sisters, when the explanatory claim of Dervorgilda's son, John Baliol, is so fully and clearly given in Rymer's *Fœdera*.* He there states that his mother was younger than Christian, who died without issue; and he takes no notice of Helen. As he has evidently given a list of all the descendants of his grandmother, Margaret, as heirs of the Crown before himself, the accuracy of which was never impugned; and as Helen, Countess of Winchester, brought to her iron-hearted husband the Lordship of Galloway, and the office of Constable, which, it was not disputed, descended to her as heir to her father, Alan; it is clear that she must have been Alan's eldest daughter by a previous wife, now unknown, and that Dervorgilda transmitted her mother's claim to the Crown entire to her son.†

* Baliol's claim enumerates several persons not mentioned elsewhere, and rectifies an error of the great English authority, Dugdale, respecting Margaret, daughter of King William the Lion, one of the five wives of the eminent Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent. It is there shewn that Margaret had only one child, Magota, who died without issue, and this must have been the true state of the case, otherwise no claim would have accrued either to Baliol or Bruce. Yet Dugdale, confused by such uxoriousness, and not adverting to so decisive a proof, has given all Hubert's numerous descendants the royal blood. It may be observed, however, that this honour was soon acquired by some of his posterity through his grandson's wife.

† It is singular that the proof of this remote point produces one heraldic effect even in the present day, as it cuts off a number of the great families in England from the Kings of Scotland, and blots out the quartering of the Royal arms, which, in England, has been improperly assumed or allowed. The greatest amateur herald in England, William Penn, who has long been aware of the error, thinks that the Earl of Stamford, who is descended from the Countess of Winchester's eldest daughter, must have obtained his grant of the Unicorns as supporters on the untenable plea of his having thus a royal pedigree.

JOHN BALIOL'S CLAIM TO THE CROWN ARRANGED IN THE FORM OF A TABLE, FROM RYMER'S FŒDERA,
VOL. I., PART II., P. 776.





Having now proved that John Baliol's mother, Dervorgilda, became the sole heir of Margaret of Scotland, the next point for discussion is—Who are the representatives of these illustrious but vain pretensions? This point has been hitherto left in obscurity, or in error. Mr Tytler, the indefatigable historian of Scotland, is inclined to revive the old story, that William, the first Earl of Douglas, succeeded to his rights. But in attempting to make this good, he has varied from the tradition that his claim came by his mother, and now derives it through his wife. But this is equally objectionable.

1. Alexander de Baliol, of Cavers, was not, as Mr Tytler assumes, the brother of King John, but a quite different person. Alexander, the brother, was *elder* than John, and is shewn by the claim to be then dead, without issue. In fact, he died in 1279, leaving Eleanor de Genoure, his widow.—*Rymer*, Vol. I., P. II., p. 779; *Surtees*, p. 60.—The other Alexander, the cousin, was a knight, who bore arms of different tinctures, married Isabel, Countess-Dowager of Athol, survived the King's accession in 1292, was summoned to the English Parliament as a Baron till 1307, when he died, and was father of another Alexander de Baliol, of Cavers,—*Surtees*, p. 58, 59—and also of Thomas Baliol, of Cavers, who survived his cousin, Edward, three years, without making any claim, and died without issue in 1368.

2. Isabel, Countess of Mar, mother to the wife of the Earl of Douglas, was not a Baliol, as Mr Tytler would make her, but a Stewart.—*Rymer*, 3d March, anno 1338. Donald, Earl of Mar, her first husband, was killed in 1332. William de Careswell was not, as Mr Tytler asserts, her second, but her third husband, her second being Geoffry de Moubray.—*Rymer*, anno 1334, 1335.—There appears to have been some alliance between the Earl of Mar and the Baliols, not of the royal line, but of Cavers. We have now no clue how to make William, Earl of Douglas, and Thomas Baliol, brothers-

in-law ; but, in those complimentary days, such phrases were used upon the slightest species of connexion, without blood. It is now difficult, however, to shew the relationship of these two families of Baliols, or those of Mar and Cavers. A claim through the Cumyns to the Earl of Douglas is as easily disproved. The imaginary marriage of Archibald Douglas, the father of the Earl, with Dornagilla, daughter of John Cumyn and Mary Baliol, if it were true, and if heired by the Earl, would have conveyed nothing, because the phantom Cumyn had a brother whose posterity exists to this day. Mr Riddell's proof as to the Earl's mother, Beatrix, being called Douglas, though her name was Lindsay, is conclusive. But widows, even when married again, or after becoming widows again, often kept the name of their first husband in those remote times. Thus, Christian de Keth, so called while wife of Sir Robert de Erskine, was by birth a Menteith, and widow of Sir Edward de Keth ; and Marjory de Lindsay, widow of Sir Henry Douglas of Lochleven, was by birth a Stewart, but had been first married to Sir James Lindsay.

Now, having conveyed the possession of the Crown safe to John Baliol, and the right to his son Edward—who are the heirs to this representation of the aboriginal Kings of Scotland, and consequently of the Saxon Kings of England? This curious point has been hitherto left in profound obscurity. All authorities agree, that upon the death of Edward Baliol without issue, in 1365, the right of representation reverted to his aunts, the four sisters of King John, viz.:—1. Margaret; 2. Ada; 3. Cicely; 4. Mary. Surtees, the eminent and accurate historian of Durham, where the chief property of the family, Bernard Castle, was situated, had to give an account of their descent and heritage, and I had some correspondence with him on the subject. The difficulty was as to Margaret, the eldest, who is said to have had a husband of the Baronial name “de Multon,” and also to have married in Abrogines. It appeared that she could have had no

family; but it was desirable in such a case to *prove* it. Complete evidence of this incidentally arises from the successful claim of the posterity of her next sister, Ada, to inherit the Barony of Baliol, in France, as nearest heir, given in Du Chesne's elaborate History of the House of Guines and Coucy. But even in this many errors have crept in.

An article in the Gentlemen's Magazine, xlix., 2, p. 299, has mistaken the proceedings, by stating that it was Ingelram de Coucy, soon afterwards Earl of Bedford, who asserted his right in 1365, on the death of Edward Baliol. He was really what in Scotland is called heir-of-line, being, in fact, the eldest heir-portioner. But the person who actually came forward and was recognised as the rightful successor, was Ingelram's uncle, Raoul de Coucy, Seigneur de Montmirail, his father's younger brother. This was probably owing to the confusion at that period as to what were the rights of representation, Raoul being a step nearer, though a junior branch. The claim of Bruce against Baliol, 73 years before, was partly founded upon this very point, that he was a degree nearer the Royal stock, and partly upon his being a male, where Baliol, through his mother, the equilateral representative, was a female—the reverse of the cotemporary case of Artois. The disputed succession to the county of Artois by the daughter and the grandson (son of the only son of the count), led to the long wars between England and France, which were continued by the controverted claims to the Duchy of Bretagne, between the deceased Duke's niece and his half-brother; in which, strange to say, the two Kings, for their own special convenience, changed sides, and maintained the opposite doctrine as to seniority and proximity.

Raoul's opponents (one of whom was Catherine D'Artois, Countess of Aumale, said, *but erroneously*, to be Edward's widow, and so her ground of claim remains obscure,) never started any objection that he was not the right heir, inasmuch as Ingelram, his nephew, was representative in blood;

and he gained his cause, and was styled Seigneur de Bailleul in 1369 and 1370. It is remarkable that in the process, by which he succeeded, the propinquity is misstated, as it is throughout the History of Guines, pp. 253-4, 276, and preuves, 440-1-2. His grandmother, through whom the right accrued, is called Christian de Bailleul, daughter of Thomas B., brother of King John. The true version was, that she was Christian de Lindsay, daughter of William de Lindsay, by Ada de Baliol, second sister of King John. There was no person interested in questioning the accuracy of a statement which did not alter the actual position of Raoul as Edward Baliol's *nearest* surviving heir, counting by degrees of kin.

The only approach to correctness is in an old recitation of the pedigree about 1400, where Christian is called de Ludezée, and Camden properly calls her Lindsay two centuries later. But the French genealogists, ignoring this true Lindsay line, take advantage of Alexander de Baliol, of Cavers, being mistaken for the brother of King John (though in that case he was elder); and finding that he had a brother, Thomas, they make Christian, wife of Ingelram de Coucy, not a Lindsay, but a Baliol, and daughter of Thomas, whom they thus make also brother of King John. Now, besides the complete English proof of Ingelram's wife being Christian de Lindsay, daughter of Ada de Baliol, sister of King John, it is most evident—*1st*, that Thomas Baliol was brother of Alexander Baliol, of Cavers, and consequently not of King John; and, *2d*, that as Edward Baliol died in 1365, and he survived him at least till 1368, when he gave away Cavers, he would himself have been the heir when the claim through his supposed daughter was made in 1366.

Another point is the English Herald's mistake higher up, in giving Helen, Countess of Winchester, eldest daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, the Royal blood of Scotland, by making the princess her mother. She must have been by a

previous wife, or she would have cut out John Baliol's mother, who, in the claim, is stated to have been youngest daughter, and yet sole heir.

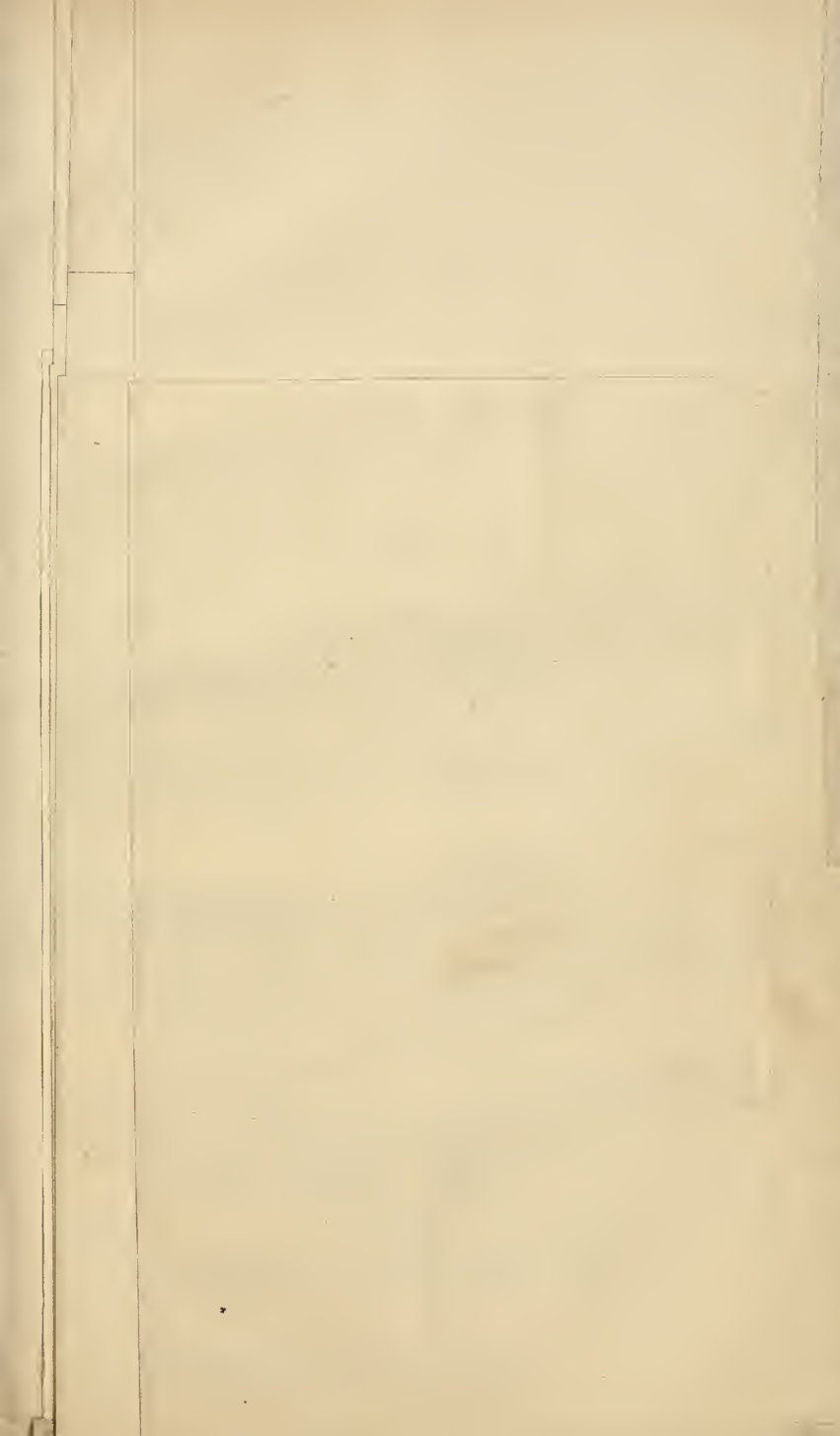
I now refer to the Pedigrees annexed, to shew who the heirs are:—

I. Ada de Baliol is represented by the heir to the Bourbons, Kings of France,—first the Duchess d'Angoulême, and then Henry, called Count de Chambord.

II. Cicely de Baliol is truly represented through two daughters,—1st, By the heirs of two totally separate families of Moore, with different arms, one of whom I have not yet been able to trace below 1622, and not by the pretended heirs of the whole blood of the 5th and 9th Lords de la Warre, or the present Earl de la Warre. 2d, By the co-heirs of the Savages, Earls Rivers, of whom are the present Lord Rivers, the heirs of the Earls of Portmore, &c.

III. Mary de Baliol had also two lines, which early separated,—1st, The heirs of the 5 Lords Burgh of Gainsborough, through the Brookes of Cobham and Boothby Baronets, &c., &c., Lord Berners, Hubert de Burgh, &c. 2d, The heirs of the first 7 Earls of Shrewsbury, through the Dukes of Norfolk, to Lords Stourton and Petre.





I shall here enter a little more fully into the debate, which was agitated in so many countries of Europe, whether an heir was entitled to be represented, or whether death, before the succession opened, should cut off the children, and give it to a relation a step nearer, but who would not otherwise have had any claim. One of the oldest instances was when John wanted a pretext for usurping the throne of England, in preference to his elder brother's son, in 1199. This was his only plea. A century afterwards arose the Baliol and Bruce controversy, which has been fully adverted to. I shall now endeavour to explain the Artois case. Robert II., Count of Artois, died in 1302. His eldest son, Philip, had been slain in battle before him, leaving a son, Robert III., who would have succeeded without question, but that the old count had a daughter, Maud, who survived her father, and, on the ground of being nearer of kin, claimed the heritage. She married, in 1291, Otho, Count Palatine of Burgundy, and it was adjudged in their favour; but as they had no son, and her daughters were married to the King's sons, one, Jeanne, to Philip, afterwards Philip V., King of France, and the other, Blanche, to his brother Charles, afterwards Charles IV., the Fair, it might be imagined by a suspicious looker-on that impartiality was not to be relied on. At all events, the decision by Philip IV. was in favour of the Countess, in 1309.

Robert III. renewed his claim in 1318, before Philip V., but it was steadily given against him, and he tried it again before Philip VI., in 1332, still without success, and again in 1337, when it was proved that he had tried to support his pretensions by forged documents, and he was banished. This led him to try Edward III., King of England; but the only way he could get him to interest himself in his cause was by suggesting that he was entitled, through his mother, to be King of France in preference to Philip VI., and he offered to acknowledge him as such, by doing him homage for

the County of Artois, if he would put him in possession. The absurdity of this pretension did not prevent Edward listening to such grand and ambitious views, and he permitted the farce of the homage. The case of the succession to the throne of France stood thus:—Philip VI., by the Salic Law, was heir-male to Charles IV., the last surviving son of his paternal uncle, Philip IV.; Edward III. was son of Isabel, daughter of Philip IV., and sister of Louis X.; Philip V. and Charles IV., who all left daughters, with living posterity. Therefore, if females had a right to succeed, they were all preferable to their aunt.

In 1338, however, the war began, and Edward invaded France, fighting for representation in Artois, and for female rights of succession in France, in his own person, notwithstanding the superior claims of his three uncles' daughters, who were all heirs to their fathers, but had never pretended any right. The King of France was equally zealous in defending propinquity of blood and the Salic Law in France, but not in Artois. Three years afterwards a new element in the controversy changed the position of the parties. In 1341, the Duke of Bretagne died without children. His next brother, Gui, Count of Penthievre, who was by the same mother, was dead before him, leaving a daughter, Jeanne, but he had also, by another mother, a younger half-brother, John, Count of Montfort, who asserted his right to exclude his niece, as he was a degree nearer to the late Duke. As the heiress was married to King Philip's nephew, Charles of Blois, his Majesty's ideas on the subject of representation underwent an entire revolution, and he sided with the niece and his own nephew Charles, styled Duke of B., who was so acknowledged by the Princes and Peers of France, while Edward, equally open to conviction, took up the cause of the brother, John, also called Duke of B. Each fought for what he had formerly abjured, and repudiated what he had so zealously supported. Such were the unprincipled causes of

the destructive war so long waged by England against France, which was distinguished by the great victories of Cressy, 1346, and Poitiers, 1356. The Artois question was never heard of after the death of Robert III., who died of his wounds in 1343. It was swallowed up in the greater struggle for Bretagne, in which the two chief combatants being taken prisoner, the Count of Montfort's wife, Jeanne of Flanders, and Charles's wife, the heiress, carried on the war with equal vigour. John being sworn by King Philip not to pretend to Bretagne, was liberated, but his voice being still for war, and getting no encouragement from King Edward to renew the contest, he died of chagrin, in 1345. At length the heiress' party being utterly defeated, in 1364, at Avray, where her husband was killed, John (son of John, the claimant, who had died broken-hearted) succeeded peaceably to the Duchy in 1365, the year of Edward Baliol's death, and his posterity continued to hold it till the heiress married two successive Kings of France,—Charles VIII., in 1491, and Louis XII., in 1499,—and it was annexed to the Crown.

It is remarkable that the rule, in the succession to Edward Baliol, would have taken the Crown of Scotland from his father John, in 1292, and given it to his competitor Bruce.



REMARKS, &c.



In the first Table, John Baliol makes himself heir to King David I.; but he had no occasion to shew that, through that king's mother, Queen Margaret, wife to Malcolm III., he represented the Saxon Kings of England, she being sister and heir of Edgar Atheling, the rightful Saxon King.

As I have reason to think that the fear of being diffuse has led me into the opposite extreme, I propose shewing that the subject of the Royal family of Baliol, and their rightful successors, is far from being exhausted by what I have given. I shall proceed to sketch out a brief account of the personages in the main line, who might have been kings and queens, if every one had his (or her) own. But first must come a passing notice of the last two Baliols, who were actually crowned, but were both so quickly relieved of the thorny honour. I. John, fourth, but eldest surviving son of John Baliol, Lord of Bernard Castle, by the munificent Dervorgilda, foundress of Baliol College, Oxford, and heiress of the kingdom of Scotland, had a decision in his favour by King Edward I., the usurping Lord Paramount, and plausible umpire. He was crowned king at Scone, 30th November 1292, and did homage to his liege Lord, 26th December afterwards, when the amount of fees was fixed for the first time, shewing that the service was new. Edward expected unbounded gratitude and subserviency for giving him his own; and when he shewed symptoms of uneasiness at the oppressive yoke, he humbled his protege by injuries and affronts to such an unbearable extent, that he drove his victim into resistance. In 1294 Edward was at war with France, and Baliol and Philip IV., the Fair, next year, made a treaty, the origin of these honourable but ruinous alliances

which so long tied Scotland to France, often without a faithful return. Baliol then contracted his son Edward, then young, to Philip's niece, Princess Isabel of Valois, who was only two years old, and was to have 25,000 crowns, 23d October 1295. But when Baliol sank next year, the king thought this premature match a needless sacrifice, and married her, in 1296, aged three, to John, III. Duke of Bretagne, aged ten! It is amusing to see Baliol stating that he felt "grievously offended at the undutiful behaviour of Edward to the King of France, his liege Lord." Baliol, at the instigation of Parliament, dismissed all the English at Court. He renounced allegiance and fealty to Edward, 5th April 1296, declaring, that "when he made remonstrances, Edward, instead of redressing, had continually aggravated the injuries." But after invading England, both west and east, he was summoned by his irresistible foe, and, after a contemptuous defiance,* was compelled to implore mercy. He performed a most humiliating feudal penance. "Led by force, and fear of his life," he resigned Scotland to his liege Lord, Edward, 2d July 1296, and Philip beheld his ruin with the indifference of an unconcerned spectator. Thus fell King John Baliol from an eminence which he had bartered his honour, and the independence of his country, unworthily to attain. He died in obscurity in 1314.

In December 1331 the young David was crowned, and the Regent Earl of Moray died next year, under suspicion of poison. Edward Baliol, son of the pseudo King John, was then living at his place in Normandy, where he had begun, in 1330, to intrigue with the English Barons, whom the Bruces had dispossessed of estates in Scotland. In 1332 Baliol was imprisoned and forfeited by the King of France, for executing a Frenchman, but liberated by interest of Lord Beaumont, one of the disinherited party. Edward III. was bound by the treaty of Northampton not to disturb his brother-in-law and sister, but he connived at troops being raised in England, then disavowed and forbade it. They, however, landed in Fife, and in consequence of the defeat of

* When Baliol refused to obey Edward I., he exclaimed, "Ha! ce fol felon tel folie foict. S'il ne vout venit a nous, nous viendrons a lui."

the Bruce party at the battle of Dupplin, 11th August 1332, Edward Baliol, in three weeks from his landing, was apparently in quiet possession of Scotland. He was crowned at Scone, 24th September 1332. He did homage to his ally and liege Lord, Edward III., in gratitude for the sufferance of our Lord the King, according to a compact, whereby he accepted of a crown upon terms which no gentleman would have agreed to for a private estate. Lulled into a fatal security, he was preparing to keep Christmas near Annan, when, after less than two months reign, he was surprised by the Regents of young King David II.; his only brother, Henry Baliol, was killed, and he fled to Carlisle half drest, on horseback, without bridle or saddle, 16th December 1332. He took refuge at Morholm with his cousin, Christiana de Lindsay, Lady of Lamberton, whose mother was his aunt, Ada de Baliol, of whom afterwards, as carrying on the line of heirs.

Next year, after the bloody battle of Halidonhill, 19th July, he was restored, and Edward III. had the gratification of learning that King David and his young wife, Edward's own sister, Joan of England, had to take refuge in France.

In 1334, the succession of the Moubray family gradually embroiled Scotland, and, after an accumulation of sudden reverses, Baliol was again a fugitive imploring help, which he got, on the base condition of surrendering a large portion of the south of Scotland, including Edinburgh, to England for ever! He thus got back to his mutilated kingdom in 1335; and it is needless to follow his rapid vicissitudes. Edward III. wished to drop him in 1336, and, suspecting his allegiance, recalled him to England in 1338, when he began the French wars. He had a command against the Scots in their invasion of England in 1344. He was present at the conferences for restoring King David in 1350-1, and protested against it. After this he appears no more. He died 6th September 1365, childless, having married Margaret, daughter of Philip I., Prince of Tarentum. She was niece of his first affianced bride, by her mother, Catherine de Valois, titular Empress of Constantinople, who was half-sister of Isabel and of King Philip VI. After his death she allied

herself, contrary to the wishes of her family, to Francis de Baux, Duke of Andria, and had a son, James, who enjoyed the empty title of Emperor of Constantinople. This proves that Catherine d'Artois, Countess of Aumâle, could not be his widow, more especially as she herself did not lose her husband of Aumâle till 1368, three years later!

John Baliol's posterity being now extinct, and his eldest sister, Margaret, having had no family, we now come to the next sister, Ada, and her heirs, as having the right to succeed. The ancient "Bowes' MSS.," which Mr Surtees, the eminent antiquarian and historian of Durham, considered good authority, makes her the second of the four sisters, and wife to Sir William de Lindsay, by whom she had an only daughter, Christiana, who married Ingelram, Sire de Couci. What puts this beyond a doubt is the recognised claim of her descendant, Raoul de Couci, as heir in France to Edward Baliol in the barony of Baliol in Normandy. From the very interesting work of Lord Lindsay, the "Lives of the Lindsays," we find that this Sir William was Lord of Lamberton, and had immense estates for a noble who had only the baronial rank. He was the head of that ancient and great house, and died in 1283, being killed in battle against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, leaving an only child, Christiana. From successive intermarriages with heiresses, his vast possessions in England extended over 17 manors, besides numberless towns, lands, and hamlets, but in Scotland he had properties in 25 counties!

This great heiress, Christiana de Lindsay, went to the Court of King Alexander III., her cousin, and he married her, two years after, in 1285, to his own cousin-german, Ingelram de Guines, who had been brought up in the Scotch Court. His mother, Alice de Coucy, wife of Arnold, III. Count of Guines, being sister of Mary de Coucy, Queen of Scotland, the king's mother.* They were daughters of Ingelram de Coucy, styled the Great, the most renowned of a race of heroes, who died in 1242, by a fall from his horse, when his sword passed through his body. He invented the family boast,

* This is proved by an old work, "Le Lignage de Coucy," in 1303.

“ Je ne suis roi ni duc ni compte aussy,
Je suis le Sire de Coucy.”

His two sons both died childless. Raoul was slain performing prodigies of valour at Massoura in 1250, and Ingelram IV., in 1311, left the Sirerie of Coucy to his nephew, Ingelram de Guines, who consequently founded the second race, almost as distinguished as the first.

From the Preuves it is evident that both races styled themselves Sire de Coucy, whenever French was the language used, but in Latin they were Seigneur. Ingelram, V. Sire de Coucy, who kept his paternal surname of Guines all his life, died in 1321, and Christiana died in 1335. She is sometimes called de Guines, de Lindsay, and de Bailleul, but never de Coucy. Their son, William, Sire de Coucy, &c., died the same year as his mother, 1335, and, as an alien, got none of the vast British possessions of which she was heiress. In 1311 he married Isabel de Chatillon, daughter of Gui, Count of St Pol, Butler of France, by Princess Mary of Brittany, a descendant of the Royal family of France, and granddaughter of King Henry III. of England. The contract was made in the presence of King Philip IV., the dowry 20,000 livres tournois. He died in 1335. She was still living in 1351. They had two sons—1. Ingelram VI.; 2. Raoul, Seigneur de Montmirail, who, on the death of Edward Baliol in 1365, claimed the barony of Bailleul en Vimeu, and obtained it “comme plus proche heritier,”—his elder brother having then been dead 18 years, though leaving a son. In his pleadings he stated that Christine de Bailleul, his grandmother, was niece to John de Bailleul, King of Scotland, father of the said Edward. He was afterwards styled Dominus de Ballolio, or Baillolio. He proved what was not true, Christiana being not niece by her father, but by her mother.*

Ingelram, VI. Sire de Coucy, &c., succeeded his father in 1335, and soon after King Philip VI. procured him, as his cousin, a great marriage with a Princess of Austria, and became answerable for her dowry to the extent of 40,000 livres tournois, in January 1337. She was Cathe-

* History of the House of Chatillon, p. 298.

rine, daughter and co-heir of the deceased Leopold, Archduke of Austria, and granddaughter of Albert I., Emperor of Germany. He lived not long afterwards, dying prematurely in 1344, leaving, by Catherine, his wife, a child, Ingelram VII. She married, 2dly, a German, Count Conrad, and died in 1350.

Ingelram, VII. Sire de Coucy, &c., succeeded very young. The renewal of the connection of the house of Coucy with England in his time, arose from John, King of France, having been taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers in 1356. On a treaty for his release in 1360, the Sire de Coucy went as one of his hostages; and King Edward III. was so taken with him, that he gave him in marriage his second daughter, Princess Isabel. He created him Earl of Bedford in 1365, and Knight of the Garter, and gave him large grants of land, most of which were bestowed on him as the king's son-in-law, and as heir to Christiana de Lindesey. In 1367, with leave of King Charles V., he bought the county of Soissons, in France, from its Count, Gui de Blois, another hostage. After this he is indiscriminately called Earl' of Bedford, Count of Soissons, and Sire de Coucy, according to the transaction. When war broke out between England and France he retired to Italy, and fought there. In 1378 he claimed the Duchy of Austria by force of arms, but unsuccessfully. Afterwards he sent his wife, Isabel, to England, where she died.

The king intended him to be Constable of France, but he declined it in favour of Oliver de Clisson. He afterwards married his second wife, Isabel, daughter of John, I. Duke of Lorraine. He was made Grand Butler of France in 1384. The Duke of Burgundy prayed him to take the command of an expedition against the Infidels, with the charge of his sons, as he was "le plus usitè et constumier en toutes choses sur tous les Chevaliers de France." The army departed in 1395, but were entirely defeated by the Turks at Nicopolis, and the Earl of Bedford, with most of the chiefs, were taken prisoners. He died in February 1396, leaving three daughters, of whom only the eldest, Mary, had descendants in 1411. The second was Philippa, wife of Robert de Vere,

Earl of Oxford and Duke of Ireland, the great favourite of King Richard II. She carried to him the English lands which had been granted as her mother's dowry; but he deserted her for a mean rival, and she had no issue. The third daughter, Isabel, was by his second wife. She was married to Philip, Count of Nevers, and their only child, Margaret, died young, in 1411.

Mary, Countess of Soissons, Dame de Coucy, was chief heiress, and her son became sole heir to her father. She married, in his lifetime, Henry de Bar, eldest son of Robert, I. Duke of Bar, by Princess Mary of France, daughter of King John. He died in the expedition into Hungary with his father-in-law in 1396, leaving an only child, Robert de Bar. She survived, and in 1400 sold Coucy, la Fere, and Marle, to Louis, Duke of Orleans, for 400,000 livres tournois. She died in 1404, the same year as her mother-in-law, the Duchess of Bar.

Robert de Bar did not succeed to Coucy, as his mother had sold it; but the Chatellanie of Marle having been found to belong to his aunt, Isabel, he inherited it from her daughter, and King Charles erected it into a county in 1413. Except the barony of Oisy, Robert got no part of the inheritance of the House of Bar when the duke, his grandfather, died in 1411, because his father having died before him, the second son, Philip, was nearer in blood, and succeeded to the Duchy—another instance of privation being added to misfortune, and of longevity being rewarded, as by the common law continued to be the case in Scotland to our own time.

Robert, Count of Marle and Soissons, in 1409, married Jeanne de Bethune, Vicomtesse de Meaux, an inheritance from a branch of the House of Coucy. He died in 1409, leaving an only daughter, Jeanne de Bar.

Jeanne de Bar, Countess of Marle and Soissons, married Louis de Luxemburg, Count of St Paul, Brienne, &c., famous as the ambitious Constable of France in the time of King Louis XI., who, according to Quentin Durward, thought *his head* might have been useful at a conference, if it were only separate from the body. He was a partisan of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. His sister, Jaqueline de Luxem-

burg, was wife to the celebrated John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, for his nephew, King Henry VI., and who, by her second marriage, was mother of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of King Edward IV. Louis's exploits terminated as the king wished, by his being decapitated in 1476, leaving a son, Peter, his heir.

Peter de Luxemburg, Count of St Paul, and five other places, was Knight of the Golden Fleece. He married Margaret, daughter of Louis, Duke of Savoy, by Princess Anne of Cyprus, and he died in 1482, leaving only two daughters, of whom the younger, Frances, had no family. Marie de Luxemburg, Countess of St Paul, &c., married,—1. her uncle, James of Savoy, Count of Romont, who soon after died, in 1486, leaving only a daughter, Louise, Countess of Nassau, who had no issue. 2. Francis de Bourbon, Count of Vendôme. They had a son, Charles, Duke of Vendôme, father of Anthony, King of Navarre, and grandfather of Henry IV., King of France. It would be utterly superfluous to give his history, or that of his successors, down to Henry V., Count de Chambord. I shall only mention one curious circumstance regarding the marriage of King Louis XIV., that he was present himself, but incognito, not interfering at all with his proxy, Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish Ambassador.

In the succession to Cicely de Baliol, another curious question arises twice in one family, viz., What are the rights of nearer heirs of the half blood, in preference to more remote relations of the whole blood? Without going through the proof of the whole line, I shall come at once to Joan de la Warre (in the Table, fifth from Cicely), daughter of Roger, III. Lord de la Warre, who was one of the captors of King John at Poitiers, in 1356, and got an addition to his arms. She was his only daughter by his second wife; but he had by his first wife two sons, John, IV. Lord, and Thomas, V. Lord, who both died without issue. Thomas was a priest, and on his death, in 1426, the succession opened to his only sister, Joan, who was married to Thomas, Lord West; but, because she was not by the same mother as her brothers, though the question was simply as to the father's heritage, John Griffin, descended from her greataunt, Catherine, under the

plea of being related by the whole blood, was found to be heir of Thomas. Nevertheless, Reginald West, the son of Joan, was summoned to Parliament, and rightfully became VI. Lord de la Warre.

The next case arose thus:—Thomas, VIII. Lord de la Warre, had two wives. By the first he had a son, Thomas, IX. Lord, and four daughters. By the second he had a large family of sons and daughters. Thomas, IX. Lord, only son of the first wife, died without issue in 1554, when his sisters, or their children,* were found to be his heirs of the whole blood; but they, again, did not get the title, which went to the children of the half-brother. The next brother was Sir Owen West, who was next in the entail by Act of Parliament, in 1549, but died before him, in 1551, leaving an only daughter, Mary, who, as the peerages were female inheritances, should have succeeded her uncle. She was married to Sir Adrian Poynings, who is alleged to have been an alien, and they had only three daughters, who were entirely passed over, though two of them had descendants. The next brother, Sir George West, also died before the peer, leaving a son, William, who ultimately became the heir. It is remarkable that he was brought up by his uncle, Thomas, as his heir, but, wearying of waiting for the succession, he prepared poison to hasten the wished-for event. Being, on this account, discarded by his uncle, he procured an Act of Parliament to prevent his succession; but he afterwards recovered character so far as to be created Lord de la Warre, by a new patent, in 1568, and was also restored in blood. From this it might be supposed that his title, as heir, was not completely recognised, on account of his nieces' claims. But in pardoning his misconduct, the mistake was of service in making him appear to be the rightful heir but for his erring, and his son, Thomas, the next Lord, got the precedence of his ancestors by an erroneous judgment of Parliament, and his lineal heir-male is now Earl de la Warre.

The succession of the title of De la Warre for nearly 600 years, sufficiently proves this pedigree.

* One of these was Joan, wife of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, daughter of Eleanor, Lady Guldeford.



The next great line is from Dervorgilda de Burgh, and is fully given in the first part by many authorities;* and the descent of the Lords Morley for 300 years, to Catherine Parker, Countess of Rivers, establishes the succession down to her father, the celebrated Lord Monteaule, the inadvertent vehicle of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, in 1605.

There is usually a mistake made as to the wife of Thomas, IV. Lord Morley, as it is impossible from chronology that Robert, his eldest son, could be by Anne le de Spenser, as she was not a widow, free to marry Lord Morley, till 1386, long after the birth of Robert, in 1370. The wife of Thomas, V. Lord, was sister of William, Duke of Suffolk. The descendants of Catherine, Countess of Rivers, were very numerous, but appear now to be limited to the three branches given in the Table.

The heirs of Mary Baliol, through the Cumyns, Lords of Badenoch, were long restricted to the two main lines. She married the 1st Black John Cumyn; and her son, who married a relation of King Henry III., was the Red John, slain in the church at Dumfries by Robert Bruce, on account of his being an unswerving adherent of Baliol. The elder line split on the death of Thomas, V. Lord Burgh; and I have limited myself to the direct heirs of his three daughters who had issue.

The Strathbolgy Earls of Athol were not very steady in their allegiance, but were generally on the Baliol, or English side, and sat as Earls in the Parliament of England.

The last line is that which comes to the renowned Earl of Shrewsbury, whose heirs continued the representation till 1616. It then went to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (the dukedom being suspended), and is now divided between Lords Stourton and Petre. The present Earl of Shrewsbury is heir-male of that heroic Earl, and the Duke of Norfolk is heir-male of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and of the Talbot heiress.

* Salmon's History of Herts, p. 192, Clutterbuck's do., Pere Anselme, Histoire Genealogique, &c., Article Clare.



