



Magna Carta with Annotations, unabridged.

The rule of law has its basis in Magna Carta. This concept, fundamental to democratic forms of government, asserts that all – including a king, prime minister, or president – must abide by the laws of the nation. While Magna Carta does not specifically state that the king is subject to the rule of law, the provisions of this document establish that principle by imposing limits on the king’s power. The fact that the barons are given the authority to enforce this document in Chapter 61 of the original version reinforces the principle that the king could no longer ignore or violate established laws, traditions, or customs, nor could he arbitrarily infringe on the rights of his subjects. In short, the king would be compelled to abide by the rule of law.

The Magna Carta is not to be understood as a carefully crafted constitution, or framework of government, like the U.S. Constitution. Rather, it addresses the principal grievances of the barons, merchants, and church officials through a set of rules designed to both restrict the power of the king and protect the liberties of Englishmen, Scots, and Welshmen. The organization, while not entirely haphazard, does not have the same clear structure that we expect to find in a modern constitution. With some exceptions, however, it does follow a loose outline as will be made clear in the following annotations.

This annotated version of Magna Carta shows the modern translation provided on the British Library Portal in bold. EDSITEment notes, which follow the respective chapters, are indented and appear in normal font.

Clauses marked (+) are still valid under the charter of 1225, but with a few minor amendments. Clauses marked (*) were omitted in all later reissues of the charter. In the charter itself the clauses are not numbered, and the text reads continuously. The translation sets out to convey the sense rather than the precise wording of the original Latin.

Magna Carta

JOHN, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, foresters, sheriffs, stewards, servants, and to all his officials and loyal subjects, Greeting.

KNOW THAT BEFORE GOD, for the health of our soul and those of our ancestors and heirs, to the honour of God, the exaltation of the holy Church, and the better ordering of our kingdom, at the advice of our reverend fathers Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Henry archbishop of Dublin, William bishop of London, Peter bishop of Winchester, Jocelin bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, Walter Bishop of Worcester, William bishop of Coventry, Benedict bishop of Rochester, Master Pandulf subdeacon and member of

the papal household, Brother Aymeric master of the knighthood of the Temple in England, William Marshal earl of Pembroke, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Warren, William earl of Arundel, Alan de Galloway constable of Scotland, Warin Fitz Gerald, Peter Fitz Herbert, Hubert de Burgh seneschal of Poitou, Hugh de Neville, Matthew Fitz Herbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip Daubeny, Robert de Roppeley, John Marshal, John Fitz Hugh, and other loyal subjects:

Preamble: This identified the key players, the most important of whom were King John and Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Others names in this section of the document included high church officials and leading nobles, described as “loyal subjects.” The fact that men of considerable stature had not joined the rebellion against the King is worth noting, for their presence probably helped to dissuade the barons from taking up arms against John. The King, it should be noted, signed the Magna Carta because of the threat of violence, but he had no intention of abiding by the agreement.

+ (1) FIRST, THAT WE HAVE GRANTED TO GOD, and by this present charter have confirmed for us and our heirs in perpetuity, that the English Church shall be free, and shall have its rights undiminished, and its liberties unimpaired. That we wish this so to be observed, appears from the fact that of our own free will, before the outbreak of the present dispute between us and our barons, we granted and confirmed by charter the freedom of the Church's elections - a right reckoned to be of the greatest necessity and importance to it - and caused this to be confirmed by Pope Innocent III. This freedom we shall observe ourselves, and desire to be observed in good faith by our heirs in perpetuity.

The Archbishop's role is evident in this provision – both its placement at the beginning of the document and its guarantee of the rights and freedom of the church to act without being subject to the king's interference.

TO ALL FREE MEN OF OUR KINGDOM we have also granted, for us and our heirs for ever, all the liberties written out below, to have and to keep for them and their heirs, of us and our heirs:

The second paragraph of this chapter was added, probably by Langton, between June 15 and June 19. It extended the liberties beyond the barons to include “all free men” and their heirs forever. At the time, this covered about 10% of the population; however, over time, as more of the population qualified as “free men,” it came to encompass virtually all of the people of Great Britain.

Chapters 2-16 deal with the feudal system and those traditionally governed by feudal arrangements. These provisions were intended to limit the arbitrary exercise of power by the king and, at the same time, reassert the traditions and customs (i.e. established precedents) that had governed feudal arrangements. These provisions serve as evidence of the

commitment to the rule of law. They also support two other themes that run through the Magna Carta: (1) the idea that the laws should be fair and just and (2) the right to property.

(2) If any earl, baron, or other person that holds lands directly of the Crown, for military service, shall die, and at his death his heir shall be of full age and owe a 'relief', the heir shall have his inheritance on payment of the ancient scale of 'relief'. That is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl shall pay £100 for the entire earl's barony, the heir or heirs of a knight 100s. at most for the entire knight's 'fee', and any man that owes less shall pay less, in accordance with the ancient usage of 'fees'

Under the feudal system, the heir of a feudal estate was required to pay a “relief” to the king in order to retain ownership of the property. King John had increased the fees many fold. This provision set the fee, or “relief,” to the much smaller traditional amount.

(3) But if the heir of such a person is under age and a ward, when he comes of age he shall have his inheritance without 'relief' or fine.

The exemption of a minor from paying a relief when he came of age was an issue of fairness. The lord to whom the heir would have paid the fee would have had use of the land before the heir came of age, and, as a result, would already have benefited financially.

(4) The guardian of the land of an heir who is under age shall take from it only reasonable revenues, customary dues, and feudal services. He shall do this without destruction or damage to men or property. If we have given the guardianship of the land to a sheriff, or to any person answerable to us for the revenues, and he commits destruction or damage, we will exact compensation from him, and the land shall be entrusted to two worthy and prudent men of the same 'fee', who shall be answerable to us for the revenues, or to the person to whom we have assigned them. If we have given or sold to anyone the guardianship of such land, and he causes destruction or damage, he shall lose the guardianship of it, and it shall be handed over to two worthy and prudent men of the same 'fee', who shall be similarly answerable to us.

Concern for fairness is again evident. The guardian of land inherited by a minor could use the land for “reasonable” purposes, but he had to protect the land so that the heir would have full value of his inheritance. If the guardian damaged or destroyed the property, the heir had a right to compensation.

(5) For so long as a guardian has guardianship of such land, he shall maintain the houses, parks, fish preserves, ponds, mills, and everything else pertaining to it, from the revenues of the land itself. When the heir comes of age, he shall restore the whole

land to him, stocked with plough teams and such implements of husbandry as the season demands and the revenues from the land can reasonably bear.

The guardian would not only return the land to the heir when the latter came of age, he would also provide the means for the heir to farm the land and to live off its product.

(6) Heirs may be given in marriage, but not to someone of lower social standing. Before a marriage takes place, it shall be made known to the heir's next-of-kin.

This provision was designed to protect the children from being forced by guardians into marriages that would not have been approved by their fathers, had they lived.

(7) At her husband's death, a widow may have her marriage portion and inheritance at once and without trouble. She shall pay nothing for her dower, marriage portion, or any inheritance that she and her husband held jointly on the day of his death. She may remain in her husband's house for forty days after his death, and within this period her dower shall be assigned to her.

The king could not force a widow to leave her home by imposing excessive demands for money. A widow's dower (what she brought into the marriage) as well as her marriage portion (her share of the family inheritance) and other property that she held jointly with her husband were protected, thus enabling her to live comfortably on what was rightfully hers.

(8) No widow shall be compelled to marry, so long as she wishes to remain without a husband. But she must give security that she will not marry without royal consent, if she holds her lands of the Crown, or without the consent of whatever other lord she may hold them of.

A widow could choose not to re-marry. However, if she did decide to re-marry, she had to obtain consent from whoever controlled her lands. The issue here was one of maintaining a balance of power among the barons. Marriage between a wealthy widow and a powerful baron could upset the balance within a region of the country.

(9) Neither we nor our officials will seize any land or rent in payment of a debt, so long as the debtor has movable goods sufficient to discharge the debt. A debtor's sureties shall not be distrained upon so long as the debtor himself can discharge his debt. If, for lack of means, the debtor is unable to discharge his debt, his sureties shall be answerable for it. If they so desire, they may have the debtor's lands and rents until they have received satisfaction for the debt that they paid for him, unless the debtor can show that he has settled his obligations to them.

This provision calls for the orderly settlement of debts (i.e. fair treatment for both debtor and lender) and protection of an individual's property. The king could not seize the land of a debtor if that individual had enough personal property (i.e. property other than land) to cover the debt. In turn, those who had given a loan could claim the land of the debtor as well as the rents from that land until the debt was paid.

*** (10) If anyone who has borrowed a sum of money from Jews dies before the debt has been repaid, his heir shall pay no interest on the debt for so long as he remains under age, irrespective of whom he holds his lands. If such a debt falls into the hands of the Crown, it will take nothing except the principal sum specified in the bond.**

[Chapters 10 & 11] These two provisions, by singling out Jewish moneylenders, raise questions regarding prejudice (though Chapter 10 also applied to the king and Chapter 11 makes clear that the provisions applied to other moneylenders as well). The basic idea behind both was to make sure that neither wives nor minor children would unfairly lose their inheritance or other properties.

*** (11) If a man dies owing money to Jews, his wife may have her dower and pay nothing towards the debt from it. If he leaves children that are under age, their needs may also be provided for on a scale appropriate to the size of his holding of lands. The debt is to be paid out of the residue, reserving the service due to his feudal lords. Debts owed to persons other than Jews are to be dealt with similarly.**

*** (12) No 'scutage' or 'aid' may be levied in our kingdom without its general consent, unless it is for the ransom of our person, to make our eldest son a knight, and (once) to marry our eldest daughter. For these purposes only a reasonable 'aid' may be levied. 'Aids' from the city of London are to be treated similarly.**

The term *scutage* refers to a tax paid by feudal lords to avoid military service. The barons who wrote this provision were objecting to the King's demands that they provide financial support for his military campaigns in Europe. To avoid such payments, they limited the circumstances for which such a tax could be imposed.

+ (13) The city of London shall enjoy all its ancient liberties and free customs, both by land and by water. We also will and grant that all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports shall enjoy all their liberties and free customs.

The protection of the rights and liberties of London's business class recognized that the King's exercise of arbitrary power had threatened this influential group and had led to their support of the barons' uprising against John. By referring to ancient customs, etc.,

it reinforces the idea of rule of law – not just for landowners, but for other powerful members of English society as well.

*** (14) To obtain the general consent of the realm for the assessment of an 'aid' - except in the three cases specified above - or a 'scutage', we will cause the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons to be summoned individually by letter. To those who hold lands directly of us we will cause a general summons to be issued, through the sheriffs and other officials, to come together on a fixed day (of which at least forty days notice shall be given) and at a fixed place. In all letters of summons, the cause of the summons will be stated. When a summons has been issued, the business appointed for the day shall go forward in accordance with the resolution of those present, even if not all those who were summoned have appeared.**

The requirement that “general consent” for taxes be given by leaders from both secular society and the church opened the way for oversight of the king by representatives within the community. The meetings provided for here led to the creation of the British parliament. They also set in place an orderly procedure for convening this meeting and assured that it would take place as arranged.

*** (15) In future we will allow no one to levy an 'aid' from his free men, except to ransom his person, to make his eldest son a knight, and (once) to marry his eldest daughter. For these purposes only a reasonable 'aid' may be levied.**

This provision placed additional restrictions on the power to tax, limiting the purpose as well as the amount.

(16) No man shall be forced to perform more service for a knight's 'fee', or other free holding of land, than is due from it.

Concerned with fairness as well as the cost of foreign wars, the charter asserted that no man would have to give greater military service than his property holding required.

The next items provide for due process of law. In other words, they focus on the institutions and procedures needed to assure that an individual would be treated fairly by the legal process. The fundamental principle of “due process” as well as the specific provisions of the Magna Carta are generally considered as the most lasting contributions of the Great Charter.

(17) Ordinary lawsuits shall not follow the royal court around, but shall be held in a fixed place.

The idea of establishing a permanent court, which included a place where legal records could be stored and consulted, was presented as a reasonable alternative to the former practice of moving the court from one location to another, a practice that resulted in uncertain schedules and indefinite delays in having a case heard.

(18) Inquests of *novel disseisin*, *mort d'ancestor*, and *darrein presentment* shall be taken only in their proper county court. We ourselves, or in our absence abroad our chief justice, will send two justices to each county four times a year, and these justices, with four knights of the county elected by the county itself, shall hold the assizes in the county court, on the day and in the place where the court meets.

Certain cases were more appropriately (and conveniently) heard in local courts, provided for in this chapter. The details included in this chapter were intended to assure a just hearing.

(19) If any assizes cannot be taken on the day of the county court, as many knights and freeholders shall afterwards remain behind, of those who have attended the court, as will suffice for the administration of justice, having regard to the volume of business to be done.

Efforts would be made to assure a fair hearing, even when the docket was overloaded.

(20) For a trivial offence, a free man shall be fined only in proportion to the degree of his offence, and for a serious offence correspondingly, but not so heavily as to deprive him of his livelihood. In the same way, a merchant shall be spared his merchandise, and a husbandman the implements of his husbandry, if they fall upon the mercy of a royal court. None of these fines shall be imposed except by the assessment on oath of reputable men of the neighbourhood.

[Chapters 20-22] Punishment for violations of the law was to be in proportion to the seriousness of the offense, thus establishing a standard of fairness.

(21) Earls and barons shall be fined only by their equals, and in proportion to the gravity of their offence.

(22) A fine imposed upon the lay property of a clerk in holy orders shall be assessed upon the same principles, without reference to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice.

(23) No town or person shall be forced to build bridges over rivers except those with an ancient obligation to do so.

Traditionally, local communities were obligated to build and maintain bridges so that soldiers could cross. However, King John had taken this requirement to extremes, insisting that bridges also be provided in areas where he wanted to hunt. This resulted in considerable hardship for communities in terms of time and cost. This chapter limited the responsibility for bridges to those towns with “ancient obligations.”

(24) No sheriff, constable, coroners, or other royal officials are to hold lawsuits that should be held by the royal justices.

The goal of this provision was to provide a uniform system of justice, one not subject to local interpretation.

*** (25) Every county, hundred, wapentake, and tithing shall remain at its ancient rent, without increase, except the royal demesne manors.**

With the exception of royal manors, rents would be set as a means to prevent local officials who collected rent for the crown (such as sheriffs) from increasing the rents of local tenants.

(26) If at the death of a man who holds a lay 'fee' of the Crown, a sheriff or royal official produces royal letters patent of summons for a debt due to the Crown, it shall be lawful for them to seize and list movable goods found in the lay 'fee' of the dead man to the value of the debt, as assessed by worthy men. Nothing shall be removed until the whole debt is paid, when the residue shall be given over to the executors to carry out the dead man's will. If no debt is due to the Crown, all the movable goods shall be regarded as the property of the dead man, except the reasonable shares of his wife and children.

Sheriffs had a reputation for seizing all the goods of an individual who, at the time of his death, owed money to the king. This chapter limited the property that could be seized to the amount of the debt and, required a third party – a “worthy” man – to agree that the value of the goods taken did not exceed the amount of the debt. The provision calls for “due process,” respects the rights of property, and assures fair treatment of the heirs.

*** (27) If a free man dies intestate, his movable goods are to be distributed by his next-of-kin and friends, under the supervision of the Church. The rights of his debtors are to be preserved.**

In the case of a man who died without a will, the church was expected to oversee the fair distribution of his property to family and friends. At the same time, the property rights of those to whom he owed money would be honored.

(28) No constable or other royal official shall take corn or other movable goods from any man without immediate payment, unless the seller voluntarily offers postponement of this.

The practice of the king's men to obtain goods from nearby farms and villages in order to feed members of the royal household frequently resulted in underpayment, delayed payment, or no payment. This provision required immediate payment unless the seller voluntarily made other arrangements.

(29) No constable may compel a knight to pay money for castle-guard if the knight is willing to undertake the guard in person, or with reasonable excuse to supply some other fit man to do it. A knight taken or sent on military service shall be excused from castle-guard for the period of this service.

Traditionally, tenants had been called upon to serve as guards at the castles of local lords. They had been given the option of paying for a substitute but, over time, the option had been replaced by a required fee to pay for professional soldiers. This chapter restored the "option" so that tenants who could not afford the fee could, instead, accept guard duty.

(30) No sheriff, royal official, or other person shall take horses or carts for transport from any free man, without his consent.

[Chapters 30 & 31] These two chapters protected property from being stolen.

(31) Neither we nor any royal official will take wood for our castle, or for any other purpose, without the consent of the owner.

(32) We will not keep the lands of people convicted of felony in our hand for longer than a year and a day, after which they shall be returned to the lords of the 'fees' concerned.

Feudal custom allowed the king to use the property of a lord who had been convicted of a felony for a year and a day. At the end of that time, the land was to be returned to the

lord. John had ignored that custom, controlling land well beyond the stipulated period. This provision re-instated the former “rule,” thus honoring precedent and, in the process, re-establishing what had been considered a fair process.

(33) All fish-weirs shall be removed from the Thames, the Medway, and throughout the whole of England, except on the sea coast.

In recognition of the need to facilitate transportation in order to accommodate trade, the king agreed to the removal of obstructions on the river-ways.

(34) The writ called *praecipe* shall not in future be issued to anyone in respect of any holding of land, if a free man could thereby be deprived of the right of trial in his own lord's court.

The writ of *praecipe* had first been used by King Henry II to move cases from local courts, where lords presided over cases involving their own tenants, to the king's own courts. [A *writ* is a legal document issued by a court, under the authority of the state, compelling certain action to be taken. It directs an officer of the law to carry out a specified action.] The king had claimed that his courts would be able to administer a uniform system of justice. The barons objected because it took away much of their influence and authority over their tenants. This provision was a major concession on the part of the king; it was made in response to one of the barons' most pressing demands.

(35) There shall be standard measures of wine, ale, and corn (the London quarter), throughout the kingdom. There shall also be a standard width of dyed cloth, russett, and haberject, namely two ells within the selvedges. Weights are to be standardised similarly.

This chapter recognized the need for fair exchange in the marketplace.

(36) In future nothing shall be paid or accepted for the issue of a writ of inquisition of life or limbs. It shall be given gratis, and not refused.

A precursor to the writ of *habeas corpus*, this chapter required that an inquiry be conducted in any case that might result in the defendant being deprived of life or limb, i.e., subject to punishment. The writ calling for the inquiry was to be issued free of charge. This established one of the essential elements of due process of law.

(37) If a man holds land of the Crown by 'fee-farm', 'socage', or 'burgage', and also holds land of someone else for knight's service, we will not have guardianship of his heir, nor of the land that belongs to the other person's 'fee', by virtue of the 'fee-farm', 'socage', or 'burgage', unless the 'fee-farm' owes knight's service. We will not have the guardianship of a man's heir, or of land that he holds of someone else, by reason of any small property that he may hold of the Crown for a service of knives, arrows, or the like.

A rather confusing provision that, in essence, minimized the king's claims over property.

(38) In future no official shall place a man on trial upon his own unsupported statement, without producing credible witnesses to the truth of it.

Another key element in due process, this chapter required “faithful witnesses” to attest that a man had committed a crime before he was formally accused and prosecuted. Edward Coke referred to this as the “golden passage,” indicating the importance he placed on this procedure.

+ (39) No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions, or outlawed or exiled, or deprived of his standing in any other way, nor will we proceed with force against him, or send others to do so, except by the lawful judgement of his equals or by the law of the land.

The requirement for a jury of one's peers (or, as the British Library translation puts it, “the lawful judgement of his equals”) is probably the most famous and certainly one of the most crucial guarantees of due process in the Magna Carta. In the context of the time in which it was written, this provision meant that a person could present his case to members of his own class; it did not, however, mean that a jury (as we understand that term) would hear the case and render a verdict.

+ (40) To no one will we sell, to no one deny or delay right or justice.

The practice, until this clause was adopted, was to charge a fee for certain writs – with cost dependent on the nature of the writ and its potential value. These charges were considered legitimate ways for the king to raise revenue. However, they had the effect of denying justice to those who could not afford them.

The next chapters deal with a range of economic and property rights – from those exercised by merchants as part of doing business to those claimed by the many people who lived in the forests (Robin Hood and his “Merry Men,” among others). For the most part, these deal with conditions of the 13th century and shed little light on the rights and liberties that were passed down to the American patriots. It is, however, worth pointing out that these laws, like the earlier provisions relating to the feudal system, were important for a different reason. Their immediate relevance to the people of the 13th-17th centuries kept the Magna Carta alive in the

minds of English men and women. These laws dealing with every day life and trade were regularly cited in court and, as a result, gave the Great Charter an enduring place among the laws of England. Not until the early 17th century, when Edward Coke became the leading authority and interpreter of the rights and liberties embedded in the Magna Carta, did the document assume the stature that has since been awarded to it.

Annotations are given for a few of the remaining chapters.

(41) All merchants may enter or leave England unharmed and without fear, and may stay or travel within it, by land or water, for purposes of trade, free from all illegal exactions, in accordance with ancient and lawful customs. This, however, does not apply in time of war to merchants from a country that is at war with us. Any such merchants found in our country at the outbreak of war shall be detained without injury to their persons or property, until we or our chief justice have discovered how our own merchants are being treated in the country at war with us. If our own merchants are safe they shall be safe too.

*** (42) In future it shall be lawful for any man to leave and return to our kingdom unharmed and without fear, by land or water, preserving his allegiance to us, except in time of war, for some short period, for the common benefit of the realm. People that have been imprisoned or outlawed in accordance with the law of the land, people from a country that is at war with us, and merchants - who shall be dealt with as stated above - are excepted from this provision.**

(43) If a man holds lands of any 'escheat' such as the 'honour' of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaster, or of other 'escheats' in our hand that are baronies, at his death his heir shall give us only the 'relief' and service that he would have made to the baron, had the barony been in the baron's hand. We will hold the 'escheat' in the same manner as the baron held it.

(44) People who live outside the forest need not in future appear before the royal justices of the forest in answer to general summonses, unless they are actually involved in proceedings or are sureties for someone who has been seized for a forest offence.

*** (45) We will appoint as justices, constables, sheriffs, or other officials, only men that know the law of the realm and are minded to keep it well.**

This sets a standard for those appointed to enforce and administer the law – they must “know the law” and be prepared to “keep it well.”

(46) All barons who have founded abbeys, and have charters of English kings or ancient tenure as evidence of this, may have guardianship of them when there is no abbot, as is their due.

(47) All forests that have been created in our reign shall at once be disafforested. River-banks that have been enclosed in our reign shall be treated similarly.

*** (48) All evil customs relating to forests and warrens, foresters, warreners, sheriffs and their servants, or river-banks and their wardens, are at once to be investigated in every county by twelve sworn knights of the county, and within forty days of their enquiry the evil customs are to be abolished completely and irrevocably. But we, or our chief justice if we are not in England, are first to be informed.**

*** (49) We will at once return all hostages and charters delivered up to us by Englishmen as security for peace or for loyal service.**

*** (50) We will remove completely from their offices the kinsmen of Gerard de Athée, and in future they shall hold no offices in England. The people in question are Engelard de Cigogné, Peter, Guy, and Andrew de Chanceaux, Guy de Cigogné, Geoffrey de Martigny and his brothers, Philip Marc and his brothers, with Geoffrey his nephew, and all their followers.**

*** (51) As soon as peace is restored, we will remove from the kingdom all the foreign knights, bowmen, their attendants, and the mercenaries that have come to it, to its harm, with horses and arms.**

*** (52) To any man whom we have deprived or dispossessed of lands, castles, liberties, or rights, without the lawful judgement of his equals, we will at once restore these. In cases of dispute the matter shall be resolved by the judgement of the twenty-five barons referred to below in the clause for securing the peace (§ 61). In cases, however, where a man was deprived or dispossessed of something without the lawful judgement of his equals by our father King Henry or our brother King Richard, and it remains in our hands or is held by others under our warranty, we shall have respite for the period commonly allowed to Crusaders, unless a lawsuit had been begun, or an enquiry had been made at our order, before we took the Cross as a Crusader. On our return from the Crusade, or if we abandon it, we will at once render justice in full.**

*** (53) We shall have similar respite in rendering justice in connexion with forests that are to be disafforested, or to remain forests, when these were first a-orested by our father Henry or our brother Richard; with the guardianship of lands in another person's 'fee', when we have hitherto had this by virtue of a 'fee' held of us for knight's service by a third party; and with abbeys founded in another person's 'fee', in which the lord of the**

'fee' claims to own a right. On our return from the Crusade, or if we abandon it, we will at once do full justice to complaints about these matters.

(54) No one shall be arrested or imprisoned on the appeal of a woman for the death of any person except her husband.

*** (55) All fines that have been given to us unjustly and against the law of the land, and all fines that we have exacted unjustly, shall be entirely remitted or the matter decided by a majority judgement of the twenty-five barons referred to below in the clause for securing the peace (§ 61) together with Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and such others as he wishes to bring with him. If the archbishop cannot be present, proceedings shall continue without him, provided that if any of the twenty-five barons has been involved in a similar suit himself, his judgement shall be set aside, and someone else chosen and sworn in his place, as a substitute for the single occasion, by the rest of the twenty-five.**

Picking up on the theme of fairness, the chapter called for the repayment of all fines that were imposed unjustly, and it established the procedure by which challenges against unjust fines were to be handled. Worth noting is the attempt to avoid a “conflict of interest”: a baron was expected to step aside and allow a substitute to decide a case similar to one in which he was himself involved.

(56) If we have deprived or dispossessed any Welshmen of lands, liberties, or anything else in England or in Wales, without the lawful judgement of their equals, these are at once to be returned to them. A dispute on this point shall be determined in the Marches by the judgement of equals. English law shall apply to holdings of land in England, Welsh law to those in Wales, and the law of the Marches to those in the Marches. The Welsh shall treat us and ours in the same way.

*** (57) In cases where a Welshman was deprived or dispossessed of anything, without the lawful judgement of his equals, by our father King Henry or our brother King Richard, and it remains in our hands or is held by others under our warranty, we shall have respite for the period commonly allowed to Crusaders, unless a lawsuit had been begun, or an enquiry had been made at our order, before we took the Cross as a Crusader. But on our return from the Crusade, or if we abandon it, we will at once do full justice according to the laws of Wales and the said regions.**

*** (58) We will at once return the son of Llywelyn, all Welsh hostages, and the charters delivered to us as security for the peace.**

*** (59) With regard to the return of the sisters and hostages of Alexander, king of Scotland, his liberties and his rights, we will treat him in the same way as our other barons of England, unless it appears from the charters that we hold from his father William, formerly king of Scotland, that he should be treated otherwise. This matter shall be resolved by the judgement of his equals in our court.**

(60) All these customs and liberties that we have granted shall be observed in our kingdom in so far as concerns our own relations with our subjects. Let all men of our kingdom, whether clergy or laymen, observe them similarly in their relations with their own men.

Another of Coke's favorites, this chapter enlarged the scope of the Magna Carta, implying that the right and liberties would be extended to all men and by all men within the kingdom.

*** (61) SINCE WE HAVE GRANTED ALL THESE THINGS for God, for the better ordering of our kingdom, and to allay the discord that has arisen between us and our barons, and since we desire that they shall be enjoyed in their entirety, with lasting strength, for ever, we give and grant to the barons the following security:**

The barons shall elect twenty-five of their number to keep, and cause to be observed with all their might, the peace and liberties granted and confirmed to them by this charter.

If we, our chief justice, our officials, or any of our servants offend in any respect against any man, or transgress any of the articles of the peace or of this security, and the offence is made known to four of the said twenty-five barons, they shall come to us - or in our absence from the kingdom to the chief justice - to declare it and claim immediate redress. If we, or in our absence abroad the chief justice, make no redress within forty days, reckoning from the day on which the offence was declared to us or to him, the four barons shall refer the matter to the rest of the twenty-five barons, who may distrain upon and assail us in every way possible, with the support of the whole community of the land, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, or anything else saving only our own person and those of the queen and our children, until they have secured such redress as they have determined upon. Having secured the redress, they may then resume their normal obedience to us.

Any man who so desires may take an oath to obey the commands of the twenty-five barons for the achievement of these ends, and to join with them in assailing us to the utmost of his power. We give public and free permission to take this oath to any man

who so desires, and at no time will we prohibit any man from taking it. Indeed, we will compel any of our subjects who are unwilling to take it to swear it at our command.

If one of the twenty-five barons dies or leaves the country, or is prevented in any other way from discharging his duties, the rest of them shall choose another baron in his place, at their discretion, who shall be duly sworn in as they were.

In the event of disagreement among the twenty-five barons on any matter referred to them for decision, the verdict of the majority present shall have the same validity as a unanimous verdict of the whole twenty-five, whether these were all present or some of those summoned were unwilling or unable to appear.

The twenty-five barons shall swear to obey all the above articles faithfully, and shall cause them to be obeyed by others to the best of their power.

We will not seek to procure from anyone, either by our own efforts or those of a third party, anything by which any part of these concessions or liberties might be revoked or diminished. Should such a thing be procured, it shall be null and void and we will at no time make use of it, either ourselves or through a third party.

Intended to provide for the enforcement of the Great Charter, this chapter established the means by which the barons could enforce the rights and liberties agreed to by the king. Although this arrangement appears to have some merit, the reality was that the men most likely to have served on the council were also likely to have acted in their own self interest, thus jeopardizing the achievement at Runnymede. Furthermore, the existence of such a council would have set the stage for subsequent rebellions should the king not comply with their rulings. The dangers inherent in this arrangement were avoided: first by the Pope's annulment of the document, and later by the omission of this chapter from subsequent re-issues.

*** (62) We have remitted and pardoned fully to all men any ill-will, hurt, or grudges that have arisen between us and our subjects, whether clergy or laymen, since the beginning of the dispute. We have in addition remitted fully, and for our own part have also pardoned, to all clergy and laymen any offences committed as a result of the said dispute between Easter in the sixteenth year of our reign (i.e. 1215) and the restoration of peace.**

In addition we have caused letters patent to be made for the barons, bearing witness to this security and to the concessions set out above, over the seals of Stephen

archbishop of Canterbury, Henry archbishop of Dublin, the other bishops named above, and Master Pandulf.

*** (63) IT IS ACCORDINGLY OUR WISH AND COMMAND** that the English Church shall be free, and that men in our kingdom shall have and keep all these liberties, rights, and concessions, well and peaceably in their fulness and entirety for them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and all places for ever.

Both we and the barons have sworn that all this shall be observed in good faith and without deceit. Witness the abovementioned people and many others.

Given by our hand in the meadow that is called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, on the fifteenth day of June in the seventeenth year of our reign (i.e. 1215: the new regnal year began on 28 May).

[The annotated notes are drawn from William F. Swindler's *Magna Carta: Legend and Legacy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1965).