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THE

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DURING THE

## MIDDLE AGES.

BY SHARON TURNER, F.S.A., R.A.S.L.

FIFTH EDITION.—IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE THIRD TO THE REIGN  
OF EDWARD THE FOURTH.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

THE SECOND VOLUME

BY JOHN EYRE

VOLUME IV

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND.

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## BOOK II.

### CHAP. IV.

*History of the Reign of EDWARD III. to the Conquest of Calais — His Campaign in Scotland — Invasions of France — Expedition to Guienne — Battle of CRESSY — Siege of Calais.*

IT is a general persuasion among Englishmen that the reign of Edward III. is the most illustrious period of their ancient annals. The victories of Cressy and Poitiers, may have produced the popular sentiment; but the reflective mind will adopt the opinion as steadily when it observes, that during this reign, our navy established its preponderancy over the most celebrated fleets that were then accustomed to navigate the British channel: that our parliament enjoyed, in full and upright exercise, those constitutional powers, which the nation has long learnt to venerate as its best inheritance; but which weaker sovereigns have, too eagerly, contested: that our manufactures and commerce began to exhibit an affluence, and an expanding growth; and to be conducted on the true principles of public improvement: that

CHAP.  
IV.

REIGN OF  
EDW. III.

National  
improvements in  
this reign.

BOOK  
II.REIGN OF  
EDW. III.

our clergy evinced a disposition to emancipate themselves from the papal despotism; and some to exercise a just freedom of thought, on the most important of all human concerns: that the lineaments of our prose literature became distinctly discernible: that the pursuit of the mathematical and natural sciences, and of the art of reasoning, at one or both of our venerable Universities, was ardent and successful: that our poetry assumed the attractive form, with which its life, sympathy, utility, and immortality are most surely connected: and that our manners displayed a moral sentiment, which, tho somewhat fantastic, and not always pure, yet contributed to soften the horrors of war, and has led to that more cultivated feeling, which, continually increasing and refining, has made Englishmen distinguished for their generosity, magnanimity and honor. The historical picture presents to us these subjects, as we contemplate the reign of Edward III. The monarch himself, for a time advancing with his age, sometimes even preceding it, in what was then considered to be the perfect gentleman, was, for many years, and until prosperity, grief, and age, debilitated him, a model for the imitation of his contemporaries, and, except in his love of war, to his successors. He was rewarded for his utilities with a reign long enough to give, to all the improvements which it fostered or occasioned, a sufficient period for their due development and effective establishment. England appears with new features after his death. She became a country of larger mind and nobler manners, hastening rapidly to more glorious destinies.

For the deposition and murder of his father, he was in no respect answerable; the plans of others had produced those events, when he was too young to be consulted or to assist. For the same reason, he is not responsible for the deceitful proclamation

issued in his name, assuring the nation, that his father had voluntarily abdicated, and wished him to assume the government of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Scarcely fourteen, he was not even allowed the limited interference to which that age might have entitled him. A council of regency, composed of twelve distinguished persons, was assembled, to conduct the affairs of state<sup>2</sup>; and the queen, and Mortimer, under her influence, struggled to monopolize to themselves the chief power of the administration. It was soon thought politic, after reversing the attainder of the duke of Lancaster<sup>3</sup>, and issuing parliamentary indemnities to the queen's adherents<sup>4</sup>, and promising to the commons the amendment of the grievances, and the preservation of the liberties, about which they petitioned<sup>5</sup>, to employ the young king, and the active part of the country, in some warfare that was neither dangerous nor distant: and Scotland soon furnished a convenient necessity for a summer expedition, in his account of which Froissart has presented us with a living picture of the times.

CHAP.  
IV.

REIGN OF  
EDW. III.

The invasion of the northern counties by the Scottish army, intrusted by Robert Bruce, now fast declining in health<sup>6</sup>, but unbroken in spirit, to the earl of Moray and Douglas, occasioned Edward to have his first experience of military life. The objects of the Scots were plunder and devastation, and their army was adapted to their purposes. Four thousand

His campaign  
against the  
Scots.  
1326.

<sup>1</sup> See it in Rymer, Act. Fœd. vol. iv. p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> The Chronicle of St. Peter's College Library mentions them to have been, the two archbishops, two bishops, the king's three uncles, an earl, and four barons. Lel. Collect. vol. ii. p. 476.

<sup>3</sup> The record of this reversal is printed in the Plac. Parl. vol. ii. p. 3. At the next meeting of the parliament, the Commons petitioned for his coronation. Ib. p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Plac. Parl. p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. pp. 7—12.

<sup>6</sup> "Moult vieil et malade de la grösse maladie." Froiss. c. 16. The French edition of Froissart which I use, is Paris 1574. Its chapters differ from those of Mr. Johnes's translation. To suit the readers who are possessed of this, tho I shall quote the chapter from the French edition, I will, in this part, add the page of Mr. Johnes's translation, which I shall sometimes adopt.

BOOK  
II.REIGN OF  
EDW. III.

knights and esquires, well mounted, and twenty thousand fierce and daring followers, on little galloways, that rode twenty leagues a day without halting<sup>7</sup>, with no baggage, but an iron plate under the flaps of their saddle, and a little bag of oatmeal behind it, could move with a rapidity that insured both success and escape. Their drink was the water of the streams they passed, with which they made their meal into a paste, and, on their little plates, baked it into thin cakes over a hasty fire; their more luxurious food was the half-sodden flesh of the cattle they seized and skinned. Thus prepared for depredation, they suddenly reached and passed the Tyne before the army appointed to defend it was apprized of their vicinity.<sup>8</sup>

The English administration had summoned a large force to meet the king at York; where a subsidiary body of the Hainalters joined them, who were endangered by a quarrel with the English archers, during the six weeks' festivity of the court in this town.<sup>9</sup> At last Edward marched to Durham near the beginning of a country called Northumberland, which Froissart characterizes as wild, full of deserts and mountains, and very poor in every thing but cattle. Advancing towards the Tyne, he beheld the smoke of the Scottish fires. The alarm was sounded. Every one hastened to his proper banner: and in the fields, three bodies of infantry were formed, with two wings of five hundred horse to each<sup>10</sup>, who

<sup>7</sup> These horses were never tied up or dressed, but were let loose, to pasture in the meadows or heaths. Froiss. c. 18. p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> Froiss. c. 18. p. 46. Barbour, in his 19th book, versifies his account of this invasion, vol. iii. pp. 130—152. Lord Hailes gives a portion of his appendix to it, vol. ii. p. 285.

<sup>9</sup> Froiss. c. 17. 41—45. But for this quarrel, says Froissart, they would have passed their time very pleasantly, for "Good wines from Gascony, Alsace, and the Rhine, were in abundance, and reasonable. Poultry and other provisions at a low price. And hay, oats and straw, of a good quality, and cheap, were delivered at their quarters." P. 45.

<sup>10</sup> Froiss. c. 18, 19. p. 48. He states Edward's army to have contained 8000 men at arms, knights and esquires, and 30,000 men armed and provided; of whom, half were mounted on little hackneys, and half on foot. The text adds,



marched in this battle array, till night, towards the place whence the smoke was seen ascending. The army halted in a wood by the side of a small river, to rest themselves, and to wait for their baggage and provisions. The Scots had disappeared.<sup>11</sup>

At daybreak, the banners in each party were displayed, and they marched, in their respective order, over the mountains, and thro the valleys. The Scots easily kept before them. They were obliged to toil after their less incumbered enemies, thro marshes, and over hilly and dangerous ground, till, as night approached, they were all so fatigued as to be unable to proceed. The king and the marshals ordered the army to encamp where they were; and they lay that night in a wood on the banks of a small river, while he retired to a poor abbey just by. A council was then held, to devise the best means of bringing the Scots to battle; and it was agreed to break up at midnight, and endeavour to reach the Tyne before their enemy could pass it, and thus compel them to surrender, or to fight with disadvantage. With this resolution each retired to his quarters, to refresh himself with what he found there; and all were ordered to be silent, that the signal-trumpets might be heard. At the first sound the horses were to be saddled; at the second, every one was to arm; at the third, they were to mount and join their banners. Rapidity of movement being the only chance of success, each was to carry but one loaf of bread, slung behind him; all unnecessary arms, harness, and baggage were to be left behind.<sup>12</sup>

These measures allowed little rest, notwithstanding the preceding day's fatigue; but they were punctually

that there were 24,000 archers on foot. This is so far beyond the usual proportion of archers, that I would read it 4000, or at the most 14,000.

<sup>11</sup> On 10th July 1327, the king marched from York to Top Cliff; on the 13th, he arrived at Durham, where he remained till the 14th. Hailes, 286.

<sup>12</sup> Froiss. c. 19. p. 50.

BOOK  
II.

REIGN OF  
EDW. III.

executed. At midnight, the army was mounted, and was fully arranged as day began to break. The banner-bearers then hastened on: all followed, over heathy hills and valleys, finding but little level surface. In some parts, the marshes and bogs were so spacious, that many were entangled and fell; and, as every one galloped forwards without waiting for commander or companion, few of the unfortunate could get assistance to extricate them. Many of the banners and horses were left where they were entangled. Sometimes cries of alarm made those behind believe that the front ranks were engaged with the enemy. Eager to assist, the rear hurried forward over the stones and heights, each with his shield on his neck and his sword in his hand, to partake the fray, and were as often disappointed to find that the noise had proceeded from the herds of wild animals flying terrified before the unusual visitants, and pursued by the shouts of the advance of the army, enjoying and increasing their dismay.<sup>13</sup>

Having ridden all that day over hills and across deserts, without keeping to any fixed road or path, or meeting with any town; at last, about evening, they reached the Tyne. They found no enemy, and hoped the Scots had not yet arrived. They crossed the ford before they rested, but with great difficulty, from the large stones that lay at the bottom. After passing the river, each took up his lodging on its banks as well as he could. The sun was now set. Few had any hatchets or wedges to cut down trees, to make themselves huts or fires. They had travelled that day above sixty miles on a gallop, without stopping, except to arrange the furniture of their horses, as the violent motion loosened it. They were forced to lie

<sup>13</sup> Froiss. c. 19. p. 51.

all night on the banks of the river, in their armor<sup>14</sup>, and at the same time to hold their horses by their bridles, for there was nothing to which they could tie them. The poor animals had neither forage nor oats to eat, after their hard labor ; and the men had only their loaf, now wet with the perspiration of their steeds. No one had either fire or light, but a few lords, who had brought some torches with them. In this melancholy state they passed the night, without disarming themselves or unsaddling their horses. When the desired morning came, from which they expected some comfort, it began to rain ; and the showers continued to fall all day, till the river was so swelled at noon, that no one could repossess it, nor be sent to inquire where they were, or from what place to get any forage or litter for their horses, or any bread and wine for themselves. The whole army had to fast another day and night. Some leaves and grass were found for their horses. They hewed down some young trees with their swords, and drove them into the ground, to tie their horses to ; and cut some brush-wood, to raise scanty huts for themselves.<sup>15</sup>

In the afternoon, a few straggling peasants were seen, who informed them, that they were fourteen leagues from Newcastle, and eleven from Carlisle, and that no accommodation could be had nearer. Messengers were sent off with horses, to procure provisions. After passing three days and nights without any, an indifferent supply at last arrived. When it came, it was so dear and so scanty, that frequent quarrels occurred, from the tearing the food out of each other's hands. They lay four days more at this place : it rained the whole time : the wet rotted their

<sup>14</sup> The place where they crossed the Tyne, is called, in the *Scala Chronica*, p. 551, Eiden, or Haidon.

<sup>15</sup> Froiss. pp. 52, 53.

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saddles and girths. They had no shoes for the horses which wanted them; and no clothing to keep themselves from the rain and cold, but their jerkins and their armor. Their green huts were an insufficient defence against the weather, and they had no wood to burn, but such as was too moist to take fire.<sup>16</sup>

Not believing that the Scots had got over the river before they arrived, they continued expecting their approach. Neither army knew where the other was. The king promised the grants of knighthood, and of land to the amount of a hundred a year, to the first person who should bring correct information where the Scottish forces lay. Sixteen persons ascended the mountains, and scattered themselves on all sides, to reconnoitre; and the English repassed the river, and marched on. On the fourth day of their advance, an esquire was seen galloping hastily towards the king<sup>17</sup>; he had discovered the Scottish army on a hill, where they had been some days resting, about nine miles off. The king ordered the horses immediately to be turned into the fields to feed, masses to be said, and every one afterwards to repose.<sup>18</sup> When they had arisen and breakfasted, the trumpets sounded; each battalion, regularly formed, advanced by itself over the hills and dales, and about noon they came in sight of the host they were pursuing. The Scots, issuing out of their huts, hastened into a military order, and formed into three bodies, on the descent of the eminence where they had lodged.<sup>19</sup> The river on which the Scots were stationed, the Were, ran with a strong and rapid stream at the foot of the hill, and so close to it, that there was no room for the

<sup>16</sup> Froiss. p. 54.

<sup>17</sup> Rymer has inserted, in his *Fœdera*, the grant of one hundred a year to Thomas de Rokesby, for his life, for this service, vol. iv. p. 312.—Hailes makes Beltingham the point where the English recrossed. P. 289.

<sup>18</sup> Blanch Land, on the Derwent, was the place of this halt.

<sup>19</sup> Froiss. pp. 55, 56.

English to draw up in a line of battle when they had passed. The Scots were so posted as to annoy their enemy with stones, while crossing. The king ordered his men to dismount, take off their spurs, and advance to the river on foot, in slow time, and keeping their ranks. It was meant by this firm countenance, to see whether the Scots would retire, or dispute the passage. They continued immoveable: and both armies now approached so near, that they could discern the arms on each other's shields.<sup>20</sup> The English halted. A few were remounted, to skirmish with their opposers, and to examine the river more closely. Heralds were sent, to invite the Scots to pass and fight upon the plain, or to allow the English to come over unmolested, and try their prowess on the other side. Aware of their advantages, the invaders would not forego them; and it was proclaimed thro the English army, that each was to take up his quarters, where he was, without quitting his ground or his arms. All lay that night uncomfortably upon the hard ground, among rocks and stones, with their armor on, without fires, and obliged to hold their horses as they slept. But, to deprive them of the comfort of repose, the Scots, about midnight, made such a blowing and noise with their horns, all together, "that it seemed as if all the great devils of hell had come there."<sup>21</sup>

The English did not venture to cross the river in the front of an enemy so strongly posted, and remained on its bank three days, hoping that want of food might compel the Scots to some movement. On the fourth morning, not one was to be seen; they had decamped at midnight. They were pursued, and found stationed on another mountain, stronger than before, on the same river, and protected by a large

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<sup>20</sup> Fross, pp. 57—59.

<sup>21</sup> Ib. p. 60.

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wood. The English marched along the river, on the opposite bank, watching an advantageous moment to cross it, and attack.<sup>22</sup> In the dead of the night, lord Douglas, with two hundred men from the Scottish camp, passed over the river considerably beyond the English camp, and, riding suddenly upon it, surprised the sleeping warriors with an attack, shouting vociferously, "Douglas for ever! Die, ye thieves of England." They killed more than their own number, and even pierced to the king's tent, and cut some of its cords. The general alarm forbidding further achievements, Douglas retired with little loss, and rejoined his friends.<sup>23</sup>

The Scots  
retreat.

The English, keeping better guard, and skirmishing perpetually with their enemy, at last took a Scottish knight prisoner, who declared that orders had been issued, for every one to be armed by vespers, and prepared to follow the banner of their Douglas. This looked like an intended repetition of the night attack. The English were formed into three battalions, made large fires, and continued in arms all the night; but the darkness passed without disturbance. At dawn, their scouts overtook two Scottish trumpeters, who told them that they were losing their time, for that Douglas had decamped with the army at midnight, in his way home, and was then several leagues off. The English chiefs agreed that it was in vain to follow them; and the young, but high-spirited king, wept with vexation at the disappointment. They inspected the remains of the Scottish camp, released a few English prisoners, whom they found naked and fastened to trees<sup>24</sup>; then marched

<sup>22</sup> This was near the place called Stanhope Park. Hailes, 291. We derive this name from Scala Chron. 551.

<sup>23</sup> Froiss. 61, 62. Froissart declares Douglas to have been esteemed the bravest and most enterprising of any in the two countries. c. 18. Barbour makes Bruce, on his death-bed, select him to carry his heart to the Holy Land. L. 20, p. 162.

<sup>24</sup> Froiss. 63. Scala Chr. 551. They found there more than 500 large cattle, which, being too slow to follow them, the Scots had killed, that they might not fall

back to Durham, and thence to York, amid great murmuring, and with a popular belief that Bruce had bribed Mortimer with thirty thousand pounds, to allow his army to escape. On this charge we may remark, that there was a want of enterprise, at least, in the English leaders, who could be twice for several days directly opposite to the Scottish camp, without venturing to cross the river to attack it, tho they had endured such fatigues to overtake it.<sup>25</sup> A peace followed, which the veteran Bruce did not long survive; but he had secured the independence of his country, and deservedly lives still in the affectionate memory of his grateful nation.<sup>26</sup>

At the age of sixteen Edward married Philippa, the daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland. He had seen her when his mother returned with him from Paris to Valenciennes, and had distinguished her from her three sisters, by his attentions.<sup>27</sup> The court of Hainault had a chivalric taste: its lord had recently celebrated a tournament at Condé, with the king of Bohemia, and many of the great lords of France<sup>28</sup>; and Philippa proved, during her husband's reign, that she had imbibed no small portion of the heroic spirit of the day.

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King's  
marriage.

into the hands of the English alive; also more than 300 caldrons made of leather, with the hair on, which were hung over the fires full of water, with meat ready to be boiled. Above a thousand spits had meat on them to roast; and more than 10,000 pairs of old worn-out shoes, made of undressed leather, with the hair on, were also left by the Scots. Froiss. 64.

<sup>25</sup> Anon. Hist. Edw. II. p. 298.

<sup>26</sup> No sovereign of Scotland has upheld its national glory with more personal exertions than Robert Bruce. His victory at Bannockburn was a fine instance of military talent triumphing over a force apparently irresistible. His successes contributed to postpone the union of Scotland with England, till the two countries could combine on the terms of fraternal equality, and not on those of conqueror and vanquished. Froissart's account of his death, has, like all his dialogue stories, a romantic air, c. 21. pp. 71—78; and yet Barbour's is similar, 161—166. But the request of Bruce to Douglas, to carry his heart to Palestine, tho romantic, is a truth. Rymer has printed Edward's passport to Douglas for this journey, vol. iv. p. 400.

<sup>27</sup> Froiss. c. 9. p. 22. and c. 20. p. 68. A youth, one of her countrymen, came over with her, to wait on her and to carve for her. He became, as Sir Walter Manny, one of the greatest warriors of the age.

<sup>28</sup> Un tournoy qui la estoit crié. Froiss. c. 15. p. 36.

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EDW. IIIHis chival-  
ric taste.

The magnificent or ostentatious disposition of Mortimer contributed to give Edward a love of chivalry and romantic praise. Mortimer, after he was created earl of March, is described to have become "proud beyond measure." Even his son remarked it so strongly, as to call him "King of Folly."<sup>29</sup> A desire of emulating the feats or the fame of the renowned Arthur, incited him to keep a round table of knights, in imitation of this favorite hero of romance.<sup>30</sup> Edward, then about eighteen, was of the age to be impressed by the gallant ceremonies of this knightly entertainment. A few years afterwards, he imitated them himself, in a great tournament and hastiludia, in London and at Dunstaple, and in feasts and jousts of the same character, at Windsor and elsewhere.<sup>31</sup>

Earl of  
Kent de-  
stroyed.

The conduct of Mortimer and the queen excited so much public discontent, that an attempt was made to overawe it, by the arrest of the earl of Kent, the king's uncle, and one of the leading opposers of the government. He was accused of treason on a fabricated charge, condemned, and executed. In choosing this nobleman for the victim, they had the art to fix on an unpopular person<sup>32</sup>; but the benefit they derived from this gross act of legal murder, was transient. The king was displeased at its perpetration<sup>33</sup>; and his visible dissatisfaction encouraged some to inform him, that Mortimer was implicated

<sup>29</sup> Chron. St. Pets'. Coll. Lel. Col. ii. 476.

<sup>30</sup> We derive this incident, which casts a ray of light on the origin of Edward's chivalric taste, from the same old chronicle. "Erle Mortimer kept the rounde table of knights in Wales for a pride, in figure of Arture." *Ib.* p. 476. Avesbury says that he held a round table at Wigmore, and gave gifts like a king. P. 7.

<sup>31</sup> Chron. St. Pets'. Coll. p. 478.—In 1331, he held a tournament for fifteen days at Dartford; and on the Monday after St. Matthew's, thirteen knights held a hastiludia for three days, against any willing to come. *Wal. Hem.* p. 72. And Avesbury remarks, that at Michaelmas, in his fifth year, he held a solemn hastiludia in Cheapside, between the conduit and the cross, such as had not been seen before. p. 9. The wars of Edward I. had led to a renewal of these warlike exercises.

<sup>32</sup> Anon. Hist. p. 395. The author says, that he was less regretted by the people, because he had allowed his household to seize the property of others without paying for it.

<sup>33</sup> Chron. St. Pets'. Coll. 477.



in his father's destruction. Being now eighteen, the age at which, according to the English law, the royal minority ceases, he resolved to emancipate himself from his degrading tutelage. The queen and Mortimer were too powerful to be attacked by open force. But on the meeting of the parliament at Nottingham, a scheme to apprehend them was successfully executed. They resided in the castle, for security, guarded by their military friends. The king, by the connivance of the governor, was admitted secretly at night, with a few brave friends, through a subterranean passage. Mortimer was seized in his bed-room and secured, after killing the first who entered.<sup>34</sup> He was arraigned before his peers in parliament, convicted, and executed.<sup>35</sup> The queen dowager was confined in an appointed castle, with every appendage of dignity and comfort. The king paid her the filial attention of a visit, twice or thrice a year; but she was not suffered to come abroad.<sup>36</sup>

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Mortimer  
seized and  
executed.

The first years of Edward's reign continued to be occupied by wars in Scotland. That country, like Wales and Ireland, was too near England, and the national feeling of both countries was then too hostile to each other, for either to be at peace. Causes of dissension are always arising between jealous and irritable tempers; and, ambition is never at a loss for pretexts, if opportunity invite. The restoration of the Scottish estates to some English noblemen, pursuant to the last treaty, not having been fulfilled, was the alleged cause of a renewed warfare.<sup>37</sup> The son of Baliol, the competitor of Bruce, was encour-

The king's  
invasions  
of Scotland.  
1332.

<sup>34</sup> Avesb. p. 8. Wal. Hem. 271. Anon. Hist. 396. "Sir Hugh Trumpeton, redy to resiste the taking of Mortimer, was slayne and braynid with a mace by one of Montacute's company." Chron. St. Pets'. Coll. 477.

<sup>35</sup> The accusations against him may be seen in the Record, Parl. Plac. vol. ii. p. 52; and in Knyghton Chron. p. 2556.

<sup>36</sup> Froiss. c. 24. p. 84.

<sup>37</sup> The public correspondence on this subject may be seen in Rymer, vol. iv.; and on this war with Scotland, Hailes' Annals, 137—170, should be read.

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aged to claim the crown, on the promise of Edward's support. A romantic victory, obtained by less than 3000 men, over the Scottish regent, at the head of 40,000, raised Baliol to the throne.<sup>38</sup> His confidence led to a surprise, which divested him of his crown as easily as he had attained it.<sup>39</sup> The Scots were encouraged by his expulsion, to renew their depredations in the northern counties of England; and this attempt brought Edward into the field against them with all his force. The first plan of his campaign was to retake Berwick. The regent who governed Scotland for king David Bruce, had the impolicy to engage in a pitched battle for its relief. Here Edward fought his first general engagement at Halidon Hill. He is described as having exerted himself greatly on foot, preceding his army, and animating every one by his cheerful countenance and valor.<sup>40</sup> The Scots received a defeat so decisive and destructive, that Baliol was re-established on this perilous throne.<sup>41</sup> In gratitude to Edward for

<sup>38</sup> Hemingford's account is, that 40,000 Scots collected at Glasmore under the earl of Mar; that the English passed the water at night, ascended the mountain where the Scots were encamped, and suddenly attacked them at dawn. Seized with a panic, they crowded on, and destroyed each other, so that the English only had to slaughter. Of the Scots, five earls, two of the Bruces, nearly 3000 knights and men at arms, and 13,300 infantry perished. The annalist says, that more were suffocated and trodden down by themselves, than were slain by the enemies' sword. Very few of the English fell. P. 273.

<sup>39</sup> Knyghton, 2562. Wals. 114. Hailes' Ann. 158.

<sup>40</sup> Anon. Hist. 402. Heming. 274—277. The contemporary poet, Laurence Minot, thus mentions this battle:

A litell fro that forsaid toun,  
Halydon hill, that es the name,  
There was crakked many a croune  
Of *wild* Scottes, and alls of *tame*.  
There was thaire baner born all doune,  
To make silke boste thai war to blame.  
But nevertheless ay er thal boune  
To wait England with sorow and schame.

Minot, p. 4. Ritson ed.

<sup>41</sup> Nothing is more illusive than the various statements of the numbers of contending armies, and of their losses. Hailes is desirous to adopt the enumeration of the continuation of Hemingford, being 14,055; the Anon. Hist. Edw. III. extends the number to 60,000, p. 402, whom Walsingham seems to follow, p. 114; the Chron. Lel. ii. 478, makes the slain 25,712. Barnes quotes a MS. at Cambridge, which reckons 56,640 men, Edw. III. p. 78. The numbers in Knyghton are not consistent; he makes 40,000 to have fallen, in p. 2563; but in his detail, p. 2564,

his help, the restored king did homage for the kingdom of Scotland, and ceded to him several of its southern counties.<sup>42</sup> But it was impossible that a king forced on them by their national enemies, could be popular. New efforts to expel him, produced new invasions from England; which afflicted the country, without subduing its spirit.

His Scottish successes, and the applause he derived from his own exertions in obtaining them, confirmed in Edward's mind that passion for military fame, which soon exerted itself in the kingdom of France; obtaining great personal renown to himself and his people, but neither realizing his ambitious expectations, nor acquiring much permanent advantage. To become the king of France, was one of the earliest projects of his youthful ambition: and it arose naturally enough from the circumstances of the times, and from his maternal parentage. The death of Charles the Fair, in 1328, had left that crown without direct male descendants to inherit it. Its three last kings were the sons of Philip the Fair. As they had all reigned successively, and died without issue, the question arose whether Edward III. the son of Philip's daughter, Isabella, should succeed, or Philip de Valois, the son of her uncle, and grandson of the preceding sovereign, entitled Philip the Hardy.<sup>43</sup> According to the English law, the

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1333;

He claims  
the crown  
of France.

he differs from himself, and his numerals are obviously corrupted. The military reputation of a general may sometimes rest on any one defeat or victory; but that of a country, never. It is therefore a subject not worth disputing.

<sup>42</sup> Froissart's chapter on the taking of Berwick, c. 27. pp. 95—106, is an instance that he sometimes writes loosely and inaccurately.

<sup>43</sup> The preceding French kings were,

Philip III. the Hardy; acceded 1270.

Philip IV., the Fair, his son; 1285.

Louis X. le Hutin; 1314.

Philip V. the Long; 1316. } Sons of Philip IV.

Chas. IV. the Fair; 1322. }

died 1328.

Isabella, the mother of Edward, was daughter of Philip IV.; and Philip de Valois was grandson of Philip III. by Charles de Valois, the brother of Philip IV. Louis X. had left a daughter Jane, who was then alive.

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son of the daughter precedes the nephew in inheritance; but the French Salic law excluded females. It was contended by Edward, that the feudal laws of France forbade females to inherit, who could not perform the feudal duties; yet, that their male heirs were not debarred by the spirit of this law, because these were competent to discharge all the military services required. On the other hand, it was insisted by the French advocates for Philip de Valois, that the exclusion of the female in the first instance, was an exclusion of all her descendants, of either sex. If it had been a question of succession to the English crown, it would have been rightfully determined by the parliament and law of England: but, as it concerned the crown and law of France, it was clearly a matter for the French state and lawyers to decide. They adjudged in favour of Philip de Valois, and he was crowned king of France.<sup>44</sup> In this decision they acted on the soundest rules of national policy, which can never leave it doubtful whether a native prince, or a foreign king, would be the preferable sovereign; and Edward ought to have acquiesced in their determination. But it was flattering to Isabella, the mother of Edward, to consider her son as entitled to a crown so illustrious, on her brother's death; and it was an object brilliant enough to captivate the fancy of a young prince, who was only sixteen when the vacancy occurred, and who, in addition to his mother's conversation, had the unanimous opinion of his countrymen, reasoning from their own laws, in his favor. The idea thus impressed, mingled with his feelings, and

<sup>44</sup> Jean de Monstreuil, who lived about 1400, has left a candid statement of the arguments between Phillip and Edward. He says, that Phillip had the decision in his favor, "des pers, des barons, des prelates, et autres sages du royaume de France, et de tous les habitans du dit royaume." The Abbé Sallier has given extracts from his curious work, and also from another on the same subject, composed 1461, both in the public library at Paris, in the *Mém. Acad. Inscr.* vol. xxxiv. pp. 250—279.

became the idolised thought of his maturer age. He pursued, with new ardor, the joust, the tournament, and the round table, that by these favorite exercises he might make himself and his people both able and desirous to excel in war; and as soon as he had completely ended his Scottish contest, and obtained from it reputation and military practice enough to make his future undertaking effective and popular, he prepared, notwithstanding his homage to Philip, to begin his arduous enterprise.<sup>45</sup>

It was in the eleventh year of his reign, and at the age of twenty-six, that he publicly avowed his project, and provided for its execution with all the sagacity of a statesman. He purposed to make his attack on the side of Flanders, and he applied his first care to make those alliances which would most facilitate his invasion. He concluded a treaty with Lewis of Bavaria, then the emperor of Germany, and obtained from him the title of his Vicarius over that part of the empire west of Cologne, which gave him the right of commanding the feudal princes. Under this sanction, he made engagements with the duke of Brabant and Gueldres; with the archbishop of Cologne; the marquis of Juliers; the count of Hainault and Namur, and grand constable of Zealand and Holland.<sup>46</sup> All these powers bound themselves, for stipulated subsidies, to assist him with their forces, in his enterprise. Secure of their co-operation, he sailed to Antwerp; and from that city explained his claims to the Pope, in a long and respectful letter, drawn up with much civilian ability, hoping to obtain

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He makes  
alliances  
on the con-  
tinent.

<sup>45</sup> The Abbé Sallier remarks, that in 1330 Edward had done liege homage to Philip. And Jean de Monstreuil, from this incident, makes these inferences: "Il monstra bien et declara qu'il n'avoit nul droit, ne cuidoit avoir, à la couronne de France; il attendit à se dire roy de France par maintes années, et toutesfois n'est pas le royaume de France si petite seigneurie, que l'on doive ainsi ignorer son droit et son action par si long temps, se l'on tient y avoir droit." p. 271. So the old French lawyers thought on Edward's claim.

<sup>46</sup> Rymer has collected the official documents of these negotiations, in the fourth volume of his *Fœdera*.

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Von Arte-  
veld of  
Ghent.

his then important sanction. But the Pope, in answer, reminded him that he had allied with an emperor who had invaded Italy, and favored heretics.<sup>47</sup> Sanguine in his hopes of conquest, Edward assumed the title of King of France, quartered his arms with the Gallic lilies, and published manifestoes, asserting his rights, which he caused to be fixed on the doors of several of the French churches. Philip assembled his feudatories and allies, and prepared to watch the movements of his competitor.

It was important to Edward's success, that the Flemings should befriend him; but their earl was attached to the French king. The state of Flanders, however, favored his attempt. An ambitious brewer of Ghent, Jacob Von Arteveld, had excited a revolting spirit among the Flemings, had banished the knights and esquires who had supported their legal sovereign, and had established in every city such a strong democratic party, obedient to his will, that he governed the country more absolutely than any preceding lord. He affected a sort of princely pomp; was attended in public by sixty or eighty soldiers; collected the earl's revenues for his own use; raised subsidies when he wanted them; paid liberally his troops and adherents; and killed without remorse, all those whom he disliked or suspected.<sup>48</sup> Edward, advised to gain the friendship of this dominating brewer, sent his ablest courtiers to flatter and bribe him. Their efforts succeeded. Arteveld persuaded or intimidated the chief lords of the Flemish towns to give free passage to the English army; and Edward, sending sir Walter Manny to attack the island of Cadsand<sup>49</sup>, proceeded, at the end of Sep-

<sup>47</sup> See these letters in Hemingford, pp. 282—303; and in Walsingham, 119—128. The count d'Artois, whom Philip banished, is described by Froissart as urging Edward to this invasion. c. 29. p. 110.

<sup>48</sup> Fross, c. 30, pp. 116—118. Froissart calls him, "Brasseur de Miel."

<sup>49</sup> Fross, cc. 31, 32. Anon. Hist. Edw. III. p. 413.

tember, to enter France from Valenciennes, into the district of Cambrai, burning and plundering all around.<sup>50</sup>

He was joined by the Margrave of Brandenburg, son of the emperor; heard and dismissed some cardinals, who came to treat for peace; proclaimed peace and safety to all who should join him; and, to intimidate others, ravaged the country for ten miles round with fire<sup>51</sup> — an act expressive both of the barbarism and folly of the age; for, having crossed the Oise, and advanced to St. Quentin, on his way to his rival, who was reported to be at Noyon, he was informed by his allies, in the middle of October, that their provisions were exhausted, that the winter was opening with severity, and that it was expedient to retreat. From the belief that the French would give battle early, they had provided but a short supply of food.<sup>52</sup> This ill-boding intimation was balanced by letters from the king of France, that he purposed to fight him on the ensuing Thursday. Edward withdrew a little towards Flanders. Messengers from the king of Bohemia announced the impending conflict; and three spies, taken and examined separately, declared that Philip had fixed on Saturday for the struggle.<sup>53</sup> The French army was seen approaching at the time expected. Their advanced guard took an appropriate station; and Edward drew up his forces in a suitable plain into an array, which the Germans and Brabanters came to behold, and contemplated with admiration. The

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Edward  
invades  
France.  
1339.

<sup>50</sup> The king's own account, in his letter to his son, is, "We passed out of Valenciennes, and the same day began to burn in Cambresyn, and burnt there all the following week; so that this country is very completely destroyed, as well in its corn as in cattle and other property." Avesbury, 47. This author was keeper of the registers at Canterbury, and died about 1357: he has inserted several of the public dispatches, and some original account of these French campaigns, in his work.

<sup>51</sup> Heming. 306.

<sup>52</sup> The king in his letter assigns this reason. Hemingford says, he proposed to them to share his provisions, to induce them to stay. P. 306.

<sup>53</sup> King's letter. Avesb.

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duke of Brabant was so animated with the sight, as to promise a thousand florins to the man who should bring him a hand-breadth of the king of France's banner<sup>54</sup>, and every heart beat high with courage and hope.<sup>55</sup> But still no opposing battalions approached. As yet the cloudy distance glittered with no moving helms or spears; no trampling of steeds, no clashing of arms, no vague sounds like those of an advancing host were heard.<sup>56</sup> Explorers went out, and found Philip's advanced guard withdrawn, and his soldiers digging ditches, and felling and fixing thick trees round their position, to preclude attack.<sup>57</sup> Enraged,

<sup>54</sup> Heming. 310—312. "When every thing had been thus arranged, the king, mounted on an ambling palfrey, and attended only by three knights, rode along the line of his army, and right sweetly entreated the lords and their companions, that they would aid him to preserve his honor; which they all promised: he then returned to his own division, and ordered that no one should advance before the banners of the marshals." Froissart, c. 42. p. 158.

<sup>55</sup> "It was a fine sight," exclaims Froissart, "to see the banners and pennons flying in the plain, the barbed horses, and the knights and esquires richly armed." P. 159.

<sup>56</sup> One alarm occurred: "About noon, a hare was started in the plain, and ran among the French army, who began to make a great shouting, which caused those in the rear to imagine that the combat was begun in the front, and many put on their helmets, and made ready their swords." Froiss. 160. We may here call the reader's attention to Laurence Minot's description of this day, as presenting some analogy between Edward III. and the Ajax of Homer. When a foggy darkness spread over the Grecian host, Homer represents his hero as praying,

If Greece must perish, we thy will obey,  
But let us perish in the face of day.

Minot, who knew nothing of Homer, but was acquainted with his own sovereign, having mentioned that the falling of a mist had changed all the cheers of the English, represents Edward, from his own natural heroism, as praying, like Ajax, to God, to make it clear. It is probable that both Homer and Minot have given us real incidents:

In that morning fell a myst,  
And when oure Inglissmen it wyst,  
It changed all thaire chere:  
Our king unto God made his boone,  
And God sent him gude comfort soone,  
The weder wex ful clere.

Oure king and his men held the felde  
Stal-worthy with spere and schelde,  
And thoght to win his right;  
With lordes and with knyhtes kene  
And other doghty men by dene,  
That war ful freke to fight.

Minot, p. 15.

<sup>57</sup> Heming. King's letter, ap. Avesb. — Minot wrote this stanza upon it:  
When Sir Phelip of France herd tell  
That king Edward in feld wald dwell,  
Than gayned him no gle;



yet still unwilling to abandon the hope of battle, Edward remained in his array till the shades of evening fell, when the exhausted allies determined to retire. Two days afterwards, the unwelcome tidings came, that Philip had broken up his tents<sup>58</sup>, and retreated in great haste to the interior; leaving the king of England astonished, that a people of old so famous for valor, should have made a solemn engagement for battle, and yet not have kept it.<sup>59</sup> But it was obvious that Philip, aware of the necessities of his antagonists, had been detaining them with a vain hope, in order that their difficulties might increase. Sensible of the superior means of prowess of the invading army, or preferring certainty to chance, he had adopted the Fabian system of defence, instead of the chivalric glory of an ardent conflict.<sup>60</sup> The confederated forces, baffled by his policy, fell back to Brussels; and the campaign ended without Edward's having obtained any advantages commensurate with his preparations. He had moved a larger force against France than he would be probably able to combine again; and yet, with all the effect of a young enthusiasm in his favor, he had achieved no more than a temporary devastation of its northern province. From this experiment he might have seen the futility of his aggrandizing schemes. But the disappointment, instead of suggesting wisdom, only added resentment to ambition. He asked of his parliament three hundred thousand pounds to meet

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He traisted of no better bote;  
But both on hors and fote,  
He hasted him to fle.

Minot, p. 15.

<sup>58</sup> King's letter, ap. Avesb. His commissioners, in their address to parliament, stated, that he had got into France as far as "Saint Quynryn." Plac. Parl. 2. p. 103.

<sup>59</sup> Heming. 312.

<sup>60</sup> Froissart says, that Philip's council "told him he had acted right well, and had valiantly pursued his enemies, insomuch that he had driven them out of his kingdom; and that the king of England must make many such expeditions, before he could conquer the kingdom of France." C. 41. p. 161.

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campaign;  
1340.

his expenditure<sup>61</sup>; and, notwithstanding their hesitation, he resolved to obliterate the mortification of his failure by renewed effort and obstinate perseverance.

The next year was distinguished by his achieving a brilliant exploit, which may be classed high in the catalogue of heroic feats. He was about to sail with forty ships to Flanders, and had shipped part of his horses, when his chancellor informed him that Philip, aware of his intended passage, had stationed a large fleet to intercept him. Edward discredited the intelligence; and the minister, alarmed at the consequences likely to result from his incredulity, resigned his seals. This manly firmness induced the king to direct his admiral to explore the truth, who found the French fleet awaiting to surprise him.<sup>62</sup> Philip had secretly assembled at Sluys one hundred and twenty large vessels, and above an hundred others, manned with forty thousand Genoese and French. The king, reflecting on the mischief which this fleet might inflict on his dominions<sup>63</sup>, instead of being deterred by its magnitude, with that instinctive heroism which pervaded his mind, resolved to convert the plan for his destruction into an occasion of his triumph. He told his captains, who hinted danger, that they were in a confederacy to stop his passage. "But I will go, and you, who are afraid where no fear is, may remain at home." All exclaimed, that they would go before him, or they would perish. He returned the seals to the prelate; sent messages to all his ports, for every ship that was ready, to meet him at an appointed station; and, by riding himself from place to place, to accelerate their

<sup>61</sup> Plac. Parl. 2. p. 103.<sup>62</sup> Avesbury, p. 55.<sup>63</sup> In his letters to his parliament, he says, "The perils which might happen, if they went to injure our kingdom, being considered, as also the comfort it would afford to our enemies, and especially to Scotland, if they should have that power, we resolve to seek them." Pl. Parl. vol. ii. p. 118.

preparations, he collected in a few days a force with which he resolved to attempt the enterprise.<sup>64</sup>

On Midsummer eve, he approached their station in the Swyn; and the next day, as the sun was rising, he beheld their fleet with their sails down, arranged into four lines, and fastened together with ropes and great iron chains, that they might not be penetrated. They had wooden castles erected at the tops of their masts, and small skiffs, full of stones, suspended half way down.<sup>65</sup> Edward drew up all his ships, placing the strongest in the front, and on the wings his archers. Between every two vessels with archers, there was one of men at arms. Detached ships, with archers, were placed in reserve, to assist such as might be damaged.<sup>66</sup> The king sent the bishop of Lincoln towards the shore, to reinforce himself with the Flemish troops; but they declined to embark, and appeared to wait the issue of the battle, to join the conquering party. Edward then resolved to attack with his English force; and, hoisting his sails, stretched out a little, to gain the wind and put the sun on their backs.<sup>67</sup>

A gallant veteran began, by attacking one of the ships of their front line; the earl of Huntingdon selected another; the earl of Northampton, a third; sir Walter Manny, a fourth; and others in succession engaged with individual antagonists. The trumpets sounded, and the battle fiercely began. The archers and cross-bowmen shot with all their might; the men at arms engaged hand to hand. The English threw out their grappling irons, to link themselves to their enemies; and their determined bravery, after a long resistance, mastered the first line. The French

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His great  
naval  
victory.

<sup>64</sup> Avesbury, 55. Hem. 320.

<sup>65</sup> Hem. 320.

<sup>66</sup> Froiss. c. 51. p. 208. "There were in this fleet a great many ladies from England, who were going to attend on the queen at Ghent. The king had these carefully guarded by 300 men at arms and 500 archers." Ib.

<sup>67</sup> Froiss. 209.

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king's flag was torn down, and the English standard was mounted in its stead.<sup>68</sup>

The two next lines, dismayed by the capture of the first, which had been made a floating fortification, and had been thought invincible, attempted to escape. The English surrounded them before they could separate. The crews threw down their arms, and jumped into their boats: most of these, overladen, sank in the waves, and two thousand men perished. Three lines thus subdued, the English assaulted the fourth, consisting of sixty ships: and here the severest part of the conflict occurred. Some of the bravest defenders of the other lines rallied in these. Night came on in the midst of the struggle, and the impossibility of relief but from their success, produced a desperate courage. Two English ships, with their defenders, were overwhelmed by discharged stones; the rest were in proportionate peril. The king and his nobility were examples to all, of undaunted and indefatigable valor. The conflict continued in the horrors of darkness, beyond the time of midnight, thousands perishing every hour before the victory was decided. The French had outnumbered their assailants four to one, with the additional advantage of being more experienced mariners. But the English resolution triumphed. The whole of the hostile fleet was captured, and thirty thousand of its fighting men perished in the action<sup>69</sup>—a dreadful consumption of human life, that one individual king, already lord of a noble country, might have also the sovereignty of another! But the improvement of human nature is destined to be progressive, and much imperfection will cling to it till the progress is completed. Edward, however, felt that the award of

<sup>68</sup> Hem. 320. Froiss. 209.

<sup>69</sup> Hem. 320—322. Froiss. 210. Avesbury, 55—57.—In one ship, four hundred bodies were found dead. Ib. The king's public letter states, that all the French fleet was captured, with a moderate loss on his own side. Avesb. 58.

victory to him was a claim on his personal gratitude. On reaching the shore, he knelt down, and humbly breathed his thanks to Heaven for his success, and sent letters to England directing a national thanksgiving. His fleet spent the night with all the merriment and noise that trumpets and vociferous exhilarations could exhibit.<sup>70</sup> This decisive achievement gave a superiority of spirit and strength to the English navy, which was displayed on other occasions during this reign, and which has since become the inseparable character of the British islanders.

Edward profited by his success to make another attack on France. Again his force seemed calculated to annihilate opposition. His allies from Hainault, Brabant, and Flanders, swelled his army to nearly 100,000 men.<sup>71</sup> But the whole campaign consisted of the siege of Tournay, which detained his main body eleven weeks; while several minor excursions were prosecuted in the vicinity.<sup>72</sup> The king of France assembled a large army, and encamped near him, in a position which was so strong, from the surrounding marshes, that it could not be attacked. Edward amused himself with sending Philip a challenge to a personal combat, who in answer rebuked him for not considering what he owed to his liege lord. The failure of supplies at last compelled Edward to accept of a proposal for a truce.<sup>73</sup> He retired from the untaken town, and strove to avenge his disappointment on his own ministers, by arresting and accusing them of treason, in not forwarding due means for his

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He attacks  
Tournay;  
1340.

<sup>70</sup> Hem. 321. Froiss. 211.

<sup>71</sup> The Brewer, whom Froissart sends with 60,000 men against the duke of Normandy, c. 51. is described as haranguing the people in favor of Edward's right. "His hearers declared, that he had spoken nobly and with much experience. He was greatly praised by all; and they declared that he was worthy to govern, and to exercise the dignity of earl of Flanders." C. 51.

<sup>72</sup> Froissart narrates all these enterprises in his characteristic style, cc. 54—64. pp. 215—226. The campaign is more soberly and concisely described by Avesbury, 55—65; and by Hemingford, 323, 324.

<sup>73</sup> Avesbury inserts it verbatim, 65—70.

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subsistence.<sup>74</sup> The defensive policy of the French was certainly justified by their triumph. They had prevented the city of Tournay from being lost, and had compelled the great army, that lay before it, to separate without success. In a court of chivalry, the English boast, that they had been suffered to besiege one of Philip's best towns, and to ravage his country, without his punishing them for it as he ought to have done, would be allowed its due weight; but perhaps reason would decide, that Edward had the honor, and Philip the profit, of the campaign.<sup>75</sup>

His third  
campaign.  
1341—  
1343.

A dispute as to the succession to the dukedom of Bretagne, in which one of the candidates claimed Edward's assistance, was a temptation to his ambition to interfere, which neither he nor his parliament could resist. Montfort, whose cause he espoused, obtained a temporary possession of the country, and did homage to him for it; but he was at last taken prisoner, and destroyed by his rival, Charles de Blois, with his French partizans.<sup>76</sup> His widow displayed, after his death, all the personal heroism of this romantic period<sup>77</sup>; and Sir Walter Manny conducted to her relief a powerful English force. It is unnecessary to detail his brave exploits; they are blazoned by Froissart with all the enthusiasm of his pen.<sup>78</sup>

Naval victories again graced the English skill and courage, and gave to the country a substantial benefit, far superior to their glory<sup>79</sup>; but the continental operations ended unfruitfully in a necessary truce.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Avesbury has preserved the archbishop's justificatory letter, 71, 72; and the king's invective against him, 77—89, in which he asserts that he was compelled to make the truce for want of money, and not, as Froissart intimates, from the intercession of lady Joan.

<sup>75</sup> Froissart has preserved to us the rival discussions on this subject, c. 64. p. 249.

<sup>76</sup> Froissart, cc. 66—73. pp. 254—278.

<sup>77</sup> Froissart's account of her conduct is highly interesting, cc. 81, 82. pp. 300—309.

<sup>78</sup> Froissart, vol. i. c. 82—86.

<sup>79</sup> Avesbury has inserted in his History, Edward's letter to his son, which gives an outline of this campaign, 98—102.

<sup>80</sup> A truce was also made with Scotland, which had renewed its incursions.

The war was soon renewed, and Edward adopted a larger plan of operations. He sent the earl of Derby, another of the distinguished warriors of the day, to Guienne, with 300 knights and squires, 600 men at arms, and 2000 archers, to make an active diversion in that quarter.<sup>81</sup> The earl landed at Bayonne on the 6th June 1344, and proceeded to Bourdeaux, where he rested a fortnight to prepare for his campaign; while the comte de Lisle collected all the barons and knights of Gascony to resist him.<sup>82</sup> Finding these to be assembled at Bergerac, the earl made that town his first point of attack. His efforts at last succeeded.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Froissart, c. 101. vol. ii, p. 51. "The king advised the earl to take plenty of gold and silver with him, and to bestow it liberally among the knights and squires, in order to acquire their good opinion and affection." Froiss. p. 51.

<sup>82</sup> "The count was at that time like a king in Gascony. He had taken the field, captured towns and castles, and waged war upon all who were of the English party." Froiss. p. 54.

<sup>83</sup> Froissart's description of the enterprise may be cited as a picture of the military exploits and spirit of those times. "This day the English dined early; and during the repast, sir Walter Manny said to the earl of Derby, 'My lord! if we were good knights, and well armed, we might, this evening, partake of the wines of these French lords who are in garrison in Bergerac.' The earl answered, that it should not be his fault if they did not. When their companions heard this, they said, 'Let us hasten to arm ourselves; for we will ride towards Bergerac.' It was no sooner said than done. They were all immediately armed and mounted.

"They rode on, with banners displayed, during the greatest heat of the day, until they came to the barriers of Bergerac; which was not a place easily to be taken, for a part of the river Dordogne surrounded it.

"The French lords who were in the town, seeing the English coming to attack them, said, 'They shall be well received;' and sallied forth in battle array, having with them a multitude of foot soldiers and some country people badly armed. The English approached in close order, and their archers began to shoot quickly. When the foot soldiers felt the points of the arrows, and saw the banners and pennons glittering in the air, which they had not been accustomed to see, they fell back upon their men at arms, while the archers continued to shoot at them with great quickness, doing much mischief to them.

"The lords of England then advanced, mounted on their excellent steeds, with lances in their rests. Dashing into the midst of this infantry, they drove them down at pleasure, and killed and wounded the French men at arms, in great abundance, as these could not exert themselves, because the runaways blocked up the road.

"Thus were those of Bergerac driven back again to the suburbs; and with so much loss, that the first bridge and bars were taken by storm. The English entered with them, sir Walter Manny the first.

"The comte de Lisle and the lords of Gascony passed the bridge with great difficulty. At this place the engagement was very severe, and lasted a considerable time. The noblemen of France and England combated most valiantly, hand to hand. Neither knight nor bachelor could there conceal himself. The English took several lords prisoners.

"Sir W. Manny advanced so far among his enemies as to be in great danger; but

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The comte de Lisle and his barons, finding themselves unable to withstand the English strength and prowess in the field, resolved, in a council, to separate and withdraw into fortresses; to carry on the war from these garrisons, and to form a body of 500 combatants by way of frontier guard, under the command of the seneschal of Toulouse.<sup>84</sup>

On this plan the knights departed to their different garrisons. The English general then employed himself in Perigord and Upper Gascony, in reducing several defended towns and fortresses, till, satisfied with his successes, he returned with gratulation and triumph to Bourdeaux.<sup>85</sup> But this interval of rest

the French retreated into the fort, let down the portcullis, and getting upon the battlements, threw down stones and other things to drive away the assailants. This lasted until vespers, when the English retreated, quite weary, into the suburbs which they had won; where they found such quantities of provision and wine as would have lasted them four months.

“When the morrow dawned, the earl of Derby had his trumpets sounded, drew out his forces, and made a mighty assault on the town, which lasted till noon; but the men at arms within defended themselves valiantly, and at noontide the English retreated, perceiving that they only lost their time.

“Their chiefs assembling in council, determined to attack the town on the side next the river; because it was there fortified only by palisades. The earl sent to Bourdeaux for vessels, and sixty barks came up the Dordogne to Bergerac. The townsmen, seeing these preparations, solicited the French lords to surrender, that they might not lose all that they had, and their lives. The comte replied, ‘We will go to that part where you say the danger is; for we will not consent to surrender it so easily.’ The Gascon knights and squires came therefore to defend the palisades; but the archers, who were in the barks, kept up so quick an attack with their arrows, that none dared show themselves, unless they chose to run the risk of being killed or wounded.

“In the town, there were with the Gascons 300 Genoese cross-bowmen, whose armor shielded them from the arrows. These kept the archers well employed all day; and many on each side were wounded. At last the English in the vessels exerted themselves so much, that they broke down a large piece of the palisades. Those of Bergerac then retreated, and requested time to consider if they should not give up the place. The remainder of the day and night was granted, upon condition that they should not repair the breaches. The lords of Gascony withdrew in the night. The townsmen sued for mercy; and the earl of Derby answered, ‘He that begs for mercy shall have mercy shown him; but open the gates and let us enter.’ The people assembled in the market-place, set the bells ringing, and both men and women went out in procession to the earl, and with great humility conducted him to the church, where they swore fealty to him and to the king of England.” Froiss. c. 102. vol. ii. pp. 55—60.

<sup>84</sup> Froiss. 60.

<sup>85</sup> Froiss. c. 105. p. 67. As he was besieging the castle of Pelagruie, the French executed a daring exploit: “Towards *midnight* about 200 lances, well mounted, sallied out of Perigueux. They rode so fast, that they came to the English camp before day-light; and falling upon it, killed and wounded many. They entered the tent of the earl of Oxford, whom they found arming himself; he was imme-



and feasting roused the comte de Lisle to profit by the absence of his adversary. He summoned all the barons of Gascony to attend him with celerity, with all their forces, and collecting their powerful machines, which were then nearly as effective against the walls and battlements of that day, as our cannon and gunpowder are now against the skilful fortifications of modern warfare, he laid an urgent and well supported siege to Auberoche, before the earl of Derby knew of his attack.<sup>86</sup>

The endangered garrison endeavored in vain to apprise him of their danger and distresses. Their messenger was intercepted and perished.<sup>87</sup> But a spy in the French camp informing him of what was passing, he sent in haste for the earl of Pembroke to join him, and marched with sir Walter Manny, with

diately attacked and taken prisoner, as well as three knights of his household. The Gascons, finding they had awakened the whole army, retired back on the road to Perigueux. It was time for them to do so, and fortunately they found the gates of the barriers open; for they were so closely pursued that they were thrown into confusion. As soon as they could rally themselves, they dismounted, and, sword in hand, fought with the English. They maintained their ground so well that they lost nothing." Froiss. ib. 65. Oxford and his companions were exchanged for four French nobles, on the condition that the lands of Perigord should be in peace for three years. Knight or squire might take up arms, but nothing was to be burnt or pillaged in the country for that time. Ib.

<sup>86</sup> "The French brought from Toulouse four large machines, which cast stones into the fortress night and day. They made no other assault; but in six days they had demolished all the roofs of the towers, and none within the castle dared to venture out of the vaulted rooms on the ground floor. It was the intention of the army to kill all within the castle, if they would not surrender themselves unconditionally." Froiss. p. 68.

<sup>87</sup> When the English chiefs "saw how desperate their situation was, they asked their servants, if there were not one among them who would, for a reward, undertake to deliver the letters they had written to the earl of Derby at Bourdeaux? One stepped forward from among them and said he would be the man, who would cheerfully undertake the commission; not thro desire of gain, but to deliver them from the peril they were in. The following night he took the letters and sewed them up in his clothes. He was let down into the ditches, and climbing up to the opposite side, took his road thro the army, for he could not avoid passing thro it. He was not stopped by the first guard he met, because he understood the Gascon language well, and named one of the lords of the army, as if belonging to him. But as he passed on he was arrested near the tents of other chiefs, who brought him to the main guard. He was interrogated and searched till the letters were found upon him. In the morning these were read in the tent of the comte de Lisle: they rejoiced to find that the garrison was so straitened that it could not hold out much longer; but seizing the servant, they hung the letters round his neck, *thrust him into one of the machines*, and discharged him into Auberoche. He fell down quite dead within the castle." Froiss. p. 69.

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great secrecy, towards the assaulted castle.<sup>88</sup> Their inferiority of number compelled them to wait for Pembroke's arrival; but they paused in uneasiness at the dangerous delay.<sup>89</sup> At this juncture, the united judgment and bravery of sir Walter, by the suggestion of a possible surprise, effected the deliverance of the garrison by a splendid discomfiture of the besieging army, and the capture of their most important chiefs, without waiting longer for the co-operation of Pembroke.<sup>90</sup> He arrived after the brilliant attempt

<sup>88</sup> "The earl of Derby, accompanied by sir Walter Manny and the forces he had with him, took the road toward Auberoche as secretly as possible, for he had guides who were acquainted with all the by-roads. They came to Libourne, where they stayed a whole day for the earl of Pembroke; but hearing no tidings of him, and being impatient to succor their friends who were so distressed, they set out from Libourne, and riding all night, they came on the morrow within two leagues of Auberoche." Froiss. p. 71.

<sup>89</sup> "They entered a wood, and alighting from their horses, tied them to the trees, and allowed them to pasture, while they remained expecting the arrival of Pembroke. They waited all that morning and until noon in vain, not knowing what to do; for they were but 300 lances and 600 archers, and the French were from 10,000 to 12,000 men. Yet they thought it would be cowardice to suffer their friends to be lost when they were so near." Froiss. ib.

<sup>90</sup> "At last sir Walter Manny said, 'Gentlemen! let us who are now here mount our horses, skirt this wood, and advance until we come to their camp. When we reach it, we will stick our spurs into our horses, and with loud shouts, fall upon them. It will be about their supper hour, and we shall see them so much discomfited, that they will not be able to rally again.' The knights replied, that they would do as he proposed. Each went to his horse, regirthed it, and tightened his own armor, ordering their pages and servants to remain where they were.

"They advanced in silence by the side of the wood, until they came to the other end, where the French army was encamped in a wide valley, near a small river. Then, displaying their banners and spurring their horses, they dashed into the midst of the French and Gascon forces, who were quite unprepared for this attack, as they were busy about their suppers, and many had sat down to table.

"The English crying out, 'Derby! Derby, for ever!' cut down tents and pavilions, and slew and wounded all that came in their way. The French did not know where to turn, so much were they surprised; and when any large body of them got into the plain, the archers and cross-bow men made such good use of their weapons, that they were slain or dispersed.

"The comte de Lisle was taken in his tent, badly wounded; the earl of Perigord, in his pavilion, with his uncle; others were killed or made prisoners. Every one took to his heels as fast as he could, except the earl of Comminges and some nobles, who were quartered on the opposite side of the castle. These displayed their banners, drew up their men, and marched to the plain; but the English having defeated the largest body of the army, fell vigorously on these. The garrison, seeing the exertions of their friends, sallied out of the fortress into the thickest of the combat. Many gallant deeds of arms were performed; many captures made, and many rescues. At length all the comte de Lisle's party were discomfited, and mostly taken prisoners or slain. Nine earls and viscounts were captured; and so many barons, knights and esquires, that every man of arms among the English had for his share two or three. This battle was fought on the eve of St. Laurence, Aug. 9 1344." Froiss. ib. 71—73. "They gave thanks to God for having enabled them

had succeeded, and expressed his regret and displeasure that such an applauded and distinguished enterprise had not been delayed till he could have assisted to achieve it.<sup>91</sup>

After these incidents had occurred in Guienne, the king prepared for his own more formidable attack. Having lost his great supporter in Flanders, by the destruction of Arteveld in an insurrection of the populace of Ghent<sup>92</sup>, he was persuaded to select Normandy as the point for his own invasion, a province abounding in wealth, and with defences of no great strength. It was this enterprise, which Edward probably meant more to be a vindictive and predatory excursion for fame and booty, than a serious conflict for the crown of France, which led to the celebrated battle of Cressy.<sup>93</sup>

Edward landed at La Hogue<sup>94</sup>, lay the first night He again

to overcome upwards of 10,000 men, when they themselves were not more than 1000, including every one." Froiss. p. 73.

<sup>91</sup> On the next morning, a little after sun-rise, the earl of Pembroke arrived with 300 lances and 4000 archers. He had been informed of the event of the battle as he came along, and said to the earl of Derby, "Certainly, cousin! you have neither been courteous, nor behaved honorably, to fight my enemies without waiting for me, seeing that you had sent for me, and might have been assured that nothing should have prevented my coming to you." Derby explained, that they had duly waited for him, but "when we saw no appearance of your coming, we dared not wait longer; for if the enemy had been informed of our arrival, they would have had the advantage over us." Froiss. p. 74.

SIR WALTER MANNY, after a life of great military and chivalric celebrity, died at last in London, and was buried with great public pomp in the Charter House, which he had built at his own expense. The king with his sons, accompanied by the barons and prelates of England, attended his funeral ceremony. Froiss. vol. iv. p. 151.

<sup>92</sup> Froissart describes this tumult, c. 116. Johnes's Trans. vol. ii. p. 95. It seems to have arisen from the Brewer's efforts to get one of Edward's sons appointed earl of Flanders.

<sup>93</sup> The force which Edward led on this expedition is not accurately stated. Froissart, c. 121. p. 122. mentions 4000 men at arms and 10,000 archers; besides Welsh and Irish, who are usually reckoned at 12,000 Welsh and 6,000 Irish. This seems too small a force to fill 1100 large ships, mentioned by Knyghton, p. 2585, besides 500 smaller ones, which we may suppose carried the supplies. It is probable that Froissart has understated the proportion of English. Indeed his words imply a loose statement: "*Si pouvoient bien estre en nombre de quatre mille hommes d'armes et dix mille archers.*"

<sup>94</sup> The king fell, as he sprang out of the ship, and the blood gushed from his nose. His knights supported him, and recommended him to return to the ship, as this was but a "petit signe" for him. His immediate answer was, "Return! this is a very good omen: it proves that the land desires me." C. 122.

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EDW. III.invades  
France;  
1346.

on the sands, and having made the prince of Wales a knight, he advanced in three divisions, leading himself, with the prince, the centre. They found the country abounding with provisions, and proceeded by short marches to Caen.<sup>95</sup> Having loaded a fleet with the plunder thus far obtained, they marched to Evreux; but its fortifications preventing an immediate capture, they ravaged along the Seine from Pont l'Arche, to Gisors, Mantes, and Meulan, and reached Poissy. Here the king repaired the bridge, and, spreading out his troops, burnt St. Germain, St. Cloud, and Bourg le Reine, and threatened Paris itself, which became doubtful of its safety, as it was then unfortified.<sup>96</sup> But these were mere demonstrations, to alarm. The king, after skirmishing advantageously with several French parties, found that Philip was at Paris, collecting his allies, and with a force continually increasing, and that he was breaking down all the bridges near, not only to check his progress, but to intercept his retreat.<sup>97</sup> Deceiving Philip by an attempt to advance, he declined from Paris suddenly to Beauvais, and abandoning all attempt to conquer France, he directed his movements to get safely out of it. With this view he fell back to Poix, near Amiens, burning and plundering on his way.<sup>98</sup>

The king of France, vexed that Edward had escaped and deluded him, followed leisurely to the Somme. He had expected that the English would

<sup>95</sup> Avesbury inserts an official letter of Magister Northbury, one of the king's counsellors and companions, giving a narrative of this expedition. He says they landed at La Hogue the 12th July, that they found Barfleur to be as large as Sandwich, and Carenton as Leicester; St. Loo he thought larger than Lincoln. He makes Caen to have exceeded in size every city in England, except London. Avesb. p. 123.

<sup>96</sup> Froiss. c. 125. vol. ii. p. 143. At Poissy, Edward celebrated the feast of the Assumption. "He sat at table in his scarlet robes, without sleeves, trimmed with furs and ermines." *Ib.* p. 144.

<sup>97</sup> Knyghton, p. 2587.—When the Parisians, in their alarm, requested Philip not to quit "la noble cité de Paris," the king, sure of the effect of his defensive measures, calmly answered, "My good people, be not afraid; the English will not approach you nearer than they are." C. 125.

<sup>98</sup> Mag. Northbury, 136.—Froissart, cc. 126, 127. pp. 148—154.

have been unable to force the passage, and in that case he intended to confine them in a corner of the coast, and either starve them into surrender, or force them to a disadvantageous battle. Pursuing this plan, he placed strong guards on all the bridges, and at the fords of the river, and broke down those which were less defensible. Edward now became embarrassed and apprehensive. His daring enterprise was drawing to a calamitous termination. The Somme was wide, strong and deep; and his safety depended on crossing it. He sent two marshals, with a strong detachment, to march along the river, and to find a passage. They tried three several bridges, but were repulsed at all by their defenders, and returned in the evening to the king, with the disheartening information of their failure. This became more alarming, because Philip the same night arrived at Amiens with 100,000 men. Edward became very pensive.<sup>99</sup> He heard mass before sunrise, and ordered the trumpets to sound for decamping. At ten, the English left Airaines with such precipitation, that the French, who arrived there two hours after them, found the meat of the retreating army on the spits, the bread and pastry in the ovens, and some tables ready spread. Edward reached Oisemont, and again examined the Somme; his efforts were this day also unsuccessful; his enemy was close upon him, and the impassable river seemed to consign him to destruction, when the shades of night gave a small interval of safety and repose.<sup>100</sup>

He had taken some prisoners that afternoon; he told them with anxious courtesy the reward he would give, if any of them would show him a ford below Abbeville, where his army might pass without peril. One of them declared he knew a spot, where, at the

In danger  
of being  
cut off.

<sup>99</sup> "Le roy d'Angleterre fut moult pensif." Froiss. c. 126.

<sup>100</sup> Froiss.

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ebb of the tide, twelve men might cross abreast ; but it must be done before day-break. This news was like the voice of a guardian angel to Edward. His army was ordered to be ready, and at midnight every one was in march to the point of preservation. They reached the ford at sun-rise, but they found themselves too late, the river was so full that they could not cross ; it was necessary to wait till the next ebb. Philip, informed by his scouts, of the movement of the English, dispatched a competent force, to guard the ford ; and Edward found that he must pass it in the face of 12,000 men, who were assembled to prevent him. Perhaps no army was in a greater military crisis. The king of France was hastening to the river with all his powers, and Edward had to force his passage against such a formidable opposition, before the main French army arrived.<sup>101</sup> It was a moment of animated despair. But it is on these occasions that the English resolution shines most pre-eminent.

He escapes  
by passing  
the river.

At the instant that the tide had sufficiently receded, the king ordered his marshals to plunge into the water in the name of God and St. George. The bravest and the best mounted, went in first ; they were eagerly followed ; and a fierce engagement began. Many on both sides were unhorsed in the water ; and when the English gained the land, they had to force their way thro a narrow pass. Their valor and constancy at last surmounted the opposition, and so critically, that as they reached the farther bank, the light cavalry of the advance of the French army came up to the river, and destroyed some of the rear troops, who were late in crossing. Edward breathed his thanks to heaven for his preservation, and marched on, sending a force to secure Crotoy, on the sea shore. This unexpected passage

<sup>101</sup> Froiss.

compelled Philip to pause. The returning tide made it impossible for him to pass the ford in pursuit; he had no choice but to go round by Abbeville<sup>102</sup>; while Edward proceeded to the forest of Cressy, and there encamped. "Here let us place ourselves," he exclaimed; "we will not go further, till we have seen our enemies: There is reason to wait for them here, for I am on the lawful inheritance of my mother; and I will defend it, against my adversary, Philip de Valois."<sup>103</sup> From the closeness of the pursuit, it was evident that the king could not embark without a battle; and he had now done every thing to fight it with most advantage. He had secured a point of embarkation in case of disaster, by which, at least, some part of his army might escape; and he had taken his post on strong ground, which would make his enemy's superiority least available against him.

Both parties now prepared for the decisive conflict. On Friday, the English repaired and furbished their armor. The king gave a cheerful supper to his nobles; and when they withdrew to their repose, he retired into his oratory, fell on his knees before its altar, and prayed God, that on the morrow, if they should fight, he might come off with honor. At midnight, he laid down on his couch. He rose early, and, with the prince of Wales, heard mass and communicated; and the larger part of his army made their confessions. He moved to the ground near Cressy, which he had fixed upon, put his baggage in a park in the wood, in the rear of his army. He dismounted all his men, and put their horses in the same place. He divided his force into three divisions. To the first, consisting of 800 men at arms, 2000 archers, and 1000 Welshmen, he appointed the prince of Wales. They advanced in regular order to their ground; each lord under his banner and pennon, and

Prepares  
for the  
battle of  
Cressy.

<sup>102</sup> Froiss. Mag. North.

<sup>103</sup> Froiss. c. 127.

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in the centre of his men. The second battalion, under the earl of Northampton and others, contained 800 men at arms, and 1200 archers. He made the third his own corps; it had 700 men at arms, and 2000 archers. He mounted a small palfrey, and, with a white truncheon in his hand, attended by two marshals, he went from rank to rank, exhorting and entreating them to guard his honor and defend his right. He spoke so sweetly and so cheerfully, that even the disheartened became animated, as they beheld and heard him. He then bade them all eat, and drink a draught. They took their repast at their ease, resumed their ranks, and sat down, with their helmets and bows before them, that they might be fresher when the enemy arrived.<sup>104</sup>

The French king had, on the preceding evening, entertained his chief lords, and urged them to mutual friendship. In the morning, he heard mass at Abbeville, and marched to Cressy. He sent a party to reconnoitre Edward's position. The English observed their object, but let them make their observations unmolested. On their return, they advised the king to halt for the night, as evening was coming on, and his men were fatigued. The king assented; and his marshals rode to the front and rear, calling out, "Halt, banners, for the love of God and St. Denis." The front obeyed; but the rear pressing on them, the others were compelled to move forward. Neither the king nor the marshals could stop them; and all marched without any order, till they came in sight of the English. The foremost ranks then suddenly falling back, alarmed those in the rear, who thought they had been defeated; while others were eagerly pressing on, to show their courage. The confusion of the whole became indescribable.<sup>105</sup> Philip ordered

The battle.

<sup>104</sup> Froiss. c. 128. pp. 157—159.<sup>105</sup> Froissart says, that no man can imagine or relate the disorder.



the Genoese bowmen to begin the battle. They had marched six leagues that day, in complete armor, with their cross-bows, and were so fatigued, that they told their commander they were not fit to do great exploits. The count d'Alençon, on this remark, peevishly exclaimed, "It is of much use to encumber oneself with such rabble, who always fail us in our greatest need." At this juncture a heavy rain and thunder storm came on, and darkened the sky, while large bodies of crows flew screaming thro the air. Suddenly the sun shone out, but full in the face of the French. The Genoese, getting at last together, advanced with a loud shout to frighten the English, who heard it unmoved. They uttered another, and another, with as little effect; and then presenting their bows to shoot, the English archers stepped forward one pace, and discharged their arrows with such force and quickness, that they fell like snow, pierced the armor of the Genoese in every part, and made them turn back in disorder. Enraged at their retreat, the king of France called out to his men at arms, "Kill those scoundrels, for they stop our way without any use." His absurd order was obeyed. But the English arrows falling as heavily and as destructively amongst his superb cavalry, threw them into similar confusion. The Welshmen rushed in upon them, in this state, with their large knives, and killed many of the French nobles before they could recover themselves. The old king of Bohemia, who had joined Philip, and was blind, had inquired of his knights how the English were stationed? He was answered, that they stood in fine array, with the baggage behind them. "Then," said the experienced veteran, "they are resolved either, to die in the field, or to be our conquerors: lead me near to some noble warrior, if you can, that I may have a blow with my sword." They complied with his wish, and

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victory of  
the Eng-  
lish.

linked his horse with theirs, that they might not be separated from him. They were all found dead together.<sup>106</sup>

Two bodies of the French, under the earls of Alençon and Flanders, advanced more regularly against the prince's battalion; and some of them broke thro his archers, and attacked his men at arms. Their number endangered him. A knight rode off to the king who was posted at a windmill with his battalion, as a reserve, entreating his aid. "Is my son dead, unhorsed, or hurt?" No, sire; but he is hardly pressed, and needs your help. "Return, Sir Thomas, and tell those who sent you, not to expect me while my son is alive: Tell them, that I command that they let my boy win his spurs; for I wish, if God has so ordained, that the day be his own, and that the honor rest with him, and those in whose care I have placed him." This noble answer redoubled the courage of those to whom it was reported; and the second division, aiding bravely the prince's exertions, the victory was complete.<sup>107</sup> The king of France was wounded and unhorsed, and was carried off with difficulty. His army broke, and could not be rallied. Some wandered about, attacking the English in small parties, but they were soon destroyed. The English, being so greatly outnumbered, had determined that day to give no quarter. The slaughter was proportionably great.<sup>108</sup> The victors attempted no pursuit; they continued in their

<sup>106</sup> Walsingh. p. 157. Froiss. c. 130. pp. 162—166.

<sup>107</sup> Froissart's description of this battle has furnished the most interesting circumstances, c. 130. Mag. Northbury says, it was "tres fort et endura longement gar les enemys se porterount mult noblement."

<sup>108</sup> Northbury enumerates among the slain, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorraine, the count d'Alençon, the count of Flanders, and eight other counts, two archbishops, and several lords and German barons. He adds, "the sum of the good gentz d'armes, who fell in the field this day, 'sans comunes et pedailles,' were 1542." Avesbury, p. 138. — Froissart states, that the English reckoned 11 chefs de princes, 80 banners, 1200 knights, and about 30,000 other persons. C. 132. p. 172.

ranks. When the struggle was ended, the king came down from his post, embraced and kissed his gallant son, then scarcely sixteen years of age, and declared him worthy to be a sovereign. The prince bowed very low, and referred his success to his father's skill and resolution. They made great fires, and lighted torches thro their camp. The king forbad all riot and noise, and the night was passed with much grateful devotion. A small party of French was the next day encountered and overpowered; and Edward now was enabled to march to Calais.<sup>109</sup>

He sent to England for a supply of provisions<sup>110</sup>; and on 3d September 1346, encamped before Calais, to besiege it. He resolved to starve it into a surrender. He built a little town of wooden houses around it, with a market-place, for the comfort of his army. The governor, Jean de Vienne, perceiving his project, sent seventeen hundred of the poorer persons out of the town; and Edward, with a high-souled compassion, let them go, giving them a hearty dinner as they passed, and two sterlings to each individual.<sup>111</sup> A rare instance of generous warfare.

While Edward was engaged at this siege, Philip excited David the king of Scotland to invade England with a large force.<sup>112</sup> David entered Durham, and advanced within three miles of Newcastle, where the

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EDW. III.

Siege of  
Calais.

Battle of  
Neville's  
Cross;  
17 Oct.  
1346.

<sup>109</sup> Froiss. c. 132. p. 173.

<sup>110</sup> Northbury.—He writes urgently: "The king requires of you provisions, and as soon as you can send them; because, since we left Caen, we have traversed the country with great labor and much damage to our people. But, thank God, we have had no defeat. But now we are in such a plight, that we need to be refreshed. Written before Calais, 4 Sept."

<sup>111</sup> Froiss. 133. p. 175. This author, so minute in all his circumstances, does not mention that Edward used cannon at the battle of Cressy. I have therefore not alluded to them, as the more recent Italian author, Villani, who notices them, is not a sufficient authority. The first use of artillery will be considered in a subsequent chapter of this Work.

<sup>112</sup> Froissart states, that when all assembled, "Ils furent bien qu'uns qu'autres cinquante mille combatans." C. 137. I will not press the exactitude of his numbers, as he accompanies them with qualifying expressions. He enumerates the English who fought there, as 1200 men at arms, 300 archers, and 7000 others. P. 188.

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English army had collected. Both parties drew out their battle-array at Neville's Cross. Edward's queen, PHILIPPA, was with the English, and remained on the field till they were formed into four grand divisions, and till she had entreated them to do their duty. She then retired, recommending them to the protection of Heaven and St. George. Three of the divisions were under the command of prelates, Durham, York, and Lincoln. But in the reign of this martial prince, the spirit of the country emulated his own, and the clergy, not to their credit, became greatly secularized in their manners. The battle lasted three hours. It ended in the total defeat of the Scots; the capture of their king, and many noblemen; and in a great destruction of the inferior classes.<sup>113</sup>

Philip at-  
tempts to  
relieve  
Calais.

The king of France collected a powerful force, to relieve Calais. Edward observed that there were but two roads by which Philip could approach the city; over the downs by the sea side, or thro the country, that was full of ditches and bogs, with only one bridge. He planted his fleet along the shore, with their engines, so that no army could pass there without destruction; and he stationed a powerful force to guard the bridge. Philip reconnoitered the country and posts very often, but was advised that it was impossible to penetrate to the city without a ruinous loss of men. Reluctantly he was obliged to decamp, and leave Calais to its fate. Its garrison had endured the greatest sufferings, with the hope of relief. But when they beheld the French banners retiring, they saw that protracted resistance would be unavailing,

<sup>113</sup> Froissart, c. 138, pp. 187—196. He notices about 15,000 of the Scots to have fallen. Knyghton makes them above 20,000, p. 2591.—Lord Hailes is not pleased that the queen should have shared in the honor of the battle, and wishes to doubt her presence, because Froissart is the *only* writer who states it. If we disbelieve all the facts of this reign, for which we have *only* Froissart's authority, our scepticism must take a large sweep. But that women could be heroines in that age, we have an instance in the countess of Montfort. See Froissart, c. 73, p. 227., c. 81, pp. 300—311.

and they demanded a parley. Sir Walter Manny informed them, that no conditions could be allowed. The governor appealed to the merit of his loyalty to his own master, and to the gallantry of the English king. Edward at last consented, that if six of the principal citizens came out with bare heads and feet, and with the keys in their hands, and ropes round their necks, he would forgive the other inhabitants. It was difficult to find six townsmen who would devote themselves for the rest. At last, Eustace St. Pierre, one of the wealthiest in the place, magnanimously offered himself. His example excited five other kindred spirits. They left the walls amid the groans, tears, and blessings of their fellow citizens, and were conducted to the presence of the king.

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The recollection of his losses in the siege, and of the injuries which his people had formerly suffered from the ships of the town, counteracted his usual generosity. He eyed them with angry looks, and ordered their heads to be struck off. Sir Walter Manny had the spirit to tell him, "You have the reputation, sire, of great nobleness of soul; tarnish it not by such an act of cruelty as this." The king was inexorable, and the executioner was sent for. His pregnant Queen then fell at his feet, and begged their lives, as a gift of his love to her. He gazed at her for some time in silence. His better feelings at last triumphed, and he exclaimed, "I give them to you: do as you please with them." She released them, cheered them with a courteous entertainment, clothed them, and had them escorted safely out of the camp.<sup>114</sup>

Surrender  
of the city.

<sup>114</sup> Froiss. c. 146. pp. 221—227. Knyghton's account of the surrender is, that the knights came out with bare heads and reverted swords, and the burghers with ropes in their hands, as a sign that the king might hang them if he pleased; and that they cried out with a loud voice, that they had traitorously defended the place against him. The king, "*misericordia motus*," received them into his grace. P. 2595. They had defended the town nearly eleven months. Mons. L'Evesque thinks Froissart's incidents more poetical than historical; but the verification of some of the names of the citizens, in the arguments brought against him, is strong

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Three years afterwards, Philip attempted to regain Calais by treachery. Edward received information of it, and went himself, with his son, privately into the town. They sallied out on the advancing French, and, after an arduous conflict, in which the king was twice struck to the ground in personal combat with Eustace de Ribaimont, the French were foiled.<sup>115</sup>

evidence in his favor. Knyghton's "misericordia motus" leaves a large blank for Froissart's "quomodo." The *Scala Chronica* rather supports Froissart: "The capitayne and burgeses of the toune cam with halteres about theyr nekkes, submitting themself to king Edwarde." P. 562. So the contemporary poet Minot:—

Lystens now, and ye may lere  
 Als men the suth may understand.  
 The knyghtes that in Calais were,  
 Come to sir Edward sare wepand ;  
 In kirtell one and swerd in hand,  
 And cried, " Sir Edward, thine we are,  
 Do now, lord, bi law of land,  
 Thi will with us for evermare."  
 The noble burgase and the best  
 Come unto him to have thaire hire.  
 The comun peple war ful prest,  
 Rapes to bring about thaire swire.

Minot, p. 37.

The ancient historian of France, Paulus Emilius, inserts Froissart's account in his *Hist. Franc.* p. 283.

<sup>115</sup> Froiss. c. 151. p. 246. The king entertained the French prisoners with a supper. The prince of Wales and the English knights served up the first course, and waited on their guests: at the second, they went to another table, and were themselves attended. The king gave Ribaimont a chaplet of fine pearls. *Ib.* c. 152. p. 247.

## CHAP. V.

*Continuation of the Reign of EDWARD III. — Battle of Poitiers — Peter the Cruel — He solicits the Black Prince — who reinstates Peter — Final reverses — Death of the Black Prince — Edward's decline and demise.*

THE war was continued with France, with intermissions, for several years afterwards.<sup>1</sup> Philip died, and his son John succeeded. In his reign, in 1356, the prince of Wales made an attack from Guienne, which led to the memorable battle of Poitiers. The inhumanities of war so invariably accompany its glories, that the mind is perplexed how to applaud the bravery of gallant actions, without injury to social sympathy. In the prince's letter, we read, that in a progress of operations in two months, on the whole course of the Garonne, from Bourdeaux to Narbonne, he had taken 500 villages, and many great cities and walled towns, and, in both going and returning, had laid the country waste by fire. The people of Montpellier fled to Avignon for safety; and the Pope, who resided there, doubting his own security, had all the gates of his palace covered with iron. His holiness offered the prince money to spare Perigord. Edward answered, that his father had plenty of money, and did not want that; but that he would do what he came to perform, which was the chastisement of

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V.

REIGN OF  
EDW III.

Battle of  
Poitiers;  
19 Sept.  
1356.

<sup>1</sup> Scotland, at times, renewed her incursions. Her king David was conducted to the Tower of London, in a public procession, with a pomp calculated to make a great impression. He was placed on a high black horse, to be seen by all; and twenty thousand well-arrayed soldiers, and the companies of London, dressed in their best costumes, and with their appropriate insignia, attended him. Knyghton, 2592. Robert, the steward or seneschal of Scotland, was made regent. Hailes, 221.; and see his Annals, to page 241., for the incidents preceding 1357.

those who were in rebellion against his right.<sup>2</sup> Inspired by his successes, the prince entered Auvergne, and penetrated to Berri, plundering, burning, and destroying all around. The king of France summoned all his feudal nobles and tenants to attend him, and advanced towards the English, who had now entered Touraine, and were preparing to retreat thro Poitou. The prince, satisfied that he had dared and achieved enough, hastened his movements back, to escape the approaching force. His foragers were prevented, by the vicinity of the French army, from getting supplies at a distance; and the English, from their great want of provisions, began to lament their own ravages.<sup>3</sup>

The prince, informed that the French were pressing rapidly upon him, called in his stragglers, and ordered that no one, on pain of death, should advance or skirmish before the line of the marshals. On this day, Saturday, he marched from nine o'clock to vespers, when they came within two leagues of Poitiers. He sent out a detachment, to observe the station of the French; and being informed, on its return, that their numbers were immense, he answered with steady resolution, "May God then assist us! we must now consider how to fight them most to our advantage."<sup>4</sup> He took a strong position, that night, among vineyards and hedges. The next morning, the king of France sent Eustace de Ribau mont to reconnoitre them. His answer was, "They are about 2,000 men at arms, 4,000 archers, and 1,500 footmen. They are in a strong position, and have ar-

<sup>2</sup> See the prince's letter to Avesbury, 211—218. Let us, however, rejoice, that the campaigns of the duke of Wellington have, in our days, been as distinguished for their humanity, forbearance, and even kindness towards our enemies, as for their military glory. In this combination of the generous with the martial virtues, Wellington has excelled the Black Prince, and presented a noble example for the instruction and imitation of Europe.

<sup>3</sup> Froiss. c. 159. p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. p. 306.



ranged themselves very wisely; they have placed themselves along the road, fortified by hedges and shrubs; they have lined the hedges with part of their archers, so that to attack them you must pass thro the midst of these, for the lane has no other entrance or exit, and is so narrow that scarcely four men can ride thro it abreast. At the end of the lane, amidst vines and thorns, where it is impossible to make a progress, their men at arms are posted, with archers drawn up before them like a harrow." He recommended a body of the bravest of the French to be selected, to break, if possible, the archers, and to be followed by a rapid advance of all the battalions, dismounted.<sup>5</sup>

The French were divided into three bodies, each consisting of 16,000 men at arms. King John put on his royal armor, and nineteen were arrayed like him. An attempt was made by a French cardinal to negotiate; but John would hear of nothing but unconditional surrender, and the prince disdained such terms. The French passed their Sunday in abundant feasting, the English in great privation; but they made many mounds and ditches round their archers, to keep them more secure. The prince continued his positions as Eustace had described them, with the additions of putting 300 men at arms, and as many archers on horseback, on a small hill on the right, to get round the wing of the second French division, which was on foot, at the bottom of the eminence. He also kept a few valiant and skilful knights on horseback; and, taking his station with the main body in the vineyard, he harangued his men, and awaited the formidable attack. His whole army did

<sup>5</sup> Froiss. c. 160. p. 309. I have inserted the speech of Eustace, as it describes so fully the judicious position of the prince, and makes the result of the conflict intelligible and natural.

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not exceed 8,000 persons. The French were 60,000, or, more probably, 40,000.<sup>6</sup>

The eagerness of the French to engage, prevented the execution of Ribaumont's plan. Their first battalion advanced before those who were to break the archers, and entered the lane which they lined. The English waited till they were completely in it, and then from both hedges shot their arrows with such strength and certain aim, that the horses plunged unruly from the path, turned back, and were unmanageable. Their masters were at the mercy of their opponents; and the whole division was in confusion and discomfiture, unable either to advance or extricate themselves. Their rear recoiled in disorder and alarm on the second division that was coming up. The English arrows poured down upon these like hail. The French did not know where to turn, either to escape or to get forward; and in this crisis of hesitation, the English posted on the hill, who were watching for such a moment, came suddenly down, and charged vigorously on the French wing. Panic now thinned the discouraged assailants in every part. The prince was advised to seize the auspicious opportunity. He called out, "Banners, advance in the name of God and St. George!" and rushed with the men at arms on the confused and dismayed enemy. The severest struggle of the battle now came on. The French fought in parts desperately, exclaiming, "Montjoye! St. Denis!" The English answered with, "St. George! Guienne!"<sup>7</sup> Swords, battle-axes, arrows and spears, were mingled with destructive energy. It was now rather a massacre than a battle. The English became weary of striking and killing; the archers exhausted all their arrows, and took up

<sup>6</sup> Froiss. c. 161. p. 316—318. But Knyghton says the number of the French in the battle, "de omne populo," 40,000. P. 2615.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. c. 162. p. 325.

stones, and whatever they could seize near them, that was likely to be destructive. The French at last fled generally, and the exhausted English stood refreshing and recovering themselves; when king John made a rally in despair, and came suddenly with a large body on the part where the prince was remaining with only a few around him. For a while he was in imminent danger; but the earl of Warwick, returning from his pursuit with his battalion, charged on the king's flank, and completed the victory.<sup>8</sup> John fought vigorously with his battle-axe, but he was at last surrounded and overpowered, and the French dispersed at every point.

The pursuit and slaughter was continued to the gates of Poitiers, and the prince was at last gratulated, that his victory was complete. His banner was then placed upon a high bush. The minstrels began to play, and the trumpet and clarions to sound. The prince took off his helmet; his knights soon pitched a small crimson pavilion, which he entered; wine was brought for his refreshment: and in a short time the captured king of France was introduced. The prince received him with a low obeisance, comforted him for the event of the battle, and presented him with a cup of wine and spices with the kindest courtesy.<sup>9</sup> At night a supper was prepared. The prince served the king's table himself with the humblest attentions; declined to sit down in his presence, as he desired; complimented him on the personal bravery he had displayed, surpassing the best of his followers; and assured him, that his father would shew him every honor and friendship, and arrange with him so reasonably as to perpetuate their future amity. The French felt the nobleness of the prince's generous

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Noble  
conduct of  
the Black  
Prince.

<sup>8</sup> Knyghton, p. 2613.

<sup>9</sup> Froiss. c. 163. p. 338. King John's son was taken with him.

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courtesy, and proclaimed him "un gentil seigneur."<sup>10</sup> The prince fell back to Bordeaux; and England was thrown into an ecstasy of admiration and delight at this splendid victory.<sup>11</sup>

It was indeed grand and admirable. It had been obtained by all the combinations of true greatness of martial mind—judgment, skill, resolution, perseverance, activity, and valor of the most exalted degree. But that in the tumult and exultations of a success so glorious, the prince of Wales should have exerted that rare self-command; should have calmed his internal emotions to such courteous modesty, such polished humility; and, after the fatigues of so exhausting a day, should have soothed the poignant feelings of his royal captive by personally waiting upon him as a great and honored guest—displays a moral sublimity more rare and more difficult than even the heroic valor and military sagacity by which he had almost brought the fabled exploits of an Amadis into a real existence. The highest refinement of the chivalric character was never more brilliantly displayed. But Edward and his son were its most perfect models; and with them it disappeared. The heroism, without the polish, survived awhile in Du Guesclin; but their combination expired with the Black Prince. Qualities, more beneficial to society, took their place in the human character. Courtesy and intellect became afterwards united in the perfect gentleman, instead of courtesy and war; and the more widely the association of the gentle virtues, with cultivated mind, is diffused, the improvement

<sup>10</sup> Froiss. c. 168. Mr. Johnes has added to his translation of Froissart, from an extract taken from the convent of the Freres Mineurs in Poitiers, a list of the French knights who fell in the battle: The first is "the duke of Athens, constable of France." Pp. 347—350.

<sup>11</sup> "Solemn thanksgivings were offered up in all the churches, and bonfires made in every town and village. Those knights and squires who returned to England, after having been in this battle, were honored in preference to any others." Froissart. Johnes, p. 356.

and the felicity of mankind will be proportionately advanced. Our commercial spirit has given an importance to mere wealth, which has diffused an alloy of sensuality and vulgar pride. But it is probable that even these debasing exotics will be subdued by the increasing influence of literature; and that the combination of courtesy, intellect, religion, and virtue, will in time exhibit a general perfection in the human character, which as yet has only been individually obtained.<sup>12</sup>

After spending the winter at Bourdeaux, the accomplished prince conducted his prisoners to England. King John was placed in a ship by himself, to be more at his ease, and landed at Sandwich. The English sovereign prepared to receive him with every demonstration of honor and respect. The citizens of London dressed their companies with their richest decorations. The king of France was seated upon a white courser, with superb trappings, and, with the prince of Wales on a small black horse by his side, passed thro London to the Savoy, his allotted residence. Edward and his queen made him frequent visits, and

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<sup>12</sup> The modesty with which the prince spoke of his extraordinary victory, appears in his French letter to the bishop of Worcester upon it, printed in *Archaeol.* vol. i. p. 213.

“Rev. Father, in God, and very dear friend!

“We thank you heartily for what we have heard of you, that you are so truly and so entirely attached to us as to have prayed to heaven for us, and upon our exploit. We are certain that thro such devout fathers as you and others, God has been pleased to aid us in all our necessities. For this we are bound to thank Him every day, and beg you to continue to do so for us as you have hitherto done, and by which we consider ourselves greatly obliged.

“And reverend father! as we think you desire to hear good news of us, you will be glad to know that we are at this moment quite well, and in good condition, thanks to heaven for it, and we wish to learn the same thing of you. On the eve of St. Thomas of Canterbury we began to ride with our power towards the French territories, and especially because we heard of the coming of our honored lord and father to these parts; and we proceeded to Berges in Berry, Orleans and Tours. We received news that the king of France, with great power near these frontiers, was coming to fight us, and we approached him, so that the battle took place between us, and in such a manner that the enemy were discomfited, by God’s favor, and the king and his son, and many other great persons were taken or killed, whose names we send you by our dear bachelor, Roger de Cottesford, the bearer of this. Reverend father and our dear friend! May the Holy Spirit have you always in His keeping. Given under our seal at Bourdeaux, 50 October (1356).”

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the most sumptuous entertainments were provided for his recreation.<sup>13</sup>

The victory at Poitiers had enriched the Black Prince and his country with high warlike celebrity, but had no other effect on France than to produce internal feuds, from the imprisonment of its king. His son Charles was made regent, and his subjects refused all national sacrifices for his deliverance. Four years after the great victory, Edward invaded France, from Calais, with 100,000 men; and if kingdoms were overturned by arithmetical calculations, it might have been expected that if 8,000 English could defeat 40,000 French, and capture their king, 100,000 English must conquer France. But the events of war defy all military and political arithmetic. The young regent provided his chief towns with provisions and troops, and abstained from all pitched battles; and tho the English moved on with the bravest army in Europe, under their heroic king and prince, the first warriors of their day, they could only plunder and advance. Resolute not to fight an enemy so superior in strength, discipline, and constancy, Charles permitted them to approach even to the gates of Paris, without departing from his defensive system. He knew that nature and industry would repair their ravages; but that an active campaign must consume their army. Edward, finding permanent conquest impossible, accepted of the mediation of the Pope's legate, and the peace of Bretigny was concluded, which annulled all former treaties, and put the relations of the two countries on a new foundation.<sup>14</sup> By this treaty, Gascony and Guienne, the earldom of Ponthieu and Guisnes, Calais and its dependencies, the isles of the British channel, and some minor places,

<sup>13</sup> Froiss. c. 173. pp. 368—370. The king of Scotland was about this time released from prison, and was eagerly welcomed by his subjects. *Ib.* 372.

<sup>14</sup> Of this campaign, see Froissart, c. 207—213; vol. iii., of Johnes's translation, pp. 1—61.

were assured to the king of England, with a renunciation of all feudal homage. Edward on his part abandoned all claim to the crown of France, and to Normandy, Bretagne, and Flanders. John was to be released, and three millions of crowns of gold to be paid for his ransom.<sup>15</sup>

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The great impeachment of the merit of the Black Prince is the war which he undertook in Spain, to replace Don Pedro the Cruel on the throne of Castile. Pedro, by the agreement of all the contemporary writers, is represented to have been one of those monsters which recall to us the brutal ferocity of uncivilized man, and seem only fitted to appear in the romances of authors who prefer the horrible to the natural. After destroying his brothers, and many of his nobles, he first imprisoned and then murdered his wife, the sister of the queen of France.<sup>16</sup> This last crime could not be palliated; and it excited the strongest sensibility in the court of France, and a desire of punishing a man whose life was a satire on his species.<sup>17</sup>

Peter the  
Cruel.

<sup>15</sup> The treaty of Bretigny, at full length, is inserted in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. vi. —Dr. Brady translated it into English, with notes; and it has been copied into Tindal's translation of Rapin. In November 1360, king John returned to France, Froiss. vol. iii. p. 66. In January 1364, he came back into England, as the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled, and was received with great kindness by Edward, and lodged in the Savoy Palace, *ib.* 122. "He passed there part of the winter very gaily with his countrymen. The king of England visited him often, as did his children, the dukes of Clarence and Lancaster, and Edmund his youngest son. There were several times great feastings between them, in dinners, suppers and other entertainments, at this hotel of Savoy, and at the palace of Westminster, whither the King went in a private manner, whenever he chose it, by means of the River Thames." *Ib.* 122. The king of France soon afterwards died there, p. 126. On 7 May 1364, he was buried in the abbey of St. Anthony, near Paris; after which, on the Trinity Sunday, his son Charles was crowned at Rheims, p. 160.

<sup>16</sup> The *Memoires de Du Guesclin*, vol. iv. p. 82, and Froissart's, are contemporary accounts of the crimes of Pedro. Both give the popular traditions, as well as the facts of history, concerning him; and one of the former may be his hatred of Christianity and his attachment to the Jews. The *Memoires* detail the queen's murder by a party of Jews, with circumstances which have all the air of romance, 89—100. Mariana ascribes it to poison, administered by a physician at Pedro's command. *L.* 17. c. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Rodericus Santius seems half disposed to lessen the odium against Peter; but he confesses his hatred to the queen, caused by his concubine Maria de Padilla, on which he tells an absurd story, and attributes it to magic. He also admits, that on his brothers and prelates striving to reconcile them, he banished some, slew others,

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II.REIGN OF  
EDW. III.Dethroned  
by Du  
Guesclin.

At this period the celebrated Du Guesclin was in great credit with his sovereign<sup>18</sup>; and it may be conceived, that he who on his death-bed, after a life of warfare, told his officers to recollect that "in whatever country they waged war, neither the clergy, nor the women, nor children, nor poor people, were their enemies," was roused to all the heroism of his chivalric character, when he heard of the conduct of a prince so debased.<sup>19</sup> The state of France favored the gratification of his feelings. France was then ravaged by those bands of military adventurers, the disbanded soldiers of the preceding wars, who, associating together under leaders of their own appointment, attacked and ravaged various parts of France, with no other object than that of plunder. They were composed of Germans, English, Bretons, Navarrese, Gascons, and Flemings. They were formidable for their valor, their former victories, and their experience; and their successes alarmed the French government as much as they distressed the French people.<sup>20</sup> Du Guesclin beheld them with the eye of

and filled his kingdom with the blood of his nobility. Pars. iii. c. 14. But, tho he says the queen died with grief, he details, in his next chapters, a series of his detestable murders, extending even to the king of Granada, c. 16.—Mariana has preserved a full history of Pedro's actions, l. 16. c. 16—21, and l. 17. c. 1—13.

<sup>18</sup> Bertrand Du Guesclin was as renowned in the popular traditions of France, as Wallace in those of Scotland. The Memoires of him are a reprint of Lefebvre's scarce publication, which the author composed from documents of the fourteenth century, written by Du Guesclin's contemporaries. They are sometimes highly colored.

<sup>19</sup> The account of Du Guesclin's infancy and education is as picturesque as any romancer could wish. It gives us the intractable, untameable infant Achilles; the rude uncultivated hero in embryo, and nothing but the hero. And as the Memoires shew that "le fameux connetable ne savoit pas lire," the rough features which it sketches may not be fictitious. He was in fact a French Richard Cœur de Lion; the warrior of a century back, and a complete contrast to the polished heroism of his competitor and conqueror, the Black Prince. It was the remark of others besides his mother, "qu'il avoit plus l'air d'un bouvier que d'un gentilhomme." War was his element and sole delight, and in this he transcended all his countrymen; and when the Black Prince became disabled, Du Guesclin wrested from England nearly all its conquests in France. See his infancy in the Memoires du Guesc. c. i. pp. 345—363.

<sup>20</sup> Mem. du Guesclin. c. 16. They were called the White Companies, from the white cross they wore on their shoulder. Ib. p. 118. These armed bodies began to appear in France about the year 1360. The alarm they excited was so great,



a superior genius, and perceived at once that if he could be allowed to prosecute his desired enterprise of delivering Spain from the cruelties of Peter, by their instrumentality, he might not only punish the unworthy king, but liberate his own country from the depredations of men who were oppressing it merely because they wanted military employment. He had two difficulties to overcome, to accomplish his wishes: he had to persuade them to enlist in his adventure, and the king of France to confide it to his care, with them for his assistants. The obvious policy of a measure that would lead these dangerous troops out of France without hostility, concurred, with the high character of Du Guesclin for probity and loyalty, to secure the approbation of the French king. It remained to treat with the marauders, who were then encamped near Chalons. Du Guesclin sent a herald, to request permission to visit them. His warlike reputation easily obtained it. He found their chiefs at table. They hailed him with acclamations; he drank with them, and proposed his enterprise. The unknighly crimes of Peter were felt by all; and when he accompanied his proposal to unite to punish him, with a promise from the king of France that they should have 200,000 livres for their just reward, and that he would exert himself to obtain from the Pope an absolution from their former sins, they unanimously adopted the adventure, the English knights only bargaining that they might be required to undertake nothing against the prince of Wales their lord. Du Guesclin left them with assurances, that he would fulfil all his engagements with them; and their an-

that the *Songe du Verdier* charges them with roasting infants and old people, when no one would ransom them. The editor of the *Memoires* has preserved two Latin hymns to the Virgin, for deliverance from their fury, vol. v. p. 286; and see *Froissart* on them, vol. i. c. 230; also *Walsingham*, pp. 171 and 175. Sir John Hawkwood, an Englishman, led one of these bands into Italy, and acquired great reputation there. *Wals.* 179.

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swer was, that they had more confidence in him than in all the prelates in France or at Avignon.<sup>21</sup>

The leaders were admitted to pay their respects to the French king, who received them with judicious courtesy. They restored the castles they had taken, and were marched to Avignon. But while France was blessing her hero for her deliverance from their presence, the Pope and his cardinals at Avignon became alarmed in the same proportion at their approach. A cardinal was sent, to inquire the cause of their visit. He was informed, that they wanted absolution, and 200,000 livres to pay the charges of the holy war they had undertaken. The first demand would have been easily complied with; the latter occasioned a pause. But it was obvious to the holy father, that, with warriors of their temper, delay only increased the evil of his situation. The money was raised; the absolution given; and Du Guesclin conducted his formidable troops safely over the Pyrenees.<sup>22</sup>

The conduct of Peter had occasioned Henry of Tristamarre, his reputed natural brother, to aspire to the throne. But Peter's influence and strength had expelled Henry from Castile; and the king of Arragon not daring to receive him, he had fled to a remote castle, living in hourly danger of falling into the hands of his enemy. The arrival of Du Guesclin dispersed his alarms, and animated his hopes. He accompanied them into Spain. Their victorious arms beat down all opposition; the Castilians welcomed Henry and his friends as their deliverers; and Peter fled the country.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Mem. Du Guesclin, c. 16. pp. 100—105. Some of their leaders were English knights. The names of sir Hugues Caurelay, sir Matthew de Gournay, sir Nicolas Strambant, sir Robert Scot, sir Oliver Manny, and the Green Knight, appear among them. Froissart states, that Du Guesclin's ransom, 100,000 francs, was paid to sir John Chandos, to enable him to undertake the expedition. C. 230.

<sup>22</sup> Mem. Du Guesclin, pp. 106—114.

<sup>23</sup> The Mem. Du Guesclin, from p. 119 to 186, gives a popular account of these transactions, heightened with many traits of colloquial imagery. The less interest-

This unworthy prince was as sagacious as he was unprincipled, and he contrived to make the very circumstance of Du Guesclin's invading him, the means of retrieving his affairs. The Black Prince was then in those parts of France which he had conquered. The most brilliant part of his life had been passed in competition with the French power; and the natural jealousy of its revival, and of the excelling fame of any of its warriors, would most probably excite him to espouse any side which was in opposition to them. It was on this operation of human nature that the Spanish tyrant calculated, and his calculation was unfortunately right. We have no need of the less honourable tale, of the superb golden table which Peter carried with him, to account for the son of Edward adopting his cause.<sup>24</sup>

When the prince heard that Peter, the king of Castile, was in his palace, an exile, soliciting an interview, he sent a knight to conduct him, and, with that peculiar courtesy which marked his accomplished character, he is stated, not to have waited till he approached him, but to have advanced half way to meet him. Peter was a profound adept in the art of dissimulation, and he assumed a behaviour the most fitted to impress the mind of his generous host. He came forward with a profound reverence, and with a countenance expressing the deepest distress. When requested to state his grievances, he pathetically painted his situation—driven from his throne

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Peter  
resolves  
to visit the  
Black  
Prince.

He solicits  
his aid.

ing, but more sober narratives of Rodericus Santius and Mariana, may be consulted for the authentic particulars.

<sup>24</sup> This table of gold, adorned with jewels and the finest pearls of the East, the ransom of a king of Granada to one of Pedro's ancestors, with Edward's admiration and acceptance of it, might be classed among the popular tales of the age, invented to account for Edward's support of Don Pedro (see it described in the Mem. Du Guescl. pp. 149 and 192;) but that in the Black Prince's will we have a superb table thus described: "We give and devise our great table of gold and silver, all full of precious relics, and in the middle a cross of the holy wood: The said table is garnished with stones and pearls; that is, with twenty-five rubies, thirty-four sapphires, fifty thick pearls, and many other sapphires, emeralds and small pearls, &c." Royal and Noble Wills, p. 71.

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—betrayed by his subjects—banished out of his own kingdom—the victim of perfidy, treason, and ingratitude. The tears that flowed copiously from his eyes, and the sobs that frequently interrupted his discourse roused the best sympathies of Edward; and, without pausing to consider the personal conduct of the sufferer, the prince did not even permit him to finish, but desired him to re-cover his head, and indiscreetly promised him, that he would sacrifice his life in battle, if necessary, in order that his head should be again as completely covered with his crown as it now was with his hat. The gratitude of Peter was expressed as theatrically as his despair, and with equal effect on his illustrious host. The princess, who was at her toilet when the king arrived, heard of her husband's determination to support him with great sorrow, and she expressed warmly her surprise that the prince should have allowed himself to have been imposed upon by a man so criminal. Edward, on hearing of her displeasure, unfortunately misconceived its principle. "I see," exclaimed he, "that she wants me to be always at her side. But a prince who wishes to immortalize his name, must *seek* occasions to signalize himself in war, and must by his victories obtain renown among posterity. By St. George, *I will* restore Spain to its right inheritor."<sup>25</sup> A fatal determination, which brought a series of mortifications and a mortal disease upon himself, and dishonor to his country. It is in vain that conquerors attempt to gain triumphs by violating the rules of justice and humanity; their

<sup>25</sup> The Mem. Du Guesclin, 189—194, have preserved these circumstances; and, altho the account of an enemy, yet, as they exactly correspond with the known character of Edward, they seem entitled to our belief. See Froissart's account, in his 231st chapter. The first treaty between Edward III. and Don Pedro is dated 22 June 1362. It was confirmed 1 Feb. and 1 March 1363. By another compact of 23 Sept. 1366, Don Pedro acknowledges himself to owe the prince of Wales 56,000 gold florins, which Edward had advanced him; and articles of convention between Pedro, the prince, and the king of Navarre, of the same date, were also entered into. See them in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

successes are ephemeral; their repentance is poignantly severe; their disgrace eternal.

The prince pursued his new object with his usual ability. He recalled from Henry and Du Guesclin all the English that had accompanied them; a severe blow, as these were their principal strength<sup>26</sup>; and with 17,000 men at arms, besides a great number of expert Genoese cross-bowmen, he entered Navarre.<sup>27</sup> But want of provisions soon distressed him, and Du Guesclin surprised and destroyed his advanced guard that was plundering to obtain them. This success stimulated the other chiefs in Henry's service to oppose the advice of Du Guesclin, who recommended that nothing should be hazarded, but that the English should be left to consume away from famine. Du Guesclin was piqued by the bravadoes of his opponents to depart from his cautious plan, and to risk a battle that was so essential to Edward's safety. The shock of the two contending heroes and their forces, took place near Navarette. The skill, the discipline, and the valor of the Black Prince prevailed against all the exertions of Du Guesclin, who, as the battle was lost, endangered himself, and was made prisoner, that Henry might escape amidst the total defeat and dispersion of his army.<sup>28</sup>

The re-establishment of Peter on the throne he had so much disgraced, was the consequence of this

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EDW. III.

Prince  
reinstates  
Peter.  
Feb. 1367.

Battle of  
Navarette,  
3d April  
1367.

Peter's in-  
gratitude.

<sup>26</sup> Froissart, c. 233 and 234.

<sup>27</sup> Froissart describes this campaign, c. 237—241.

<sup>28</sup> Mem. Du Guescl. 196—226. Froissart pourtrays, with animation, Henry's speeches and valor, c. 241. Yet, considering that the Black Prince commanded, I am surprised that Froissart should say that Henry "felt and knew well enough, that if he were taken he would be killed without mercy." The prince believed that he was acting in a just cause, and evinced this conviction as the armies began to approach. With his eyes and hands uplifted towards heaven, he exclaimed, "God of truth! the father of Jesus Christ, who has made and fashioned me! condescend, thro thy Divine grace, that the success of the battle of this day may be for me and my army; for THOU knowest, that in truth I have been solely emboldened to undertake it in the support of justice and reason, to reinstate this king upon his throne, who has been disinherited and driven from it, as well as from his country." Froiss. vol. iii. p. 305. He seems not to have known or believed Pedro's unworthiness, till he afterwards experienced it.

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victory; and it was in perfect conformity with his previous character, that his future conduct towards the Black Prince should be marked with the basest ingratitude.<sup>29</sup> Personal vanity, a passion for fame, however earned, and a confidence in his own prowess, seem to have been the leading motives with Edward in forming this unnatural alliance with a man whose character was so unlike his own high-souled and generous disposition. His military qualities produced all the effects that it was natural should result from them, for Providence does not usually work by miracles; but other natural causes were also suffered to have their usual operation, to chastise the attempt to support a criminal so depraved. The climate of Spain diminished his army by disease, and fixed in his own constitution a malady from which he never recovered. For eight years this preyed upon his strength, and destroyed all his energies. Pedro had refused to pay his army, tho it had enthroned him; and to raise the money they wanted, the prince imposed a tax on his French dominions, which alienated them from their attachment to England, and urged them to solicit the protection of the French king. This produced a renewal of the war between England and France.<sup>30</sup> But now the Black Prince, who had so often conquered France in all her pride, was become but the shadow of himself, and was too enfeebled to mount his horse; and his father was sinking into dotage. One action only signalized the last days of the dying hero, and it tarnished them still more than it adorned them. The revolt of Limoges excited his indignation. He summoned them to return to their duty, with a menace, that on their refusal he would rase their city to the ground, and put all the inha-

The Black  
Prince  
takes  
Limoges.

<sup>29</sup> Mem. Du Guesclin, 227—237; and see Froissart, c. 242, 243.

<sup>30</sup> On the military events, and alternations that followed, in these parts, see Froissart, c. 244—286.

bitants to the sword. His summons was contumeliously treated, and he ordered the place to be invested. Too weak to ride, he was conveyed to the siege in a litter. With his usual success he undermined the walls, and his troops entered at the breach. The place became his own. But, unlike the magnanimous generosity of his former life, the whole garrison and 3000 of the inhabitants were even in his sight destroyed<sup>31</sup>; and the town after being pillaged, was burnt to ashes.<sup>32</sup> Having thus made his sun of glory set in blood, a night of increasing darkness followed. He was compelled to return home, with a vain hope that his native air would restore his health; and his brother, the duke of Lancaster, took the command of his French dominions. But disaster followed on disaster.<sup>33</sup> The heroic Du Guesclin, whom the prince, after a long captivity, admitted to ransom<sup>34</sup>, became

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<sup>31</sup> Froissart's account is a melancholy one, and shews how little true virtue accompanied the chivalric character, even in its most refined state. The prince, his two brothers, and the army, entered over the breach. "Then you might have seen the plunderers run thro the city, killing men, women and children, *as they had* been commanded. You would have seen it with great pity, for men, women and children threw themselves on both knees *before the prince*, crying Mercy! but he was inflamed with so great an ardor, that he would not hear them. Neither sex was listened to, but all were put to the sword as they were met, and even those who were not at all blameable. There was no heart so hard but wept tenderly at the great mischief that was done, for above 3000 men, women and children were that day destroyed. May God keep their souls, for they were really martyrs." c. 289.

<sup>32</sup> "Mais fut toute la cite de Limoges courue, pillée et robée sans deport, et tout arse et mise en destruction." Froiss. c. 289.

<sup>33</sup> Froissart imputes the loss of Gascony to the arrogance of the Black Prince and his friends. I will add his words, that I may not impeach so illustrious a character on less authority than that of an intelligent contemporary. After mentioning that the French king attracted the love of the great barons of Gascony by his mildness and liberality, he says, "and the prince of Wales lost them by his pride. From the time that I was at Bourdeaux, and that the prince went into Spain, I saw that the pride of the English was so great, that they treated no nations 'amiablement' but their own. The gentlemen of Gascony and Aquitain, who had lost their property in the wars, could get into no office in their country. The English said, they were not cut out for any, nor worthy of any. It was from the harshness which the count d'Armagnac and the lord of Albreth found in the prince, that they became French, and many knights and esquires of Gascony also." Vol. iii, c. 22. Yet Froissart adds, that they liked the English better than the French.

<sup>34</sup> The prince long refused to take any ransom for Du Guesclin, because he anticipated that if he was at liberty he would renew the war with more vigor than ever. Hence he detained him a long while in prison. One day, conversing in a festive moment with his knights, he said, No person ought to attempt to escape without

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again the opponent of the English; and his abilities and valor advanced from success to success, till at length by the persevering enterprises, and intrigues of the French, both the king and his son saw all their French dominions torn from the crown, with the exception of Calais and a few towns on the sea coast.<sup>35</sup> In Spain, the defeated Henry had reassembled an army strong enough to gain a great decisive victory over his legitimate but unprincipled brother Pedro and his Moorish ally at Montrel<sup>36</sup>; and when this furious man was afterwards taken prisoner, killed him in an unnatural struggle.<sup>37</sup> This success and

paying his ransom, and no conqueror ought to be too rigorous with his captive. An admirer of Du Guesclin remarked, that the world blamed him for an excess of severity towards one prisoner. Edward felt it allude to Du Guesclin, and, piqued at the observation, which implied a stain on his honor, he ordered Du Guesclin to be brought to him. He came in a coarse dress, his prison garment; and the prince, surprised at his rude appearance, contrary to his usual courtesy, received him with a laugh of derision. "It rests upon your pleasure, sire, when I shall be better clothed," said Du Guesclin. "I have a long time had only rats and mice for my companions; even to the songs of the birds I have been a stranger." Edward offered him liberty on his swearing not to take arms in favor of France or of Henry. Du Guesclin refused to take an oath that would be disloyal, and pleaded the crimes of Pedro as the justification of his Spanish warfare. The prince, remembering that the public rumor was loud, that he kept him a prisoner because he feared him, declared, that to shew the world that he dreaded no man, he should have his liberty, on a proper ransom. Du Guesclin declared that his poverty left him no means of offering money at that time, but if he was released on his parole, he would appeal to the liberality of his friends to provide a competent sum. Edward, affected by his manly demeanor, said he would make him the arbiter of his own ransom. Du Guesclin, with a proud sense of his own dignity, at last fixed it at 60,000 florins (to the astonishment of the prince, who would have discharged him for 10,000 livres) declaring, that the king of France and Henry de Tristamarre, whom he had served, would pay it between them. Du Guesclin was liberated on his honor; and the city flocked to see a man, who had rated himself so highly. *Mem. Du Guesc.* pp. 255—263.

<sup>35</sup> The Memoirs of Du Guesclin, 365—435, describe his campaigns against the English with many interesting circumstances.

<sup>36</sup> On the 13th August 1368, Mahomet, the king of Granada, had joined him with above 20,000 men. Many Jews assisted. His whole force was 40,000; Henry's only 6000, yet he boldly attacked. The Jews soon turned their back. The Moors fought resolutely; but Du Guesclin on their account inhumanly ordered no prisoners to be taken. The pursuit was "butchery, killing them like beasts. Above 14,000 fell: very few escaped." Pedro fled to the castle of Montrel. *Froiss.* vol. iii. pp. 350—5.

<sup>37</sup> "As soon as king Henry entered the chamber where Don Pedro was, he cried, 'Where is this son of a Jewish strumpet, who calls himself king of Castile?' Pedro stepped forward to answer, 'Tis thou who art such a son. I am the son of Alphonso;' and caught Henry in his arms and threw him on a bed; then grasping his poignard, would have slain him, if a viscount had not seized his legs, and turned him over. By this means, Henry becoming uppermost, immediately drew his long



catastrophe established Henry on the throne of Castile. The ransomed king of Majorca made an attempt with a body of the "Free Companions;" which the wars of the day left floating upon society to its annoyance, on the kingdom of Arragon, but his death gave tranquillity to Spain, and sent his military freebooters to seek their fortune in France.<sup>38</sup>

No reign shews more strongly than Edward the Third's, the absurdity of military ambition. Tho he repeatedly invaded France with armies that in number and quality seemed to be formed to divest incredulity of doubt; yet his inferior antagonists always found means to repel the danger of his incursions; to repair every ruinous defeat; and to prevent victory the most brilliant, from becoming permanent conquest.

When the war was renewed in 1369, after the peace of Bretigny, the campaign was unavailing.<sup>39</sup> In the next year a fine English army was sent, which closed its efforts with disasters.<sup>40</sup> In 1372, when the king went in person with a superb fleet to relieve Rochelle, the wind baffled his efforts, and an immense treasure was consumed in vain.<sup>41</sup> In the succeeding year, his second son, Lancaster, led an army, unresisted, even to the gates of Paris, but only for it to perish by famine and disease in passing thro

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Edward's  
final  
reverses.

dagger from his sash, and plunged it into Pedro's body. The attendants came in and helped to dispatch him. Froiss. pp. 358—9.

<sup>38</sup> Froiss. vol. iv. pp. 143—5. Henry had released him for 100,000 francs, which his wife the queen of Naples and her sister had paid for him. On his arrival at Naples, "The king of Majorca engaged men at arms at a very high price wherever he could meet with them: ENGLISH, Gascons, Germans, Bretons and some of the Free Companies under James Bray and others, about 1200 fighting men, who marched with him, and entered Navarre with the consent of its king, and from thence advanced into Arragon." *Ib.* The freebooting companions are often mentioned by Froissart, in France. In one passage he thus noticed them: "There were also some from different countries, who were great captains and pillagers; and who would not on any account leave the country: such as Germans, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Gascons and bad Frenchmen. They had been impoverished by the war, and persevered in their wickedness, and did afterwards much mischief to the kingdom." Vol. iii. p. 72.

<sup>39</sup> Wals. 178.

<sup>40</sup> *Ib.* 179, 180.

<sup>41</sup> *Ib.* 182.

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Death of  
the Black  
Prince;  
1376.

Auvergne to Bourdeaux.<sup>42</sup> The revolt of all Gascony and its contiguous districts followed this campaign. The Black Prince lived to witness these reverses, and expired with unavailing regret. Thus Edward gained nothing but barren laurels, from a life of war and victory. The blood, the happiness, and the lives of myriads, were wasted in the chase of a phantom — the crown of France — which he could never secure. He gained victories, when he least expected them; and he was disappointed in his hopes of conquest, when he had every worldly means of commanding it. But his project to unite the French and English sceptres contributed to increase that national animosity and rivalry between two of the most civilized nations of Europe, which no succeeding period has diminished. Ever ready to fight; prone to mistrust; happy to provoke, and emulous to lacerate each other; the two countries have, with few intermissions, maintained that mutual alienation of mind and manners, which has assisted to deteriorate the French character, by accustoming the nation to regard every thing English, even our imitable virtues, with jealousy and contempt. But a more auspicious period seems now to be evolving. The literature and institutions of England are now become objects of study to many intelligent Frenchmen; and with them, our feelings, thoughts and habits will become more valued and appreciated. May France, by condescending to adopt them, lay the true basis for the future concord of the two countries. Her political greatness will then arise from the same roots as our own, and tower as pre-eminently, and bloom as freshly. The world is large enough for the amplest celebrity and prosperity of both. But without the virtues which have given to England its energies

<sup>42</sup> Wals. 183. Tho he left Calais with 30,000 cavalry, very few horses reached Bourdeaux. Ib.

and strength, France will never attain to more than a feverish and evanescent power. Its proudest fabric will be corroded in its centre, and fall again to the dust, from the corruption of its materials, and the uncorrected folly of its architects.<sup>43</sup>

The reign of Edward III. not only closed in disaster, but in personal disgrace; for it was degradation, that at the age of sixty-four, an age younger than that at which Edward I. had died, his parliament should find it necessary to treat him like an infant king. Yet so it was, that in 1376, the house of commons stated, that considering the mischiefs of the land, it would be to his honor and to the profit of the realm, aggrieved in various ways, for him to perceive that the officers who were accustomed to be at his side (his ministers) were not sufficient for so great a government, without other aid. The commons therefore prayed, that the royal council might be strengthened by the addition of a permanent council of ten or twelve other prelates and lords; that no

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His domestic  
mortifications.

<sup>43</sup> The curious reader may like to see the stanzas which an old poet, Occleve, who flourished under Henry IV. and V., wrote, even in those reigns, lamenting the discord between these two nations:—

Of France and England, O cristen princes !  
 Sithen that your stile of worthynesse is ronge  
 Thurghout the world, in all the provynces ;  
 If that of you, myght be sadde or songe,  
 That ye were *one in hert*, there is no tonge  
 That myght expresse, How profitable and goode  
 Unto the peple it were of cristen bloode !  
 Geve them ensample. Ye ben their myrrours.  
 They folowe you. What sorewe lamentable  
 Is caused of your werres sharp shours !  
 There wote no wight it is irreparable.  
 O noble cresten princes ! Honorable !  
 For hym that suffred for your passion ;  
 Of Christes bloode, have compassion.  
 Alass ! what peple hath your werre slayn !  
 What cornes wasted, and, doun trode shent !  
 How many a wyfe and maid hath he forlayn ?  
 Castles down beat and tymbred houses brent,  
 And drawen down and all to tore and rent !  
 The harm ne may not rekened be, ne tolde.  
 This warre wexeth all to hore and olde.

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important business might be done without the assent and advice of all these, and no minor business without the concurrence of at least six or four of them, and that these six or four should be continually resident with the king. This was so like the council of regency nominated on his accession, that it must have pained the royal mind to find its age accompanied with the guardian measure of its boyhood. But the king was obliged to declare, that, understanding the request to be honorable, and very profitable to him and his kingdom, he assented to it.<sup>44</sup> His grandson Richard, a child, was soon afterwards brought into parliament. The archbishop, more courteously than wisely, complimented him on the beauty of his person<sup>45</sup>; and he was made prince of Wales. Strong parliamentary remonstrances were made against the Pope and cardinals.<sup>46</sup> A jubilee was in the next year proclaimed, because the king entered into the fiftieth year of his reign<sup>47</sup>; and a poll-tax was granted, to supply the necessities of the exchequer.<sup>48</sup>

Edward  
degrades  
himself  
with Alice  
Peers.

The death of his noble queen Philippa deprived him of a domestic guardian, and of an affectionate friend, whose place no dishonorable attachments could supply.<sup>49</sup> Indisposition afterwards increased upon him. His strength gradually wasted by debilitating

<sup>44</sup> See the record of these proceedings, in Parl. Plac. p. 322.

<sup>45</sup> Parl. Plac. p. 330.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p. 337.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p. 362.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p. 364.

<sup>49</sup> Her illness occurred at Windsor Castle. "When she perceived her end approaching, she called the king, and extending her right hand from under the bed-clothes, she put it into his. He was very sorrowful. She said to him, 'We have enjoyed our union in happiness, peace and prosperity. I entreat you, on this our separation, to grant me three requests.' The king, with sighs and tears, answered, 'Lady! ask. Whatever you request shall be granted.'" "My lord!" she replied, "I beg you will acquit me of my former engagements with merchants for their wares. I beseech you to fulfil my gifts and legacies; and I entreat you, that when it shall please God to call you hence, you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine; but that you will lay by my side in the cloisters of Westminster." Weeping, he declared, "Lady; I grant your wishes." She then made the sign of the cross on her breast, and soon after expired, on the 15th August 1369. Froissart, vol. iv. p. 21, 2.

disease, and he publicly disgraced himself by a mistress, Alice Piers, who even presumed to counteract official orders;<sup>50</sup> to sit on the bench, and to dictate to the judges.<sup>51</sup> Her follies increased his unpopularity, and she was compelled to leave the king; but with an unroyal weakness he recalled her<sup>52</sup>; and her unfeeling selfishness was manifested by her behaviour in his last moments, which occurred at Sheen on 21 June 1377.<sup>53</sup>

Of his sons, the celebrated John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, sought and married the Spanish princess Constance, the eldest daughter of Don Pedro, as one of the rightful successors to his crown, and with the hope of availing himself of her title.<sup>54</sup>

Another son of Edward, Lionel, duke of Clarence, had married the daughter of Galeas Visconti, the sovereign lord of Milan, whose festivities on the occasion were unusually magnificent, expressing his joy at an alliance with the son of so celebrated a king.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See the accusations in Parl. Plac. vol. iii. p. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Wals. 186. She caused the Speaker of the House of Commons to be imprisoned for his censures on her. Ib.

<sup>52</sup> Wals. 187.

<sup>53</sup> She permitted him to have no religious attentions, choosing to believe that his health would be re-established. When she observed his voice to fail, his eyes to become glazed, and his limbs to be chilling, she pulled his rings from his fingers, and went away. A priest found him still sensible, but speechless. But he kissed the cross, and wept, before he expired. Wals. 189.

<sup>54</sup> She and her sister had been conveyed to Bayonne, for fear of king Henry. "Every one compassionated them, for they were *the true heiresses of Castile*, which was their just right, by succession to their father." The barons of Gascony represented to the duke that she was "one from which you or your heirs will be kings of Castile." On these views, Lancaster sent four knights to her and her sister Isabella, and married her at the village of Rochefort, near Bourdeaux. Froiss. vol. iv. pp. 146, 147. His brother, the duke of Cambridge, chose to marry the other princess Isabella. Vol. v. p. 323. Thus securing both the co-heiresses of Castile on Don Pedro's line.

<sup>55</sup> He came to Milan to marry her in April 1368, and was to have had a moiety of her father's dominions. Wals. Hist. p. 132. Stowe thus describes the duke's exulting munificence. "At the coming of Lionel, such abundance of treasure was, in the most bounteous manner, spent in making most sumptuous feasts, setting forth stately sights and honoring with rare gifts above 200 Englishmen, who accompanied his son-in-law, as seemed to surpass the greatness of the most wealthy princes. The banquet, at which FRANCIS PETRARCH was present among the chiefest guests, had about 30 courses of service at the table; and betwixt every course there was *as many* presents, of wondrous price, intermixed. All these John Galeas, chief of the choice youth, bringing to the table, did offer to Lionel. There were,

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But her nuptial happiness was brief; for within four months afterwards he was deposited in his grave<sup>56</sup>, a celerity of death so unexpected, that it was the belief of many that he was poisoned.<sup>57</sup> This idea was an inference which seems less probable than the opinion that his fate, tho premature, was the natural effect of unlimited indulgences.<sup>58</sup>

The character of Edward has been displayed in the preceding incidents of his reign, which took their shape and color from him and his son. They carried the chivalric temper to the highest improvement which it was capable of receiving; but were more useful in drawing the nation out of the ferocious habits of the mere warrior to the attempt at something better, than for having presented any useful standard of moral excellence for the imitation of his people. For the evils of war, they had no sympathy; of its justice, they took no account; its pomp and glorious circumstances were their passion, and the excitement and applause of its great exertions were their highest gratifications. But they improved the knightly character by the addition of qualities which would not suffer it to be stationary; the gallantry, courtesy, and generosity, which they combined with war, soon separated from their fierce companion, and sought

in only one corner, 70 goodly horses adorned with silk and silver furniture; and in another, silver vessels, falcons, hounds, armor for horses, costly coats of mail; glittering breast-plates of massy steel; helmets and corslets decked with costly crests; apparel distinct with costly jewels, soldiers' girdles, and lastly, certain gems set in gold by curious art, with purple and cloth of gold for men's apparel in great abundance. Such was the sumptuousness of that banquet, that the meals *which were brought from table* would have sufficiently served 10,000 men." Stowe's Chron. 267, 268.

<sup>56</sup> He died about the nativity of the Virgin, which is the 8th September. Wals. 133.

<sup>57</sup> So the Chronicle in Leland's Collectanea, "Obit in natali S. Mariæ, ut fertur, potionatus," vol. i. p. 251. His companion, Lord Edward Despenser, was so impressed with this opinion, that he "declared war against Galeas; and slew many of his subjects at different times, till the earl of Savoy made peace between them." Froiss. c. 243. vol. iii. p. 362.

<sup>58</sup> Stowe adds, "But not long after, Lionel, living with his new wife, addicted himself overmuch to untimely banquetings, and being spent and consumed with a lingering sickness, died at Alba." P. 268.

a more intellectual alliance. In every succeeding reign, the warlike disposition became less and less a gentlemanly accomplishment; society began to feel that the character which was useful as the occasional protector, ought not to be its daily humor. The soldier became gradually set apart from the nobleman, the courtier, the gentleman, and the citizen. The blessings of peace, and the arts of acquiring them, were in time more generally understood, and more truly appreciated and sincerely pursued. Not indeed that this happy change could be instantaneous or complete; the evils of civil wars were first experienced, before the nation subsided into the popular love of social tranquillity; but the close of the reign of Edward III. may be dated as the period when this moral regeneration began. That he had reigned with much nobleness and valor, and deserved to be placed among the ancient heroes, was the generous confession of the king of France, his political antagonist<sup>59</sup>: the offer of the imperial crown, was the testimony of Germany to his personal merits and renown<sup>60</sup>; and the general feeling of Englishmen, that few sovereigns have combined so many public and private virtues, is that consummation of his celebrity from those who are the best qualified to award it, which no criticism can destroy, nor any rhetorical panegyric satisfactorily enhance.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Froissart, vol. iv. p. 283. This was Charles V. It was this king, who, fond of the society of men of science, having heard that there was a great philosopher and alchemist at Avignon, sent for him to court. The retired and contented student answered, That he was happier in his poverty, eating cabbages and radishes, and speculating on philosophy, than he could be if loaded with riches and honors. Mem. Christ. Pisan. p. 215.

<sup>60</sup> Scala Chron. 562.

<sup>61</sup> On St. George's day, 1344, he instituted the Order of the Garter at Windsor. Froissart notices it in three of his chapters, 99, 100, 101., and mentions one trait of Edward's conduct on this occasion to a French knight, which illustrates the manners of this period and the generous feeling of the English nobility. "The king of France having caused some lords who had been taken by the English to be executed on a suspicion of treason, Edward determined to retaliate upon Sir Hervé de Leon, his prisoner, and would have done so if the earl of Derby had not thus remonstrated; 'My Lord! If that king Philip has rashly had the villany to put

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to death such valiant knights as these, do not suffer your courage to be tainted by it: for in truth, your prisoner has nothing to do with this outrage. Have a goodness then to give him his liberty at a reasonable ransom.'

"The King ordered the captive knight to be brought before him, and said, 'Ha! Sir Hervé! Sir Hervé! my adversary, Philip de Valois, has shewn his treachery in too cruel a manner when he put to death so many knights. It has given me much displeasure; and it appears as it were done in despite of us. If I were to take his conduct for my example, I ought to do the like to you; for you have done me more harm in Brittany than any other. But I shall bear it, and let him act according to his own will. *I will preserve my own honor unspotted*; and will allow you your liberty at a trifling ransom, out of my love for the earl of Derby, who has requested it; but *upon condition* that you perform what I am going to ask of you.'

"The knight replied, 'Dear Sire! I will do, to the best of my power, whatever you shall command.' The King said, 'I know, Sir Hervé, that you are one of the richest knights in Brittany; and if I were to press you, that you would pay me 30,000 or 40,000 crowns for your ransom. But you shall go to king Philip de Valois, my adversary, and tell him from me, that by putting so many knights to death in such a dishonorable manner, he has sore displeased me: that I say and maintain that he has by these means broken the truce we had agreed to: that from this moment I consider it to be broken, and that I send him, by you, my defiance. In consideration of your carrying this message, I will let you off for 10,000 crowns, which you will send to Bruges in five days after you shall have crossed the sea. You will also inform all such knights and esquires as wish to attend my feast, not to keep away on this account, as we shall be right glad to see them; and they shall have passports for their safe return, to last for fifteen days after it shall be over!' The knight gladly undertook and punctually delivered the royal message." Froiss. c. 100. vol. ii. p. 47—49.



## CHAP. VI.

*History of the Reign of RICHARD II. surnamed Richard of Bourdeaux, to the beginning of the Civil Feuds.*

1377—1384.

THE reign of Richard II. began with all the splendor and rejoicings of a prosperous and delighted people. His age, eleven, was interesting; his countenance handsome; his boyish manners engaging; and he was the son of the beloved Black Prince. With such claims to popularity, it will surprise us to find that few princes have been pursued with greater maledictions from their people or ended their scene of dignity more calamitously. Part of his misfortunes arose from the period in which he lived, and from the measures of his predecessor, whose consequences his government had to bear. But these might have been surmounted by a fair exertion of intelligence and integrity in his ministers, and by steady decorum in his personal conduct. His worst adversities sprang from himself, from the defects of his unfolding character; from allowing young favorites to be his directing counsellors; from obstinacy in error; from a proud and passionate spirit, imperious and vindictive; from the wilful commission of wrong, and from the national belief that he had become unprincipled and incorrigible.

His first entrance into London from Sheen was a day of magnificence, gratulation, and festivity. His bishops, knights, and nobles, attended him in solemn procession. Seated on a fine courser royally apparelled, its bridle guided by one knight on foot, and

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His splendid entrance into London.

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preceded by another, bearing on high his sword, Richard moved on, with his young friends and courtiers immediately behind him, happy, honored, and applauded. Every portion of the train was led by its clarions and trumpets continually sounding. The citizens filled the public aqueducts with wine, which was allowed to flow profusely thro their pipes for three hours and a half, the time of the cavalcade. The populace crowded, with loud and eager shouts, hailed their young king, and revelling in their indulgences. In the market at Cheapside, a castle was displayed with four towers, two of which also poured around gratuitously streams of wine. On the towers stood four beautiful maidens of elegant stature, clothed in white, wafting leaves of gold into the king's face as he approached, and showering down light golden coins upon him and his horse, as he came nearer. All the clarions and trumpets sounded at that moment together, in every part enrapturing the stout and warlike ears of the boisterous and bustling population. As the king stood before the triumphal castle, the lovely virgins, descending to greet him, filled their golden cups from its flowing conduits, and offered them to their sovereign and his lords. On the summit of the castle appeared an angel shining in gold, and holding out a golden crown in his hand: when the king came under him, the mechanism moved, and the loyal seraph bent respectfully down, and placed the crown upon his head. Every street vied with each other in its decorations and pageants; and the city rang from end to end with tumult, martial music, popular huzzas, and festive merriment, every class emulous of joy and vociferation, till the king reached the royal palace, at Westminster<sup>1</sup>, where at last he rested after his

<sup>1</sup> Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 192. Richard was born at Bourdeaux, on the Epiphany, in Jan. 1367; his father was setting out for his Castile expedition. Froiss. vol. iii. p. 267.

fatiguing, enrapturing, but not, perhaps, improving day.

His coronation, in the following year, gave another exhibition of national hilarity and customary splendor<sup>2</sup>, with a new circumstance of popular gratification. In the middle of the royal palace, a column apparently marble, was raised, supporting a great eagle gilt, and hollow above the pedestal. Under the feet of the royal bird, and from the capitol of the pillar, four sorts of wine were made to flow the whole day of the coronation, and the poorest person was permitted to partake of the welcomed bounty.<sup>3</sup> Such was the public magnificence of our ancestors in those times, when the gratifications of the senses prevailed over those of the intellect and sentiment.<sup>4</sup>

The archbishop of Canterbury opened the parliament that was soon assembled, with an harangue more like a sermon than a statesman's speech; but it was meant to be popular, and its topics were in general soothing and gracious.<sup>5</sup> John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, the king's eldest uncle, attended, with his title, "King of Castile and Leon," and, kneeling before the king, complained that the House

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His corona-  
tion.

His first  
parliament.

<sup>2</sup> Wals. pp. 193—197. This author describes minutely the ceremonies of his coronation. One part kept alive the ancient custom of the popular election of the sovereign. After the king had taken the coronation oath, the archbishop, the marshal of England preceding him, "turned himself to all sides of the church, shewing to the people the royal oath, and asking, if they would submit themselves to such a prince and ruler, and obey his commands? And the people answered with a loud acclamation, that they would willingly obey him." Wals. p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> The Monk of Evesham remarks, that the pomp of the coronation was such as had rarely been seen before. Hist. Rich. II. p. 1. How far it was wise, may be questioned; when we find, that, anticipating the future complaint of parliament on the royal applications for money, the ministers stated, that one part of the expenditure arose from the great cost of the coronation. Plac. Parl. p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Wals. p. 196. The king made nine knights and four earls this day: his uncle Thomas, earl of Buckingham, with a pension of a thousand marks; his former master, Giffard, earl of Huntingdon, with a similar allowance; Mowbray, earl of Nottingham; and Percy, earl of Northumberland. Ib.

<sup>5</sup> Plac. Parl. vol. iii. pp. 3—7. It contained the assertion of a principle, as to the royal succession, now happily legal, while the three estates in parliament continue the dynasty, but then too new to be completely settled, and which indeed was violated in this very reign. "The king is your natural and rightful liege lord, as it is said, not by election or by other such collateral way, but by right succession of inheritance." Ib. p. 3.

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of commons had spoken so ill of him as to impute treason to his conduct—that he had committed none, and was ready to defend his honor with his body, as if he were but the poorest person in the kingdom. The prelates and lords interfered, and begged the duke to desist. The commons declared that they had acquitted him of all blame, as they had chosen him to be one of the lords whom they wished to aid and protect them; and their Speaker<sup>6</sup> then stated the public grievances on which he felt it right, or was authorized, to remonstrate. These were principally, that the chivalry of the kingdom had been discouraged and undervalued, and vice advanced; and that the kingdom had been better protected, and the navy greater, when the merchants had the disposition of their own ships. He asked, in the name of the commons, that counsellors should be appointed to consider of these evils. And, as if with an eye of prophetic discernment of the future mischiefs and their causes, he additionally prayed, that the most virtuous and upright persons should be put about the king; that the expenditure of his household should be confined to his revenues; that the supplies which were granted for the war, should be faithfully applied to it; and that laws made in parliament, should be rescinded only by parliament.<sup>7</sup> They were answered from the throne, That it was too hard a request to put any others about the king than those whom he liked, or to remove any, without defaults arraigned and proved; but that the knights and esquires about the sovereign should be prohibited from asking him for any gifts. It was declared, that the officers of the household should be spoken to on the expenses; and that the wishes of parliament on the war supplies, should be

<sup>6</sup> The Speaker here mentioned is presumed to have been the first Speaker of the House of Commons. This point will be considered in the chapter on the constitution.

<sup>7</sup> Plac. Parl. pp. 5, 6.

duly attended to.<sup>8</sup> A grant of two-tenths and fifteenths was then made, to support the continuing war with France; several noblemen were appointed, with the king's uncles, to be regents during his minority<sup>9</sup>; and as the commons had requested that some persons might be named treasurers or guardians of the money they had voted, to see that it was applied to the expenses of the war, and not to any other object, two merchants of London, Walworth and Philip, were nominated for that purpose.<sup>10</sup> The duke of Lancaster, dissatisfied with the conduct of the court and parliament, and feeling his own unpopularity, withdrew to his castle at Killingworth.<sup>11</sup>

The French would grant no peace but on their own terms<sup>12</sup>; and their fleet, taking advantage of a temporary naval superiority on their part, and of inactivity in the English administration, committed many ravages on the English coast, took the Isle of Wight, burnt Hastings, plundered Rottingdean, and attacked Winchelsea, where an abbot stoutly resisted them<sup>13</sup>, other lords having failed.<sup>14</sup> The duke of Lancaster at last assumed the command of the fleet, to protect the coasts. The English government engaged their nation to assist the duke of Bretagne

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French  
war con-  
tinues.

<sup>8</sup> Plac. Parl. p. 7. The clergy also petitioned, that the king would have in his presence, councils, and service, "prodes hommes," ib. p. 14, as if he had already been surrounded by unworthy favorites.

<sup>9</sup> The commons had petitioned, that the king's council might be enlarged. Ib. p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Plac. Parl. p. 7. The House of Commons, before it separated, attacked the late king's mistress, Alice Piers. She was charged with obtaining the king's consent and interference against the opinion of his council. Proofs were adduced, and she was ordered to be banished.

<sup>11</sup> Wals. Hist. p. 196.

<sup>12</sup> Mon. Evesh. Rich. II. p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. pp. 2, 3. Walsing. pp. 197, 198. It was a strange rumor to spread, that a captured Frenchman had said, that if the English had made the duke of Lancaster their king, their coasts would not have been so infested by the French. Ib. p. 3. If such ideas were afloat, it is probable that the archbishop's assertion of the right of succession by strict inheritance, was aimed at the partisans or pretensions of this powerful duke.

<sup>14</sup> As the king's uncle of Buckingham, and lord Latimer; Mon. Ev. p. 4; also earls of Arundel and Salisbury, p. 6. Froissart notices this French attack, vol. iv. p. 284.

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against the king of France, and Lancaster made some efforts for this purpose<sup>15</sup>; but their political purposes were ultimately disappointed, by the duke entering into a treaty with his feudal lord.<sup>16</sup> A French army, under the duc D'Anjou, attacked the English possessions in Gascony, and no assistance was sent from England to repel them.<sup>17</sup> His successes increased the disposition of the barons and seigneurs of the country to abandon an English sovereign who did not protect them; and to prevent Richard from any effective operations in France, its king urged the Scottish government to an invasion of the English borders.<sup>18</sup> The hostilities of the French against the king of Navarre, determined him to solicit personally Richard's succor, who entered into a compact to assist him, and therefore to make war both on the king of France and on the king of Castile.<sup>19</sup> The Spanish monarch, to anticipate the warfare, besieged Bayonne, but was disappointed by the disease which afflicted his army<sup>20</sup>; but he sent a large portion of his troops, under his son John, and the constable of Spain, to besiege Pampeluna, the chief fortress of Navarre. To save this city and Navarre, the English forces, under Sir Thomas Trevet, advanced against the Spaniards, who raised the siege on their approach.<sup>21</sup> Sir Thomas rested during the winter at Tudela, and then made many victorious incursions in the Spanish provinces.<sup>22</sup> An army of 40,000 men

English  
force in  
Spain.

<sup>15</sup> He landed with a force near St. Malo, but not finding it an easy capture, re-embarked and returned. Froiss. p. 296. This author says they had 400 *cannon* firing into this town, and were forming a mine to blow up the works, when it was destroyed by a surprise. Vol. v. p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Monk of Evesham, 7. 17. 19. Wals. 238. 247. 251.

<sup>17</sup> Froiss. vol. iv. p. 302—31.

<sup>18</sup> *Ib.* p. 334—355.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 373. Lord Neville sailed to Bourdeaux in Sept. 1378, with an auxiliary force of 1000 men at arms, and 2000 archers, who recovered many towns in the Bourdelais. *Ib.* p. 16—21.

<sup>20</sup> A necromancer which he had brought with him from Toledo, assured king Henry that the whole air was poisoned and corrupted; that no remedy could be applied, but that he would risk the death of all if he remained. On this intimation, he quitted the place. Froiss. vol. iv. p. 332.

<sup>21</sup> Froiss. vol. v. p. 32—40.

<sup>22</sup> *Ib.* 41—46.

was at length assembled to repel him, and the king of Castile opened a negotiation with the sovereign of Navarre, which ended in a peace, and in marriages between their families.<sup>23</sup> On the death of Henry, soon afterwards, the Spanish grandees made his son John their king; thus excluding the princesses, the children of Don Pedro, whom the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge had wedded, with the hope of this noble succession.<sup>24</sup>

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Sir Thomas Trevet, on his return to England, communicated these events to the king at his residence at Chertsey, and to the two princes his uncles, to their manifest dissatisfaction and disappointment.<sup>25</sup> The Spanish herald was called in to detail the particulars as to Henry's sudden decease<sup>26</sup>, and Lancaster expressed his determination to struggle with Don John for the Castilian crown.<sup>27</sup>

The king of Portugal espoused their cause as that of his aunts; sent a defiance to the young sovereign of Castile on their behalf, and desired the duke of

<sup>23</sup> Froiss. 48. The English in Castile were now about 2000. They were to have 20,000 francs from the king of Navarre, who, to pay them, borrowed this sum of the king of Arragon on the security of five of his chief towns. "By these means, the English were paid their demands. They left the king of Navarre well satisfied with their conduct; returned to Bourdeaux, and from thence to England." Ib. 49.

<sup>24</sup> Froiss. p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> "The duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge were very pensive on hearing this intelligence; for they had considered themselves as heirs to all Spain, in right of their wives." Froiss. p. 57.

<sup>26</sup> He described the meeting of the king of Navarre with Henry of Castile at St. Domingo. "The king of Navarre and his people were treated with much honor. In the evening, they were entertained with a handsome supper. While at table, news was brought that a wild boar was discovered in the adjoining moors, and a hunting party was directly formed for the morrow. The two kings and their huntsmen attended, and the boar was taken. They returned to the town in the most friendly manner. The next day, king Henry set out for Pierre Ferrade, to keep an appointment he had made with his people; but he was there seized with an illness, and died on Whitsunday. Shortly afterwards, on 25 July, his eldest son John was crowned at Burgos, and created immediately 210 knights." Froiss. pp. 58, 59.

<sup>27</sup> The duke of Lancaster inquired if the king of Portugal was at the coronation. "The herald said that he had been invited, but declared that he would never attend the coronation of the son of a bastard." "On my faith," replied the duke, "he did well to send that answer, and I thank him for it. Things shall not long remain as they now are. My brother and myself will call upon Don John for this inheritance, of which he now styles himself king." Here they called for wine and refreshment, and the conversation ended. Froiss. 59.

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Lancaster to come with the princesses and with an English army, to enforce their right to the crown of their father.<sup>28</sup> Councils were held in England, on the arrival of the Portuguese knight with his master's message, and it was determined that while the duke of Lancaster should employ himself on the borders in establishing a peace with Scotland, the earl of Cambridge should embark for Portugal with some English spears and archers, to be followed by his brother with a competent force as soon as the state of England admitted of his departure.<sup>29</sup> Public objects were made the ostensible pretexts for this expedition, tho the real cause was the personal aggrandizement of the duke by the coronation of his wife in Castile, and was then suspected to be so.<sup>30</sup> His brother, Thomas of Woodstock, was sent with another army to aid Brittany and harass France.<sup>31</sup> These wars, and the taxations which they made indispensable, led to insurrections that convulsed the kingdom.

Pecuniary exigencies of government.

The bishop of Rochester, in his sermon after the coronation, had accompanied his admonitions to the great, to cultivate mutual amity and private virtue, with exhortations "that they would not causelessly burthen the people with such great taxations."<sup>32</sup> He had observed the pecuniary pressures of the preceding reign, and he anticipated the dangers of their repetition or augmentation. In the second year's parliament, the chancellor stated, that we had then many fine and noble entrances into France, by which we could distress her, Cherbourg, Brest, Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne; and that these required but a small sum to keep. The commons objected to granting money for foreign fortresses. They

<sup>28</sup> Froiss. vol. v. p. 323.<sup>30</sup> Mon. Ev. p. 22. Wals. 257.

Wals. 196.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 327.<sup>31</sup> Froiss. 177—210.



were answered that these were "the barbicans of the kingdom of England."<sup>33</sup> They yielded to the reasoning, and they gave supplies. In 1379, the chancellor met them again with the same pecuniary urgencies; he said, that nothing could be done without charging the community; that this charge could not be made without parliament; that a naval armament was necessary; that government had borrowed all the money it could get, and had even pledged the crown jewels, and that further supplies were wanted. The commons, having had nine persons appointed to examine into the state of the king and kingdom, voted a taxation.<sup>34</sup>

At the next meeting of the two houses the same topics were renewed. The chancellor reminded them that France, Spain, and Scotland, were enemies; and that Calais, Brest, and Cherbourg, could not be kept without expense. The commons answered, that if their liege lord had been well and reasonably governed in his expenses, he would not have wanted to have taxed his poor commons. They desired that the lords of the permanent council should be dismissed, and no such counsellors retained, as the king was now "of good discretion, handsome stature, and of the same age at which his grandfather had been crowned." They requested, that commissioners should be appointed to examine the royal household and expenditure; and that if faults were found, they might be certified to the king to be amended, and that he might be honorably governed.<sup>35</sup> Supplies were then granted, but were still so inadequate to the profusion or necessities of the government, that soon afterwards, in Richard's fourth year, the parliament was again assembled to hear the chancellor declare, that the wages of the

<sup>33</sup> Plac. Parl. 34, 35.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 71—73.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 56, 57.

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soldiers at Calais, Brest, and Cherbourg, were a quarter and a half in arrear; that the castles were in danger, because their garrisons talked of leaving them as they were not paid; that the king was "outrageously" indebted, and was at great expense to guard the sea. The house required a statement of *the whole* of what he wanted. Lists were made out to the amount of 160,000*l.* The commons declared the sum to be "moult outrageous and importable." The lords advised a poll-tax to be imposed; and the commons, after soliciting the clergy to supply 50,000*l.*, concurred in enacting the requisite taxation.<sup>36</sup> By this capitation, or poll-tax, the great were required to pay large sums.<sup>37</sup> The aldermen and merchants were assessed on a diminished scale<sup>38</sup>; and every married person was taxed at fourpence for himself and his wife; and the unmarried, of the age of sixteen and upwards, at the same sum for each individual.<sup>39</sup>

The new  
poll-tax :

This taxation was imposed and endured without any visible dissatisfaction. But in the next year more money was found to be wanted, and another poll-tax was enacted, of three groats, or twelve-pence, on each person, male and female, of every-condition, that had passed the age of fifteen years.<sup>40</sup> To the surprise of the court, this produced less to the exchequer than the preceding assessment. The ministers imputed the deficiency to a negligent collection; and four persons, proffering their services, obtained from the king a commission to inquire into the correctness of the payment in Kent, Norfolk,

<sup>36</sup> Plac. Parl. 88—90.<sup>37</sup> As, dukes, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; earls and countesses, 4*l.*; barons, bannerets, baronesses and knights, 2*l.*; bachelors, esquires, and their widows, 1*l.*; the judges, 5*l.*; the serjeants, 2*l.* Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 57.<sup>38</sup> The mayor of London, 4*l.*; the aldermen, 2*l.*; other mayors, 2*l.*; merchants, 13*s.* 4*d.*; smaller tradesmen, according to their property, from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 6*d.* Ib. 58.<sup>39</sup> Ib. p. 58.<sup>40</sup> See the record of it in Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 90.

and their vicinities. Their objects and imposed duty were to make a rigorous exaction of the tax: a large reward was to requite their industry, and they were convinced that government would not be too nice in scrutinizing their means, if their accounts were ample.<sup>41</sup>

With this licence for oppression, and with this temptation to rapacity, they began their inquisition. As the age of fifteen was the limit of personal liability, they made the exemption a fruitful instrument of extortion; for, denying that any maiden they saw was under the prescribed age, they insisted on an indecent and abominable inspection of her person to ascertain the fact. Most parents paid the tax unjustly, in order to screen their daughters from such ruffian examination; and the people became generally indignant at the manifest iniquity.<sup>42</sup> This danger was obviously produced by government having departed from the indispensable policy, of never aggravating the unpopularity of a tax by a severe and inquisitorial collection. What is paid willingly is received safely; but when rigor begins on the one side, and resentment on the other, the consequences are always incalculable, and often calamitous.

The displeasure of the nation at the rigor and insults committed by the financial officers was universal; but the particular causes of the explosion appear to have been local and individual. The conduct of the collectors towards the young women excited the commons of Kent. They conferred together on the oppression and on the remedy, "but found no beginning hand." At last, at Fobbing in Essex, one Thomas, by trade a baker, began to exhort the people in his village to an actual insurrection<sup>43</sup>, associated others to his party; and each of these

its oppressive collection.

Disturbances caused by it;

<sup>41</sup> Knyghton, Hist. Angl. 2632, 2633.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. p. 2632.

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by law.

sending to their distant friends, the spirit spread from hamlet to hamlet, and town to town; till, in the month of May, all Kent and Essex were in rebellious commotion.

Sir Robert Belknap, the chief justice of the common pleas, was sent down to Essex, with a commission to try and punish the insurgents. But these chopped off the heads of the grand jury who began to find indictments, and compelled him to swear that he would hold no more such sessions; and they carried on poles the heads which they had cut off, and plundered the manor of the prior of St. John of Jerusalem. Sir Simon Burley, a favorite knight at court, went down to Gravesend to act vigorously. His determined conduct only increased the insurrection. Another justice, with a legal commission for trial of the offenders, was resisted, and compelled to fly; and the excited populace of Kent met at Dartford, without as yet any leader, exclaiming, That there were more kings than one in the nation, and that they would have none but king Richard.<sup>44</sup> There was a great spirit of revolt against the oppressions of government, but no disaffection towards their sovereign; for they compelled those they met to swear fidelity to king Richard and the commons.<sup>45</sup>

Insurrec-  
tion under  
Wat Tyler.

At Dartford, a man was found, Wat Tyler, whose exasperated attack on one of the collectors had given him distinction among the populace; and they precipitately made him their leader.<sup>46</sup> The exact pro-

<sup>44</sup> Stowe has noticed these incidents, in his Annals, p. 284. The treasurer, in his speech to the next parliament, admits that the revolvers cried out, "q'ls veulloient avoir nul roi, sinon notre seigneur le roi Richard." Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 99.

<sup>45</sup> Wals. p. 258.

<sup>46</sup> Stowe, from the Liber. St. Alban, states, that at Dartford the people were inflamed by the collector's indecently seizing a tiler's daughter. "Her mother cried out; neighbours came running in; and her husband being at worke in the same towne, tyling of an house, when hee heard thereof, caught his lathing staffe in his hand and ranne, reaking, home: where reasoning with his collector who made him so bold, the collector answered with stout words, and strake at the tylar, whereupon the tylar avoyding the blow, smote the collector with his lathing staffe that

gress of the insurrection is neither uniformly nor distinctly told; in such tumultuary movements, the alarm produced by their general effect confuses the accuracy of the subsequent recollection, and precludes a discriminated detail. The most consistent facts may be selected. In May, five thousand rustics assembled out of Essex, armed with sticks, rusty swords, axes, and worn-out bows<sup>47</sup>; whose numbers rapidly increased. In Kent, a larger multitude collected, who attacked the mansion of the archbishop of Canterbury, at Maidstone, and released there John Balle, a priest, who had been imprisoned for teaching doctrines like those of Wickliffe; they compelled him to accompany them, and proposed to make him their archbishop.<sup>48</sup> From the counties around the metropolis such numbers flocked together, that when they reached Blackheath in their way to London, there were calculated to be one hundred thousand insurgents.<sup>49</sup> By this time they appear to have all submitted to the guidance of Wat Tyler.<sup>50</sup> To one of the king's knights who came to inquire the cause of their insurrection, they declared their wish to have an audience of their sovereign. Some counsellors advised Richard to meet them, and to persuade them to disperse.

the braine flew out of his head, where through great noyse arose in the streetes, and the poore people being glad, every one prepared to support the said John Tylar." *Annals*, 284.

<sup>47</sup> Wals. p. 258.

<sup>48</sup> Knyghton, 2633, 2634.

<sup>49</sup> Wals. p. 259. Froissart's remark is probably true, that three parts of these people did not know what they asked or what they wanted, but followed one another like beasts. Vol. ii. c. 74.

<sup>50</sup> This man's name is variously given. Stowe calls him John Tyler. Walsingham, Walter Heller vel Tyler. P. 264. Froissart, Wautre Tillier. Vol. ii. c. 74. But the Parliamentary Rolls have "Wauter Tyler del countes de Kent," Vol. iii. p. 175. These rolls destroy Knyghton's idea, that Wat Tyler and Jak Strawe were the same person, for, after Wat Tyler, they add "Jakke Strawe en Essex;" thus clearly making them to be distinct leaders of two different counties. Knyghton had said, that Wat Tyler changed his name to Jakke Strawe, p. 1636; but we must consider the Parliamentary record to be the most accurate. Hardyng's Chronicle corresponds with this record—

They asked eke Jake Strawe and Wat Tiler

To bee made dukes of Essex and Kent. P. 339. Ellis ed.

Walsingham, p. 308, calls Johannes Straw a presbyter, and the leader of the mob from Bury, &c.

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The archbishop of Canterbury, then the chancellor, and another minister, the treasurer, dissuaded the king from humoring such "shoeless ribalds."<sup>51</sup> This epithet and hostile counsel coming to their knowledge, they swore vengeance against the prelate; and, proceeding to Southwark, they broke into the Marshalsea, and released the prisoners. As they approached London Bridge, the mayor and aldermen were about to close the city gate; but the populace within opened it, and admitted the insurgents.<sup>52</sup> Numerous and promiscuous as they were, they committed no rapine; they paid a fair price for all they wanted, and beheaded immediately such as attempted to steal. This conduct, and their assertion, that their object was to find out the betrayers of their country, and then to desist, disposed the citizens to favor them.<sup>53</sup> The court collected at the Tower; where the king, with the archbishop of Canterbury, the young earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV., Leg, the taxing commissioner, whose rigor had excited the storm, and about one hundred and eighty knights, encountered the furious mob. To save the lives of those who were threatened, the king agreed to confer with them at Mile End. The great body of the insurgents moved thither; and, after hearing their complaints, the king gave them a charter, declaring that every one in England should be free, and discharged from all servitude and villenage.<sup>54</sup> But the rabble who continued on Tower Hill became more outrageous when the king had left. They forced their entrance, altho some of the bravest knights and archers were in the fortress; seized and beheaded the archbishop, the treasurer,

<sup>51</sup> "Discalciatos ribaldos." Wals. 259. We may infer the time of the commencement of these tumults, from the proclamation to adjourn the courts of judicature on account of them, which was dated 15 June 1381. Rymer Act. Fœd. vol. vii. p. 311.

<sup>52</sup> Wals. 259. Knyght. 2634.

<sup>53</sup> Wals. 260.

<sup>54</sup> Knyght. 2634.

and Leg the commissioner, and several others, before the king returned. With all the ferocious spirit of a mad and vindictive mob, and intoxicated with the liquors which they had found in the cellars of the city, they put the heads on lances and sticks, and proceeded to the Savoy, to attack the palace of the duke of Lancaster. They burnt this superb place, and all its rich furniture, throwing into the fire one of their companions, who was pilfering some of the valuable articles.<sup>55</sup> They alarmed and insulted the princess of Wales, whom they met coming to London<sup>56</sup>; they stroked the beards of the noblest knights with their dirty hands; they rushed into the king's private chamber, placed themselves on his bed, and displayed every where the most disgusting and insolent familiarity and disorder.<sup>57</sup> For seven days, they continued in riot, pillage, and drunkenness, destroying many houses, slaying many citizens, and at last beginning to attack and murder each other.<sup>58</sup>

The unexpected possession of such unresisted power gave audacity to the more atrocious. The love of crime increased, from the facility of its perpetration. Cruelty began to wanton in mischief, and the most abandoned designs were meditated. One was, to destroy the king and nobles, to set fire to the metropolis, and to plunder it while burning.<sup>59</sup> Three times the king had given them the charters they

<sup>55</sup> *Ib.* 2635. Walsingham gives a full detail of all these atrocities, pp. 260—263; and see Froissart, cc. 75, 76. The bishop of Exeter's official letter states, that the rebels rushed on the archbishop of Canterbury in the Tower; beat and wounded him; called him a traitor; beheaded him near the Tower, carried his head thro London on a spear, crying out, "Here is the head of a traitor;" drove a nail into the brain, and placed it on London Bridge. *Wilk. Conc.* vol. iii. p. 153.

<sup>56</sup> Froissart, vol. ii. c. 74.

<sup>57</sup> *Wals.* 261.

<sup>58</sup> *Knyght.* 2635, 2636. In the city they killed many Flemish merchants; which Chaucer notices,

Certes he Jakke Strawe, and his meinie  
Ne maden never shoutes half so shrille  
Whan that they wolden any Fleming kille.

The Nonnes Preestes Tale, p. 131.

<sup>59</sup> *Wals.* 264.

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killed.

asked for, but they became dissatisfied with all.<sup>60</sup> They were then required to meet him in Smithfield, and to state the additional articles which they projected.

Their leader, Wat Tyler, demanded that all the lawyers should be beheaded; and he is reported to have exclaimed, that in four days all the laws of England should flow from his lips. A knight was sent to him by the king, and he chose to be offended that the royal messenger approached him on horseback. He drew his dagger, and was menacing an assault; when the king, to avert the danger of his friend, ordered him to dismount, and to give the weapon, which he had unsheathed to the rebel.<sup>61</sup> Wat Tyler now addressed the king with a threatening insolence, throwing up his dagger with one hand, and catching it with the other, as if playing with it like a child, but watching, it was thought, a certain moment to stab the king, if his demands should be refused. These were that all the warrens, streams, parks, and woods, should be common to every one, and that the right of pursuing game should be equally free. As the king was pausing on such a grant, which, tho he might concede, he had not the power to effectuate, Wat suddenly seized the bridle of his horse. Walworth, the mayor of London, who was near him, fearing for his sovereign's life, instinctively seized a basillard, and darted it into the rebel's throat. At the same moment, another esquire plunged one into his side. He fell on his face, sprang up once or twice on his hands and feet convulsively, and expired.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> One of these charters may be inserted, to shew what the rioters at first required: "Richard, &c. greeting. Know ye, that of our especial grace, we have manumitted all liegemen and every one of our subjects, and others of the county of Hertford, and have discharged both them and theirs of all bondage, and pardon them all felonies, treasons, transgressions, extortions," &c. Wals. 266.

<sup>61</sup> Wals. 264, 265. Gower thus describes Wat Tyler, "Vox fera, trux vultus, verissima mortis imago." MS. Tib. A. 4.

<sup>62</sup> Knyghton, 2636, 2637.



The cry immediately rose among his followers, that their leader was dead, and a thousand arrows were stretched on their bows to avenge him. The king, with hereditary courage, and with a presence of mind beyond his years, immediately rode around them, exclaiming, "Why this clamor, my liege men? What are ye doing? Will you kill your king? Be not displeased for the death of a traitor and a scoundrel. I will be your captain and your leader: follow me to the fields, and I will grant all you can ask." Pleased with his confidence and gracious manner, interested by his beautiful countenance, and as yet undetermined whether to revenge their chief, or take the king's concessions, they followed the movement of those who went after the king to the fields; thus affording an opportunity, while they were out of the city, for the friends of order and loyalty to assemble, without any apprehension of the metropolis being destroyed in the conflict. While the king was parleying with them in the fields, the mayor collected an armed force of above a thousand men. They chose sir Robert Knolles their leader, to give them disciplined array, and they rode down in military form upon the insurgents, who, seeing their shining arms and imposing appearance, and observing them moving as if to surround and charge them, became seized with a happy panic, threw down their rude arms, and fled in all directions. The knights wished to make an example of one or two hundred. But the good-natured king, pleased with the easy termination of an insurrection so menacing in its first aspect, and perhaps feeling that it was a reliance on his word which had placed them in their present situation, declared that many had joined them thro fear, who would thus be destroyed without any wilful guilt; and therefore he forbad a pursuit.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Wals. 265. With the two preceding authorities, may be read Froissart's

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tion ceases.

Never was any insurrection more useless, more mischievous, or more absurd. All mob-tumults indeed are so. But this was rather violent than politically formidable. It was not the result of any conspiracy: it was an ebullition of popular resentment, made universal by the inflammable state of the public mind. It proved destructive to individuals, from the suddenness of its occurrence; and its novelty struck the government with a panic, from surprise, which gave the mob their temporary and unexpected success. But the first bold resistance intimidated and dispersed the insurgents: and, being connected with no organized plan or superior leaders, the dissolution of the motley crowd terminated the danger. The tumult scarcely lasted a fortnight at London. In many parts of the country, disturbances of the same sort occurred; but they were soon suppressed.<sup>64</sup> One

amusing but less exact account, c. 77. On this insurrection, Gower composed his *Vox Clamantis*, a poem in Latin hexameters and pentameters. He begins it with a florid description of the summer, as the disturbance began in the month of June. He fancies himself to have dreamt, that he went into the fields to pick flowers, when he suddenly saw an innumerable crowd of monsters coming towards him, in different bodies; some seemed changed into asinine shapes, some into cattle, some into pigs, and others into dogs, foxes, owls, flies, and frogs. As they stood collected, a Jay, that was called *Watte*, was chosen to be their leader. He heard their names and divers horrible voices. He states, that they had one *John Halle* among them, as their prophet, who instigated them to their crimes; and that they appointed to themselves tribunes and officers. He describes their massacres and excesses, and the consternation of many, who fled to woods and caves to hide and fortify themselves. He was one of these fugitives. He took refuge in a wood, and lay hid there for several days, subsisting on acorns and wild herbs, and covering himself with leaves and grass;—*Silva vetus densa,*

*Nulla violata securi,*

*Absque supercilio, mihi nubis sub tegumento—*

*Nulla superficies tunc quia tuta fuit.*

*Per que dies aliquot latitans omnem que tremiscens,*

*Ad strepitum fugi, visa pericla cavens,*

*Glande famem pellens, mixta quoque frondibus herba*

*Corpus ego texi, nec manus una movet—*

*Tunc cibus herba fuit, tunc latis currere sylvis*

*Impetus est, castra tunc quia nulla juvant.*

He narrates the death of their Jay, or Walter their captain; but still sees the vessel of the state tossed about by various winds, without a helm. He feigns, that a voice in his dream bade him write what he had seen; and this leads to a conclusion of his first book. MS. Cot. Lib. Tiberius A 4. and Titus A 13.

<sup>64</sup> Knyghton, 2637—2639. Walsingham details the violences at St. Alban's, 266—275; in Norfolk, 275; in Cambridgeshire, 277.—They seem to have raged

movement indeed, more personal and pertinacious, was directed against the duke of Lancaster, who was then in the North. Two bodies of ten thousand men went thro the kingdom in search of him. All that he had at Leicester, and in the castle of Tutbury, was destroyed. His noble friends who had invited him, did not dare to receive him, and he was obliged to take shelter in Scotland.<sup>65</sup> The organization and perseverance of this part of the insurgents, may induce us to recollect his attachment to Wickliffe, and to suspect that they were directed by persons of a different description from those who headed the tumults in the metropolis.

The crown, soon released from its apprehensions, published a proclamation, declaring it to be false, that the rebels had acted either with the king's consent, or by his orders<sup>66</sup>; revoked the charters of manumission and amnesty, which had been granted during the rebellion<sup>67</sup>; and issued a justification of the duke of Lancaster, from the calumnies with which he had been charged.<sup>68</sup> Justice Tresilian was sent into the country to try the rioters. He is described to have acted with the lawless spirit of a rioter himself; to have made a great slaughter; to have spared none, but to have hanged all who were accused, whether innocent or guilty.<sup>69</sup> The insurrection was noticed in the speech from the government, in the following parliament. The lord trea-

for some time in the country before they approached the metropolis, for the Stat. 6 Rich. II. c. 13. dates the commencement from the 1st of May, and extends them to Midsummer-day.

<sup>65</sup> Knyghton, 2639—2643.

<sup>66</sup> This was dated 23 June, 1361. Rymer, Act. Fœd. vol vii. p. 316.

<sup>67</sup> Rymer, p. 317. This revocation was dated 2 July, 1381: so that by the end of June the insurrection was over.

<sup>68</sup> Rymer, p. 318, dated 3 July 1381. "Nulli parcens fecit stragem magnam."

<sup>69</sup> Knyghton, p. 2643. Froissart describes the king as going into Kent with 500 spears, and as many archers, directing at various places the magistrates to point out the first movers of the rebellion in each town; ordering punishment on these, and pardoning the rest. He mentions, that in the different parts of England above 1500 were beheaded or hanged. Vol. v. p. 371—3.

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surer recommended an inquiry to be made into the causes which had produced it. He reminded them that the king had granted letters under his great seal, enfranchising the servile part of the community, but declared, that his majesty was aware that he could not do this consistently with the law of the land, and had therefore recalled them. But he left it to the prelates, lords and commons, to decide, whether they would sanction the enfranchisement or not, adding, from the throne, this important intimation, that if they were desirous to enfranchise the servile classes, as it had been reported some were, the king would assent to the measure.<sup>70</sup> The lords and commons did not adopt the liberal feeling of the sovereign: they declared, that they would not sanction the manumissions, tho they should all perish in one day: and they annulled them universally.<sup>71</sup> But the commons petitioned for the king's grace and pardon to the rebels, which was immediately granted, with individual exceptions.<sup>72</sup>

Causes of  
the public  
agitation.

This strange insurrection, so new to England, and the subsequent commotions which marked this agitated reign, altho the son of the favorite Black Prince was the sovereign, lead us to suspect that no common agencies must have been in operation to have produced such momentous results. The conduct of the tax assessors and collectors will account for local and transient effervescence, but not for the extensive

<sup>70</sup> Parl. Plac. 99. The term here used for the class in bondage is "Neifs;" the same with Bracton's "Nativi," or persons born in bondage.

<sup>71</sup> Plac. Parl. 100. Accordingly, by the Stat. 5 Rich. 2. c. 7. all such "manumissions, obligacions, relesse et d'autres liens," were made void; and it was made treason to begin "riot et rumour." This latter part was repealed by 1 Edw. 6. c. 12.

<sup>72</sup> Plac. Parl. pp. 103 and 111. Seventeen persons were excepted in Norfolk; twenty in Suffolk; four in Cambridgeshire; eleven in Essex; four in Hertfordshire; twenty-three in Middlesex; eight in Winchester; twenty in Kent; eight in Sussex; thirteen in Somerset; eight in Canterbury; and one hundred and fifty-one in London. *Ib.* pp. 111—113.

discontent, continued factions, and ultimate revolution, which disturbed the kingdom at this period.<sup>73</sup>

We may distinguish the causes of these evils into three classes: Those, which were the consequences of the warlike system of Edward III.; those, which were the results of the improving tendencies of society at that period; and those, which occurred from the personal character of the king.

By his wars in France, Edward III. had occupied the chivalry of his country in expeditions, which expended abroad that martial spirit which might have been troublesome at home; and by the two great victories of Cressy and Poitiers, an intellectual impression had been made on the contending countries, and on Europe at large, highly to the credit of the English people. The superiority of their individual prowess had been proved and the celebrity of the nation had been widely diffused. The French armies, as men, were decided to be inferior to the English in military exercises, in persevering resolution, and in personal strength, as their leaders were at this juncture in tactical skill. From the experience of these facts, England was taught its intrinsic national greatness, and was freed from all doubt of the ability to preserve its national independence. When we consider the individual security and spirit, the general honor and magnanimity, and the internal improvements and activity which flow from such a conviction and such a truth, we cannot but feel, that the wars which first decisively established them, had not occurred without some national benefit. But these wars were also followed by many other consequences;

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1st. Conse-  
quences of  
the pre-  
ceding wars  
of Edw. III.

<sup>73</sup> That Gower considered the disturbances to have much deeper-seated causes than the mere taxation, is evident from his *Vox Clamantis*. He expresses great apprehension of exciting much odium by his representations, and of their occasioning much angry criticism on himself; but he resolves to attempt the task, and to write only truth. See the third book of his *Vox Clamantis*.

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and some of these were disadvantageous to the future sovereign.

Among these, we may consider the creation of feelings on both of the contending nations, which insured the recurrence of future hostilities. Mortified pride, a desire of revenge, and a resolution to regain the territory they had lost, and to retrieve their national reputation, became the future actuating principles of the French government and people; and hence the peace which they made, was but an armed truce with a more specious title. In the English mind, an elevated self-opinion, a love of martial glory, an insulting contempt for the enemies they had vanquished, a confidence that they should always conquer, a passion to repeat their triumphs; and a wish, allied to more sordid feelings, to renew the invasion, that they might share again the spoils of a beaten country; produced a fondness and an eagerness for war, which, craving the occurrence, cared little for the justice of the cause. With this sufficiency of hostile motives on both sides, it is no wonder that a renewed war was still raging when the reign of Edward III. closed. He was not allowed to repose on the laurels he had won: and as the honors of war are at all times the most evanescent and mutable, depending sometimes on the comparative talents of the opposing leaders; sometimes on numerical force; sometimes on the nature of the country, and often on the accidents of disease, want of supplies, failure of co-operation, or other casualties which mock both skill and valor; it was consistent with the usual experience of human affairs that, glorious as the summer day of Edward III. had shone, the autumn of his life should be clouded, like that of most great warriors, with disappointment, humiliation, and defeat. Dying in the midst of new hostilities, he left his grandson Richard II. to inherit his wars with

this change of fortune, and to begin his reign with two circumstances inauspicious to its felicity—French fleets insulting the coasts, and ravaging the towns of England; and the necessity of obtaining annual and burthensome supplies from his people, to repel these unpopular hostilities. Both these events disposed the nation to eye the measures of government, from its very commencement, with jealousy and reproach.

The beginning of Richard's reign, thus unpopular, it became more so when factious partisans excited the treasonable question, Whether the duke of Lancaster would not have been a more effective sovereign? The failures of that prince in the conduct of the war, at length lessened the effect of these discussions. But more dangerous feelings spread at the picture which men drew of this reign, contrasted with the preceding. A reign of great martial glory inevitably casts over the next a deep shade, and gives even to peace a disgrace which is both unjust and unfounded. We have the ebullitions of the popular reasoning or prejudices on this subject, recorded by the contemporary pen of Froissart.<sup>74</sup> And we find from him, that the moneylevies made on the people, and their application, were equally censured.<sup>75</sup>

Another consequence of the anterior warfare, was the diffusion thro the country of the disbanded or unemployed soldiery, which had been raised for preceding campaigns; to whom, tho no longer effective from age and service, inactivity was misery, and

<sup>74</sup> Froissart mentions, that there were many murmurs in England, in various places; and some said, who were thinking of evil rather than of good, "What have become of the great enterprises, and the vallant men of England, of Edward the Third, and his son the prince? We used then to go into France and overthrow our enemies; so that none dared to array themselves in battle against us, or if they attempted it, were discomfited. In those days, Englishmen were dreaded. All the world talked of us, and of our noble chivalry. Now they may be silent upon it, for we know nothing of warring at present, except to steal purses from wealthy people: at this we are very apt." Vol. iii. c. 63.

<sup>75</sup> "Where go all our revenues, so large and so numerous, raised by taxation, in addition to the king's customary income? They must be either squandered or embezzled." Froiss. ib.

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whose peaceful life was comparatively a state of penury and neglect. Our old poet Occleve, who lived at this time, has left us some complaining stanzas on the neglect and poverty of the veterans whom Edward had used; which lead us to the conviction that these were among the exciting instruments of disaffection.<sup>76</sup> We find, indeed, this topic of discontent even mentioned in parliament itself, at the very beginning of this reign.<sup>77</sup>

It is perhaps to these superfluous and dissatisfied warriors, that we must attribute some of those grievous violences, which were in fact petty insurrections, which accompanied the king's accession, and were repeatedly the subject of complaint, and of the legislation of parliament. In the second year of his reign, the chancellor stated, that many persons collected in great multitudes in arms, and violently dispossessed others of their lands, ill treated women, and slew unoffending people.<sup>78</sup> The house of commons also

<sup>76</sup> O fikell world ! alas ! thy variance !  
How many a gentilman may men now see,  
That whilom in the werres olde of France  
Honored were, and holde in great chiertee,  
For her prowesse in armes, and plentie  
Of frendes hade in youthe, and now for shame —  
Alas ! her frenship is croked and lame.

Now age, unorne, away putteth favour,  
That flourey youth in his ceson conquered.  
Now forgete is al maner manly labour  
Thurgh whiche full ofte thei her foes assered.  
Now ben the worthy men beten with the yerd  
Of nede. Alas ! and none hath of hem routh.  
Pitee is beried, I trowe be my trouthe.

After calling on the young men to help the old needy warriors, he adds,

Knyghthode, awake ! thou slepest to longe ;  
Thy brother, see, ny dieth for mischief.  
Awake ! and rewe upon his peynes strong.  
Yf thou hereafter come unto suche myschief,  
Thou wilt full sore thurst after relief.  
Thou art not sure what shall thee befall :  
Welthe is foul slepir, beware, lest thou fall.

Occleve, MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D. 6.

<sup>77</sup> That the chivalry of the kingdom had been rebuquizz et tenez en villettee, and put behind, and vice advanced. Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 5.

<sup>78</sup> Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 33.



complained, about the same time, that many in Cheshire, Lancashire, and the adjoining counties, went about committing homicides, took prisoners those who could pay the ransom they exacted, and rode in armed array to fairs, to plunder the attending merchants.<sup>79</sup> So general was this evil, that an ordinance was passed, empowering the crown to arrest all malefactors; altho the commons soon afterwards requested a repeal of this strong law, because it was found to become oppressive to liberty.<sup>80</sup>

With these materials of disturbance, and with these subjects for popular ill-humor, the first years of this reign passed gloomily on; while other causes of a feverish action were gathering strength, which even the improvements of the country contributed to produce. From the common progress of human affairs, it must happen that at different periods of the world, the leading minds, or the larger mass of society, acquire feelings and ideas either more improved than those of their ancestors, or at least dissimilar. Human life exhibits a continual flux of changing parts. The minds and habits of mankind are not more stationary than their persons; for altho the alterations, having to spread from individual to individual, and being imbibed with varying degrees of readiness or quantity, are not visible in their mass, but at certain intervals of time, sometimes remote from each other; yet their ultimate agency is certain, and the collisions which they produce are as disquieting as incalculable. There is perhaps no way to avert their danger, but to prevent the explosion by a foreseeing and timely reformation, or modification of existing laws or habits.

<sup>79</sup> Plac. Par. vol. viii. p. 42.—So the Parliamentary Record, in the 8th year of Richard, states, that “many people come from the county of Chester into Shropshire, and into the counties of Stafford, Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Lancaster, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, Leicester, and York, both day and night, armed and arrayed for war, and kill the inhabitants; burn houses; violate women; maim and beat individuals, and kill and take their goods and cattle.” Plac. Parl. p. 201.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. p. 65.

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proving  
tendencies  
of the  
nation.

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From the benevolent practice of emancipating some of their enslaved tenantry and domestics, which had long prevailed among the great; from the constant encouragement of their freedom by the crown, the church, and the law, all agreeing upon its national benefit; from the superior prosperity and fertility of those who enjoyed the blessings of individual liberty; and from the numerous casualties of the knights and barons in their wars and crusades, which frequently left many estates without owners, and therefore many bondmen without masters; the number of the free population had never ceased to increase: and England, besides her ancient cities, had become full of burghs and towns, inhabited by free persons, many of whom, from the acquisition of wealth by trade, were also purchasers of land. It was the tendency of this state of things that personal servitude should become generally odious. It had long been much alleviated; and in the reign we are delineating, the servile bondage of our rustic population had become for the most part reduced to tilling their lord's land, reaping, housing, and thrashing his corn, and cutting and carrying for him wood for fuel.<sup>81</sup> But that these labors should be exacted gratuitously from poor husbandmen by their wealthy superiors, was so repugnant to the pride and justice of human nature; and that one man should be at all the slave of another, was so revolting to the spirit of the brave and prosperous, now beginning to enjoy the blessings of diffusing reason and liberty; that a desire arose, not only in England, but in France<sup>82</sup>, at this period, of terminating all vassal bondage. The system of paying a fixed rent instead of performing personal servitude, had not then become popular, nor duly appre-

<sup>81</sup> Froissart, vol. ii. c. 74.

<sup>82</sup> Froissart has noticed the insurrection of the vassal peasantry in France about this time, who, from the real or assumed name of their leader, was called Les Jacques Bon hommes. Vol. ii. c. 74.

ciated in its political consequences; and therefore, the minds of the great, and of their vassal tenantry, were in a state of mutual dissatisfaction and latent warfare on this important subject: the aristocracy considering the vassal subjection of their peasantry as their legal right, both of property and power, and as one great means of political influence; and the people universally desirous to have personal slavery wholly abolished.

The national mind was also rapidly falling into a revolutionary state with respect to the hierarchy. The wealth, luxury, ambition, and corruptions of all classes of the clergy, had long excited public censure and odium. The new orders increased, by their satire and rivalry, the unpopularity of the old ecclesiastical dignitaries; and the diffusion of the new opinions which Wickliffe so energetically applied himself to spread, occasioned a great number, both of the nobility and the courtiers, as well as of the merchants and the more thinking part of the common people, to desire a diminution of the power and property of the ecclesiastical bodies, and the change of many of their doctrines, institutions, and ceremonies. It was not likely that a hierarchy, so rich and potent as the English Catholic hierarchy then was, should see this rising hostility with indifference. They were as resolved to defend, as the reformers were desirous to attack; and the collision between these two great parties was every day approaching to an explosion. The intellectual improvements of the day, which were perpetually multiplying themselves both in amount and diffusion, increased the number of those who craved a melioration of the ecclesiastical system, and gave the vassal peasantry reasoning advocates, whose opinions turned the feelings of society in their favor.

The duke of Lancaster had publicly espoused the cause of Wickliffe, and of clerical reformation. This

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conduct fixed upon him the enmity of the existing hierarchy. The defects of his character, in which neither pride nor ambition was wanting, gave them sufficient grounds to make him unpopular; and his desire to obtain or share the regency, during the royal minority, favoured their wishes. When the poll-tax, and the conduct of its collectors, had roused the resentment of the populace, all these political causes of effervescence began to operate thro the nation with furious rapidity. All the latent spirit of discontent and desire of change, and all the new speculations, and their resisting forces, burst into action. The vassal peasantry thought the hour was come to end their bondage; the religious reformer, to make the improvements he wished; and the expectant plunderers of church property, to have the pillage they meditated<sup>83</sup>: while the more foreseeing defenders of the hierarchy also saw that the tumultuary movement gave them an opportunity of being revenged on their great enemies; of directing on them some part of the popular commotion; and of extinguishing all projects of reform, in the dread and in the calamities of rabble licentiousness and extravagant speculation.<sup>84</sup> The recollection of all these moving forces and opposing schemes, will enable us to understand the multifarious and dissimilar operations of the extraordinary insurrection which we have described, so new to English history, and apparently so incoherent in its objects and effects. They will also prepare us to expect that the rest of this reign should not be tranquil.

<sup>83</sup> Walsingham expressly charges the commons as aiming at the temporalities of the clergy, p. 348. He says, "I heard one knight intensely swearing, that he would have 1000 marks yearly from St. Alban's monastery." *Ib.*—The pasquinade imputed to Chaucer, called Jacke Upland, and Piers Ploughman's works, will shew the reforming feeling in the nation, as to the clergy.

<sup>84</sup> Some carried, even at this period, their theories so far as to ask,  
When Adam delved, and Eve span,  
Where was then the gentleman?

The king's personal character increased the evils of the day. Like the unfortunate Edward II. and untaught by his catastrophe, Richard II. became fond of favorites. He was popularly satirized for his young ministers, and for one of them, who was called "his doll," and of whom it was said, "he has seen nothing, he has learnt nothing, and never been in battle."<sup>85</sup> This inexperienced favorite became the chief counsellor of the king, and was created duke of Ireland. The nobility were offended at his influence; they exclaimed, that he made the king what he pleased.<sup>86</sup> They recollected and circulated disgraceful anecdotes of his father.<sup>87</sup> They declared the king to be counselled by evil low-born people, and that he could not prosper with such an administration.

That Richard was defective in his personal conduct, we may also infer from the strong and repeated exclamations of our ancient poet Gower, written at the time, and before the Lancastrian question arose. Vice and tyranny are the imputations conveyed in his English verse<sup>88</sup>; and his unpublished Latin poem, written while the king was young, abounds with intimations of the royal vices, and with exhortations to

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Cause;  
defects of  
the king's  
character.

<sup>85</sup> Froissart, vol. iii. c. 63.

<sup>86</sup> Ib. vol. ix. c. 77.

<sup>87</sup> Froissart details these at some length, c. 77.—The king made this favorite *Marquis of Dublin*, being the first that bore this dignity in England.—Walsingham remarks the indecent familiarity with which the king was reported to love him. P. 352.

<sup>88</sup> In his *Confessio Amantis* he urges Richard

- - - That he hymselfe amende  
Towarde his God, and leve vice—

and to

Governe and lede in such a wise  
So that there be no tyrannise,—  
Wherof that he his people grieve;  
Or elles maie he nought achieve,  
That longeth to his regalie.  
For if a kynge will justifie  
His londe and hem that ben within,  
First at hymselfe he mot begin.

Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Chal. ed.

a different conduct, which imply them.<sup>89</sup> He urges him to avoid the contaminating company of the depraved<sup>90</sup>; to drive the vicious immediately from him<sup>91</sup>; to avoid what ruined Solomon<sup>92</sup>; to be virtuous as well as handsome<sup>93</sup>; to remember, that neither beauty nor noble ancestors would profit, if he became a slave to vice<sup>94</sup>; to impose a bridle on himself, while he restrained others by laws<sup>95</sup>; and if he wished to be a king, to govern first himself, and then he would be truly so.<sup>96</sup> He exhorts him to shut his ears to bad counsellors, lest his offended nobles should be roused; he warns him of the danger of imposing taxes, and intimates that some avaricious counsellor was misleading him, whom he ought to shun like death.<sup>97</sup> Another dangerous principle in the royal mind, was a passionate and arbitrary self-will. He was too young not to rush to his wished object by the shortest road,

<sup>89</sup> Thus he says,

- - - O bone rex juvenis —

Ille rex noster qui *modo* in sua puerili constituitur ætate.

Vox Clam. MS. Tib. A 4.

It is a mistake to date this work at the end of Richard's reign: the lines that have occasioned this error, belong to a different Latin poem of Gower.

<sup>90</sup> Plaudite bonis; fuge pravorum consilia —

<sup>91</sup> Rex ! igitur citius viciosos pelle remotos —

<sup>92</sup> O pie rex juvenis ! juvenili quid Salomoni  
Contigit, vitare sis memor unde hic —

<sup>93</sup> O Rex - - - - -

Nobile corpus habes et singula membra decora ;

Sit virtus animi ; sit magis illa tibi —

<sup>94</sup> Quid tibi forma juvat, vel nobile nomen avorum,

Si viciis servus factus es ipse tuus —

<sup>95</sup> Legum frena tenens, freno te fortius arce —

<sup>96</sup> Si rex esse velis, te rege, rex et eris — Vox Clam. MS. Tib. A 4.

Walsingham gives an instance of the king's passionate temper. For some light causes he burst into such a rage against the archbishop of Canterbury, that he ordered his goods to be confiscated. His favorite chancellor could scarcely prevent the wild measure. The king poured out "verba contumeliosa" on both; which, the Chronicler says, it would be too long to write, and were unbecoming the king's station. All who interfered had their share both of the anger and abuse. Hist. p. 342. — His wrathful dialogue with the duke of Lancaster, in Scotland, seems another instance of an ungovernable and unwise irascibility. Wals. p. 34.

<sup>97</sup> Vir qui bella movet, qui predas consulit et qui

Conspirat *taxas* plebis habere tuæ ;

O rex, oro tuas claudas talibus aures,

Ne tua nobilitas læta fatiscat eis.

Consilium regale tuum vir nullus avarus

Tangat, sed tales mortis ad instar habe —

Vox Clam. MS. Tib. A. 4.

neither foreseeing nor comprehending the obstacles that would have made a wiser man hesitate.

The taste of Richard for personal splendor and luxurious magnificence, embarrassed his finances and corrupted his people. Ten thousand followers were every day feasted in his household; three hundred servants waited in his kitchen; and every office was proportionably loaded with attendants.<sup>98</sup> Their dresses appear to have been ostentatiously superb<sup>99</sup>, exceeding in costliness what courtly grandeur had been accustomed to exhibit.<sup>100</sup> The consequences of this taste were, heavy taxations on his people, which excited their hatred; and a dissoluteness of manners<sup>101</sup>, which always produces factions and disloyalty. Both these facts are so distinctly recorded of this reign, that their operation is unquestionable. Nor is

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<sup>98</sup> We learn this from Hardyng—

Truly I herd Robert Ireliffe say,  
Clerke of the grene cloth, that to the household  
Came every daye, for moost partie alwaye,  
Ten thousand folke by his mess is tould,  
That folowed the hous, aye as thei would,  
And in the kechin three hundred servitours,  
And in eche office many occupiours.

Hard. Chron. 346.

<sup>99</sup> Yemenne and gromes in clothe of silke arayed,  
Sattyn, and damaske, in dublettes and gounes,  
In cloth of grene and scarlet for unpaid,  
Cut werke was greate both in court and tounes,  
Bothe in mennes hoddis and also in their gounes;  
Broudur and furrres and goldsmith werke aye newe,  
In many a wise eche daye thei did renewe.

Hard. Chron. 347.

<sup>100</sup> And ladies faire with their gentilwomen,  
Chamberers also and lavenderes,  
Three hundred of them were occupied then,  
Ther was greate pride among the officers,  
And of al menne farpassyng their compeers,  
Of riche araye, and muche more costious  
Then was before or sith and more precious.

Hard. Chron. 347.

<sup>101</sup> Greate lechery and fornicacion  
Was in that house, and also greate advoutree,  
Of paramoures was greate consolacion,  
Of eche degre well more of preclacie  
Then of the temporall or of the chivalrie.  
Greate taxe ay the Kyng tooke through all the lond,  
For whiche the Commons hym hated both free and bond.

Hard. Chron. 347.

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it difficult to trace the causes to their effects. From the increasing wealth of the country, it is probable that there was nothing in the taxations, considered by themselves, which the people, if they had been good-humored with their government, or as economical as their ancestors, might not have endured with ease and cheerfulness; and yet, altho better able, they were less disposed to bear them. It would seem that the expensive pomps and luxury of the sovereign produced an imitating taste and spirit among his subjects; and these new habits put all to their full stretch of means. It was not every one who could support the taxations levied for the wants of the state, and also the style of living and personal appearance which was necessary to those who wished to live with that distinction in society, which in a civilized age is so generally coveted.<sup>102</sup> Hence the

<sup>102</sup> Ocleve has left us some stanzas, complaining of the emulous prodigality of his contemporaries at this period, and especially of their dress, on which they spent their whole property.

But thys methynketh a grete abusyon ;  
 To see one walke in gownes of scarlet  
 Twelve yerdes wide, with pendaunt sleeves down  
 On the ground, and the furre therin set  
 Amountyng unto twenty pound, and bet.  
 And, yf he for it paide have, he no good  
 Hath hym lefte, to bey with an hood.  
 Nor though he yode forthe amonge the prees,  
 And overloke every poore wight ;  
 His coffre and eke his purs ben penylees.  
 He hath no more than he goth in ryght,  
 For land, rent or catel he may go light.  
 The weight of hem shall not so much peise  
 As doth his gounne. Is such aray to preise ?  
 Nay done it is all mys me thynketh ;  
 So poore a wight his lord to countirfete  
 In his aray ; In my conceyt it stynketh.  
 Certes to blame ben the lordes grete,  
 Yf that I durste sey, that her men lete  
 Usurpe such a lordes appaalle.  
 It is not worth, my child, withouten faile.  
 Som tyme men myght aferre lordes knowe  
 By her aray from other folk — but now  
 A man shall studie and muse a longe throwe  
 Which is which — O Lordes ! it sitte to yow —  
 Amende this — For it is your prowte.  
 Yf betwene you and your men no deference  
 Be in aray, the lesse is your reverence.



clamors of many, whose patriotism was inferior to their pride. The luxury of the great, when it has become the fashion of the day, tends also to engender a rapacious and unprincipled spirit amongst themselves, and in the country, from which government suffers. As few individual resources suffice for habits or appetites so costly, the throne becomes besieged, and the country filled with a class of men the most dangerous to all states—individuals born to better expectations, or accustomed to foster them, and embarrassed and corrupted by ambitious expenditure. Luxury then operates to convert the vices into necessary appetites, and to make crimes, dishonesty, or faction, indispensable to the subsistence of many, who are too proud to lose their desired rank in society, and too poor to maintain it. Laws become then often but random cannon-shot, whose chances several will dare.<sup>103</sup> Secret desires of change, and even of disturbance, begin to be cherished, because the absurdest hopes place their elysium in expected novelties; and society, disordered in those who ought to be its

Lete every lord his owen men defende  
 Suche grete aray; and than on my perile,  
 This land within a while shall amende.  
 In Goddes name putteth it in exile.  
 It is a synne outrageous and vile.  
 Lordes! yf ye your estate and honour  
 Loven—Flemeth this vicious errour.

Ocleve, MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

<sup>103</sup> We have already remarked that it was a feature of the day, that plundering bands pervaded the country. Ocleve complains of the great in title, but not in property, doing this.

Now in good feethe, I pray God it amende.  
 Law is nye flemed out of this contree.  
 For fewe ben that dredon it to offende  
 Correccion; and all this is longe on the.  
 Why suffrest thou so many assemble  
 Of armed folk? Wel nye in every shire,  
 Partie is made to venge her cruell ire.—  
 And by the grete, poore folk ben greved,  
 For he that noble is of blode, and lord  
 In stile, and nought hath—stired is and moved  
 Unto rapyne. This is often proved.  
 The poore it feeleth. Thus of lawe the lak  
 Norriseth wrong, and casteth right abak.

MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

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ligaments, and pervaded by an increasing fever, is ever ready for some disastrous convulsion, which the slightest coinciding incident may suddenly produce. It was to excite the attention of the great to the political evils which the moral corruptions of the day were producing, that Gower wrote his *Vox Clamantis* in the former part of Richard's reign<sup>104</sup>; and its disastrous close is some evidence, that his opinion of the importance of better habits in his sovereign, and the leading orders of the nation, was not without a reasonable foundation.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Gower opens the second book of this Latin poem with intimating, that he intends to name it *Vox Clamantis*, because it will be made up from the voice and clamor of the public. He then devotes seven books to the description of the errors and vices of all orders of the state, which he conceived to occasion the agitation of the country. He executes this task with very strong and free satire, and with some good lines. Some passages a little resemble Juvenal, and shew the poet; but on the whole he is tedious, diffuse, and sometimes puerile. His last book is an earnest exhortation to the young king to alter his conduct. This work contains above ten thousand lines. MS. Cott. Lib. Tiberius A 4. and Titus A 13. The first is the best-written copy.

<sup>105</sup> The *Catalina* and *Jugurtha* of Sallust, and indeed the Roman history from the destruction of Carthage to Augustus, should be read by those who wish to study the connection between the moral and political disorders of civilized states, by which so many, both ancient and modern, have been agitated and destroyed. The private virtues are indispensable to the continuance of public prosperity or tranquillity.

## CHAP. VII.

*Continuation of the Reign of RICHARD II. to its Conclusion.*

1384—1399.

THE intestine discord seems to have begun by the accusation, in 1384, of the duke of Lancaster. A Carmelite friar appeared at the parliament, and accused him of conspiring to kill the king, and to seize the crown. It was unfavorable to his credibility that he advised the king not to hear the duke's defence. Suddenly entering, the duke was informed of the charge, and denied it; and requested the friar to be committed to the care of the lord Holland, the king's brother, till the day of trial. This was conceded; but, on the night preceding this important day, the friar was cruelly murdered by his keeper. The person whom the friar had pointed out as the inventor and incentive of the alleged treason, denied upon his oath that he had either heard or thought of it. The duke of Gloucester was reported to have vehemently upbraided the king, for listening to such an improbable charge. On the other hand, it was fabled that the hurdle on which the friar was dragged thro the streets, after his death, vegetated, produced leaves, and cured a blind man!!<sup>1</sup> The mysterious affair, suspicious on all sides, seemed to pass into oblivion, and the king treated Lancaster with the same friendship as before.

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Accusation  
of the duke  
of Lancas-  
ter.

The duke went to France, to treat for peace. But the next year the king allowed his ministers to plan

His expe-  
dition into  
Spain.

<sup>1</sup> Walsingh. Hist. 334—336. — John of Holland was the brother of the king by his mother's side, but he had been named by Lancaster. Which party instigated Holland to the murder, is unknown.

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the sudden arrest of the duke; on whom Tresilian was boldly to pronounce a judicial sentence, according to the accusation that should be preferred. Advertised of the design, the duke hastened down to his castle at Pomfret, and public disturbances seemed likely to ensue. The king's mother, tho in very delicate health, was so affected by these proceedings, that she undertook the office of negotiating herself between the king and his uncle, and wearied herself by expensive and personal journeys, till she had completed their reconciliation.<sup>2</sup> Her amiable exertions had such a permanent effect, that in the succeeding spring, when Lancaster went to Spain in quest of the throne of Castile, the king gave him a golden crown, and the queen a similar one to his duchess; and an order was issued, that he should be called king of Spain, and receive royal honors.<sup>3</sup>

Campaign  
in Spain.

When the earl of Cambridge had landed at Lisbon with his small body of English forces, he announced that his brother, the duke of Lancaster, was soon to follow him with 4000 men at arms, and as many archers. With this prospect, the king of Portugal

<sup>2</sup> Wals. Hist. 341.—There is a strange charge on Lancaster, that he had a chronicle forged, to prove that Edward I. had an elder brother, who was postponed because he was crook-backed, and from whom Lancaster attempted to adduce a title to the crown. I give it in Hardyng's words:—"Also I herde the seide erle of Northumberlonde saie divers tymes, that he herde duke John of Lancastre, amonge the lordes in counsels and in parlementes, and in the comon house amonge the knyghtes chosyn for the comons, aske bi bill for to beene admytte heire apparaunte to kyng Richarde, considerynge howe the kynge wase like to haue no issue of his bodie. To the whiche the lordes spirituell and temporell, and the comons in the comon house be hool aduysed, seide, that the erle of Marche, Roger Mortymerey, was his next heire to the croun, in full discent of blode, and they wolde haue noone other; and axed a question upon it, who durst disable the kynge of issue he beyng yonge and able to have children; for whiche when the duke of Lancastre wase so putt bie, he and his counsell feyned and forged the seide cronycle that Edmonde shuld be the elder brother to make his son Henry a title to the croun, and wold haue had the seide erle of Northumberlonde, and sir Thomas Percy his brother, of counsaile thereof, for cause thei were discent of the seide Edmonde bi a suster; but they refused it. Whiche cronycle, so forged, the duke dide put in divers abbaies and in freres, as I herde the seid erle ofte tymes saie and recorde to divers persons, for to be kepte for the enheritaunce of his sonne to the croun, whiche title he put furste furth, after he hade kyng Richarde in the toure, but that title the erle Percy put aside." P. 351.

<sup>3</sup> Knyghton Chron. p. 2676.

took the field against the king of Castile, and encamped his army in a pleasant plain below some hills of olive trees, between Elvas and Badajos. His force was 15,000. Cambridge here joined him with 600 spearmen and 600 archers. Their advance roused the Spanish sovereign to collect the whole chivalry of his country, and he came down willingly to a battle with 30,000 fighting men, and other followers doubling that amount.

The Portuguese king became now impatient for Lancaster's arrival. The knights on each side displayed their gallantry in their individual encounters, and for fifteen days the Castilians offered battle, which their adversaries thought themselves too inferior to accept. The intestine commotions in England had prevented the duke of Lancaster from fulfilling the promise of his personal succor; and the king of Portugal, fearing the ill effects of a dangerous warfare unsupported by an adequate English force, opened a negotiation with don John, and completed a treaty of peace with him unknown to the earl of Cambridge, who could only complain, remonstrate, and return<sup>4</sup> affronted and disappointed to his native home.

It has been repeatedly experienced in human affairs, that of the great men who occasionally arise to pre-eminence among their contemporaries, some make a new impression upon their age, and give a new direction and employment to the talents or activity of their admiring associates. Of this description was Edward III. That he ought to be classed with the heroes of popular fame was the generous confession of the king of France<sup>5</sup>, who in expressing so honor-

<sup>4</sup> Froiss. vol. vi. p. 60—4. Cambridge earnestly pressed the king Fernando to risk the battle, notwithstanding his inferior numbers; but his council intreated him to consider, "if you should lose the day, you will lose your crown." This remark decided him not to take the risk of such an alternative. Froiss. vol. vii. p. 115. The Portuguese princess, who was to have been wedded to his son, was then married to the king of Castile. Ib. 67.

<sup>5</sup> "As soon as the king of France learnt the death of king Edward, he said, that

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ably towards a national enemy that applauding sentiment, uttered with sympathetic feeling the common opinion of his day. Edward had excited a peculiar spirit and character of chivalry, combining the courtesy of the gentleman and princely honor with the formidable prowess and exertions of the adventurous knight, which had not appeared until he had conceived the idea and exhibited in his own demeanor and conduct an attractive pattern of the romantic reality. It was the union of all the martial powers of the Knights Templars with the proud honor of the nobleman and the accomplishments of social life. The effect of his example was to make such knights and knightly deeds numerous and frequent in Europe. Froissart justly foresaw a long duration to his pleasing chronicle, because it would depict and commemorate such a period and such feats.<sup>6</sup> He went to one of the foreign courts which they most frequented after Edward's death, to collect the true incidents, which he wished to narrate<sup>7</sup>, and remarks that his princely friend dated their appearance from the time when the English sovereign began to reign.<sup>8</sup> After his demise, the chief nations of Europe abounded in such characters, who, unprovided with other professions, or disinclined to other paths of distinction,

he had reigned most nobly and valiantly; and that his name ought to be remembered with honor among heroes." Froissart, vol. iv. p. 283.

<sup>6</sup> "For I well know, that when the time shall come, that I shall be dead and rotten, this grand and noble history will be much in fashion; and all noble and valiant persons will take pleasure in it, and gain from it augmentation of profit." Froiss. vol. vii. p. 111.

<sup>7</sup> "In order to know the truth of distant transactions, I took an opportunity of visiting that high and redoubted prince Gaston, count de Foix and de Bearn: for I well knew, that if I were so fortunate as to be admitted to his household, I could not choose a situation more proper to learn the truth of every event; as numbers of foreign knights and squires assembled there from all countries, attracted by his high birth and gentility." *Ib.* p. 111.

<sup>8</sup> "The count de Foix, as soon as he saw me, gave me a hearty welcome. He himself, when I put any question to him, answered it most readily, saying, that the history I was employed on, would, in times to come, be more sought after than any other: 'because,' added he, 'my fair sir! more gallant deeds of arms have been performed *within these last fifty years*, and more wonderful things have happened, than for three hundred years before.'" Froiss. vol. vii. p. 112.

sought in the kingdoms around them for military employment, and for want of it, or till it came, exercised their warlike powers against each other.<sup>9</sup> As the contending kings of Europe, on making peace with each other, discharged such knights as they had engaged, they became from their number and necessities as troublesome to society as the disbanded soldiers of later times; tho the nobler part of them sought for honorable service in more distant regions, instead of subsisting by violence and rapine.

One of the most eminent of these, in Richard's reign, was sir John Hawkwood. He performed a social benefit in collecting others of the same description around him for more lawful enterprises<sup>10</sup>, and was so distinguished for his honor and military skill, that two contending popes were glad to engage him in their wars<sup>11</sup>; for such characters chose to convert the symbolical crosier of the shepherd into the sword of the soldier, and began at this time to degrade the Christian bishop into the irreligious and worldly politician.

The knightly spirit which Edward III. had diffused, and the foreign invasions, which, to gratify his military temper and to please the chivalry he had created,

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<sup>9</sup> Froissart remarks this fact: "Such valiant men *as were desirous of advancing themselves*, whether in Castille, Portugal, Gascony, Rouergul, Quercy, Limousin, or Bigoïre, did not remain idle, but employed themselves under hand against each other, in the wish to perform deeds of arms, that might surprise and conquer towns, castles or fortresses." Vol. vii. p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> "At this period there was in Tuscany a valiant English knight, called sir John Hawkwood, who had there performed many most gallant deeds of arms. He had left France at the conclusion of the peace of Bretigny, and was at that time a poor knight, who thought it would not be of any advantage to him to return home. But when he saw that all men at arms would be forced to leave France, he put himself at the head of those free companions called Latecomers, and marched into Burgundy. Several such companions, composed of English, Gascons, Bretons, Germans, and men from every nation, were collected there. Hawkwood was one of the principal leaders, by whom the battle of Brignais was fought; and who aided Bernard de la Salle to take the Pont du St. Esprit." Froiss. vol. v. p. 92.

<sup>11</sup> "Sir John Hawkwood and his companions remained in Italy, and were employed by POPE URBAN as long as he lived, in his wars in the Milanese. POPE GREGORY, successor to Urban, engaged him in the same manner." Froiss. vol. v. p. 93. "Sir John had also a profitable employment under the lord de Courcy, against the count de Vertris and his barons. He was a knight much inured to war, which he had long followed; and had gained great renown in Italy from his gallantry." *Ib.*

he so often had prosecuted and repeated, had descended to his two sons, the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge; and had led them to make Spain one of the great theatres of their martial distinction. The peace which Fernando, the sovereign of Portugal, had made with Castile<sup>12</sup>, ended all reasonable chance of either of the English princes obtaining the Spanish crown by force of arms. The probability was farther lessened by Richard allowing the favorite he ennobled, to dissuade him from supporting his uncle's project.<sup>13</sup> But the death of Fernando revived the hopes of John of Gaunt. His only daughter, who was to have married the son of Cambridge, had become the wife of John, the king of Castile, who claimed the crown of Lisbon in her right. The Portuguese were unanimous against having a Spaniard for their king, and raised immediately to their throne, in 1387, an illegitimate son of their deceased sovereign, tho he was a monk and grand master of a religious order.<sup>14</sup> The disappointed Spaniard advanced to Santarem with an army; and the Portuguese solicited the aid of their English friends, and the daughter of the duke of Lancaster for the queen of their new sovereign.<sup>15</sup>

The Castilian applied to France and Gascony, for knights to increase his army<sup>16</sup>; and thus the English prince was tempted again to try his fortune for gaining the foreign crown, which he had so long been coveting.

The Portuguese ambassadors were welcomed by the duke of Lancaster, and endeavoured to sooth the irritation of Cambridge at the conduct of their late king. They assured both that the new one was full of enterprise and valor, and would combat with his enemies wherever he met them, altho three times his

<sup>12</sup> See before, p. 282.

<sup>13</sup> Froiss. vol. vii. p. 116.

<sup>15</sup> Ib. 121—3.

<sup>14</sup> Ib. 117.

<sup>16</sup> Ib. 124.



number, and whatever might be the consequences. They remarked, that the crown of Castile belonged to the English princes, in right of their wives: and to conquer it, they could have no entrance into Spain so favorable as that thro Portugal, because all this country would be their friends, and would add its forces. The earl doubted if the cabinet council and parliament would consent to another expedition, as his smaller one had cost 100,000 francs, without any beneficial result. It was agreed to wait for the decision of the two houses: and the duke at last obtained their consent to his crossing the sea with 700 men at arms and 4000 archers, but would not enlarge the grant.<sup>17</sup>

While this force was preparing, 500 Englishmen, chiefly of those martial adventurers who were seeking every where for some honorable employment, arrived at Lisbon; as the Spanish army, joined by knights from France and Bearn, advanced again to Santarem.<sup>18</sup> The king gratefully welcomed them, and immediately set out to encounter his invaders, without waiting for more. The Spaniards advanced eagerly and confidently to meet him<sup>19</sup>, consisting of 20,000 Spanish cavalry, and 2000 auxiliary knights and

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<sup>17</sup> Froiss. vol. vii. p. 242.

<sup>18</sup> Froiss. pp. 254—8. "Three parts of them were adventurers, under no command and without pay, from Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, and Montaigne, who, hearing of the war between Castile and Portugal, had assembled at Bordeaux, and said, 'Let us go seek adventures in Portugal: we shall find some one there to receive and employ us.' The king asked one of these leaders, if the duke of Lancaster had sent them. 'By my faith, sir,' replied Northberry, 'it is a long time since he has known any thing of us, or we of him. We are people from different countries, who come to seek the chance of arms and adventures. There are some of us who have even come from the town of Calais to serve you.' 'On my troth,' said the king, 'you and they are very welcome. Your arrival gives us much joy; and know that we shall, very shortly, employ you. We have been for a time shut up here, which has tired us much; but we will take the advantage of the field, as the Spaniards have done.' 'We desire nothing better,' answered the captain, 'and entreat that we may speedily see our enemies.'" Froiss. 258, 9.

<sup>19</sup> "This intelligence gave the Spaniards, Gascons and French much joy. They said, 'These Lisboners are valiant fellows, thus to come and fight with us. Let us hasten to take the field and surround them, if we can, that we may prevent their return; for, if we can help it, not one of them shall see Lisbon again.'" Froiss. 264.

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squires. The new king resolved to abide the battle, tho his force was greatly inferior, but consulted the English chiefs on the ablest plan of fighting it, and followed their advice to fortify themselves in the village of Alljubarota.<sup>20</sup> The important conflict took place. The French knights gallantly made the first attack on the position of the English, whose archers having spread confusion by their irresistible arrows, their few men at arms leapt forwards, and charging with their well steeled Bordeaux lances, pierced thro every thing, and wounded both the knights and squires.<sup>21</sup> Disconcerted by this unexpected defeat, the Castilian army hesitated to advance, and left the brave Frenchmen to their fate. But at last, moving forward, the Portuguese and English exultingly received them; a violent but short conflict ensued. The king of Portugal was strenuous in his personal exertions<sup>22</sup>, and the Spaniards were totally defeated; flying, as then it was their custom, whenever they failed to overpower by their assault.<sup>23</sup> The chief prisoners had been put unwillingly yet mercilessly to death as they were taken, from a lamentable belief of its indispensable necessity<sup>24</sup>; a cruel determination.

<sup>20</sup> Froiss. 266. "The enemy was advancing fast, and in such numbers, that they were at least four to one. The Englishmen said, 'Since we must have a battle, and they are superior to us in numbers, it is an unequal chance; and we cannot conquer them but by taking advantage of the hedges and bushes. Let us therefore fortify ourselves in such a manner, and you will see that they will not so easily break us as if we were in the plain.' The king replied, 'You speak wisely. It shall be done as you recommend.'" *Ib.*

<sup>21</sup> Froiss. 278.

<sup>22</sup> "The king dismounted, and, taking his battle-axe, placed himself at the pass, where he performed wonders, knocking down three or four of the stoutest of the enemy, insomuch that none dared approach him." Froiss. 284.

<sup>23</sup> Froissart remarks this: "I must not omit to notice the manner in which the Spaniards *generally* act in war. It is true they make a handsome figure on horseback, spur off to advantage, and fight well at the first onset; but as soon as they have thrown two or three darts, and given a stroke with their spears, and yet do not disconcert the enemy, they then take alarm, turn their horses heads, and save themselves by flight as well as they can." Froiss. 284, 5.

<sup>24</sup> "Each man killed his prisoner; for the Portuguese and English, who had given this advice, said, 'It was better to kill than to be killed. If we do not put them to death, they will liberate themselves while we are fighting, and then slay us.'" This was a very unfortunate event to the Portuguese as well as to the pri-

How much nobler to have avoided the crime by generously risking the apprehended evil!

One of the greatest merits of virtue, and its most genuine test, is, that personal inconvenience or danger sometimes attends it; and that the chance of enduring this is bravely and voluntarily resolved upon and encountered. If virtuous deeds were always pleasant and profitable in the immediate prospect or experience, in what could they be more meritorious in the individual than his most self-indulging conduct? The charm of virtue resides chiefly in its disinterestedness: the profit is but a commercial barter: a balance of gain and loss. It is the nobility of spirit, the generous sympathy which submits to the pain or privations rather than to do evil, or in order to do good, that entitles the virtuous mind to the applause of its fellow-creatures. Such conduct creates a distinction which separates loftier characters from the common masses of indolent or selfish life.

This victory satisfied the king of Portugal. The English wished to derive the full attainable harvest from it by a vigorous pursuit; but the Portuguese sovereign felt that his crown was saved, and declined the chance of lessening his advantages.<sup>25</sup> He marched

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soners; for they put to death as many good prisoners as would have been worth to them 400,000 francs." Froiss. vol. vii. 283.

<sup>25</sup> The dialogue on this occasion portrays the different characters: "The English, seeing the enemy turn their backs, called aloud to the king of Portugal, 'Sir king! let us mount our horses, and set on the pursuit; and all these runaways shall be dead men.' 'I will not,' replied the king; 'what we have done ought to satisfy us. Our men have fought hard this evening, and are fatigued. It is now so dark, we shall not know whither we are going, nor how many are flying. Their army was very numerous; and this may be a stratagem to draw us out of our fort, and the more easily conquer us. We will this day guard the dead, and to-morrow call a council, and consider how we shall next act.' 'By my faith!' replied Hartsel, an Englishman, 'the dead are easily guarded. They will do us no harm; nor shall we have any profit from them, for we have slain our rich prisoners. We are strangers come from a distance to serve you, and would willingly gain something from these calves that are flying without wings, and who drive their banners before them.' 'Fair brother!' answered the king, 'all covet, all lose. It is much better that we remain on our guard, since the honor and victory are ours, than run any risk where there is no necessity for it. We have enough to make you all rich.' Nothing more was said on the subject." Froiss. pp. 287, 8.

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joyously to Lisbon, and entered it amid the rapturous congratulations of his delighted people. A truce of eight months terminated all immediate hostilities with mortified Castile<sup>26</sup>, and the grand master of St. James was sent with tidings of the great success to England.<sup>27</sup>

The duke of Lancaster now set forward upon his Spanish expedition: his little army of knights, squires, men at arms and archers, embarked in 200 vessels; and sailed in May for Portugal, as the truce was expiring.<sup>28</sup> They landed at Brest in their way, and drove away the French, who were blockading it<sup>29</sup>, and arrived five days afterwards at Corunna.<sup>30</sup> The duke, disembarking there, dismissed his vessels with liberal remuneration, and expressed his resolution to succeed in his great enterprise, or perish.<sup>31</sup>

Altho bold and ambitious, he was not a very expeditious warrior. He passed a month in pleasurable diversion<sup>32</sup>, and then moved to the celebrated St. Jago de Compostella, the favorite object of English pilgrimage.<sup>33</sup> French knights flocked to join the Spanish cause, and plundered eagerly the country they came to assist, to prevent, as they declared, the invaders from taking to their use what they spared<sup>34</sup>; an ingenious apology for an oppressive spoliation, which had the effect of stimulating others of their countrymen to desire to be partakers of their booty.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Froiss. 291.<sup>27</sup> *Ib.* 366.<sup>28</sup> *Ib.* vol. viii. p. 6.<sup>29</sup> *Ib.* 9—14.<sup>30</sup> *Ib.* 15.

<sup>31</sup> "When the ships had been entirely cleared, the duke was asked his pleasure concerning them. He replied, 'Let all the sailors be well paid, and take the ships for their pains. I shall dismiss them, for I wish all the world to know that I will never recross the sea to England until I be master of Castile, or die in the attempt.'" Froiss. vol. viii. p. 17.

<sup>32</sup> "The duke of Lancaster and his army were lodged in huts covered with leaves, or in such houses as they met with, and remained before Corunna upwards of a month, amusing themselves; for the chief lords had brought hounds for their pastime and hawks for the ladies. They had also mills to grind their corn, and ovens to bake, for they never willingly go to war in foreign countries, without carrying things of that description with them." Froiss. vol. viii. p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> *Ib.* pp. 20—4.<sup>34</sup> *Ib.* pp. 25—30.

<sup>35</sup> "When it was told in France how poor knights and squires were enriching

On the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, the duke and the king of the latter country met with mutual cordiality. The Portuguese promised to raise the invading army against Castile to 30,000 men, and desired the duke's daughter Philippa in marriage, to be his queen<sup>36</sup>; this was assented to. The king returned to Oporto, and Lancaster remained with his lady-princess and children at St. Jago, sending parties around to take towns and castles, but not advancing to any vigorous undertaking against his royal adversary<sup>37</sup>, who earnestly consulted with his French allies at Valladolid, how to repel so dangerous an assailant. They consoled him with the assurance that their sovereign was preparing to invade England with 100,000 men, and that this being conquered, it would be easy for him to pass over to Corunna, and surround the duke of Lancaster and all his adherents.<sup>38</sup> The promised result was a nugatory vaunt; but it was a fact, that the French king was projecting and preparing to land a strong army on the English coast<sup>39</sup>, till the adverse winds and the approach of winter, either induced him, on the advice of his council, to abandon an enterprise that could only have been calamitous to those who attempted it, or furnished him with a reputable excuse for not undertaking it.<sup>40</sup>

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themselves in Castile, where they spared neither the lands of their friends, nor those of their foes, their companions were *more eager than ever* to leave France in the hopes of being sharers with them." Froiss. vol. viii. p. 30.

<sup>36</sup> Ib. p. 72, 73. She was married at first to the archbishop of Braganza, as the king's representative at St. Jago, and then with great magnificence to the king himself at Oporto, in the following May. Ib. p. 176—180.

<sup>37</sup> Ib. p. 74—80.

<sup>38</sup> Ib. p. 92, 93.

<sup>39</sup> "At this period, 1386, the number of ships, galleys, and vessels of every description, which had been collected to carry over to England the king of France and his army, was so great, that the oldest man then living had never seen nor heard of the like; knights and squires were arriving on all sides; men were continually arriving from every province in France." Ib. p. 95.

<sup>40</sup> Ib. p. 115, 116. "It was determined in this council that the invasion should be deferred to April or May. Thus was the grand expedition broken up, which had cost France 100,000 francs thirty times told." Ib. p. 117.

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But the death of the king of Arragon diverted awhile the English lances from Castile. Lancaster claimed a large debt from the Arragonian state, and finding it not discharged, proceeded instantly to attack this kingdom.<sup>41</sup> After this, he directed his army towards Castile. The king of Portugal joined him with his forces<sup>42</sup>, and something like activity began to appear. The Spanish sovereign was advised to risk no battle until the duc de Bourbon arrived with a promised army out of France, especially as the heat of the burning sun, the scarcity of forage, and the devastation of the country, would soon destroy his invaders.<sup>43</sup> This effect took place. As the united forces of the duke and king advanced, their foragers could procure nothing; and when they hailed with joy the sight of a village, they had to mourn, as they approached it, that they found only bare walls and ruin, "without inhabitant, not even a fowl or a dog; so completely had the French laid waste this part of the country."<sup>44</sup> The horses began to fail and perish, nor were their riders better. The English constitution gave way to the Spanish climate, and fevers and death spread rapidly among them.<sup>45</sup> The sickness spread to Lancaster himself, and unnerved both his strength and spirits.<sup>46</sup> The disorders multiplied, as midsummer advanced, from injudicious food.<sup>47</sup> The grave soon received those

<sup>41</sup> Froiss. vol. viii. p. 128—132.<sup>42</sup> *Ib.* p. 367.<sup>43</sup> *Ib.* vol. ix. p. 2.<sup>44</sup> *Ib.* vol. ix. p. 3.<sup>45</sup> *Ib.* p. 3.<sup>46</sup> *Ib.* p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> "There had not fallen any rain nor dew since the beginning of April, so that the whole country was burnt up. The English ate plentifully of grapes wherever they found them; and to quench their thirst, drank of the strong wines of Castile and Portugal. But the more they drank the more they were heated; for this new beverage inflamed their livers, lungs, and bowels, and was, in effect, totally different from their usual liquors. The English, when at home, feed on fresh meat and good rich ale; a diet which keeps their bodies wholesome. But now they were forced to drink hard and hot wines, of which they were not sparing, that they might drown their cares. The early part of the night is warm, from the great heat of the day, but towards sun-rise it is very cold. This afflicted them sorely; for they slept without covering, and quite naked, from the heat of the weather, and from the wine; so that when morning came, they were chilled by the change of air. This checked all perspiration, and flung them into fevers and fluxes, so as to

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whom no embattled foe would have destroyed<sup>48</sup>; and the duke, as his followers sank around him, was at last obliged to disband his army and to negotiate with the king whom he came to depose, for their unmolested retreat.<sup>49</sup> The Spanish council advised the requested passport to be granted, on the condition that the English soldiers went straight home, and engaged not to bear arms against Castile for the next six years.<sup>50</sup> Thus ended all the hopes and chances of an English prince obtaining that throne which, within less than a century afterwards, was to be filled by the conqueror of Granada, and by her who, as the patroness of Columbus, became the chief human cause of his magnificent discoveries.<sup>51</sup> But this disappointment was yet not total. In consequence of a French prince soliciting one of his daughters in marriage, the Spanish council, afraid of transferring a dormant right to their succession to a neighbor so enterprising and so near as a duc de Berry, advised the king to request the young princess for the wife of his own son.<sup>52</sup> The application was made. The duke assented to it, and his daughter Catherine was wedded to the heir of Castile<sup>53</sup>, to the great disappointment of her French suitor, and to the high displeasure of his nephew the king of France, who was advised to make war on Castile, to dethrone its "wicked king:"<sup>54</sup> "wicked" for preferring an alliance which saved his people from the further evils of a disputed succession, to the pacification of an ally who would have used

carry them off instantly to their graves. Thus died very many of the barons and knights, as well as of the lower ranks; for these disorders spared none." Froiss. vol. ix. p. 7, 8.

<sup>48</sup> Froiss. p. 8.<sup>49</sup> *Ib.* p. 9—14.<sup>50</sup> Froiss. p. 15.

<sup>51</sup> Knyghton states, that the duke while in Spain commuted his regal pretensions for money. This author declares that he was told by one of the duke's family, that the Spanish king had sent him, for his second payment, seven mules laden with chests of gold; and had also promised him 16,000 marcs a year. The duke married one of his daughters to the Spanish king, and the other to the king of Portugal. Knyght. p. 2677.

<sup>52</sup> *Ib.* p. 176.<sup>53</sup> *Ib.* p. 308.<sup>54</sup> *Ib.* p. 316.

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ment of De  
la Pole.

the marriage to keep alive and enforce the destructive competition! <sup>55</sup>

The Scots continued to make incursions on the border counties; which roused the English government to several vindictive expeditions into their country, one of which the duke of Lancaster conducted. <sup>56</sup>

The threats and apparent determination of the French to invade England in 1386, spread great alarm, and appear to have begun new commotions in the country. <sup>57</sup> The attack was not made; but the unpopularity of the chancellor, Michael De la Pole, who had been created earl of Suffolk, occasioned the house of commons to impeach him on seven articles. These asserted, That the supplies granted by the commons to be expended in a certain manner, had not been so expended; by which means the sea was not guarded as had been ordered: That 10,000 marcs had been granted for the aid of the city of Ghent; and that by his fault and negligence, the city

<sup>55</sup> The Spanish princess, the duchess of Lancaster, accompanied her daughter to her marriage with the prince of Castile; and after its solemnization she left the lady under the care of the king, for her young husband, who was then but eight years old, and went to Monteil to see the place which had been so fatal to her father don Pedro, and to find his remains. She discovered the place where he had been buried, and with great filial piety and reverence had his bones taken up, embalmed, and carried in a coffin to Seville, where they were solemnly interred in the cathedral; the king of Spain, with his children, prelates and barons, respectfully attending the ceremonial obsequies. The duchess then went to her town of Medina del Campo, which, by the late treaties of peace, had been assigned to her. Froiss. vol. ix. p. 339.

<sup>56</sup> Scotland has been remarked to be deficient in trees. A passage in Knyghton on this invasion will account for it. He says that the duke cut down the Scottish woods, and burnt them. "It was reported, that 80,000 axes might be heard at once hewing down the trees, which were committed to the flames." Knyght. p. 2674. So when the duke went and burnt Edinburgh, it is added, "and he cut down the woods and forests, and made them fuel for fire." *Ib.* p. 2675. No doubt the same destruction was made in other places, on this or other invasions. Walsingham says that the English army was never finer nor more numerous; and that it so desolated Scotland, that those who returned, declared that they left no birds but owls to be seen there. *Ib.* p. 344.

<sup>57</sup> Wals. 352. Froiss. vol. iii. p. 110—115. The French were very sanguine as to the success of this attempt, and prepared with a splendid gaiety for it. They painted their vessels with their arms; many had their masts covered with leaf gold, as indications of their riches and power; and their banners, pennants, and streamers, were as handsome as art could make them. Froiss. p. 113.



had been lost; and yet the 10,000 marcs had been paid: That, contrary to his oath, he had obtained from the king lands and rents of great value; and that, to deceive the king, they were stated to be of less annual income than they were: That when nine lords were assigned to examine into the state of the king and kingdom, altho he had declared in parliament that it was a measure proper to be executed, yet this was never done, and thro his default, who was the principal officer: And that he had sealed several charters, especially one to Dover, to the disinheritance of the crown, and to the subversion of the king's courts and laws.<sup>58</sup> These were charges of some importance, whatever was their justice. To the two first articles he gave no answer, except that they did not exclusively concern him, but involved the whole administration. On the next, he admitted that he had received part of such estates after he had become chancellor; but that he had taken them by way of exchange, or had received them with the grant of his dignity of earl. He asserted that he had used his diligence to execute the parliamentary ordinance. And on the article as to Dover, he owned that it had passed the seal, but he had done it inadvertently, not aware that it was contrary to law; and that if any one had informed him that it would have been prejudicial to the king or his laws, it should not have been sealed. He added, that he hoped no novelties would be practised against him; but that if a chancellor should make a patent against reason, or a judge give a judgment contrary to the law, the patent and judgment should be repealed and reversed, but without any punishment to the chancellor or judge.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> The charges are in the Parl. Plac. vol. lii. p. 216. The other articles were on some transactions with one Tydeman, and the master of Saint Antoinne. — We have the popular feeling, on the loss of Ghent by his delaying the supplies, in Knyghton, p. 2672; who adds also other charges against him, p. 2678.

<sup>59</sup> The chancellor's answers are in Parl. Plac. 216—218.

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His judg-  
ment.

The commons replied; and the lords gave judgment — That as he had not observed his oath, but had, while a principal officer of the kingdom, taken from the king grants of lands and tenements, and, as he had declared that the grants had been confirmed by parliament, tho there was no such record on the rolls of parliament, they adjudged that all such grants should be resumed by the king, but without loss of his title; and they annulled his illegal patents.<sup>60</sup>

The various companies of London petitioned the same parliament for redress against the violences and oppressions of Nicholas Brambre, a confidential partisan of government in the city. They complain, that he had been appointed the lord mayor “with stronge hande” and “in destruccion of many ryght” — that he made divers armings “bi day and eke bi nyght, and destroyd the kyngs trew leges, some with open slaughtre, som bi false imprisonment” — that “to susteyne thise wronges and many othere, he did carry grete quantitie of armure to the Guyldehall,” and laid certain ambushes, which, when the freemen came to chuse their mayor, rushed out “armed, crying with loude voice, Slay! Slay! following them; wherthourgh the peple, for feere, fledde to houses and other hidynges as in londe of warre dreading to be dead in commune.”<sup>61</sup>

Parliament  
attack the  
king's  
ministers.

The king is stated to have declared, that he would not remove the lowest scullion in his kitchen, to please the commons.<sup>62</sup> An unwise determination, unwisely made public. The attachment of a sovereign to an upright minister is highly laudable; it is the

<sup>60</sup> Parl. Plac. 219, 220.

<sup>61</sup> The petition of the Mercers is printed in its old English in Parl. Plac. 225. The petition of the Cordwainers is in French, p. 226. “In the same bundle are like petitions of the Founders, the Saddlers, the Painters, the Armourers, the Pinners, the Embroiderers, and the Spurriers and Bladesmiths, of the city of London.” *Ib.* p. 227.

<sup>62</sup> Knyghton, p. 2681.

due reward of honest service, as honorable to bestow as to receive; without which, fidelity would lose its best encouragement, and just ambition its reasonable hope. But all the virtues have boundaries, beyond which the vices begin. Judicious firmness has a golden mean, which distinguishes it from obstinacy; and the able man carefully watches and preserves the limit. But Richard suffered his personal regard to carry him far beyond the point, where, in justice to himself as well as to the country, he ought to have paused. He thought it better that the nation should be convulsed, or at least that the most vindictive exertions of resisting power should be hazarded, than that his favorites should be displaced, or their public influence diminished. A fatal resolution, which proved the destruction of his ministers, their opponents, and himself.

It is painful to pursue — it is impossible to judge correctly of the events that now occurred. The chancellor was displaced. The parliament, on the grounds that by the cupidity of the royal officers the public wealth was idly consumed, the king deceived, and the people impoverished by heavy burthens; and that, while from these impositions the rents of the nobility were diminished, and the poor peasantry were abandoning the cultivation of many parts of the country, the ministers were enriched beyond measure — the parliament, believing these allegations, interfered with the executive government of the country.<sup>63</sup> They appointed fourteen lords to conduct the administration<sup>64</sup>: and the king signed a commission, investing them with the powers they were to execute.<sup>65</sup>

1386-7.

<sup>63</sup> Knyghton has transmitted to us these reasons, p. 2685.

<sup>64</sup> The bishop of Ely was made the chancellor, bishop of Hereford the treasurer, and John of Waltham the keeper of the privy seal. The eleven other lords were, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the dukes of York and Gloucester, the bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the abbot of Waltham, earl of Arundel, lord Cobham, Richard le Scrope, and John Devereux. Knyghton, p. 2685.

<sup>65</sup> See it at length in Knyghton, p. 2686, and also in the Parliament Rolls

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The chroniclers now charge the king with plotting with the duke of Ireland, Brambre, and others, to destroy the duke of Gloucester and his friends by a treacherous assassination at London.<sup>66</sup> It is difficult to believe a design so atrocious. Ireland suddenly increased the public displeasure against himself by a private immorality. Contrary to law and without any cause, he repudiated his wife, a lady of the royal blood, to marry a low-born woman in the service of the queen, who had inflamed his fancy.<sup>67</sup> This excited the indignation of Gloucester, who thought himself dishonored in the unmerited disgrace of his kinswoman, and his public hostilities took the darker shape of individual revenge. He made no concealment of his hatred; and Ireland viewed him with equal rancor, as his implacable enemy. The probability is, that each resolved on the destruction of the other.<sup>68</sup> The duke of Ireland wielded the executive sword; the duke of Gloucester headed and directed the popular indignation.

Ireland, the prelate of York, Pole, Tresilian, and others, are now described as entering into counsels to destroy their opponents. Under pretence of accompanying his favorite to his Irish government the king went with him into Wales, but it was to settle the best plan of effectuating their fatal purposes.<sup>69</sup>

recited in the articles exhibited against the duke of Gloucester eleven years afterwards, where his agency in obtaining it was made one of his greatest crimes. *Plac. Parl.* vol. iii. p. 375.

<sup>66</sup> The monk of Evesham says, that Brambre's plan was, that the duke and his friends should be invited to a supper at London, and there be suddenly attacked and killed; but that Exton, the lord mayor that year, would not consent to it. *Mon. Ev. Vita Rich.* p. 75. *Wals.* 353.

<sup>67</sup> *Mon. Evesh.* p. 84, who says, that the king favored him even in this, because he would not have him grieved in any thing. *Wals.* 358; and see *Froiss.* vol. iii. c. 77.

<sup>68</sup> *Mon. Evesh.* says, that the duke of Ireland was determined to take off Gloucester, p. 84. So *Wals.* 359. *Froissart*, vol. iii. c. 63. and c. 77. has preserved some of the popular reasonings against him; and while he repeatedly blames Ireland, he also imputes to the dukes of York and Gloucester, that they stirred up the discontents of the people; and that Gloucester urged the citizens of London to investigate the state of the finances, adding, that he and his friends would aid them. *Ib.* c. 77.

<sup>69</sup> *Mon. Ev.* 84. *Wals.* 359. *Knyght.* 2693.

From Wales they returned to Nottingham, where Brambre met them, and to which the judges were summoned. A plan, which we should now call most illegal and unconstitutional, and which no present English judge would submit to, nor could sanction, without personal dishonor, was resorted to. A set of anticipatory questions was put before them, whether the ordinances of the preceding parliament were not derogatory to the king's prerogative? How those persons were to be punished, who had procured them; and also those who had compelled the king to assent to them; and those who had hindered the king from exercising what belonged to his prerogative? Whether, after a speech from the throne to parliament, pointing out certain limited articles on which they were to proceed, if the lords and commons should go beyond these to any other matter, the king should not have the governance of parliament in this respect, and insist upon his subjects being proceeded on, without giving any answer to theirs? Whether the king could not dissolve the parliament at his pleasure? Whether the lords and commons could, without the king's will, impeach his justices or officers, for their faults in parliament? How he was to be punished, who moved in parliament for the statute to be produced, by which Edward II. was deposed? And whether the parliamentary judgment against Pole was erroneous and revocable, or not? To these questions, thus put in this extraordinary way of judicial anticipation, one of the judges objected to answer. His life was threatened if he refused; and his infirm spirit submitted to agree with the rest, only remarking as he signed, that there was nothing wanting but the gibbet and the rope to give him the fate he deserved. The compliant answers as to the penal interrogatories were, that all the acts were treason — the persons traitors — and their punishment

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death as traitors. The other queries were determined in favor of the king, and that Pole's judgment was revocable, as being erroneous in all its parts.<sup>70</sup> This was procuring the sentence of death against all the members of both houses of parliament, without even the pretence of a trial. After such a measure, we may accredit the chroniclers who state that the king and his ministers proceeded to complete their purposes by force of arms. The sheriffs were ordered to raise the posse comitatûs against the barons, and to let no knight be chosen for parliament, but such as the king and his counsel should chuse. The sheriffs returned, that the posse were all in favor of the nobles, and that the counties would chuse their knights as they were used to do.<sup>71</sup> The king then summoned what military bodies he could command, to attend him, and prepared for the most serious exertion of his power.<sup>72</sup>

The duke of Gloucester, anxious to appease the king, swore before the bishop of London, that he had never machinated any thing to his majesty's prejudice; tho he admitted his fixed aversion to the duke of Ireland, whom he would never regard favorably, because he had dishonored a lady allied to himself and the king. The bishop reported this solemn asseveration to his sovereign, who was rather inclined to believe it, till Pole's declamation against Gloucester renewed the king's resentment.<sup>73</sup> Both parties now became more exasperated. The king sent to arrest the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, but was disappointed.<sup>74</sup> The barons collected their friends and followers, and came to London. Various move-

<sup>70</sup> Knyghton, 2693—2696. Mon. Evesh. 86.

<sup>71</sup> Mon. Evesh. 85. Wals. 359.

<sup>72</sup> Mon. Evesh. 89. Wals. 359.

<sup>73</sup> Mon. Evesh. 89. Wals. 360.

<sup>74</sup> Mon. Evesh. 90. Wals. 360. Knyghton mentions, that the ministers advised Richard to solicit the aid of the French king, and to give him up some of the English possessions of France to procure it. P. 2697.

ments of the hostile forces followed. But the ministers thought the military contest to be inadvisable.<sup>75</sup> The duke of Ireland, who had been ordered by the king to collect an army from the Welsh frontier, seemed inclined to try the field with Henry of Lancaster, then earl of Derby, at Redecot Bridge, when he found that he was the only one of the nobles that had come up with him.<sup>76</sup> But his heart failed him, and he fled. Pole and he reached the continent; but Tresilian and Brambre were taken and destroyed, and several of their adherents.<sup>77</sup> Thirty-seven articles of impeachment were exhibited against the proscribed ministers, which may be considered as representing the case of the nobles against the crown.<sup>78</sup> The duke of Ireland died some years afterwards at Louvain, in great poverty.<sup>79</sup>

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On these momentous events, so contrary to good government on the one side, and to loyalty, subordination, and social peace, on the other, no proper judgment can be given, as we know not the true state of the necessities which actuated either party. The language and the feelings of the chroniclers are not favorable to the king or his ministers. The duke of Gloucester and his friends seem at this period to have discussed the question of the king's deposition. But he declares in his final confession, that he acted under a belief that his life was in danger<sup>80</sup>; and in

<sup>75</sup> Mon. Evesh. 90. The archbishop wished a battle to be tried; the others overruled it.

<sup>76</sup> Wals. 362.

<sup>77</sup> Among these, sir Simon Burley was the confidential partisan of the duke of Ireland. On his real or imputed misconduct, see Froissart, vol. iii. c. 77. p. 205—207. W. Thorn. Chron. 2181—2185. Mon. Evesh. p. 102—The legal charges, sixteen in number, against Burley and others, are in the Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 241—243, and the judgment of parliament upon them.

<sup>78</sup> See them at length in Knyghton, 2715—2726. The whole process is more distinctly detailed in the Parliamentary Records, vol. iii. p. 229—237. The judgment of parliament on the different articles follows in the same records, p. 237.

<sup>79</sup> Walsingham, 146; who remarks of him, that if he had received proper discipline in his early days, he would have been fit for every honorable office.

<sup>80</sup> Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 379.

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the articles of accusation against Richard, it is expressly charged, that the king held the consultation with the judges, that he might proceed upon it to destroy the duke and his friends; and that he gave his favorite, Ireland, a secret commission to raise an armed force in Chester against them.<sup>81</sup> It is impossible now to discriminate which party was most in the wrong.

King claims  
the right of  
govern-  
ment.

In 1389, the king, attaining to twenty-one, suddenly inquired his age of his assembled council, and claimed the right of governing his kingdom as he pleased, as others at his age were made competent by law to manage their own affairs. He took the great seal from the archbishop of York, put it in his bosom, and afterwards delivered it to William of Wykeham.<sup>82</sup> When the parliament met, this prelate stated, that the king was of such an age that he had now greater sense and discretion than he had possessed before; an intimation strongly implying preceding imperfection;—and that he was determined to govern better, if better were possible.<sup>83</sup>

Richard's  
tourna-  
ment, Mi-  
chaelmas,  
1396.

One of Richard's first exhibitions of his personal taste for splendor, was made in the magnificent entertainment with which he endeavoured to emulate those of the French king at Paris. He ordered a grand tournament to be proclaimed, to be held at London, where sixty knights, who were to be accompanied by as many ladies, richly adorned and dressed, were to tilt for two days at the ensuing Michaelmas. The arrangements being settled, heralds were sent by the king's council to announce it thro England, Scot-

<sup>81</sup> Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 418.

<sup>82</sup> Wals. 369.—The life of this rich and munificent bishop has been respectably written by Lowth, a prelate who deserves immortality for his *Prælections* on the Hebrew Poetry, and his admirable translation of Isaiah. It was one of the crosses of life, that a man of his mild and gentlemanly spirit, should be entangled in a controversy with the great, but vehement and often mistaken Warburton.

<sup>83</sup> Plac. Parl. p. 257. Some of these transactions took place at Langley and Rodecotbrige. These places we shall find afterwards alluded to.



land, Hainault, Germany, Flanders and France; and many knights and esquires from foreign parts came eagerly to attend it. It was celebrated with all the magnificence of royal chivalry. The festivities were then adjourned to Windsor, and the expensive hospitalities were concluded by liberal presents from the king to his foreign visitors.<sup>84</sup>

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Accusation  
of the duke  
of Glou-  
cester.

The government and the nation continued for eight years in a state of mutual dissatisfaction; and the king at one time seized the charter of the city, tho he afterwards restored it. But he marked the twentieth year of his reign by an action so personal in its mode of perpetration, and so atrocious in its nature, that it may be regarded as the real cause of his deposition. This was the murder of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester. That the duke was highly popular; that he supported the public cause in parliament; that he had led the attack on the king's former favorites and ministers, and was considered as the bulwark of the community against the power or oppression of the government<sup>85</sup>; are circumstances declared by the English chroniclers: That he despised his nephew, for not being warlike; that he considered him to be a king who only loved repose, the luxuries of the table, and the society of ladies; that he thought England so discontented with his reign, as to be de-

<sup>84</sup> At three o'clock on the Sunday after Michaelmas day, the ceremony began; sixty horses in rich trappings, and each mounted by an esquire of honor, were seen advancing in a stately pace from the Tower of London; sixty ladies of rank, dressed in the richest elegance of the day, followed on their palfreys one after another, and each leading by a silver chain a knight completely armed for tilting. Minstrels and trumpets accompanied them to Smithfield, amid the shouting population. There the queen and her fair train received them. The ladies dismounted and withdrew to their allotted seats, while the knights mounted their steeds, laced their helmets, and prepared for the encounter. They tilted at each other till dark. They all then adjourned to a sumptuous banquet, and dancing consumed the night till fatigue compelled every one to seek repose. The next day the warlike sport recommenced. Many were unhorsed, many lost their helmets, but they all persevered with eager courage and emulation, till night again summoned them to their supper, dancing, and concluding rest. The festivities were again repeated on the third day. Froiss. vol. x. p. 229—232.

<sup>85</sup> See Wals. 379.

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sirous of a change ; that he fed the public murmurs ; and that he had at some part of his life urged the earl of March, the next heir, to take the crown, and planned to immure Richard for life ; is asserted by Froissart.<sup>86</sup> But it is important to remark, that this treasonable intention forms no part of his parliamentary accusation : this expresses that ten years before, he had told the king that he would be in peril of his life, if he did not assent to the commission of government which was then exacted ; that in the following year, he and others had assembled in arms against the king, and arrested his ministers and friends, and, among others, had caused sir Simon Burley to be executed, altho the king had repeatedly refused to consent to it ; and that at the same period they had meditated, and would have accomplished, the deposition of the king, if Henry of Lancaster and the earl of Nottingham had not counteracted them ; and that they had shown the king the record of the deposition of Edward II., and had traitorously told him, that they had sufficient cause for his removal, but that, out of respect to his noble father and grandfather, they would suffer him to continue.<sup>87</sup> These being the only charges against the duke, and being nine and ten years old, and relating to acts in which the king had long acquiesced, and solemnly pardoned, we may reasonably infer that no accusations more recent could be brought against him. These alleged treasons were the incidents that occurred on the struggle between the duke of Ireland's party and the nobility, and the absence of all later matter would lead us to place Froissart's conversation-piece among the garrulous defamation of the day, reviving an occurrence which belonged to a prior period.<sup>88</sup> The duke's own

<sup>86</sup> See Froiss. vol. iv. c. 86. p. 246—249.

<sup>87</sup> See Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 374—376.

<sup>88</sup> It appears to me, from Froissart's expressions in another place, vol. iv. c. 101.

confession gives no foundation for it. That is simple and probable. He admits that he stirred with other men to obtain the obnoxious commission, and that *at that time* he came armed into the king's palace; but it is essential to remark that he adds, "I did it for dread of my life;" thus giving us his sanction to the assertion of the chroniclers already noticed, that the king's government had attempted his destruction. He acknowledges that he took the king's letters from his messengers, that he had spoken in "sclanderouse wyse" of the king; and that, when in fear of his life, he had communed to give up his homage, and had consulted certain clerks "whether that we myght gyve up our homage for drede of our lyves." He confesses that he had spoken of the deposal of the king, and for two days had assented to it, but had afterwards agreed to put him "as highly in hys estate as ever he was." Having admitted these things, he declares that it was his meaning to "have done the best for his persone and for his estate;" and he closes with this solemn asseveration, "It was never myn entent, ne my wyll, ne my thought, for to do thyng that schuld have bene distresse or harmyng ageyns the salvation of my lyege loordy's persone as I wyll answer to for Godd at the day of jugement."<sup>89</sup> He afterwards added, that he had told Richard, that if he wished to remain king, he must not interfere for sir Simon Burley.

Thus the duke was not accused of any new matter, and confessed none; on the contrary, he denied any such<sup>90</sup>; and there is no evidence in the chronicles,

p. 290, that this conversation with the earl of March was at the time of the commotion, 1386 and 1387. So that it is not contrary to the duke's assertion in his confession, that since that period he had done nothing treasonable against the king.

<sup>89</sup> See his confession in old English in Parl. Plac. p. 378, 379.

<sup>90</sup> "And as of any newe thyng or ordenaunce that ever I shuld have wyten or knowen, ordeyned or assentyd, pryve or apert, that schuld have bene ageyns my loordes estate or his luste, or ony that longeth abowte him, syth that day that I swore unto hym at Langeley on Goddys body trewly; and by that oothe that I ther

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that he was pursuing any treasonable enterprise. The points that Froissart, who having been introduced to Richard, and graciously received by him<sup>91</sup>, had adopted the feelings of the court, mainly states, in addition to the advice to the earl of March to take the crown, are, that the duke was indignant at the unwarlike conduct of the king with respect to France, and urged the termination of the truces, and the renewal of the war, and that he was meditating how to excite trouble in England, and to renew the war with France.<sup>92</sup> The observations recorded by Froissart, as made by his brothers, the dukes of Lancaster and York, on his arrest, seem to imply that his real crime, besides the king's personal hatred, was his aversion to such a peace with France as had been then concluded. "They said that their brother, a prince so high and brave, ought not to have been murdered for idle words; for, tho he had spoken voluntarily, in cold blood, against the treaties sealed between England and France, yet he had done nothing against them; and between saying and doing there was great difference; and that for words only, he could not deserve death, nor so cruel a punishment."<sup>93</sup>

His arrest  
and murder.

But whatever were the deserts of Gloucester, the conduct of the king on this occasion cannot but be lamented and condemned. The duke was peaceably residing at his mansion-house at Pleshey near Chelmsford, when Richard, with seeming friendship, visited him, betrayed him into an arrest, and had him conveyed to Calais, and killed. The whole is

made, *I never knew of gaderyng* ageyns him, ne none other that longeth unto hym." Plac. Parl. 379. Langley was the place of reconciliation, in 1387, between the king and the duke. See old English Plac. Par. p. 421.

<sup>91</sup> He describes his first introduction by the duke of York, in his vol. iv. c. 61. p. 177. and his subsequent presentation to the king of his book *D'Amours*, which pleased Richard "tres grandement, car il estoit enluminé," and superbly covered and ornamented, c. 63. p. 184.

<sup>92</sup> Frois. iv. liv. c. 86.

<sup>93</sup> *Ib.* c. 90. p. 270. I quote the pages here from the French edition.

declared to have been planned, as the treachery was executed, by the king himself. In common life, we should class the nephew that would make himself the personal agent to entrap an uncle from the bosom of his family, in order to destroy him, among the basest of mankind. That the king should go, as described by his most friendly historian, with the determined purpose of murder in his heart, and see his uncle surrounded by his wife and children in all the enjoyment of domestic felicity; that he should eat and drink with them; should tell them a wilful falsehood, to induce the duke to confide in his honor, and to accompany him without any protecting train; should behold the embraces of the parent and his family on their separation, the one hoping, the other promising a speedy reunion; should himself take leave of the wife and children of this venerable relative, whom he knew they would see no more; that he should ride with his victim by his side, familiarly chatting with him till he reached the spot where he had ordered the fatal ambush to be planted; and should then ride off, not hearing, or hearing without pity, the upbraiding cries of the lion, whom he had with such persevering and calculating meanness seduced into the toils<sup>94</sup>;

<sup>94</sup> Froissart thus describes the arrest, 208: "The king went after dinner, with part of his retinue, to Pleshy, about five o'clock. The duke of Gloucester had already supped; for he was very sober, and sat but a short time at table, either at dinner or supper. He came to meet the king, and honored him as we ought to honor our lord; so did the duchess and her children, who were there. The king entered the hall, and thence into the chamber. A table was spread for the king, and he supped a little. He said to the duke, "Fair uncle! have your horses saddled, but not all; only five or six; you must accompany me to London; we shall find there my uncles Lancaster and York, and I mean to be governed by your advice, on a request they intend making to me. Bid your maitre d'hotel follow you with your people to London." The duke, who thought no ill from it, assented to it pleasantly enough. As soon as the king had supped, and all were ready, the king took leave of the duchess and her children, and mounted his horse. So did the duke, who left Pleshy with only the eighth of his servants, three esquires, and four varlets. They avoided the high road to London; but rode with speed, conversing on various topics, till they came to Stratford. The king then pushed on before him, and the earl marshal came suddenly behind him with a great body of horsemen, and, springing on the duke, said, "I arrest you in the king's name." The duke, astonished, saw that he was betrayed, and cried with a loud voice after

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these circumstances present such a train of appeals to the heart, that we cannot but wonder that they could successively occur during the space of six hours that the duplicity lasted, to the king's personal sensation, without paralysing his dreadful purpose. When he first formed his plan, and revealed it in confidence to the earl marshal, he is represented by Froissart to have expressed his conviction, that if he did not destroy the duke, he should be destroyed himself: But if this danger existed beyond his own disturbed imagination, would it not, with the facts on which it rested, have made a part of the judicial accusation? When we consider the combination of deliberate hypocrisy, treachery, lawless violence and cold-hearted cruelty, which mark this transaction, we cannot avoid inferring, that there could have been no legal criminality in the duke, or the royal character would never have stooped to such degradation.

The king also took a part in deluding the earl of Arundel, and chose to be present at his execution.<sup>95</sup> To deceive the nation into a momentary tranquillity, he published a false proclamation, that it was not for former, but for new misdemeanors, that he had arrested this nobleman.<sup>96</sup> The duke was carried from the Thames to Calais, and murdered in an inn in that city.<sup>97</sup>

the king. I do not know if the king heard him or not, but he did not return, but rode away." Froissart, l. 4. c. 86. p. 254.

<sup>95</sup> Froiss. c. 90. p. 269. The earl marshal, whose wife was Arundel's daughter, himself bound that nobleman's eyes. Ib. Arundel reminded him and another, that they ought to be absent. He felt the edge of the axe, and said, that it was sharp enough, and requested the executioner to dispatch him with one blow, which he did. After his death, the king was much disturbed: as he attempted to sleep, he thought he saw the count standing before his eyes, threatening him. He cursed the day that he first knew this nobleman. He was more seriously alarmed, when he heard that the vulgar deemed Arundel a martyr, and made pilgrimages to his grave. One night he had his body dug up, to see if the head had rejoined the neck, as the populace thought! At last he had all marks of the grave levelled, that no one might know the spot of burial. Wals. 393.

<sup>96</sup> Hence Walsingham calls it a "ficta proclamatio," 392. See it in Rymer, vol. viii. p. 6.

<sup>97</sup> The Parliamentary Rolls contain the confession of John Halle, one of the assistants in the murder, and a valet of the duke of Norfolk, which gives the fol-

Such transactions were naturally followed by the calamities which pursued this unworthy prince. That he was regarded as a tyrant<sup>98</sup>; that he thought it necessary afterwards to have a constant guard of 200 men surrounding him wherever he went, with arrows and bows always bent<sup>99</sup>, that the agent, who

lowing particulars:—That the duke of Norfolk came to him at Calais with one John Colfox; that he was called out of his bed; that the duke asked him if he had heard any thing of the duke of Gloucester; he answered, that he thought him dead. Norfolk said, No; but that the king had charged him to murder the duke, and that the king and the duke of Albemarle had sent their valets, and that he must be there in his (Norfolk's) name. Halle prayed that he might be suffered to go away, tho with the loss of all his property, rather than do such an act. The duke of Norfolk told him he must be there, or he should forfeit his life, and struck him violently on the head. They went to a church there, and found others ready, and all were sworn to secrecy. They accompanied the duke of Norfolk to the prince's inn, who placed Colfox, Halle, and six others, in a room there, and went away. The duke of Gloucester was then brought in, and delivered to Serle, a valet of the king's, and to Franceys, a valet of the duke of Albemarle. Seeing them, the duke said, "Now I know I shall do well," and asked Serle how he did. Serle and Franceys then took the duke into another chamber, saying they wished to speak with him. There they told him, that it was the king's will that he should die. The duke of Gloucester answered, that if it was his will it must be so. They asked him to have a chaplain; he agreed, and confessed. They then made him lay down on a bed, the two valets threw a feather bed upon him; three other persons held down the sides of it, while Serle and Franceys pressed on the mouth of the duke till he expired, three others of the assistants all the while on their knees weeping and praying for his soul, and Halle keeping guard at the door. When he was dead, the duke of Norfolk came to them, and saw the dead body. See Halle's deposition, who was afterwards hanged and quartered for the murder. Parl. Plac. vol. iii. pp. 452, 453.

<sup>98</sup> Gower wrote a chronicle in Leonine hexameters, which follows his *Vox Clamantis* in the Tib. MS. In this he characterizes Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, from their crests, as the swan, the horse, and the bear. He describes indignantly the king's deceit and cruelty. This is the work which he says he wrote "*bis deno Ricardi regis in anno*," not the *Vox Clamantis*. See MS. Tib. p. 171.

<sup>99</sup> Hardyng has preserved this trait. After mentioning that the king made at this period five dukes and four earls, he adds,

- - - - Then he had, eche day,  
Two hundred menne of Cheshshyre wher he laye,  
To watch him aye, whersoever he laye.  
He dred him aye so of insurreccion  
Of the commons and of the people aye.  
He trusted none of all his region  
But Cheshshire menne for his proteccion.  
Wherever he rode, with arowes and bowes bent  
Thei were with hym, aye redy at his entent.

Hard, Chron. p. 346.

The conduct of this Cheshire guard is thus mentioned in the parliamentary accusation of the king: "He drew to himself a great multitude of malefactors from Cheshire, some of whom passing with the king thro the kingdom, as well within his household as without, beat, wounded, and killed divers liege subjects of the realm, plundered people's goods, and refused to pay for their food, and violated women. Tho complaints were made to the king, he favored them in their actions, trusting to their protection," &c. Plac. Parl. p. 418.

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had assisted him in these sanguinary scenes, should become alarmed for his own safety, and should reveal the king's vindictive projects; and that all the loyalty of the country should desert him when he most needed its assistance, cannot surprise us; for who was safe in the nation, if its sovereign, at the liberal age of thirty, could adopt a system of conduct so lawless, and pursue it with impunity? His arbitrary levies of money from his subjects increased the general disaffection.<sup>100</sup>

Henry of  
Lancaster  
discloses  
Norfolk's  
conversa-  
tion.

It was in riding together between Brentford and London, that the duke of Norfolk made, as Henry of Lancaster declared, that disclosure to him of the king's intentions, which he stated publicly in parliament. These were, that the king intended to get rid of both Henry and himself, of the duke of Lancaster and other nobles whom he mentioned, notwithstanding the apparent reconciliation, and even assurance of their safety.<sup>101</sup> Norfolk had been one of the barons who had united to throw down the king's first favorites; who had afterwards become one of his confidants, had commanded the ambush that seized

<sup>100</sup> Rymer has preserved some documents of what may be called his forced loans, vol. viii. p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> The Parliamentary Rolls have preserved Henry's account of this important dialogue. It is in substance as follows:—*N.* We were near being destroyed.—*H.* Why?—*N.* For the fact of Rodecotbrigge.—*H.* How can that be, for he has pardoned us, and declared in parliament that we have been good and loyal towards him?—*N.* Notwithstanding that, he will do with us as he has done with others before, for he means to annul that record.—*H.* That will be marvellous, for the king uttered it in public; and afterwards to annul it!—*N.* This is a marvellous world, and a false one; for I know well, that if it had not been for some, your father of Lancaster and yourself would have been taken or dead when you came to Windsor after the parliament. But the dukes of Albemarle and Essex, and the earl of Worcester declared, that they would never agree to destroy a nobleman without just and reasonable cause. The malice of this fact lay with the duke of Surrey, and the earls of Wilts and Salisbury; and they had sworn to destroy six other lords, Lancaster, yourself, Albemarle, Essex, the marquis and myself.—*H.* God forbid that the king should agree to this! for he has sworn to all these, to be a good lord to them.—*N.* So he has to me many times on the sacrament; but I cannot trust him the better for that. The king means to draw in the earl of March and others, to join the four lords in destroying those I have mentioned.—*H.* If it be so, we shall never be safe in the waters.—*N.* Certainly not; for if they cannot accomplish their purpose now, they will be about us to destroy us in our houses within ten years hence. Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 360.



the duke of Gloucester, and had superintended his murder, and also the execution of lord Arundel. It was not improbable that the king, who had begun to dip his hands in blood, should have found, what all men find, that one crime makes others necessary, and should think the lives of other great and popular noblemen to be incompatible with his safety, lessened as that was by the popular resentment for Gloucester's death. It was still less improbable that an agent, who had seen with what little remorse his master had destroyed a near relative, and now heard of similar deeds being in contemplation, should become disquieted about himself, endangered as he was by his personal knowlege of the king's guilt. That in this state of anxiety he should unbosom it to a former confederate, and now connected friend, was not unnatural. He needed counsel and support, and by this disclosure he endeavored to obtain them.

The conduct of Henry, on receiving this information, is perfectly intelligible. His safety lay in publicly disclosing it. To announce the meditated projects, was to defeat them. No king or counsellors would be afterwards so insane as to execute them. Hence, if the information was true, he saved his father's life as well as his own, by disclosing it. If Norfolk had amused him by a false statement, it must have been done for some treacherous purpose, which would be best defeated by publicly disclosing it; he therefore mentioned to the king in parliament what he had been told. He affected to consider them as dishonest words slanderously spoken; but he had committed them to writing, and he produced the memorial.

By this step, he certainly sacrificed the duke of Norfolk. But what right had such a man, stained as he was, to expect confidence from another, or even secrecy on a communication like this, which involved that other's life and his father's? The duke of

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The king  
banishes  
both.

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Norfolk denied the charge, and a trial of battle was appointed between the two noblemen. The decision was postponed by the king from time to time, and to different places; but Coventry, and the sixteenth of September, were at last fixed for the combat. Both appeared in the lists; but, as they were preparing to charge, the king suddenly interfered.<sup>102</sup> He forbade the engagement; and banished Henry of Lancaster for ten years from the kingdom, and the duke of Norfolk for life, whom he also deprived of all his property, except an allowance of one thousand pounds a year.<sup>103</sup> This conduct has been thought capricious, but it is explicable if Norfolk's information was true. He banished Henry, because he wished

<sup>102</sup> The splendid customs of the age appear in the description which Hall has preserved of their entering the lists. The lords high constable and high marshal of England came in with a great company, apparelled in silk sendal, embroidered richly and curiously with silver, and each man carrying a tipped staff to keep the field in order. About the time of prime, the duke of Hereford appeared at the barriers of the lists, on a white courser barbed with blue and green velvet, embroidered sumptuously with swans and antelopes of goldsmith's work, and armed at all points.

The constable and marshal went to the barriers, and inquired who he was. He told them, and swore upon the Gospel, that his quarrel was true and just. After this, he sheathed his sword, which he had brought in drawn; put down his visor; crossed his forehead; entered the lists with his spear in his hand; descended from his horse: and sat down in a chair of green velvet, awaiting his opponent.

Soon afterwards the king entered in great pomp, with all the peers of the realm, and above 10,000 persons in harness, lest any tumult should occur among his nobles. He took his station on a stage richly hung and pleasantly adorned. Heralds announced the presence of the appellant, and the duke of Norfolk then came to the lists, his horse barbed with crimson velvet, richly embroidered with lions of silver and mulberry trees. He took his oath as to his quarrel being right, and then dismounting sat down in his crimson velvet chair, curtained with white and red damask.

The lord marshal saw that their spears were of equal length, and delivered one himself to Hereford, and sent a knight with the other to Norfolk. An herald then proclaimed that the chairs should be removed, that the combatants should mount their steeds, and address themselves to the combat.

Hereford sprang upon his horse, closed his beaver, cast his spear into the rest, and when the trumpet sounded, advanced courageously six or seven paces towards his adversary. Norfolk was not so far forward when the king threw down his warder, and the herald called out to halt. The king ordered their spears to be taken from them, and that they should resume their chairs. Hall, Chron. p. 4.

<sup>103</sup> See the record of this in Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 382—384. Henry and Norfolk appear to have been put under arrest till their combat; for Rymer contains an order to the governor of Windsor, to keep them both in safe custody, vol. viii. p. 47. Walsingham remarks, that the sentence against Norfolk was issued on that day twelvemonth on which he had caused the duke of Gloucester to be suffocated, p. 394.

him out of the way; he punished Norfolk, for disappointing his plans by his officious conversation. On this supposition we may add, that the king's conscience shrunk from the issue of the impending battle. He best knew whether he had cherished the designs which Norfolk had intimated. If Henry conquered, the dying breath of Norfolk, in the confession that was always taken on the accusation, if the beaten party survived, might, by confirming what he had spoken, have roused the endangered nobility and indignant people to a rebellion that would have driven him from his throne. To arrest the combat, was to leave the dangerous question, as Henry had put it, a possible slander of Norfolk on the king; or, as Norfolk's denial made it, a possible invention of Henry. The banishment of both had the aspect of impartiality; and its public pretext was, to prevent discord between their families.

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It is probable that Richard thought his policy perfect, for he shortly afterwards made Lancaster's banishment perpetual, at the same time confiscating all his estates<sup>104</sup>; — alarmed seventeen counties with the threat of attacking them, and of subjecting them to treasonable punishment, for the measures adopted eleven years before on the downfall of his favorites; thus driving them to confess to his agents that they were traitors, and then to redeem their lives by large payments<sup>105</sup>; exacted, by letters patent sent to every county, oaths and obligations of implicit obedience, contrary to law, and exposing every one to future

His con-  
duct.

<sup>104</sup> Before Henry's departure, the king remitted four years of his banishment, possibly as a peace-offering to Henry's father, the duke of Lancaster. But the duke dying shortly afterwards, the royal policy changed. Henry then became duke of Lancaster, and thereby more formidable. His sentence was then arbitrarily made an exile for life, and all his property was seized.

<sup>105</sup> On these violent measures, see Wals. p. 396; and Plac. Parl. p. 420. By this iniquitous plan he raised vast sums, "Pro benevolentia sua recuperanda." Wals. The blank charters, called "Raggemans," which he compelled, were afterwards ordered to be returned to the cities and counties, and to be burnt. Plac. Parl. 432.

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peril and extortions<sup>106</sup>; — banished the earl of Northumberland, and his popular son Hotspur, as traitors, and confiscated their estates, because, understanding that their destruction was meditated, they excused themselves from attending him<sup>107</sup>; — and then went to Ireland with a security as absolute, as if he had left no discontent or danger behind him. It is clear that he had now determined to be the tyrant, and he held the consequences in defiance.<sup>108</sup> His campaign in Ireland was conducted with great resolution and earnestness; but the people were too uncivilized, and their means of resistance too inadequate, to give the king much honor.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Wals. 396. Plac. Parl. 421. This banishment made the people of London say, "This hatred and rancour comes from the king's council, which will destroy him."

<sup>107</sup> Froiss. c. 103. pp. 294, 295.

<sup>108</sup> The infatuation of Richard is extraordinary, even from Froissart's expressions. He says, c. 101. p. 290, that the strangling of Gloucester had caused such noise and murmurs thro England, as to be on the point of destroying and deposing the king, if Lancaster had not allayed them. That when Henry left London, 40,000 persons were in the streets lamenting his departure; and the mayor, with a great number of the chief citizens, accompanied him to Dartford. C. 95. p. 280. That the king and his council ought to have considered how often the people of England, and especially of London, had strongly murmured, and were murmuring against him. P. 289. That the seizure of Henry's inheritance, was acting too much against right and reason, to the displeasure of too many respectable persons of England; and that things could not last, nor continue long in this state, if not amended; and that the larger part of the nobles, prelates, and commons of England, thus expressed themselves. P. 290. And that when the Londoners heard of his going to Ireland, they said, "He goes to his destruction." C. 103. p. 294. And that even many of the barons, knights, and esquires of England, who went with him to Ireland, were discontented with him, and very often said, "Our king governs himself too foolishly, and trusts bad counsel." P. 294.

State and  
manners of  
the Irish.

<sup>109</sup> We have some interesting circumstances mentioned of Ireland, by two gentlemen who at this time visited it. One, the author of the MS. mentioned in note 6, of the next chapter; the other, Cristall, one of the esquires of the king's chamber, whose information has been transmitted to us by Froissart.

According to the first, who accompanied the king, Richard was anxious to travel day and night to reach his Irish enemies; and resolved to indulge in no repose till he had taken vengeance on Mac More, who called himself the Excelling King and Lord of Ireland the Great, tho he had little land or places in it. When he reached Milford Haven, his army was detained ten days by the wind, but during this time the trumpets and minstrels were sounding their music day and night. Men at arms were arriving from all parts; the vessels were filling with bread, wine, cattle, salt meat, and water, and fine horses were also taken on board. On the 11th day, the king, taking leave of the ladies, sailed to Waterford. Here the people, whom the author calls wretched and filthy, some in tatters, others with a cord girdle, some living in a hole, others in a hut, waded thro the sea to unload the barges.

Six days afterwards the king took the field, and rode eighty miles into the country to Kilkenny, near the enemy, and waited there fourteen days for the earl

of Rutland's reinforcements. Every one at starting had made the best provision he could of corn, wine, and bread. On the Vigil of St. John, the king marched direct against Mac More. The abode of this chief was in the woods, where he had 3,000 hardy men with him: "wilder people I never saw; they did not seem much dismayed at the English." Orders were given by the king, that every thing around should be set on fire, to weaken the power of the Irish; many a village and house were there consumed; 2500 well-affected natives came to fell all the woods, for there were then no roads, neither could any person find a passage thro them. They were very dangerous, for many places were such deep mire, that those who passed were plunged up to the middle, or sank in altogether. "This is their retreat, and therefore no one can catch them."

The king then pressed forward anew. The Irish dreaded the English; uttered vociferous shouts that might be heard a league off, and fell back, frequently assailing the van guard, and throwing their darts with a force which pierced thro the haubergeons and plates of their invaders. They attacked the foragers and their horses, scouring the hills and valleys fleetly than a deer; they did much mischief to the king's army, but Richard was resolved to reduce to entire obedience a people who were "almost savage."

When Mac More's uncle came with a halter round his neck, to throw himself at Richard's feet and sue for mercy, the king pardoned him; and sent a message to Mac More, that if he would also come with a rope round his neck, and submit himself, he should be forgiven, and have elsewhere lands and castles in abundance. The spirited Irishman declared, that he would not do so for all the treasures of the sea. His courage was supported by his sagacity, in perceiving that the English army had little to eat, and could find nothing to buy; no one had any food but what he had brought with him. In this state they remained eleven days, finding only a few green oats for the horses, who from the rain, wind and hunger, became faint, and of whom many perished; "no one can believe what the English endured. I witnessed that on some days five or six persons had but a single loaf between them. There were some gentlemen, knights and esquires, who did not eat a morsel for five days together. The army could not have remained three days longer, when three ships arrived from Dublin with provisions; for these there was an eager contention: the troops rushed into the sea as they would into straw, to get a share of them. The next day, the king marched towards Dublin, and Mac More sent a mendicant friar to ask that some person might be sent to him with whom he might treat for peace."

The author accompanied the amicable embassy, that he might see Mac More. He thus describes him: "I saw him and his Irish descend the mountain; he had a horse without housing or saddle, which was so good as to have cost him 400 cows, for as they have little money, their usual traffic is in cattle. In coming down, it galloped so hard, that I never saw any hare or deer run with such speed. In his right hand he bore a great long dart, which he cast with much skill; he was a fine large man, wonderously active; to look at him, he seemed very stern and savage." The interview did not end in an agreement; and on hearing its result, Richard grew pale with anger, "he swore in great wrath, by St. Edward, that no; never; would he depart from Ireland till he had Mac More in his power, alive or dead."

The king finding no provisions, was obliged to dislodge and proceed to Dublin, which he reached with 30,000 men. In the abundance of that city, all their sorrows were forgotten. They remained there a fortnight: the king sending out parties in quest of Mac More, and promising a hundred marks of pure gold to the man who should bring him in: he projected, after the autumn, to burn down all their forests. They passed six weeks very pleasantly at Dublin, without hearing any thing from England, where the revolution was taking place which ended in the deposition of Richard. See the original of this MS. Arch. vol. 20. p. 295—309; and Mr. Webb's translation and notes, p. 13—45.

The account which Henry Cristall gave Froissart, adds some further features of the state and manners of Ireland at that period.

"No king of England had ever led so large an army before into Ireland; 4000 knights and esquires, and 30,000 archers, accompanied the king.

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"Ireland is one of the worst countries to make war in or to conquer, from its impenetrable and extensive forests, lakes and bogs, which cannot be passed. It is so thinly inhabited, that the Irish, whenever they please, desert the towns and take refuge in their woods, and live in huts made of boughs, like wild beasts. Whenever an enemy advances, they retire to their narrow passes, where they cannot be followed. At every favorable opportunity of attacking their enemy with advantage, which they frequently have from their knowledge of the country, they fail not to seize it. They are so swift of foot, that no man at arms, tho well mounted, can overtake them. They sometimes leap from the ground behind a horseman, and clasp round the rider, and so tightly from their great strength of arm, that he cannot get rid of them; one of them served Cristall so, and urged his horse forward for two hours without doing him any harm, till they had reached a thicket to which the Irishman's companions had fled, who then made Cristall their prisoner. The person who had thus captured Cristall used him kindly, made him marry his daughter, and kept him seven years with him.

"The Irish have pointed knives with broad blades, sharp on both sides; they cut their enemy's throat and take out his heart, which they carry away. They take no ransom for any prisoner: and if defeated, they instantly separate and hide themselves in hedges, bushes, or holes under ground, so that they seem to disappear, and no one knows whither.

"They are a very hardy race, of great subtlety, various in temper, and paying no attention to cleanliness, nor to any gentleman, altho their country has several kings: they seem desirous to remain in the wild state in which they have been brought up."

Cristall was appointed to teach four of the Irish kings the manners of the English. His account is: "I must say these kings were of coarse manners and understandings, and in spite of all I could do to soften their nature and language, very little progress was made. As they sat at table they would make grimaces, that did not seem to me either graceful or becoming, and I resolved to make them drop that custom.

"When these kings were seated at table, and the first dish was served, they would make their minstrels and principal servants sit beside them, and eat from their plates and drink from their cups. They told me this was an applauded custom in their country, where every thing was in common but the bed: I permitted this to be done for three days, but on the fourth I placed the four kings at an upper table, the minstrels at another below, and the servants at a lower still. The kings looked at each other and refused to eat, saying that I had deprived them of their old custom in which they had been brought up;" but on Cristall's reasoning with them, that it would be more honorable to conform to the manners of the English, they acquiesced in his wishes.

The kings, like their subjects, wore nothing on their under limbs; he had great difficulty in making them put on silk robes trimmed with squirrel skins, for they only wrapped themselves up in an Irish cloak. They used neither saddles nor stirrups; their sons were made knights at seven years old, and the young aspirant began to learn to tilt with a light lance against a shield fixed to a post in the field; the more lances he broke, the more honor he acquired. Froissart, vol. xi. c. 24. p. 154—162.

On Richard's first visit to Ireland, in 1394, all the Leinster chieftains, with others, laid aside their caps, skeins and girdles, and did homage, and swore fealty on their knees to the earl marshal of England; and the same ceremony was performed by the principal chiefs of Ulster to Richard himself at Drogheda. Mr. Webb has added some valuable documents on the transactions in Ireland at this period, from the MSS. Titus B. 11. in his appendix to his translation in the *Archaeol.* vol. xx. p. 243—250.

## CHAP. VIII.

*History of the Deposition of RICHARD II.*

NEVER was any sovereign more confident of his power; never was any sovereign more easily dethroned. It would appear that all classes of people were so united in opinion on the necessity of a change, that no hesitation either divided or delayed them. Richard had scarcely reached Bristol on his way to Ireland, but a general commotion and disorganization began.<sup>1</sup> The country became full of plundering bands. There was an universal exclamation, that the king only cared for his pleasures and his arbitrary will. The people said to each other, "The wicked king Richard of Bourdeaux will spoil every thing. Since he took the throne, nothing has prospered in England. He minds only idleness, dissipation with women, collecting great treasures, and destroying the nation. He has killed Gloucester and Arundel, banished Henry of Lancaster and the valiant Percys, and soon there will be no brave man left in England. Henry of Lancaster ought to be invited here to reform the government. Richard should be sent to the Tower, with his partisans. Their works, which are infamous, will condemn them."<sup>2</sup>

The citizens of London held secret counsels with some prelates and knights, and agreed to send for Henry, who was at Paris. The archbishop of Canterbury undertook to be the messenger. He went to

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RICH. II.

Disaffection  
of the  
nation.

<sup>1</sup> Les hommes generalement parmi Angleterre se commencerent fort à emouvoir et elever l'un contre l'autre. Froiss. c. 104. p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> This is the substance of Froissart's chapter, c. 104. pp. 296, 297.

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RICH. II.Henry in-  
vited, and  
lands.

Valenciennes, disguised as a pilgrim; proceeded to Paris, obtained a secret interview with Henry, and, describing the state of England, intreated him to return to it. At first the duke gave no answer; but, leaning on a window which looked into the gardens, he pondered on the enterprise. At length he agreed to consult his friends; and they urging him to undertake it, he took leave of the French court<sup>3</sup>, travelled to Bretagne, sailed from thence with three ships, having only fifteen lances or knights in his company; landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, in the beginning of July, and was soon joined by the Percys and others so eagerly, that in a short time he was at the head of 60,000 men.<sup>4</sup>

During these transactions, Richard was pursuing his war in Ireland with much personal activity<sup>5</sup>, but with much suffering to his army, from the want of supplies.<sup>6</sup> At this most critical juncture, when every hour was pregnant with evil to his cause, the adverse wind kept him for six weeks without any news from England.<sup>7</sup> At last it changed; and he then received the unexpected tidings of the arrival and progress of Henry, and that the archbishop of Canterbury had been exhorting the people to insurrection, and declaring that he had received a bull from the Pope, promising remission of sins to all who should assist

<sup>3</sup> Froiss. c. 105—107. pp. 297—301.<sup>4</sup> Wals. 397.<sup>5</sup> Ib. 396. In the British Museum, Titus, B. 11., is a letter from the king's council in England, to Richard in Ireland, congratulating him on the submission of "vos rebeaux Mac Mourgh, et le grand Onel, et autres grands capitains illoques, le plus forts de la terre." Arch. p. 19.<sup>6</sup> We have here a valuable original document on the history of this part of the life of Richard II. by a French gentleman of distinction, who came over to England with a Gascon knight, and attended him to the king in Ireland. It is written in very prosaic French rhyme. The MS. adorned with illuminations portraying the leading events of each chapter, is in the British Museum, Harleian MSS. No. 1319. Its first four chapters describe the campaign with the Irish; of whom see also Froissart's description, vol. iv. c. 63. Since the first edition of this history, this MS. and a translation of it by Mr. Webb, with copious notes, have been printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx. 1—423, with plates of its curious illuminations.<sup>7</sup>

- - - Bien six semaines

Sans pouit oir de nouvelles certaines d'Angleterre—

Tant fu le vent contraire.—MS. Harl.



it.<sup>8</sup> Some advised the king to sail immediately, to meet the danger. The Duke of Albemarle urged him not to be in such haste: "It were better to send first for the whole of the shipping — we have not a hundred barges here; let the earl of Salisbury<sup>9</sup> go over, to hold the field against the duke, and to collect the Welsh. Let us go by land to Waterford, and summon your navy from every port; you can then pass over, and will soon destroy your enemies." The king, unfortunately for himself, preferred this advice, and Salisbury went to England instead of Richard, earnestly pressing his sovereign to follow him without delay, who promised that, whatever should happen, he would put to sea in six days. At first, many joined the earl from Wales and Cheshire, to the number of 40,000 men; but not seeing the king, who arrived eighteen days later, and dismayed by the public news, that the greater part of the nobles, and full 60,000 men ready for battle, had joined Henry, they began to murmur; they thought the king was dead, and declared they would advance no further. The earl became almost delirious with vexation at their stubbornness. He burst into tears; he lamented his own personal degradation from their conduct: he invoked death to release him: "I loathe my destiny; the king will now suppose that I also have devised treason." He addressed his army: "My comrades! as you hope for mercy, come with me, I beseech you, and let us be champions for king Richard. He will be here in four days and a half, for he told me when I quitted Ireland, that he would embark before the

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<sup>8</sup> Harl. MS. c. 5. The MS. has an illumination representing this prelate in his pulpit, reading the bull to the congregation. See it engraved in Arch. vol. xx. p. 53.

<sup>9</sup> This nobleman is thus described in this Manuscript:—

Hardi estoit et fier, comme lions;

Et si faisoit balades et chansons,

Rondeaulx et laiz

Tres bien et bel si n'estoit-il que honis lays.

The earl took the author of that MS. with him "for the sake of merriment and song."—MS.

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week ended. Let us hasten forward." But it availed nothing. They stood all mournfully, like men afraid; and many were disposed to join the revolutionary side. The earl managed to keep the field for fourteen days; but the king being still absent, no persuasions could prevail further: the assembled forces broke up; part went to Henry, the rest withdrew to their homes, — a presage of the impending fate of their too dila- tory king. Not a hundred men remained with the earl, who then withdrew to Conway Castle, exclaim- ing that the king was betrayed, and foreseeing all the disasters of his stay.<sup>10</sup>

Richard  
lands in  
Wales.

When Richard chose to sail, two days brought him to Milford Haven; but the depression of the popular spirit, which he there observed, spread to himself; and without communicating publicly his intentions, he put on the habit of a poor minor priest, that he might not be recognized, and with thirteen attendants left the house, where he had lodged, at midnight.<sup>11</sup> His erring supposition was, that he should find Salis- bury keeping the field with his forces; he rode hard towards him, in sad and pensive mood, but with this hope; not at all suspecting that his own tardiness

Goes to  
Conway  
castle in  
disguise.

<sup>10</sup> Harl. MS. As the author was with the duke, this detail may be deemed quite authentic. He speaks very affectionately of Salisbury, and his description shews the character of an applauded nobleman at that time: "I sincerely loved him, be- cause he heartily loved the French; he was besides humble, gentle, and courteous in all his doings; he had every one's word for being loyal and prudent in all places. He gave most largely, and his gifts were profitable. He was bold and courageous as a lion; right well and beautifully did he make ballads, songs, roundels and lays. Tho he was but a layman, so gracious were all his deeds, that I think never will that man issue from his country in whom God hath implanted so much worth as was in him. May his soul be placed in Paradise for ever! for they have since foully put him to a painful death." MS. and Arch. 72—4.

<sup>11</sup>  
Lors s'avisâ que, sans dire nul mot,  
Se partiroit à minuit de son ost  
A peu de gent. Car pour risin il ne vot  
Estre aperçus.  
De robe estrange fu la endroit vestus  
Comme un prestre, qui a peu de menus;  
Pour la doubte qu'il ot d'estre cogneuz  
De ses nuisans.

This dress, in the illumination, is represented to be a black cowl and a scarlet habit.  
MS. and Arch. 72—4.

had destroyed it. Among his few companions, were the dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the earl of Gloucester, three bishops and two knights. They travelled all night with such speed and perseverance as to reach Conway by break of day.

The meeting with Richard and his loyal Salisbury was cordial, but melancholy; tears, sighs and lamentations were mutual. The earl's face was pale with watching and anxiety; he told the king frankly, "I had got 40,000 Welsh and Cheshire men together; but as they did not see you there immediately, they thought you were dead, and have left me alone. Very little did he love you who detained you so long in Ireland. ALL IS LOST!" The king heard him with indignation and sorrow. He exclaimed, "Glorious and merciful God! with folded hands I implore thy mercy; suffer me not to lose my country and my life thro these perfidious and envious traitors. Alas! I know not what they would require of me; according to my ability I have desired to observe justice and right. That Sovereign King who sitteth above and seeth afar, I call to witness, that my sad heart would wish that all men could know my thoughts and my desires. If I have been most unvarying in maintaining right, reason demands it; for a king should be firm and steady in the punishment of the bad, and for supporting truth in every place. Alas! because I have followed this righteous course, as far as I have been able, for these three years past — even for eight or ten — these people throw this affliction upon me. O God of glory! as I never consented to bring evil upon any one who did not deserve it, be pleased to have mercy on me, a poor king; for unless thou wilt deign speedily to regard me, I am utterly lost." <sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> As the author was present, and this speech contains Richard's own justification of his conduct, I have inserted it at length from the Harl. MS. and Arch. 97, 98.

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Richard consulted with his few friends at Conway on his future proceedings. The duke of Exeter recommended a message to Henry, to know what were his wishes or intentions: this advice was adopted, and Exeter and the Earl of Surrey undertook the commission.<sup>13</sup>

The army, which had accompanied the king to Milford, were disheartened and astonished at his desertion. Their commander completed the disaffection, by declaring that he knew not when his sovereign would return. Every one began then to unload the waggons, to secure his own property, and to depart.

They soon dispersed, carrying off all that belonged to their sovereign; his robes, jewels, gold, silver and horses, and many a good mantle and much ermine, cloth of gold, and foreign stuffs. But the Welsh watched their movements, and in companies of one or two thousand, sprang upon them wherever booty was to be had, and soon robbed the English of all that they had appropriated.<sup>14</sup>

The king and his friends soon removed from Conway to Beaumaris, about ten miles off. The castle here was capable of a defence for some years. One side fronted a champaign country; the other was on the sea. But it did not seem secure enough to Richard, and he soon left it for Carnarvon, whose fortress was still more impregnable; here he pined at the survey of the evils which surrounded him. He bitterly regretted the hour that he had crossed the sea to Ireland. He was frequently imploring succor from the Virgin Mary<sup>15</sup>; inveighing against the treachery which had distressed him, and expressing his hopes that the

<sup>13</sup> MS. Arch. 107—110.<sup>14</sup> MS. Arch. 103—105.<sup>15</sup> Disant souvent

----- "Doulce Vierge Marie !  
Secourez moy. Dame ! mercy vous crie." MS. Ib.

king of France would sympathize with him.<sup>16</sup> He found the castle without either garrison or provisions. There was nothing but straw for him to lie upon; and, after enduring this state of great poverty for five or six days, he returned to Conway.<sup>17</sup>

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Exeter and Surrey reached Henry at Chester, who received them courteously. He heard the earnest address of Exeter, and told them the king had not considered their rank, in sending them for messengers, and intimated that he might detain them a week for his answer. They pressed for an immediate dismissal, lest they should be suspected of treason. Surrey was committed to the castle, but Exeter was allowed to be at liberty. Henry secured a strong fortification near Chester with all Richard's treasure<sup>18</sup>, and then held a council of his adherents. The archbishop reminded him that Richard was in Wales, a very defensible country, from its mountains, and therefore advised, that an amicable message should be sent to him, professing a desire of peace, requiring that a parliament should be summoned, when those who were guilty of his uncle's death should be pun-

Henry's  
plan to  
secure the  
king.

<sup>16</sup> En doulice France certament j'espoir,  
Que mon beau pere  
Si en aura au cuer douleur amere. MS. Arch. 103—105.

The author adds, "Thus often spake king Richard, sighing from his heart; so that I solemnly protest, more than a hundred times I shed many a tear for him. There lives not a man so hard-hearted, or so firm, who would not have wept at the sight of the disgrace that was brought upon him." MS. Ib. 116.

<sup>17</sup> His recollections there turned strongly upon his queen. His companion has transmitted to us these affectionate exclamations: "O my mistress and my consort, little does that man love us who thus separates us! O my fair sister! my lady, and my sole desire! robbed of the pleasure of beholding thee, pain and affliction oppresses my whole heart. Alas! Isabel! you were wont to be my joy, my hope and my consolation. Day and night I am in danger of bitter and certain death—and no wonder. From such a height to have fallen thus low, and to lose my solace and my consort! No, one makes a secret of vexing or cheating me; every one attacks or hates me!"—MS. Ib. 119.

<sup>18</sup> Car il y ot cent mille marc et mieulz  
D'esterlins d'or  
Que le bon roy Richart la eu tresor  
Faisoit garder et si avoit encor  
D'autres joyaulx grant foison—  
J'oy conter  
Qu'a deux cent mille mar d'or estimer. MS. Ib.

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ished, and declaring that the king and Henry might be good friends. The prelate is charged with having recommended this, because the sea being open to Richard at Conway, there was no other way to get him into their power.<sup>19</sup> This deceitful counsel was adopted, and the earl of Northumberland was selected to be the instrument to carry it into execution. What can be more expressive of the low state of moral principle, in all orders of the country, than these transactions? Northumberland set off with 400 lancers and 1000 archers. Henry said to him at parting, "Fair cousin, be careful to accomplish your enterprise;" and the earl replied, "Either by reason or by subtlety, I will bring him to you."<sup>20</sup> Northumberland reached the castle of Rhuddlan, and, tho nearly impregnable, it was surrendered to him. He was now within ten miles of Conway. Under a rock in advance of Rhuddlan, he placed two companies of his armed followers in ambush, beneath its rough and lofty cliffs, with orders to remain there till they saw either him or the king. He then proceeded to Conway, and was admitted to the royal presence. He began his speech with declaring, that he was not going to utter lies.<sup>21</sup> He then stated, that Henry required, That the king should be in future a good and true judge; that he should fulfil justice on those who should be named; that a parliament should be convened at Westminster; that Henry should be made the great justiciary of the kingdom, as his father and ancestors had been for a hundred years; that those who should be arraigned, were the dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the earl of Salisbury, and the bishop of Carlisle, who had advised the king to put his uncle to death; and that he should then be king

<sup>19</sup> MS. Arch. 103—105.

<sup>20</sup> MS. Harl. c 5.

<sup>21</sup> Je vous dirai

Ce qu'il vous mande. Riens n'en mentiray. MS. Ib.

and lord, with Henry his justiciary, who would come on his knees, and humbly ask his pardon. He said he would swear to all this upon the sacrament; and he intreated the king to accompany him to the duke.<sup>22</sup>

The treachery of this address is sufficiently revolting. It was unhappily to be equalled by the perfidy of the king himself. He retired to consult his own friends. He said, "My lords, we must grant his requests; I see no other way: things are desperate; you must perceive this as well as I do. But I swear to you, that he shall die a bitter and a certain death, whatever I shall assure him."<sup>23</sup> Consider the outrage and the injury which he has done us. I will send some persons among the Welsh, and will cause them to assemble secretly, and then some day we shall have the power. If they be in anywise discomfited, they shall be put to death. There are some of them whom I will flay alive: I would not take all the gold in the land for them, if I continue alive and well."<sup>24</sup> Having thus settled his own plan of treachery, he called in the treacherous earl, and making him pledge his conscience to his sincerity, he declared solemnly that he would himself perform his part of the agreement; then adding hypocritically the moral sentiment—"The man who perjures himself, knows that he must live in disgrace, and at last die from it in great sorrow,"<sup>25</sup>—he accompanied him to Chester.

It is painful to see majesty, on whose welfare so

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Mutual  
perfidy of  
Northum-  
berland and  
the king.

<sup>22</sup> MS. Harl. c. 5.

<sup>23</sup> - - - Le roy

Dist "Beaux Seigneurs ! nous lui ferons ottroy ;

Car autre tour, par Marie, je n'y vey.

Tout est perdu. Vous le veez comme moy.

Mais je vous jure

Qu'il en mourra de mort amere et sure,

Quelque chose que je lui asseure."

MS. Ib.

<sup>24</sup> MS. Ib. Arch. 140.

<sup>25</sup> Ib. "Each of them devoutly heard mass" upon these mutual pledges of premeditated perfidy. The author himself owns, "the one had bad intentions, the other still worse;" yet he adds, "as for the king, his offence was not so great, because necessity has no law." Ib. As if the criminality of a crime was lessened by its convenience.

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greatly depends the well-being of the nation, untaught by the calamities which its own errors had contributed to produce. With a self-delusion that could not have existed in a sound mind, Richard saw nothing in the universal disaffection of his subjects but the personal faction of a few nobles. In all his conversations with his confidential friends, so carefully recorded by his observing companion, there is not one self-accusation for past misconduct; not one plan or purpose expressed, of a better or wiser government; no perception of the impolicy and evils of his system of violence. We find nothing but new resolutions of vengeance; fruitless regrets, that he had suffered Northumberland to deceive him; passionate prayers, and unmanly lamentations. The weakness or vanity of the mind that could contemplate such a fearful change of fortune, without one moral impression or prudential recollection, or any suspicion of its own previous mistakes, must have been great and pertinacious. But that, amidst his own meditations of deception, he should be so easily entrapped by it in another, in whom he had every reason to suspect it, is but a new instance that a large degree of folly always accompanies vice, and the cunning which it loves to practise.

King ac-  
companies  
Northum-  
berland.

Richard, self-satisfied with his hope of out-ma-nœuvring his adversaries by his future contrivances, surrendered himself up to their selfish deceit. Both Northumberland and he congratulated themselves on their craft in outwitting each other; and both perished violently: Richard, by those whom he meant to circumvent; the earl and his son, by the man for whom he acted this treachery. The king desired the earl to go on before to Rhuddlan, to get the dinner prepared, and then followed him from Conway. He passed the broad and great water there; and riding on four miles, mounted the rock where the earl and



his party were lying concealed on the descent. As he saw the ambush rise, with their spears bristling around him, he exclaimed, "I am betrayed; can this be true? O God of Paradise! assist me!" The narrator of these interesting scenes, who was accompanying the king here, says, "We were all thrown into a state of bitter doubt; I wished then that I had been in France, for I saw them all almost in despair<sup>26</sup>; for not a man of them could get away from that place to flee, without being stopped or taken. The king had come so near to them, that it was much farther to return to the town than to descend the rock; and as that was washed by the main sea, we could not get away on the other side, owing to the rock: hence, cost what it might, we were forced either to die, or pass on into the midst of the body of the earl's people."<sup>27</sup> The king found Northumberland armed in his mail, and burst into such lamentations, that it was pitiable to see him. He exclaimed often, "O true God! what mischief and trouble I shall have; I see that this man is carrying us to the duke, who little loves us. O Virgin Mary! sovereign queen! have mercy on me, for I perceive that I am lost, if you do not deign to visit me." The king was convinced that nothing could be done. His friends did not exceed twenty-two.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, every one descended the lofty rock, to the king's great grief. He complained much to the earl of Salisbury, and frequently said to him, "I see that I am dead without redemption; for I am sure that duke Henry hates me. Alas! why did we believe this earl upon his plighted faith? It has been our utter ruin, but it is now too late."

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<sup>26</sup> Lors furent tous en amere doubtance.  
J'eusse voulu bien alors estre en France.  
Car je les vy pres de desesperance.

MS. Harl. c. 5.

<sup>27</sup> MS. Arch. 146.

<sup>28</sup> Ainsi desoit le roy, qui nul puotr  
N'avoit droit la  
Car nous ne fumes que vingt, ce me sembla,  
Ou vint deux.

MS. Ib.

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As they drew near, Northumberland came and knelt before him, and apologized for the appearance of the armed men, on the pretext that the country was in a state of warfare. The king told him, that he did not want such attendance, that it was not what he had promised him, that it was a violation of his oath, and that he would return to Conway. The earl answered that he must carry him to the duke, because he had promised this ten days before. He caused bread and wine to be presented to the king, who dared not refuse it. They remounted, and went on to Rhuddlan, where they dined sumptuously. After their dinner, they proceeded to Flint, where they rested. All that night the king passed in great disquiet. He saw his enemies on all sides, desiring to put him to death as a tyrant. He passed some of the lingering hours in recollections of his queen, in lamentations of his fate, and in passionate exclamations of vengeance.<sup>29</sup>

Henry advances to Flint; August 22. 1399.

Henry marched from Chester to Flint, with all his power, above 100,000 men. Richard rose early, heard mass with his friends<sup>30</sup>, and then ascended to the castle walls, where they fronted the sea. He there beheld his adversaries advancing along the shore; he heard the sound of their horns and trumpets; and recommended himself to Heaven, again inveighing against the earl who had entrapped him. He wept much, and his confidential friends mourned

<sup>29</sup> As the author narrates what he heard and the king's expressions best display his character, they are worth reading. "My sweetest heart! my sister! I bid you adieu. I have never deserved of my people to be so basely ruined! If it be thy pleasure I should die, O Lord! vouchsafe to guide my soul to heaven, for I can neither escape nor fly. Alas! my father-in-law of France! I shall never see you more; I leave you your daughter among these false and wicked and faithless people. I am almost in despair. She was my joyous delight—may you take vengeance for me—the matter concerns you. I have neither vessels, men, nor money now to send you, but I leave it to you; it is now too late. O why did we trust Northumberland, who hath delivered us to these wolves! We are all dead men, for they have no pity. May heaven confound both their souls and their bodies!" MS. Harl. c. 5.

<sup>30</sup> One knight with them would not take off "la devise" of his lord the king, which was *the hart*. He was the last that carried the order of Richard in England. MS. Harl. which now begins a prose narration.

with him.<sup>31</sup> The archbishop, preceding the rest, came and fell at the king's feet, who raised him, took him apart, and conversed a long time with him. The prelate endeavored to comfort his sovereign, and to assure him that his person should be safe.<sup>32</sup> Soon Henry was seen approaching with his great and splendid force. It was led by the celebrated Hotspur, then reckoned the best knight in England. It wound along between the sea and the lofty rocks that edged the sands. Neither hedge nor bush intervened, and the shining arms were beheld moving in a train of floating splendor, with all the triumph of martial music, till the leaders reached the castle gates. The duke there conferred for some time with Northumberland, and agreed not to enter till the king had dined. Richard sat down to his repast; but, observing his four companions maintaining their ceremonious respect, he said, "My kind and loyal friends, as you are in the same peril of death for your fidelity, sit down with me." As they dined, many knights came rudely in and out to see him, not from kindness, but to disperse around the castle, that all their heads should be taken off. The king remained long at table, not to eat, but to prolong the time, as he knew he should be afterwards removed.<sup>33</sup>

At last the dinner was ended, and the archbishop and Northumberland went to fetch the duke, who

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His inter-  
view with  
the king.

<sup>31</sup> This author says, "I believe that in this mortal world, no creature whatsoever, whether Jew or Saracen, could have seen these five together, without having great pity and compassion in his heart for them." MS. Harl. c. 5. The five were, the king, the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle, and the two knights, Scroup and Ferriby. Ib.

<sup>32</sup> On this conversation, the writer declares, "What they said I know not; but the earl of Salisbury told me afterwards,"—as in the text. MS. Ib.

<sup>33</sup> The menaces of the knights so alarmed the author of this MS. that he says, "Every one had fear and fright, for nature teaches every creature to dread death more than any thing else; and for myself, I never was so terrified before." He and his friend then found out one of the heralds, and begged him to save their lives. The herald on his knees introduced them to Henry, and petitioned in English for their safety. "The duke answered us in French, 'My children! do not be alarmed at any thing you see; keep near me, and I will warrant your lives.'" This assurance made us very joyful." MS. Ib.

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had arranged his followers in fine order before the fortress. Henry entered the castle, armed complete, except his bacinet. The king was brought down from the donjon, where he had dined, to receive him. Henry bent lowly on seeing him, and again as he advanced with his hat in his hand. The king then uncovered his head, and speaking first said, "Fair cousin of Lancaster! welcome." The duke, again bowing nearly to the ground, answered, "My lord! I am come back sooner than you ordered me, I will tell you why. The common report of your people is, that for twenty or twenty-two years, you have very badly and rigorously governed them, and so, that they are quite discontented. But if it please our Lord, I will help you to govern better than you have done." The king replied, "Fair cousin! since it pleases you, it pleases us." The duke spoke to all the rest, but Salisbury; and then with a fierce and loud voice cried out, "Bring here the king's horses." Two miserable animals were then led out. Richard was placed on the one, and Salisbury on the other, and they issued from the castle. On their appearance without the walls, such a roar of military music burst from the horns, trumpets, and other instruments, that the shore rebounded with the sound; and thunder would have rolled unheard.<sup>34</sup> In this state they entered Chester, the common people with pretended reverence mocking their unfortunate sovereign. The duke committed him to the care of the sons of Gloucester and Arundel, who most hated him for the loss of their fathers, and, dismissing the chief part of his armed force, proceeded towards London. At Litchfield, the king tried to escape; he slid from the

<sup>34</sup> MS. Harl. c. 5. The author adds here, that an aged knight assured him that Merlin and Bede had foretold the king's deposition: he details the pretended prophecy. MS. ib. Arch. 169. The author says of the English at that time, "Such is their nature, that they very thoroughly believe in prophecies, phantoms, and witchcraft, and employ them right willingly." Ib. Arch. 170.

window of the tower in which he was confined, into the garden; but he was discovered, and with much ill treatment brought back. From that time ten or twelve armed men never left his chamber, day or night. As they approached London, the lord mayor, with his sword of state, at the head of the city companies in all their costume, came out to meet them. The cry of the populace was, The good duke of Lancaster for ever! And their conversation turned on the miracle of his conquering the kingdom in two months; that he ought to be a king, who thus knew how to conquer; and that he would subdue one of the chief parts of the world. They compared him to Alexander the Great. As about to enter the city, Henry exclaimed, "Fair sirs; here is your king—think what you will do with him." Their clamorous answer was, "Let him be taken to Westminster." He was given up to them, and the people then took him and led him westward; while the duke passed through Cheapside to St. Paul's, amid such acclamations, that, says our author, "if our divine Lord had come down from heaven, he could not have received greater." At St. Paul's, Henry, having prayed at the great altar, turned to the tomb of his father, at its side, which he had not yet seen, and wept much over it.<sup>35</sup>

The record of the "renunciation" of Richard states, That the lords and knights there enumerated, went to him on Michaelmas day in the Tower—that the earl of Northumberland reminded him, that at Conway he had promised him and the archbishop, that he would yield up and renounce his crown, from his confessed inability and insufficiency—that the king then professed himself willing to fulfil what he had promised, and desired a copy of the act of cession

<sup>35</sup> MS. Harl. c. 5. Thirty-five articles of accusation were dispersed against Richard, of which Hall has specified thirty-one; the other four were against the archbishop of Canterbury. Chron. p. 9—11.

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for his consideration ; this was given to him, and they retired — that, after dinner, the king desiring to see the duke, Henry and the archbishop went to him and conversed with him — that the king, “with a cheerful countenance,” took up the act of cession, read it aloud, and signed it, and absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, and then said, that if he had the power, the duke of Lancaster should be his successor — that he took his ring of gold from his finger, and put it on the duke’s, as the mark of his intention and will.<sup>36</sup> How much of this ceremony was hypocrisy, forced acquiescence, or fiction, it is unnecessary now to inquire. The objections against the king’s reign were recorded in the full assembly of parliament.<sup>37</sup> Henry rose up, and, crossing himself on his forehead and breast, claimed the crown.<sup>38</sup> The lords and commons were asked, what they thought of it? they immediately assented that he should be the king. The archbishop took him by the hand, and led him to the throne. He knelt, and prayed awhile before it, and then allowed himself to be placed in it, amid the shoutings of the people. The prelate harangued them with a sermon; and when he finished, Henry made another short address<sup>39</sup>, and the ceremony of his election ended. The parliamentary deputation went afterwards to Richard at the Tower, and made a formal renunciation of their allegiance, ending with declaring, that none of all the states and people would thenceforward bear him faith, nor do him obeisance, as to their king. Richard merely answered, “That he looked not thereafter. Bot he sayde, that after all this, he hoped that his cosin wolde be goode lord to hym.”<sup>40</sup> Henry was crowned

<sup>36</sup> Parl. Plac. vol. iii. p. 416. where the act of renunciation is printed.

<sup>37</sup> See them, Parl. Plac. 417—422.

<sup>38</sup> His speeches will be noticed in the Chapter on our Language and Prose Literature.

<sup>39</sup> Vide preceding note.

<sup>40</sup> Plac. Parl. 424.

with the usual solemnities, and Richard was adjudged by the parliament "to a perpetual prison, to remain there *secretly* in safe custody."<sup>41</sup>

In estimating the character of Richard, we may remark, that it was its principal defect, that he allowed himself to be advised and governed by young men. All the chroniclers, even his friends, complain of this imprudence.<sup>42</sup> Nothing rolls on so easily and so safely as an established government, if that moderate wisdom superintends it, which there are mature minds enough in every country to supply. And as no event of life occurs without its consequences, and still less the greater incidents; it is in the power of foreseeing these, that human wisdom chiefly consists. But the young love rather to dare the future than to provide for it. Their fearlessness concurs with their inexperience to deceive them; and too late they learn, that the events of life are the masters, not the servants of those who attempt to command what they should have anticipated and managed. Young himself, it was natural that Richard should like the young. But the possessor of the crown of a civilized people is under the necessity of consulting his prudence instead of his pleasure, and to bend self-will to good advice<sup>43</sup>, if he hope to make his reign respectable or happy. Unless the sovereign improves with his nation, his inferiority will interfere with his popularity. Richard's companions flattered him into habits, which abated that personal reverence which is

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Richard's  
character.

<sup>41</sup> Plac. Parl. 426.

<sup>42</sup> So the archbishop in parliament: "This honorable kingdom of England, the most abundant corner of riches in all the world, has been a long time ruled and governed by the counsel of children and widows." *Ib.* 415. Was the king's mother intended by the word "widows"?

<sup>43</sup> Froissart observes, that "he was too strongly repugnant to all counsel, and would never hear any;" vol. iii. c. 77. It was the remark of the duke of Lancaster, "Our nephew the king of England will ruin all, before he has done. He believes easily bad advice, which will destroy him and his kingdom. He caused my brother and the earl of Arundel to die, because they showed him the truth, which he will never hear, nor speak to any man who attempts to explain it to him against his inclinations." *Froiss.* vol. iv. c. 92.

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a stronger safeguard of the throne than law. Alterations of evil then occurred. The disrespect of his subjects affronted his pride, and disposed him to be violent and vindictive. His arbitrary measures increased their alienation, and the superior qualities of his uncles were recollected to his disadvantage. New alarms arose from their popularity. The times, from other causes, were agitated; and his ministers suggested and enforced harsh and angry councils, which excited the revenge of the endangered, and increased the national irritation. This redoubled the king's desire of punishing it; and measures were adopted, which made the existence of either party dangerous to the other.

His love of magnificence was certainly the quality of a princely spirit; and his flowing liberalities display something so contrary to a narrow soul, that we can hardly contemplate them without some praise.<sup>44</sup> But all bounteous feelings, to be estimable, must be just. If he had been a nobleman, giving away his revenues, his munificence would have been the distribution of what was his own, and the extent of his ability would have been its natural limit; but the treasury of a sovereign is filled with the money of his people, and it is their property, not his, which he expends. It is their comforts which he is sacrificing when he is lavish. His splendor must be accompanied by the sighs and privations of many; and the taxations which emptied exchequers make necessary, produce a querulous, critical, and discontented country, offending its sovereign by its ill-humor, and offended in its turn by his resentments.

<sup>44</sup> Thus to Leo, the king of Armenia, who came to England, he presented a thousand marcs of gold in a gilt ship, with the grant of a pension of the same sum yearly. Wals. Hist. No preceding sovereign seems to have created more new nobility; and he granted annuities to many. He was fond of giving elegant presents. Thus, when his uncle Lancaster went to Spain, he presented him with a golden crown, and the queen gave a similar one to his duchess. Knyght. 2676.



Richard so repeatedly excited and experienced this evil, that he must have been almost wilfully blind to the gathering storm, to have continued his expensive ceremonies to the very end of his reign.<sup>45</sup>

His destruction of his uncle was as impolitic as it was wicked; for independent of the moral retribution which, from the days of *Œdipus* to our own, whether men have believed in fate, furies, or Providence, has been always remarked to pursue such actions, it set an example of violated law and right, which before two years expired was fatally retorted on himself. But this reign is remarkable for the proofs which it affords of the practice as well as the uselessness of violence and wrong. No one prospered that had recourse to them; yet no one would forbear to use them. By violence, the king's favorites sought to oppress the nobles, and were themselves overthrown; by violence, Gloucester, with his friends, overpowered their political antagonists, and perished afterwards by the violence of the king, who, within two years, was himself deposed by the nobleman that with an unjust exertion of power he had recently exiled. Wrong was punished by wrong, till almost every one suffered who had used it. One lesson may be therefore drawn from this unhappy period, That when a political evil presses, to use illegal and unconstitutional means of removing it, is to multiply its mischiefs, and to give them a continuity which cannot easily be terminated.

Yet it is impossible not to pity this unfortunate monarch. The celebrity of his father was his first misfortune; for it interfered with that disciplining

<sup>45</sup> Froissart's description of the king's feats and jousts in the year 1390, vol. iv. c. 22. will give some idea of the splendor of his public entertainments. In 1396, notwithstanding the necessities of his treasury, he spent on his marriage above 300,000 marcs, besides the costly presents he made. Wals. Hist. 391. And see the description given of his public entrance into London, in 1392. Knyghton, 2740. He ends with saying, that such expensive honors had never been shown to any king of this country before.

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education which lays the true basis for human rectitude. The accession to a crown at the age of eleven, was a contingency of nature which completed the moral deterioration, which the last years of dotage of his grandfather were not adapted to prevent. Whatever therefore may have been his natural capacity or disposition, all the causes of corrupting and weakening his mind, that courtly pleasure or pride could furnish, were from his situation in full operation upon him, at that age when their influence is the least resistible and the most pernicious. Human welfare requires that the crown should be hereditary; and this necessity will sometimes place it on a brow too young to wear it so early, and yet acquire the manly virtues which hardier life best produces. Richard's moral imperfections must be censured for the sake of society, which royal vices peculiarly afflict. But it is just to consider him as in a great degree the victim of his situation and circumstances. This is neither an apology nor an atonement for his misconduct; but it is a claim on our compassionate sympathies, for, with such inducements to error, who is there but might have fallen?

Richard appears to have had a taste for literature; he patronised Chaucer. He received graciously one of Froissart's compositions<sup>46</sup>; and he stopped Gower on the Thames, to ask him to book some new thing.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Froissart's account is, "He opened it and looked within it, and it pleased him very much." "He ought to have been pleased," adds Froissart, "for it was handsomely written and illuminated, and bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver gilt studs and roses of the same in the middle, with two large clasps of silver gilt, richly worked with roses in the centre." This detailed description rather implies that the author thought the outside more valuable than the contents. He proceeds thus: "The king asked me on what it treated? I answered, "On love." He was rejoiced at this answer, and looked into the book in several places, and read, for he could read and speak French very well, and caused one of his knights to take it and put it into his private room, and was very gracious to me for it." Vol. iv. c. 63. When Froissart took his leave at Windsor, the king gave him a silver goblet filled with a hundred nobles. Vol. xii. c. 32.

<sup>47</sup> In Themse whan it was flowende,  
As I by bote came rowende,

In the works of our ancient poet, we may trace the public impression produced by the successive conduct of his sovereign. The *Vox Clamantis* discovers the apprehensions excited in the first part of the reign, by the unfavorable tendencies which appeared in the royal character.<sup>48</sup> In the original preface to the *Confessio Amantis*, the king's amiable traits are brought to our notice.<sup>49</sup> In the alteration inserted in the sixteenth year of the reign (1393) we have repeated complaints of the divisions of the country<sup>50</sup>; intimations that they proceeded from tyranny and cruelty<sup>51</sup>; and that law had put on a double face<sup>52</sup>, which seems to allude to the anticipated opinions obtained or extorted from the judges. At the same time Gower seems impartial; for he implies that

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So as fortune hir tyme sette,  
My liege lord perchance I mette.  
And so befelle as I cam nigh,  
Out of my bote, whan he me sigh,  
He had me come into his barge,  
And whan I was with him at large,  
Amonges other thynges seyde  
He hath this charge upon me leyde —  
Some new thygne I shulde boke,  
That he hymselfe it might loke.

Gower's *Confess. Am. Chal.* p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> See Notes 74, &c. in p. 91, 92.

<sup>49</sup> I conceive these lines to be applied to the king: —

A gentill herte his tonge stilleth,  
That it malice none distilleth;  
But preiseth that is to preised. P. 4.

The poet expunged this part of his prologue in Richard's 16th year.

<sup>50</sup>

- - - Love is falle into discorde,  
And that I take into recorde —  
The common voice which maie not lie.  
What shall befall here afterwarde  
God wote; for now upon this tide  
Men see the worlde on every side  
In sondrie wise so diversed  
That it well nigh stant all raversed.

<sup>51</sup> He talks of princes

- - - that diden than amiss  
Through tyrannie and crueltee.

<sup>52</sup>

In stede of love is hate guided:  
The warre wolle no peace purchace,  
And lawe hath take hir double face,  
So that justice out of the waie  
With rightwiseness is gone awaie,  
And thus to loke on every halve  
Men sene the sore without salve. P. 8.

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both the king and his opponents were equally wrong, and equally averse to good counsel.<sup>53</sup> But in his Chronicle, written after the murder of the duke of Gloucester and the execution of Arundel, his sovereignty is mentioned in terms of indignant reproach.<sup>54</sup> He had praised Henry of Lancaster, when he could not have supposed he would have been the king<sup>55</sup>; he panegyrised him afterwards with a long Latin encomium, but written with bad taste.<sup>56</sup>

The dethronement of Richard was the melancholy result of a chain of evils in which he had entangled himself, and which his last paroxysms of arbitrary power had roused the country to terminate. But in every case of regal deposition, such a violation of law, such an infringement of individual right, such a perplexity of justice, such a dislocation of authority, such a diffusion of insurrectionary principles, such a future tendency to factions, such an excitement to ambition, and such a relaxation of public order and

53

- - - - But the powere  
Of them that bene the worldes guides  
With good counsel *on all sides* —  
For all reason wolde this ;  
That unto *him*, whiche the head is,  
The members buxome shall bowe :  
And *he* shuld eke *their truth* alowe  
With all his herte, and make them chere,  
For good counsell is good to here.  
Although a man be wise bymselfe,  
Yet is the wisdom more of twelve. P. 8.

54 See MS. Tib. A 4.

55

This booke - - - -  
I sende unto mine owne lord,  
Whiche of Lancaster is Henry named.  
The hygh God hath hym proclaimed  
Full of knyghthode and all grace.

Gower's Confess. p. 8.

56 See MS. Tib. A 4.—Six lines may be cited as a curious endeavor to introduced the Welsh peculiar mode of medial and final rhyming and alliteration, into Latin verse —

O recolende, bone, pie rex Henrice, patrone ;  
Ad bona dispone, quos eripis a pharaone.  
Noxia depone, quibus est humus hic in agone.  
Regni persone quo vivant sub ratione.  
Pacem compone, vires moderare corone :  
Regibus impone frenum sine conditione.

MS. Tib. A 4.

private principle, must accompany it, that it never can occur with national impunity. It becomes at last a mixture of reciprocal wrong as well as reciprocal injury, and much calamity follows it. Hence, if a more moderate, wise, and disinterested conduct in the opponents of government, when they impeached the chancellor, and when the king, from his age, not twenty, could be only halting between vice and virtue, would have turned his character to a nobler issue, and saved the country and themselves the disgrace and confusions that followed—the mischiefs are chargeable upon their vindictive spirit and selfish purposes.<sup>57</sup> We cannot now allot to either party their proper share of censure or exculpation: But however their respective merits stand, there can be no difficulty in perceiving, that no reign inculcates more impressively the danger of flattering unbecoming habits in the sovereign—of beginning systems of violent and unjust counsels—and of connecting the supreme authority, either with undue exertions of that municipal law, which ought to be the venerated protector, not the oppressor of society; or with the invasion of public rights and privileges, which all may constitutionally claim, and are interested to preserve. Violence is a dreadful sword, which both parties can wield; and, when once put in action, neither can foresee who will become its victims, nor where will be the limits of its destruction. But perhaps there is no mistake more rooted in the world, than that power is policy. Few will confess in reasoning, that what we can do, it is wise to do;

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<sup>57</sup> We have Richard's person and character thus drawn by the Monk of Evesham:—"A fair, round and feminine face, sometimes flushed; abrupt and stammering in his speech; capricious in his manners; prodigal of gifts; extravagantly splendid in his entertainments and dress; timid and unsuccessful in foreign war; irascible, proud and rapacious at home; devoted to luxury; and remaining sometimes till midnight, and sometimes till morning, in drinking and in other excesses that are not to be named; grievously extorting taxations from his people every year of his reign, and wasting on his vices the money obtained under the pretext of repelling the national enemy." Hist. Rich. pp. 169, 170.

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II.

yet almost all men act upon this seducing, tho misleading principle.<sup>58</sup>

REIGN OF  
RICH. II.Richard's  
marriages.

<sup>58</sup> The king's first marriage was with Anne, a princess of Bohemia. She died amid the Whitsuntide feasts in 1394, exceedingly regretted by the king. Froissart, 11. p. 121. She introduced the custom of ladies riding on the side-saddle, and occasioned the reforming opinions of Wickliffe to spread into Bohemia. His next marriage was with Isabelle, the eldest daughter of Charles the Sixth, in the autumn of 1396. He went to Calais to meet her and the French king. Four hundred French, and as many English knights, brilliantly armed with swords in their hands, drew up in two lines, and between these the sovereigns advanced towards each other. As they approached together, the eight hundred knights fell on their knees and wept for joy. The two kings met bare-headed, saluted and took each other by the hand. The French sovereign led Richard to his splendid tent; the four dukes, who attended them, followed hand in hand, while the knights kept their station till all the ceremony was over. Partaking their spices and wine, the kings conversed freely together, and then separated with stately ceremony, to meet on the following day at a magnificent dinner; after which the young elected queen, a child in age, but interesting in appearance, entered at the head of a long train of ladies and damsels. The king of France led her by the hand, and gave her to Richard, who instantly after took his leave. The queen was placed in a very rich litter, but only one lady accompanied her. At Calais she was married to Richard: the feastings were splendid, and the heralds and minstrels were liberally remunerated. On a following morning, having heard an early mass and drank some wine, their majesties embarked for England, landed at Dover, and passed to the palace at Eltham. Fifteen days afterwards she went to the Tower, and made a grand entry into the metropolis, where a tournament was proclaimed, for forty knights, at the ensuing Candlemas. Froissart, vol. xi. c. xl. pp. 284—291.

## CHAP. IX.

*History of the Reign of* HENRY IV.

1399—1413.

THE reign of Henry IV. was short and disturbed. He had gained the sceptre from the unpopularity of the preceding sovereign; not from his own pretensions, plottings, ambition, or peculiar desert. The majority of the nation wished the removal of Richard, and they gratulated Henry with warm acclamations, because he presented himself as the substitute; because his reputation was fair; and because, from his affinity to the royal blood, he was, tho not the next entitled<sup>1</sup>, yet so near in right, that his elevation made the smallest legal breach that on such a dislocation of the sovereign power by violence, and under the pressing exigencies of the nation, could occur in the succession. But however varnished by plausible or reasonable pretexts; however popular or seemingly expedient or even inevitable, it was still an acquisition of power by force, without right; an invasion of the supreme authority, by a grandson indeed of Edward III., but still by a subject, and contrary to the national rules of hereditary descent. It could not stand upon its own merits. It rested upon the necessities made by the vices of others. It succeeded by the temporary support of the Nobles and the populace, and principally of the earl of Northumberland and the clergy; and it had no foundation if their humors changed.

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HENRY IV.

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of March, descended from Lionel Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of Henry's father, was the next heir to Richard, and, in strict hereditary right, preceded Henry.

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HENRY IV.Plots  
against  
him.

It was therefore naturally insecure, mutable, and disquieting.<sup>2</sup>

The acts of Richard's last parliaments were repealed, and the friends of Henry liberally rewarded by grants and titles.<sup>3</sup> But the people began to murmur as soon as the change they desired had been completed, because their resentments were not fully gratified. They expected the arrest and execution of those adherents of Richard, by whom they had been most oppressed<sup>4</sup>; and were displeased at the wise forbearance of the king, who, knowing that clemency may reconcile and attach, but that punishment sometimes irritates more than it deters, permitted the earls of Salisbury, Huntingdon, and others, to live unmolested. It was no impeachment of Henry's policy that these two earls entered into a conspiracy to assassinate him at Oxford, and afterwards to seize him at Windsor, and to destroy him<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> Feeling the difficulty as to his legal right from Edward III. he had in parliament claimed the crown as descended from Henry III. and had obscurely hinted at pretensions on the ground of conquest, by declaring that no man must think that by way of conquest he would disinherit any man. *Plac. Parl.* vol. iii. p. 423. The embarrassment of his title probably produced the farce acted on his coronation. He was anointed with oil, stated to have been given by the Virgin Mary to Becket. It had lain hid till it was found in Richard's reign, with an inscription, predicting that the sovereigns anointed with it should be champions of the church. The archbishop refused to apply it to Richard, but poured it upon Henry, obviously to create a popular impression, that he was chosen and appointed by heaven. *Walsingham* details this pretended miracle, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> See the patents of their honors and titles, in *Rymer's Fœd.* vol. viii. pp. 89—94.

<sup>4</sup> *Wals.* p. 402.

<sup>5</sup> The project was, that Exeter should hold a solemn just at Oxford, and invite the king to be present at the chivalrous amusement. The conspirators prepared to hold it with great magnificence, and employed their armorers to make very splendid armor, which Hall describes to the following purport: "Some had the helm and its vizor, beavers and plackardes, curiously graven and cunningly costed; some had their collars fretted, and others had them set with gilt bullions. One company had the plackard, the rest, the port, the burley, the tassess, the lamboys, the backpiece, the tapull, and the border of the cuirass, all gilt; and another band had them all enamelled azure. One sort had the vambrases, the paceguards, the grandguards, the poldren, the pollettes, parted with gold and azure; and another flock had them silver and sable. Some had the mainferres, the close gauntlets, the guissettes, the flancardes, dropped and gutted with red; and others had them speckled with green. One sort had the cuishes, the greives, the surlettes, the sockettes on the right side and on the left side silver. Some had the spear, the burre, the cronet all yellow; and others had them of divers colors. One band had the scafferon, the cranet, the bard of the horse, all white; and others had them all gilt. Some had their arming



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IX.REIGN OF  
HENRY IV.

Privately informed of the plot, the king eluded the blow by withdrawing secretly to London. The ill-advised noblemen flew to their expected prey with vain attempt. They had dressed up an impostor somewhat resembling Richard, to personate that prince, and they were joined by many. But finding Henry prepared with 20,000 men to encounter them, they retreated towards Wales. At Cirencester, they were defeated by the citizens, who took the Earl of Salisbury, and put him to death. Huntingdon fled to Essex and endeavored to escape by sea. The adverse winds drove him back. He was seized by the people, and led to Pleshy, the mansion of their favorite Gloucester, where he was beheaded.<sup>6</sup> Many adherents were executed with severity.

The death of Richard on St. Valentine's day, sudden in its annunciation, mysterious as to its cause, dreadful in all that is intimated of its nature, and suspicious from the time of its occurrence, surprised and grieved the nation.<sup>7</sup> He had been transferred from the Tower to Leeds Castle in Kent. Out of this place he was secretly conveyed to Pomfret Castle<sup>8</sup>, and there expired.

1400.  
14 Feb.  
Richard's  
death.

The account most favorable to his opponents, attributed it to vexation and sorrow for the failure and execution of his friends<sup>9</sup>; others thought that he had been deprived of all food from the time of reaching

swords freshly burnished, and some had them cunningly varnished. Some spurs were white, some gilt, and some coal black. One party had their plumes all white, another had them all red, and the third had them of several colors. One wore on his head-piece his lady's sleeve, and another bare on his helm the glory of his darling. But to declare the costly bases, the rich bards, the pleasant trappers, both of goldsmith's work and embroidery, no less sumptuously than curiously wrought, it would ask a long time to declare, for every man after his appetite devised his fantasy."—Hall's Chron. p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Wals. 403—405.<sup>7</sup> We have several contemporary accounts of Richard's death, but their narratives are all guarded with qualifying expressions.<sup>8</sup> Wals. MS. Bib. Sl. 1776. Hard. 356.<sup>9</sup> MS. ib. "Pro nimia amicorum suorum interemptione, dolore, tristitia arripuit, non voluit consolari, nec consolatorem habens diem clausit extremum in festo S. Valentini."

BOOK  
IIREIGN OF  
HENRY IV.

his last confinement, and that he died miserably of hunger.<sup>10</sup> The Percys, before the battle of Shrewsbury<sup>11</sup>, and the Archbishop of York soon afterwards, charged Henry publicly with this cruelty.<sup>12</sup> But some, who admitted his death by famine, asserted that he had inflicted it on himself by a voluntary abstinence.<sup>13</sup> A foreign MS. declares that he was violently murdered<sup>14</sup>; an account which has been disproved by the late appearance of what remains of the royal body.<sup>15</sup>

Nothing in Richard's character or conduct before his demise indicated the capability of such a Spartan resolution, as was necessary for a lingering suicide. This idea is therefore the least probable supposition.<sup>16</sup> But he may have been the victim of an harassed mind and broken heart, without either self-destruction or a

<sup>10</sup> MS. Bib. Sl. 1776. This author at the same time confesses that *how* he died: "penitus a nobis nescitur:" his words are "quidam tum opinantes quod fame miserabiliter ibidem interiit. Hoc est quod privabatur penitus ab omni sustentatione naturali usque ad diem suæ resolutionis." MS. Ib.

<sup>11</sup> Hardyng, who says he was brought up from twelve years of age in Sir Henry Percy's house, mentions that the Percys in the written "quarrel" which they sent in to the king, thus charged him: "Thou didst cause our lord the king to be killed and murdered by hunger, thirst and cold, for fifteen days and nights: horrible to be heard!" Hard. Chron. p. 352. Ellis ed.; and see it in Arch. 16. p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> In his manifesto against Henry, the said prelate thus repeats the accusation; "for fifteen days and nights they harassed and crucified him with hunger, thirst and cold, and at last by the basest death, hitherto unknown in England, but no longer to be concealed, they destroyed and killed him." But he introduces this with the guarding "ut vulgariter dicitur." Artic. Abp. York. Wharton's Anglo-Sax. ii. 355. Sir John Fortescue, as quoted by Stowe, has the same story nearly in the prelate's words, p. 325.

<sup>13</sup> Walsingham, in his printed History, "semetipsum extinxit inedia voluntaria, ut fertur." P. 404. So the Chronicle of Croyland, which adds that he was five days in dying. Gale Scrip. i. 495; and see Otterb. 228., and Monk. Ev. 169.

<sup>14</sup> In this MS. No. 8448, in the French king's library, the account is, that Sir Piers d'Exton and seven other assassins entered to kill him; that Richard, pushing down the table, darted into the midst of them, and snatching a battle-axe from one, laid four of them dead at his feet, when Exton felled him with a blow on the back of his head, and as he was crying to God for mercy, with another stroke dispatched him. See the notice of this MS. by M. Gaillard, in the Notice des MSS. du Roi. But I must remark generally of the narrative of this MS. that it is half a romance, and cannot be implicitly relied upon. Fabian and Hollinshed mention this story.

<sup>15</sup> When the tomb of Richard, in Westminster Abbey, was accidentally laid open, Mr. King was present at the time the skull was examined, and saw no marks upon it of such blows or wounds. See Archaeol. vol. vi. p. 316.

<sup>16</sup> Hardyng, a contemporary, merely mentions, "men sayde for hungered he was." P. 357.

wilful murder.<sup>17</sup> The royal corpse was removed to the metropolis and exposed to public view<sup>18</sup>, till all doubts of the certainty of his death was removed, and was then buried at Langley.<sup>19</sup> It was afterwards conveyed by Henry V. with great honor and finally interred in Westminster Abbey.<sup>20</sup>

Robert, King of Scotland, declaring war against the English government, Henry, who had commanded all the clergy in the north, except the mendicant orders, to shew themselves in arms before their bishops and the appointed commissioners, by the next Ascension day after midsummer, led a strong army into Scotland, but the Scots withdrawing to their mountains and caves, the king was compelled to return without any opportunity of distinguishing himself.<sup>21</sup> In a subsequent year, the Scots attempted an invasion under their brave Earl Douglas, which the Earl of Northumberland and his gallant son Hot-

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IX.

REIGN OF  
HENRY IV.

Henry's  
wars with  
Scotland.  
1400.  
1402.

Scots de-  
feated at  
Hamilton  
Hill.  
Sept. 14.  
1402.

<sup>17</sup> The lines of Gower in his MS. *Chronica*, Tib. 4, cited by Mr. Webb, Arch. 20. p. 282, favor this notion :

Semper enim plorat ; semper de sorto laborat,  
Qua cadit ; et tales meminit periisse sodales.  
Solam deposit mortem, nec vivere possit  
Amplius est ; et ita moriens sua pauper sopita.

<sup>18</sup> Otterbourne, a contemporary, says, that so much of Richard's face was uncovered as would allow him to be recognised from the lower part of the forehead to the throat, p. 229. Froissart mentions, that above 20,000 persons came to see the king, who lay in the litter, his head on a black cushion, and his face uncovered, vol. xii. p. 190. Hardyng was one of the spectators, "In herse real, his corse lay there I see," as in the Lansdown MS. of his *Chronicle*, cited by Mr. Amyot. Arch. 20. p. 430.

<sup>19</sup> Wals. Hist. 405. Hard. 357.

<sup>20</sup> The character of Richard as drawn in the MS. contemporary chronicle is worth preserving : "He was of the common size, yellowish hair, his face fair and rosy, rather round than long, and sometimes diseased ; brief and rather stammering in his speech. In manners unsettled, and too apt to prefer young friends to the advice of his elder nobles. He was prodigal in his gifts, and extravagantly splendid in his dress and banquets, but timid as to war ; very passionate towards his domestics, arrogant and too much devoted to voluptuous luxury. So fond of late hours, that he would sometimes sit up all night drinking. Heavily taxing his people, scarcely any year passed in which he did not get grants of fifteenths, which were consumed as soon as they reached his treasury. Yet there were many laudable features in his character ; he loved religion and the clergy ; he encouraged architecture : he built Westminster almost entirely, and the Carthusian monastery near Coventry, and the Dominican at Langley." MS. Bib. Sloan. 1776.

<sup>21</sup> Wals. Sl. MS. 1776. Wals. printed Hist. 405. Rymer has published the summons of Henry to Robert to do homage, vol. viii. p. 156. It traces the origin of his claims from the fabled Brutus.

BOOK  
II.REIGN OF  
HENRY IV.Owen  
Glendower's insur-  
rection,  
1401.

spur confronted at Hamildon Hill. The flower of the Scottish chivalry was taken or destroyed, and its celebrated leader became the captive of the Percys.<sup>22</sup>

A more vexatious warfare began in Wales, under Owen Glendower. Educated at Westminster, he had been Henry's shield bearer<sup>23</sup>, and wished to accompany the king on his Scottish expedition. The official letters to require his attendance were accordingly prepared and entrusted to Lord Grey de Ruthvyn, who had lands in his vicinity, to deliver; this nobleman is accused of having purposely delayed their presentation to Glendower till it was impossible for him to join the king, that he might offend his sovereign and incur the legal penalties for his disobedience. Grey declared that Owen had wilfully refused to attend, and obtained a grant of his lands: in revenge for this treachery, the provoked Welshman ravaged the possessions of his deceiver. Returning from Scotland, Henry marched into Wales, to seize and punish Owen; but the Welshman abandoning the plains and taking refuge in the mountains, want of food obliged Henry to retire. Again and again the king repeated the invasion, with the same result. Fatigue, hunger, thirst and cold weakened and dis-

<sup>22</sup> Wals. 407, 408. — Rymer has printed the prohibition to the Earl of Northumberland to dispose of his Scotch prisoners, dated 22 Sept. 1402, vol. viii. p. 258. On the 22d Oct. Northumberland brought some of them to the king at Westminster. The Parliament Rolls mention the Stewart, son and heir of the Duke of Albany; the king of Scotland's brother; three other Scotsmen, and three French. Plac. Parl. 487. But Douglas was not among them. Their reception is thus described: "They were led by the Earl of Northumberland and several lords, and other Englishmen, before our lord the king in his palace at Westminster, and knelt three times to his royal person; first, at the entrance of the Whitehall in the said palace; secondly, in the middle of the same hall; and thirdly, before the king near his royal seat. The Stewart requested Henry to treat them honorably and graciously. He told them that they were welcome; but reminded them, that their white words and fair promises had occasioned him to retire from Scotland, which he would not have done so lightly if he had known them better. One of the captives then humbly prayed him, that it would please his benignity to give him grace and pardon for what he had grieved him. The king assured the Stewart that he should not be troubled nor "pensifs" for what had happened, because he was taken in the field like a valiant knight. They were afterwards led into the painted chamber, where they were ordered to remain to eat with the king." Plac. Parl. 487.

<sup>23</sup> Wals. Hist. 405.

tressed his army, and Owen Glendower remained unsubdued till he became terrible for his excursions, his ravages, and his impunity<sup>24</sup>; and he was so much beloved by his countrymen, that they preferred death to betraying him.<sup>25</sup> The French sent him some occasional supplies<sup>26</sup>; and whenever the king withdrew from his ineffectual invasions, he emerged to new successes, new devastations, and increased popularity. In one excursion, as he approached Herefordshire, the Earl Mortimer, the nobleman whose title to the throne preceded Henry's, led out its militia to repel him; but was betrayed, beaten, and taken prisoner. Owen's talents and activity, the defensible means of the mountainous parts of Wales, the internal disturbances of England, and Henry's personal disquietudes, combined to give Glendower so many advantages, and to continue his triumphant ravages so long, that it became the popular belief that he was aided by the powers of magic.<sup>27</sup> The real demon that assisted him besides the natural impediments of the country, was the spirit of civil turbulence and proud disaffection which now agitated England.<sup>28</sup> The

<sup>24</sup> Wals. Sl. MS. 1776.

<sup>25</sup> Henry beheaded a Welsh gentleman who had let Owen escape, and who declared before his death that Glendower had been his master, and he would rather be executed than discover Owen's counsel. Sl. MS. 1776.

<sup>26</sup> Monst. i. pp. 87, 103. Rym. 8. p. 172. On 14th July 1404, a league was signed between him and the king of France, *ib.* p. 365.

<sup>27</sup> Wals. 406, 407.—Hardyng, who lived at the time, gives us the general impression and his own:—

“The kyng had never but tempest foule and raine,

As long as he was ay in Wales grounde;

Rockes and mystes, windes and stormes certaine.

All men trowed that *witches* it made that stounde.”

Chron. p. 360.

<sup>28</sup> The king having experienced bad weather in Wales, it was believed that the rain, snow and hail, by which his army suffered, had been raised by Glendower, with the aid of the devil. One incident fixed the opinion of many: Henry had pitched his tents in a very pleasant meadow, and was sleeping quietly, when a sudden hurricane and furious rain threw down his tent, and whirled his lance against him, striking the armor he wore. This seemed so like an aim from an invisible hand, that the agency of demons was not doubted, tho a little farther exertion of reasoning might have suggested, that supernatural power would not have struck so ineffectively. Some of their enemies had the art to involve the minor friars in the suspicion of joining the demoniacal confederacy. Wals. 407.

BOOK  
II.REIGN OF  
HENRY IV.Grecian  
Emperor in  
England.His differ-  
ences with  
the Percys.

king found that the best policy was to keep a strong force on the borders to watch and coerce him.<sup>29</sup> This was raised and stationed, and the command of it given to his son Henry<sup>30</sup>; who performed his duty with intelligence and activity.<sup>31</sup>

It was a national gratification to see Manuel Paleologus, the Emperor of Constantinople, in London. He came thither from Paris to solicit aid from the English government against the Turks: Henry showed him all the civilities of knightly tournaments and public festivities, and added many personal presents; but declined the military supplies which he earnestly solicited.<sup>32</sup> Yet his visit may have contributed to the project which both the king and his son entertained, of heading an expedition to Palestine against its Mahomedan possessors.

To be indebted to a subject for the crown, is to incur an obligation which gratitude can never return, and for which no requital will be deemed adequate. The sovereign, dissatisfied with the remembrance of a debt so unextinguishable, and jealous of the power that conferred it, will be always measuring the respect, misconceiving the conduct, suspecting the intentions, and dreading the versatility of his benefactor. The subject disproportionately elevated in his self-opinion by an evidence so fatal of his own importance and influence, which few could temperately bear, will be unreasonable in his expectations of requital, irritable at every appearance of indifference, and indignant at the first breath of hesitation to grant the favors which he chooses to ask, however improper or inconvenient. Solicitation from such an individual, is demand. The delay or refusal of the concession, will be thought insult and wrong. Hence,

<sup>29</sup> Wals. Sl. MS.<sup>30</sup> The patent appointing prince Henry the lieutenant of Wales, is dated 7 March 1403. Rym. viii. p. 291.<sup>31</sup> Rym. viii. p. 382.<sup>32</sup> Wals. Hist. 405. and MS. Sl.

Northumberland and his family could not avoid seeming presumptuous, intruding, insatiable, and dangerous to Henry; while he would be always supposed by them to be more or less ungrateful, envious, treacherous, and malignant. The recollection of the deceit which Northumberland practised to Richard, would also preclude all confidence in his future demeanor, however specious or even truly honorable. Such fair semblance had he borne to his former master, when he was practising to betray him. What could give his new lord assurance against his future instability, or distinguish his allegiance from his hypocrisy? Impossible! Vice must submit to be suspected, and expect to be sacrificed by its companions in iniquity.

It is to these general causes of mutual dissatisfaction between parties so situated, that we must look for the origin of the warfare between the Percys and the throne; for the chroniclers have not discovered or detailed the beginning incidents. The king had not been a niggard in his favors to them. He made the head of the house, and his son, the lords of the northern marches, and his brother the governor of the Prince of Wales. This nobleman, the Earl of Worcester, whom both Richard and his father had much employed, and honored, and titled, having deserted his sovereign for Henry, now exhibited himself as abandoning the king he had assisted to raise, and who had rewarded him for his support.<sup>33</sup> He is charged with having incited his nephew, the famous Hotspur, to rebel.<sup>34</sup> In this young noble's mind,

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REIGN OF  
HENRY IV.

Battle of  
Shrews-  
bury.  
1403.

<sup>33</sup> Henry "bestowed many high appointments upon him; made him ambassador to France; governor of Aquitain; admiral of the fleet; lieutenant of North and South Wales; and retained him as governor to his eldest son." Rym. Froiss. Webb, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> Walsingham calls him "inventor, ut dicitur, totius mali." P. 360. Worcester's life exhibits the activity and variety of occupations by which noblemen of talent in that day were so often distinguished. Beginning his career as Sir Thomas Percy, he had served under the Black Prince in Aquitain. He defended Poitiers

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II.REIGN OF  
HENRY IV.

proud of the undeviating favors of fortune, animated by its own love of enterprise and gallant daring, too sensible of its own merit, stimulated to ambition by deserved popularity<sup>35</sup>, and constitutionally warm and excitable, it was not difficult for a respected kinsman to rouse irritability and disaffection. He had been also one of those sent against Glendower: but he found the mountainous district to which the Welshman retired so defensible, that he thought a peaceful arrangement with him wiser than a useless warfare. This termination dissatisfied some of Henry's counsellors, and their representations soured the royal mind. Hotspur's irritable pride was offended by his cool reception and by the breath of censure, where he had expected applause. His Scottish prisoners were demanded; he refused to bring them to the king, and was offended that Henry would not ransom Mortimer, whose defeat and subsequent marriage with Owen's daughter had raised the king's suspicions of his good faith.<sup>36</sup> The family united in a determination to rebel. Douglas joined them. They spread asser-

unsucessfully against the celebrated Du Guesclin, and was taken prisoner by the enterprising Evan of Wales near Senbric. He was soon ransomed in exchange for a castle, and had an annuity of 100 marcs settled on him by the Black Prince and his father. Under Richard II. he was made admiral of the north seas, and the joint governor of Brest. He was appointed one of the king's counsel, and to negotiate with Flanders and France, and to guard the East marches there. He attended the Duke of Lancaster to Spain, and fought valiantly in several conflicts there. In 13 Richard II. he was vice-chamberlain of the royal household, and justice of South Wales. Three years afterwards, he was steward of the household, and at the head of the embassy for the peace with France. In 21 Richard II. he was captain of Calais, and was created Earl of Worcester. Next year he was made admiral of Ireland. Mr. Webb's note in *Archaeol.* vol. xx. p. 13. details the authorities for these dignities; after which, he forsook his confiding and liberal patron.

<sup>35</sup> Walsingham says, that in him "*spes erat reposita totius populi.*" P. 409. Hardyng gives their written defiance sent to the king, p. 352.; and Hall states their proclamation in English, p. 29.

<sup>36</sup> Sl. MS. 1776. Hardyng, who was with the Percys, states,

"But sir Henry his sonne ther would not bryng  
His prisoners in no wise to the kyng.

"But the kyng he prayed for Mortimer,  
That raunsomed might he been with his frendes so.  
He saied hym nay, for he was taken prisoner

By his consent and treson to his foo."—Chron. p. 360.



tions that Richard was alive.<sup>37</sup> Their public papers were as empty, and probably as false<sup>38</sup>, as such productions usually were; and they seemed to have produced no general sympathy. Hotspur now resolved to raise Mortimer, his wife's brother, to the crown.<sup>39</sup> But the country appears to have considered it more as a personal quarrel between two great families, than as a national concern; for the force with which the king went down to the battle at Shrewsbury, where Hotspur met him, and chose to fight, before his father, detained by sickness, had joined him, was but 14,000 men<sup>40</sup>; and Hotspur, who had now allied with Douglas, had as many. They are described by Hardyng as "9,000 knyghtes, squyers and chosen yomanry, and archers fyne, withouten raskaldry."<sup>41</sup> The king sent the abbot of Shrewsbury with offers of pardon and peace. By the persuasion of Worcester, they were rejected<sup>42</sup>, and the battle ensued. At their first attack, Henry's van was defeated, which kept the second division from advancing. Hotspur chose his ground so, that the king's troops had to charge over a field of peas, which he had tied and interwoven. But they resolutely persevered. The bowmen on both sides were vigorous and expert, and the discharges of their arrows were destructive to each party. Hotspur and Douglas directed their attack solely at the person of the king. The Earl of

<sup>37</sup> Wals. 410.

<sup>38</sup> Ib. 409. Northumberland and his son went to Paris to solicit aid against Henry, but the French king refused to interfere. 1 Monst. 264.

<sup>39</sup> "He purpaid had Mortimer his coronoment."—Hard. 361.

<sup>40</sup> Wals. 410.

<sup>41</sup> "With Percy was the erle of Worcester,  
With nyne thousande of gentylys all that wer,  
Of knyghtes, squyers, and chosen yomanry,  
And archers fyne *withouten raskaldry*."

Ellis's Hardyng, Pref. iii.

Otterburne states that Hotspur had 14,000 choice troops. P. 239.

<sup>42</sup> Walsingham's statement is, that Henry was willing to have treated with his adversaries before the engagement, and in a conference with Worcester had even humbled himself to submit to unfavorable terms; but that the earl wilfully misrepresented his expressions to Hotspur. Wals. p. 368.

Dunbar perceiving their object, withdrew the king from his endangered station. Their charge was so irresistible, that the king's standard was thrown down, and the bearer, and the Earl of Stafford, and Sir Walter Blunt, destroyed. The king made great exertions. He is stated to have slain with his own hand thirty-six men at arms; but he was thrice unhorsed by Douglas. The Prince of Wales, for the first time in a field of pitched battle, displayed a courage which checked the unfavorable opinions that had been formed of him, and was wounded in the face by an arrow. In the middle of the greatest fury of the conflict, Hotspur fell while piercing too eagerly and too adventurously into one of the royal battalions. His friends believing that he had slain his sovereign, were shouting, "Henry Percy, kinge!" But as his death became known, his adherents began to break and fly. The king triumphed in every part; and Douglas, Worcester, Sir Richard Vernon, and others, were taken prisoners.<sup>43</sup> Few battles had been fiercer or more decisive. It secured to Henry his crown. Sometime afterwards, the Archbishop of York, a relation of the Percys, attempted another insurrection, but it was soon repressed<sup>44</sup>; and when the Earl of Northumberland, at a later period, endeavored to revive the struggle, he was easily defeated<sup>45</sup>, and Henry reigned till his death without being disturbed by any other competitor.

A lingering quarrel, mutual bickering, and occasional warfare, marked the transactions between Henry and France. Many efforts were made to establish a truce for twenty-eight years<sup>46</sup>; and at times

<sup>43</sup> Otterburne, 239. Wals. 411. 1 Monst. p. 48.

<sup>44</sup> Wals. 416. Hard. 362. See his published articles of complaint, and the incidents ending in his execution; in Wharton, *Anglia Sac.* 12. pp. 362—372.

<sup>45</sup> Wals. 419.—His head, venerable for its silver hairs, was brought to London and placed on the bridge. "The common people lamented his misfortune not a little, recollecting his magnificence, fame and glory." Wals. *ib.*

<sup>46</sup> Rymer, vol. viii. pp. 98. 124. 186. 275. 405.

the English demanded the yet unpaid arrears of the ransom of King John, whom the Black Prince had taken.<sup>47</sup> In 1402, the Duke of Orleans sent his challenge to Henry for a personal combat<sup>48</sup>, which the English sovereign, with a due regard to his own dignity, to the national welfare, and to its unbecoming example, and with a manly disregard of the censure of the fighting part of the social community, had the good sense to refuse.<sup>49</sup> The two French factions took arms against him. Orleans made a vexatious irruption on the English possessions in Guienne, and Burgundy began incursions towards Calais<sup>50</sup>, while the Count of St. Pol attempted an invasion of the Isle of Wight.<sup>51</sup> Henry complained to his parliament that his enemies were beginning to make war upon him<sup>52</sup>, and sent a naval expedition against Sluys<sup>53</sup>; and another fleet maintained an action at sea with the French near Aquitain.<sup>54</sup>

Petty truces for a year were made<sup>55</sup>; but money was given by the French government to the ambassadors of Scotland, to enable that country to harass England<sup>56</sup>, and small bodies of French were also landed in Wales, to keep up the fever of revolt in that country. A bitter warfare of the predatory kind was kept up at sea, but with no other result than to injure the merchants of each country<sup>57</sup>; and England

<sup>47</sup> Rymer, pp. 230. 267, &c.

<sup>48</sup> See it in Monstrelet, i. p. 55. Orleans mentions his motives to be because he considered "idleness as the bane of lords of high birth," and because he could "no better way seek renown."—He requires that no incantations be employed, that they should use lance, battle-axe, sword and dagger, as they should think fit, but not to aid themselves "by any bodkins, hooks, bearded darts, poisoned needles, or razors, as may be done, unless ordered to the contrary." *Ib.* p. 56.

<sup>49</sup> Monstrelet gives Henry's answer, dated 5 Dec. 58—61.; and the second letter of Orleans, 26 March 1403, containing angry charges, 67—72.; to which the king sent a long reply, 73—83.; and 25 Feb. 1404, wrote to Charles VI. on the subject. *Rym.* viii. p. 348.

<sup>50</sup> *Rym.* viii. p. 336. *Monst.* 118. 126. 167.

<sup>51</sup> *Rym.* 342. *Monst.* 114. This count also sent a personal challenge to Henry. *Monst.* 84.

<sup>52</sup> In Oct. 1404. *Parl. Rolls*, vol. iii. p. 545.

<sup>53</sup> *Monst.* 134.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 168.

<sup>55</sup> *Ib.* *Rym.*

<sup>56</sup> *Monst.*

<sup>57</sup> 2 *Monst.* 118.

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was called upon to arm itself, as the French meditated an invasion.<sup>58</sup> Treaties of amity and of matrimonial alliance were again negotiated.<sup>59</sup> But in January 1410, the hostile prospect was so menacing, that the chancellor's speech declared that it was probable that war would take place with France.<sup>60</sup>

When the mutual hatred between the families of Orleans and Burgundy had become, from the crimes of each, inveterate and irreconcilable, both endeavoured to procure military aid from the English government. The Orleans faction offered the entire restitution of Guienne<sup>61</sup>, and Burgundy entered into negotiations for the marriage of his daughter with prince Henry.<sup>62</sup>

The king issued a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to engage on either side<sup>63</sup>, but afterwards began to prepare to lead, himself, an expedition to Guienne, to take possession of the places which the Orleanists had offered.<sup>64</sup> On the 18th May 1412, he signed a treaty with this party, by which the princes warring with their sovereign engaged to give up to Henry about 1500 towers and castles in Guienne, and to assist him in conquering the rest; for which he was to supply them with 1000 men at arms, and 3000 archers, at their expense.<sup>65</sup>

Henry sent to the Flemings to inquire if they meant to join the Duke of Burgundy against him during his absence in Aquitaine<sup>66</sup>; and England now began a serious interference in the French dissensions.

<sup>58</sup> Rym. viii. 374. 402.<sup>59</sup> Rym.<sup>60</sup> Parl. Rolls, iii. p. 627.<sup>61</sup> Their commission is in Rymer, viii. p. 716.; and see Monst. iii. pp. 13. 39.<sup>62</sup> The diplomatic powers issued for this object are in Rymer, pp. 698, 721.; and see Monst. iii. p. 9.<sup>63</sup> See it in Rymer, p. 728, dated 10 April 1412. Monst. iii. p. 27.<sup>64</sup> Various orders respecting their voyage in April and May 1412, are in Rymer, pp. 730. 733, &c.<sup>65</sup> See it in Rymer, 747. The king ratified it on 15 July, p. 763.<sup>66</sup> His letter to them is in Rymer, p. 737.

Burgundy finding the king engaging the English government to support his political antagonists, had interested the prince of Wales to give him succors, by which he obtained some advantages<sup>67</sup>; but finding Henry about to support his adversaries, he made a temporary reconciliation with them.<sup>68</sup> The king of England, ignorant of this unexpected change, sent his second son, the duke of Clarence, in a fleet with 8000 men.<sup>69</sup> The duke anchored off La Hogue, disembarked his forces, and entered France. His presence was now as unwelcome as it had been earnestly solicited. The French lords renounced all confederations with England<sup>70</sup>; and while the English kept advancing into Maine and Touraine, the king of France issued his official proclamations, that all who could bear arms should assemble at Chartres to drive the invaders from the country.<sup>71</sup> Henry made a diversion of 2000 men from Calais into the Boulonnois, but Clarence agreed to withdraw, on being paid the stipulated sum for the expense of the expedition<sup>72</sup>; as this was not ready, he proceeded to Bourdeaux, plundering and destroying the country; at last, on receiving hostages for the payment, he retired to Guienne.<sup>73</sup>

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The chief domestic feature of Henry's reign, and the most disgraceful one, and to his family the most calamitous, was the deadly persecution of the new religious opinions which he chose to sanction and enforce. His father had been the great defender of

He supports the papal hierarchy.

<sup>67</sup> I derive this new and important fact from Wals. Sl. MS. 1776, who thus states it: "Dux Burgundiæ destinavit Domino Henrico Principi Angliæ, pro auxilio resistendi duci Aureliensi, qui sibi in ejus succursum destinavit comitem Arundell; Johannem Oldecastell, Dom. de Cobham; D. Gilbertum Umfravelt, Dom. de Kyme, et cum eis magnum exercitum, cujus fortitudine apud Senlow juxta Parisiam fuerat dux Aureliensis victus et a campo fugatur." MS. ib.

<sup>68</sup> Monst. 3. p. 65—73.

<sup>69</sup> Wals. Sl. MS. Wals. Hist. 425. Monst. 79.

<sup>70</sup> Monst. 3. p. 81.

<sup>71</sup> Monst. 88.

<sup>72</sup> Monst. 91—3. The money demanded was 200,000 crowns.

<sup>73</sup> Wals. Sl. MS. and Monst. 93.

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Wickliffe; but so were many of the courtiers of Richard<sup>74</sup>; and Henry himself had favored some of his opinions.<sup>75</sup> Henry was base enough to bargain with the ecclesiastical power for its support, by promising a suppression of the Lollards. Richard had been urged by the hierarchy to perform this fatal office, but had been visibly reluctant, and had delayed to pursue it. The clergy found a willing instrument in Henry Bolingbroke, and their sacerdotal chief had, as already narrated, not only invited but supported his movements against Richard.<sup>76</sup> Henry was scarcely seated on the throne, before he made his public requital of their services. He sent the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, as his commissioners, to the clergy assembled in convocation, to state, that they did not visit them, as under preceding reigns, to exact money, but to beg their prayers, and to certify that the king would sustain all the liberties of the church, and destroy as far as he could all heresies, errors, and heretics.<sup>77</sup> In performance of this pledge, in his second year was passed that sanguinary act, the first that stains the English statute book on this subject, which orders heretics to be burnt, that their punishment might deter others from forming erroneous opinions "contrary to the catholic faith and the determination of the church."<sup>78</sup> An

<sup>74</sup> Particularly the earl of Salisbury, whom Walsingham calls "Lolardorum fautor in tota vita; et imaginum vilipensor; contemptor canonum; sacramentorum que derisor." P. 404.

<sup>75</sup> An abbot of Westminster had heard Henry, when earl of Derby, say, that princes had too little, and the religious too much. Hall, p. 16.

<sup>76</sup> See before, pp. 323. 328. Froiss. xii. 115.

<sup>77</sup> See the record of the convocation and its proceedings, printed in Wilkins' Concil. vol. iii. pp. 237—245.

<sup>78</sup> Stat. 2 Hen. 4. c. 15. This was followed by an order to burn William Sautre, "jady's chapeleen heretic." It is addressed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, and commands them, "Coram populo publice igni committi ac ipsum in eodem igne realiter comburi fac, in hujusmodi criminis detestationem, aliorum que cristianorum exemplum manifestum." Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 459. And see the proceedings against him in Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 254. To the same parliament the clergy presented a petition, praying that no one should be suffered to preach without the licence of the diocesan; nor teach any thing, nor write any book against the catholic faith or the determination of the church, nor have conventicles or schools

unworthy sacrifice of moral principle to greatness—to that greatness, which was made very brief with him—briefer to his son, and productive only of misfortune, deposition, and death, to the next and last of his race. The retribution is striking. By thus incorporating his dynasty with the corruptions and evils of the papal hierarchy, he made one of these two alternatives inevitable; either that the improvements of mankind should be intercepted, or that the sovereignty of his house should cease; a mad and desperate stake, which could only have the issue that ensued. The Bolingbrokes disappeared, and the reformation proceeded.<sup>79</sup>

His transactions with France were conducted on the policy of preserving amity with that country. He renewed the truce for twenty-eight years, and proposed a marriage between his son and a French princess. This connexion was eluded. The French court, notwithstanding the truce, encouraged the insurrections against Henry; but he persisted in his pacific plans till he was released from all dread of domestic rebellion; he then retaliated by interfering in the civil disorders that were afflicting France, and sent a force to Normandy to aid the duke of Burgundy against the duke of Orleans.<sup>80</sup> The most re-

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His con-  
duct to-  
wards  
France.

of the sect; and that all their books and writings should be delivered up to the diocesan of the place. To this the king returned a full assent, adding his order, That if any were convicted of such opinions, and would not abjure them, that they should be burnt before the people "in eminenti loco, ut hujusmodi punitio metum incutiat mentibus aliorum." All mayors, sheriffs and bailiffs, were ordered to be assisting the bishop and his commissioners in executing the above directions. Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 467. Persecution could not be carried further. Did it avail?

<sup>79</sup> The clergy also petitioned and carried another point from Henry, which his predecessors had so strongly struggled for; this was, that they should not be amenable to any secular judge. Plac. Parl. p. 494.

<sup>80</sup> See the various public papers published on the affairs with France, in Rymer's 8th volume; and see also Walsingham's account of the piratical attempt of some French ships on Plymouth, the Isle of Wight, and Dartmouth, in 1403 and 1404, p. 412; and of their actually landing in the next year at Milford Haven from 140 ships, to assist Owen Glendower, p. 418. The armament of Normandy was put under the command of his second son, the duke of Clarence. Ib. p. 425. It was sent from the prince's army in Wales.

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markable feature which occurred in one of these expeditions, was the noble and spirited exhibition which its commanders, sir Gilbert Umfreville and sir John Gray, gave to the conflicting French nation, of English humanity and courageous generosity. With the usual ferocity of civil warfare, the duke of Burgundy ordered the prisoners taken from his enemies' party to be slain. The English commanders resisted the sanguinary mandate, declared that they would die with their captives rather than see them destroyed, and formed into battle-array to support their noble purpose with their lives, in case their allies should have persisted in its execution. Astonished, but instructed by such magnanimous feelings, the duke abandoned his cruel intentions ; and when the English force returned home, sent with them his letters of commendation and thanks.<sup>81</sup>

The support which Henry gave to the established hierarchy did not wholly preclude his parliament

<sup>81</sup> I quote, with pleasure, the lines of the contemporary versifier, who has not only recorded, but applauded this incident. He says of the duke of Burgundy,

Them to haue slayn, he comaunded then eche capitayn  
His prysoners to kyll then in certeyn.

To whiche Gilbert Vmfreuile, erle of Kyme,  
Aunswered for all his felowes and there men,  
They shuld all die together at a tyme,  
Ere they prysoners so shulde be slayn then ;  
And with that toke the felde as folke did ken,  
With all theyr men and all theyr prysoners,  
To die with them as worship it requyers :

He said they wer not come thither as bouchers,  
To kyll the folke in market or in feire,  
Ne them to sell, but as armes requiers  
Them to gouerne without any dispeyre,  
As prysoners owe home agayn repeire ;  
For fyne paying as lawe of armes wyll  
And not on stockes not in market them to kyll.

With whom syr John Graye as his cousyn dere  
And all Englyshe with many other of Fraunce  
With their prysoners full famillier  
Batayled in felde with full strong ordinance ;  
More like to fight then to make obeysaunce ;  
And helde the erle of Kyme for theyr cheiftayn  
To lyue and dye vnder his baner certayne.



from attempting to reform it. In his fourth year, the house of commons petitioned that all monks who were French by birth should be expelled from the country; that all priories in the hands of foreigners should be seized; that every benefice should have a perpetual vicar; that all persons advanced to benefices, should be made to reside upon them, and to be hospitable to the poor; and that no one should be allowed to enter or to be received into either of the four orders of friars under the age of twenty-one. To this last request, the king returned a limited assent, that no child under the age of fourteen should be admitted without the consent of his parents.<sup>82</sup> As these attacks of the commons were obviously but the prelude to others, the chancellor, in his speech to the parliament on the next session, declared that the king had commanded him to state, That it was the royal will that holy church should be maintained as it had been in the times of his progenitors, with all its liberties and franchises; that every kingdom resembled a human body, and that the right side was the church, the left the temporal powers, and the other members the commonalty of the nation.<sup>83</sup> The house of commons heard the mandatory rebuke, but immediately addressed the king to remove his confessor, and two others from his household. Henry submitted to their pleasure, not only to dismiss the obnoxious persons, but even to add, that he would in like manner displace any other individual "about his royal person, if he had incurred the hatred or the indignation of his people."<sup>84</sup> He also assured them, that he wished to be as good a king as any of his predecessors had been, as far as he was able; and he begged them "not to be abashed from shewing him

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Addresses  
of the  
Commons  
against the  
clergy.

<sup>82</sup> Plac. Parl. vol. iii. pp. 499—502.

<sup>83</sup> Ib. p. 522.

<sup>84</sup> Ib. p. 525.

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whatever they thought would be pleasing to God, and honorable and profitable to him and his kingdom; and that he would very willingly perform it on their good counsel and advice.”<sup>85</sup> They prayed, that in settling his household, honorable and virtuous persons, and of good reputation, might be appointed and notified to them<sup>86</sup>, and that no foreigners might be permitted to be there.<sup>87</sup> The king, anxious for popularity, graciously assented. In the next year the house requested that he should “live upon his own.” With the same good humor he answered, “The king thanketh hem of here gode desire, willyng to put it in execution als sone as he wel may.”<sup>88</sup>

The commons renewing their attacks on the clergy, stated to the king, that while the knights of the kingdom exhausted themselves in resisting his enemies, the clergy sat idly at home, and did nothing. The archbishop of Canterbury replied, that the church paid their tenths more frequently than the laity their fifteenths; that their tenants went with the king to battle; and that they themselves were day and night saying masses and prayers for his prosperity. The speaker of the commons sneering at their devotions, the prelate knelt before the king and besought him to defend the church: and declared that he would sooner expose his head to the sword, than allow the church to be deprived of the least of its rights.<sup>89</sup> In 1410, the contest was renewed. A Lollard was burnt<sup>90</sup>; and the house of commons, as if in retaliation, presented a schedule to the king, shewing, that he might have from the temporal possessions of the bishops, abbots, and priors, that were then uselessly wasted, 15 earls, 1500 knights, and 6200 esquires. The king, adhering to his policy of connecting his dynasty

<sup>85</sup> Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 525.<sup>87</sup> Ib. p. 527.<sup>90</sup> Wals. Hist. 414, 415.<sup>86</sup> Ib. p. 525.<sup>88</sup> Ib. p. 549.<sup>89</sup> Wals. 421.

with the existing hierarchy, forbade them to discuss such subjects. On this rebuke, they petitioned that at least the clergy might be subjected to the lay tribunals. This application was refused. They persevered to request, that the statute against the Lollards might be changed or modified; and they were answered, that it ought to be made more severe.<sup>91</sup> But their last application for this alteration experienced a more favorable reception. The king assented to the request, but desired that it might not be taken for an example.<sup>92</sup> This conduct committed the king and his family with the whole nation on this momentous and deeply interesting subject.

That Henry's personal enjoyment of his greatness was embittered by much danger, alarm, and inquietude, was a natural consequence of its forcible origin.<sup>93</sup> A throne is rarely the seat of happiness. Peculiar personal qualities, and great serenity in the political atmosphere, the most variable of all things, are requisite to give felicity to a crown. If Henry had succeeded in the regular line of inheritance, he was formed to have enjoyed a reign as popular and as prosperous as either of his two first namesakes; but there was an unsoundness in the principle of his

Henry's  
alarms,  
character,  
and death.

<sup>91</sup> Wals. 422.

<sup>92</sup> Plac. Parl. p. 623.

<sup>93</sup> Otterbourne describes a three-pointed instrument, which the king found so placed in his bed, that if he had thrown himself upon it as usual, the weapon would have pierced him. P. 232.—Hardyng thus alludes to his personal dangers:—

O very God, what torment had this kyng !  
To remember in bryef and shorte entent,  
Some in his sherte put off tyme venemyng,  
And some in meate and drinke great poysnement ;  
Some in his hose, by great ymagenement,  
Some in bed straw, yrons sharpe ground well and whet,  
Enuenemed sore to slee him if he had on them set.

Some made for him diuers enchauntments,  
To waste hym oute and vtterly destroye ;  
And some gave hym batayle full felonement  
In felde within his realme, hym for to noye ;  
And on themselves the hurte and all the annoye  
Ay fell at ende, that honged were and heded  
As traytours ought to bene in every stede.

Hardyng's Chron. 370.

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greatness, which made its continuance precarious, and its enjoyment embittered. He was altogether a superior man. In person he was of the middle stature, but well proportioned and compact, and very active.<sup>94</sup> His courage was great; and he had shewn the enterprising activity of his mind by his youthful campaign in Prussia.<sup>95</sup> We may infer his literary taste, from his inviting to England the celebrated French lady and memoir-writer Christine de Pisan.<sup>96</sup> His courage and decision of mind were displayed, not only in his landing to depose Richard, but in the celerity and effect of his movements against Hotspur.<sup>97</sup>

He was meditating a crusade, and had ordered galleys and other preparations to be made for it<sup>98</sup>, when death surprised him, at an age that is to many but the season of vigorous manhood. He was subject to epileptic fits, and had been attacked by one after his return from Scotland, in which he lay as dead for several hours. They returned in 1413, amid his Christmas festivities at Eltham.<sup>99</sup> He recovered

<sup>94</sup> Hall, Ch. 45.

<sup>95</sup> Wals. 377.—It was 1390 that he made this chivalrous adventure into Prussia. He joined the forces that were attacking the pagan king of Lithuania, and distinguished himself in the battles in that country. Wals. 377. He is mentioned to have travelled also to Palestine and Egypt. Froiss. vol. xii. p. 57. He was desirous to have gone with the knights and archers when the counts of Hainault and Ostrevant were engaging in England for their war in Friesland, but his father procured the king's prohibition of the enterprize. *Ib.* vol. xi. p. 256. After his banishment, he endeavoured to accompany the French army that was proceeding under marshal Boucicaut into a campaign in Hungary, but was prevented. *Ib.* vol. xii. p. 83—87.

<sup>96</sup> Mem. de Christ. de Pisan, p. 95.

<sup>97</sup> He was of great service to James, the son of Robert the king of Scotland. This prince at the age of nine had been sent by his father to France, for safety and education. He was taken near Holderness, on his passage, and was detained in England eighteen years; but as Hall describes it, was so instructed and taught by his schoolmasters and pedagogues, appointed to him by the sole clemency of Henry IV., that he not only flourished in good learning and fresh literature, but also excelled in all points of martial feats, musical instruments, poetical art, and liberal sciences, insomuch that at his return from captivity he furnished his realm with both good learning and civil policy, which before was barbarous, savage, rude, and without all good nurture. Chron. p. 39. This was James I. celebrated for his poems.

<sup>98</sup> Fabian, 388.

<sup>99</sup> Otterburn, 263. 272. Wals. 426.

enough to continue them ; but some years before, a disease in the lower part of his face, which was then called a leprosy<sup>100</sup>, had attacked him, and it became so severe as he was about to open his parliament, that instead of attending personally, he commissioned his chancellor, the bishop of Winchester, to meet it. It was in this illness that the scene is placed between him and his son, who had taken his crown from his bedside — which our Shakspeare has so interestingly depicted. The simpler detail is given by the contemporary French historian Monstrelet.<sup>101</sup> That the chamber incident occurred must depend on his authority. Our preceding historians seem to have known no other ; but I have met with a passage in a MS. work, hitherto unprinted and unnoticed, of the contemporary chronicler Walsingham, which affects the memory of the prince on this subject with a darker charge ; even with a deliberate purpose, publicly attempted to be executed, of dethroning his diseased father. The words of Walsingham, after mentioning the king's being disabled from opening the sessions by his disease, are, " In this parliament, prince Henry desired the resignation from his father of his kingdom and crown, because his father, by reason of his malady, could not labor any longer for the honor and advantage of the kingdom. But the king expressly refused to assent to it, and resolved to go-

<sup>100</sup> Walsingham in his MS. history says, that in his sixth year he was struck in the face, below the nose, with the infirmity of a detestable leprosy, of which he could never afterwards be cured. MS. Wals. 1776.

<sup>101</sup> The king's attendant not perceiving him to breathe, concluded he was dead, and covered his face with a cloth. The crown was then upon a cushion near the bed. The prince, believing his father's death, took away the crown. Shortly after the king uttered a groan, and revived, and, missing his crown, sent for his son, and asked why he had removed it. The prince mentioned his supposition that his father had died. The king gave a deep sigh, and said, " My faire son, what right have you to it ? you knew I had none." " My lord," replied Henry, " as you have held it by right of your sword, it is my intent to hold and defend it the same during my life." The king answered, " Well, all as you see best ; I leave all things to God, and pray that He would have mercy upon me."—Shortly after, without uttering another word, he expired. Vol. iii. 137—139. Monstrelet is a good authority.

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vern the nation with its crown and appurtenances while the vital spirit remained in him. On this declaration, the enraged prince withdrew with his counsellors; and afterwards, in the greatest part of England, associated all the nobles to his dominion in homage, and in his pay."<sup>102</sup>

The king's subsequent death prevented the final explosion of this unfilial conduct, which, as thus stated, deserves the denomination of an unnatural rebellion; and shews that the dissolute companion of Falstaff was not the gay and thoughtless youth which his dramatic personification exhibits to us; but that amid his vicious gaities he could cherish feelings, which too much resemble the unprincipled ambition of a Catilinarian temper.

The last two years of this king's reign, probably from the disabling effects of his disease, seem to have been disturbed by measures that resemble those used to assist the weakness of an Henry VI. The general historians do not mention or elucidate them, and we know them only from the imperfect and unexplaining intimations on the parliament rolls. From these it appears, that in March 1410, the house of commons, soon after their meeting, called upon the king to appoint a council of valiant, wise and discreet lords, in aid and support of the good and substantial governance and welfare.<sup>103</sup> This strange innovation on the royal authority, and visible imputation of

<sup>102</sup> As this fact was not known to former historians, and is only mentioned in the Sloane MS., I will add the original words concerning this parliament, from the unpublished MS.—“In quo parlamento, Henricus princeps desideravit a patre suo regni et coronæ resignationem; eo quod pater, ratione egritudinis, non potuit circa honorem et utilitatem regni ulterius laborare. Sed sibi in hoc noluit penitus assentire; ymmo regnum, una cum corona et pertinenciis, dummodo hereret spiritus vitalis, voluit gubernare. Unde princeps quodam modo cum suis consiliariis aggravatus recessit; et posterius quasi pro majori parte Angliæ, omnes proceres suo dominio in homagio et stipendio copulavit.” MS. Ib. This strange request has been omitted from the Parliamentary Record, but the account of the alteration of the coin, which follows in this MS., is noticed in the Rolls, p. 658. which also states Beaufort's opening the Parliament on 3d Nov. 1411.

<sup>103</sup> Parl. Plac. vol. iii. p. 623.

some incapacity or misconduct, was not allowed to be ineffective; for in the following May they petitioned him to know the lords who would be of his *continual* council to execute this ordinance. The king told them that certain peers whom he had chosen, had excused themselves, but that the others were, the prince, and the six persons whom he named.<sup>104</sup> The prince immediately desired that they might all be excused, unless their necessary expenses were supplied. The council, thus nominated, were sworn to govern and acquit themselves well and loyally according to what the commons had established.<sup>105</sup>

In the ensuing parliament, in November, the speaker, in the name of the house, asked the king to thank the prince and lords for their great labors and diligence, as the commons thought they had done their duty. The prince, kneeling with the other peers, asserted that they had executed their charge according to their sense and knowlege.<sup>106</sup> The king thanked them very graciously, but the next month sent his chancellor to request their re-consideration of this subject. The speaker, in their names, desired to know his pleasure about it, and he told them he wished to have and keep his liberty and prerogative as entire in all points as any of his predecessors had done. The speaker assented to this, and the king then thanked them and repeated his declaration, that he wished to be, and stand in as great freedom, prerogative and franchise as any of his predecessors had been; and therefore in full parliament he annulled the said article, and all the circumstances and dependencies upon it in every point.<sup>107</sup>

That some compulsion displeasing to him, had been

<sup>104</sup> Parl. Plac. vol. iii. 632. The lords, besides the prince, were the three bishops of Winchester, Durham, and Bath, and the earls Arundell and Westmoreland and the lord Burnell.

<sup>105</sup> Ib. p. 632. These proceedings seem to have some connection with the incident mentioned in the Sloane MS.

<sup>106</sup> Ib. p. 648.

<sup>107</sup> Ib. 658.

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put upon the king by the extraordinary measure thus annulled, may be inferred from the petition which the lords and commons on the same day presented to him, praying him to declare and acknowledge their fidelity and loyalty.<sup>108</sup> These proceedings, combined with the prince's requisition of his father's resignation, and sending troops to France to aid Burgundy, while the king was making a treaty with Orleans, tend to shew, that Henry's jealousy of his son was more than an unwarrantable suspicion, and that the prince's irregularities were not merely the delinquencies of juvenile conviviality. But as Henry had by violence dispossessed his own sovereign of the crown, he gave a precedent to the ambition of others, from which he was always in danger of suffering himself. He expired in the leprous affection<sup>109</sup>, in the fourteenth year of his reign, having, probably from his resolution of supporting the persecutions of the hierarchy, outlived the popularity with which he had commenced it.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> It was in French, to this purport: "As there has been a great murmur among your people, that you have had in your heart a heavy load against some of your lieges come to this present parliament, and at your last; may it please your royal majesty of your nobleness and uprightness, for the comfort and rejoicing of your petitioners, to declare your noble intentions in this present parliament, that you have held and reputed all the estates and every one of your parliament for your faithful and loyal lieges and subjects, as those who have been, and are, and will be, all your said liege's faithful and humble subjects." It is added, "This petition the king in his especial grace granted and conceded in full parliament, which was then dissolved." Parl. Plac. vol. iii. 658.

<sup>109</sup> Mezeray intimates that he died of a leprosy. The truth is probably implied in the soliloquy which Hardyng puts into his mouth:—

Lorde I thank the with all my herte,  
With all my soule and my spirytes clere,  
This wormes mete, this caryon full vnquerte,  
That some tyme thought in worlde it had no pere,  
This face so foule that leprous doth apere,  
That here afore I haue had suche a pryde  
To purtraye ofte in many place full wyde.

Chron. p. 370.

<sup>110</sup> So Hardyng, who lived in his reign, expresses:—  
Of whome the realme great ioye at first had ay,  
But afterwarde they loued not his araye:  
At his begynnyng full hye he was commende  
With comons then, and also lytell at the ende.

Chron. p. 371.

He was buried at Canterbury. His last marriage was to Joan, the duchess dowager of Bretagne, and sister to the king of Navarre. Monst. J. p. 42. She survived him,



## CHAP. X.

*History of the Reign of HENRY V. or, Henry of Monmouth, to the Battle of Agincourt.*

1413—1415.

*His Character. — War with France. — Siege of Harfleur. — And March to the Battle of Agincourt.*

WITH the traditional irregularities of the youth of Henry V. we are early familiarized by the magical pen of Shakspeare; never more fascinating, than in pourtraying the associates and frolics of this illustrious prince. But the personification of the poet must not be looked for in the chroniclers, who have written the annals of this reign. It is a Froissart who dramatises and paints with living descriptions and characteristic anecdotes; not a rhetorical Elmham, or a modern Titus Livius, profaning an immortal name<sup>1</sup>; nor a barren Otterburn; nor a Hardyng, versifying meagre facts, without either spirit or detail; nor a Walsingham, capable of better things, but too zealous for the destruction of the Lollards, to detail the faults of a king, who degraded and endangered his reign, by persecuting and burning these unprotected reformers. The general facts of the irregularities, and their amendment, have never been forgotten; but no historical Hogarth has painted the individual

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas of Elmham was prior of Lenton, and Titus Livius an Italian, who in a grant is called the "Orator of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester." Rym. vol. x. Both have written the reign of Henry V.; both have nearly the same facts, and in the same order; but their composition is very different. Livius presents a plain and perspicuous statement, rather homely; Elmham a pompous and verbose amplification of the same incidents, more suitable to the taste of Persia than of England. Otterburn's Chronicle is not above the level of the commonest monkish annalist. Hearne has published all three authors. The text speaks of Walsingham's *printed* work.

BOOK  
II.REIGN OF  
HENRY V.Henry's  
youth.

adventures of the princely rake. The most authentic circumstances of his youthful life may be comprised in the following incidents.

On his father's exile, he was taken by Richard II. to his palace<sup>2</sup>, and in his twelfth year accompanied him to Ireland. He is there described by a person in the expedition, as a young, handsome, and promising "bachelor." The king made him a knight, with this address, "My fair cousin, be noble and valiant;" and to do him honor, and to fix the favor in his memory, at the same time raised eight or ten others to this dignity.<sup>3</sup> When the news arrived of his father landing in England, Richard expressed his feelings to the young prince; but Henry, reminding the king of his own innocence and youth, Richard acquiesced in the propriety of his self-justification.<sup>4</sup>

On his father's obtaining the crown, he was declared prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester<sup>5</sup>; and afterwards duke of Aquitain, and heir apparent to the kingdom of England.<sup>6</sup> It is related that he received some part of his education at Oxford, in Queen's College, under the care of his uncle, the well-known cardinal Beaufort<sup>7</sup>, who was the chancellor of the university. His chamber was over the gate at the entrance of the college. In his thirteenth year, he made a campaign in Scotland<sup>8</sup>, being the second expedition in which he became personally acquainted with military movements. When the king went into Wales to repress Glendower,

<sup>2</sup> Thomas de Elmham, p. 5. Titus Livius, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Harleian, No. 1319, already quoted in the latter part of the reign of Richard II.

<sup>4</sup> Otterburn, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 426.

<sup>6</sup> Plac. Parl. p. 423.

<sup>7</sup> Rous's Hist. Reg. Angl. 207. Hence, Rous remarks, the king always greatly favored Oxford, and promoted those of the University whom he knew to be virtuous and nobleminded in knowlege and manners. Henry intended, if he had lived, to have founded a new college there. Rous, 208.

<sup>8</sup> Tit. Liv. p. 3. Monstrelet mentions the prince making an incursion into Scotland, with 1000 men at arms and 6000 archers. The result was, great carnage and much mischief to the Scots, and a year's truce. Vol. i. p. 190.

Henry was acting under him, while his brother was sent to govern and preserve Ireland.<sup>9</sup> In the next summer, that rebellion of the Percies occurred, which shook his father's throne. In the furious battle of Shrewsbury, he felt that upon its issue depended the fortunes of his house, and his soul rose to an energy equal to the greatness of the struggle. Tho wounded in the face, he refused to quit the field, as he was desired; "With what spirit will others fight," he exclaimed, "if they behold me, the son of their king, retiring frightened from the battle? Lead me to the foremost ranks, that I may animate my fellow-soldiers by my conduct, and not merely by my words." He made a fiercer attack, and assisted to win the hard-fought victory.<sup>10</sup>

Having thus had, four times, the experience of military affairs, in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England, his father deemed him competent, tho but sixteen, to conduct the troublesome war in Wales against Owen Glendower, and appointed him lieutenant of the forces<sup>11</sup> directed against this obstinate and active chieftain. In this petty, but difficult warfare, all the qualities of an able general were exercised and formed. Privations, vigilance, enterprise, patience, and perseverance, were successively required. In the second year of his campaigns there, we find him petitioning parliament for supplies to guard the Marches effectually<sup>12</sup>; and in the following spring he defeated, with an inferior force, a Welsh army of 8000 men from Glamorgan, and its neighbourhood. He details his success in a respectful and modest letter to his father.<sup>13</sup>

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REIGN OF  
HENRY V.

Intrusted  
with the  
war in  
Wales.

March,  
1405.

<sup>9</sup> Plac. Parl. vol. iii. p. 486.

<sup>10</sup> Tit. Liv. p. 3. Elmham, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Rymer's Fœd. vol. viii. p. 291. It is dated 7 March 1403. On 16th October 1402, the commons mentioned that the prince had four times accompanied his father to Wales. Tit. Liv. p. 3. Plac. Parl. p. 486.

<sup>12</sup> In October 1404. Plac. Parl. 549.

<sup>13</sup> M. Luders has translated it from the original French in Rymer, vol. viii. : I insert it as a specimen of the prince's style :—

"Most dread sovereign lord and father.—In the most humble manner that I

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But its date from Hereford, and the scene of the conflict being in Monmouthshire, imply that he had not been able to penetrate effectually into the interior of Wales, but was contented to watch the border counties. Tho he was then but seventeen, his services in this war were so highly estimated, that the house of commons, by their speaker, requested of the king, that for the safeguard of his subjects, and to resist the malice of the Welsh rebels, the prince might be continually residing and attending to those hostilities.<sup>14</sup> They also addressed the king, to send his letters, under his privy seal, to the prince, thanking him for his good and unceasing labor and diligence, which he had endured and continually sustained in his honorable person, to conquer that revolted country.<sup>15</sup> In the same year, the speaker prayed, that the prince might be ordered to go with all possible haste to Wales, on account of the news which had arrived of the rebellion of the earl of Northumberland<sup>16</sup>; and in 1407, requested that he might be graciously

may in my heart devise, I recommend myself to your royal majesty, humbly praying your gracious blessing. Most dread sovereign lord and father, I sincerely beseech God graciously to shew his providence towards you in all places; praise be to him in all his works! For on Wednesday the 11th of this instant month of March, your rebels of the parts of Glamorgan, Morgannock, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent, drew together to the number of 8000 men, by their own account, and went in the morning of the same day, and burnt part of your town of Grosmont, within your lordship of Monmouth and Jennoia."—After mentioning his opposing force, he adds, "And there, by the aid of the blessed Trinity, your men won the field, and overcame all the said rebels; of whom they slew in the field, by fair reckoning upon our return from the pursuit, some say eight hundred, and some one thousand, being questioned upon pain of death. Nevertheless, be it one or the other in this account, I will not dispute. And to give you full information of the whole affair, I send you a person worthy of credit therein, one of my faithful servants the bearer hereof, who was in the battle, and very satisfactorily performed his duty, as he has ever done. Now such amends hath God ordained you for the burning of your houses in your town aforesaid. And no prisoners were taken, except one who was a great chieftain among them, whom I would have sent to you, but that he is not yet able to bear the journey. And with respect to the course I propose to hold hereupon, please your highness, to give credence to the bearer hereof, in what he will himself inform your highness on my part. And pray God ever to keep you in joy and honor, and grant that I may shortly have to comfort you with more good news. Written at Hereford the said Wednesday at night.

"Your most humble and obedient Son,

"HENRY."

<sup>14</sup> Plac. Parl. 569

<sup>15</sup> Ib.

<sup>16</sup> Ib. 576.

thanked for the great labor, diligence, and diseases which he had many times suffered, in resisting the great rebellion of the Welsh.<sup>17</sup> The prince, kneeling immediately afterwards, before his father, generously interceded for the duke of York, whom the king had imprisoned; avowed his obligations to him, and that if it had not been for his good counsel, both the prince and his army would have often been in great perils and desolations.<sup>18</sup> In 1403, his father was negotiating a marriage for him with Catherine, the sister of Eric X. king of Denmark, which did not take place<sup>19</sup>; and in 1410, he was appointed warden of the Cinque Ports, and captain of Calais.

These high appointments and acknowledged services imply early and active talents, popular reputation, and military diligence. But, altho sometimes expressed plainly, sometimes rhetorically, and always with a friendly generalization which obscures and diminishes what the writers wished perhaps to have forgotten; yet, that dissolute habits and unbecoming irregularities in his private life accompanied his laudable public conduct cannot be doubted, after reading the various passages of all the contemporary chronicles in which they are expressed or implied.<sup>20</sup> The description which his contemporary encomiast and biographer has left us, of his compunction and resolutions of amendment at his accession, strongly intimate them.<sup>21</sup> Tradition ought certainly to be kept distinct from history; and we may allow Shak-

His im-  
puted  
errors.

<sup>17</sup> Plac. Parl. vol. iii. 611.

<sup>18</sup> Ib.

<sup>19</sup> The ambassadors also treated for a marriage between Eric and Henry's daughter Philippa, which was effected. The official papers are in the Cotton library, Nero, B 3.

<sup>20</sup> Elmham, Livius, Otterburn, Hardyng, and Walsingham, allude to them. And see the old Chron. Lel. ii. 496. Fabian, 389. Grafton, 443. and Hall, 46.

<sup>21</sup> "He reconsidered and resolved with himself the past years of his youth, with a wounded spirit, a bitter mind, and a contrite heart; and while he was grievously afflicted that that time had been disgraced by the dregs of vice, he exclaimed, 'How many days, how much of my late life do I feel to have been covered by the black smoke of misconduct!'" Elmh. p. 14.

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HENRY V.

spere's scenes to be but the creations of the poet, supplying and superseding from popular tales the scanty and vague phrases of the chroniclers. But the facts noticed in this History, of his conduct at the end of his father's reign, imply an ambitious and unfilial conduct which can claim no excuse, and which can only be palliated by his subsequent regret. With these remarks we may dismiss a subject on which no satisfactory evidence can now be attained, either to confirm or refute the traditionary stories. It is unfair to distinguished merit, to dwell on the blemishes which it has regretted and reformed; and no prince can on this ground claim greater liberality than Harry of Monmouth. Whatever irregularities he may, from a too early initiation into military life, have stooped to practise between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, they were with rare self-command shaken off when higher duties called for nobler conduct. It is declared by Walsingham, that the king, from the time of his coronation, became suddenly changed into a different man; that he made it his study to be gentlemanly, modest, and grave, and aimed at exerting every future virtue, and became an example to all classes of his people.<sup>22</sup> This mutation of character sufficiently implies his previous imperfections, but also calls upon the impartial to forget what was so resolutely amended. That his father's death greatly affected him; that he afterwards lamented the loss of an intelligent parent in the prime of mature life, who had so often treated him with high respect and confidence; that he reviewed and confessed the errors of his own ungoverned youth<sup>23</sup>, which had given that father pain and lessened his own respectability; that now, becoming a king, his

<sup>22</sup> Wals. Hist. 426.

<sup>23</sup> See Elmham, c. 7. Livius, p. 5. Pol. Virg. p. 439.

lofty soul felt the intellectual dignity and sublime duties of his station ; and that, aspiring to merit and compel the praise instead of the censure of mankind, he should resolve to make his future conduct as noble as his great office, and therefore, as one contemporary says, to let no virtue pass by him without attempting to transfer it into himself<sup>24</sup> — these circumstances, and his firm and persevering execution of his exalted purpose<sup>25</sup>, are entitled to our admiration ; and, tho rare, are not incredible. Nor ought the glory reaped at Agincourt to throw them into oblivion. Many have conquered apparent impossibilities in the field of battle. Few princes have so magnanimously conquered and amended themselves.

That he was fond of music his biographers declare.<sup>26</sup> We have also the evidence of the poets whom he patronized, that he loved literature, and encouraged it. He delighted to read books of antiquity.<sup>27</sup> His uncle, who became the celebrated cardinal Beaufort, and who, while chancellor of Oxford, assisted his studies there, may have contributed to give him a taste for the grander exploits of history, and a desire to emulate them ; for we find this prelate so well acquainted with the life of Alexander the Great, as to quote in parliament a conversation between this applauded king and the not less celebrated Aristotle.<sup>28</sup> But whatever may have been its origin, it is evident that Henry amid his unbecoming extravagances, had contracted a sympathy for the re-

His attachment to literature.

<sup>24</sup> Otterburn, p. 273.

<sup>25</sup> The assertions of his reformation are so express, that the fact cannot be justly questioned, without doubting all history ; and if there were reformation, there must have been previous errors.

<sup>26</sup> "Musicis delectabatur." Tit. Liv. p. 5.

"Instrumentis organicis plurimum deditus." Elmh.

<sup>27</sup> So Lydgate states in the introduction to his poem on the Wars of Troy, which has been printed ; speaking of the prince,

Bycause he hath joye and gret deynte  
To rede in Bokys of antiquite.

<sup>28</sup> It was in January 1410, that the chancellor bishop made the allusion. Plac. Parl. vol. iii. 622.

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nowned feats of ancient days, and soon directed his exertions to attempt similar achievements. He requested Lydgate to translate the destruction of Troy, because he wished the noble story to be known generally to high and low.<sup>29</sup> His desire of the praise of true knighthood, led him to study the worthiness and the prowess of old chivalry.<sup>30</sup> To avoid the vice of sloth and idleness, he employed himself in exercising his body in martial plays, according to the instructions of Vegetius.<sup>31</sup> He was also one of the patrons of the poet Occleve, who addresses to him, while he was prince, two of his poems.<sup>32</sup> Occleve describes himself as advised to select some subject that would be beneficial to Henry.<sup>33</sup> A book on

<sup>29</sup> Henry the worthy prynce of Wales,  
Whyche me comaunded the drery pitious fate  
Of hem of Troye in Englyshe to translate —  
So as I coude and write it for his sake ;  
By cause he wolde, that to hyge and lowe,  
The noble story openly were knowe.

Lydgate, Wars of Troy.

Lydgate says he began his translation in the fourteenth year of Henry the Fourth's reign.

<sup>30</sup> For to obeie withoute variaunce  
My lordes byddyng fully and pleasaunce,  
Whiche hath desire, sothly for to seyn,  
Of verray knyghthood, to remember ageyn  
The worthyness, gif I shal nat lye,  
And the prowesse of olde chivalrie. — Lydgate, Ib.

<sup>31</sup> - - - - and also for to eschewe  
The cursed vice of slouth and ydelnesse,  
So he enjoyeth in vertuous besynesse,  
In all that longeth to manhood, dar i seyn,  
He besyeth evere, and therto is so fayn  
To hawnte his body in pleies marcyal,  
Thorug exercise to chide slouth at all  
After the doctrine of Vygetious.  
Thus is he both manful and vertuous. — Lydg. Ib.

<sup>32</sup> In one, Occleve says —

Hye and noble prynce excellent !  
My lord, the prynce ! O my lord gracious !  
I, humble servaunt and obedient  
Unto your estate, hye and glorious,  
Of whiche I am full tendir and full jelous,  
Me recomaunde unto your worthynesse,  
With hert entler, and spirite of mekenesse.

MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

<sup>33</sup> Wrete to him nothing that sowneth to vice —  
Loke yf thou fynde kanst ony tretyse,



government is the subject adopted. He suggests respectfully to the prince, that it may be useful to read of an evening in his chamber.<sup>34</sup> He looks forward to the hope, that his kingly dignity may benefit his people and advance his own praise.<sup>35</sup> He reminds him of the responsibility of that exalted station<sup>36</sup>; of the necessity of himself observing the laws<sup>37</sup>; that the vox populi is the vox Dei<sup>38</sup>; and that courage should be united with prudence.<sup>39</sup> He exhorts him to set the example of good faith and magnanimity; to avoid falsehood, cruelty, flatterers, prodigality and avarice; and to love and cultivate peace.<sup>40</sup> Occleve

Grounded on his estates holsomnesse;  
Suche thyng translate, and unto his hynesse,  
As humbly as that thou kanst, presente.  
Do this my sone. Fader! I assente.

Occleve, MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

<sup>34</sup> To the prince he writes,

And although it be no maner of nede  
You to counseile what to done or leve;  
Yf that you liste of stories to take hede,  
Somewhat it may profite, by your leve.  
At hardest, whan ye ben in chambre at eve,  
They ben goode to drive forth the nyght.  
They shull not harme yf they be herd aryght.— MS. Ib.

<sup>35</sup> Now, gracious prynce, agayn that the corone  
Honoure you shall with roial dignitee;  
Beseche I Hym that sitte on hye in trone,  
That whan that charge receyved han ye,  
Such governaunce men may fele and see  
In you, as may be to his plesaunce,  
Profite to us, and your goode loos avaunce.— MS. Ib.

<sup>36</sup> First and forward the dignitee of a kyng  
Impressed in the botme of your mynde,  
Consideryng how chargeable a thyng  
That office is ——— MS. Ib.

<sup>37</sup> Prince excellent; have your lawes in chere;  
Observe hem; and offende hem by no wey.— MS. Ib.

<sup>38</sup> This, my gode lord, wynneth peples voice,  
For peples voice is Goddes voice men sayn.— MS. Ib.

<sup>39</sup> O worthy prynce! I trust in your manhode  
Meddled with prudence and discrecion,  
That ye shall make many a knightly rode,  
And the pride of our foes threshe adoun.  
Manhode and witte conqueren hyc renoun;  
And whoso lakketh eny of the tweyn,  
Of armes wanteth the bridell and the reyn.— MS. Ib.

<sup>40</sup> On these topics he expatiates with much good sense, inserting occasional examples from history, in illustration of his observations,

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HENRY V

Incident  
with the  
chief jus-  
tice.

addresses him with expressions that imply affection as well as respect<sup>41</sup>, and inserts a remembrance of his master Chaucer, which does honor to his feeling and gratitude.<sup>42</sup>

That the prince possessed a soul soaring above the common level of mankind, appeared in many incidents of his life, and in none more than in his behaviour to the chief justice of the king's bench. Henry insisting on the release of one of his servants, who had been arraigned for felony, the judge commanded him, upon his allegiance, to leave the prisoner and depart. In a rage at this public rebuke, he rushed on the judge with his sword. The undaunted magistrate calmly said, "Sir! remember yourself. I keep here the place of your sovereign lord and father, to whom you owe double obedience; wherefore in his name, I charge you to desist from your wilfulness and unlawful enterprise, and from henceforth give good example to those who hereafter shall be your proper subjects. And now for your contempt and disobedience, go you to the prison of the king's bench, whereunto I commit you, and remain there prisoner until the pleasure of the king your father be further known." — Impressed by this firm and well reasoned address, the prince laid his weapon aside, did reverence to the steady and upright judge, and with true magnanimity of mind went submissively to

<sup>41</sup> Though that my livelode and possession  
Be skant, I riche am of benevolence  
To you. Thereof kan I be no nygon.  
Goode have I none, by whiche your excellence  
May plesed be; and, for myne impotence  
Stoppeth the way to do as I were holde.  
I write as he that your goode lyfe fayne wolde.

Occ. MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

<sup>42</sup> Symple is my gost, and scarce my lettrure,  
Unto your excellence for to write  
Myne inward love; and yet in aventure  
Wole I me putte, though I can but lite.  
My dere Maister — God his soule quyte —  
And fader — Chaucer — fayne wold me han taught,  
But I was dulle, and lerned right nought. — Ibid.

the king's bench, as he was commanded. With eager haste, his attendants stated to the king the indignity put upon his son; but the judicious parent duly comprehended the greatness of character which both the prince and the judge had displayed. With thankful gladness, he raised his eyes and hands to heaven, exclaiming, "How much am I bound to your infinite goodness, O merciful God! for having given me a judge who feareth not to minister justice, and a son who can thus nobly submit to obey it." <sup>43</sup>

The tendency of the imperfect intimations which exist in the ancient documents on the subject is, that some misunderstanding occurred between this prince and his father in his latter days, altho the cause of the difference is obscure. It is difficult to credit the strange scene usually annexed to this event <sup>44</sup>, because there seems no reason for the prince's uncouth dress, nor in his presenting his father with a dagger to kill him, which he was sure his parent would not do; and still less in coming for such a purpose with a large company of noblemen, or for choosing the time of his father's sickness, to agitate him with such a conference. The advice which the dying king is stated to have addressed to him, has not the sanction of any contemporary authority that has come down to us. If it has not been invented by subsequent chroniclers <sup>45</sup>, it has been taken from documents that have

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Difference  
with his  
father.

<sup>43</sup> Sir Thomas Eliot, in his "Governor," addressed to Henry VIII. has narrated this pleasing incident. M. Luders, who quotes the passage at length, 79—82, has properly remarked on the unauthorized additions of the blow and ill company, which even Sir Edward Coke has appended to it.

<sup>44</sup> See the detail in Hollingshed and Stowe's Chronicles.

<sup>45</sup> The reader may be pleased to have a specimen of it:—"Thou shalt be exalted unto the crowne for the wealth and conservation of the realme, and not for thy singular commodity and avail. My sonne, thou shalt be a minister to thy realme, to keep it in tranquillity and defend it. Like as the heart in the midst of the body is principall and chiefe thing in the body, so, my sonne, thou shalt be amongst thy people as chiefe and principall of them to minister, imagine, and acquire those things that may be most beneficial for them. And then thy people shall be obedient to thee, to ayde and succour thee, and in all things to accomplish thy commandements, like as thy members labour every one of them in his office, to acquire and get that thing that thy heart desireth: and as thy heart is of no force and impotent

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since disappeared. His unnatural attempt to procure his father's resignation, and the authority on which it is mentioned, have been noticed before, and it must be left to the reader's judgment whether it has any connection with these incidents.<sup>46</sup>

That on acceding to the crown he banished from his court the young noblemen with whom he had formerly associated, thus avoiding the rock on which Richard II. had been wrecked, has been stated, and is not improbable; — that he paid the tribute of grateful affection to Richard, who had knighted him, by having his body brought in state to Westminster, and honorably buried<sup>47</sup>, was an incident expressive of that elevation of character which marked his kingly conduct.

Introduced to war so early by his father — aware from his self-experience, of the necessity of giving a little-educated and turbulent nobility some greater subject of activity than the habits of their ordinary life supplied — alarmed by the disposition of many to question his title — urged by the clergy, who saw with disquiet the knighthood of the country investigating religious questions — and fond of partaking of the fame that has too lavishly been given to mar-

Projects a  
war with  
France.

without the ayde of thy members, so without thy people thy raigne is nothing. My sonne, thou shalt feare and dread God above all things, and thou shalt love, honour, and worshippe him with all thy heart; thou shalt attribute and ascribe to him all things wherein thou seest thyself to be well fortunate, be it victorie of thy enemies, love of thy friends, obedience of thy subjects, strength and activeness of body, honour, riches, or fruitful generations, or any other thing whatsoever it shall be that chance to thy pleasure. Thou shalt not imagine that any such thing should fortune unto thee, by thine act, nor by thy desert; but thou shalt thinke that all cometh only of the goodnesse of the Lord." Stowe's Chron. p. 341.

<sup>46</sup> See before, p. 372. That he sent the forces from his own friends to help Burgundy against Orleans, is mentioned by Elmham, p. 10, and by T. Livius, p. 4. The latter adds, "bona venia patris," which is not probable, as Henry IV. was then negotiating a treaty to assist Orleans; and Livius says, that "in hoc" for this "his fame was a little while hurt by the detraction of some." p. 4. Instead therefore of denying the previous faults of Henry V. it is more beneficial to his memory to recollect his sudden and earnest reformation and the new direction of his feelings and character.

<sup>47</sup> Mon. Croy. Gale's Script. vol. i. p. 499. — It is mentioned of Henry V. by Rous, his contemporary, that it was said at that time, that he was afflicted with the same disease of the white leprosy from which his father suffered. P. 207.

tial deeds — he soon renewed his claim to the crown of France, and gave the national mind its favorite employment of a war with France. The state which that country exhibited, presented indeed a temptation to English ambition, which an enterprising spirit, taught to consider battles as the noblest work of life, could scarcely be expected to resist.

Notwithstanding the hostilities of the king of Navarre, of the Jacquerie rebellion of the French peasantry, and of the factious demagogues at Paris, Charles V. had succeeded in disappointing the ambition of Edward III. and died in 1380, leaving France still agitated with interior dissensions, but recovered from the hands of its English conquerors.<sup>48</sup>

On his death, thirty-six princes of the blood, who were then alive in France, instead of being the support of the kingdom from their unity and patriotism, became its scourge by their divisions. Each of these princes had his partisans and creatures. The whole nation followed their example, and subdivided itself into factions of every sort. The uncle of Charles VI. who governed the kingdom in his name during his minority, contributed to its ruin; he multiplied the imposts, and pressed down the people by their weight. The treasures collected by Charles V. were dissipated. Every prince of the blood availed himself of the opportunities that presented themselves, of abusing his power, and gratifying his personal resentments.

At length Charles VI. attained his legal age of sovereignty, and assumed the helm of government. The hope of a happy and peaceable reign delighted the nation. He was naturally good and benevolent, and loved his people. In grateful return, they called

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X.

REIGN OF  
HENRY V.

State of  
France.

<sup>48</sup> On the state and trouble of France, from the turbulence of the king of Navarre, and the factions that ensued, the summary of M. Lecousse's Memoirs, published in the *Hist. de l'Acad. Inscr.* vol. viii. p. 329—373, may be profitably perused.

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him "The Well-beloved;" an applausive title, of which his disastrous reign has not deprived him. But he became unhappily afflicted with a mental derangement. Intrigues and factions then burst out on all sides. Every prince aimed at seizing the supreme authority. The power of the disabled sovereign was little else than a name; anarchy, and corruption of manners, spread over the country.<sup>49</sup>

The two chief parties that divided France were respectively led by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; and by the duke of Burgundy, his uncle. In 1403, Burgundy died, and his son John Sans-peur succeeded to the command of his party, which the people favored. He was of the same age with Orleans: and these two young rivals, full of ambition and impetuosity, distracted France by their fierce competition. The queen attached herself to Orleans. Their differences assumed the shape of actual war. A reconciliation followed; they swore mutual amity; and a few days afterwards, Orleans was assassinated by the orders or with the privity of the duke of Burgundy.<sup>50</sup> The latter, indeed, did not affect to deny his participation. He fled to Flanders to his brother-in-law, the duke of Holland, and in 1410 commenced war against Orleans and his party, who were called the Armagnacs. A small body of English assisted him in these hostilities.<sup>51</sup>

Burgundy reached Paris, and got possession of the king. In 1411, peace was again made between the rival factions, and Orleans pardoned him for the murder of his father. In 1413, the French nobility endeavored to dispossess him of the government; he

<sup>49</sup> I take this concise view of the history of France at this period, from the able Summary prefixed to *Mémoires du Pierre de Fenin*, pp. 310—317.

<sup>50</sup> Pierre de Fenin, who was prevost of Arras, and died in 1433, and whose *Mémoires* are esteemed as those of an honest man, tho favoring the party of Burgundy, says of this catastrophe, "Par la connoissance du duc Jean de Burgogne, il fit tuer le dit duc d'Orleans." P. 331.

<sup>51</sup> Pierre de Fenin, p. 347.

resisted them; the populace of Paris supported him; the king was taken from him; and another civil war ensued. It was terminated by an apparent peace, but all the spirit and causes of dissension and rivalry remained.<sup>52</sup>

It was at this period so inviting to a foreign enemy, that Henry V. determined on renewing his claim to the crown of France, and of invading that country. Much fencing negotiation followed.<sup>53</sup> The English clergy, dreading his reformation of their luxuries, and diminution of their temporal wealth, encouraged his ambition<sup>54</sup>; the English parliament and nation did not oppose, but rather applauded his project as soon as they were urged to it, and a large force was assembled at Southampton. His embassy to France, claiming his right, and threatening war if it were refused, was ineffectual.<sup>55</sup> If the young

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<sup>52</sup> Pierre de Fenin, 349—378.

<sup>53</sup> See this detailed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ix. p. 208, and in Rapin's *History of England*, and *Abrégé of Rymer*. The first demands of Henry were extravagant,—the cession of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; of Aquitain and of half of Provence; the arrears of King John's ransom, and the French king's daughter Catherine in marriage, with two millions of crowns. The French offered to give the duchy of Aquitain, the princess, and a portion of 600,000 crowns. Henry's embassy in January 1415, prolonging the truce till 1st May, relinquished the claim to Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, and half the required dowry. On 14th March, France advanced so far further as to make this 800,000 crowns, and to treat on the rest. These mutual concessions brought the parties to few points of difference. Rym. 210.

<sup>54</sup> Fab. 390. Lel. Coll. ii. 490. Hall, Chron. 49—56.

<sup>55</sup> Tit. Liv. p. 6. On 7th April, Henry wrote to Charles, complaining that the expected ambassadors had not arrived. On 15th April, before he could have received an answer, he wrote another letter, acknowledging that the ambassadors had been named, and that he had seen a copy of the safe-conduct for them, specifying the persons, and that he was content with their number; but he presses on the king's conscience a recollection of the bloodshed and miseries which would follow an invasion, as if it was the passive Charles, and not the attacking Henry, who would inflict them; a strange but not uncommon instance of selfish self-delusion. Labourer has printed these letters, vol. ii. p. 993, which M. Nicolas has englished. P. 16—21. But on the next day after the last, on 16th April, Henry met his parliament, and declared that he was determined to undertake the expedition in person for the recovery of his inheritance. Hence we cannot but infer that he had resolved upon it; and that his negotiation for peace was insincere, and intended only to draw the scrupulous or the hesitating into a gradual acquiescence and support. So early as the 8th March, and again on 4th April, he had sent commissioners to Holland and Zealand to engage transport ships for his troops in May. Rym. vol. ix. p. 215, 216. Henry was manifestly bent upon his warlike and ambitious enterprise; but pursued his negotiations to make a case for the great and little multitude, on the old but unprincipled maxim, *qui vult decipi, decipiatur*,

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dauphin of France sent him the puerile insult of the tennis balls<sup>56</sup>, it could only arise from the misconception of his character, which his youthful irregularities had occasioned. But Henry was from policy and sentiment too earnestly bent on the expedition, to need that additional excitation. The ambassadors who afterwards arrived from France, on finding the English seriously preparing to invade, displayed no qualities likely to conciliate the two countries<sup>57</sup>; and the king was about to sail from Southampton with his fleet, when a strange conspiracy of three noblemen endangered and astonished him; one was his bosom friend and favorite counsellor, Henry le Scrope; another, the brother of his kinsman the duke of York, whom he had created earl of Cambridge, and enriched with various grants; the third, was sir Thomas Grey, a northern knight. The king wept at the discovery of their treason. Their lives were

and perceiving that mankind only want, for the most part, a plausible verbal excuse for doing what they wish to do.

<sup>56</sup> Otterburn mentions this incident, p. 275; and the monk of Croylond, p. 500; Elmham, in his MS. life of Henry, in Latin verse, Julius, E 4, cited by Nicolas in his Agincourt, p. 7. The dauphin was then only eighteen. The king's answer was, that he would return him some London balls, which should knock his houses about his ears. The insult was probably not given until the French government found that all their offers and negotiations to avert the invasion were ineffectual. Thus driven to self-defence, it became a policy to lead their gentry to that contempt of Henry which would make them more ready to resist his attempt. The inedited contemporary MS. Claud. A 8. quoted by M. Nicolas, p. 8, mentions the dauphin to have said, "That the king was over young, and too tender of age to make any war against him; and was not like yet to be no good warrior to do such a conquest there upon him: and (somewhat in scorn and despite) he sent to him a tun full of tennis-balls, because he would have somewhat for him and for his lords to play with, and which became him better than any war." The MS. poem in the Harl. MSS. No. 565, which has been attributed to Lydgate, has a similar account:—

And thanne answerd the dolfyn bold  
To our bassatours soon again:  
"Methink your king, he is nought old  
No warres for to maintain.  
Greet well your king, he said, so young,  
That is both gentile and small,  
A tonne of tennis-balls I shall hym send,  
For to play him withall."—

Nicolas, p. 10.

I think there can be no doubt that the incident occurred. The dauphin did not live to reign, but died before his father, two months after the battle of Agincourt.

<sup>57</sup> One of these was the archbishop of Sens, whom Walsingham describes as a "vir verbosus et arrogans, sed parum disciplinatus." P. 434.



forfeited to the law, but he remitted the usual consequences of such a conviction. The popular belief referred the plot to corruption by French bribes<sup>58</sup>; but the written confession of the earl of Cambridge, shews that its object was to raise the son of the earl of March, his kinsman, to the throne, whom he declares to have assented to the plot.<sup>59</sup> It may have sprung from the resisting spirit which Henry's religious persecutions occasioned, and which led some to wish for another sovereign. He had provided for the defence of his kingdom against the diversion of an hostile incursion<sup>60</sup>, but he had no expectation of such domestic treachery. The king had raised the pecuniary means for his purpose with some difficulty. His parliamentary grant being insufficient, he applied to his people for voluntary loans.<sup>61</sup> He mortgaged the receipt of some of the custom duties<sup>62</sup>, and at last pawned a great portion of his jewels and plate<sup>63</sup>, for

<sup>58</sup> Wals. 435. Tit. Liv. 8. So the Cotton MS. Claud. A 8, which charges them with having received of the Frenchmen a million of gold. So Lydgate in Harl. MSS. No. 565.

<sup>59</sup> It is in the Cotton Lib. Vesp. C 14, and in Rymer, vol. ix. p. 301, and corresponds with the account of Monstrelet, vol. iv. p. 141, and with Hall, p. 61. A commission was issued to seventeen peers, to try the earl and lord Scrope, by whom they were found guilty. They suffered, 5th August, 1415. Rolls Parl. vol. iv. p. 64—67. The jury at Southampton had found that they had conspired to collect a body of armed men to conduct the earl of March to Wales, and to proclaim him heir to the crown, if *Richard II. was actually dead.* Ib.

<sup>60</sup> On 8th May, he issued orders to the archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates, to *array the clergy* for the defence of the realm; and three weeks afterwards, ordered some of the principal knights and esquires of each county to take a review of all the freemen capable of bearing arms; to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy. Rym. Fœd. vol. ix. p. 261. Dr. Lingard has justly remarked, that such commissions were usual in every reign since Henry II.

<sup>61</sup> His proclamation to his "tres chers et foialautz et bien amez" subjects is dated at Reading, on 10th May. It states that the lords and others of his retinue had been paid a quarter's wages; but that he had promised them another quarter's at the time of their embarkation, and that the money granted was not sufficient for this payment at that time, and implores all to grant such sums as his two officers named should point out, and that security would be given for the repayment. Rym. Fœd. p. 241.

Some of the sums given on these loans were—Canterbury, 100 marcs; Sudbury, 26*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*; Bristol, 240*l.*; the bishop of Hereford, 100*l.*, and of Lincoln, 40*l.*; a merchant of Lucca, 100 marcs. Rym. Fœd. vol. i. p. 268, 269. 271. Nicol. Agin. p. 44.

<sup>62</sup> Rym. p. 311—312.

<sup>63</sup> As these jewels and plate shew the taste of the day, and the price of gold and

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none seemed willing, or were perhaps able, to embark without some adequate payment in advance. The

silver, I will enumerate the chief from Rymer and sir H. Nicolas:—"One great circle of gold, garnished with fifty-six balays (rubies of a pearl color), forty sapphires, eight diamonds and seven great pearls, weighing 4lbs. and value 800*l.* was pawned for 1000 marcs;" thus lent: The corporation of Norwich, 500 marcs; of Lynn, 400 marcs; three individuals, 40*l.*, 20*l.* and 10 marcs. The loan was for a year and a half, after which, if not repaid, the jewels might be sold. Rym. vol. ix. p. 286. Redeemed 7 Henry VI.

A great gold collar of Ilkington, the king's jewel when prince of Wales, garnished with four rubies, four great sapphires, thirty-two great and fifty-three lesser pearls, weighing 36½ oz. and value 300*l.*, pawned for 500*l.*; lent by the bishop of Worcester and prior and corporation of Coventry, and one private person.

A pair of basins of gold, chased in the fashion of roses, pounced with great bossellets, and garnished with scutcheons, weighing 28lbs. 8ozs.; price 26*s.* 8*d.* the oz., value 458*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* Redeemed 7 Hen. VI.

The palet of Spain, with thirty-five balays and bastard rubies, four sapphires, fifteen great emeralds, three hundred small ones, and three hundred little pearls, worth 200*l.*; pawned with other jewels for 500 marcs to several persons. Redeemed 4 Hen. VI. Rym. p. 285, 6.

Among the other jewels and plate pledged for loans were—

A great tabernacle of silver gilt, garnished with gold, which belonged to the duke of Burgundy; with twenty balays, twenty-two sapphires, and one hundred and thirty-seven pearls. Rym. p. 285, 286.

A collar, called Pusan d'or, worked with antelopes, and set with precious stones. P. 284.

Of the crown, called the HARRY CROWN, broken and distributed, part of it being a great flower-de-lys, garnished with one great balays; another, one ruby, three great sapphires, and ten great pearls, to sir John Colvyl. A pinnacle of this crown, with two sapphires, one square balays, and six pearls, to J. Pudsey, esq.; and two other such pinnacles to other individuals.

An alms dish of gold, called the Tyger, made in the fashion of a ship, standing on a bear, with nineteen balays, twelve great, and fourteen other pearls; weight, 22lbs. 1½oz.; value the ounce 26*s.* 8*d.*; value the ship, 332*l.*; to the duke of York.

A great ship of silver, over gilt, bearing twelve men at arms fighting on the deck; and a cast at each end of the ship; weight, 65lbs. 3ozs.; value of the pound, 48*s.* and of the ounce, 4*s.*

Two candlesticks of gold, each weighing 14lbs. 7¼ozs.; price the ounce, 26*s.* 8*d.*

A paxbrede of gold, enamelled white, and a crucifix; weight, 5 ozs.; value the ounce, 26*s.* 8*d.*

A little gold tablet, in fashion of a mirror, garnished with three balays and nine pearls, hanging on a gold chain: one part enamelled with the Salutation of our Lady, and on the other a looking-glass; weight, 6½ozs. and half a quarter; value in all, 12*l.*

A great hawk's bowl of gold, with two vertorlls and one warrok of gold, and thirty other bowls, all of one sort: weight, 12ozs. and 20*d.*; value the ounce, 26*s.* 8*d.*; in all, 16*l.* 20*d.*

A tablet of gold: on the top the Trinity; beneath, at their feet, the Virgin Mary: on the foot of the table, the three kings of Cologne: it is garnished with twenty-seven gross pearls, seven of them worth each five marcs, and the other twenty worth 30*d.* a piece: the weight, 5lbs. 1oz. This jewel was given to Richard II. by the city of London, 1292: its value, 800*l.*

A pair of gold spurs with red typers: weight 7½ozs. at 26*s.* 8*d.* the ounce.

An ewer, over gilt, garnished with coral.

A sword, garnished with ostrich feathers; the king's sword when prince of Wales. Value, 22*l.*

A great ring of gold, in which is written "en un, sans plus."

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French ambassadors arrived, and were presented to him on 1st July.<sup>64</sup> They made further propositions to avert the invasion<sup>65</sup>; but the chancellor demanding the money and jewels offered to be placed in the king's hands on a day named, the French gentlemen assured him that the money could not be coined by that time.<sup>66</sup> This minister, the bishop of Winchester, was then ordered by Henry to break up the discussion.<sup>67</sup> The archbishop of Bourges gave a provoking reply, which he purposely made such<sup>68</sup>, and which so affronted the king, that he ordered them, in all haste, to depart, with an assurance that he would soon follow.<sup>69</sup> War then became as certain as, from the first, the king apparently meant it to be.

Henry made his will, as if acting with a full foresight of the peril he was encountering.<sup>70</sup> He went to Southampton on 2d August 1415, and on the following Sunday, the 11th, the wind becoming favorable, 1400 vessels of various sizes expanded their sails, and passed the Isle of Wight. Swans were

Henry  
invades  
France,  
14 Aug.  
1415.

A tabernacle of gold, within which is an image of our Lady sitting on a green terrace, with the figures of Adam and Eve, and four angels at the corners. On the tabernacle is a crucifix of gold and a church. It is garnished with three rubies, three diamonds, four balays, three sapphires, seventy great pearls, and forty little ones. Weight, 42ozs.; value, 60*l.* Nicolas, 46—53.

<sup>64</sup> Laboureur's Charles III. vol. ii. p. 992.

<sup>65</sup> They offered, besides the towns before consented to, the city and castle of Limoges, and 40,000 gold crowns, besides the 800,000 ones promised on the marriage with Katherine. Labour. *Ib.*

<sup>66</sup> The next St. Andrew's day, on 30th November. *Ib.*

<sup>67</sup> He said the present embassy had arrived from France very late, to his sovereign's great prejudice; and that altho they had offered 800,000 crowns and 17 towns, yet they had not specified how they were to be held; that is, whether their cession was to be considered as an impediment to his right to the crown of France, and therefore he doubted the sincerity of their king's wish for peace. Labour. vol. ii. p. 999—1001.

<sup>68</sup> Des Ursins mentions, that after the chancellor's speech, Henry added, that he was the true king of France, and that he would conquer that kingdom. On this the prelate said, "Sir! if it will not displease you, I will reply to you." Henry granted his permission. "Sir! the king of France, our sovereign lord, is the true king of France; and over those things to which you say you have a right, you have no lordship—not even to the kingdom of England, which belongs to the true heirs of the late king Richard; nor can our sovereign lord safely treat with you." Des Ursins, p. 289.

<sup>69</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>70</sup> It has this addition, which is said to have been in Henry's own autograph: "This is my last will, subscribed with my own hand. R. H. Jesus! mercy! and gre mercy, Ladie Marie! help!" Nicolas, p. 67.

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seen swimming about as the fleet was sailing, and every one hailed their appearance as a happy presage. Strange reasoning!<sup>71</sup>

On Tuesday afternoon, the king approached the mouth of the Seine, and directed his course to the bay of Harfleur, where he proposed to land.<sup>72</sup> It was then deemed a place of great military importance.<sup>73</sup>

As he entered the bay, his standard was hoisted as a signal for the captains to come to him for a naval council; and an order was diffused, that none should land before the king on pain of death, but that all should be ready to disembark on the following morning.

On this day, the 14th August, the sun rose in beauty, and a lovely tissue of clouds distinguished his appearance. But before the dawn had emerged, the earl of Huntingdon, with some knights, went on shore to explore the country, preparatory to the king's descent.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Having observed, in the British Museum, two MSS. which contain an interesting description of this invasion, by a chaplain or priest, who attended the king during it, which no preceding writer of our history had noticed, I inspected them, and found the account to be more exact and authentic than any which had been yet given to the public: I shall detail the account of it from the Sloane MS. It illustrates the mode of attacking towns when cannon were begun to be employed against them. The MSS. are Sloane MSS. 1776, and Cotton MSS. Julius, E 4. I have before quoted the first as Walsingham's, because it is indorsed as Higden Chron. and because Walsingham is stated to have written an "Auctarium Higdeni," Tann. Bib. Mon.; but if the MS. be a work of Walsingham's, it is rather his compilation than a composition, for the first part of his Henry V. is this chaplain's account, and the last part is a manifest transcription, with some abbreviations, of Th. de Elmham. Sir H. Nicolas has since incorporated the Sloane MS. in his "Agincourt," with the remark, that it had never been cited by any other historian than myself, and that only in the 8vo. edition of my work. This is true; but I had not discovered it when I printed the quarto edition. Sir H. Nicolas's book is more valuable for its additional notes from St. Remy, Des Ursins, and others.

<sup>72</sup> Sloane MSS. 1776. Monstrelet mentions the fleet to have contained about 1600 vessels. Vol. iv. p. 142.

<sup>73</sup> The speech to parliament in 1415, calls it, "the strongest town in those parts of the world, and the greatest enemy of the king's subjects," Plac. Parl. vol. iii. 62; and in the speech in 1416, it is distinguished as "the principal key of France," p. 94. Monstrelet says, "It was the commanding seaport of all that coast of Normandy." Vol. iv. p. 142.

<sup>74</sup> Sloane MS. Kydcause is the name given to the place where Henry landed, by Elmham, about three miles from Harfleur, p. 38. So Ypod. Hist. 188. Monstrelet calls it the harbour between Harfleur and Honfleur. P. 141,

The army hastily descended from the ships into various skiffs, boats, and barges, and rowed to the shore, at a point, where a wood of small trees with an inclining valley on one side, and farms, enclosures, and orchards on the other, offered some protection to their flanks, till the necessary defences could be obtained from the ships.<sup>75</sup>

The coast was here very rocky. Great stones lay about, fit for the destruction of shipping, and also many smaller ones that would have annoyed them greatly on their attempt to land, if any troops had been there to have used them; but the English passed safely and unmolested the first ridge of the shore, and then found, between them and the land, deep ditches full of water, and earthy walls of great thickness at their back towards the land. These were armed with angles and bulwarks for defence, as if they had been a castle with its towers. Between each ditch the breadth of two feet only was left for the passage of a single person.<sup>76</sup>

This state of defence was continued from the beginning of the rocks on the shore, which it was assumed none could ascend without the greatest difficulty, up to the marshes, which joined Harfleur, for above half a mile, and was full of stones, by which artillery might have impeded or prevented their advance. But by the enemy's inattention and surprisal, all this strong locality was found by Henry quite un-

<sup>75</sup> Sloane MS. Monstrelet makes Henry's army to have consisted of 6000 helmets, and 23,000 archers, besides cannoners, p. 143.; but the list printed by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 81., from the Sloane MS. No. 6400., which particularizes the names of the chief persons, enumerates about 2500 men at arms, 4000 horse archers, 4000 foot archers, and 1000 persons of different descriptions, as miners, gunners, and other artizans; in all 11,500. If we suppose that every man at arms had his valet and other servants, the whole body may have doubled this number. The minstrels were John Cliff and 17 others, to each of whom were assigned 12*d.* a day. Among these, three "trompers," three "pypers," and one "fydler," are specified. Rymer, vol. ix. p. 260. Nicol. 101.

<sup>76</sup> *Ib.* p. 143.

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}

defended, altho so capable of checking his intended progress.<sup>77</sup>

The passage thro the marsh was very difficult: it was full of ditches and pits of water, into which the river had been made to ebb and flow; and the causeways thro it were so narrow, that a few could have defended them against many thousands; but the English had arrived unexpectedly, and the French were not prepared to take advantage of their own means of resistance.

By the 18th August, all that was necessary for enabling the troops to advance had been transported from the ships; and the king then ordered, on the penalty of capital punishment for disobedience, that no more burnings of the enemy's houses or property should be made; that all churches and sacred edifices, and their goods, should remain untouched; and that no women, priests, or clergy, should be meddled with, unless armed or attacking.<sup>78</sup>

Siege of  
Harfleur.

The army then moved towards Harfleur in three bodies; and the king halting his division in front of the city, shewed himself before it in the middle of his troops on the summit of a hill, the other divisions being arranged behind as wings; the tide prevented

<sup>77</sup> Sloane MS. p. 143.

<sup>78</sup> *Ib.* On the discipline of the English army at that time we may remark, that it had been settled on very creditable principles in 1386 by Richard II. His ordinances then made, enjoined that no one should touch the sacrament nor its pix, nor pillage a church, nor destroy any religious person, nor force women, on pain of being hanged; nor take lodging but by the assignment of the constable and marshal, on pain of arrest and forfeiture of horse and harness. If he robbed or pillaged either in victuals, forages, or other thing, or victuallers or merchants, his head was to be smitten off. None were to make debate of arms, prizes or lodgings, nor riots or contentions in their quarters, nor be parties in quarrels, on other penalties. None to be so hardy as to cry havoc, on pain to have their head smitten off. If one overthrew an enemy, but from going on, another should receive his faith, each was to have half the ransom. None to move out of his array from the battles, in the marching or in lodging. Every man to pay one third of his winnings to his lord and master. Every one to be obedient to his captain, to do his watch and ward, to go a foraging, and all things that appertaineth to a soldier to do, on pain of arrest and loss of horse and harness. These and other regulations are in the Harl. MS. No. 1309. Nicol. 107.

them from coming up to take their stations round the town.<sup>79</sup>

Harfleur was situated in the extremity of the valley, thro which the Seine ran, and over which the sea flowed at highwater above a mile beyond the middle of the town. The river descended with its sweet water thro the middle of the vale, filling the deep and broad ditches which it contained.<sup>80</sup> It was a small but pleasing town, well armed and surrounded with walls, with external angles, that in the opinion of Master Ægidius or Giles<sup>81</sup>, made it more difficult to be assailed and easier to be defended. It had also high towers and several inferior forts. Its entrances were by three gates. One of these fronted the part where the king took his stand; the others were on the opposite side. Before each of these, the French had built a strong fortification, which by the army was called a Barbican, and, by many, a Bulwark. That on the king's side was very large, and had been made stronger by round and thick trees, nearly as high as the wall, fixed round the work, and strongly tied and fastened to it. Earth and timbers were piled up within it, with hollows and interstices for guns and projectile machines. It was circular in its structure, and in diameter wider than the space over which a stone is usually thrown. The whole

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<sup>79</sup> Sloane MS. p. 143.

<sup>80</sup> *Ib.* Tit. Livius describes Harfleur as situate between two mountains on the sea shore, P. 9.

<sup>81</sup> This Magister Ægidius is mentioned several times in this MS. and reads as if a Master Giles had been the king's chief engineer. But I presume he means Ægidius Romanus, or De Columna, who, tho a disciple of Thomas Aquinas, and one of the *Frates Eremitæ*, and doctor of theology at Paris, and known among the schoolmen by the title of the "Doctor fundatissimus," yet wrote a book "*De Regimine Principum*, and how cities should be governed in time of war," which appears to have embraced the subject of battles and sieges. Altho military studies now form no part of a clergyman's mind, yet, in the middle ages, the martial priest and prelate were not uncommon characters; and that this volume of Ægidius embraced warlike subjects, is obvious from this citation of Du Cange, from its 19th chapter: "They ought to have great plenty of iron and of timber to make the necessary engines," vol. ii. p. 481. This Ægidius was bishop of Berry, and died in 1316. *Fab. Bib. Med.* vol. i. p. 52.; and *Cave Hist. Lit.* 657.

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bulwark was surrounded with a deep water, as broad as the extent of two lances in its narrowest part, with a bridge and moveable portcullis.<sup>82</sup>

On the 18th August, the king having encamped his army in the fields, orchards, and enclosures about the town, called a council, to decide how he should arrange his siege against such visible strength; and from what points he should draw his supplies, and what watches should be appointed for the night as well as for the day, to guard against the irruptions and the ambushes of the besieged, to whose aid the lord de Gaucourt had arrived with 300 lances, and had assumed the command of the defence.<sup>83</sup>

The river had made the other side of the town apparently inaccessible, but Henry sent his brother Clarence to place his force at that point. The duke marched to it during the night, and took a convoy of cannon, gunpowder, darts, and ballistæ, which had been sent from Rouen to assist the town.<sup>84</sup>

The next day, the king again exhibited his person and powers to the besieged, and ordered his navy to form the siege on the sea quarter, and to place their boats and smaller vessels in the river, and along its canals in the valley. He then sent in a summons, inviting the garrison to a peaceful surrender to him as rightful duke of Normandy. On their refusal, he threatened to punish them as rebels if they resisted. His menaces were disregarded. They considered themselves to be the subjects of another prince, and

<sup>82</sup> Sloane MS. p. 143. Monstrelet says, the king fixed his quarters at a priory in Graville, p. 142.

<sup>83</sup> *Ib.* Monstrelet says, that "about 400 picked men at arms had been sent by the French government to defend Harfleur, under the lords D'Estouteville the governor of the town, De Gaucourt, and others." *Ib.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ib.* Monstrelet remarks, that the English took a supply of gunpowder sent by the French king to the town. P. 144. Des Ursins mentions, that about the end of August the besieged let down a man by night under the walls to go to the French king to request assistance; and that he so managed as to deliver his message to the duc de Guyenne, at St. Denys, on Tuesday the 1st September. P. 292.



resolved upon a firm and loyal defence.<sup>85</sup> The king immediately commanded his warlike machines to be prepared, the trenches and ramparts to be formed, and his cannon to be mounted, and he passed many nights without sleep, from his anxiety to see them completed. He extended his works below the range of their shot in front of the town, and placed before them protecting defences, composed of thick and high boards, with iron fastenings, to save them from the projectiles of the enemy. He caused ditches also to be made on each side of them, for the safety of those who worked his artillery and engines, and also of their stationed guard. Other fortifications were erected, to benefit those who were appointed to watch the main bulwark of the besieged. This body of the assailants dug up the earth unceasingly, and piled it against this strong work as far around it as the water would permit.<sup>86</sup>

The king then directed all his guns and instruments to batter this barbican, as the chief defence of the town; and the impetus and weight of the stones he discharged, in a few days so shook its walls and towers, that a great portion of it was in ruins, and the fine edifices of the town to its very centre were beaten down, or greatly dilapidated. During these attacks, the besieged were not inactive; they plied all their artillery and means of annoyance as assiduously and with considerable effect; and as fast as their fortifications were injured by Henry's cannon during the day, at night by new timbers, and by baskets full of earth, sand, or stones, and with faggots compacted with clay and dung, they filled up the breaches and made new defences; they covered also every vacant space and opening with soft mud of

<sup>85</sup> "They took up the pavement between Montivilliers and Harfleur, to make the road as bad as possible, and carried away the stones." Sloane MS. p. 143.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

great thickness, that the stone balls of the English artillery might be absorbed as they fell, and, however violent their impulse, be prevented from doing harm. They provided also pots full of gunpowder, sulphur, and quicklime, and vessels of wildfire, and others of burning fat, to cast into the eyes of the assailants, and upon them, whenever they should attempt a storm and to be scaling the walls. Contrivances were also made for burning every instrument that the besiegers could employ to assist them in the actual assault and the preliminary aggressions.<sup>87</sup> The French government was in the meantime collecting a powerful army to relieve the town, or to harass the besiegers.<sup>88</sup>

The king resolved to undermine the walls. The tortoise covering was prepared to save the operators, and subterraneous excavations were accordingly begun; but the neighboring hills and the nature of the ground compelled them to work in the sight of the enemy<sup>89</sup>, who discerning their purpose, twice by countermines defeated all their labors. Henry a third time repeated his attempt, but with no advantage, excepting that of alarming the besieged<sup>90</sup>, and seeing their determined and effective resistance to the ordinary measures of attack, he bent his mind to a resolute assault.

With this object in view, he caused faggots ten feet long to be made and carried thro his army, to fill up the ditch on his side, and also some wooden

<sup>87</sup> Sloane MS. p. 143.

<sup>88</sup> They were assembled at Rouen, and other points on the frontiers, under the charge of the constable, the celebrated marshal Boucicaut, and several other captains. Monstrel, p. 144.

<sup>89</sup> The author here remarks, that it was contrary to the doctrine of Mag. Ægidius to do this in sight of the enemy.

<sup>90</sup> Sloane MS. p. 143. This writer and Monstrelet curiously confirm each other. The latter mentions that Henry "caused three mines to be carried under the walls, and his engines had nearly demolished the gates," p. 145. Tit. Livius also says, that the king's miners dug till they met the enemy's counterminers; a cruel slaughter followed their contentions, but the English excavations were stopped from reaching the town. P. 10.

platforms of the height of the walls, with scaling ladders. Similar things were fabricated by the duke of Clarence in his camp, and bound together, that the assault might be from both divisions simultaneous and general. But the French observed these preparations, and by darting upon them all their fiery weapons, checked their intention.<sup>91</sup>

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The force placed with the mining parties succeeded in carrying the exterior ditch of the walls, and from hasty ramparts raised on that, discharged showers of arrows from their balistæ, and of stones from their slings, which drove the defenders from the part before them; and as the waters so completely separated the king's division from the duke's, that the communication between them could be kept up only by boats, and as the French made some demonstrations which created the idea that they might attack it singly with an overwhelming force, Clarence, by Henry's desire, caused a ditch of great depth and breadth to be dug between him and the town<sup>92</sup>, and to make a rampart upon its bank of the excavated earth, with thick trees and stakes fixed in it, that from the guns and engines and cross-bowmen placed upon it, he might annoy the garrison with their destructive projectiles.

<sup>91</sup> Sloane MS. p. 145.

<sup>92</sup> This was also done according to the directions of Mag. Ægidius, with whose work this author, tho a clergyman, appears to have been well acquainted. Indeed the whole style of this narrative implies a military eye and judgment. There is a MS. copy of Mag. Ægidius's *de Regimine Principum* in the British Museum, which is the work alluded to by this author. It is chiefly a work of moral and prudential instruction to kings. Its first chapters inculcate, that it does not become majesty to place its happiness in sensual pleasures, nor in riches, beauty, bodily strength, civil power, nor in glory of fame; but that it should aim to be prudent, just, temperate, liberal, firm, magnanimous, and mild. It urges sovereigns to love the good, to cultivate humility, to speak truth, and to be steady, kind, and amiable. It is in the last part of the third book that its military instructions begin, and its lessons are most full on encampments, sieges and defences. One chapter teaches how naval battles should be fought. It was written before cannons were used, but it recommends (c. 17.) that something fiery or ignited should be attached to the stones, which were thrown from their machines, to show by the blaze the state of the places where they fell. Harl. MS. 4802. Ægidius was a tutor to the French king, Philip the Fair, and wrote the book for his instruction. It was so popular as to be translated even into the Hebrew language. Tirab. Hist. Lit.

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For making this work with rapidity, a certain number of feet was assigned to every lance and to every bow, till the whole was completed.<sup>93</sup>

The deleterious effects of a place so enveloped in waters, on which a summer's sun was acting, were felt throughout the army; diseases spread, and the ripe and unripe fruit of the orchards about Harfleur increased the evil. The king's favorite counsellor, the bishop of Norwich, suddenly died after five days illness of a dysentery. The French had been carefully watching the besiegers, and perceiving some relaxation of activity on the day of the prelate's death, they sallied out unexpectedly from the bulwark, overpowered all that opposed them, and set fire to all the English works. They were at last repelled, and retired with expressions of contempt to the slothful ones, who could not better watch their laborious constructions.<sup>94</sup>

The next day, Lord Huntingdon retaliated by a similar attack on their main fortification, at the point where its walls had been levelled by the English artillery. Fire was thrown skilfully upon it; the assailants persevered; the French fought vigorously to drive them back and to extinguish the burning element, but the flames acknowledged no master; they raged with an increasing fury, and the combustible wood works, which had made it so strong against the external foe, now but insured the destruction of the protecting rampart. It was necessarily abandoned; and so fierce was the conflagration, that the English were obliged to let it burn for three days, till it had consumed all that fed it, before they could suppress it.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Sloane MS. p. 145.

<sup>94</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ib.* St. Remy mentions that the French noblemen assembled five or six thousand horse as near the English camp as possible; planted ambuscades, and sent out parties to draw the besiegers in pursuit towards these places. This was

The country was so well guarded by the French armies, who were hovering round the besiegers, that the English could take no town or castle in the neighborhood, to support their operations; but their strong foraging parties overran the lower countries in search of provisions, and brought large booties to their head quarters. These advantages were of great importance to the English army, because, as the greater part of the food they had brought with them had been spoiled by the sea, they began to be straitened for provisions — an extraordinary circumstance, with the channel open to their navigation, and England so near — but commissariats were in those days little understood, tho good supplies of victuals are even more necessary to an army than its artillery.<sup>96</sup>

On this disaster, the town was again summoned, and a haughty refusal was again returned. The king then resolved to risk an immediate assault; the disease that was spreading thro his army, made the protraction of the siege more destructive than the weapons of his opposers<sup>97</sup>; and in the evening he caused it to be proclaimed by his trumpets thro all the army that the mariners on the sea side, and the military forces according to the assignments of their captains, on the land side, should prepare to assault and scale the walls on the ensuing morn. To fatigue the garrison by an unsleeping night under arms, and make them thereby more sluggish for the next day's resistance, he directed all his artillery to keep up during the darkness an unceasing discharge of stones and missiles.<sup>98</sup>

done; but the English pursued too warmly, and one of the ambushes discovered itself too suddenly for them to inflict the injury they had intended. P. 84.

<sup>96</sup> Monstrel. p. 145.

<sup>97</sup> A bowel complaint had become epidemical, and above 2000 had died of it. Monstrel. p. 145.

<sup>98</sup> Sloane MS. p. 145.

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The besieged now anticipated the calamity that was approaching them. They compared their means of repulsion with Henry's powers of attack, and their chiefs were satisfied that if they endured it, they must fall the victims of the onset. It was beyond all military probabilities that they could prevent the capture and all its bloody consequences: therefore in the night they sent to the king, to propose a conditional capitulation; they asked leave to apprise the French king and his son, the dauphin, of their situation, and proposed to surrender, if in a few days they were not relieved.<sup>99</sup> Many of the English leaders, thinking only of a certain prey and enriching booty, from the sack of an opulent town, were adverse to all amicable arrangement, but the king's humanity and wiser policy accepted of their offer.<sup>100</sup> He took hostages for its just fulfilment. Notice was sent to the French princes. Another nobleman of eminence fell in the meantime a victim to the spreading malady that was thinning the besiegers, in the earl of Suffolk; and on the stipulated day, no relief advancing, the governor appeared to surrender.

The king resolved to receive the submission in regal state. Under a splendid tent his throne was raised, with hangings and carpets shining with gold, on the hill before the city; his nobles, in their most brilliant apparel, stood around him, and his helmet crown was triumphantly borne upon a spear by Sir Gilbert Umfreville. The lord of Gaucourt then came slowly from the city, with the chief inhabitants following; and, kneeling before Henry, rendered up the keys;

<sup>99</sup> Sloane MS. p. 145. Monstrelet mentions three days as the allotted term, p. 146. The Cotton MS. Cleop. c. 4. states "that the Frenchmen asked only two days," but our king answered and said, "that the day that they asked was too short, and so he gave them till the Sunday next sving, that was the fourth after, at twayn after noon." Nicol. p. 124. The answer of the French princes was, that the king's forces were not yet assembled, and could not give them such a speedy succor. Sloane MS. p. 146.

<sup>100</sup> MS. *ib.*

the king received them graciously, and soothed the submitting citizens with a supper of that magnificence, which lessened their mortified feelings and satisfied their sensual tastes.<sup>101</sup>

It is remarked, as a subject of military exultation, that this strong and faithfully defended town was mastered by Henry in thirty-eight days.<sup>102</sup> It is probable that this early surrender of a place, so advantageously situated for defence, so well fortified against the usual modes of attack in that age, and so skilfully and resolutely maintained, may have justly done credit to the vigor and judgment which assailed it; but the achievement, tho it established the king's warlike reputation, cost him a great portion of his brave army. The free use of autumnal fruit, the chilliness of the nights, and the exhalations

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<sup>101</sup> Sloane MS. p. 146. This scene is interestingly described in another MS. cited by Sir H. Nicolas. "When the embassatores were come from the French king on the Sunday, our king was in his tent, with his lords and gentells; and sat in his estate as royal as ever king did; and as it is said, there never was a Christian king so royal, neither sat any so lordly in his seat as did he. The king had assigned certain lords and knights to bring them to him. When the Frenchmen were come, a knight in the midst of them brought the keys in his hands; and when they came to the tents, they kneeled all down together, but there they had no sight of the king, and then they were brought into other tents, and there kneeled down eftsoons a long time; but sight of our king had they none. There they were taken up, and brought into an inner tent; and there kneeled down a long time, and yet saw not our king. And then they were took up, and brought where our king was. There they kneeled long time; but our king would not reward them with none eye till they had long kneeled; and then the king gave them a reward with his look, and made a countenance to the earl of Dorset, that he should take of them the keys. And so he did. And then were the Frenchmen taken up and made cheer, and thus had our king the town delivered; and made thereof the earl of Dorset, captain." MS. Cleop. c. 4. p. 24. Nicolas, p. 129.

<sup>102</sup> Elmham, p. 50. It was thus taken possession of according to Des Ursins. One of the king's brothers entered Harfleur in great pomp, and caused those who would not swear fealty, to be sent to England. He went from house to house, mounted on a small horse, and commanded that every thing should be delivered up to him on pain of being hung. He asked nothing of any man who was not found armed: and allowed all men of the church and all women to put on their best apparel, and to carry with them what they pleased, without making a bundle. It was forbidden to search them. More than 1500 women thus left the town; and when without the town, near to St. Aubin, they brought them bread, wine, and cheese, and wished them to drink. The English escorted them as far as Lislebonne, where the marshal Boucicaut provided for them, and next day sent them to Rouen. Des Ursins. When Henry came to the gates of Harfleur, he dismounted from his horse, took off his shoes and stockings, and with naked feet went to the parish church, to give thanks for his success. St. Remy, p. 84. Nicolas, p. 131.

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of the unburied animals that were killed in the camp, afflicted the army with a dysentery during the siege, which spread destruction amid its commanders and soldiers. In this attenuated state, the king thought it necessary to hold a council of war, to deliberate on his ulterior measures. His brother Clarence expressed the dictates of prudence, in recommending them to re-embark, and return to England.<sup>103</sup> But to the king's heroic mind, even wisdom was unpalatable. He preferred danger to disgrace. The recollection of the triumph which his retreat would afford to his enemies, who had already personally taunted him, was a mortification to which even death seemed a less evil. To march by land to Calais, would be an act of superior courage; and he declared that he would rather dare every peril, than let his rivals say that he had fled from his inheritance thro fear. His gallant countrymen sympathized with his feelings, and adopted his determination. The spirit of daring valor, defying the calculation of probabilities, sprang up in most, so encouragingly, that Henry resolved upon the attempt. He sent some knights of courage and judgment to explore the country and ways towards Calais, and to gain every useful information as to the opposing forces which might be collecting. He dispatched a herald with the governor of Harfleur, to the dauphin, to propose terms of peace, and to observe whatever it would be beneficial to know; and also to propose a personal combat between himself and the French heir apparent, for the decision of the quarrel.<sup>104</sup> Eight days elapsed, but the herald did not return, and no messenger came instead. Dreading the effects of further delay, the king appointed 300 lancers and 900 archers on pay to keep the town; and as many were still suffering from the

<sup>103</sup> Tit. Liv. 12.

<sup>104</sup> Sloane MS. p. 146. Rymer has printed the challenge, vol. ix. p. 313.



diseases of the siege, who would be useless in his further operations, he caused these to be separated from the sounder part of his army, and gave them leave to return to England. Not fewer than 5000 men, some of them furtively, availed themselves of this permission, and withdrew from his standard.<sup>105</sup>

After this diminution, not above 900 lancers and 5000 archers are declared to have remained with him fit for march and battle<sup>106</sup>; and with these, in opposition to the dissuasions of the greatest part of his state council, he resolved to proceed thro Normandy to Calais, then calculated to be above 100 miles distant. He supposed that he could accomplish it in eight days; and as provisions could be carried with them for this short period, he anticipated no evils on this account, and therefore ordering every one to furnish himself with food for this space of time, and settling in his own mind the stations where they would rest, on Tuesday, the 8th October, he divided his small army into three distinct bodies, with moveable advance and rear guards, and intrepidly began his adventurous expedition<sup>107</sup>, altho he knew that all the activity and power of the French government were in full exertion to destroy him. A more desperate enterprise, since the darings of Alexander the Great, had seldom been attempted.

That the distance of 100 miles would be an easy march of eight days, if uninterrupted, was a reasonable supposition; but that the French princes would allow

<sup>105</sup> Sloane MS. p. 146. The duke of Clarence and the prisoners went with these. Monst. vol. iv. Walsingham adds the earl Marshal, earls of Arundel and Warwick, and also March, who was ill of the flux.

<sup>106</sup> I insert this number from the Sloane MS., as the author was then with the army. Monstrelet makes the English forces 2000 men at arms, and 13,000 archers, besides others. P. 160.

<sup>107</sup> Sloane MS. p. 146. Tit. Liv. 12. When he had resolved on this land march, he ordered the indispensable baggage to be carried on horseback, and left the carriages behind. As the French discovered the road by which he would proceed, they removed or destroyed the articles of food in that direction as much as they could. Elmham, p. 52.

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the condition to occur, on which the correctness of the calculation depended, was an assumption which implied that the king contemplated his opponents with an undue depreciation. He is stated to have acted with an unshaken reliance on the Divine support<sup>108</sup>, a just ground of steady confidence in every virtuous undertaking, but which no one has a right to anticipate in the selfish battles of political ambition; yet on whatever based, heroism in its most determined shape was the actuating principle of Henry's mind in this defying, but imprudent march. We cannot now see the animating images of inviting and expected glory which arose in his imagination, as he meditated on the exploit; nor which of the great characters enshrined in their ancient fame, he proposed to himself to emulate. All that is mentioned of him, by those who knew him, is, that a sincere, tho' erring persuasion, that he had right to the crown of France, an ardent desire of accomplishing some great action, or at least of attempting one, and a sublime confidence in Providence for the result, pervaded his resolute mind; and with a calm intrepidity, and a self-possession never surpassed, he prepared to meet the chances.

The French princes, suspending their feuds, were assembling a powerful force to overwhelm him. The disease and privations which the English army had suffered, and by which they were still enfeebled, became generally known; and great numbers crowded to the French standard to destroy the invaders, whose annihilation seemed unquestionable, and who were, from their own presumption, advancing to entangle themselves in an inextricable net. They kept for a time at a convenient distance, but they watched the English movements with a vigilance, that left nothing

<sup>108</sup> Sloane MS. p. 146.

undone, to defeat the apparent arrogance of their rash expedition.

Henry began his march on Wednesday, 9th October, by passing to the left at Moutac de Villiers, about two miles from Harfleur, and by commanding all his troops, on pain of death, neither to ravage nor burn the country, nor to take any thing by force but victuals and indispensable necessaries, nor to injure any but those who should attack them. The next day he reached Archies, whence a river flowed to Dieppe, about three miles from their left on the sea shore. The town of Archies was defended by a narrow bridge and a castle, and the road lay directly thro it. Henry displayed his forces in array around it, but the garrison refused a passage, and discharged stones from their artillery.

Further deliberation disinclined them to a protracted resistance; and to redeem themselves and the neighbourhood from the flames that were threatened, they opened their gates, and supplied the English with bread and wine.<sup>109</sup>

The troops passed thro the middle of the town, whose entrance they found fortified by thick trees across the road, which might have caused much annoyance if resolutely defended, and on Saturday, 12th October, they reached Eu, a strongly fortified town.<sup>110</sup>

At first Henry left it about half a mile on his left, but a part of the French army having assembled there, came out furiously to attack him; after a short conflict he drove them into the town, and this success fixed his attention upon it.<sup>111</sup> The French again chose to treat, and to preserve the contiguous dis-

<sup>109</sup> Archies or Arques, "a small town on the river Arques, about four miles SSE. from Dieppe." Nicol. 144.

<sup>110</sup> Sloane MS. Monst. 160. Eu is a sea-port town on the river Brele, 15 miles NW. of Dieppe." Nic. 145.

<sup>111</sup> Sloane MS. Tit. Liv. 13.

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tricts (in which the English took their lodging for the night) from being laid waste, by furnishing bread and wine for the refreshment of the army.

But this amicable intercourse occasioned it to be diffused thro the camp, that a vast multitude of hostile force was preparing to attack it, and that the deadly battle would take place on the next day, or on the Monday, when they should attempt to cross the Somme.<sup>112</sup>

These rumors excited much discussion; some reasoned, that from the discord and deadly hatred between the French princes and the duke of Burgundy, the dread of his movements in their absence would keep the former near the capital; but others thought more congenially with their own feelings and with the manners of the times, that if any heart was in the French chivalry, their noble courage could not endure the stain of disgrace, which would indelibly attach to them, as dastardly degenerating from their ancient fame, if they could suffer the king of England to come into their country, take a town, and then, with an army so small, march triumphantly thro it, so far from his own home, and so hopeless of further succor.<sup>113</sup> A speedy battle was therefore deemed inevitable; and, before the numbers became too unequal, was eagerly desired.

On the next day, Sunday, 13th October, traversing the Vimeu, they reached Abbeville, and hoped on the following morning to pass the Somme, near that

<sup>112</sup> On 7th October, sir William Bardolf wrote to the regent in England, "By the answers of divers good friends, it is generally reported to me that, without doubt, the king our lord will be fought with by his adversaries within fifteen days from this time at the latest. And it is said that the duke of Lorraine, amongst others, has already assembled 50,000 men; and that when they all meet, there will not be less than 100,000 men or more." Rym. vol. ix. He sent 300 of his best men at arms from Calais to meet and join the king, but they were intercepted and routed. Des Ursins, 310. Labour. p. 1007.

<sup>113</sup> Sloane MS. When the French council had resolved that the English should be attacked, three knights, famous for valor and for having long carried arms, were specially selected to charge the English archers, in order to break their ranks. Des Ursins, 312.

town, at Blanchetaque, the point where Edward III. had found and forced a passage before the battle of Cressy.<sup>114</sup> Henry had now performed half of his journey in the first half of the time he had calculated ; but he was here doomed to find, that what was easy to be done when nothing obstructed, became impracticable against resolute opposition. As his soldiers were indulging themselves in the belief, that they should penetrate to Calais as easily and as rapidly as they had reached Abbeville, it was suddenly announced by the spies and exploring horsemen who had been sent out, that the bridges and their piers were broken down, and that a great army of the French was arranged on the opposite bank, to dispute and prevent their passing the intervening river. This unwelcome news made any further direct march to Calais impossible ; they could not cross the stream in the front of such a formidable resistance ; with all their bravery and discipline, this was acknowledged to be impracticable, and yet as this stream ran from the interior of the country to the sea, they could never get to Calais unless they passed it, or began a toil-some and circuitous march, to reach and go round its sources. But to take this course, would be to plunge themselves in the heart of France, and as it were to embosom themselves amid their exulting enemies, who would be multiplying around them at every step of their advance, while their own provisions would be exhausted, and their strength worn down by watch-

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<sup>114</sup> Monst. 161. St. Remy laments the determination not to let Henry cross at Blanchetaque without obstruction, because he would then have gone quietly to Calais, and there would have been no battle of Agincourt. He mentions that a gentleman prevented it, whom his countrymen afterwards said was a devil, and not a man, for doing so. They accuse him of having falsely told the king that the passage was guarded by 6000 good fighting-men ; and that Henry from this report, after having deliberated with his council two hours upon it, determined to proceed higher up the Somme, to find an easier ford. St. Remy, 86, 87. But the English authorities affirm, that his own scouts informed him of the French preparations to resist his passage ; and it is not likely that on a point of such vital importance to him at that juncture, he should omit to make the most careful inspection of the difficulties interposed.

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ings, alarms, want, and fatigue. Now the full desperateness of their too confident enterprise opened to their dismayed view; but they had no choice, except that of an immediate return to Harfleur, before they should be intercepted; a measure of dishonor, which none durst propose to Henry, whose mind was sternly fixed on death or success. It remained then for all to devote themselves to the visible perils and evils, which must attend an attempt to ascend to the head of the river, said to be about sixty miles off, and where they in a short time learnt, that, as soon as they looked that way, a large multitude of French troops had begun to assemble, to confront them with all their machines and artillery, and with intermediate ambushes at every suitable spot.

The king of France and his council were in fact exerting themselves adequately to the occasion. As soon as tidings of the surrender of Harfleur had reached Paris, summonses were issued for raising in every part of the kingdom the greatest possible force of men at arms; and to excite the national indignation, the terms of peace which Henry had refused were carefully circulated.<sup>115</sup> Earnest messages were dispatched to the nobles of Picardy, the province nearest the English, commanding them to collect their powers and join the duke of Aquitain, whom the king his father had appointed captain-general of the kingdom. The lords of Picardy received his sealed letters, but hesitated to obey, for the duke of Burgundy had enjoined them and all his subjects to attend to no orders but from him; a peremptory mandate, on 20th September<sup>116</sup>, was therefore dispatched by Charles to

<sup>115</sup> Monst. 152. At Paris, numerous processions were ordered, and a great number of solemn masses sung for the success of their forces. The clergy of Paris, in a body, with the university, and many prelates dressed in their pontifical habits, went from church to church, with tapers in their hands, to invoke the assistance of Heaven to their arms. Lab. p. 1007.

<sup>116</sup> Monst. 153—156.

his lieutenant at Amiens, reiterating his martial summons, threatening a confiscation of their property to all who should fail to come to his assistance sufficiently armed and mounted; requiring those who were disabled by illness or old age to send others, well accoutred, in their stead; and directing his officers to seize the lands, and to place foragers in the houses of those who should disobey. All the cannon and engines of war that could be spared from the principal towns were also directed to be moved to the army, and envoys were commissioned to the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, to require each to send immediately 500 helmeted knights. Orleans not only marched this number, but soon followed with all his forces. Burgundy promised to attend with the whole chivalry of his dominions; he chose however to be absent himself, but the greater part of his subjects armed themselves, and joined the multitudes who now flocked to the French standard.<sup>117</sup> History has never recorded a battle, in which more deliberate and powerful preparations were made to overwhelm an invader of inferior force.

To fail in crossing the Somme, where Edward III. had triumphantly made a passage, was a severe mortification to Henry's emulating spirit. But regret was useless; the enemy had intersected the ford with lines of such strong palisades, and had placed such numerous bodies of archers and men at arms to support them, that it was impossible to force the defence. Reluctantly yielding to his disappointment, he marched towards Arraines, burning and destroying the whole country from his vexation, in contradiction to his own orders, but making many prisoners and acquiring a great booty.<sup>118</sup>

He proceeded on the left side of the river to Bailleul, where he lodged, and thence crossing the

<sup>117</sup> Monst. 157.<sup>118</sup> Ib. 161.

country, sent a considerable detachment to gain the pass of the Pont de Remy; but this village was so ably defended, that he was compelled to retire from it, and to continue his march, and quarter his army at Hangest, on the Somme, and in the neighboring hamlets.<sup>119</sup>

At this time, D'Albreth the constable of France, the marshal Boucicaut, the grand master of the household, the admiral of France, with the duke d'Alençon, and the flower of the French knighthood, met in Abbeville. Learning Henry's new line of march, they left this town for Corbie and Peronne, and spread their forces with great judgment around, to guard all the fords of the river against the English sovereign.<sup>120</sup>

Sad, from the certain accounts of the great numbers that were thronging to the French army to overwhelm them, and still more grievèd from the obstructions to their passing the stream, which they nevertheless must pass before they could arrive at Calais, the English approached it again at another point; but it was only to find the bridge destroyed, and to see the French on the other side, proudly arranging themselves into order of battle. Provoked by their defiance, Henry looked around for some possibilities of reaching them; but the broad marshes that spread from each side of the banks, prevented all approach to them; neither army could do any injury to the other from weapons; but the French inflicted their severest blow by detaining him where he was.<sup>121</sup>

The calculated eight days had now passed; but instead of being at Calais, the English found themselves, with their provisions consumed, encircled by hostile forces, who were employing themselves in laying waste the contiguous country, to cause the

<sup>119</sup> Monst. 162.

<sup>120</sup> Ib.

<sup>121</sup> Sloane MS.



bold invaders to perish by famine. Worn down with fatigue, and weak from want of victuals, the stout English heart began at last to quail.<sup>122</sup>

They passed in despondence to Ponthieu, seeking still to reach the head of the river by a protracted journey, and to turn it at its source. Leaving Amiens about a mile on their left, they advanced without hope towards Boves<sup>123</sup>, defended by waters, bridges, and castles, but thro which their road lay, and which therefore they had to force: fortunately for their immediate comfort, it belonged to the duke of Burgundy; and after a short negotiation with its commander, they were admitted to lodge there that night, and were supplied with wine and bread, to the great refreshment of all.<sup>124</sup>

On Thursday, the 17th October, the king came to a plain, near the walled town of Corbie, on his left.<sup>125</sup> Here that part of the French army which had hastily reached this place, burst suddenly upon them; it was immediately engaged, and after a severe conflict, defeated and driven back<sup>126</sup>; but some prisoners were

<sup>122</sup> Sl. MS. At this part the author exclaims, "I who write, and many others, then looked up mournfully to Heaven to implore its clemency; and we earnestly solicited the mediation of the Virgin and of St. George, under whose protection the unconquered crown of England had hitherto so long flourished, that England might be preserved from the desolation that would follow the shedding of our blood." MS. ib.

<sup>123</sup> Monst. 162. Sloane MS. Pierre du Fenin, 379. "Boves, a small village, about four miles SE. of Amiens, by which a branch of the Somme passes." Nic. 155.

<sup>124</sup> Sloane MS.

<sup>125</sup> MS. ib. Monstrelet makes the stations after Boves to have been Herbonnieres, Vauville, and Bainviller; the French marching, as much as they could, in a parallel line with them on the opposite side of the Somme. P. 163.

<sup>126</sup> Hollingshed has thus noticed this hard struggle, from his contemporary authority. "At Corby, lord Bouchier, chieftain of a wing to the king, received the enemy's charge when the force and slaughter grew great, both on one side and the other. By the French, in especial, it was at first right fiercely pursued, inso-much that with a hardy charge upon our men, they had both beaten down the standard and won it quite away, to their high encouragement, and to our incredible despite and dismay. Whereat, one John Bromley, a near kinsman unto the lord, was so pierced at heart that he could not contain him, but ran eagerly upon the French, and with his soldiers, whom wrath and teene had already inflamed, did so fiercely set upon them, that they were not only beaten back, but also forced to abandon the place. At this push the captain cutting thro the thickest, struck down the champion that bore the standard, and gloriously recovered it again." For this exploit an annuity of 40*l.* was settled on him for life. Hollingsh. Nic. 156.

made, and from these Henry learnt that the French had conceived the plan of breaking the English line and archers by separate attacks of distinct bodies of cavalry, which were forming in squadrons for this purpose. To withstand these assailants, the king ordered every archer, without delay, to prepare for himself a strong palisade, either square or round, six feet long, and of a competent thickness, and to sharpen it at each end.

The direction was then given, that whenever the French armies drew near to fight, and should attempt to break their ranks by their masses of horse, every archer should fix his stake before him, and the rear ranks also behind, firmly planting one end in the ground, and inclining the other towards the enemy, about as high as a man's centre: so that either the violent charge of their cavalry might be received on the stakes, or that, seeing them, the horses might be terrified, and confuse their riders by their disobedience and self-checked impetuosity.<sup>127</sup>

Advancing onwards, the English lodged the next day in the districts near the fortified town of Denesle, and the king demanded supplies from the farmers, for the redemption of their lands from destruction. As they refused his request from a confidence in their armed countrymen about, Henry ordered the vicinity to be set on fire on the following day.<sup>128</sup> With depressed spirits and melancholy forebodings, the English prepared to pass the night without either refreshment or hope; but suddenly, in the midst of their despondency, one of the villagers communicated to the king the invaluable information, that he was near a point where the Somme was fordable. Eager

<sup>127</sup> Sloane MS. So St. Remy, p. 87. The old duke of York is said to have suggested this measure, which became so beneficial to the English in the subsequent battle.

<sup>128</sup> MS. *ib.* "Nesle, a town about 94 miles ESE. of Amiens, and nearly four miles W. from the nearest part of the Somme." Nic. 161.

to ascertain the truth of a report on which the preservation of all depended, and dreading an artful deception that might be meant to decoy, he sent immediately some selected knights to make the experiment, and to sound the depth of the water and the strength of its current. They explored, and they found it passable; but to get to it the army had to pass over a marsh about a mile from its bank, thro which ran a rivulet descending into the Somme. All the troops hastened thither, but soon found themselves shut up in an angle between two rivers, which put them completely at the mercy of the enemy.<sup>129</sup> But for their good fortune, that enemy was ignorant at the moment, both of their discovery and perilous situation; the French knew that they were proceeding straight to the head of the river, and were directing their strength that way, to confront them when they turned it. They had no suspicion of their being able to find out an intermediate ford; and it happened that this was the only pass of the Somme which had been left unguarded.<sup>130</sup> The French government had ordered the town of St. Quentin to plant stakes in it<sup>131</sup>; but the command, probably from too much security, had not been so effectually obeyed as to make the ford impassable.<sup>132</sup>

Henry lost not a moment to profit by the unexpected advantage. Two parts of the river were found where the depth did not exceed the height of a horse's girth; two long narrow causeways led to them, but these had been broken in the middle, so

<sup>129</sup> Sloane MS. Titus Livius mentions that some prisoners showed the passage, which was not much used. P. 54.

<sup>130</sup> Titus Livius, 13. Elmh. 53. Monstrelet places this ford between Bethencourt and Voyenne, and dates the crossing the morrow of St. Luke, or the 19th October. P. 163.

<sup>131</sup> Monst. 163. St. Remy mentions, that the people of St. Quentin had been ordered to destroy the passage. P. 87.

<sup>132</sup> Livius and Elmhams mention that the English found stakes there. If so, the defence was not made effectual, as the stakes did not impede the passage, nor is any difficulty from them noticed in the Sloane MS.

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that it was with difficulty that the horse could pass, even in single files, across the ruins.<sup>133</sup>

Two battalions were first passed over, with their flags, lances, and foot archers, to take a fit station, to guard the rest of the army, in crossing, against the irruptions of the French. Beams of wood, faggots, and straw were spread over the fractures, till a safe footing was made for three horsemen to ride over abreast.

The baggage of the army was conveyed over one ford, while the soldiers traversed the other. Henry took his station at the principal passage, and selected some determined commanders to superintend the next, that the crowded and hurrying troops might not, in their eagerness to pass, press down and suffocate each other.<sup>134</sup>

Before one hundred of the English had passed, the French appeared from the farm-houses beyond. They had been dispatched to secure the passage, but they came too late; the English, who had reached the right side, darted vigorously upon them, and the numbers who successively got over perpetually multiplying, the French could not bring up sufficient forces in time to repel them. The passage was begun an hour after noon and was finished before night; the movement was as rapid as it was essential; it had saved them a circuit of eight days; it had done more, it was felt to have preserved the king and his army.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Sloane MS. Pierre du Fenin thus names the place of this important passage: "King Henry passed the Somme at Esclusier, lodging at the tower of Miraumont." P. 460.

<sup>134</sup> Sloane MS.

<sup>135</sup> St. Remy thus describes this movement: "The king and all his army dismounted from their horses and came to the river, and began to destroy houses, and to take ladders, doors, and windows, to construct a bridge to cross; so that for eight hours, from the morning until near the close of day, the English never ceased to work in making the said bridge, and passed without horses. When a sufficient number had crossed, a standard was sent over; and when the advanced guard had all crossed on foot, the horses were taken across. Then the battalions and rear guard passed. It was night before they had all crossed. Altho it was night, the English marched on, and the king lodged not far from Athies, in the neighbourhood of which was the French army." P. 86, 87.

All now hoped that the French would follow and fight them<sup>136</sup>; a victory was still necessary for their safety, and the chance of a defeat was better than a longer suspension of the battle.

On the next day, Sunday, the 20th October, the camp of Henry was visited at Monchy la Gache, near Hamme, by three heralds, who came from the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to announce to him that they meant to give him battle before he reached Calais, but appointed no day or place.<sup>137</sup> The French, on receiving the unexpected news that he had crossed the Somme, had fallen back to Bapaume and its vicinity, and from thence to St. Pol<sup>138</sup>, and in vexation at his escape from what seemed inevitable destruction, their leaders made this ostentatious declaration. He heard them with unaltered countenance and unruffled temper, and mildly answered, "Be the event then as it pleases God." The Frenchmen had the assurance to ask him, which would be his line of march; and the king, with an unfeeling sincerity that in such a crisis has rarely been practised, replied, "Straight on to Calais. If our enemies attempt to obstruct us, they shall not do it without experiencing some mischief and danger. We shall not seek them, but neither will we make any movement to avoid them. We exhort them not to stop our way, if they wish to avoid the shedding of much Christian blood." He presented the heralds with a hundred crowns of gold coin, and dismissed them.<sup>139</sup>

Reflecting on this martial defiance, the king ex-

<sup>136</sup> Sloane MS.

<sup>137</sup> Sloane MS.

<sup>138</sup> Monst. 163. P. Fenin.

<sup>139</sup> Tit. Liv. p. 14. Elmh. 55. Des Ursins mentions, that on receiving this message, "the king of England was much rejoiced, and gave the herald who brought him the intelligence 200 crowns and a robe." P. 312. He adds: "Our people and the English were near each other on the following Thursday, the 24th October, and the next day ours deliberated on the request of the English, who had been in want of provisions three days, to give them battle, provisions, or a passage." Ib. St. Remy says that Henry sent two of his own officers of arms with his reply to the French lords. P. 87.

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pected to be attacked on the next day. He therefore harangued his army with an animation that kindled a consenting spirit in every bosom which heard him, and on the following morning went forward, in as much battle array as a line of march would allow; but his precautions only improved the discipline of his troops; he found no enemy.<sup>140</sup>

Avoiding the fortified town of Peronne on his left, he marched towards Ancre, and quartered himself and his army at Forceville and Cheu.<sup>141</sup> Cavalry advanced from Peronne as he moved near it, to draw him, by their skirmishes, within the reach of its artillery; but the English squadrons drove them to the town for shelter. He found the roads beyond Peronne cut up and worn, as if many thousands had just traversed them. This appearance of vast multitudes having preceded in order to encompass them at some disadvantageous position, spread some consternation among the less heroic of the distressed and wearied English.<sup>142</sup>

They advanced on Wednesday, the 23rd October, towards Lucheux, a walled town, and leaving it on their left, lodged themselves that night at Bouvieres l'Escaillon; here the want of due accommodations compelled them to a dangerous separation. The venerable duke of York, who commanded the van division, rested at Frenench on the river Canche, called here the River of Swords, and the rest of the forces were scattered in seven or eight different villages.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Sloane MS.

<sup>141</sup> Monst. 167. Peronne is a town on the Somme, about 23 miles E. by N. of Amiens.

<sup>142</sup> The clerical writer, on seeing the country so trampled, exclaims, "We raised our eyes to Heaven for its mercy and protection." Sl. MS.

<sup>143</sup> Monst. 168. Sl. MS. St. Remy, who was there in the English army, gives a similar account. "After Henry left Athes, he proceeded to Doing, near Peronne, and then lodged at Miramont, where he received certain information that he was to be fought, and then went towards Encre, and took up his quarters at a village called Forche Ville, and his army lodged in the neighboring places. Next morning

In this divided state a judicious night attack might have destroyed them ; but the French, too eager for their grand final success to watch minutely for the intermediate advantages, were pressing on with their accustomed ardor to get before them to St. Pol, and to the river Aunun.

This movement gave the English a secure and refreshing night, and on the next day, Henry marched in an imposing array to Blangy.<sup>144</sup>

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they marched to Luceu, and lodged at Bouvieres l'Escalon, and his advanced guard at Frenen." St. Remy. Nicol. 184.

<sup>144</sup> Monst. 168. "It so happened that on the day when the king of England left Bouvieres to proceed to Blangy, he approached a village which had been selected by his harbingers ; but not having been informed of it, and not knowing the village in which he was to take up his quarters, he passed it at a bowshot's distance, and rode on ; but when the circumstance was mentioned to him, he halted ; and said, 'Now God would not be pleased, as I have on my coat of arms, if I should turn back.' So he passed beyond it, and took up his quarters where the advanced guard were to have lodged, and caused that to proceed further on." St. Remy. Nic. 184.

## CHAP. XI.

HENRY the Fifth's Reign continued.—THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.  
— Conquest of France. — His Death and Character.

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WHILE the king was accomplishing these hazardous marches, the French government had assembled a military and state council, to settle the best plan for their operations against Henry.<sup>1</sup> The king of France, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Bretagne, and thirty-five of the most experienced warriors and statesmen, attended it. Thirty deciding for an immediate engagement, while five only advised delay, the substantial reasoning of the latter was disregarded, and the royal mandate was sent to the great constable, to give battle to the king of England.

Orders were at the same time speeded to all parts, that every nobleman who could bear arms should hasten night and day to the Grand French army, wherever it might be. The urgent command was zealously obeyed, and every lord hurried with his powers to join the constable in overwhelming the too daring invaders.<sup>2</sup> The duke of Burgundy's heir apparent wished to partake the anticipated glory of their destruction; but his father enjoined his neutrality, and confined him to a castle, to keep him from the conflict. The prince in vain expressed his

<sup>1</sup> Laboureur, in his History of Charles VI. states, that "The king of France came to Rouen at the commencement of October, with an army capable of conquering the best-disciplined forces. He had more than 14,000 *men at arms* commanded by distinguished leaders, of whom many were of the blood royal. There were nearly all the bravest knights and the most devoted to the king, who ardently desired to revenge the injuries they had received from the English. The citizens of Paris offered besides 6000 men well armed." P. 1006.

<sup>2</sup> Monst. 164, 165.



anger and his emulation; he was not permitted to stir, and he withdrew to his chamber in tears<sup>3</sup>, at a restraint which, in the midnight darkness of the impenetrable future, seemed to him to be an intolerable evil.

As Henry's army descended from Blangy across the valley, towards the river which bore the name of the town, it was announced to the king by his reconnoitring parties, that the French were stationed, to the amount of many thousands, on the other side of the stream, about a mile to his right.<sup>4</sup> As he was also informed, that if its bridge should be broken, it would be difficult to pass the stream, he directed immediately some noblemen and knights to take possession of it. This occasioned a sharp action, but the French were at length driven from it<sup>5</sup>, and the whole English force passed over to the farther bank with all possible celerity, and took instantaneous possession of the contiguous heights. The duke of York, whom the king had appointed to the chief command, having sent out persons to explore all the neighbouring places, ascended the summit of a hill to make his own survey. He was soon reached by a breathless messenger, who assured him that the French, to an amount which he could not number, were advancing. This report being confirmed by others<sup>6</sup>, was communicated to the king, who heard it with an undisturbed serenity, ordered the army to

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<sup>3</sup> Monst. 166, 167.

<sup>4</sup> Sloane MS. St. Remy says, "Before the king of England passed the river Blangy, he caused the coats of arms of six noblemen of his advanced guard to be displayed, and made them pass beyond it, to ascertain if it was unguarded. They found it undefended. Then the English crossed it in great force; and when they had passed the village of Blangy, they learnt from their scouts as a certainty that the French had likewise assembled in great force." St. Remy. Nic. 185.

<sup>5</sup> Elmham mentions, that on the arrival of the English detachment at the bridge, they found some of the enemy busily employed in breaking it to pieces. These they attacked and routed, wounding some and making many prisoners, and thus preserved the bridge from destruction. P. 56. Tit. Livius calls it a severe conflict.

<sup>6</sup> One of the reconnoitring officers was David Gam, a Welsh captain, whose report breathed the spirit of the English army: "There are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away." Powel, Hist Wales.

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halt, and, spurring his horse, went himself to observe his enemies. He saw them from the mountain, marching in large bodies to get before him to Agincourt, and spreading over the country like several mighty forests. He returned to his own columns with the unshaken equanimity of a mind that, believing the issue to be in the disposal of Heaven alone, calmly waited for its decision.<sup>7</sup>

The French concentrated themselves between Roussauville and Agincourt, about half a mile from the English, filling a spacious plain, and seeming to the eye of their computing opponents like an innumerable multitude of locusts. A small valley separated the two armies.<sup>8</sup> The constable of France soon arrived at the village of Agincourt, and his battalions were then encamped on the plain as one body, with every man arranged under his own banner, excepting those of the lower degrees, who lodged themselves as well as they could in the adjoining hamlets. Their leaders planted their flags, amid loud exclamations of anticipated triumph, around the royal standard of the constable, on the spot he had marked out, and over which the English would be compelled to pass, on the next day, in their march to Calais.<sup>9</sup> They lighted great fires near every banner, to prevent a night surprise, and to show to every one his central point of direction and exertion. Their numbers according to an Englishman who was in the battle, were 100,000<sup>10</sup>, but Monstrelet gives 150,000 as their full amount.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Elmham, p. 59. Tit. Liv.

<sup>8</sup> Sloane MS.

<sup>9</sup> Monst. 169.

<sup>10</sup> This was Hardyng, who states the English to have 9000 and "no more," p. 375. Bardolph's letter, quoted in page 416, from Calais, on 7th October, mentions that the French were assembling their troops, and would amount to above 100,000 men. Rymer, vol. ix. p. 314. The author of the Sloane MS. who was in the battle, makes the actual combatants to have been above 60,000 French, according to

<sup>11</sup> See note 11 next page.

It was at the small hamlet of Maisoncelles that Henry collected his scanty but undaunted army, about three bow-shots distance from their antagonists.<sup>12</sup> He arranged it into the best divisions and order for an effective battle, and animated its courage by his unaffected intrepidity and fervid eloquence. His soldiers, of whom most expected death on the morrow, endeavored to make their peace with Heaven by confessions and compunction, and many took the sacrament as if at their last extremity.<sup>13</sup> A solemn feeling that they were at the entrance of another world pervaded all, but it produced no cowardice and excited no despair; it only made resolution more resolute, and saddened natural heroism into an awful magnanimity.

A sublime enthusiasm was visibly actuating Henry's mind: the disproportion of the forces never lessened his confidence of victorious result; it rather increased his heroic exultation, that the deciding battle was approaching, and that it would be fought with such

their own calculation, against 6000 English: "Ex eis juxta propriam numerationem eorum plus quam lx millia *educentium gladium*, ubi nostra paucitas sex millia *viro-rum pugnantium* non excessit." Sloane MS. His distinction of those who actually fought against each other may account for his numerical difference with Hardying. The proportion in both is the same; it was ten to one. Otterburn makes the numbers 60,000 French against 7000 English. P. 277. Laboureur lessens the disproportion to that of four to one; and says they would have succeeded if they had not been a confused mass of canaille, bastards, exiles and villains, who enrolled themselves under the princes, less from a regard to the interest of their country, than with a view of pillaging it. P. 1009. But the better authorities show that it was an army carefully, anxiously, and zealously provided by the French government and by the patriotic zeal of the nation. It was one of the best which France could then assemble, or up to that time had ever got together.

<sup>11</sup> P. 170, English, and 163, French edition. Walsingham, in his printed History, states, with "ut fertur," the English at 8000 and the French at 140,000. P. 438. The extract from the corporation records of Salisbury, a contemporary document printed by Nicolas from the Lansdowne MS., gives the numbers as 100,000 and 10,000. Nic. p. 237. The modern French writers naturally wish to lessen the disproportion, and therefore Mezeray, like Laboureur, makes the French only four times more numerous, and Damel but three times. These are gratuitous suppositions. The oldest accounts of both nations, compared together, must be supposed to give the most authentic statements.

<sup>12</sup> Monst. 169. T. Livius says, that the French was scarcely 250 paces distant from the English camp.

<sup>13</sup> Monst. 170. Sl. MS. There had been such a want of bread in the army, that many had used filbert nuts instead of it, and others roasted flesh. Wals,

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a perilous inequality. It is difficult to account for such feelings, either from reasoning or experience, for they could not subsist if they were connected with either. Danger, instead of daunting a great mind, seems to kindle in it an insuppressible and dazzling fire, of daring and hope, which allows not any discouraging considerations to approach it. Mysterious emotions arise, which love the very terrors that threaten to overwhelm, and swell the soul to a temporary and unnatural magnitude, which bears some proportion to the vastness of the difficulties that are endangering it. Gratified to see, and eager to wrestle with the crisis that had overtaken him, the king indulged in a lofty anticipation of the glory that would redound from his surmounting it, and in a self-flattering belief that Heaven must be on his side. Hence, when sir Walter Hungerford expressed to him a wish that they could have but 10,000 of those archers in England, who at that moment would be desiring to be with them, he swore by the Majesty of heaven, in whom his unshaken hope of victory rested, that he would not, even if he possessed the power, add one single man to their number: "The people we have are what the Supreme has thought it fit, at this juncture, to be with us. Cannot the Omnipotent enable even our humble few to beat down the pride of our defying enemies? They trust to their multitudes and individual strength; and I place my confidence as absolutely in Him, by whom Judas Maccabeus so often triumphed over his foes."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Sloane MS. Tho Henry's views of policy and his ambition in this war are not reconcileable with moral or religious principle, yet he had persuaded himself to believe they were, and was manifestly actuated with a very earnest and at times lofty spirit of religious feeling throughout the arduous struggle. It was from this sentiment that he declined the aid of a gentleman with his twenty men, who, after becoming a monk, had, by dispensation from the Pope, returned to a worldly life. Harl. MS. No. 35. Nicol. 69. And before his embarkation he had observed "numerous fasts, and made divers devout pilgrimages, prayers, alms deeds, and supplications of the clergy and commons." Tit. Liv. Harl. MSS. Nicol. p. 68.

He contemplated awhile the position of the French, and to lessen the effect of their great superiority, drew his own force into the field on his left, beyond a wood that lay between him and his opponents; he reasoned that they would either move round the wood to come that way upon him; or taking a larger circuit about the more distant copses, would easily, by their numbers, surround him on every side. He therefore placed his troops so as to keep the enemy in their opposite front, and to have the stress of the battle in that direction.<sup>15</sup>

A skirmish took place in carrying out this movement, but it was short; the king evaded the battle that night, and the French seeing this determination, when the sun began to set, retired to their stations, and took their lodging amid the farms and orchards near their position. Both parties were now so close, that the English heard the French calling for their friends, and began to imitate the familiar vociferations; but Henry commanded instantaneous silence on pain of every gentleman forfeiting his horse and harness if he disobeyed, and of others losing their right ears; a stillness immediately followed<sup>16</sup>, and he then declined, without noise, to the village, where they found a few houses and some gardens, from which they got better food than they had tasted for several days: a little hut was the king's temporary shelter.<sup>17</sup>

The autumnal night was very dark, and heavy rain began to fall, and continued the greatest part of the

<sup>15</sup> Sloane MS.

<sup>16</sup> Sloane MS. Monstrelet speaks of the English camp resounding with the national music, 170. This must have been before the king's order for them to be silent, as the writer of the MS. was in the camp, and expressly affirms this command.

<sup>17</sup> Tit. Liv. 15. Elm. 56, 8. "Before Henry went to his quarters at Maisonnelles, he allowed all the prisoners in his camp to depart, upon the promise that if he gained the victory, they would all return to him and their masters if they survived. But that if he lost the battle, they should be released from their engagements." St. Remy.

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night; the comforts of the army were but scanty.<sup>18</sup> The taciturnity of the English camp led the French to believe that they were trembling with fear, and were meditating to escape; to prevent this, fires were made, and strong detachments placed over the fields and passages. They mistook the English character. Death was contemplated as possible, but no one thought of flight. The French were so certain of their prey, that their leaders cast dice with each other for the king and his nobles<sup>19</sup>, of whose capture no one doubted.

The night passed on amid these arrogant, and yet not unreasonable, anticipations on the one side; and with the other in a state of stern and indignant anxiety. The exultations which the English heard, created resentment, not fear; and the hope of punishing some of the self-confident despisers, made even the death that might follow, a satisfying consolation to many. An honorable grave, a venerated memory, an example of undaunted courage, that future time for its own benefit must celebrate; the sympathy of all the brave, the tears of all the generous, the conscious possession of a firmness which even the obscure presence of impending death was not abating; the determination to exert all the heroic energies which resolute mind could create, or excited nature supply, and the hope that they could not fall till they should have made their enemies success too mournful to be vaunted, cheered the serious meditations of the English camp, amid all the weakness of disease and insufficient subsistence. The triumph of the Black Prince at Poitiers was a pleasing recollection; but as the French had lost that battle from bad conduct,

<sup>18</sup> "Every lord sent his people or harbingers to the next villages for straw and litter to put under their feet; and to repose on, in the place where they were. The night was very cold for the horses, and it rained nearly all the night with them." St. Remy.

<sup>19</sup> Sloane MS.

and were now under able leaders, its experience would but instruct them to make their present dispositions more judicious and more effective. The prevailing feelings of the English as the dreadful morn approached, settled in a devout trust in Providence, in earnest devotion<sup>20</sup>, in a solemn resignation to the unknown result, and in a personal conviction that both safety and success rested in the individual exertions of every arm, and in the immoveable steadfastness of every heart. The hour of trial began at last to be craved with a desiring yet grave impatience. They beheld the French, some resting, some moving amid the blaze of their numerous fires in the fields, and at their tents, only two hundred and fifty yards off; both armies became fully revealed to each other as the stormy rain withdrawing allowed the moon to ascend to her unclouded zenith. The king took advantage of her sudden illuminations. He noted more precisely the positions of the French<sup>21</sup>, and inferring from these the plan of their intended battle, he mused how to make his own more adapted to the difficulties and disadvantages, which, as he could not lessen, he must prepare to encounter. — No one slept.

At the dawn of the next day, Friday, the feast of St. Crispin and St. Crispinian, the French were perceived to be arranging themselves into their companies, battalions, and grand divisions; and took their stations directly before the English in the field of Agincourt, across the road that must be passed in the way to Calais. They placed strong squadrons of horse at each side of their anterior divisions, to charge the

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Battle of  
Agincourt,  
25th Oct.  
1415.

<sup>20</sup> St. Remy emphatically notices this fact: "There might be seen the English on their knees, with their clasped hands raised towards heaven, praying that God would take them into his protection. And it is true *that I was with them, and saw that which I have related.*" "From them nothing was heard; for during that night all there confessed themselves, who could find a priest." St. Remy.

<sup>21</sup> Tit. Liv. 15, 16. Elm. 59. St. Remy says, "that night they made many large fires close to the banner under which they were to fight."

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English archers and to break up their ranks; their foremost divisions were all on foot, and were full of their noblest and most illustrious warriors. The innumerable spears and shining helmets that now caught and reflected the beams of the emerging sun, displayed themselves like an immense forest of light and danger, moved by animated numbers which seemed to the eye of the English thirty times greater than their own.<sup>22</sup> All the chivalry of France was there; a nation habitually gallant; spirited to the dangerous degree of making courage its own destroyer; insensible in its terrible attacks to either doubt or fear; ever moving to its assaults; pressing them on with energies almost supernatural; and generally sure to overwhelm every adverse host who do not meet the shock with a rock-like patience, with unwearying fortitude, and with the most vigorous prowess both of soul and body.

The constable formed his army into three great portions; he led the van division himself, with the princes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the chief nobility of France; 8000 knights and esquires, 4000 archers, and 1500 cross-bows accompanied him; the count of Vendôme commanded at its left wing 1500 men at arms, who, while the front engaged, were to attack the right flank of the English, as the admiral of France from the other wing was to assail them with 800 chosen gentlemen of tried bravery. Another large force moved with these, which was specially directed to break the English archers; the main body of the French, not less numerous than the van, was entrusted to the duke of Alençon and other nobles; while the rest of the army was arranged as a rear guard, to support and supply the others, and to

<sup>22</sup> So the author of the MS. mentions; having already expressed his own feelings in his epithet "terrifica multitudo."



co-operate as occasion should require.<sup>23</sup> The hinder divisions of the French are represented, by the clerical historian who saw them, to have consisted of cavalry.<sup>24</sup>

There seems nothing to impeach in the constable's military distribution and direction of his troops; his dispositions display equal foresight, skill, and courage; the whole array presented a grand and awful sight; so many thousands splendidly accoutred, effectively arranged, and personally eager for the most sanguinary destruction. To inflict death as extensively as possible on their fellow creatures, and to take the willing chance of receiving it from them, was the general purpose of both these defying armies; and yet every individual body contained a spirit that hoped to be immortal in some future region of peace, benevolence, wisdom, and felicity, as if battle was as certainly the right road to the Christian's elysium, as it was anciently thought to be to the fierce Odin's Valhalla. His heaven was, indeed, a conception more appropriate to such scenes than our own; its chief joy was placed in drinking from the skulls of slaughtered enemies; and it was a better taste to connect such happiness with the miseries and horrors of war, than that paradise of reason, knowledge, virtue, and divine affection, which every heart in Europe now sighs for; and which the most enlightened intellects so often, amid life's chequered scenery, solace themselves with portraying.

At dawn the king arrayed himself in a royal cos-

<sup>23</sup> Monst. 172, 173. "It was ordered among the French that each should shorten his lance, so that they might be stiffer when they came to action." St. Remy.

<sup>24</sup> SI. MS. St. Remy says, "The French were full 50,000 men, with a great number of waggons and carts, *guns* and serpentines, and those other warlike implements which were requisite on such occasions. They had few musical instruments to cheer them. On that night, in all their host, scarcely a horse was heard to neigh. This I knew from the pen of John, Lord of Forestel; for he was in that army on the part of the French, as *I was in the ot of the English.*" St. Remy.

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tune, heard his masses, mounted his steed, and called his army quietly into the field.<sup>25</sup> He stationed all the horses and baggage in the village, under such small guard as he could spare, having resolved to fight the battle on foot.<sup>26</sup> He sagaciously perceived that his only chance of victory rested in the superiority of the personal fortitude and activity of his countrymen; and to bring them face to face and arm to arm with their opponents, was the simple object of his tactical dispositions. He formed his troops from their small number into one great mass, in one line, with the men at arms in the centre, and with the archers on each side.<sup>27</sup> Here he stationed himself, proposing to act against the main body of the French; he threw forward a part of his force as a right wing, which he committed to the duke of York, to manœuvre; another part as a left wing, he inclined a little to the rear under the orders of lord Camoys. He interspersed every part with archers, and made them fix their stakes firmly in the earth before them, as he had previously arranged.<sup>28</sup> He so chose his ground, that the village protected his rear, and hedges and briers defended his flanks. Determined to shun no danger, but to be a conspicuous example to his troops on a day when no individual exertions could be spared, he kept on his brilliant helmet, a crown radiant with its jewels, and had over him a tunic adorned with the arms of France and

<sup>25</sup> St. Remy, describing what he saw, says: "When the morning dawned, the king of England began to hear mass. He heard three, one after the other, armed in all his armor, except his head and his coat of arms. Then they brought him the armor for his head, which was a very handsome bacinet, a barriere, upon which he had a very rich crown of gold, circled like an imperial crown. After he was equipped at all points, and mounted upon a grey horse, a small one, without spurs, he ordered his army out of their quarters without sounding his trumpets."

<sup>26</sup> "Upon a fine plain of young corn he arranged his order of battle, and directed a gentleman, with 10 lances and 20 archers, to guard the baggage of himself, his people, and his pages, who were noblemen, and many other of the sick who could not protect themselves." St. Remy.

<sup>27</sup> St. Remy. "There were full 900 men at arms and 10,000 archers." Ib.

<sup>28</sup> Sl. MS.

England.<sup>29</sup> He rode along the line upon his little grey horse, and made an interesting address to his troops, exhorting them to act well<sup>30</sup>, and impressing these ideas: "We are, indeed, but few, compared with our enemy; but from this superiority, if God gives us the victory which we hope for, it will be from Him that we shall receive it. From Him then let us expect it. Should He for our sins deliver us to the swords of our foes, the less injury will happen to our country from our loss. Be brave and constant, and fight with all your strength. God, and the justice of our cause, will help us: He will deliver all this boasting multitude into our hands. And let every one who this day is conspicuous for his bodily armor, excel also his fellows in the superior fortitude and gallant daring of his mind."<sup>31</sup>

The French general, seeing Henry's available dispositions, thought it better to wait for his attack than to make one; he therefore kept his impatient troops aloof in their positions.<sup>32</sup> The English did not move, and the French, seeing their tranquillity, seated themselves and took a repast; this refreshment was too beneficial to the troops not to be imitated by their opponents; but when both had recruited themselves, neither stirred. The English could not afford to throw away the smallest advantage, and the French commander felt that he had the game safe in his hands, and safer without a battle than with one.

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<sup>29</sup> Tit. Liv. 16. Elm. 60, 61.—The arms Elmham thus describes: Three gold flowers planted in an azure field, and three gold leopards in a purple one. P. 61.

<sup>30</sup> St. Remy.

<sup>31</sup> Tit. Liv. 17. Elm. 61, 62. "He moreover reminded them, that the French had boasted that they would cut off three fingers from the right hand of every archer they should take, so that then they should never again kill man or horse." St. Remy. The army answered by crying out loudly, "Sir, we pray God to give you a good life and victory over your enemies." Ib.

<sup>32</sup> Sl. MS. St. Remy thus describes their position: "The French had drawn up their lines between two small woods, the one close to Agincourt, the other to Tramecourt. The ground was narrow, and very advantageous for the English."

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The wisest of his chiefs knew enough of the English, to dread the collision of their despair.<sup>33</sup>

Time glided on during this fearful pause for a long space—till the sun approached the tenth hour; and Henry was then compelled to reflect, that not to fight would be more ruinous to him than the worst that could happen from the conflict. He had no more provisions, and no force to detach to collect them; he must perish by famine, or surrender ignominiously, unless he fought and conquered. Every one was convinced of these truths, and every one felt that as the French would not move to attack, the English must immediately become, from necessity, not choice, the assailants upon them.

The king then prepared for this less advantageous movement; he had all that was moveable and encumbering taken to the rear of the army; and directed the priests and chaplains to take their station with it, in the farms and inclosures where he had lodged that night, and there to await the issue of the engagement.<sup>34</sup>

That the constable could restrain the impetuosity of the impatient French, was an impressive proof of their improved discipline and of his influence; it was the obedience of reason against the impulses of natural vivacity and fervid hope; for their minds were so exalted, and the honor of taking prisoner a king of England seemed so certain, that many of their noblest princes came without their troops or banners, to partake of the undoubted glory.<sup>35</sup> But they found that Henry had so wisely posted himself, that they could not bring up their whole force at once upon

<sup>33</sup> Monst. 174. St. Remy mentions, that at this juncture some overtures and conferences took place for an amicable arrangement; he adds, "I knew not at whose request;" but neither party was satisfied with the terms offered by the other. Pierre du Fenin also mentions this fact.

<sup>34</sup> Sl. MS.

<sup>35</sup> Tit. Liv. 17. The French talked of giving quarter to none but to the king and his lords. Wals. Hist. 438.

him. Hence, altho so numerous as to be able to draw up thirty deep, while the English could afford but four, and tho their banners alone seemed more numerous than all the English lances<sup>36</sup>, they would not commit themselves by an unadvisable advance. They remarked that the plain was wet and muddy from the rains, and they yielded to their commander's wish of seeing the English embarrassed by moving over it.<sup>37</sup> The soft state of the ground made the weight of their armor inconvenient to the French.<sup>38</sup> It must have embarrassed both of the contending parties.

But a thousand of their knights made skirmishing excursions around, and as these left the parts they covered, their lines appeared crowded with balistæ for the projection of stones on all sides on the English when they should advance to the assault.

The king observed the preparations, and while he ordered 200 archers to sink quietly down to the rear of his army, and thence to move secretly to the village of Tramecourt, and there to post themselves, unseen, in a field near his enemies' van, to use their bows at the most effective moment<sup>39</sup>, he sent a party in front to set fire to a farm-house and buildings of a priory, at Hesdin, to alarm and perplex his motionless opponents. At the same time giving "Mary and St. George" as the words of battle, he began a movement of advance to challenge and attack those who

<sup>36</sup> Elm. 63. Tit. Livius states, that the French were more than thirty-one men deep in every line, while the depth of the English was only four. P. 27.

<sup>37</sup> Wals. Hist. 438. The state of the ground is thus described by St. Remy: "The French had been all that night on horseback in the rain. Pages, valets, and others, in walking their horses, had broken up the soft ground, and the horses sunk into it in such a manner, that it was with great difficulty they could get up again." Remy.

<sup>38</sup> "The French were so loaded with armor that they could not advance. They were in long coats of steel reaching to their knees, and very heavy. Below this was armor for their legs; and above, white harness and bacinets with camails. So heavily were they armed, that, together with the softness of the ground, it was with great difficulty that they could lift their weapons." St. Remy. Nic. 191.

<sup>39</sup> Monst. 175, Livius, 19, and Elmham, 62, mention the military engines which the French used in the battle, like our cannon to hurl stones on the English line.

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seemed to shrink from the closer conflict. Sir Thomas Erpingham, one of his grey-headed leaders, threw up his truncheon as the signal to begin, and then dismounted as the king and others had done, and a loud shout of applause burst from the English at the sight, which startled the astonished French<sup>40</sup>, who could not comprehend the joy, and were provoked at its defiance. As the line moved, the English clergy saw the critical hour now at hand, and from their horses behind, with much affection for the king and their countrymen, but with an interest still more personal and urgent for themselves, poured their emphatic prayers to Heaven for his success and their own safety, which the dark prospect before them made fervent, unceasing, and encouragingly audible.<sup>41</sup>

That such a handful of men should dare to advance so insultingly to attack them, and that they should be so dastardly as, under these circumstances, to wait for such an attack, became at last too much for the French pride to bear. The sight of the English moving was like a torch to their inflammable sensibilities, and no cautionary policy could keep them from action too. They sprung forward; as they advanced Henry resumed his position, and the battle began. The constable charged at his flanks with the cavalry appointed for that purpose; but the English archers retiring within their pointed pales, saw the horses stake themselves on the impenetrable defence,

<sup>40</sup> Monst. 176. Hollingshed mentions, that the throwing up of the truncheon was a signal to the archers posted forward at Tramecourt to begin their operations. Nic. 197. St. Remy mentions the truncheon, and that Sir Thomas then dismounted.

<sup>41</sup> The writer of the MS. thus expresses his feelings at that moment: "Then indeed, and as long as the battle lasted, I, who now write, was sitting on my horse amid the baggage at the back of the conflict, with the other priests there, and we humbled our souls before God, and we said from our hearts, 'Oh, remember us, our Lord, our enemies are gathered together, and are vaunting in their strength! Oh, break their power and disperse them, that they may know that there is none that gives the issue to the battle but Thyself!'" He adds, "In fear and trembling, from what our eyes were witnessing, we cried to Heaven to pity us, and to save the crown of England." SI. MS.

and then with a deadly calmness and correct aim sent such showers of arrows on the various squadrons as they approached, that every attempt to break them ended in the slaughter and confusion of the discomfited assailants; they who did not fall, fled to the woods in irretrievable disorder.<sup>42</sup> In vain the French artillery was discharged with all the vigor of those who served it; it injured few. The king had so well planted his small army, that woods not easily accessible secured both his flanks<sup>43</sup>, and thus compelled the constable to make his principal and only feared attack, directly on the English line. What was not done against their front, was ineffectual elsewhere.

To overwhelm and destroy the English phalanx was now the business of the day; and for this grand movement the constable divided his advancing masses into three portions, and ordered their respective leaders to assault the opposing force at three distinct points, in close columns of simultaneous but separate attacks. The charge was made with all the intrepid fury of a French onset; and the weight and fierceness of the shock were so irresistible, that the English were forced backwards from their front the full length of a spear. This disastrous commencement renewed all the terrors of the supplicating chaplains, who beheld it with undissembled dismay, and loudly uttered anew in bitterness of spirit<sup>44</sup>, their more earnest petitions that Heaven would remember them and the

<sup>42</sup> Sl. MS.

<sup>43</sup> From the expressions of the Sloane MS. "nemoribus quo erant ad utrinque latus exercituum," it appears this advantage, so important to Henry, was enjoyed also by the French; as St. Remy notices: see in Note 32: but their great numbers had really no occasion for it. To the English it was an essential cause of their final success.

<sup>44</sup> These are the expressions of the MS. in which the author fully expresses his natural feelings and reasonable solicitude. He says, "Then we, who were classed with the clerical militia, and beheld this incident, fell upon our faces before the throne of grace, vociferating in bitterness of spirit," &c. Sloane MS.

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crown of England, which was now trembling on the verge of destruction.

The battle became at this juncture, in its horrors, sturdiness, and vicissitudes, tremendous. The English recovered from their first agitation, and struggled vehemently to recover the ground they had lost; the French, to keep and increase their advantage. Mass shocked with mass; they forced each other back with alternate success; the English at last regained their first station, but it was only to encounter more furious assaults, and to be roused to new exertions. Their archers, standing a little out from the sides, poured unintermittingly successive streams of arrows into the flanks of the assailants<sup>45</sup>; the French stooped to prevent the weapons from striking the vizors of their helmets<sup>46</sup>, but the archers persevered with that peculiar strength of the English muscle and bow which no armor could resist; and when their quivers were exhausted, they grasped, in determined rage, their own axes and swords, snatched from the French what they were using, and seized the points of the broken spears that were lying about<sup>47</sup>, and even tore up their own stakes to stab and beat down their opponents. The slaughter swelled with the perseverance of the attack and the resolution of their resistance; streams of blood inundated the plain; the exertions of the English were wonderful, altho so affected by the disease which had pursued them from Harfleur, that many fought in jackets without their armor, whose weight they could not support; and many without their lower garments; some, also, bare-

<sup>45</sup> Sloane MS.

<sup>46</sup> Monst. 177. Des Ursins thus accounts for this position of their head, and notices its ill effects: "It was eight in the morning, and our people had the sun in their eyes. To bear this better, and to avoid the arrows of the English, they bent their heads to the ground. From doing this, our people did not perceive the English as they came near, until just before they struck them with their hatchets; while the archers who were behind assailed them with arrows in the rear." Des Ursins, p. 315.

<sup>47</sup> Sl. MS. and Walsingham.



footed, and even without hats<sup>48</sup>, and all emaciated and weakened by long want of suitable food<sup>49</sup>; yet never had the oldest warriors present seen them act more intrepidly, nor strike with more terrible effect. Their enemies felt their inconceivable power. The most valiant knights and the stoutest champions of the French chivalry were mowed down by their irresistible weapons, till the bravest began to quail with an unaccountable panic, and to yield; and the cry for quarter became as general as the vaunting self-confidence had been over-weening and imprudent. The contest now became so close as to be face to face and foot to foot; and except, by shortening their lances, none could use them. Most of those who had been assigned to cut up the English archers<sup>50</sup> had perished, and the horses of the surviving portion became so terrified and unmanageable, that they flew upon their own battalions and forced them into disorder; confusion excited panic, and panic multiplied confusion, till many fled, many were hurried backward by the breaking of the alarmed, and all the van division scattered in despair as the English seeing the confusion, made a desperate and murderous charge with their swords, battle-axes, mallets, and bill-hooks. This advance placed them with their heroic king, before the main body or second line of the French, which was now brought up to meet them, and on whose valor and fate the issue of the battle was wholly to depend.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Monst. 177. St. Remy alludes to this: "The archers were for the greater part without armor to their pourpoints; their hoses were loosened, having hatchets and axes, with long swords hanging at their girdles, and some with their feet naked. Some wore caps of boiled leather; or wickerwork, crossed over with iron."

<sup>49</sup> Sl. MS.

<sup>50</sup> "The constable had formed a body of 1000 or 1200 men at arms to have gone, half by Agincourt and half by Tramecourt, to break the wings of the English archers." St. Remy.

<sup>51</sup> Monst. 178, p. 9. "The English archers perceiving this disorder of the advanced guard, quitted their stakes, threw their bows and arrows on the ground, and keeping their swords, axes, and other weapons, sallied out upon them, and killed and disabled the French; cutting right and left, they made their way to the second line,

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The dreadful contest was here renewed with the most sanguinary carnage; in this struggle, as in the former, the front ranks of the ardent and intrepid French columns fell before the English weapons; the eagerness and fury of their advance caused the next lines to stumble and fall upon their slaughtered brethren; before these could rise, they were covered with new rows of killed, on whom the violent pressure of the masses behind drove others to fall alive and unwounded: on these again the English arms prostrated fresh ranks of slain, till the mingled masses of the overthrown, living and dead, exceeded the height of a human figure<sup>52</sup>, and became a fleshly fortification to the English, who at first from behind it, and afterwards upon it, directed all their weapons of destruction, while no blows could effectually reach them. The very impetuosity of the French onset multiplied this cause of irremediable disaster; they fell like helpless sheep before their antagonists, who were so occupied with striking that they could take no prisoners. Many of the French nobles surrendered themselves ten times, and yet could not be secured.<sup>53</sup> Their captors had to fight and kill so many more, that they were obliged to leave all whom they did not slaughter to the chance of escape, or to the spontaneous inaction of personal honor. In all the points of attack, these masses of the intermixed, living and dead, were found, on which the English ascended as on so many advantageous hills. At this period of slaughter, a vigorous charge of cavalry, and with intimidating shouts that seemed to multiply their num-

which was in the rear of the advanced guard; and then pushed within it, with the king of England in person and his followers." St. Remy.

<sup>52</sup> The Sloane MS. supplies us with this frightful incident, and adds, that after the battle was decided, the English employed themselves in taking down these heaps, and in separating out of them the living from the dead. We cannot doubt that humanity was one motive, but the author also ascribes it to a desire to have profitable captives, who could redeem themselves by their wealth.

<sup>53</sup> Sl. MS.

ber from the woods on its rear<sup>54</sup>, hastened the defeat of this second line; and it was during the severer and most obstinate part of the conflict, the ambushed archers also rushed out, and by discharging their full quivers into the centre of the struggling French, from an unexpected and unguarded quarter, contributed to that diminution and shaking of their dense masses of attack, which gave the victory at last to English resolution.<sup>55</sup>

For so dreadful and decisive a battle, it was remarkably short; it was begun and ended in three hours; and the victory seems to have resulted to the English from several causes which we can enumerate; these were, the position chosen by Henry between two woods, which reduced the overpowering masses of the enemy to confine their attack to one space, on a front no larger than his own<sup>56</sup>; — his condensation of his small force into one steady phalanx, which had thereby weight and stability enough to resist the solid columns of the assailing French, in a line not exceeding his own front; — the repulse and destruction of the French cavalry by his stakes and skilful archers, and their inability, from his position, to turn his rear, or to act effectively on his flanks; — the disaster of the French advancing lines falling on each other from the denseness of their column, and from the impetuosity of their attack; the successful irruption of the ambushed archers; and the constable and

<sup>54</sup> Des Ursins mentions this circumstance: "The horsemen, whom the English had placed in the wood, rushed on them in crowds, and came from behind on our second line. They uttered such a great and frightful cry, that they terrified all our people; so that those of the second line took to flight." P. 315.

<sup>55</sup> "Then an immense number of the French were killed, who but slightly defended themselves, because, in consequence of the horsemen, the French line was broken. Then the English charged the French with greater force, overthrowing the two first lines, and in many places cruelly destroying and slaying without mercy." St. Remy.

<sup>56</sup> Des Ursins thus mentions his position: "The English were posted in a fine place between two woods; and a little distance from them was another wood, on the side of which they planted large ambuscades of their mounted men at arms." P. 314.

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chief leaders of the French perishing or becoming prisoners in the main fury of the contest, thus leaving their army a great mangled body without a head. These peculiar local and temporary causes, added to the superior muscular force, the Roman constancy of mind, the intelligent activity, the desperate coolness, and the continuing energy of the English soldiers, may account, under the permitting will or the assisting agency of Heaven, for a victory which, to its rarely equalled extent and consequent importance, could not have been expected, even by the king's enthusiasm. But the greatest error of the French in this battle seems to have been, that, notwithstanding the vast superiority of their army, their attacks were confined to one position; and altho they assaulted this in three points, yet it does not appear that they deployed upon it altogether a larger front than Henry presented to them. They opposed a more solid line to his than he could present to theirs; they assailed his four deep with their thirty deep, but they could bring no more into simultaneous action against him than he had in full activity against them. Their density interfered with their activity<sup>57</sup>; they lost all the advantages of their superior numbers. At the pressing and only dangerous instant of the destructive collision, they had no more really engaged against him than he had against them; all their remaining forces were embattled ready, and were urging on to come into action; but according to their plan of battle they could never come into simultaneous action, and could therefore never overpower. On the contrary, the dense and animated hinder ranks, by forcing on the foremost, only contributed to the defeat and their own destruction, as soon as the dead

<sup>57</sup> "When they had nearly met, *they were so pressed by each other*, that they could not lift their arms to attack their enemies, excepting some who were in the front." St. Remy.

became incumbrances in their path, over whom, from their onward eagerness, they stumbled. A denser line can only hope to master a weaker one of equal front, by being superior in the personal skill, firmness, activity and strength of its soldiers, so that these kill quicker and more numerous than they fall themselves; or by being, at least, so equal in these respects, that equal numbers falling on both sides, the surviving superiority must in the end prevail; or if inferior, by fighting and perishing so magnanimously, that the fewer line becomes at last wearied with killing, and must, from nature's inability to strike, be finally overpowered: but no army has yet been known to endure destruction so long as it would be necessary in order to obtain this discreditable triumph. The courage of the hinder part of every column always fails before its destroying adversaries become exhausted; hence the English, as soldiers, being individually superior in bodily power and the art of killing to their French opponents, front after front of the attacking masses of the latter perished in the heaps that we have described, till consternation seized all who had to follow, and they fled from the death which none of their preceding ranks had escaped. No panegyric can eulogize the military judgment of Henry more than the simple statement, that he had so placed his little army that his flanks were secure, and his vast enemies could only attack him with a front equal to his own.<sup>58</sup> We may indeed ask, why the constable, who could have marched away to any point two-thirds of his host, and yet have enough for the battle he fought, did not dispatch a strong division to take a large circle round all the woods in which Henry was embosomed, and by which he was saved, and attack him in the rear?

<sup>58</sup> No position could have been better chosen by the most consummate commander. "The French had sufficient archers and arblestiers, but these were unable to use their bows *from the narrowness of the place, which did not afford room for more than the men at arms.*" St. Remy.

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The answer probably would have been, that it was not deemed necessary; the destruction of the English seemed certain without; especially on the constable's plan, of making the king leave his position and bury himself in theirs. The ardent courage and sudden vivacity of the French troops defeating this idea, by moving towards Henry as soon as he was seen moving on them; the king had only to fall back on his advantageous ground, and thus deprive the French of all the advantages of their great superiority, by making them fight him with a front no wider than his own. The immediate conflict was so fierce and short, that the battle was over before any large movement that required time could be effectually made; and as the constable fell in the first attacking mass, there was no one to order a measure so important. When the two great divisions of the French had been thus annihilated or dispersed, their third body, if it had been brave and firm, might have still wrested the laurel from the English warriors, now becoming fatigued by their great exertions; but this, as the king advanced upon it, immediately gave way, in the contagious panic abandoning all their baggage, provisions, artillery and munitions of battle<sup>59</sup>; and the English had only to kill and take prisoners, and to plunder what they pleased.<sup>60</sup>

The king was every where the foremost, daring every peril, and exhibiting a prowess that electrified and surprised his friends. At one moment he was in

<sup>59</sup> Sloane MS. So St. Remy. "Then all the rear guard, being still mounted, seeing the fate of the two first lines, took to flight, excepting some of the commanders and leaders." This defeat is an illustration of Major C. H. Smith's remark:—"Battles are decided, not by troops upon the muster-rolls, *nor even by those present*, but by those alone who are simultaneously engaged. Numerical superiority of troops, not engaged, so far from being useful, only increases the disorder." Ed. Ency. Supp. art. War.

<sup>60</sup> The author's feelings here do him credit: "We beheld and gazed upon the masses of the slain; but not unaccompanied with the grief and tears of many, that so many illustrious and gallant warriors had thus sought their own destruction, and so uselessly annihilated their own glory and honors." Sloane MS.

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The king's  
personal  
danger.

imminent danger. Eighteen French gentlemen agreed together to single him out, and to kill him, or perish. They got so near him, that one of them struck him so furiously upon his crest, that the blow made him fall upon his knees.<sup>61</sup> But the little confederated band was all destroyed. It was, perhaps, in this part of the contest that the Welsh commander, David Gam, and his two officers, fell, whom the king knighted for their bravery as they lay expiring upon the ground.<sup>62</sup> Henry was repeatedly struck upon his helmet and armor. In one desperate struggle, his brother, the duke of Gloucester, was felled senseless at his feet; the king immediately stood over him, repelled a long and furious attack to take him, and had the gratification to preserve his life.<sup>63</sup>

The duke d'Alençon distinguished himself by equal valor. He penetrated thro the English force by his impetuous charge, till he reached the king. He struck down the duke of York. The king stooped down to raise him; and in that posture d'Alençon discharged a blow with his battle-axe on Henry's crown which struck off a part of it. The brave duke was soon surrounded, and his retreat cut off. Perceiving his situation, he stretched out his hand to the king, and exclaimed, "I am the duke d'Alençon; I yield myself to you." But as the king was about to receive his submission, he was killed by those who had rushed forwards against him.<sup>64</sup> The marshal of France was coming up into the battle, when, seeing the many wounded, the masses flying in all direc-

<sup>61</sup> Lefevre, who was engaged in the battle, mentions this circumstance. St. Remy, who was also there, thus alludes to it: "Eighteen esquires of the French army, led by Bremelet and Garnot, bound themselves by oath, that when the two armies met, they would, by their united strength, force themselves sufficiently near to the king of England as to strike the crown from off his head, or that all would die. They succeeded in getting so near the king, that one of them, with an axe, gave him a blow so violent on his helmet, that it struck off one of the points of his crown; but every one of these gentlemen was killed and cut to pieces." St. Remy. Nicol. 186.

<sup>62</sup> Powell's History of Wales.

<sup>63</sup> Tit. Liv. Elmh.

<sup>64</sup> Monst. 193.

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The pri-  
soners  
slain.

tions, and that all the great lords were killed or taken, and finding it impossible to make any effectual rally, he retreated to the king of France at Rouen.<sup>65</sup> The victory was now complete, but it was saddened by a cruelty which was rather caused by a presumed necessity than by any deliberate or revengeful inhumanity. In the first heat and greatest danger of the action, when some prisoners were made, but while the final event was in suspense, tidings were brought to the king, that a French squadron was attacking his rear, and had taken his baggage. Henry, alarmed at the information, ordered the prisoners taken to be put to the sword, lest they should co-operate to his destruction. This lamentable catastrophe took place before it was ascertained that the attack had been chiefly made by a body of plundering peasantry.<sup>66</sup> The French historians candidly admit that this mistake, and not intentional cruelty, was the cause of this unhappy slaughter. It is perhaps some impeachment of that admirable self-possession which Henry had so nobly displayed; but the physical exhaustion of his mind and body, from the exertions in such a conflict, may be admitted as his apology for a precipitate act of inhumanity into which the general excitation and alarm of his wearied, tho conquering countrymen, combined to urge him. Before he left the field of battle, he returned thanks to Heaven for the wonderful victory. He called together the French and English heralds; he told them he should not

<sup>65</sup> Monst. 194. He gives a very copious list of the princes and lords who perished, or were taken prisoners in the battle, 185—192.

<sup>66</sup> Monst. 180, 181. Tit. Liv. Elmh. The author of the Sloane MS. mentions, that French plunderers prowled about on all sides, and as soon as they saw the armies seriously engaged, attacked the rear of Henry's force. He speaks of the "desidia clientium regalium," as to the baggage; and adds, that the king's treasure, sword of state, crown, and other jewels, were carried off by the depredators. MS. ib. St. Remy mentions three men at arms who, with others, accompanied by 600 peasants, went and attacked the baggage. Rymer's printed document enumerates the plate and jewels that were lost on this occasion. See his *Fœd.* vol. ix. p. 356. and Nicol, 202.



have had such a great success, if the sins of the French had not occasioned their disaster; and he inquired the name of the castle which he saw close to him; they told him "Agincourt." He remarked, that all battles ought to bear the name of the nearest fortress, and that this should be called the Battle of Agincourt. He found that, except the veteran duke of York<sup>67</sup> and the young earl of Suffolk, he had lost, to the general wonder, only a few soldiers; a proof that the battle was rather killing than fighting, and that the French must have been in a very disadvantageous situation. The English attempted no pursuit; but when the field of battle was cleared from all their opponents, the king returned, with their wounded, to the village of Maisoncelles, and slept where he had rested the preceding night. The French wounded crawled as well as they were able to the neighboring woods and villages. Such as were found next morning alive on the field, were either taken prisoners or killed<sup>68</sup>; and Henry, with his remaining force, of which only three-fourths were on foot, immediately proceeded to Calais.<sup>69</sup> The duke of Glou-

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<sup>67</sup> This nobleman was the eldest son of Isabella, the princess of Castile, and of her husband, the earl of Cambridge, the brother of the Black Prince and of John of Gaunt. He had been created earl of Rutland and duke of Albemarle. He had been accused of assisting in the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and in 1402 became duke of York by his father's death. Leaving no issue, this ducal title descended to his nephew, the father of Edward IV.

<sup>68</sup> St. Remy adds, "The king of England halted on the ground to view the dead; and it was a melancholy thing to see there the nobility, who had lost their lives for their sovereign lord, the king of France, already as naked as they were born." Nic. 220.

<sup>69</sup> Monst. 184. He says, that the French heralds and others who went to inter the dead, reckoned 10,000 French to have fallen. Sixteen hundred of these were "varletz," all the rest were "gentilzhommes." Among these, 120 banners were found. In the number of the killed were the constable of France, the admiral, the commanders of the king's household and bowmen; the princely dukes of Brabant, Berry, and Alençon, and their brothers, and a long list of nobility, which, fill a chapter of Monstrelet. Among the prisoners he enumerates the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the marshal of France; the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Rochemont, and several seigneurs. He considers that about 1500 knights and esquires were taken. On the English loss his words are, "About 1600 men of all conditions were found dead upon the place," and the Duke of York. p. 182. So St. Remy. The Sloane MS. mentions, that among the slain, above 90 counts and barons, and those having banners, were recorded; and more than 1500 knights, according to the

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on the  
battle.

cester, Henry's brother, was found to be severely wounded, but he recovered after resting in this town.<sup>70</sup>

This remarkable battle was unlike those of Cressy and Poitiers, in the peculiar circumstance that they were fought from necessity, and as the only means of escape; but the battle of Agincourt was deliberately dared, and rather industriously sought by the king of England. He had taken Harfleur, and thus secured a point of entrance into Normandy when he pleased. Perceiving his army afflicted and thinned by disease, he had his choice of remaining there till reinforcements arrived from England, or of garrisoning it as he did, and of sailing back to England, to renew the next spring his invasion, with the advantage of commencing it from this important fortress. He chose to send away his fleet, under his brother the duke of Clarence, to England, and to march by land thro the territory of his enemies in open daring, without

computation of the officers, and between 4000 and 5000 other nobles; an amount nearly equal to the whole nobility of England. He adds, that only nine or ten persons of rank fell among the English. MS. ib. Titus Livius gives the slain as 10,000 French and 100 English. p. 21. Otterburn makes the loss of the latter 132, and that 7000 gentlemen were taken. p. 277. The poem attributed to Lydgate expresses the slain to be 10,000. Nic. p. 261. The Cleopatra MS. c. iv. puts the number as 10,000. Ib. 236. As Monstrelet so expressly declares that he had his account from those who visited the field of battle, I think it unnecessary to notice other estimations, except to mention that the small number of the English is stated by other Frenchmen. Pierre du Fenin makes it but 400 or 500. p. 384. Gaguin, who died in 1501, states 400 in his History of France, p. 197. Paulus Emilius, a native of Verona, who wrote the French history, and died 1529, makes the English loss only 200. p. 323. Thus every part of the affair was extraordinary—a battle of three hours, and the defeat of an immense army, by one sixth or one tenth of their number, with the loss, at the highest, of only 1600 men!! Henry might well have the "Non nobis, Domine!" chanted. It was indeed a victory given to him by a power far greater than his own—and so he felt it.

<sup>70</sup> Laboureur talks unjustly of the English troops, in his patriotic effusions. "O eternal reproach! O ever deplorable disaster! It is usual to console oneself under similar losses, when one is conquered by equal forces; nor is it an extreme misfortune to acknowledge valiant warriors or gentlemen victorious; but it is a twofold disgrace, and that which overpowers a generous spirit, to see oneself beaten *by bad troops*; to yield in valor to people collected from all parts; and to acknowledge *armed valets* for conquerors, and masters of one's life and liberty."—He thus explains the defeat: "The check of the advanced guard frightened the two lines which remained; and as they had no chief or lord of consequence to conduct them, they thought more of cowardly flying than of aiding and assisting their companions." p. 1010.

any attempt by manœuvres to elude, or by forced marches to outstrip them, and without any other object in view than to embark for England at Calais, by a land march thro Normandy, instead of a direct and short voyage from Harfleur. He made this determination with the full prospect of the whole force of the French nation bearing down upon him to intercept him; he expected it, and declared he should take no measures to avoid it. He set off with scanty supplies for his army, with a debilitating disease pervading it, and with its daily reduction certain, from its malady and privations. His march was therefore a challenge to all France, to come and fight him and his sick, small, and suffering army. No fabled hero of romance ever tempted destruction more wilfully, or achieved a more extraordinary adventure. It was a march of the most calm, deliberate, determined, and self-devoted heroism that history has recorded. The battle was fought in the same spirit, and as miraculously won. They fought, beat, killed, captured or dispersed from 60,000 to 100,000 men, supplied with every personal comfort, and with every means of annoyance. For the issue, we have endeavored to account by the description of the conflict. But for Henry's motives thus to become an Amadis de Gaul or an Orondates, we can give no other explanation than that mysterious impulse and confidence of mind which distinguish sublime genius; that aspiration for heroic fame, at every risk, which the feats of former days excite in such an intellect; and a fixed resolution to redeem the good opinion, and to compel the applause of mankind, which youthful errors had begun to forfeit. The insult of the tennis balls being evidence that his personal depreciation had been extended to France, may have made him dread, lest his sudden retreat should have in-

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creased it ; and therefore he preferred the chance of death, with the reputation of at least attempting an enterprise of uncommon daring, to the certainty of the derision and contempt of those who had already taunted him, whom he came to conquer, but from whom he would have seemed to have fled. His audacious, but gallant march and battle, are therefore rather subjects for our romantic admiration, than for our sober praise or for any human imitation. The laurels of Cressy and Poitiers were those of valiant fortitude, exerting surprising prowess as the only means of safety. The laurel of Agincourt was the prize of temerity without necessity ; of a chivalric defiance of danger, too much like ostentatious confidence to be safely commended ; and was won, not only against calculation, but against all reasonable hope.<sup>71</sup> But what reasoning can justify wars and enterprises that produce such a quantity of human slaughter and suffering, which even the soldiers who inflicted it could not look at without lamenting ?<sup>72</sup> Such sympathy and yet such actions display the anomalous medley which so often deforms the Divine principle of man's intellectual nature. Compassionate, yet cruel ; tender-hearted, yet pityless ; benevolent at one moment, unfeeling at another ; kind even to animals, and yet ruthless against his human fellow creatures. We see an angel form of being, darkened

<sup>71</sup> The intelligent French reviewer of the military works, in Ferussac's *Bull. Univ.* makes these remarks on this celebrated victory : " It was wrong to engage the English on a field of battle so unfavorable for the action of the cavalry, on which the great hope of success was founded, and where the centre, commanded by the comte d'Alençon, could not deploy. The French army was defeated for want of unity in the command." *May, 1829. p. 319.*

<sup>72</sup> The author of the Sloane MS. exhibits creditably to himself his feelings on this occasion : " When we returned victorious thro the heaps and piles of the slain, many could not refrain from grief and tears, that so many soldiers of such distinction and power, should in such manner, entirely against our will, have sought their own deaths, destroying and spoiling the glory and honor of their own population to no purpose. I firmly believe there is not a heart, but if it had contemplated the dreadful destruction and bitter wounds of so many Christians, would have dissolved and melted into tears from grief." *Sloane MS. Nic. 226.*

by features which resemble those other existences, whom we most dread, dislike, and reprobate.<sup>73</sup>

Henry proceeded to Calais with the richest part of the plunder only<sup>74</sup>, and soon afterwards landed at Dover, where he was received with such general enthusiasm, that the people waded thro the sea to his ship, and took him in their arms, and carried him to land.<sup>75</sup> In London, at his entrance, the citizens displayed their proudest costume. The tapestry in which the valiant feats of his predecessors were woven, was every where displayed, because none had transcended this victory. The aqueducts ran with wine. In the public streets, towers were erected, adorned with the richest cloths, in which boys with pleasing voices were placed, singing his praise. The king ordered this part of the pageantry to cease. He referred his success to God alone; and would not even suffer the battered crown on his helmet to be publicly exhibited.<sup>76</sup>

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Henry re-  
turns to  
England.

<sup>73</sup> The contradiction of character which Dr. Walsh remarks of the Turks, is applicable to most of us, tho we may display it on different subjects and in a different manner: "I often wished to shoot an alcedo; but the Turks have such a tender and conscientious regard for the life of every animal, *but man*, that no person is permitted to kill any bird upon the Bosphorus, without incurring their displeasure." Dr. Walsh's Narrative.

<sup>74</sup> Monstrelet mentions, that his army selected the gold, silver, rich dresses, helmets and most portable valuables, but left the armor and clothes of the slain untouched, with the heavy baggage. The peasants, however, flocked from the neighboring villages, and stripped the field, till nothing but the naked bodies remained. p. 195.

<sup>75</sup> Tit. Liv. 22. Elmh. 71.

<sup>76</sup> Tit. Liv. 22. Elmh. 72. The Sloane MS. gives a detail of the king's reception in the metropolis, on his return from this great victory. Hearing that he had arrived from Canterbury at his mansion at Eltham, and meant to enter London on the following Sunday, the citizens prepared to receive him as its "amantissimus et desideratissimus princeps." On that day, the lord mayor and 28 aldermen, in their scarlet gowns, and 20,000 of the citizens on horseback in red, with hoods of red and white, went to Blackheath. Each company had the most striking and ingenious devices of its trade or profession which it could invent, to distinguish it from the others. About ten o'clock the king appeared with but a small train of his own friends; he was received with their hearty congratulations, and then all proceeded to the city. When they reached the tower that stood at the entrance of the bridge, a gigantic statue was seen of vast magnitude, made to resemble the king in its countenance, having a great battle-axe in its right hand, and the keys of the city in its left, hanging from a staff, as if it had been the porter of the city gates. At its side stood a female image, little less in size, in a purple robe and womanly ornaments, as the wife of the preceding. The battlements shone with royal armor, and trumpets, horns, and clarions filled the air with noisy melody. In front of the

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There can be no warrantable doubt that Henry was earnest and sincere in his religious feelings; but his stern insensibility to the human sufferings produced by his warlike projects and operations—most unrelentingly and peculiarly manifested in the subsequent siege of Rouen—is a sad testimony that the divinest principle of human nature may, in the same individual, be restricted by a more favorite passion to a very partial and contradictory operation. It is the ever-absurd, and yet very general attempt to unite the good which we venerate, with the self-gratifying evil that we will not relinquish. Henry may plead that he did no more than mankind usually do, who wish to cultivate religion, and yet desire and determine not to give up the incompatible indulgence which most pleases them. He may not have been worse than other persons in this inconsistent conduct; but he lived to find that the incongruity could have no happy result; and that the martial ambition which he would not abandon, became a spell of evil to himself and to his immediate descendants. Henry

erection appeared the strange inscription, "The city of the king of righteousness!" Proceeding to the bridge, two tall columns of wood, elegantly shaped and carved, covered with linen, and painted so as to resemble fine white marble and green jasper, were seen; on one an antelope had a shield, blazoning with the royal arms, fastened to his neck, clasping the sceptre in his right foot; on the top of the other stood a lion holding a spear, with the king's banner floating from it. A tower appeared beyond them with an armed figure of St. George, thought to be very beautiful; his head wreathed with a laurel crown, sparkling with what seemed like diamonds and precious gems; a triumphal helmet hung on one side, and a large shield, with heraldic arms, was on the other, while his right hand grasped the handle of the sword that was in his belt. The more appropriate device here was, "To God alone the honor and the glory." Beyond were various fabrications and figures representing the angelic hierarchy; the dresses white, the faces shining, their wings radiant with gold, and their hair abounding with tinsel and resplendent stones. These, as the king approached, hailed him, from organs and other instruments, with an English chant. At the aqueduct on Cornhill, was a tower covered with purple cloth, with arms, images, and devices. In Cheapside, another highly adorned erection was made, as showy and complimentary as a taste for pageantry could invent. As he proceeded, new fancies appeared, and he was hailed with "Welcome Henry the Fifthe, kyng of England and of Fraunce." Angels again were called in to assist the gratulation, and a Te Deum was chanted from among them. So immense was the jubilant crowd, that the horses could scarcely get along. The windows and roofs were full of ladies, nobility, and gentry, and the whole city was in an uproar of joy, acclamation, and happiness. Sloane MS. 1776.

was no hypocrite; but he is an instance how separable a fervent faith is from a consequential practice; and therefore his example confirms the wisdom of those, who strenuously inculcate the moral duties of Christianity, in addition to the sincere and justifying belief. Neither of these necessarily, or even habitually, produce the other. They are distinct acts of the mind, altho they ought never to be disjoined.

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## CHAP. XII.

*Continuation of the War with France. — HENRY'S Illness and Death. — His Persecutions of the Lollards. — His Embassy to the Council of Constance.*

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IT might have been expected that this great victory would have induced Henry to have sailed to France with the first breeze of the ensuing spring, and to have struggled again for the throne he had claimed. But, as if to show that personal honor had been his leading object, he remained at home nearly two years afterwards, without any military movement.<sup>1</sup> The factions in France continuing, the duke of Burgundy sought to excite him to espouse his interests. This turbulent prince, disappointed in his hopes of possessing the French regency, if not the crown, at last, stimulated by revenge, entered into a treaty with Henry, in which he acknowledged him to be the real king of France, and did him homage accordingly.<sup>2</sup>

This seductive plan of additional greatness, inflamed Henry's mind with the ambition to secure it. He tried to interest the noble French prisoners still in England to support him; and the duke of Burgundy having published a strong manifesto against the royal administration at Paris, which had made itself un-

<sup>1</sup> In 1416, the emperor of Germany, Sigismund, came from Paris into England. He affected to act as mediator between the two countries. He was made knight of the garter, and continued here during the summer. Wals. 441. He signed a treaty of alliance with Henry, and promised to assist him against France.

<sup>2</sup> On the subsequent transactions of Henry with France, the 9th and 10th volumes of Rymer's *Fœdera* contain official papers which furnish the authentic detail. Rapin published a very satisfactory *Abrégé Historique* of this work, to which I would refer the reader; and I take this opportunity of acknowledging that it has frequently assisted me as a valuable, critical, and historical index to the documents in Rymer. On this reign, it presents them to us interwoven with a connected narrative that will both instruct and please the historical student.



popular, and having marched an army towards Paris, Henry embraced the opportunity of landing himself, at the end of July 1417, with 25,000 men in Normandy. The French government, occupied with opposing Burgundy, could not repress Henry's invasion. He took Caen, Bayeux, Mantes, Alençon, and Falaise. His siege of Rouen produced a similar destruction of human life and comfort.<sup>3</sup> A conference for peace having ended fruitlessly, Henry continued his campaign in Normandy during the winter. The Pope interfered, to pacify the two countries; but the constable of France, who governed it, defeated his mediation. The party of Burgundy afterwards becoming masters of Paris, massacred the constable, and above 2000 of those attached to him; the duke then seized the government. Complicated negotiations, sometimes avowed, sometimes secret, ensued between him and Henry, and between the dauphin of France and Henry, and between the dauphin and Burgundy, each too much striving to overreach the other. The dauphin and Burgundy becoming more alarmed at England than at each other, surprised the world with intelligence of their reconciliation. Henry, indignant at their deceptions, attacked and took Pointoise, and published a declaration stating his grievances; reminding the nation that he had now got, in the capture of Pointoise, the key of Paris, and renewing the

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1417.  
Henry  
invades  
France  
again.

<sup>3</sup> Henry marched in June to besiege it, with his brothers and best troops. He had also several bodies of Irish, of whom the greater part had one leg and foot quite naked. The arms of these were targets, short javelins, and a strange kind of knives. They were of little use as soldiers, but they desolated and plundered the hostile country. The besieged defended themselves with a resolution that afflicted them with the greatest miseries which the human vice of war can bring on human life. From the beginning of October they had been driven to live on horses, dogs, cats, mice, and rats; and yet, to make their provisions last, they had expelled from the town 12,000 poor people, men, women, and children, the greater part of whom perished wretchedly in the ditches. Upwards of 50,000 of the inhabitants died of hunger before it surrendered; and on the 19th January 1420, Henry entered with a triumphant pomp which every feeling of humanity, after inflicting such suffering, ought to have restrained. Monst. vol. v. p. 40—71. This author enumerates thirty-five towns and castles which were yielded to Henry, from the impression produced by the loss of Rouen. *Ib.* p. 74.

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1420.  
Treaty of  
Troyes.  
Henry  
named the  
successor  
to the  
French  
crown.

demand of their compliance with his former offers, with the addition of the surrender of this city.<sup>4</sup>

The political state of France only became more stormy by the assassination of Burgundy by the dauphin. This crime, as foolish as abominable, threw the young duke of Burgundy into a close alliance with Henry, and revolted the best part of the nation against the dauphin. A treaty of peace with the English king now became inevitable, and it was concluded at Troyes, the 1st April, 1420. By this treaty, Henry was to marry Catherine, the daughter of the French king; to be regent of France while Charles remained alive; and to succeed him to the crown on his demise.<sup>5</sup> Henry published an order to strike a coin with his new title, "Henricus Francorum Rex;"<sup>6</sup> was betrothed to Catherine at Troyes the 21st May, and was wedded to her the 2nd of June. The English and French courts, united, went and laid siege to Sens; a sentence was issued against the murderers of the duke of Burgundy, in which Henry is called heir and regent of France<sup>7</sup>; and the king, returning to England, celebrated the coronation of his queen in the ensuing Lent.<sup>8</sup> His parliament eagerly confirmed

<sup>4</sup> The archbishop of Canterbury issued orders for prayers to be offered for Henry's success in this expedition, and for his *preservation* "from the superstitious operations of the necromancers; especially of those who are reported to be contriving for the destruction of his person." Wilk. Concilia, vol. iii. p. 393.

<sup>5</sup> See this treaty in Rymer, vol. ix. p. 896; and in Rapin's History of England. I would refer the reader to Rapin's History, for the minute detail and diplomatic transactions of this reign.

<sup>6</sup> Rymer, p. 888.

<sup>7</sup> Rymer, vol. x. p. 33. The dauphin endeavoured to excuse himself for this, by alleging his youth, and denying his consent. Mém. de Pierre du Fenin, p. 435.

<sup>8</sup> On the 24th February, she was crowned in Westminster Abbey, and was afterwards present at a sumptuous dinner in the Hall. This was composed almost entirely of fish, varied into three courses: The first course contained "brawn, with mustard; ded eels in burneur; frument, with balien; pike, in herbage; lamprey powdered; trout; codling; plaice, fried; marling, fried; crabs; leech lumbard flourished; tarts; and ending with the 'sotiltye' of a pelican sitting on her nest, with her birds. The second contained jelly, colored with colombine flowers; white pottage, or cream of almonds; bream of the sea; conger; soles; cheven; barbel with rache; fresh salmon; halybut; gurnard; rochet, broiled; smelts, fried; crevys, or lobster; leech damaske; lamprey fresh, baked; flampeyne; with a royal scutcheon having three crowns of gold, with fleur-de-lys, wrought of confections,

the treaty of Troyes, so glorious to England; and in the following year, as the dauphin had found Frenchmen enough to support him, from their aversion to a foreign sovereign, to keep Paris in a sort of blockade, Henry went to France in June, with his queen. His arrival freed its metropolis from all danger. In August, he marched against the dauphin and took Dreux. A dysentery in his army suspended awhile his operations. In October, he renewed them, obtained possession of Meaux, and began treating with the emperor for the purchase of the duchy of Luxemburg.<sup>9</sup> The dauphin continued his struggle in 1422, and laid siege to Cosne on the Loire, which agreed to surrender, if not relieved before the 18th of August. Henry marched to save it at the head of his army; but was attacked by a dysentery in his way, which compelled him to resign the command of his troops to his brother the duke of Bedford. The dauphin retired as they advanced, but Henry's disorder increased. He was taken to the Bois de Vincennes. He intreated the duke of Burgundy to be steady in his friendship to England, and his brother to be loyal to Burgundy; wisely foreseeing that the union of the two kingdoms would depend on the continuance of this amity. About an hour before his death, he asked his physicians for their real opinion as to his condition. They begged him to attend to the concerns of his soul, as he could not live above

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HENRY V.

His last  
illness and  
death;  
31 Aug.  
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and the sotilte of a panther. The third course presented dates, in compost; cream motle; carpe deore; turbot; tench; perch, with goion; porperus, roasted; fresh sturgeon, with whelkes; mennes, fried; crevis de eau douce; prawns; eels, roasted with lamprey; a white leech, flourished with hawthorn leaves and red hawes; a march pain, garnished with figures of angels; the sotilte was a tiger looking in a mirror, with an armed man on horseback holding in his arms a tiger's whelp. Each had the image of St. Catherine, in compliment to the queen's name, with written devices allusive to her, and to the issue of the war." Fabian, 401—403.

<sup>9</sup> Henry was at this period at Paris, where, says Pierre du Fenin, "he strongly attached the inhabitants to him, because he caused justice to be strictly observed, and rendered fairly to every one; which caused the poor people to love him greatly above every other." Mém. p. 496.

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two hours longer, according to the usual course of nature. He then ordered his confessor to recite the seven penitential Psalms; and when the verse was read on building the walls of Jerusalem, the word caught the king's ear; he stopped the recitation, and mentioned that he had proposed to conquer Jerusalem and to have rebuilt it, if God had but granted him life. The penitential Psalms were then finished, and he soon afterwards expired.<sup>10</sup> The character drawn of him by the contemporary French memoir-writer, may be read as containing his best and deserved panegyric<sup>11</sup>; and yet we must admit, that the tendency of war to harden the human heart was frequently shewn in his French campaigns.

His persecutions of the Lollards.

From the mistaken bigotry of the day, or from his father having founded his dynasty on the policy of supporting the papal hierarchy in England, Henry degraded his superior mind, and afflicted his nation, by abetting the ecclesiastical persecutions. He had personally attended the burning of one poor man, whose only crime was an heresy, or a deviation from the then established opinions about the Sacrament.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Mém. Pierre du Fenin*, p. 500, 501.

<sup>11</sup> He was a prince of great understanding, who would firmly maintain justice; hence the poorer orders loved him above all others. He was much inclined and careful to preserve and protect the middling classes from the insupportable violences and great extortions which most of the gentlemen made them suffer in France, Picardy, and throughout the kingdom. Especially he would not allow that the nobles should compel them to take the care and charge of their horses, dogs, and birds; which tyranny they used to exercise with impunity, both over them and over the clergy. His admirable wish to remedy these evils acquired him the favor and good wishes of the clergy and inferior people." *Mém. Pierre du Fenin*, p. 501. By this wise policy, more than by his sword, he obtained the crown of France.

<sup>12</sup> Walsingham calls him a smith, p. 421. His notion was, that the consecrated bread was not our Saviour's body; but as inanimate matter, was inferior in kind to the lowest animal. Oocleve, then alive, thus describes the incident, and Henry's conduct:—

“Som man for lakke of occupacion  
Museth fether than his wltte may strecche;  
And all thurgh the fendes instigacion,  
Dampnable errors holdeth and kannot lecche  
For no counsell ne rede; as did a *wrecche*  
Not longe agoo which that for heresy  
Convict and bront was unto asshen drye.

He had greatly pitied the sufferer, and endeavored at the stake to persuade him to adopt the required belief; but when he found that the conscience of the poor creature was not to be subdued by the torturing flame, instead of pronouncing his pardon for his heroism, he left him to his fate. His accession to the crown, and the avowed determination of the church to enforce under his authority an unremitted

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The precious body of our Lord Jhesu,  
In fourme of brede he leaved not at all.  
He was in no thyng abashed, ne eschu  
To say it was but brede matireall.  
He seide a priestis power was as small  
As a rakyers or such another wight,  
And to make it, hade no gretter myght.

My lord the prynce, God him save and blesse,  
Was at his deddily castigacion,  
And of his soule had grete tendirnesse;  
Thurstyng sore his salvacion.  
Grete was his pitious lamentacion,  
When this renegade would not blynne  
Of the stynkyng errorr that he was ynne.

This good lord hight him, to be such a mene  
To his fader, our liege lord sovereign,  
Yf he renounce wold his errorr clene,  
And come unto our good beleve ageyn,  
He shuld of hys lyfe sure be and certeyn;  
And sufficient liveleode eke shuld he have,  
Unto that day he cladde were in his grave.

Also this noble prince and worthy knyght,  
God quyte hym his charitable labour,  
Or ony stikke kyndeled were, or light,  
The sacrament, our blessed Saviour,  
With reverence grete and hye honour,  
He lete sette, this wrecche to converte,  
And make our faith to synken in his herte.

But all for nought. Wold it not betide,  
He held forth hys oppynyon dampnable:  
And caste our holy cristen faith aside;  
As he that was to the fende acceptable.  
By ony outward token resonable,  
Yf he inward bade any repentance,  
That wote He, that of no thyng hath dotaunce.

Lete the divines of hym speke and muse,  
Where his soule is become or whider gone,  
Myne unkunnyng of that me shall excuse,  
Of which mater, knowyng have I none.  
But wold God, tho cristen foes ech one,  
That as he held, were yserved so;

*For I am sure there ben many mo.—Occlev. MS. 17 D 6.*

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Oldcastle's  
fate.

persecution, produced an insurrection of those who favored the new opinions.

Various tracts of the Wickliffites were burnt in St. Paul's churchyard.<sup>13</sup> One book of the same sort, which had belonged to sir John Oldcastle, a brave and noble knight, was read to the king in his private room at Kensington; and he deigned to declare its opinions to be the worst against the faith and church which he ever heard. He asked sir John if he did not think so? a respectful assent was the answer; and when the king inquired why he should have such a book, the knight replied, that he had not read beyond two leaves.<sup>14</sup>

But the clergy charged him with receiving chaplains in his house, who taught these doctrines, and with sending them to diffuse the same opinions elsewhere. The king stopped their further process against him by declaring, that he would try by mildness to persuade him to abandon his errors. The royal efforts to convert his faithful soldier failed; and the king then becoming angry, severely upbraided him. Oldcastle retired to his castle at Cowling, in Kent; and Henry, sending for the archbishop, ordered him to proceed against the knight with all celerity. A bitter persecution now began<sup>15</sup>; and no alternative was left to the conscientious and enlightened, but death or hypocrisy. Oldcastle made a guarded confession, which, if conciliation had been at all in contemplation of the assailants, might have satisfied their wishes<sup>16</sup>; but as they had determined on striking deadly blows for the purpose of extermination, they pursued him with questions which left no choice between falsehood and condemnation. His virtue was superior to the former; and he was therefore declared

<sup>13</sup> Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 351.

<sup>14</sup> The record of this conversation is printed in Wilkins' Conc. vol. iii. p. 352.

<sup>15</sup> Wilk Conc. vol. iii. p. 353.

<sup>16</sup> His own words will be given in our Chapter on Prose Literature.

to be a heretic, was excommunicated, and consigned to the fatal flame.<sup>17</sup> He had been committed to the Tower, from which he escaped.

A mysterious transaction now occurred, in which, as in all great party collisions, the truth is difficult to be elicited. Reports were spread, that the Lollards were plotting to destroy the king and his brothers at Eltham. Informed of the design, the king went to his palace at Westminster, to be safer from its publicity. He was then told, that they were assembling from all quarters into a field near St. Giles's, to act under their leader, Oldcastle, on a fixed day and hour. The king at night ordered his friends to arm, and then *first* mentioned what he resolved to do. He was urged to wait till daylight, that he might discern who were willing to act with him or against him; and was advised by others to wait till he got an army together, if a formidable body was to be met. He listened to neither, because he *had heard* that the Lollards intended to burn Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, St. Alban's, and all the friaries in London. He went therefore to St. Giles's in the middle of the night, anticipating the projected movements of the ensuing day. He found only a few persons there, who, being asked what they wanted, said, "The lord of Cobham." They were seized and imprisoned. They were surprised to find that *no one* came from London to join them. The king had ordered all the city gates to be shut and guarded; and if he had not taken this precaution, there *would have come* "prout fertur," *as it was reported*, 50,000 servants and apprentices against the king. Many were elsewhere taken, who were said (*qui dicebantur*) to have conspired generally against the king.<sup>18</sup> On this account, we may remark,

<sup>17</sup> Refer to these in the above-mentioned Chapter.—His examination, at considerable length, is published in the State Trials, and will be found very interesting.

<sup>18</sup> I have preferred to state this account from Walsingham, because, as the

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that it is a series of supposition, rumor, private information, apprehension, and anticipation. That the king was acted upon by some secret agents, is clear; that the plots asserted were really formed, there is no evidence. The probability is, that Henry's generous and lofty mind was found to start at the violences which the bigotry of the papal clergy had resolved upon; and that artful measures were taken to alarm it into anger and cruelty, by charges of treason, rebellion, and meditated assassination. This effect took place. Oldcastle was taken, and a few years afterwards was burnt; a vindictive statute was passed against the Lollards<sup>19</sup>; and the persecution was sternly maintained.

The splendid victory of Agincourt, the acquisition of the crown of France, and the shortness of his reign, preserved Henry from any ill consequences from abetting such a system. But they appeared in a destructive shape after the succession of his son. The verbal avowal of the new opinions was repressed, but their secret diffusion was multiplied; and the reforming mind gazed eagerly about, to see how it could be revenged upon the clergy, without incurring the penalties of law. It struck boldly at their wealth, the real source of their power. An address from the commons to the king, to seize the revenues of the

bitterest enemy of the reformers, he states it most favorably to the king and his party. p. 431.

<sup>19</sup> See it in Wilkins' Concil. vol. iii. p. 358—360. It shews its origin, and the use made of the alleged plots above noticed, in its recital, which begins, "As great rumors, congregations, and insurrections, have been made in England by divers subjects of the king, as well as by those who were of the sect of heresy called Lollards, as by others of their confederacy, excitation, and abetment, to annul and subvert the Christian faith, and the law of God in the kingdom, and to destroy our sovereign lord the king, and *all manner of estates* of this realm, both spiritual and temporal, and also all manner of policy and the laws finally out of this land," &c. p. 358. The commonest discernment will perceive the gross and wilful falsehood of the latter part of this recital; and must infer the arts and delusive statements by which the parliament must have been acted upon to pass this statute. The archbishop of Canterbury (Arundel), who was so active in obtaining it, could not have believed what he asserted. We may add, that this "Tower of the English Church," as he is called by Walsingham, p. 432, very shortly survived these iniquitous transactions, for he died the same year. Wals. ib.



ecclesiastical body, compelled them to soothe him by giving up one hundred and ten alien priories.<sup>20</sup> The conflict only assumed a more portentous shape, from the determined violence of the church. That violence made the absolute downfall of one party or of the other, sooner or later, inevitable; and the kingdom continued to be convulsed till this event occurred.<sup>21</sup> Henry sent ambassadors to the council of Constance, which was assembled to preserve the unity, and to consider of the reformation of the church.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Rymer Act. Fœd. vol. ix. p. 280.—I think it probable that lord Cambridge's conspiracy had reference to these transactions; and that Henry V. would have had a reign as stormy as his son's, if it had not been for his French triumphs.

<sup>21</sup> The person of Henry is thus described: Rather above the middle stature; a pleasing countenance; long neck; thin body and limbs; strong and active. He excelled in leaping; and was so swift in running, that he could hunt deer on foot. Tit. Liv. p. 5. Elmham.

<sup>22</sup> Rymer has inserted several letters and documents on this subject, in his collection, vol. ix. The substance of one written to Henry, from Constance, Feb. 2, 1417, 1418, is not uninteresting. It is translated and prefixed to L'Enfant's Council of Constance:—

“My sovereign liege lord, and most dread Christian prince upon earth—I recommend myself to your high, royal, and imperial majesty, with all manner of honor, worship, grace, and obedience.

“My most glorious lord—May it please you to know, that on Wednesday, being the 27th day of January, at or about three o'clock in the afternoon, the gracious prince, your brother, king of the Romans, entered the city of Constance, with your livery of the collar about his neck (a joyful sight to all your liege people!) with a solemn procession of all the states, both in their cardinals, and of the several nations, and your noblemen in their richest habits, with your whole nation; and he received your lords graciously and cheerfully; and tho the crowd was so great, yet he gave his hand to none but the worshipful men of your nation.

“And then my lord of Salisbury hastened to the place of general council (where that august monarch was to rest) and took possession of the pulpit, in which the cardinal of Cambray, chief of the nation of France, and your special enemy, had purposed to have made the first oration to the king, in honor of the French nation. But my lord of Salisbury, having the honor of you and your nation at heart, kept possession, and made a fine discourse, with which the king was very much pleased; and as the king had not yet dined, nobody cared to give him any more fatigue for that day.

“But next day, my liege lord, may it please you to know, that at the nine o'clock bell, all your ambassadors, with all your nation, in their best array, went to worship him in his palace, where he gave them a glad and gracious audience; and there my lord of Chester, the president of your nation, made such a speech to him, as rebounded to his own honor, and that of your whole nation: soon after which they took leave of him.

“Next morning, at ten o'clock, he sent for them again, and took them again, every man by the hand; after which he made a speech, wherein he thanked our nation in particular, for their loving, true, and trusty carriage to his nation, in his absence; rehearsed after what manner the brotherly love commenced betwixt him and my lord your father, and how it is now renewed and cemented with you and your successors, by the grace of God, for ever; and finally he expatiated so

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much in the high praises of your royal person, of all your lords, your brothers, of the government of holy church, of the divine service, ornaments, and all the honors therein observed, as if it were a paradise in comparison with any place he ever came to before; insomuch that, from the highest to the lowest, he commended your glorious and gracious person, your realm, and your good government.

“And then my lord of Chester, our president, in the name of all our nation (as to his office appertained) made a compendious and elegant recital of all that the emperor had said; and returned him an answer in every point so pertinent and rational, in so short a space of time, that your nation is for ever bound to thank him.

“Moreover, sovereign liege lord, as far as I can understand, my lords of Salisbury and Chester are heartily disposed, with the consent of all your other ambassadors, to pursue the reformation of the church, both in the head and members, tho with the loss of their benefices; and I make no doubt, but those two lords will always strenuously abide by the good advice and resolution of your brother the king of the Romans,” &c.

## CHAP. XIII.

## REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

1422.

*Accession of HENRY VI. — Settlement of the Government.*

THE sudden illness of Henry V. so rapidly ending in his death, in the full bloom of manhood<sup>1</sup>, when his ambition was reaping its rich harvest, changed the destinies of France, and began a new train of agitating events both to England and Europe. If he had lived but two months longer, he would have been crowned king of France, with the immediate and applauding submission of above half that country, and with the apparent certainty, from his previous successes, his military talents, and his great popularity among the warlike spirits of both nations, of soon becoming the sovereign of the whole.

On his death-bed he had discovered one of those secret idols, which the heart cherishes in the fond dreams of its vanity. He declared that he had meant, as soon as he had secured himself on the throne of France, to have undertaken an expedition to Palestine; and to have rescued Jerusalem from the Turks.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He was but 36 years old when he expired. By the treaty of peace, signed 21 May 1420, he was declared "Heritier de France," "Heres Francia," and appointed to succeed Charles VI. 1 Monst. 207; Johnes' Monst. v. p. 185; tho I consult the original, I shall quote Johnes' translation of Monstrelet, as most familiar to my countrymen.

<sup>2</sup> As already noticed, he mentioned, quite loud, "that as surely as he expected to die, he had intended, after he had established peace in France, to go and conquer Jerusalem, if it had been the good pleasure of his Creator to have let him live his due time." Monst. 59. 371.

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As he had equalled, by his victory at Agincourt, the exploits of the Black Prince at Poitiers; and had conquered more of France than any former English king, he was surpassed by none of his royal predecessors, except the romantic Cœur de Lion, whose chivalrous, yet useless, feats in the Holy Land, remained still unrivalled. These feats were, however, so highly fascinating to the imagination, as to invest the name of Richard with a mysterious wonder, which raised him above the ordinary course of humanity.

Henry V. had a love of heroic grandeur and a passion for its fame, together with that intrepid activity of mind which has so often realized its most difficult wishes.

To achieve exploits like those of Richard I. or to outdo them, became the latent hope of his ardent egotism, which his successes seemed to warrant, and which self-flattery as easily mistook for disinterested philanthropy as for religious impulse.<sup>3</sup>

The great determination of his character; his energies and warlike skill; his general ability; his severity towards all who opposed him<sup>4</sup>; the love of foreign enterprise which he had excited among his

<sup>3</sup> He had borrowed from the countess of Westmoreland the "Cronikels de Jerusalem, et le Viage de Godfray Boylion," Rym. Fœd. vol. x. p. 317. The intention of Henry V. to invade Palestine is implied by the MS. introduced by Mr. Granville Penn to the notice of the Royal Literary Society. It is the report of Guillebert de Lanney, chevalier, "sur plusieurs visitations de villes, pors et rivieres par moy visitees, tant as pas d'Egypte, coïne de Surie, l'an de grace 1422, par le coñdement" of Henry V. The places he notices are, "Alexandrie, Rosette, Kaire, Babilone, Damiette, Tenes, Jaffe, Rames, Jerusalem, Acre, Tyre, Sayette, Barut, Damask, and Gallipoli." One of the chapters is on "la condicion et nature des Soudans de Babilone, de leurs amiraux et esclaves, et des Sarrasins d'Egypte; de la nature des pays d'Egypte et de Surie." Another chapter is on "la difference du pays d'Egypte et de Surie."

That Henry should have sent a knight to make a survey of these places, is good evidence that he seriously meditated the expedition which he mentioned on his death-bed. This MS. then in his possession, Mr. Penn states to have been discovered at Lille, in 1819. He has since observed a copy, of the same penmanship and ornamented in the same manner, among the Hatton MSS. of the Bodleian Library; and justly infers "that Henry was in actual expectation of Lannoi's return from this service, when he made his dying declaration.

<sup>4</sup> Monstrelet, his contemporary, says that he was so feared and dreaded by his princes and captains, that none, however near to him, dared to disobey his orders; especially his English subjects. p. 376.

countrymen ; the migratory and battling spirit of the age ; the numbers of unemployed and necessitous sons of gentle birth that then abounded in England and Europe ; the interest which the great churchmen had to employ a martial nobility, and a king of so much vigor and discernment, in difficult and distant undertakings, that their affluence and preponderance might continue untouched ; and the support and favor which he would have received from those parts of Italy and Greece which the Ottomans were now seriously endangering ; make it probable that Henry would have headed the most formidable crusade that had yet assailed the Mahometan crescent, and might have saved Cyprus<sup>5</sup>, and prevented the fall of Constantinople and the establishment of Islamism in Europe. A new Christian kingdom might have arisen from his enterprise, on the sea coast of Palestine, which, by occupying, would have kept the Turkish arms from penetrating so deeply and so dangerously into Europe, as they were soon found able to do, when no enemy existed in their rear, to arrest their westward progress.<sup>6</sup>

But the premature death of Henry V. a few weeks before the king whom he was to have succeeded, not only prevented the fulfilment of this great purpose, and its vast consequences ; but soon made the English sovereignty of France a disputed honor, maintainable only by the power of a less effective sword, and fluctuating with all the accidents of war, until in a few years it was unexpectedly, but irrecoverably

<sup>5</sup> Cyprus was taken in July 1426. The great Amurath succeeded in the year that Henry died, and would have been his opponent.

<sup>6</sup> The haughty aspirations of the Mussulmen, after the conquest of Cyprus, are indicated in the Sultan's letter, as inserted by Monstrelet in his History. It reminds us of the encomiastic metaphors of the ancient Scandinavian poetry : "Commander of the temples ; crusher of helmets ; splitter of shields ; piercer of hauberkes ; breaker of armor ; lancer of spears ; overturner of war-horses ; destroyer of castles ; flower of chivalry ; a wild boar for courage ; an eagle for liberality ; the dread of his enemies ; the hope of his friends ; the raiser up of the discomfited ; the standard of Mahommed ; lord of all the world." Vol. vi. p. 215.

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broken. The union of the two nations under one sceptre, and the preponderance of such a combined power in Europe, have never become probable again; and perhaps each nation has diverged into greater improvements from their political separation.

It would indeed have been a novelty in human history, if the English Government of France had remained unshaken, during those ambitious struggles for political authority, honors, and a participation and appropriation of the public revenues and royal demesnes, which always arise among the great<sup>7</sup>, in every country, during the minority or incapacity of the crown. These contests from the latter cause, afflicted France under Charles VI.; and from the former, long divided and enfeebled England at the critical period when the crown of France was, according to the treaty of Troyes and from the power of victory, about to be united with its own.

France had begun to recover from its domestic evils, when the assassination of the duke of Burgundy, in the presence and with the sanction of the dauphin, by his Armagnac partisans<sup>8</sup>, created that implacable hatred between the friends of the house of Burgundy and the supporters of the murderers, which led Henry V. to the actual possession of Normandy and other places; to the hand of the interesting Catherine, and to the covenanted assurance of succeeding Charles the Sixth.<sup>9</sup> But it was not merely the personal passions of his allies, that continued to Henry this ascendancy. His victories had shaken the ancient

<sup>7</sup> Hence, when the two contending parties had assembled their forces in 1410, the king's ministers recommended "that all the princes should retire to their principalities, and not interfere more with the king's government, nor receive any more pensions or profits, but live on their own revenues." Monst. vol. ii. p. 194.

<sup>8</sup> On 10 Sept. 1419. See the detailed narrative of it in Monstrelet, vol. v. p. 113—125. Twelve years before, the present sufferer had caused the duke of Orleans, his great political rival, to be killed in a similar manner.

<sup>9</sup> The son and successor of the duke of Burgundy, immediately after his father's murder, entered into a close alliance with Henry, in order to exclude the dauphin from the throne. See Monstrelet.

state of things in France; and opened the avenues to new changes; and excited the mind to think of the removal of old grievances. A collision began between those new interests, feelings, speculations, and improvements, which increased population and altered circumstances were suggesting in all parts of Europe; and which were now urging the active, the well meaning, and the restless in France, against many of the old privileges, powers, and advantages of the existing authorities.

Among the French nation, the old establishments were chiefly identified with the party called, from the leading counsellor, tho not the noblest chief, the Armagnacs<sup>10</sup>; and the reformers of abuses allied with those who supported the Duke of Burgundy.<sup>11</sup> The Parisians were peculiarly clamorous for relief from their grievances and for reformation.<sup>12</sup> And altho the citizens of a metropolis which assumes to itself the superiority of a preceptor in civilization and knowlege to the rest of their nation, they distinguished themselves for the cruelty of their vindictive conduct. Some of the worst actions, that disgraced the Jacobin revolutionists, at the close of the eighteenth century were perpetrated by the populace of the French capital at this tumultuous period<sup>13</sup>; and were

<sup>10</sup> The princes were not pleased if not called by this name. 2 Monst. 206.

<sup>11</sup> See Burgundy's petition of complaint in 1405. Monst. vol. i. p. 141; the grand assembly, held by Burgundy's desire, to reform the abuses of government in 1412, vol. iii. p. 98—124; and the king's edicts for reformation of abuses, ib. p. 166; and Burgundy's remonstrance in 1413, p. 265. See the queen's letter, vol. iv. p. 362; and the complainings of the commonalty, vol. v. p. 352.

<sup>12</sup> See Monst. vol. iii. p. 152. 349. 160.—vol. iv. p. 205. 219. Friar Thomas was also distinguished in France for attacking the vices of the clergy and the times. Vol. vi. p. 239—244.

<sup>13</sup> Having adopted the white hood as their ensign (Monst. vol. iii. p. 152), they rose in insurrection in 1413, and seized in the royal and other hotels, the nobles, clergy, knights, and ladies, whom they accused, imprisoned, then daily drowned some of both sexes in the Seine, or put them to death without law (152—166.), and beheaded some, and fixed their heads on spears (175).

On 4 June 1418, a mob of 60,000 again rose, broke into the prisons, and massacred 1600 persons there, including nobles, bishops, women, and officers of the royal household. Vol. v. p. 21. Soon afterwards they rose again, burst into the prisons as before, and destroyed 300 nobles, knights, churchmen, and other prisoners, who

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not unsanctioned by their high-born leaders. But wisdom is attainable only by education and time; and therefore, few possessing it when the sudden demand for it arises, the passionate and uninstructed multitude hasten, like Alexander, to cut thro their diffculties by violence and destruction.<sup>14</sup>

It was the continued competition of these rival interests, which caused every treaty of peace between the two French parties to be broken, nearly as soon as the festivities for its occurrence had ceased.<sup>15</sup> The deaths of the hostile chieftains, from the same cause, made no difference as to the duration of the feuds. Tho the conflicting individuals passed away<sup>16</sup>, the irreconcilable hostility of the new and old state and tendencies of things perpetuated the struggle. Hence the contests continued, under varying shapes, until the desolations of war, and the stern necessities which followed them, produced the internal alterations which were most needed, and disposed both sides to concessions and coalitions, that ended the civil conflict and expelled the invading enemy. But France had to endure several years of warfare before this desired end was attained.

were there imprisoned (p. 81); they then divided, and parading the streets, entered the houses of many who had been Armagnacs, plundering and murdering all without mercy. Monst. vol. v. p. 49. An epidemy at this time took off 80,000 Parisians. Ib. p. 46.

<sup>14</sup> The great had their reforms in view, as well as the inferior classes in France. Hence, in 1441, "The ministers reported to the king, that the meetings of the nobles were not for his welfare. That the nobles were endeavoring to gain to their party the barons of his realm, the churchmen and the common people, to make great reforms, and to place the government of the kingdom in the three estates; and if they succeeded in their plans, he would possess no other authority than the three estates should be pleased to allow him." The king declared, that if he were assured they intended to bring forward such measures to his prejudice, he would lay all other matters aside, and instantly attack them with his forces. Monstr. vol. viii. p. 332.

<sup>15</sup> Thus the agreement in 1415, was the fifth peace made between the factions since the commencement of the struggle in 1405. Ib. iv. p. 64.

<sup>16</sup> Orleans, the first great cause of these evils, was killed in 1407, Monst. vol. i. p. 191; their chief Armagnac minister was killed in 1409, ib. vol. ii. p. 2. 130; the Duke of Berry died in 1412, ib. vol. iii. p. 95; the chancellor and constable D'Armagnac were killed; the Duke of Bourbon died; the Duke of Burgundy was assassinated; and the other chiefs successively disappeared.



Upon Henry's death, his brother the duke of Bedford met the duke of Burgundy in council at Paris, to deliberate on the future government of France. It was then settled that the articles of the peace at Troyes should continue to be its basis.<sup>17</sup>

Preparations were made to convey the embalmed body of Henry from Rouen to England. It was placed within a car, on which reclined his figure, made of boiled leather elegantly painted. A rich crown of gold was on its head. The right hand held a sceptre, and the left a golden ball. The face seemed to contemplate the heavens. A canopy of vermilion silk, interwoven with beaten gold, was suspended over it. Persons dressed in white, carrying lighted torches, walked by its side all the way. The queen and a numerous train of princes, nobles, knights, and clergy, attended it. Wherever it rested, rows of priests on each side the coffin day and night chanted requiems without ceasing, and masses were said daily for his soul, from break of day to noon, in all the churches of the towns it passed thro. At Calais it was embarked for Dover, and the funeral pomp, an unavailing tribute of human regret and affection, was closed at Westminster Abbey. Monstrelet remarks, that even when he wrote, as much honor and reverence was daily paid to his tomb as if it were certain that he was a saint in Paradise.<sup>18</sup> A reign of distinguished virtues might, not inexcusably, excite men's sympathies; but a great warrior's fame is combined with such a destruction of life and comfort, that it

<sup>17</sup> Monst. vol. v. p. 373. The will of Henry V. published by Mr. Nicholls, amid the Royal and Noble Wills, p. 236, cannot have been his last will, tho taken from the Chapter House at Westminster: this is dated 21 July 1417; but his will, mentioned in the Rolls of Parliament as produced by his executors, is dated at Dover, 10 June 1421; the king ends the codicil to it thus: "I have made this will be myself and written hit in part with myn owen hande thus enterlynet and blotted as hit is, the 9th day of Jun 1421." Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 299.

<sup>18</sup> Monst. 376. On the anniversary of his death, 24 poor men were appointed to hold as many burning torches in the abbey all day and night, each weighing 26

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can seldom be reasonably connected with celestial felicities.

On the 22d October, Charles VI. the king of France, expired, with the enviable epithet of "the Well-beloved," after a reign full of those relapses of disease, which had led the great nobility to contest so fiercely for the command of the government.<sup>19</sup> He was also buried with a parade<sup>20</sup>, which, to correct taste and feeling, seems incongruous with the individual destitution of the senseless corpse; and as the last service ended in the church of St. Denis, the officers of his crown turned their maces downwards to his grave, and broke their staves, in token that their functions had ceased. The loud voice of a herald was then heard, sounding aloud thro the funeral vault, "Long life to Henry, king of France and England, our sovereign lord," which the shouts of others repeated.<sup>21</sup> The duke of Bedford, who had attended the scene, now became regent of France, while the dauphin was crowned king, as Charles VII., by the nobles of his party, in the town of Poitiers.<sup>22</sup>

Thus France became pledged to a calamitous warfare between the supporters of Henry VI. and those of Charles VII. No state in Europe was at this time particularly prominent: but several, imperceptibly to themselves, were preparing to become so; tho they were rather pressed into notoriety by the impulse of subsequent incidents, than by their own contriving policy. Man often obeys the event that he seems to be commanding.

pounds, and three masses were to be said every day for his soul. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 220.

<sup>19</sup> Monst. vol. vi. p. 1. He had reigned 43 years. C. 7.

<sup>20</sup> "Over the coffin was an image of the king, bearing a rich crowne of gold and diamonds, holding two shields, one of gold, the other of silver; the hands had white gloves, and the fingers very precious rings; the image was dressed in cloth of gold on a vermillion ground, with a close sleeve and mantle of the same lined with ermine; the stockings were black, and the shoes of blue velvet." Monst. vol. vi. p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Monst. vol. vi. p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Ib. p. 11.

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Henry VI. was at his accession a babe, but nine months and fourteen days old.<sup>23</sup> The parliament ordered a new royal title, King of France and England and Lord of Ireland<sup>24</sup>, appointed his father's eldest brother, the duke of Bedford, to be the protector and defender and chief counsellor of the kingdom, and of the English church, when he returned to England; and during his absence invested the duke of Gloucester, the younger brother, with these powers.<sup>25</sup> Five prelates, a duke, five earls, and five other gentlemen, were named counsellors assisting in the government.<sup>26</sup> Two years afterwards, some others were added, among whom we find the son or grandson of our poet Chaucer.<sup>27</sup> Certain articles were enacted, limiting and directing the power of the protector. The principal of these were, that the high officers of state, justices of the peace, sheriffs, collectors of the customs and controllers, should be named by the advice of the council; that wards and lunatics should be under its control; that six or four of the members should be always present, and on great subjects of deliberation, all.<sup>28</sup>

When the royal infant was two years old, he was removed with his mother from Windsor to London. The queen sitting in her chair with the young majesty on her lap, passed in great triumph thro the city to Westminster, where he was placed on the throne, and the parliament was held in his presence. He was taken back that night to Staines, and on the next day, "with glad semblaunce and merie cheere" to Kingston.<sup>29</sup> In this parliament, new articles were

<sup>23</sup> Hist. Croyl. contin. p. 514.<sup>24</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 170. The bishop of Durham was made Chancellor; W. Kynwolmersh, a clergyman, Treasurer; and Mr. John Stafford, Privy Seal. Ib.<sup>25</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 174. The Parliament granted a subsidy on wool, and tonnage and poundage, p. 173.<sup>26</sup> Ib. 175.<sup>27</sup> Ib. 201. This Chaucer had enjoyed a grant of the office of chief botiller d'Engleterre for life, from Henry IV.; it was now confirmed to him. p. 178.<sup>28</sup> Ib. 176.<sup>29</sup> Fabian, Chron. 410.

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made to restrict the protector's power. He was forbidden, of himself, to grant any favor or applications for right, office, or benefice. All petitions were to be read on Wednesdays, and answered on Fridays. The majority of the council was to govern its decisions. No individual of the council was to write any letters to foreign parts. On all matters affecting the king's prerogative, the judges were to be called in to assist with their advice. Two very humane articles were added, which do credit to the generous feelings of the legislature at that period. The poorest man's bills were to be first read; and the king's serjeant was to be sworn "trewly and plainly to give the pore man assistance and trewe counsail without any gratuity."<sup>30</sup> These limitations of the protectorial authority seem to have been wise cautions against its abuse. They tended to preserve the royal minority from the dangers of its appointed guardian becoming its competitor; but they implied mistrust, and excited the dissatisfaction of the person they controlled.

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April 28.

When the king was three years old and could walk, he was exhibited in more effective majesty. He was brought by the queen again from Windsor to London; and when he came to the west door of St. Paul's, the protector took him out of his chair, and with the duke of Exeter led him on his feet to the steps. He was borne thence to the high altar, where he knelt down. He rose, and went to the crucifix at the north door, and made his offerings. He was carried afterwards into the churchyard and placed upon a horse, on which he was conveyed thro Cheapside and the City to St. George's bar towards Southwark, and continued his ride to Kingston.<sup>31</sup> He was considered to be "the very image, lively portraiture and lovely countenance of his noble parent." This may have

<sup>30</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 201.<sup>31</sup> Fab. 412.

been the fact as far as such an early infancy could exhibit a resemblance to manly features; but that he inherited his father's "morall vertues, martial policies, and princely feates,"<sup>32</sup> we know to have become a satirical adulation. He may have been a better man than Henry the Fifth, whose cruelties in his French sieges leave the virtues of his heart uncertain. But as a warrior and a king, Henry the Sixth lived to be the foil, not the heir of his father.

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<sup>32</sup> Hall Chron. 127.

## CHAP. XIV.

*State of the War in France, before the Siege of Orleans.*BOOK  
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THE attack of Henry V. on France was an action of which its nobility could not complain; because both of the contending parties had solicited him and his father to send or lead an English army, to assist their vengeance against their antagonists. But no voluntary transaction could have been more unjust as to its morality, nor more calamitous to himself, his family, and his country. It was an act of ambitious self-will on his part, not needed by any national exigency<sup>1</sup>, and of interested selfishness in those who supported it, which sought only personal gratification, at a profuse expense of human life and comfort; and which ultimately brought down all the horrors of the most destructive civil war on both countries, as well as on themselves and their descendants. But selfishness never heeds the consequences of its conduct to others, and rarely considers the remote ones to itself. The circle of its immediate vision is usually the deceiving boundary of its calculations and prospects.

English  
possessions  
in France.

England never had before enjoyed such a flattering prospect of adding the kingdom of France to its ancient insular sovereignty. The tide of conquest had gone steadily forwards to this point, from the battle of Agincourt in 1415. At the accession of

<sup>1</sup> And yet, according to a French chronicler of that period, he could say to the legate who interfered for France: — "The blessed Deity has inspired me with the wish to come into the country, to chastise its subjects, and to acquire its sovereignty, as its true king. All the causes for which a kingdom ought to be transferred to another hand or person prevail there, and compel this change. It is the Divine pleasure that this translation should be made in my person, and that I should possess the throne to which I have a right." Juvenal des Ursin's Hist. ch. vi. Charm. Jean d'Arc, i. 53. On the applications to Henry IV. see Monst. iii. 140.

Henry VI. or soon afterwards, the English had reduced into complete subjection, the isle of France, with Paris, a part of Maine and Anjou, nearly all Champagne, the whole of Picardy and Normandy, with few exceptions, and Guienne in the south, including Gascony. Their alliance with Philip the duke of Burgundy, gave them the feudal honors and military use of Upper and Lower Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois; and the temporary attachment of the duke of Bretagne added the forces of that province to the English power.

To Charles VII. the successor of his father, a youth then not nineteen, there remained only Languedoc, Dauphiné, Auvergne, Bourbonnois, Berri, Poitou, Saintonge, Touraine, Orleanois, and a portion of Maine and Anjou. This part of France stood now exposed to the assault of the English, aided by the rest of the kingdom, under the command of the ablest warriors in Europe, who had been formed in the campaigns of Henry V. Few wars have been more calamitous to a country than this was to France.<sup>2</sup>

The duke of Bedford possessed much of the ambition and military talents, tho not the general mind of his deceased brother; nor had he Henry's power of commanding or obtaining the ample forces that were necessary to conquer the dauphin's part of France.

The English regents, from wise policy as well as

<sup>2</sup> We may take the description from an old English writer. "The rich men were spoiled of their goods; the spiritual persons were taxed, and brought low; the common people were slain, murdered, and trodden under foot; women defiled; towns destroyed and wasted; town-dwellers and citizens robbed and exiled, and beautiful buildings cruelly burnt. Nothing was spared which might be destroyed." The result was natural. "In all things necessary to man's living, penury shewed herself. The cornfields lay untilled; the meadows were overtrodden; the woods were spoiled; men went to harness, and no man to the plough; the churches were seldom used for devotion, but many times spoiled for desire of gain." Hall's Chron. 174. For contemporary Frenchmen's more distressing descriptions of the sufferings of their country, see Charm. Jean d'Arc, i. p. 62—66 and 77. Of these I will select only one trait: at Paris, "Wolves wandered at night thro its deserted streets." p. 77.

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cautious jealousy, sent sparing supplies. Bedford was therefore obliged to husband the troops he possessed, and to be contented with gradual and occasional progress. He placed strong garrisons in Normandy, and endeavoured to conciliate its nobility to the English government. He spread his troops, with those of Burgundy, over the conquered provinces, to keep them submissive; and having obtained the alliance of the duke of Savoy, and the prince of Orange, he sent the latter to act on Languedoc and Dauphiné; while the earl of Warwick co-operated with them from Guienne. Stationing himself usually at Paris, he appointed the earl of Salisbury, then highly celebrated for his prowess<sup>3</sup>, to be the governor of Champagne, while Normandy, Anjou, and Maine were committed to sir John Falstoffs. He met the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne at Amiens, and formed a triple alliance of mutual friendship, and to drive all other bands out of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> He married the sister of the duke of Burgundy<sup>5</sup>, and caused several towns to be besieged and taken.<sup>6</sup>

Battle of  
Crevant.

July 1423.

The attempt of the partisans of Charles to take Crevant brought on the first important battle. Salisbury collected at Auxerre 4000 English and Burgundians, to relieve it. They suffered much on their march, from the weight of their armor and the heat of the weather. All were ordered to dismount as they reached the place of battle, on pain of death; every archer was to provide himself with a stake, to plant before him, and none were to make prisoners, till the victory was decided. The French whom the earl Buchan, the constable of Scotland, commanded, descended with their Scottish allies from the hill

<sup>3</sup> "A knight very expert and of great renown in arms." Monst. vi. 228.<sup>4</sup> Ibid. vi. 32.<sup>5</sup> Ibid. vi. 35.<sup>6</sup> As, Meulan, Pont sur Seine, and Cressy, and the castles Mont Aguilon and Champagne, Orsay near Paris, and Noelle. See Monst. vi. 19—42.



where they were posted, in front of the town, and began the battle. A resolute contest ended in the triumph of the English. Three thousand Scots, who formed the first ranks of the French army, were killed or taken. Their commander, and 400 gentlemen, were made prisoners.<sup>7</sup>

No greater effects followed from this success, which destroyed the only army that Charles could then assemble, than the capture of some castles and a few towns, and the recovery of others which some spirited Frenchmen had taken by escalade.<sup>8</sup>

But in the next year Charles was enabled, with the aid of a Scottish army, to assemble a force of 18,000 men, which fought the greatest battle<sup>9</sup> that had occurred between the two nations, since the conflict at Agincourt.<sup>10</sup> Bedford marched with 1800 men at arms and 8000 archers to Ivry, and receiving the surrender of that town, advanced against the French, who had taken Verneuil. Finding them drawn up in one grand division on foot, without any vanguard, he formed in the same manner. His archers were posted in front, each fixing a sharp-pointed stake, inclining outwards, before him, while the stoutest of these were placed at the two ends of the battalion, by way of wings. Behind the men at arms were the pages, the horses, and such as were unfit for the combat. The French ordered their Lombards to remain on horseback, to break the English ranks on their flanks and rear. Many new knights were created on both sides; and at three o'clock in the afternoon, the English advancing as usual with a general shout,

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Battle of  
Verneuil.

16 August  
1424.

<sup>7</sup> See Monst. vi. 46—48.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. vi. 52—77. It was about this time of Charles's difficulties that his son Louis XI. was born. Ib. 65.

<sup>9</sup> Ib. vi. 90—97. The French left on the field of battle from 4000 to 5000 men, many of the Scotch troops; the duke d'Alençon was among the prisoners; 1600 English perished.

<sup>10</sup> It was declared in parliament to have been "the grettest dede doon by Englishmen in our dayes, save the battaile of Agyncourte." Parl. Rol. vol. iv. p. 423.

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which startled their opponents, the furious conflict began, which both sides maintained with unusual determination. The Lombards attempted to attack the English rear; but, unable to make any impression on a guard of 2000 archers, which Bedford's foresight had placed to protect the baggage, they contented themselves with taking what they could snatch, and fled away; leaving the archers at liberty to join their yet struggling army, and by their freshness and unexpected attack to decide the important and bloody victory. Eleven thousand of the French army fell, including most of the Scotch.<sup>11</sup> That the calamitous results of war have not yet persuaded reason and self-interest to avoid it, is an evidence how little human conduct is governed by its better feelings, its real welfare, or its palpable moral duties.

Tho many places in Anjou and Maine surrendered to the English and their allies after this decisive battle, yet it had really no other ultimate effect on the great object contended for, than if so many puppets had been employed to fell each other down. Its evil consequences to Charles were immediately arrested by the division and diversion of the Burgundian forces, which the conduct of the duke of Gloucester occasioned. No event could be more propitious to Charles, than the intemperate behaviour of the English prince at this critical moment. The French king, after the battle of Verneuil, had no prospect of shaking the power of his competitor. He was compelled to remain inactive at Bourges, and he had so little power beyond it, that the English called him in derision, "the king of that city."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The MS. which I have before quoted as Walsingham's, and which has never yet been published, nor even noticed in English history, puts the number of the French and Scotch who fell, as 11,000. It represents the Scottish leaders as having fled from Scotland from fear of its new king. It adds this reason for the fall of so many of their countrymen: "Scarcely any of them could escape, by reason of the inhuman slaughter of the Duke of Clarence." British Museum MS. Sloane, 1776.

<sup>12</sup> Marshal de Paris, *Vigiles du Cha.* 7; Du Halllan (*Etat des Aff. l. 2.*) represents Charles as amusing himself with gardening and making fine parterres.

It was the Burgundian alliance which had given the English this decisive predominance in France. This fine country was even then too populous, and its inhabitants were too active and able, and a native king was too obviously the most beneficial to all classes of them, to have allowed England to have kept it long in subjection, if fierce resentments and a portion of its own population had not assisted the English to subdue it. To maintain their predominance, it was the interest of England to have perpetuated the most cordial amity with the duke of Burgundy; yet Gloucester, one of its regents, by affronting him began the emancipation of that country, which they had shed so much blood and expended so much treasure to obtain.

The daughter of the earl of Hainault, at her father's death, became possessed of the sovereignty of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault. She had been married to the elder brother of the French king; but he dying, she was betrothed to the duke of Brabant, who was the cousin german of the duke of Burgundy. Quarrelling with her second husband, she eloped from him, and resided for some time in England<sup>13</sup>, where by her person and splendid inheritance she interested the passions of the duke of Gloucester.

To the astonishment of those who could reflect on its consequences, the English regent, having obtained from the Antipope her divorce from the duke of Brabant, became her third husband.<sup>14</sup> Her person Brabant might have surrendered without repugnance, as their hearts were sundered; but her territorial possessions gave him a rank and an influence which the habits of that period made the most coveted

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Gloucester  
marries  
Jacqueline  
of Hainault.

<sup>13</sup> Monst. vi. p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> The petition in 1423, to make her a denizen, is in the Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 242.

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Duke of  
Burgundy  
challenges  
Gloucester.

felicity of life, and he refused to relinquish these when Gloucester claimed them by marital right. Each called himself lord of her dominions, and the territorial nobility taking different sides<sup>15</sup>, the country became the seat of an angry war. Gloucester landed at Calais 5000 men from England, to support his pretensions.<sup>16</sup> Brabant complained to his kinsman of Burgundy, who met the duke of Bedford, first at Amiens, and afterwards at Paris, to reconcile the contending husbands.<sup>17</sup> The rejected duke agreed to their terms. The favored one refused, and entered Hainault with his English forces.<sup>18</sup> Burgundy, indignantly, and to the great relief of Charles, collected an army to support his kinsman, and a war ruinous to the inoffending population commenced in Hainault.<sup>19</sup> The disputes became personal between Gloucester and Burgundy. The latter answered the regent's censuring letter by a challenge to single combat, which Gloucester accepted; the next Saint George's day, in 1425, was fixed for its decision.<sup>20</sup> All warfare was ordered to cease till this duel was determined<sup>21</sup>; and Gloucester leaving his lady with her mother, after an affectionate parting with many tears and lamentations, went to England to prepare for his battle<sup>22</sup>, while Burgundy, to become more efficient in the struggle, had new armor forged, exercised himself frequently, and lived very abstemiously to strengthen his breath.<sup>23</sup> Modern times have at least this superiority over the ancient, that they are not obliged to waste the prime of youth and manhood in acquiring the brawny muscle of an athlete, the dexterity of a prize fighter, or the wind of a pugilist. They may

<sup>15</sup> Monst. vi 63.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 63. 109.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 115—117.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 140.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 142.

Her intercepted letter to her English husband, is written in a tone of great kindness towards him. Ibid. 149—152.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 162.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 108.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 110—113.

<sup>20</sup> See the letters in Monst. 117—136.

now, safely and uncensured, cultivate intellect, taste, the gentle virtues, elegant accomplishments, and un-reproving, if not useful, pleasures.

Bedford, who felt his government in France shaken by this discord, was indignant against his brother; and the council of regency in England, adopting his feelings, received Gloucester with a strong reprimand and a refusal of all succor.<sup>24</sup> No one profited by the dispute but Charles, whose ruin it averted. The fair cause of the strife, afraid of being delivered to Brabant or imprisoned, escaped from Ghent in male clothes, while her guards were at supper, and mounting a provided horse took refuge in Holland.<sup>25</sup> This drew the forces of Burgundy into that country. Its nobles defended her, and a small English force was sent to help. This was defeated; and the Hollanders, attacked by the duke's well-experienced men at arms, and by his archers, to whose mode of fighting they had not been accustomed, were soon beaten and subdued.<sup>26</sup>

The anxious Bedford had summoned a court of honor at Paris, who, after several days discussion and deliberation, determined that there was no cause for a combat between Gloucester and Burgundy, and that it should not take place<sup>27</sup>; the English parliament also interfered.<sup>28</sup> He again met Burgundy at Lisle to effect a pacification, but in vain; and the dispute now began to assume a formidable shape; for Salisbury and other English leaders in France, ac-

<sup>24</sup> Monst. vi. 158. The duke d'Alençon, our prisoner, was earnestly solicited by Bedford to take the oath of allegiance to Henry. His liberty, lands, and lordships were to be restored to him on that condition; but to these temptations his high-souled reply was, That he was firmly resolved never to take any oath contrary to his loyalty to Charles, his true and legal lord. Ib. 157.

<sup>25</sup> Monst. 167.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 177.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 169.

<sup>28</sup> "It ordered the chancellor to issue letters under the great seal, to empower the two queen dowagers of Henry IV. and V. and the Duke of Bedford to take the debate into the king's hand, and to make express defence and inhibition to the said parties." Parl. Roll. vol. iv. p. 277.

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tuated by patriotic sympathies, declared their resolution to support their countryman, and prepared to join the army which Gloucester was now levying.<sup>29</sup> The alarmed Bedford again interfered. He procured a short suspension of these measures; when the Pope's bull, declaring the English marriage void, arrived<sup>30</sup>, and terminated the dangerous question. Gloucester had found the rich dowry of Jacqueline wrenched from his grasp, and from so much opposition placed beyond his attaining, and he had become satiated with her person. One of her attendants, Eleanor Cobham, had affected his variable fancy; and tho her character had not been spotless before, and she had surrendered her honor to his own importunities, yet he suddenly married her, exciting again the wonder of the world by his conduct, as in that proud day every nobleman felt that he was acting incongruously with the blood he had sprung from.<sup>31</sup> His first wedlock was impolitic, and this unpopular<sup>32</sup>; and both were hasty and self-willed, and destructive of all reputation for that dignified prudence, which his elevation to the regency of the most reflective and enlightened nation in Europe demanded for its example and its welfare. This injudicious conduct announced too much imperfection of intellect not to give every advantage to his political rival the bishop of Winchester, his uncle, who was now struggling for the command of the royal mind, and for the predominance in the English government. He and the duke of Exeter were the illegitimate brothers of Henry the Fourth, and had been first intrusted with

<sup>29</sup> Monst. vi. 180.<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 197.<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 197, 198. The Duke of Brabant soon after died, Ibid. 203; and Burgundy, in 1428, was declared heir to Jacqueline's possessions. Ibid. 226.<sup>32</sup> She was the daughter of Rainald Cobham de Stereburg. His contemporary, Walsingham, says it was deemed a gross dedecus by all the kingdom; and that more shame and inconveniences followed from it than he can express. MS. Sloane, 1776.

the king's education.<sup>33</sup> The internal state of the country, as to its religious feelings and interests, contributed to increase the differences which now arose between the prelate and his nephew; who is described by a contemporary, as sullyng his cultivated understanding and good qualities, by an ungoverned and diseasing love of unbecoming pleasures.<sup>34</sup> It is strange, that in so old a world of the same continuing system, always repeating the same lesson, any one should be ignorant that dissolute vices are the destroyers of personal health, comfort, character, and permanent influence.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Monstrelet mentions that Henry V. had left his son in the bishop's wardship. p. 170. Hall, 115.

<sup>34</sup> Walsingham's character of him is, "He excelled in knowlege, and in personal beauty and gracefulness; but he was passionate, effeminate, and devoted to pleasure, which seemed to rob him of his many other virtues." Sloane MS. 1776.

<sup>35</sup> The curious description of the duke's state of health, by his physician Gilbert Kymer, which Hearne has printed at the end of W. Wyr. p. 550—559, implies how much he had injured himself by the want of self-government. It describes him in his 45th year, as having a rheumatic affection in his chest, with a dally morning cough. It mentions that his nerves had become debilitated by the vehemence of his laborious exercises, and from an immoderate frequency of pleasurable indulgences. It advises him to avoid north winds after a warm sun, sleep after dinner, exercise after society, frequent bathings, strong wine, much fruit, the flesh of swine, and the weakening gratification to which he was addicted. The work is "Dieta-rium de Sanitatis Custodia," and contains twenty-six chapters of medical advice. The last, "De Deo semper colendo, ut Sanitatem melius tueatur," is worthy the recollection of us all.

## CHAP. XV.

*Events in England before the Siege of Orleans.*BOOK  
II.REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.Differences  
between  
Gloucester  
and Win-  
chester.

THE two principal chiefs of the council of regency, the Bishop of Winchester, the most opulent and powerful prelate of the ecclesiastical establishment; and the duke of Gloucester, the protector, soon appeared to the public eye in a state of decided hostility. Their first dispute was for the government of the young king.<sup>1</sup> The citizens of London favored Gloucester.<sup>2</sup> Winchester caused many of these to be impeached of treason, and greatly harassed; and also several burgesses of Leicester, Canterbury, Northampton, and other towns.<sup>3</sup>

Oct. 1426.

But in the autumn of 1426, the proceedings of the bishop assumed a more warlike aspect. In October, the mayor was sent for by the protector, who bade him see that the city was surely watched that night. The darkness passed in quiet, but the next morning the retinue of the prelate appeared at the bridge gate, and demanded admittance. Being refused from their number, they collected a larger force of archers and men at arms, and assaulted the gate with shot and missile weapons. The citizens shut up their shops, armed themselves, and hastened to the endangered post. A great effusion of blood became probable, when the archbishop of Canterbury, the prince of Portugal, and others, interfered to reconcile the protector and the bishop. Eight times they rode from one to the other, before any terms of ac-

<sup>1</sup> Monst. vi. 170.<sup>2</sup> Walsing. MS.<sup>3</sup> Fabian, vol. ii. p. 413.



commodation could be arranged. At last, the two adversaries coincided in suspending their animosities till the duke of Bedford should arrive.<sup>4</sup>

To him the prelate addressed this angry note: "I recommend me unto you with all my heart; and as you desire the welfare of the king our sovereign lord, and of his realms of England and France, and your own health, and ours also, so haste you hither; for, by my troth, if you tarry, *we shall* put this land in adventure, with a field; such a brother you have here. God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth, that the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England. Written in great haste on Allhallow even, by your true servant to my lives end. Hen. Winton."<sup>5</sup>

Bedford came to England, to investigate and adjust the unseasonable difference. The corporation of the metropolis presented him, on his entrance there, with a peace-offering; a pair of silver basins gilt, containing a thousand marks of gold. He did not refuse the acceptable civility; but Winchester had so incensed him against the city, that its historian remarks, the citizens received but small thanks for all their labor and cost.<sup>6</sup>

A parliament was assembled at St. Alban's, which adjourned to Northampton; but as the disputes could not be appeased, another was summoned to meet at Leicester; and that no angry conflict might take place, its members were ordered to leave their swords and weapons at their inns. To evade this injunction their followers attended with great batts and staves on their necks, which occasioned the meeting to be nicknamed the Parliament of Batts. These being also prohibited, their mutual animosity and distrust

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The Bi-  
shop's let-  
ter to  
Bedford.

<sup>4</sup> Fab. 414.

<sup>5</sup> Harl. MS. No. 787, p. 10. Hall has inserted it in his Chronicle.

<sup>6</sup> Fab. 414.

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Glou-  
cester's  
charges  
against  
him.Bishop's  
answer.

was so determined that they provided themselves with stones and plummets of lead, and trussed them secretly in their sleeves and bosoms.<sup>7</sup>

When the parliament met, the protector exhibited six articles of accusation against his priestly competitor. The first charged him with causing the keeper of the Tower of London to fortify it, and to refuse Gloucester admission within it. The second, with contriving to seize the young king's person at Eltham, and to convey him to Windsor, to be placed under persons of the cardinal's selection. The third, that finding Gloucester prepared to frustrate this attempt, he had planted armed men at the end of London bridge, and in the windows and cellars of the houses of Southwark, with bows and arrows, to kill the protector if he should pass that way. The fourth and fifth, that Henry V. had told his brother, that a man had been detected in his chamber behind the hangings, who stated, that he had been employed by Winchester to assassinate him, and that afterwards the cardinal had advised him to dethrone his father. The sixth, that his letter to the duke of Bedford announced an intention of exciting a rebellion, and beginning a civil war.<sup>8</sup>

The bishop repelled the fourth and fifth articles as calumnious, which the subsequent employment and confidence of the late king sufficiently refuted. On the first charge, he avowed his advice to have been, that before the protector was admitted into the Tower, he ought, as the refusal was grounded upon an order of the council, to have provided himself with a warrant from the regency, permitting his entrance. He denied any intention to meddle with the king, without the advice of the council. He admitted the fact of placing his armed friends, as alleged; but

<sup>7</sup> Fab. 415.<sup>8</sup> Hall has inserted the charge in his Chronicle, p. 131—133.

he contended, that they were merely for his own defence, as he had been informed that the lord duke had gathered a company of citizens to attack him. The last he explained to apply to seditious assemblies of certain mechanics, who were dissatisfied with a late statute upon wages, and whom the protector had not suppressed.<sup>9</sup>

From these answers we may infer, that four of the charges had some foundation; but that on the subject of the first and second of these he had acted with the concurrence of the council.

Both parties were prevailed upon to refer the matter to the arbitration of four prelates and four lay lords, who awarded, That Gloucester should be "good lord to the bishop, and have him in affection and love;" and that the prelate should preserve to the protector "trewe and sad love and affection, and be ready to do him such service as pertaineth of honesty to my lord of Winchester, and to his estate, to do." Each was directed to befriend the adherents, counsellors, and favorers of the other; and the bishop was to make an apologetic address.<sup>10</sup>

They shook hands in public, in token of their reconciliation, and a royal feast of great magnificence was given on the occasion. But it is evident from the award, that the result was unfavorable to the prelate. He was removed from the chancellorship. Bedford went the next winter to France, and soon afterwards met Winchester at Calais, where the bishop

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The result.

March  
1426.

<sup>9</sup> Hall's Chron. 132, 133.

<sup>10</sup> P. Rolls, vol. iv p. 297. The bishop was ordered to say, "My Lord of Gloucester I have conceived to my great heaviness, that ye should have received, by divers reports, that I should have purposed and imagined against your person, honor. and estate, in divers manners, for the which ye have taken against me great displeasance. Sir! I take God to witness, that what reports soever have been made unto you of me, peradventure by such as have not had great affection unto me, I never imagined nor purposed any thing that might be hindering or prejudice to your person, honor, or estate; and for so much, I pray you, that ye would be unto me, good lord, from this time forth; for by my will, I gave you never other occasion nor purpose not to do hereafter, thro God's grace." Ib. p. 298, 299. He resigned the seals on 13th March, 1426 (old style).

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was consoled for his humiliation in the English parliament, by the messenger who brought to him the dignity of cardinal from the Pope. The duke, by placing the coveted red hat upon his head, gratified his ecclesiastical ambition.<sup>11</sup> This promotion gave him new influence over the clergy, and new claims to the respect of the English people. Worldly honors, tho but names, have a magical influence in society. The superiority which we claim for ourselves is always disputed; but that which others give us is respected and assented to.

Gloucester  
desires  
further  
powers.  
1427.

In this year, Gloucester found himself so thwarted by his coadjutors in the regency, that he applied to parliament to have his power more distinctly specified; and declared he would not enter the house of lords, until he knew precisely the authority he was to possess. As he annexed to his application an assertion of his right to the governance of the land, the peers reminded him, that he had been appointed with no title that implied power, as tutor, governor, or regent, but simply to be protector and defender, which imported duties, not rights; and after intimating to him, that the king was far grown in person, wit, and understanding, they advised him to be content, to desire no larger authority, and to come to parliament as usual.<sup>12</sup>

The Bishop  
intends a  
crusade in  
Bohemia.

The danger of the church, from the new opinions that were spreading, made the events in Bohemia peculiarly alarming to its dignified chiefs. The destruction of John Huss, by the emperor and council of Constance, notwithstanding the safe-conduct that had been granted him, and the subsequent violences that were attempted, had led the reformers in Bohe-

<sup>11</sup> Monst. xxvii. 1427. W. Wyr. 454. Fab. 416.

<sup>12</sup> P. Rolls, 326, 327. In 1429, the lords of the council made, with the sanction of parliament, some new regulations of the exercise of the regent power, which tended to keep Gloucester from any exclusive authority. See their Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 343.

mia to take up arms for their own protection. A war, not unfavorable to them, was raging in that country in 1429; and the martial reputation of Englishmen was then so high, that it was desirable for the church to have their efforts exerted against those formidable heretics. Winchester appeared eager to undertake such a crusade; and the Pope had raised him to the dignity of a cardinal, and to that of his legate à latere in England, for the express purpose of his proceeding to Bohemia to extirpate the heretical infidelity.<sup>13</sup>

The self-delusion of the human mind is as great as its pervertibility. Winchester believed or represented his ambition to be his conscience; and persuaded himself that it was right to murder the Bohemians for thinking as John Huss did, tho he would have found no language impassioned enough to brand any one, that should have aimed at punishing him for believing what the Pope enjoined.

But his conduct soon showed, that with all his even martial zeal, his conscience was, as it is with most, not the master, but the servant; too ready to obey the interest or the feeling; and as mutable as human inclination. From his own knights, and those whom he could influence, he proposed to raise 5,500 soldiers.<sup>14</sup> He enlisted as many as he was allowed to take<sup>15</sup>; appointed them a captain<sup>16</sup>, and marched with them to Calais. But in France he met its English regent; and after a banquet and a colloquy, the world were astonished to hear, that instead of passing on to his Bohemian crusade, his levies were ordered to join

<sup>13</sup> "Ad hunc finem," says Wals. in his MS. History. Harl. 1776.

<sup>14</sup> He petitioned the king, that his quantity of people might stretch to 500 spears and 5000 archers, with such captains to lead them as he might treat with; and that he might publish in all places of this land, "the cruciat which is committed to me of our holy father." 10 Rym. Fœd. 419.

<sup>15</sup> The council granted leave for only 250 spears and 2000 bows; and ordered the money he should gather to be applied to no other use. Ib. 424.

<sup>16</sup> His cousin, Sir Edmund Beaufort. Rym. 421.

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His sudden  
change of  
purpose.Warwick  
made the  
king's  
tutor.

the English forces in France, to aid in completing the conquest of that country.<sup>17</sup>

This alteration of purpose, on an engagement then deemed so sacred, was fortunate for humanity, but surprises us by the rapidity of its occurrence. It was on 18th June 1429, that he petitioned for licence to go on his crusade<sup>18</sup>; and within a fortnight after, before the 1st July, he had agreed to unite himself with the duke of Bedford.<sup>19</sup> The new Pope marked his dissatisfaction of the change, by annulling absolutely his legantine appointment.<sup>20</sup>

The cardinal attended Bedford to Paris; and the king, now six years old, was placed under the tutelage of the earl of Warwick, a favorite of Henry V., under whom he had served in France: a zealous defender of the old church opinions and establishment, and a true pattern of the knightly spirit, taste, accomplishments and adventures of that yet chivalric period.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Wals. MS. Fab. 418.

<sup>18</sup> Rym. Fœd. p. 419.

<sup>19</sup> The king's letter of this date recites the cardinal's petition of the 19th June, —states that nevertheless grievous adventures and failures of war had happened *since* in France, that the service of the men was wanted there; that the cardinal *had agreed* to go and lead them to join Bedford, for the half year which they had indentured with him. Rym. p. 424, 5. Fourteen days seem a very small space for all these incidents.

<sup>20</sup> "De legationis officio est penitus absolutus." Wals. MS.

<sup>21</sup> The appointment of Warwick to teach the king, is dated 1 June 1428. It directs him to cause Henry to be instructed in "bonis moribus literaturæ, idiomate vario, nutritura, et facetia, ac aliis scitu digna; et super omnia, ad amorem et timorem Creatori debitos, virtutum amplexus et odiâ vitiorum." Rym. Fœd. 10. p. 399. Also Parl. Rolls, 5. p. 411.

The valuable Cotton. MS. Jul. E. 4. contains Rous's Life of this nobleman, with those curious drawings to illustrate the events narrated, which Strutt has published in his *Hord. Angl.* The earl was born 28 Jan. 1381. After fighting at Shrewsbury, for Henry IV., he went to the Holy Land, by way of Paris and Venice, and visited Jerusalem. He then proceeded to the north of Europe, thro Westphalia to Prussia, Poland and Russia, repeatedly signaling himself at tournaments and in battle. He was one of the ambassadors at Constance; and being challenged by a duke, he fought and slew him. His knightly display at Calais, may be read as a picture of the gentlemanly amusements of that day:

"He cast in his mind to do *some new point of chivalry*; whereupon he let paint three pavises, and in every pavise a lady.

"The 1st harping at the end of a bedstead, with a grate of gold on her left sleeve, and her knight, called the 'green knight,' with a black quarter; he should be ready to just with any knight of France; 12 courses, and 2 shields should be provided; and that knight's letter was sealed with his arms; the field, silver.

"The 2nd pavise had a lady sitting at a covered board, working pearles; and on

From a preceptor whose actions and tastes so closely resembled those of the fabled knights of the round table, then the favorites of the reading and noble mind, it might have been expected that his pupil would have emerged another Edward III.; and yet under a nobleman, himself half a Palmerin, and who had the direction of the education of the king till he was sixteen years of age<sup>22</sup>, one of the most unwarlike, least romantic, and most humble-spirited, tho virtuous and religious characters was formed, not only that has appeared on the English throne, but in any other rank of life.

Henry the Sixth was in every respect the most absolute contrast to every thing that was considered to distinguish the gentleman of his day; and most

He requires  
power to  
chastise  
the king.

her sleeve was attached a glove of plate; and her knight was called 'chevalier vert,' and his letter was sealed with the arms; the field silver, and two bars of gules; and he must just 15 courses, and there should be two saddles of choyes.

"The 3rd pavise, a lady sitting in a garden, making a chaplet; and on her sleeve a poleyn, with a rivet. Her knight was called 'chevalier attendant;' and he and his fellow must run and course with sharp spears, and without shields. His letter was sealed with gold, and gules quarter; a border of verd.

"These letters were sent to the king and court of France; and among others, three French knights received them, and granted their fellows to meet at the day and place assigned. These three knights assembled on Twelfth-day, in a lawn called the Park-hedge of Guynes.

"The earl came to the field; his face covered; a bush of ostrich feathers on his head. His horse trapped with the arms of one of his ancestors; and at the third course, he cast to the ground at his spear point, behind the horse tail, the knight called the 'chevalier rouge.'

"The earl then, with closed vizor, returned unknown to his pavilion, and forthwith sent to the said knight a fair courser.

"The second day he went to the field; his vizor close, a chaplet on his basnet, and a tuft of ostrich feathers aloft. His horse trapped with his arms of silver, and two bars of gules. Then met with him the blanc knight, and they ran together, and the earl smote upon his vizor thrice, and broke his harness. So with the victory, and himself unknown, he rode to his pavilion again, and sent to this blanc knight, Sir Hugh Lawney, a good courser.

"Next day he came, with face open; his basnet as the day before, save the chaplet was rich of pearles and precious stones; and he said, that like as he had in his own person performed the two days before, so he would the third. Then came he to the chevalier, now Sir Colard Fynes, and every stroke he bare him backward to his horse's back; and then the Frenchman said, he was bound to the saddle; wherefore he alighted from his horse, and forthwith stepped into his saddle again; and so with worship he rode to his pavilion, and sent Sir Colard a good courser, and feasted all the people, giving the said knight great rewards, and rode to Calais with great worship." Rous. Earl War.

<sup>22</sup> In 1427, the earl was acting with the English troops in France. Monst. 6. pp. 199. 208. 221. Rep. Warw. These articles bear date 1423; so that it was when Henry VI. was ten years old that he began to enforce these.

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dissimilar to all that his noble tutor had been. Yet the earl had not to complain of any want of power. The articles which he delivered to the council of regency, concerning the discharge of his trust, and to which they assented, gave him even the power of chastising his sovereign<sup>23</sup>; and this point is urged with an earnestness that asserts his determination to execute it; and the lords are requested to tell the king that this was resolved upon. Whether this discipline was executed too rigorously; whether the awe which Warwick, in the eighth article, expresses that he intended to create, was unduly raised to a servile destruction of the king's youthful spirit, and to the despotic enfeebling of his mind, it may not be just to the earl's memory now to decide. But it is possible, that in his eagerness to keep the king from the defects of a Richard II. or from the early failings of his father, he may have broken, instead of cherishing and governing, the activity of his intellect; and

<sup>23</sup> The articles he desired were,

"1. Power to remove and name all persons about the king's person. - - Granted, with certain exceptions.

"2. To suspend others from exercise and occupation in the king's service, till he should speak with the council. - - Granted.

"3. Be excused in sickness. - - Granted.

"4. As the king is grown in years, in stature of his person, and in conceit and knowledge of his high authority, and from day to day as he groweth, shall cause him more and more to *grudge with chastising*, and to *lothe it*, so that it may reasonably be doubted least he should conceive of the said earl, or any other that will take upon him to *chastise* him for his defaults, displeasure and indignation; that Gloucester and the council promised, that they shall firmly and truly assist him in chastising of him for his defaults, and support the said earl therein. - - Granted.

"5. May remove the king at divers times into sundry places, as he shall think necessary for the health of his body, and surety of his person. - - Granted.

"6. That all the estates, officers and servants, of the king's house be obedient to the earl. - - Granted.

"7. That as the king, by the speech of others private, has been stirred by some from his learning, and spoken to of divers matters not behoveful; that in all speech to be had with the king, he, or one of the four knights, or some persons appointed by him, be *present* or privy to it. - - Granted, except such persons as for nearness of blood or estate ought to be suffered to speak with the king.

"8. That it may be known to the king, that it is with Gloucester's assent and of the council, that the king be *chastised for his defaults* or trespasses, and that for *awe* thereof he forbear the more to do amiss, and entend the more busily to virtue and to learning; they should come to the king and declare it.

"9. That the earl be informed of any complaint against him." Parl. Rolls, v. 433. Fenn, iii. 7—12.



have precluded instead of moderating the healthful, if well-instructed, independence and energy of his soul. But between that discipline which teaches due self-government, and that severity which unnerves and intimidates, there is a nice balance of good and evil to be maintained, on this most delicate and difficult of all subjects of agency—the susceptible mind—which every tutor is not qualified to preserve, but at which no one should forget to aim. A father's feeling was perhaps wanted to temper that well meant, but sometimes exceeding vigilance and sternness, which insensibly becoming persecution and tyranny, produce only listlessness, depression, aversion, weakness and stupidity.

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## CHAP. XVI.

*The SIEGE of ORLEANS.*

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IF the attempt of Gloucester to secure the inheritances of Jacqueline had succeeded, Holland, and part of the country now called generally Flanders, would have become united to the English nation; an event that would have greatly altered that course of things which afterwards ensued in Europe, and which has occasioned much of its present political state. But the duke being compelled to abandon this splendid prize, it had the effect of rescuing the king of France from the ruin that was impending over his affairs when it began; and of procuring for him, nearly four important years of safety, in which the spirits and strength of his supporters were recruited; and to which he was greatly indebted for the acquisition of the whole sovereignty of France, and the expulsion of the English for ever from its possession.

By such circuitous and unexpected agencies, whose results are as unforeseen as they are uncontrollable by man, are the changes of human fortunes produced.

When the reconciliation with Burgundy, and the termination of his brother's feuds with Winchester, permitted Bedford to direct his whole attention to his warfare against Charles, for the unsubdued parts of France, which extended from the Loire to Aquitaine; he began his campaign with a well-appointed force of 20,000 men.

So much had been accomplished by his brother and himself, when the French means of resistance had been the greatest, that it seemed rather a cer-

tainty than an expectation, that the provinces beyond the Loire, in the present enfeebled state and credit of Charles, must fall before a renewed and resolute attack.

But human calculations of military triumphs, have been often nearest to their discomfiture, when it has seemed mere captiousness to doubt them. The victory at Borodino, and occupation of Moscow, which alarmed Europe with the despair of final subjugation to Napoleon, were the preparing causes of his immediately-advancing ruin. The formation of projects, and the combinations of the means that promise to be most effective, are in our power; but the issue is so notoriously beyond our control, that the wisest ancients believed that they depended far less upon human skill, than upon a power, which they named fortune; which is sometimes called chance; which others term destiny; but which the most observing minds believe to be, the awarding will of an intelligent and overruling governor, conducting all things to the fittest ends, by plans, peculiarly His own; and by instruments and thro channels, often so inconsiderable and so unobvious to human judgment, that only such a director could give them pertinency and success.

On the Earl of Salisbury's arrival, with a reinforcement of 6000 men, Bedford held many councils at Paris, to settle the wisest plan for prosecuting the war.<sup>1</sup> The English had felt the importance of Orleans, in a defeat they had suffered by an attack from it, two years before<sup>2</sup>; and from the position of this city,

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Regent  
orders the  
siege of  
Orleans.

<sup>1</sup> Monst. vi. 229. Salisbury's indenture with the king was to have always with him 600 men at arms, 6 chevaliers bannerets, 34 chevaliers bachelers, and 1700 archers. His wages were 6s. 8d. a day for himself, 4s. for each banneret, 2s. for each bachelor, 12d. for each man at arms, and 6d. for each archer. Rym. xvi. p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> Monst. vi. 200; and the ancient Chronique sans titre, printed by Godefray in his Recueil des Histoires de Charles VII. The earls of Warwick and Suffolk retreated from Montargis, which they were besieging, having lost from 1000 to 1500 men (Monst. 202.) and leaving several mortars, cannons, and provisions. Chron.

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it was obvious, that its capture would subject the provinces of Blesois and Touraine, and at no long interval Poitou, to the authority of its conquerors.<sup>3</sup> It was reasonable to presume, that after such a triumph, the rest of the kingdom would, from the natural hopelessness of despair, as well as from a want of the due means of resistance, submit quietly to the dominion of Henry; and that the reign of a French dynasty would cease in France. Charles himself thought that if Orleans was taken by the English, it would be the final blow both to himself and his kingdom.<sup>4</sup> The immediate siege of Orleans was therefore resolved upon; and Salisbury, the ablest general of the English, was appointed to conduct it. On the issue of this attack, the independence of the French nation, and all those results to Europe which have since flowed from its power, principally, if not wholly, depended.

The fortunes of a great nation have seldom rested so entirely on the fate of a single and secondary town.

The military importance of this place being fully perceived by both parties, nothing was omitted for its attack or defence, that prudence and valor could supply. Charles sent thither his most expert and faithful officers.<sup>5</sup> The citizens emulously prepared for a persevering resistance. They destroyed a fine suburb over the Loire, on the south of the city, that would have favoured the approaches of the assailants. They taxed themselves to provide the supplies they needed; and other French towns sent them money and provisions.<sup>6</sup> Salisbury advanced with steady

<sup>3</sup> Villaret, Hist. de France.

<sup>4</sup> Monst. vi. p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> Three of these were, the celebrated LA-HIRE, who had driven Warwick from Montargis; the Chevalier POTON DE SAINTRAILLES; and DUNOIS, the natural son of the duke of Orleans, whom Burgundy had murdered (Monst. 116.), and who in his childhood had sworn to avenge his father. These three heroic men were the great bulwarks of France in that day of chivalry and battle.

<sup>6</sup> Le Maire, Hist. et Antiq. d'Orleans.

judgment. He made himself master of all the contiguous places that could assist his operations; and on the 12th October 1428, pitched his camp on the south of the city, cutting off thereby its communications with Charles. It was not however for some time so surrounded but that the besieged could obtain both provisions and stores.<sup>7</sup>

The French had worked night and day to construct a strong bulwark, called the Tournelles. It stood upon the bridge, and was connected with the land by an arch of stone, and a drawbridge. The arrival of the English interrupting its completion, the garrison set on fire what remained of the suburb, and its church. The flames preventing the English from advancing, the French, protected by the burning ruins, finished the work of defence. It was formed of faggots strongly bound together, and supported by great stakes driven deep into the ground, the intervals being stuffed with earth and ruins.<sup>8</sup>

In less than a week, the English artillery cannonaded the city, and a young woman was the first person killed. The French sallies were vigorous and frequent. Salisbury, to gain the Tournelles, proceeded to undermine it, but at the same time attempted an assault. As the English advanced with their ladders and machines, the chief warriors hastened to the endangered point. Massy stones were hurled on the assailants; showers of lime and burning ashes, boiling oil and water, that penetrated beneath their armor, and hoops of red hot iron, were used in

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Orleans  
besieged,  
12. October  
1428.

<sup>7</sup> Monst. 238.

<sup>8</sup> Journal du Siege. M. Le Brun des Charmettes, in his *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc*, 4 vols. 8vo, has collected with care and judgment, the principal facts of this celebrated siege from ancient documents. Of these the two chief authorities are the "Journal du Siege," a parchment MS. written at the time, found in the archives of the city, and printed in 1576, and Godefray's *Chronique sans titre*. I am indebted to him for my references to these valuable contemporary documents. His authorities for the conduct and actions of his heroine, are her own examinations, and the numerous depositions of the witnesses who knew or acted with her. These make his work far superior to all others on this subject.

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addition to the sword and lance, to resist the resolute attack. The women of the city in every part carried, amid the arrows and missiles that were flying around, fruit, wine, and drink, to their toiling countrymen, or hastened to dress their wounds; while others heated the liquids and iron, and brought the stones that were projected. Some had even the strength and courage to handle spears, and were seen on the rampart pushing the ascending English into the ditch below.<sup>9</sup>

Four hours the destructive conflict lasted, when Salisbury sounded a retreat, and urged on his miners. These men worked night and day, till the defence was hollowed, and the combustibles prepared. The French, perceiving they must lose it, applied flames themselves, and abandoned it. They cut off an arch of the bridge behind it, and raised another rampart in the middle of the river, nearer to the city, from which they cannonaded the English camp.<sup>10</sup>

The inhabitants were cheered after the loss of the Tournelles, by the arrival of Dunois and La-Hire, with several brave captains, and a reinforcement of 800 archers, cross-bowmen, and Italian infantry; and Salisbury perceiving, from the bravery of the resistance, that this new force would prolong the defence into the winter, resolved to surround the city with a chain of forts, and to reduce it by famine. He had given the command of the ruins of the Tournelles to Glasdale<sup>11</sup>, one of his most determined officers, who repaired it; and he now visited himself this spot, to

<sup>9</sup> Chronique sans titre. Journal du Siege. Monst. 235.

<sup>10</sup> Chronique sans titre.

<sup>11</sup> The French Chronique calls him Glaucidas, and describes him as a man "de hault courage, mais de toute tyrannie et orgueil." Walsingham gives us his real name, "William Glasdale." MS. Sloane 1776. The Chronique states him to have declared, that when he should enter the city "he would put every one to death, women as well as men, without sparing any." If such were his intentions, he had not the dismal gratification he expected, as he perished himself before the siege was decided.

survey the surrounding locality, and to fix the most effectual stations. He placed himself at a window on the second floor; and while Glasdale was directing him to the position where he could command the completest view, with the flattering expression, "Look from this place, my lord, on your city!" a stone ball, shot from some part of the defences, struck the side of the window, within which, on hearing the report, Salisbury had withdrawn his head. Tho he threw himself back, it reached him, carried away his eye and half his face, and extended him senseless on the body of a gentleman behind him. He was borne off bleeding, but not dead; and on his recovering recollection, full only of his military project, tho in that melancholy state, he exhorted his officers not to abandon the siege.<sup>12</sup> The calamity was concealed from the army for two days, but no skill could benefit him; and he soon after expired, with the general lamentation of his army. He died, with the praise from his enemies of being the bravest and hardiest knight in England, and who had done the greatest damage to the king of France.<sup>13</sup>

The duke of Suffolk, who had also been trained under Henry V., was now appointed to conduct the siege. He was inferior to Salisbury in talent and in success, but he wisely pursued the plans of his predecessor, passed some troops over the Loire, who took the bridges and towns of Meung and Jargeau; and was joined by Lord Talbot, a celebrated English warrior, with a large supply of English and Burgundian troops, and artillery.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Journal. Chronique. Monst. 236.

<sup>13</sup> So Alain Chartier expresses himself in his Chron. de Charles VII. The Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, living at the time, intimates that while Salisbury lived, the duke of Bedford might enjoy his leisure. Monstrelet says, that Salisbury was much feared and beloved by his army, and considered as the most subtle, expert, and fortunate in arms of all the English captains. 237. The official letter of Gloucester, and the English council, strongly lament his loss. See des Chartettes, vol. i. 135.

<sup>14</sup> Journal du Siege.

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The defenders of Orleans, perceiving the intention of the English to extend the siege to the east, north, and west of the city, set fire to several churches in those directions, that the assailants might not convert them to lodgments of annoyance. The English built many forts around, and bombarded the town with unceasing perseverance. The inhabitants had little rest. In the midst of the night, the dismal sound of their great bell was perpetually calling them to some part of their endangered walls; and both parties strove to excel in the size of their destructive projectiles. The solemnities and festivities of Christmas gave a short interval of repose.<sup>15</sup> The English lords requested of the French commanders, that they might have a night of minstrelsy, with trumpets and clarions. This was granted; and the horrors of war were suspended by melodies, that were felt to be delightful. The truce of rejoicing ended, the cannons recommenced their fury. Fierce conflicts ensued, as the English endeavored to plant themselves at different stations; and individuals signalled themselves by defiances and personal combats.<sup>16</sup>

1429.

The year 1429 began with new attacks, and their repulses. Defeated in a sally on the first of January, during the next night, while the garrison were recruiting themselves by sleep from the labors of the day, in a midnight of total darkness, amid torrents of rain, the French sentinels suddenly heard the English planting their ladders at one of their gates. Instantly the alarm-cry was raised, the belfry sounded a furious peal, and all who waked hurried to the assaulted post, till the English, who had hoped to surprise, were at length driven off. This animating success was followed by the arrival of a supply of provisions, of which the town began to feel the need.

<sup>15</sup> Journal du Siege.<sup>16</sup> Ibid.



But in the middle of the following night, loud trumpets, that announced an instant peril, roused them from repose. The besiegers were again assaulting; the besieged were again on the walls. The artillery was fired at random in the utter darkness, or was directed only by the moving sounds of the battle. After vigorous exertions, the English again retired.<sup>17</sup>

Sallies, arrival of provisions, and assaults, succeeded each other during this wintry month. Both nations continued to feel, that the sceptre of the whole kingdom was contended for on the walls of Orleans. The garrison had now defended it for four months, but as their means diminished, some of their greatest captains went to urge their French king to make efforts to relieve them, and a force was collected of French and Scots for this purpose.<sup>18</sup>

While this expedition was preparing, its commanders were informed, that Sir John Falstoff, with a large supply for the English army, was advancing from Paris to the entrenchments: they resolved to intercept it, and marched to his line of progress. The English were proceeding in file, careless and unsuspecting, when the first French division that arrived, perceived them, and was desirous to make an immediate attack before they could be formed. The caution of the count de Clermont, opposed in vain by the valiant and experienced La-Hire, declined this bold but sagacious advice.<sup>19</sup> Falstoff had but 600 Englishmen with him, tho other forces, composed of men of several nations, increased it to 1700 men. He halted at Roucroy, and formed them into a square with their carts and carriages, leaving but two openings. In this square they inclosed themselves, putting their archers at the entrances, and the men at arms supporting them.

<sup>17</sup> Journal du Siege.<sup>18</sup> Ibid.<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

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Battle of  
Herrings,  
12. Feb.

The French commanders, whose army was from 3000 to 4000 men, disputed with each other as to the mode of attacking it. The Scots were for fighting on foot; the others on horseback. The Scots dismounted, and attacked as they preferred. Their leaders soon perished with unavailing bravery.<sup>20</sup>

The fierce attacks were repulsed at every point, and a splendid victory at this battle of Herrings, as it was called, from the kind of provisions of which the convoy chiefly consisted, gave a new lustre to the English reputation; and seemed to ensure the fall of Orleans.<sup>21</sup>

Some of the survivors of the conflict, mostly wounded, escaped into the city. Its defenders were afflicted, but not disheartened. The unfortunate count de Clermont, left it with La-Hire and his partizans; but Dunois, then in the full bloom of youthful manhood, St. Severe, and Saintrailles, continued with the garrison. It was now near the end of February, and the hope of deliverance every day declined; the besiegers had increased to 23,000 men. Their works and fortifications called bastiles, had multiplied round the city. The king, who had little else than the name of royalty, had no further resources for their assistance.

Dunois felt it to be impossible to defend the place much longer. He therefore assented to the wish of the besieged, to propose to put the city in a sort of neutral pledge into the possession of the Duke of Burgundy, till it became decided whether Charles VII. or Henry VI. would acquire the permanent sovereignty of France.<sup>22</sup>

During the absence of Saintrailles, and others, de-

<sup>20</sup> Monst. 230-2.

<sup>21</sup> Journal Chronique. Charmettes, 169—181.

<sup>22</sup> The feudal lord of the city was the duke of Orleans, who had been taken prisoner at Agincourt, and was still detained in England. Journal. Conditional surrenders were frequent in this war.

puted to make Burgundy this offer, new combats about the walls took place; but the mind is gratified by reading the noble courtesies that passed between the contending chiefs. Suffolk, Talbot, and Scales, sent one day by a herald, a dish of figs, raisins, and dates, to Dunois, who returned by the same herald, to Suffolk, some black plush, that he desired to line his dress with in that rigorous season.<sup>23</sup>

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A great swelling of the river, at the end of February, excited in Orleans a temporary hope, that the waves would ruin three of the English fortifications which commanded the river, and severely cannonaded the town. The waters rose with a violent torrent to the height of the embrasures; but the solidity of the work endured the shock; and the exertions of the English repelled the danger, and repaired the damage. Even during their struggle with the threatening element, they thundered their usual discharges on the city.

Suffolk ordered a trench to be dug, to make a shorter and a covered communication between his besieging points. The French attempted a bold sally on the workmen, in which they killed Lord Grey, a knight of admired prowess, and nephew of Salisbury. This success encouraged them to try a similar effort, with larger numbers; and they were carrying off a cannon, that had projected many heavy stones, and had secured other booty, when the English, rushing from their contiguous lines, drove them to the ramparts. A fierce combat ensued at the very walls, till all the French who could not get thro the narrow sally-port into the place, were killed or taken. Some leapt into the ditch to escape the English swords, and were there overwhelmed with stones from their own countrymen above, who in the confusion and alarm, mistook them for their enemies.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Journal du Siege.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

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The marechal de Sainte Severe, quitting Orleans with his troops, diminished the spirits and safety of its defenders; and to increase their despondence, Suffolk directed a terrible cannonade from all his batteries on the city, which beat down many of its buildings, and spread general consternation. The garrison made another resolute sally, which was repelled; repeated, and repelled again. Rumors, that some meant to deliver up the place, compelled the bravest citizens to pass the night under arms, on the walls, or in the forts. Fresh sallies and repulses again ensued. Thus destructively employed, March passed and April began.<sup>25</sup>

Combat of  
the pages.

A new scene now gave a short variety to the military drama. The French and English pages, who followed their respective lords, caught the full fever of the national animosity of their masters, and defied each other to a separate combat. They were permitted to engage, according to a settled convention. Each party floated their standard, and chose their captain. Aymer de Puiseux, whom La-Hire had called Golden Head, from his yellow hair, commanded the French pages. The young English leader is not named. Their defensive armor was but a slight shield of osier. A mutual discharge of stones from hands and slings began the battle, and a close combat followed. The first day the French prevailed; but on the second the English carried off the standard, and dispersed their antagonists.<sup>26</sup>

In the middle of April, the deputies returned with the disappointing news, that the regent, without consulting Burgundy, had rejected the conditional proposal. The duke, whom it had gratified, was offended at the mode of the refusal, and sent a herald to order all his troops to leave the camp of the be-

<sup>25</sup> Journal du Siege.<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

siegers.<sup>27</sup> This was obeyed; but the English were numerous enough to continue the siege.

Apprised that their surrender, if made, must be to the English, the people of Orleans were inflamed with a new spirit, and swore to defend themselves to their last breath; and expressed their determination on the following night, in a furious attack on their besiegers' lines. It was at first successful; the English were surprised in their sleep, and were slaughtered without mercy; but the booty which the French collected and staid to carry off, detained them till the alarm roused the camp, and then, as the dawn spread, English cavalry intercepted their return. The loss was great on both sides, but the equality of its numerical amount was to the disadvantage of the city, whose defenders were becoming insufficient for their various duties.<sup>28</sup>

Sixty English bastiles or forts guarded their lines and beleaguered the place.

The French king was now in despair. His hereditary throne seemed to vanish from him. He saw no further hope. He was meditating to retire into Spain or Scotland.<sup>29</sup> His council opposed this step; but recommended him to withdraw from Chinon into Dauphiny, or to the mountains of Auvergne, as soon as Orleans should fall. The beautiful Agnes Sorrel is stated to have interposed, and to have saved France by her heroism, or her superstitions. She told the king, that when she was a girl, an astrologer had assured her, that she should be loved and served by one of the bravest kings of Christendom. That when he first honored her with his affection, she had applied the prediction to him; but if this should prove

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Despair of  
Charles.

<sup>27</sup> Journal du Siege.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> So N. Sala mentions, in his examples de hardisse de plusieurs reys. MS. Fr. Bibl. du Roi, 4to. 180. He had this fact from a seigneur, who, in his youth, had been so much esteemed by Charles, that the king would suffer none but him to sleep in his bed. Charmettes, vol. i. p. 216.

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untrue, and the king of England, whose arms were so successful, should be the sovereign, "I will go and find him out," she is said to have added, "for he must be the person whom the astrologer described to me."<sup>30</sup> This pretty story must be a fable, if the fact be true that Agnes did not attract the king's favor, till three years later; yet Francis the First, who lived within fifty years afterwards, believed the tradition, and wrote a quatrain below her portrait, in her praise.<sup>31</sup>

But it is acknowledged, that the fate of the French monarchy seemed now to be decided; and that the future fortune of France, perhaps of the world, was about to change, if, amid this dreary scene, "Providence had not suddenly raised up one of those beings, astonishing by their genius, and wonderful in their destiny, who at various periods are called forth to be the instrument of those unexpected revolutions, which confound the pride of human conquerors, mock all the calculations of human wisdom; and lead the minds of kings and people to the recollection of the only throne that is never shaken; the only power that never ceases."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> So Brantome, in his "Dames Gallantes," relates the story.

<sup>31</sup> The royal verse is,

"Gentille Agnes ! plus d'honneur tu merite,  
La cause estant de France recouvrer :  
Que ce que peut dedans un cloistre ouvrer  
Clause nonain, ou bien devot hermite."

Charm. vol. i. 218. I can neither support nor impugn the story. That Francis should believe it, looks like a family tradition on the subject. It is not very easy to fix, with chronological accuracy, the time when a lady interests a king's partiality. Such incidents are not creditable enough to be exposed to an immediate publicity.

<sup>32</sup> With this sentiment, M. de Charmettes closes his introduction to his history of this celebrated woman. His work is particularly valuable, not only for its general style of composition and ability, but still more so for the original documents which it contains, and from which he draws his leading facts. These documents are the depositions of the witnesses on the process against her, and her own answers to the questions of her judges; and the evidence given on three informations, and four inquests of revision. The first information was in 1449, when seven witnesses were examined. The second with five witnesses, and the third with 17, were in 1452. The inquests were taken, in 1445, at Toul, where 34 witnesses deposed; at Orleans, in 1455, on the oaths of 41 evidences; and at Paris and Rouen, in the

same year, when 39 other persons were sworn. These witnesses were her parents, relations, friends, and neighbours, and most of those of the highest as well as lower ranks, who had any transactions or acquaintance with her. The whole number of deposing witnesses were 144. Charmettes, vol. i. p. 236.

On no historical character that has appeared, has such an abundance of authentic and satisfactory evidence been preserved, as now accompanies her memory. The first examinations were taken by her enemies; the latter by her friends. The following summary of her history is composed from the actual documents printed or referred to by M. de Charmettes, quoting the pages in which they are noticed or transcribed in his work. There has been no authentic history of this extraordinary woman published before; every other account is full of untruths. Perhaps M. Charmettes leans a little too much to the marvellous possibilities of his subject; but his real documents are so copious, that the reader can always judge for himself. I am indebted for my possession of the work, to a valuable friend, who may rank its heroine among the greatest of those well selected "Curiosities of Literature," which do so much credit to his love of research, intelligence, and taste.

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## CHAP. XVII.

*The Rise of JOAN OF ARC.*

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THE Maid of Orleans was the unexpected person, who, when all other means were failing, and despair was debilitating the opposing French mind, suddenly rescued France from its approaching subjection to the English crown. The accomplishment of such an event, by one of the poorest and meanest of the people, of the feeblest sex, and of an age so youthful (for she was but nineteen when taken prisoner), has enveloped her appearance with a cloud of wonder, that has prevented its natural causes from being distinctly contemplated. It is yet a doubt, with many, whether she was not a supernatural agent; and therefore it becomes a reasonable application of our curiosity, to trace the circumstances which combined to produce a moral phenomenon so extraordinary, and results so momentous.

Her birth.

She was born about ten years before Henry V. died, at Domremy, a small hamlet attached to the village of Greux, which contained the principal church<sup>1</sup>; and situated between Neufchateau and Vaucouleurs in Champagne. The district abounded in woods, rivers, and pasturage; and being near the borders of Burgundy, was frequently disturbed by the raging warfare; a circumstance which accounts for the minds of its inhabitants, tho chiefly shepherds, laborers, and fishermen, being more agitated than remoter parts of the country, with the patriotic

<sup>1</sup> Her own answer. Charm. vol. v. p. 269. De Charmettes has inserted in his book, vol. i. pp. 237. 262., views of the house and chamber in which she was born.



question, whether Charles or Henry should be the sovereign of France.

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Her parents, Jacques d'Arc and Isabel<sup>2</sup>, lived for some time at Domremy. They were little farmers, but poor; subsisting by the cultivation of a small portion of land, and the produce of a few cattle. Their neighbors deposed them to be pious, simple, honest, and hospitable persons, and much respected. They had three sons and two daughters, of whom one was the celebrated Joan of Arc.<sup>3</sup>

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Their habitation was a small cottage, which had been the property of her mother.<sup>4</sup> Her birth was in 1411 or 1412, and she was baptized at the church of Domremy, by the curé of her hamlet.<sup>5</sup>

Her education was homely. She could never either read or write. In her day of celebrity, she traced a cross at the beginning of the letters she dictated.<sup>6</sup> She learnt from her mother to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ave Maria; and also what she knew of religion.<sup>7</sup> She confessed herself to her parochial minister, and learnt to sew and spin with great dexterity.<sup>8</sup>

Her edu-  
cation.

When the character of her youth was afterwards strictly inquired into, numerous witnesses described it to have been simple, chaste, modest, prudent, mild, temperate, and industrious. She performed her re-

<sup>2</sup> Her own answer. Charm. vol. i.

<sup>3</sup> Various Depos. p. 241—243.

<sup>4</sup> Dep. Conrad. ib. p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> Jean's Ans. vol. iii. p. 269, 270. The date of her birth cannot be exactly stated; she said, on 21 February 1431, that she thought she was then almost nineteen; p. 271. This would place her birth in 1412. On the next day she stated, that she first heard the supernatural voice at the age of thirteen, or thereabouts; p. 287. and 310. A few days afterwards, in February 1431, she said that they had guided her for seven years; p. 327. A comparison of these expressions gives 1411 or 1412 as the year of her birth, but does not decide which. The old style began the year in March, but I have put the figures according to our custom of commencing it in January.

<sup>6</sup> Charm. vol. i. p. 249.

<sup>7</sup> So she told her interrogating bishop. "I have learnt nothing but from her, as to my belief." Ans. vol. iii. p. 271.

<sup>8</sup> Ans. vol. i. p. 268, 288. "I feared no woman of Rouen, in sewing and spinning." p. 285.

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ligious duties; was charitable as far as her means extended, and assisted the sick poor. Her manners were pleasing, her conversation inoffensive. She was dutiful to her parents, never used oaths; and preferred the conversation of the most reputable of her sex.<sup>9</sup>

Her habits.

Her leisure hours were stated by her neighbors, not to have been wasted in the public street. She was frequently seen kneeling in a corner of the church, in humble, but fervent prayer. She was so bashful as to be disconcerted if suddenly addressed; and so kind-hearted that she not only gave away whatever she had to the distressed, but frequently lodged the poor travellers in her own bed, while she slept on the hearth. One peasant, who had been ill from his infancy, spoke strongly to the good-natured and affectionate attentions which he had received from her in his protracted malady.<sup>10</sup>

At the age of thirteen, it was proved, that she showed no taste for either dancing or singing, with which French villagers are usually delighted. While her neighbors thus amused themselves, she often withdrew, tho censured by them, to the church. She loved to speak of the Deity and the Virgin, for whom she cherished a tender regard, and on whom she was continually meditating. Her reputation was unblemished; no fault was recollected of her, but that some thought her too devout. The curé of her parish had said before her death, that there was no one like her under his superintendence. Other witnesses stated, that a better girl did not exist, either at Greux, or Domremy; and the commissary, sent by the English to her native place to inquire into her early conduct, declared that he could hear of nothing but what he should desire to find in his own sister.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Charm. vol. i. p. 251—253.

<sup>10</sup> Depositions of various persons, collected by Charm. Ibid. p. 253, 254.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 255, 256.

Her religious habits were detailed by many testimonies. She frequented the church, not only to hear mass, but at vespers and complines. When the church of her own hamlet was burnt, she went every festival to attend mass at Greux. She confessed often, took the sacrament at Easter; and was sometimes found alone in the church, bending before the cross, her hands joined, and her eyes fixed in a tender and respectful contemplation of the image of our Saviour, or of his earthly mother.<sup>12</sup>

These feelings accompanied her in her rustic employments and recreations. She often sat apart from her companions, and was sometimes overheard uttering the simple prayers of a child. If at the sound of the bell for worship, she could not leave her sheep to attend it, she fell on her knees in the meadows, and breathed her devotions in the midst of her flock. She was so anxious to be exact in this duty, that the beadle of her hamlet mentioned her displeasure at his sometimes omitting to ring the bell for complines; and her promise to him of a little present, if he would be more punctual in future.<sup>13</sup> These circumstances account for her patriotic enthusiasm combining itself with religious impressions.

Near Domremy was a little chapel consecrated to the Virgin, called the Hermitage of Saint Mary. The girls and boys of the village went every year to perform some ceremony at it. Joan walked to it every Saturday afternoon, usually with her sister, and occasionally with others. Her custom was to place a lighted candle before the Virgin, and to pray to her fervently. Sometimes in the course of the week she would suddenly quit her labors in the fields, and visit this favorite place, while her parents thought her at

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Her piety.

<sup>12</sup> Dep. Var. Charm. vol. i. p. 257, 258.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 259, 260.

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her rustic work.<sup>14</sup> As affectionate piety is the sublimest emotion of the soul to the sublimest of all Beings, it tends to produce in the individual the highest character of grandeur, and the deepest sensibility, of which he is susceptible. History has frequently displayed its power of forming a heroism of mind so superior to the possessor's natural condition, as to resemble inspiration. To its elevating effects on Joan may be ascribed the largest portion of her success.

All this appears to have been done naturally and unaffectedly, from her earliest youth, and with no particular purpose floating in her mind. In other respects she was a common, active, industrious peasant girl. She went with her father and brothers to their work; pulled up the weeds, broke the clods of earth in the fields, assisted to make hay, watched her father's sheep, led his cattle and horses to their pasturage; and at home spun the hemp and wool, and discharged the ordinary duties of the family.<sup>15</sup> The gentleness of her disposition is emphatically expressed by the circumstance, that as she tended her flock in the meadows, the birds would come at her call, and eat bread from her hands.<sup>16</sup> She sometimes went into the field to sport or walk with other girls of her own age.<sup>17</sup>

Her fairy  
tree.

It is desirable, in such a person, to trace, if possible, all her superstitions, that we may be better able to estimate her real character. About half a league from Domremy was an ancient wood of oaks, which

<sup>14</sup> Dep. Var. Charm. vol. i. p. 259—261.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 261, 262. She thus described her life at that time, in her answers to her judge. "When I was in my father's house, I was employed in the family affairs. As I grew up, and reached the age of discretion, I did not usually watch the cattle, but I assisted to conduct them to the meadows, and to castles near, for fear of the soldiers; but I do not recollect whether I took care of the sheep or not in my childhood." Ibid. vol. iii. p. 286. 313.

<sup>16</sup> So the Bourgeois of Paris mentions, from the relations of her friends, in his journal; but, with a Burgundian feeling, adds his doubt of the fact.

<sup>17</sup> Her answers, Charm. p. 310.

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was visible from her cottage. Below this forest, on the high road to Neufchateau, stood a majestic beech tree of some antiquity. It seems to have been an object of traditional veneration, for it was called the Beauty of May, the Tree of the Ladies, and the Fairy Tree. Near it bubbled a flowing spring, whose waters were drunk by those who had been debilitated by a fever, and who, when able to walk, used to take their exercise under its favorite shade. It was the general opinion of the country, that formerly fairies visited both the tree and the spring; and moved round the revered beech, with songs and mysterious dances.<sup>18</sup> A knight was traditionally recorded to have been seen under its boughs, conversing with one of these beings. The villagers believed that it was on account of their sins that the fairies had ceased to be visible. Ever since, the priests, in their Whitsuntide perambulation, had been accustomed to stop under this mystic foliage, chant some prayers, and read the gospel of St. John; but one good housewife declared to Joan, that she had seen fairies in that place. The tree was so interesting, from its figure and extensive shade, that it was often visited by the gentry of the place, whose servants, in the spring, occasionally brought baskets of bread and wine, with which they amused themselves under it, with the village children, in a rural feast.

In the month of May, all the youths of the district usually assembled together, made the figure of a man of herbs and leaves, and sang and danced with it under this tree; here they ate the cakes which their mothers had provided for the occasion; and then singing with the natural joy of the young heart, strolled to the fountain, drank its waters, and sported around it; they gathered the flowers that adorned the grass, twined them into crowns and garlands,

<sup>18</sup> Dep. Var. Charm. vol. i. p. 284, 285.

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and hung them on the branches of the tree. As the shades of night came on, they took them down, and carried them in festive triumph to their humble habitations. These things operated to excite early the fancy, and to give it a taste for the supernatural.

Joan of Arc, in her childhood, accompanied the village groups in those harmless festivities. Seated under the tree, she also made her floral crowns and garlands to suspend upon it, or to place them on her favorite image of the Virgin. She sang and danced there with the rest; but was remembered to have sung oftener than she danced. It was the report of her village, that on digging near this fairy spot, a root might be found which would bring riches to its possessor. But Joan's mind was so free from the stain of the love of money, that she did not believe the tale.<sup>19</sup>

As she grew up, she became more occupied in the household work at home; and only went into the fields with the cattle. She passed her evenings sometimes with her spinning wheel, at the dwellings of her young neighbors; and one girl, who had often played with her, spoke of her good nature with affectionate recollection.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Var. Dep. Charm. vol. i. pp. 266—273.; vol. iii. p. 168. They who wish to trace the natural causes of the phenomenon of Joan's enterprize, will desire to read her own account of this tree, which probably had greater effect on her young associations than she was aware of. Being asked what a certain wonderful tree near her village was, she answered, "There is, near Domremy, a tree called the Ladies Tree, and which others name the Fairy Tree; it is near a spring. I have heard say, that people ill with a fever drink its water, and go there to recover their health. I have witnessed this myself. I have been told that sick persons walked there when they could. I went sometimes to make nosegays and garlands under it. I have often heard old people, but not of my family, say that fairies frequented the place; my godmother said she had seen them, but I do not know that this was true. I never saw any there, that I know of; and I do not know whether I have seen them any where else or not. From the time I knew that I ought to go to the king, I took as little share as I could in those diversions. I do not think I danced there after I reached the years of discretion." She added, "There is a wood near it, called the Bois Chesnu, which is seen from my father's house; I neither knew nor have heard that fairies frequented that. My brother has been told, that it was said in my country, that I had 'pris mon fait,' under the fairy tree, but this is not true; it is quite the contrary." Ibid. vol. iii. p. 314, 315.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 274—277.

As all France was then divided into the two parties; Burgundians favoring the English claims; and Armagnacs, who supported Charles the Seventh, and the independence of the nation; the districts, where our heroine lived, partook of the distraction. Her own hamlet, with the exception of one individual, was for Charles; the next village of Marcey, between Domremy and Vaucouleurs, for the Burgundian faction. This diversity of sentiment engaged the inhabitants of each in perpetual altercation; and these discussions, in which their children participated<sup>21</sup>, added to Joan's religious fervor, an enthusiastic attachment to her sovereign, and to the liberties of her country, which, without this exciting competition, might not have occurred.

This political dissension was not confined to words. The youths of Domremy, after their day's labor, frequently went and challenged those of Marcey; and Joan avowed, that she had often seen them return from these battles wounded and bleeding. She did not remember that she had ever been one of the combatants.<sup>22</sup> But she shewed the warmth of her party feelings, by confessing, that she had wished that the only resident at Domremy, who was a Burgundian in his heart, might lose his head if it should please God.<sup>23</sup> Yet even towards him she seems not to have conducted herself with any personal bitterness; for she had stood with him as a godmother to an infant that was baptized, and he spoke of her with esteem and interest, long after she was dead.<sup>24</sup> Thus

<sup>21</sup> Her own account, Charm. vol. iii. p. 310—312. She was asked if, in her childhood, she had not a great design to injure the Burgundians. She answered, "I had a great interest and desire that my king should have his kingdom." Ibid. p. 313.

<sup>22</sup> Her answer. Ibid. p. 312.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 310.

<sup>24</sup> Dep. de Conraddin, vol. i. p. 281. Her aversion to, or dread of the Burgundians, was such, that at one time, to avoid them, she said she went from her father's house to a female friend at Neufchateau, and stayed there fifteen days. Vol. iii. p. 285. Other witnesses made these only five days.

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the predominant feelings in the soul of Joan d'Arc, from her infancy to her advanced youth, were those which arise from an impassioned combination of religion and patriotism, with a romantic and excited imagination. That Charles was a young man about her own age, naturally added a fondness of loyalty that blended the emotions of her heart with the determination of her reason and the visions of her fancy. The incidents of the time, and of her own life and situation, tended to make her what she became; altho these would have agitated her in vain, unless a genius capable of responding to their call, had animated her visible frame.

We now approach the period when her enthusiasm became decidedly tinged with a wild superstition, which resembled delirium in its mildest and earliest shape; and the time of its occurrence was remarkable. Henry V. had died in August 1422, and Charles VI. in the following October; and as their deaths produced immediate discussions, whether France should have a French king in the dauphin, the son of her deceased sovereign, or an English one in Henry VI. then a babe but nine months old, the energies of French sensibility were at no epoch more likely to be excited than at this conjuncture. At no time could the imagination of the friends of Charles VII. and of the independence of their country, be in a state of greater susceptibility than at this crisis.

Her peculiar imagination.

It was in the following May, according to Joan's own account, that those peculiar impressions began, which made her, at last, to occupy such an important space in the rolls of European history. We can know these only from her own descriptions, as they were internal sensations or suppositions, perceivable by none but herself. She delivered the account to her hostile judges, in answer to their questions, upon her trial. Her narration was consistent with all her



previous assertions; and there seems no reason to doubt that she described them, as she had uniformly acted upon them, with the full sincerity of her own undoubting belief. There was nothing about her brief and brilliant day of public exertion, which looked like wilful imposture in herself; we must therefore either suppose that she was practised upon by others, or that her young and enthusiastic imagination, and the organs on which it depends, had been affected by emotions, which produced those continuing hallucinations, that, at first indulged with fond delight, became at last a minor degree of permanent, tho partial derangement. In this state, the sensations on which she acted seemed to her to represent visible, or audible realities. This is no more than what happens to all of us in dreams, and to some who are awake, when afflicted with a temporary disease. The peculiarity in the Maid of Orléans was, that the illusive fancies impressed her during the day, when all her faculties were in wakeful action; and, like a protracted delirium, never left her till she died, tho the general health of her constitution, and vigor of youth, prevented the effects from increasing. Perhaps, if she had survived much longer, the mental malady would have become more pervading, and apparent. But dying before this effect took place, she left it, unintentionally, a question with many, whether she was not inspired by some superhuman influence; celestial, in the opinion of her friends; but most clearly diabolical, in the conviction of the duke of Bedford and his gallant army, of indignant because defeated England, and of vindictive Burgundy.

That skilful artifice may make terrific impressions on the human mind, the ancient Eleusinian mysteries, many contrivances of former priestcraft, the tricks of Rosicrucian adepts and German illuminati, and our popular phantasmagorias, sufficiently evince. But

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all these require appropriate theatres, co-operating agents, adapted seasons, selected times, and peculiar localities. In the case of Joan, none of these assistances occurred; and if we could allow their probability in her first impressions, the supposition would fail us when she moved into the court, the city, the camp, and hostile prisons, amid all which, her mysterious visitations attended her. The belief of Socrates, that he was frequently directed by a monitory demon<sup>25</sup>, comes nearest to the impressions by which this maiden was influenced. The difference between the Athenian sage and the French peasant girl was, that he only pretended to hear, but she declared she also saw, tho she most frequently heard, her supernatural advisers. We will give a concise detail of the mental phenomena that affected her, from her own simple descriptions.

Her account of her impressions.

“At the age of thirteen, I had a voice of God, to assist me to govern myself. It came at noon, in summer, in my father’s garden. I had not fasted the day before. I heard it on my right, towards the church. I was greatly frightened. I rarely hear it without seeing a great brilliancy on the side it comes from. I thought it came from heaven. When I had heard it three times, I knew that it was the voice of an angel. It has always kindly guarded me, and I understand very well what it announces. Tho I were in a wood, I still heard it; and usu-

<sup>25</sup> See Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*. The late Dr. Browne, in the preface to his *Philemon, or Progress of Virtue*, a pleasing attempt at a moral, narrative poem, has some remarks which strike me as new, and which may assist us in better understanding Joan’s impressions. They occur in his considerations of the propriety of employing in poetry supernatural machinery. “Poetry is addressed to the imagination and passions; and these, in their most exalted exertions, raise us above this terrestrial scene, and carry us into the world of spirits. Something preternatural seems to mingle with all our more elevated conceptions; and the mind delights to range in a sphere magnificent, unexplored and vast. To preternatural agency, the mind, when under the influence of strong feelings, spontaneously recurs; and the visible world seems to be connected with the celestial, by a strong, tho secret chain.” P. 14. These observations seem to be very applicable to the Maid of Orleans.

ally at noon. When I came into France, I often heard it."<sup>26</sup>

Being asked what it told her for the benefit of her soul, she added, "It recommended me to behave well, and to frequent the church; and told me that it was necessary that I should come into France."<sup>27</sup>

She mentioned, that the voice, two or three times a week, ordered her to depart and go into France. At first she refused to tell what figure accompanied the voice.<sup>28</sup> This question was put to her at various intervals; she declined answering it, because she was afraid of displeasing the voices<sup>29</sup>; but having talked of their appearing, on her fourth interrogation, she at last disclosed the long-withheld secret.

"The voices were those of St. Catherine and St. Margaret. Their forms were crowned with beautiful diadems, very rich and very precious. I knew them, because they named themselves to me, when they saluted me. It is now seven years since they began to guide me."<sup>30</sup> She added that it was St. Michael, accompanied by some angels, who first visited her. "I saw them with my bodily eyes, as I see you. When they left me, I wept, and wished they had taken me with them."<sup>31</sup>

Some days afterwards, a few more particulars were drawn from her. She said she saw faces very richly crowned, but neither arms nor figured limbs, nor garments. They spoke in a sweet, mild and humble voice, but in fine language, in French. *She had heard them near the fountain at the fairy tree, but did not then understand what they said. She did not*

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<sup>26</sup> Her answers to the interrogatories of her judges, on 21 Feb. 1430. De Charm. vol. iii. p. 286. He has printed the whole of her examinations. By France she meant the part called L'Isle de France; and as she lived in the district called Champagne, and near Burgundy, she calls her going from them to the contiguous provinces which Charles still held, going into France.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 288.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 305, 307, 308.

<sup>30</sup> Inter. 27 Feb. 1430-31, p. 326, 327.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p. 328, 329.

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see St. Michael often. The female saints visited her most frequently<sup>32</sup>; she saluted them with great respect as they approached and retired; and kissed the earth, after they left her, on which they had reposed.<sup>33</sup>

On other examinations, she mentioned that she had touched and embraced the female saints, as she knelt to them.<sup>34</sup> That St. Michael had first come to her, and told her they would be with her, and that she was to act by their advice, as they were to guide and counsel her. That at first, she greatly doubted whether it was St. Michael, and saw him several times before she was certain of it; but he instructed her so much, that she became convinced of it. That he ordered her to be a good girl, and that God would assist her, and that she must go to the succor of the king of France.<sup>35</sup> Being again pressed about his figure and dress, she said he was in the form of a true gentleman<sup>36</sup>; and he had wings.<sup>37</sup> She mentions several times her terror at his first appearance<sup>38</sup>; but that his good advice, comfortings and good doctrine, fixed her belief in him<sup>39</sup>; and then she felt a great joy at his presence.<sup>40</sup>

These impressions were not confined to the locality of her native village. In the course of her examinations, she declared that she heard the voices every day<sup>41</sup>, even in the prison, in which they waked her<sup>42</sup>;

<sup>32</sup> Inter. 1 March, Charm. 1430-31, p. 351—355. In her fifth examination, being asked if they had natural heads, she exclaimed with some warmth, "I have seen them with my own eyes, and I believe that they were those beings, as firmly as I believe that God exists." P. 367.

<sup>33</sup> Inter. 10 March, p. 403. She was asked if St. Margaret spoke English. Her answer was, "How should she speak English; she was not on their side." P. 353.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 453. Her inability and aversion to describe the forms and garments of these apparitions; her intimations that they had no limbs, and the inconsistencies of their reposing on the earth, and of her embracing them, very much resembled the natural confusion and indistinctness of our dreams, and of some of the morbid perceptions of the mind.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 437, 438.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 439.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 366.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 437, 438.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p. 440.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p. 359.

<sup>41</sup> "There is no day in which I do not hear the voice, and I have great need of it." Ibid. p. 293.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p. 302.

that they never contradicted themselves<sup>43</sup>; that the light came with them into her prison<sup>44</sup>; that she had heard them in the hall of her examination; that she had asked their advice how to answer the inquisitorial questions, and they bade her answer boldly<sup>45</sup>; a brightness always accompanied them.<sup>46</sup> After the commencement of her martial enterprises, she declared the saints frequently appeared to her, even in her dungeon<sup>47</sup>, but that she had not seen St. Michael since she left Crotoy.<sup>48</sup> As no contrivances of others could at all these times have acted upon her senses, her imaginations must have been either a limited derangement or wilful imposture; but the rectitude, heroism, piety and nobleness of mind and feeling, which all her conduct displayed, have never been found united with fraud and falsehood. Her illusions may therefore be considered as an extraordinary instance of high-souled and generous delirium, co-existing with a glowing heart and vigorous understanding.

In considering the possible origin of these singular hallucinations, some other circumstances may be adverted to. It was not till after the English had entered the provinces of Charles, which she called France, that the voices came.<sup>49</sup> She acknowledged that there were traditions in her country, that from the wood which was visible from her father's house, a maiden was to come who would do wonderful things; but that she did not believe them.<sup>50</sup> Another woman at that period pretended to be visited by a visionary lady, dressed in cloth of gold, whom Joan denounced as a mad woman, who spoke falsehoods.<sup>51</sup> She con-

<sup>43</sup> Charm. vol. iii. p. 304.<sup>44</sup> Ibid. p. 307.<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 324, 325, 327.<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p. 333.<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p. 351.<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p. 358. She once said, that the figures which appeared to her were very small; as little as the smallest things, vol. iv. p. 220.; another indication that they were diseased impressions on her mind.<sup>49</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 312.<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p. 315.<sup>51</sup> Ibid. p. 381.

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fessed that her mother frequently told her, that her father had dreamt that she would go away from him with some of the gens d'armes; that they watched her closely, and kept her in great subjection; and that her father declared to her brothers, that if he thought his dream was to be fulfilled, he should wish them to drown her; and that if they hesitated, he would do it.<sup>52</sup> It is also mentioned by a contemporary, and it accounts for her being so good a horse-woman as she suddenly appeared, that she had shewn much courage in riding horses to water, while in her village condition.<sup>53</sup> Her uncle deposed, that she had mentioned to him, that France had been destroyed by a wife, and was to be re-established by a virgin.<sup>54</sup> It is still more important to add what is mentioned by a contemporary, that she amused herself with her companions, in running and in fighting with a kind of lance. She even made assaults on trees, as if they had been combatants. At another time she would mount the horse she was leading to his pasture, and manage it like the best squires. Armed with long sticks, she would give the blows of a spear so forcibly, that those who saw, could not but admire her, and took a pleasure to see her at these exercises.<sup>55</sup> From some of these facts it may be inferred, that a military spirit began early to arise in her mind, amid her more feminine qualities, and gave an ama-

<sup>52</sup> Charm. vol. iii. p. 405.

<sup>53</sup> Monst. vol. vi. p. 254. He adds, that she had been for some time hostler and chambermaid at an inn. This seems to have arisen from her assisting the mistress of the house or inn, where she and her family took refuge for a short time, at Neufchateau, when a Burgundian party invaded their hamlet. Charm. vol. i. p. 306. Both Pasquier and Monstrelet appear to have mistaken this short residence for a permanent occupation. Ibid. 306—309.

<sup>54</sup> Dep. de Laxart. Charm. vol. i. p. 320.

<sup>55</sup> It is Phillippe de Bergami who mentions this in his book, "De Claris Mulieribus," c. 157.; and he says he had it from a seigneur, whom he names and calls a faithful witness, and who, he says, had seen and learnt all these things when at the court. M. de Charmettes thinks these circumstances exaggerated, but he is rather too much inclined to believe in the Maid's supernatural inspirations. Bergami's facts account for the sudden ability she displayed in the use of armor and weapons.

zonian direction to her patriotic enthusiasm; while her morbid fancy borrowed its shapes and sounds from the feelings of her simple, but honest and fervent piety. With this imperfect attempt to account for this intellectual phenomenon, we must leave the curious subject to the reader's own contemplation and judgment. The results are certain, tho the agencies on the maiden's mind be obscure; and these results we shall now proceed to narrate. The maiden was gradually forming for her great destination, in her obscure village, unknown to all the world, which she was soon to astonish, like the jewel, that secretly and silently grows in the dark stony earth. The obscurity, the loneliness, and the neglect, are perhaps essential to the production of that radiance which we admire, and which no art can fabricate. Joan was a creature of providential nature, whom no education or contrivance could have shaped or actuated. These may dress and move the puppet of a Perkin Warbeck, but not a Maid of Orleans.

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## CHAP. XVIII.

*The Maiden's Introduction to CHARLES VII.*

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THAT the voices told her she must raise the siege of Orleans, and must apply to Baudricourt, the lord of the village of Vaucouleurs, who would appoint persons to accompany her, was become her fixed belief.<sup>1</sup> She concealed these visions from her priest and from her father, lest her enterprise should be prevented.<sup>2</sup> But she dropped hints of her object occasionally, among her acquaintance.<sup>3</sup> To select the lord of her village, for her first patron, was quite natural to her situation, tho she ascribed it to mysterious impulse.

She visits  
the lord of  
her village.

She began to execute her secret intentions, by leaving her father's house without his knowlege, for her uncle's, at a neighboring village, whom she interested to ask her parent's leave for her visiting him. She stayed there eight days, and told him she must go to Vaucouleurs, for she was appointed to crown the dauphin.<sup>4</sup> The uncle went to the seigneur Baudricourt, who, hearing his account, bade him whip her well, and send her back to her father.<sup>5</sup> Joan, stung by this contempt, put on her uncle's clothes, and declared she would go to the wars alone. Seeing her so resolute, he promised to take her to Baudri-

<sup>1</sup> Interrog. Charm. vol. iii. p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 401, 402.

<sup>3</sup> Thus one deposed, that she had mentioned several times that she must go into France; another, that she had said, "If you were not a Burgundian, I could tell you something;" a third swore, that she had declared that there was a girl between Campey and Vaucouleurs, who, within a year, would cause the king to be crowned; and a fourth, that she had asserted to him, that she would deliver France and the blood royal. Ibid. vol. i. p. 303, 304.

<sup>4</sup> Her own answers, vol. iii. p. 289.; and her uncle's deposition, vol. i. p. 320.

<sup>5</sup> Dep. Laxart. Ibid. vol. i. p. 321.



court; and in May 1428, introduced her to him in her shabby red gown.<sup>6</sup> She told him, that her lord had determined to make the dauphin king, and that she was to crown him. He inquired, who was her lord. "The king of heaven," was her answer. He refused to listen to her.<sup>7</sup> Three times she solicited him in vain.

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Vexed at her disappointment, she passed her time at Vaucouleurs, in religious exercises; in spinning, and in talking on her divine mission with her hostess, and with others who came there. She called to their minds the old prophecy, that France was to be delivered by a virgin from the borders of Lorraine. They remembered it, and began to think from her perseverance and enthusiasm, that she might be the person.<sup>8</sup>

This popular prediction, which may have suggested, assisted her pretensions. The impression made on others in that fanciful day, at last extended to Baudricourt himself. He came to see her with the parochial minister, but left her without any further notice; and she returned to her uncle's. She remained there till the Lent of the next year, when she persuaded him to take her again to Vaucouleurs.<sup>9</sup>

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Finding herself disregarded by the feudal lord, she resolved to go on foot to the king, and went a short way; but recollecting, as she told her two rustic companions, that it was not respectable to go away so, she returned to Vaucouleurs.

As she got back, she found a gentleman of the district, Jean de Metz, there, who asked her what she was doing. She told him, that she must see the king before Lent was over; and that no one but herself

<sup>6</sup> Dep. of several. Charm. vol. i. p. 321.

<sup>7</sup> Dep. of Bertrand, a gentleman who was present at the interview. Ibid. p. 324.

<sup>8</sup> Dep. of Henry and his wife, with whom she lodged; and of Albert, a knight, who saw her there. Ibid. p. 327.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 330.

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could assist him. There was something about her, which struck his imagination. He took her hand, and promised that he would conduct her; and inquired when she would go. "Rather to-day than to-morrow," was her answer. But she desired a male dress, and he sent a servant for some apparel of his own.<sup>10</sup>

His accrediting her, decided more; and it became a general conviction that she was divinely inspired. Her name began to spread. The duke Charles of Lorraine, weakened by an incurable illness, desired to see and consult her. De Metz escorted her to him; but she told him, she knew nothing about disease.<sup>11</sup> This interview must have increased her importance. After quitting him, she at length obtained a recommendation from Baudricourt to the king. He gave her a sword, and paid for her horse; and the people of the place supplied what else she wanted.<sup>12</sup>

Thus far Joan had succeeded, not beyond her own expectations, but much beyond the commencing probabilities of her project. But having once fixed the popular attention, and excited a popular interest in her native province, the powerful waves of public feeling both sustained and carried her to the completion of her wishes. No epidemy spreads more rapidly, or acts more potently, than popular sensibility. Like Virgil's fame, it strengthens in fervor, force and means, as it diffuses. The wisest become infected, and the most adverse subdued. The fever may be temporary, but while it lasts, it is irresistible.

Her journey to the king.

Her escort to the king consisted of seven persons: the gentleman John de Metz; another man of noble

<sup>10</sup> This gentleman deposed these facts. Charm. vol. i. p. 331, 332.

<sup>11</sup> Her own account. Ibid. vol. iii. p. 289.

<sup>12</sup> See the depositions cited by Charm. Ibid. p. 332. 342. From a MS. which M. de l'Averdy saw, it would seem that Baudricourt had sent to the king on the subject, from whom he had an answer. Notices des Manusc. de la Bibl. de la Roi, vol. iii. p. 303. This fact is confirmed by a king's messenger being one of her escort.

birth, Bertrand de Poulengy, who had been with Brudricourt at her first visit; their valets; her third brother Peter; a king's messenger, and an archer. An oath was exacted from these that they would conduct her safely to the king.<sup>13</sup>

Her village friends crowded around her, as she set off. They reminded her, that the roads were infested by the enemies. "I fear not men at arms. I have God for my lord and guide; I am born for my enterprize," was her ardent reply.<sup>14</sup> At that moment, she thought the voices sounded in her ear, "Go fearlessly, and when you come before the king, he shall have a token to receive and accredit you."<sup>15</sup> Baudricourt dismissed her with this brief address: "Go! — and let come what may."<sup>16</sup>

Her companions journeyed with her, with varying feelings. The two gentlemen confessed afterwards, that they had experienced many doubts and fears; and some of the rest declared, that they took her for a mad woman, or a sorceress, and meant to put her in some prison on the way.<sup>17</sup> As they travelled, the energies of her character prevailed over their prudence; and they felt an increasing disposition to do whatever was most agreeable to her. Her will became irresistible; and such was the respect which her unaffected virtues impressed, that the knight declared he should not have dared to have made her an improper request; and the esquire deposed, that he had experienced no wish to do so, "on account of the great goodness which he saw in her."<sup>18</sup>

As the Burgundians and English were ranging the country, they travelled all the night of the first day,

<sup>13</sup> Depos. of the two gentlemen, who lived to give their evidence about her. Charm. vol. i. p. 343, 344.; and see her own answers, vol. iii. p. 290.

<sup>14</sup> As her host, Henry the cartwright, swore. Ibid. p. 345.

<sup>15</sup> Her own account, on 10 March, 1431. Ibid. p. 397.

<sup>16</sup> Her own account. Ibid. p. 290.

<sup>17</sup> Their Depos. Ibid. vol. i. p. 347.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 348.

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to St. Urban's, a village on the Marne, near Joinville, and rested the next evening at an abbey. They avoided the high roads and larger towns. In their way to Auxerre, besides passing over smaller rivers, they had to cross the Marne, the Aube, the Seine and the Yonne. She expressed a wish to hear mass as often as she could; but from their dread of the hovering enemy, they only twice consented to it.<sup>19</sup>

Her confidence and courage never faltered. "Are you sure," they at times inquired, "of doing what you say?" "Fear nothing," was her reply; "all this is commanded me." The deliverance of her country was the fixed object of her enthusiasm; and all her religious superstitions associated themselves with the resolution.<sup>20</sup> They attempted to intimidate her, by a feigned alarm of an hostile attack. "Fly not," she exclaimed, as horsemen seemed advancing against them; "they will do us no injury."<sup>21</sup>

As to her demeanor during the journey, the two gentlemen deposed, that her first actions on waking were to say her prayers, and make the sign of the cross; that she evinced a great desire to attend the public service at church; that she never swore; that they did not observe the smallest thing in her, which they could blame; that she always appeared as good a girl as if she had been a saint; that from their impressions, they gave much belief to her words; that they could not but think she was sent from Heaven;

<sup>19</sup> She says she heard mass at the principal church of Auxerre; and adds, "I was then frequently visited by the voices." Charm. vol. iii. p. 290.

I have seen deranged persons, who have declared that they heard voices, and received information, which, from the other circumstances they mentioned, and from my own knowledge, were clearly imaginary.

<sup>20</sup> Her other observations shew the impressions which governed her mind. She declared to them, "It is already four or five years since my brothers in Paradise and my Lord, have told me that I must go to war to recover the kingdom." At another time her words were, "Fear nothing, for when you shall have arrived at Chinon, the noble dauphin will receive you well." Deposit. of the gentlemen, p. 354.

<sup>21</sup> Dep. Hussan, vol. i. p. 351.

and that they felt themselves at last inflamed by the same love of God, which animated her.<sup>22</sup>

From Auxerre they got safely to Gien on the Loire, the first town under the power of Charles, which they had yet entered; she crossed the Loire, and went towards Chinon. She had yet as great a distance to traverse as she had passed. But as it was in the French dominions, she journeyed more securely. She rested at Fierbois, a village in Touraine, about sixteen miles from Chinon; and sent a letter to the king, declaring that she had travelled 150 leagues to come to help him, and had good things for him; and asking permission to enter the city where he was.<sup>23</sup>

At noon, of the eleventh day of her travels, at the end of February, she concluded her wintry journey by arriving at Chinon; and lodged herself at an inn kept by a female, near the castle. She was then about eighteen, of a middling size, in her male attire; very strong, but well-made and well-proportioned; her neck and shape were deemed beautiful. Her black hair fell round her neck, but not lower than her shoulders. Her countenance was pleasing. She had a sweet voice and an insinuating expression. She rode, and carried a lance, with as much address and grace as the best knight. She expressed herself with great discretion and ease.<sup>24</sup>

It was sworn, that before Joan had been heard of, a woman, one Marie d' Avignon, had presented herself to the king, pretending a prophetic commission to him; and announcing, that a maiden would come after her, and deliver France.<sup>25</sup> This fact, which occasioned her to be asked before the king, if there

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She reaches  
Chinon.  
Feb. 1429.

<sup>22</sup> Dep. J. de Metz, and B. de Poulengy. Charm. vol. i. p. 352.

<sup>23</sup> Her account, vol. iii. p. 334. According to her own account, she was then about 18. Daulon, the king's maitre d'hotel, deposed, that he thought her about 16. Depos. vol. i. p. 107.

<sup>24</sup> Various Depos. vol. i. p. 367—369. 2d part.

<sup>25</sup> Barbin, the king's advocate, stated this, and that he had it from Maitre John Erault, a professor of theology. Ibid. p. 364, 365.

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was in her country a wood called Bois Chesnu, the place from which this deliverer was to come, confirms what we have already mentioned, that notions of this sort had pre-existed in the country; and may have given to Joan, unconsciously to herself, that fixed and personal direction of her patriotic emotions, which realized the anticipation. Her reply at the court was, That she attached no faith to the account. She did not therefore claim the benefit of her predecessor's allusions<sup>26</sup>, however they may have contributed to her own hallucinations.

The state of Charles and his portion of France, when Joan appeared, may be conceived from the description of the lady of his counsellor and receiver general. "In the districts obeying the king, the misfortunes and want of money were lamentable. The king himself had but four crowns in his house. Both he and his friends had no longer any hope, and were meditating flight. Every thing was desperate, and none expected any relief."<sup>27</sup> Empirical remedies are seldom resorted to, but when rational aid fails; but despair rather welcomes the extravagant; and it was this state of things which saved the Maid from being immediately rejected with scorn and disgrace.

When Joan arrived at Chinon, it was earnestly debated in the royal council, whether the king should attend to her or not. It was at last determined, that the prelates should interrogate her. To their first question she answered, That she must speak to their

Discussions  
about her.

<sup>26</sup> Her answer, Charm. vol. iii. p. 315. Thibault, of the king's household, deposed, that he had formerly seen a prediction in writing, that a girl would deliver France. One of her judges declared that he had found a prophecy, ascribed to Merlin, that such a person would come from a bois chesnu in Lorraine. The count Dunois repeated it in four verses; and said that they were shewn to the Earl of Suffolk after his capture. Depos. of these persons, vol. i. p. 361—364.

<sup>27</sup> Dep. of the Dame de Boulligney, vol. i. p. 362. The ancient Olivier de la Marche also mentions, that from this war the king found himself so governed, and under the hand of so many gens d'armes, strangers, and private persons, that there was no captain in France so inconsiderable, that they dared shut the king's door against him, whatever was his business. Mem. p. 21, 22.

sovereign herself. But being pressed, by an order from him, to disclose the object of her mission, she declared that she came from the King of heaven, to accomplish two things; to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims to be crowned.<sup>28</sup>

The opinions of the council continued to be divided: some thought that no faith could be given to her; others that the king should see her. Charles determined that she should be examined again, and he sent to her native village, to inquire into her life and morals.<sup>29</sup> In the meantime she was placed in a tower in the castle, and a youth of fifteen was appointed to attend her. She was here visited by females, and several men of high rank. She continued her devotional exercises.<sup>30</sup>

The further investigations discovering nothing in her manners or morals, that impeached her character, the king at last, tho against the advice of some of his courtiers, ordered her to be admitted. The hour appointed was after dinner. Fifty torches<sup>31</sup> blazed in the apartment, where above 300 knights were assembled. Many lords were present superbly dressed, and more richly than the king, who stepped aside to see if she would not address some other person for him, at the moment of her introduction.

Introduced  
to the king.

She presented herself, with much humility and simplicity, like a poor shepherdess; but with such presence of mind, that she distinguished the king in the middle of the crowd, advanced towards him, and respectfully saluted him.<sup>32</sup> She knelt down, and em-

<sup>28</sup> Dep. of S. Charles, president of account, and of other persons. Charm. vol. i. p. 270, 271.

<sup>29</sup> Dep. of Barbin and others. Ibid. p. 372.

<sup>30</sup> The youth deposed, that he often saw her humbly kneeling, and addressing God in fervent prayer, and at times weeping as she prayed. Dep. L. de Contes, ibid. p. 373.

<sup>31</sup> Her own account. Ibid. vol. iii. p. 333.

<sup>32</sup> She said her voicemade her to know him. Ans. vol. iii. p. 292. As men have looked for the wonders of Joan's life, and not for the causes of their occurrence, it has been thought miraculous, that she should have known the king; but it must

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bracing his legs, exclaimed, "Gentle king! God grant you a good life." "I am not the king," said he; "there is the king," pointing to another. "By my God, gentle prince! but you are he, and no other. Most noble lord! I come and am sent by God to bring aid to you and to your kingdom." She added, that she wished to go and combat the English. He asked her who she was. She replied, "Gentle dauphin, my name is Joan the Maiden, and the King of heaven announces to you by me, that you will be consecrated and crowned in the city of Rheims. You will be the lieutenant of the King of heaven, who is the king of France."<sup>33</sup> The king became affected; he drew her aside, and conversed with her a long time with visible satisfaction. In this colloquy she is stated to have revealed to him, a circumstance which astonished him, by her acquaintance with it; and produced his immediate declaration in her favor. He said, she had told him what was only known to Heaven and himself.<sup>34</sup> When he walked out in the

be recollected, that in his adversity he was very unceremoniously visited, and therefore his person was familiarly known to many inferior persons; that Joan, having for some years fixed her imagination upon him, must have eagerly caught and remembered every circumstance that she heard reported concerning him, and have made those inquiries about him, of all who talked of him, which affectionate women usually do of the object of their liking; that he was young, which alone would distinguish him from many; that his lords were more pompously and richly clothed than he was, (which was the very circumstance that Bonaparte chose to mark himself out more conspicuously from his court;) that she entered the apartment, expecting some deception; for a chronicle of the time (*Charm.* vol. i. p. 177.) notices that as she entered, she desired those who conducted her, not to deceive her, but to shew her the person she ought to speak to. As all her hopes rested on her not failing at this moment, all her recollection and power of discernment must have been strongly excited; and to see a person like what she had heard described, dressed differently from the rest, retiring from her, and yet most probably with some circumstance of habitual respect shewn him, tho not intentionally, which her quickness of eye immediately caught, may have fixed her judgment. We may also add, that as she was not introduced till the king had been advised, by some of his council, to receive and sanction her, they who wished to make use of her, may have taken care to give her such intimations as prevented her mistaking him.

<sup>33</sup> These facts are taken from the depositions and authorities cited by *Charm.* vol. i. p. 378, 379.

<sup>34</sup> It has been much canvassed what this was; Joan would never explain it, and it was uncertain till the MS. work of N. Sala was found in the royal library. He accounts for his knowledge of it thus: "About 1480, I was one of the household of Charles VIII. and served the chevalier de Bois, who, in his youth, had been



neighboring meadows, she went on horseback there, and ran a course of the lance with so much address and grace, that the duke d'Alençon, after long observing her, presented her with a fine steed.<sup>35</sup>

She was examined again more strictly than before, by several prelates and others; but her answers continued to be, that she was sent by the King of heaven; and that celestial voices revealed to her habitually, whatever she had to do to execute his orders.<sup>36</sup> She was then sent to Poitiers, to be interrogated by the parliament there; and that the king might be informed, whether he could lawfully accept her services. Her answers discovered a great combination of enthusiasm and shrewdness.<sup>37</sup> A considerable part of her leisure was, as before, passed in devotion. She was visited by many of all ranks. They went with the belief that her promises were fantastic dreams;

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such a favorite with Charles VII. as to be his bedfellow. Charles told him, that in his distress he had one morning prayed in his heart, without utterance, that if he was indeed descended from the noble house of France, and that the kingdom justly belonged to him, that Heaven would defend it for him; or, at the worst, would enable him to escape death or imprisonment, and to find a refuge in Spain or Scotland." Joan reminded the king of this prayer. Such an incident leads to a suspicion, that some one very near the king, and acquainted with his private thoughts, was now secretly assisting the Maid. The confessors of royalty have great means of befriending such projects as these.

<sup>35</sup> Dep. de duc, d'Alen. Charm. vol. i. p. 390.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 392.

<sup>37</sup> The Friar Seguin's deposition states the circumstances. She was there two hours; every one had his turn, and she gave them all answers which astonished them. To the question, What moved her to the undertaking, he says she answered, in a lofty manner, That watching one day her flock in the fields, a voice appeared to her, saying, that God greatly pitied France, and that she must visit it. She began to weep; and the voice then bid her go to Vaucouleurs, where she would find a captain, who should conduct her safely to the king. Another present, remarking to her, that if the Deity wished to deliver France, he did not need men at arms, she promptly answered, "Men at arms fight; and God gives the victory." The narrator of the interview, who spoke in Limousin French, asked her, what dialect the voice used, "A better one than your's," was her tart reply. "Do you believe in God?" he rejoined. "Better than you do." Calling upon her for a miracle to confirm her mission, in which others joined, she exclaimed with dignity, "I have not come to Poitiers to work miracles, but conduct me to Orleans, and there I will shew you for what I am sent." The deposition of another stated, that she said, "The miracle that is given to me to do, is to raise the siege of Orleans. Give me men at arms, in what number or as few as you please, and I will go there and do it." Dep. Garmell, 398, 399. She then declared, that the English would be driven from Orleans; that the king would be consecrated at Rheims; that Paris would be subjected to his authority; and that the Duke of Orleans would return from England. Dep. Garmell, 399.

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but such was the impression she made on them, by the personal interview, that they left her, declaring, and some with tears, that she was a creature of God. She justified her assumption of a male dress, by the necessity of her using armor<sup>38</sup>; and when criticised for calling Charles the dauphin only, she answered, "I shall not style him king till he has been crowned at Rheims, whither I shall conduct him."<sup>39</sup>

The result of this inquiry was, that they found nothing in her but what suited a good christian, and a good catholic; that they thought her answers as prudent as if they had been inspired; and considering her manners, her simplicity, her pious life, her fair reputation, the imminent peril of Orleans, and the pressing necessities of the king and kingdom, that her services should be accepted; and that she should be sent to relieve Orleans.<sup>40</sup> The king however still hesitated; and further inquiries<sup>41</sup> and examinations ensued, at which his mother, the queen of Sicily, presided.<sup>42</sup>

He assents  
to her en-  
terprise.

Three weeks had now elapsed, and Joan complained of the loss of time. Charles at last assented to her enterprise, and the succors were prepared. A suit of armor to fit her body was made for her. Her sword she chose herself. She pretended, that her voices announced to her, that there was one behind

<sup>38</sup> Chroniq. Dep. Garmell, 400.

<sup>39</sup> D. p. Garmell, 401. Thibault states, that by order of the king's confessor, he took two professors of theology to her. As they questioned her again, why she came, and who sent her, she answered, "Hear me, I am neither A. nor B. I came from the King of heaven, to raise the siege of Orleans, and to convey the king to Rheims to be crowned; but I must first write to the English, and summon them. Have you paper and ink?" As they answered in the affirmative, she added, "Write then what I dictate:—You, Suffolk, Glacidas and Pole! I summon you, on the part of the King of heaven, that you depart to England." When they quoted Scripture, to prove that she ought not to be believed, she replied, "There are in my Lord's books more things than in your's." Dep. Thibault, Dep. Garmell, Dep. de Bouligny, 402, 403.

<sup>40</sup> See the Depositions to this effect, cited by Charm. vol. i. 406, 407. The procès verbal of the decision has not been preserved.

<sup>41</sup> The archbishop of Tours has left a MS. account of the questions to her, and her answers L. du Fresnoy, vol. i. p. 34. Charm. vol. i. p. 408.

<sup>42</sup> Dep. of duc d'Alençon, de Pasquerel, and d'Aulon. Charm. vol. i. p. 412, 413.

the altar of St. Catherine, marked with five fleurs-de-lis, which she was to use. She wrote to the church for it. An armorer found, or declared he found, it buried in the earth. It was rusty. The priest soon made it fit for use. There is an air of contrivance about these circumstances. The ecclesiastics provided a red velvet sheath for it, and the people of Tours one of cloth of gold. She ordered in preference one of strong leather.<sup>43</sup>

That Joan's first impulses and projects were her own enthusiastic emotions, and self-flattering fancies, we have already suggested; but from the time she arrived at Chinon, other persons may have begun to use some artificial contrivances, to produce useful political results from her agency and popularity. As she did not come there the mere peasant girl, so she was not long in that town before she almost ceased to be such. The increasing disposition of the public to accredit and to trust her; the necessity of some new impulse to revive the decayed loyalty and disheartened nationality of the French people; the possibility, that she might for a time be used advantageously for this purpose; the certainty that no harm could come from the trial; the absence of all other means of adequate exertion, and the despairing hopelessness of Charles and his affairs, were sufficient reasons to incline his best statesmen, to try what public good could be extracted from her agency. The more they were convinced of the delusion of her mysterious visitations, and that she mistook enthusiasm for inspiration; the more desirous in that day of political artifice, when no minister or ambassador could act without it, they may have been, to have supplied, by their own contrivances, whatever would be most likely to increase her popularity,

<sup>43</sup> Charm. vol. i. p. 420, 421.

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and give a temporary effect to her asserted mission. Hence many tricks of imposture may have been now appended to her simple and honest pretensions, of which she was unconscious; and of which she may have been made both the instrument and the dupe; the transaction of the sword seems to have been of this description. Like Don Quixote, she converted all things into food for cherishing her pervading illusions; while others schemed and contrived to lead them to certain advantage.

Her stan-  
dard.

She chose her own standard. On a white ground, strewed with fleur-de-lis, was figured the Saviour of mankind, as seated on his tribunal in the clouds, and holding the world in his hands, while two angels knelt in adoration before him. The inscription was *Jesus Maria*.<sup>44</sup> Whenever she could, she carried this herself, declaring that tho she loved her sword, she preferred the standard forty times to it<sup>45</sup>; the reason she gave was, "I do not mean to use this sword to kill any one."<sup>46</sup> Before she left the king, she told him she should be wounded at Orleans, but she would not therefore desist.<sup>47</sup>

The supplies being provided, were assembled at Blois. Joan there first put on her armor. Her firm enthusiasm began to electrify the country; and small bodies of voluntary defenders, at different intervals, introduced themselves into Orleans<sup>48</sup>; altho the English had surrounded the place with several for-

<sup>44</sup> Her own description, *Charm.* vol. iii. p. 337. 373. 449; and *Pasquerel, Depos.* vol. i. p. 421. She said the voices directed it. Vol. iii. p. 449.

<sup>45</sup> Her own answer.

<sup>46</sup> *Dep. Seguin*, vol. i. p. 422.

<sup>47</sup> The exciteability of the French at this time is strongly shewn in the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*. A cordelier came there in April 1429, and preached in the church of St. Genevieve nine days successively, from five in the morning to ten or eleven o'clock, from a high scaffold, to 5000 or 6000 auditors. In the middle of his sermon, above 100 fires were seen lighted, into which the men were throwing their gaming tables, cards, and what else he blamed. So the next day the women burnt their head-dresses, horns, tails, and ornaments of pomp. *Charm.* vol. i. p. 427—429.

<sup>48</sup> Thus on 24 April, 40 men got in; on 26, 100 entered it; on 27, 60 more; and on 28th, Florent d'Illiers and the brother of La-Hire, with 400 soldiers. *Chron. du Siege*, *Charm.* vol. i. p. 437.

tresses and bulwarks.<sup>49</sup> It is important to notice this fact, as it proves that the effort of Joan to enter and relieve the city, tho a hazardous attempt, was yet practicable without a miracle. Her intended effort was known at Orleans, which was reduced to the last extremity; and from the wonderful reports that had been spread about her, she was impatiently expected there.<sup>50</sup>

Joan sent before her a written summons, addressed to the English commanders, demanding of them in a high tone, to render to her the keys of all the cities they had taken; ordering the besiegers to go home; and declaring, that if they disobeyed, they should be slain, or driven out of France.<sup>51</sup> The king gave her authority to command the army, and ordered that nothing should be done without her.<sup>52</sup> The marshals St. Severe and de Rayr headed the relieving forces; and, by the directions of Dunois, the celebrated La-Hire eagerly joined them.<sup>53</sup> A chronicle of the time mentions their amount to have been 7000 men.<sup>54</sup> She had the *Veni Creator* sung, and ordered them to confess themselves, and to leave their women and baggage behind, and to trust in God; declaring that their victory would depend on the divine succor.<sup>55</sup> While this reaction was preparing, the English, igno-

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Her sum-  
mons to the  
English.

<sup>49</sup> See these detailed in Charm. i. 439—444. Villaret states them to have been six great bastilles or forts, placed against the principal avenues to Orleans, and communicated with sixty redoubts, of a smaller size.

<sup>50</sup> So L'Huilier, bourgeois d'Orléans, deposed. Charm. i p. 447.

<sup>51</sup> See it at length in Charm. vol. i. p. 448, taken from the MS. in the royal library.

<sup>52</sup> N. Sala, and Charm. i. 433.

<sup>53</sup> Dep. Dunois, p. 434.

<sup>54</sup> Chron. Charm. ii. p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> Chron. ib. Dep. Sim Beaucroix, & Dep. Pasquerel, ib. 4—6. The two greatest fighting men in France at this period, were Poton de Saintrailles and La-Hire. Few knights of romance so repeatedly distinguished themselves. Next to them, Dunois the bâtard d'Orléans, and the marshal St. Severe, appeared foremost in the military career. The co-existence of these four truly chivalric warriors, with Joan of Arc, contributed greatly to the results, which her spirit, example, and impulse mainly occasioned. La-Hire died at last in a good old age, worn out with heroic exertions. Monstrel. viii. p. 342.

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rant of what the next act in time's great drama was to be, were anticipating plunder, ransoms, and the grandest future successes. But we often mistake darkness for serenity; and are tempted by the radiant and peaceful night, to expect a morning of brilliancy and joy, when we wake only to storm, dreariness, or disease. The future frequently comes like a mysterious being, unlike all that has preceded, and as tremendous as impenetrable.

## CHAP. XIX.

*The Maiden raises the Siege of Orleans.*

WHEN they set out for Orleans, Joan desired them to cross the river at once, and to advance on the right bank of the Loire, on which the city stood. This was the advice of straight-forward common sense and inexperienced courage; but as it would bring them near the largest portion of the English army, and between two of their strongest forts, Dunois, the best judge of the expediency, condemned it as extravagant; and the chief officers, pretending to comply with her wishes, followed this governor's instructions, of proceeding on the other bank, by the road of Sologne.<sup>1</sup>

The two first nights, they rested in the fields; and the Maiden preferring to sleep in her armor, found herself indisposed from it. On the third day, they came in sight of Orleans, with their little fleet of supplies, to the only spot where the height of the river would admit of its unloading. This was so near one of the forts of the English, that she could distinguish their features. Dunois sent the ships that were to receive the relieving cargoes; but the wind setting down the river, it was found impossible for the vessels to get back to the city, against that and the stream; nor could they cross the river at that point, in sight and defiance of the English forces. No other plan remained, but to return and adopt her first suggestions, which all regretted they had disobeyed. She blamed them for deceiving her; and with high

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1429.  
27 April.

<sup>1</sup> Charm. vol. ii. p. 2.

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courage recommended an immediate attack on the English fortress, that most commanded this part of the river. This dangerous experiment was declined, and Dunois came to them in a boat to confer. It was determined that it was better for the troops to go back to the route she had advised at her outset; and for the vessels to get lower down, and wait a change of circumstances.<sup>2</sup> Altho it was the occurrence of the contrary wind, which had defeated Dunois's prudent scheme, yet this accidental failure, and the necessary preference of her first counsel, gave her an aspect of inspiration, which increased every confidence in her mission.

The troops were marched back to Blois, to pass the river by the bridge, and she was persuaded by Dunois to accompany him in his vessel, with La-Hire, and a few selected companions; while the change of the wind facilitated the introduction into the city of the provisioned vessels. A sally of the garrison was made to occupy the attention of the besiegers; and she sailed up the river to Checy, about six miles from the walls. Disembarking, and waiting there till the shades of evening made the movement less observable, she rode, with few attendants, unmolested because unnoticed, to the eastern gate of the city, which opened to receive her.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious, that Suffolk had taken no measures to blockade it by water, nor even to watch the stream with any precautionary force.

She enters  
Orleans,  
30 April,  
1429.

Orleans was beginning to suffer the hardships of famine when she entered it, an hour after sunset, in her armor, on a white horse, with her standard carried floating before her. The citizens of both sexes met her with their flaming torches, and with exulting

<sup>2</sup> Depos. Dunois, Pasquerel, De Contes, Beaucroix, and others; and the Chronique, vol. ii. p. 6—13.

<sup>3</sup> Depos. ib. Journal du Siège, 14—20.



shouts. One of them waving his light too near her banner, it caught fire. She spurred on her horse immediately, seized it, and extinguished the flames.<sup>4</sup> She went first to the principal church, to pay her devotions. The applauses of the multitude were answered by her, with sweet and gentle exhortations of confidence and hope. She was conducted to the house of the treasurer of the city. His wife joyfully received such a guest. She had been on horseback all day without dismounting or disarming, and without food. She took off her armor, and a splendid supper was provided for her; but pouring some water on a little wine in a silver cup, she contented herself with a few sippets of bread, which she dipped in it, and retired to an early rest with the wife and daughter of her host.<sup>5</sup>

She attended a military council the next day, but was opposed in her desire to act before the convoy had arrived. After sending heralds with menaces and defiance in the evening<sup>6</sup>, she went to a bulwark, so near the English station at the Tournelles, as to be heard from it, and summoned them to raise the siege, or to surrender. Glasdale, who was there, abused her coarsely. She replied, with an indignant declaration of their compulsory retreat; but that he should not live to witness it.<sup>7</sup> The English reviled and threatened to burn her; but a remark of Dunois shews, that their minds already began to be affected by her pretensions, for they kept more than usual within their forts, and when they came out, were easily driven back.<sup>8</sup> Her claims and prophecies had spread among both armies; and as both sides admitted

<sup>4</sup> Journal du Siège, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Chron. sans titre, p. 24. The Chevalier d'Aulon was appointed by the king to attend specially upon her. His deposition is given at length by Dufresnoy in his Histoire de la Pucelle, vol. i. p. 104—133, 2nd part, and will be cited from this work.

<sup>6</sup> Dep. and Chron. 29—32.

<sup>7</sup> Dep. De Contes. Journal, 40, 41.

<sup>8</sup> Dep. Dun. and L'Huillier, 41.

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alike angelic and satanic agency, she was equally formidable to their imaginations, whether Michael or Beelzebub assisted her.

These feelings may account for the easy passage of the convoy to the city. When Dunois went with some of his best warriors to meet it, Joan, with others, placed herself between the walls and the besiegers, to favor its movement.<sup>9</sup> Such was the effect of her appearance and activity, that when she presented herself at another of the English posts, and commanded them to return to England or to perish, her voice intimidated those whom no sword had hitherto subdued. Instead of attacking they insulted her, but kept within their lines<sup>10</sup>; as if dreading the power of some infernal witchcraft. When the relieving forces appeared, advancing to the city with a solemn pace, preceded by her banners, and by the priests of St. Blois chanting their hymns, the English looked on with the same awed inactivity, tho a rich booty tempted. None ventured to go out to combat Satan or his emissary. All the succors and supplies passed safely into the city.<sup>11</sup>

She retired to rest with her hostess, while her military conductor, D'Aulon, fatigued with the exertions of the day, laid himself on a little couch in the same chamber to sleep. But in the dead of the night, she started up, with a wild and loud cry that roused him. He inquired her wishes. "My adviser has told me, that I must attack the English,"<sup>12</sup> exclaimed the Maid, as if waking from a fearful dream.

<sup>9</sup> Dep. D'Aulon, Dufres. vol. i. p. 112, 113. She was very zealous to repress the oaths of the soldiery: and La-Hire, to oblige her, agreed in future, as he could not leave off the habit, which was then a general part of all colloquial eloquence, to swear only by his bâton. Dep. Seguin, 47.

<sup>10</sup> Journal du Siège, 43. She gave her orders with a great assumption of authority: she told Dunois, when he mentioned that the English expected reinforcements under Falstoffe, "As soon as you know of his coming, apprise me of it; for if he passes without my knowlege, I promise you that I will take off your head." Dep. D'Aul. 114.

<sup>11</sup> Dep. Pasq. 51, and D'Aulon, 113.

<sup>12</sup> Dep. D'Aulon, 114—115.

“Where are those that should arm me? The blood of our countrymen is running on the ground. Why was I not sooner awakened? They need help. My arms! bring me my armor! lead my horse hither!”<sup>13</sup> D’Aulon immediately rose, and armed her and himself. They heard a great clamor. She sprang into the street, and meeting her page, exclaimed to him, “Cruel boy! not to tell me that the blood of France was spilling!” she bade him bring her horse. It was soon before her. As she was mounting it, she remembered that she had left her banner in the room, and ordered him to fetch it. Too ardent to await his descent, she called to him to throw it to her from the window: he obeyed, and spurring her horse to a speed that struck fire from his feet, she reached the gate where the greatest uproar was raging.<sup>14</sup> These emotions resemble a sudden access of delirium; but they coincided with the surrounding circumstances, and were thought to be supernatural.

A part of the garrison, elevated by their enthusiasm, had devoted themselves, without the knowledge of the governor, to attack the English bastille St. Loup, that formed one of the most advanced posts of the siege. It had been strongly fortified, and supplied by Talbot with every munition of war. The French, in their impetuosity, had possessed themselves of the redoubt that covered it. But the English, recovering from their panic, drove them back, and pursued them to the city. Here Joan met them running in; and one wounded man being carried near her, she shrunk back, and said, “I have never seen a Frenchman’s blood without my hair rising up.” Recovering herself, she rushed forward with her standard flying, and went directly towards the English bastilles.<sup>15</sup>

Her first efforts.

<sup>13</sup> Dep. Pasq. Colette, and others, 56.

<sup>14</sup> Dep D’Aul. 115. De Contes the page, and Colette, 57, 58.

<sup>15</sup> Dep. of the Page, Pasq. and others, 60; and of D’Aulon, 116.

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The French rallied on seeing her. Dunois arrived with a reinforcement, and she assaulted the intrenchment with them. During three hours of fierce conflict, she displayed instinctively the talent of an experienced warrior, as well as the bravery of a young enthusiast. Talbot brought troops from his other strongholds, with their English courage reviving by exertion. The loudest bell of the city was twice sounded, to apprise the French of his approach. Six hundred and more enthusiastic fresh combatants, roused by the alarm, with the bravest chiefs issued to meet him; and the struggle at last ended towards evening in the capture of the English fort.<sup>16</sup> Joan passing over the field strewn with their bodies, regretted their having died without confession. She spared the lives of the prisoners who were taken, and who had put on ecclesiastical habits for their preservation. The captured fortress was rased, and its materials burnt.<sup>17</sup>

This signal success, the first triumph of the new-souled French, insured more. The limbs obey the spirit, and the spirit of the French was now raised to the most determined feats of heroic daring, by the most believing confidence of victory and of heavenly aid. As the next day was Ascension-day, she would neither fight nor arm herself, from respect to its solemnity. A military council was held in the city, where it was determined to make a feigned attack on the bastilles or forts, on the side of La Beausse; but to make a real assault, at a different point, on that of St. John, which commanded the passage of the Loire. This resolution was communicated to her. She advised the religious act of confession previous to the attempt; and to satisfy her own aversion to the shed-

<sup>16</sup> Several Depositions, and the Journ. and Chron. p. 62, 63. One hundred and forty English were killed, 40 taken prisoners, and 200 escaped by flight. Journ. du Siège, 63.

<sup>17</sup> Journ. Chron. 65

ding of blood, she tied another summons to the point of an arrow, and bid an archer shoot it among the English. She saw them stoop, and read it; but was only greeted with abuse as the strumpet of the Armagnacs. At this insulting word, she burst into tears, and appealed to Heaven to testify her innocence.<sup>18</sup>

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The next day they moved to the attack. From the extent of the English works for the defence of the fort, they could not reach it by land: and they embarked in different parties to meet on a small island in the river, and placed their boats to serve as bridges.<sup>19</sup>

Her next  
attack.

When they reached the fort St. John, they found it abandoned. Glasdale had evacuated it, to concentrate his forces in the stronger fortification of the Augustins, which adjoined it. Mistrusting some snare, and believing themselves to be incompetent to master the stronger work, they prepared to retreat; but while the main body retired, some of the bravest Frenchmen were ordered to remain behind, to keep the English from harassing them.<sup>20</sup>

Joan could not submit to this cautious recession; and as they were returning to the island, she crossed the stream with the brave La-Hire in a boat, and immediately mounted her horse on the other side, and advanced. The English were now rushing out to pursue. She and her companions couched their lances, and so vigorously attacked their opponents, that they retired into the fort.<sup>21</sup>

At this period, as her appointed conductor D'Aulon was with a Spaniard guarding the floating bridge, the point of retreat, a large and powerful knight rode by them, whose refusal to stop to assist them, so

She takes  
a fort.

<sup>18</sup> Dep. Pasq. 69, 70.

<sup>19</sup> Depos. D'Aulon, 117. This islet is not now visible in the Loire. Charm. ii. 73.

<sup>20</sup> Dep. D'Aul. 118. Chron. 75—77.

<sup>21</sup> Dep. D'Aul. 119. Chron. 78.

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roused the Spanish pride, that words arose; and the two disputants agreed to rush together upon the enemy, and prove which of them was the bravest. Spurring their steeds, they emulated each other till they had penetrated as far as the English palisades. A strong and sturdy knight of England there checked them. D'Aulon pointed him out to a cannoneer, and bid him fire; he did so, and the defender fell. The two rival knights then gained the passage, and all the rest seeing their entrance, rushed after to follow them. A furious battle ensued. The French party continued to pour to the spot. Joan distinguished herself by her courage and exertions, and to the surprise of all her friends, as evening fell they became masters of the place.<sup>22</sup> It was full of booty; but fearing, if they plundered it, that the English might rally, she commanded it to be set on fire.<sup>23</sup>

Pursuing their victory, they immediately besieged the next English fortification, the Tournelles; and the inhabitants of Orleans were busily occupied, during the night, in carrying bread, wine, and provisions in numerous boats, to their excited and now venturous countrymen. But so perilous did their bravery seem to the elder chiefs of the city, that they sent a knight to inform her, that being so inferior in number to the English army, they had resolved, as the city was now well supplied, not to sally again from it, but to wait the further succors of their king.<sup>24</sup>

It had been Joan's custom to fast strictly on the Friday; and she had taken no refreshment during this arduous exploit. It was with difficulty she had been persuaded to return to Orleans. "Shall we leave our friends in danger?" was her generous observation. But when she had yielded to their intreaties,

<sup>22</sup> Dep. D'Aul. 119—121. Journ. Chron. 82.

<sup>23</sup> Chron. 83.

<sup>24</sup> Dep. D'Aul. 122. Dep. Pasq. 85. Journal du Siège, 83.

and, after her repast, had received the message that the troops were not to pursue the meditated attack, she exclaimed, "You have held your council; but the will of my Lord shall be accomplished, while that of man will perish;" then turning to her chaplain, "Rise you at break of day, and earlier than this morning, for I shall have greater efforts to make." Then, as if foreseeing the arduous struggle that must ensue, and fixing her own resolution to incur every risk, she added, "that she should be wounded in the approaching conflict."<sup>25</sup>

A confusion of mind, and a dispiriting alarm, appeared now to increase among the English, who had been hitherto so invincible. They burnt, during the night, another of the bulwarks; and crossing the river, concentrated their forces in a more distant one; so that the Tournelles alone remained in their occupation, on the south of the city.<sup>26</sup>

The Maiden rose from an agitated sleep, and was heading the troops that chose to follow her. A peasant, at that moment, presented her with a fish, which she was desired to stay to eat. "Keep it till night," was her reply; "and I will bring you a Godon to partake of it, after I have taken the Tournelles."<sup>26</sup>

She found the gate of the city closed against her passage. The Lord of Gaucourt, the grand master of the king's household, had orders to stop her. She insisted on going out, and the populace so furiously echoed her wishes, that resistance was found vain; and at sun-rise, her enthusiastic followers rushed eagerly thro with her, and forced open another small outlet to follow her.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Dep. Pasq. 84—86; and others.

<sup>26</sup> Chron. 87.

<sup>27</sup> The witness Colette deposed, p. 88, that Godon was a nickname for the English, taken from their common exclamation of "G—damn it;" so that this vulgarity was a national characteristic in the reign of Henry VI.

<sup>28</sup> Dep. of the page who was present, and of Simon Charles, 89, 90. This is a very important point of the Maiden's history, as it proves that the turning success

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They crossed the river, and at ten o'clock began a general assault on the strongly defended fort, which from its numerous artillery was deemed impregnable. Cannon was used vigorously on both sides. Finding the affair inevitable, all the chiefs in the city joined. The knights sprang into the ditches, and fought hand to hand with the bravest English. These met them with their accustomed heroism. But the spirit of the French had now become as exalted, and as determined, as their own. Tho numbers fell in the onset, others still rushed on, "as if they had been immortal." The Maiden was every where. Her exertions, her skill, her courage, and the fatigue she endured, surprised all. At times she led; at times she rallied; at times she exhorted. "Have good heart and good hope," was her cry. "The hour is coming when the English will give way; all will yet be well." Finding, at last, that they began to despair, she seized a ladder; raised it vigorously; the first that had been tried; and placed it against the bulwark. At that moment an arrow whizzed near her, and fixed itself between her neck and shoulders. She fell instantly. A body of English rushed around her. She half raised herself, and still kept them off with her sword, till De Gamache, who had been her enemy in the council, seeing her danger, sprang on them with his battle-axe, and felled those who endangered her. He placed her on his horse. She was borne off, disarmed, and laid on the grass. The wound was found to be very deep. Her courage for a moment gave way; the woman

of the contest was wholly owing to her own energy. S. Charles had his account from Gaucourt; and stated, that Gaucourt kept the gate shut, and at the head of his troops declared that no one should pass. These words excited a general clamor against him. Joan advancing to him, and commanding the populace to silence, exclaimed, "You are a bad man; but whether you will or not, the men at arms shall go, and shall prevail to-day as they have already done." She then ordered the gate to be opened. The crowd rushed to execute her orders; and Gaucourt and his men found themselves so surrounded and endangered by the irritated populace, that they dared not oppose it. Gaucourt declared, that he was in fear of his own life. Dep. S. Charl. 90.



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dissolved the enthusiast and the heroine, and she burst into tears. But her ardent spirit soon conquered her apprehensions, and her delusive impressions returned. She said that her heavenly protectress, at that moment, appeared to her and consoled her. She plucked out the arrow herself, and as the blood profusely followed it, she told them, "It is my glory, not my blood, that is flowing from the wound." Some soldiers came to charm the evil. But she repelled them angrily, "I would rather die than do any thing that I know to be a sin, or contrary to the Divine will." She was asked, if she should die from it: "I must die some day; but I know not where, or when, or how. If any one can cure me without a crime, I wish to be relieved." A dressing of lard and olive oil was applied. She begged the crowd to fall back, and confessed herself with much emotion, as if expecting death.<sup>29</sup>

Her wound had spread consternation thro the French army, and their chiefs recommended them to return. They had fought unavailingly the whole day, and the dimness of evening was beginning. The trumpets sounded a retreat; the artillery was withdrawn; and the troops quitted the foot of the bulwark.<sup>30</sup>

Thus far the Maiden appeared to have urged the French against the opinion of their regular leaders, to an enterprise which was found, as had been foreseen, to be beyond their strength. But Joan heard these tidings with poignant anguish. She felt that if she failed now, her reputation and her cause would be extinguished. She implored Dunois to halt. "You shall soon enter it. Do not doubt it; when you see my banner floating on the walls, resume your arms.

<sup>29</sup> See the depositions and extracts from the Chronicle, collected by De Charmettes on these facts, ii. 91—98.

<sup>30</sup> Dep. Dunois, and Journal du Siège, 98, 99. Dep. D'Aul. 122, 123.

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It shall then be yours. But rest awhile now, and refresh yourselves.”<sup>31</sup>

They did so, and her own strength returned. She gave her banner to a soldier to hold, near the fort; and mounting her horse, prayed a quarter of an hour apart.<sup>32</sup> Their successful repulse of this assault recalled the English mind to its accustomed bravery.

D'Aulon, her appointed attendant, now from himself began a movement, which renewed the conflict, and led to its important issue. Observing that the bearer of her banner was fatigued, he ordered a stout Basque soldier to uphold it. It then occurred to him, that great disasters would follow their retreat, and the hope of taking the fortress would be abandoned. The flag suggested to him the idea, that if it were carried towards the enemy, the army would not forsake it. He resolved, without further counsel, to try the measure. He asked the soldier if he had the courage to follow him with it to the foot of the rampart. The man promised; and D'Aulon, covering himself with his target, to keep off stones, they both entered the ditch. The Maiden seeing her fondly cherished banner thus moving, and dreading its loss, hastened to the spot, and caught hold of it, exclaiming, “My standard! my standard!” She carried it onward. Roused by her voice, and by seeing her again at the fosse, all the French warriors, recruited by their rest, suddenly rallied, and flew to her succor.<sup>33</sup> Again the cannon and cross-bows were plied on both sides with new energies. The English used their lances, stones and battle-axes vehemently; and the struggle was renewed more fiercely than before.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Journ du Siège. Dep. of her page, 99.

<sup>32</sup> Dep. Dunois, 18.

<sup>33</sup> Dep. D'Aulon, 123, 124. D'Aulon said the Basque wrenched it from her, and brought it to him; but Dunois thought she carried it herself to the fosse, p. 100. These are probably not contradictions, but successive incidents. Joan no doubt followed it, and most likely then took it forward herself.

<sup>34</sup> Dep. Dun. Gauc. and Huilliers and Chron. p. 103, 104.

While the southern bulwark of the Tournelles was thus contended for, the citizens of Orleans attacked its northern rampart; but the arches, that led up to it from the river, were broken. Beams were brought hastily from the city, to make a temporary bridge. The commander of the knights of Rhodes led the attack. The spears crossed, the bucklers clashed; but the impetuosity of the assailants bore down all resistance, and they rushed upon the redoubt.<sup>35</sup>

Panic, hitherto resisted or forgotten, now unnerved the English mind. Their imaginations, dreading the supernatural, and looking out for it, saw saints and angels fighting for the French; as the Greeks beheld Mars and Venus in the Trojan ranks. Glasdale himself scarcely retained his firmness, when the Maiden rushed on the battlement with her standard crying out to him, "Surrender! surrender to the king of Heaven! You have called me strumpet, but I pity your soul, and your friends." He meditated a retreat into the main defence, with his host<sup>36</sup>; but the bridge on which they stood, that connected the outwork with the fortress, was at that moment struck by a cannon-ball, fired by D'Aulon's orders, which shivered it<sup>37</sup>; and all, including Glasdale and lord Moleyns, were precipitated into the mud and water below, where they sank and perished, from the weight of their armor.<sup>38</sup> Joan could not restrain her tears at their disaster.<sup>39</sup> It was irreparable; and the whole of the fortress became immediately her conquest. The loss of the English, in the capture of the three bastilles, in which no quarter seems to have been given, was from 7000 to 8000 drowned, killed, or prisoners.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Journ. du Siège. Chron. 106.

<sup>36</sup> Dep. Pasquerel, 108.

<sup>37</sup> Dep. S. Beaucroix, 108

<sup>38</sup> Walsingham mentions the death of Glasdale and lord Moleyns, by drowning, in his MS. history. MS. Sloane, 1776. This was a severe loss, says the French Journal of the siege, to the valiant French, because they lost the ransom of the drowned. p. 108.

<sup>39</sup> Dep. Pasq. 109.

<sup>40</sup> Charm. ii. 110; and Monstrelet.

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Suffolk, Talbot, and the best English generals, witnessed these reverses of fortunes; but either could not or did not make any movement to prevent them.<sup>41</sup> They seem to have trusted too much to the strength of the works, and to Glasdale's known resolution. That they made no relieving flank attacks on the assailants, remains an impeachment of their military judgment. They may have dreaded other sallies; but here was obviously a vital point of the whole siege in immediate peril.

Joan entered the city, gratulated by every heart and voice. The more improbable the prospect of the success had been, the greater was the admiration of its achievement. She had conquered the respect, the praise, and the gratitude of all. Every bell rang merrily, in triumph; the people rushed around her, and to the churches; and *Te Deums* were chanted at every altar. Retiring from the public transport, her wound was again dressed; and bread dipped in wine and water formed the repast that closed her triumphant day.<sup>42</sup>

It was indeed a day of triumph to her, for it was that which really accomplished her patriotic adventure. The capture of the *Tournelles* saved Orleans, and rescued France. The English commanders held a council during the night, and resolved to raise the siege; a decision which eventually proved to be an abandonment of the sovereignty of France. Before sun-rise, their troops were seen marching out of their tents and from the other bastilles, in two divisions: one spread to the west, under Talbot and Scales; the other northward, under Suffolk. They formed in order of battle; and the French, expecting a general attack, issued from the city to meet them. Joan, hearing of these movements, hastily put on a light

<sup>41</sup> Chron. 111.<sup>42</sup> Chron. Journ. Dep. Dunois, &c. 110—113.

military dress; and joining her friends, arranged them also for the conflict, but forbade them to attack. "It is the sacred sabbath, and if they choose to go away, it is the Divine will that they should be permitted to depart; but if they assail you, defend yourselves strong and hardily, and fear not, for you shall be their masters."<sup>43</sup>

She ordered an altar to be raised before the army, upon a table decorated with religious ornaments. She knelt humbly, and fell prostrate; and two masses were sung upon it. The English looked on, but did not stir. Such a novel incident increased their impressions of the supernatural. At the end of the second mass, Joan asked if the countenances of the English were still turned on the French? "They are looking towards Maine," was the answer. "They are retiring," she replied; "let them go, and let us thank God. We will not pursue them, as it is Sunday." Talbot marched in complete array, with standards flying, towards Maine and Baugence; and Suffolk towards Jargeau. Some of the French, however, could not be restrained by her orders; and following their rear, captured much of their artillery. It is obvious that Suffolk offered battle, and that Joan declined it. This repression of her ardor may have been the effect of her devotion, but no conduct could have been wiser. The population of Orleans rushed out on the abandoned works, feasted on their provisions, levelled the fortifications, and dragged their cannon and mortars into the city.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> See the Depos. and Chron. in Charm. ii. 114—116.

<sup>44</sup> Dep. of several; Chron. and Journ. Charm. ii. 115—119. The French seem to have been astonished at their own success. The citizens declared, that if the Maid had not come, they must have surrendered in a few days. The chief captains attributed the event to something more than human; and the duc de Alençon avowed the same feeling; and thought he could have defended two of the forts, the Tournelles and Augustins, against all the power of man, for at least six or seven days. Dep. D'Aulon, and others, Ch. ii. 124—126. The 8th of May was appointed

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A deliverance, wonderful in the opinion of every one, had now been achieved; and in the short space of eleven days from the time of Joan's departure from Blois; and with means that, according to human calculation, were inadequate to the attainment of a success so complete, so rapid, and so consequential. The siege had lasted seven months, with advantages that seemed to insure the capture of the city; when the events of five days, produced by a young peasant girl but eighteen, drove an army, that had never been conquered since Henry V. had entered France, from its endangered walls. It seemed a miracle; but it was the work of her persevering energy, her bravery, her skill, of the enthusiasm she had excited, and of some fortunate accidents to which we have alluded.<sup>45</sup>

That she was the agent of a superhuman power, was now the general conviction. It did not benefit the English to believe or to be taught that the devil was her supernatural friend; his imputed malignancy, and admitted power, only made his assumed adherents the more dreadful. Joan, therefore, became more terrible to the English camp, by the calumnies that were unwisely circulated to depreciate her. They could mock the Frenchmen, who declared that St. Michael assisted her; but they trembled at their own fancy, that the king of hell was her ally.<sup>46</sup>

for an annual festival at Orleans, in commemoration of the deliverance. *Ib.* 127. She gave them her hat of blue satin, edged with gold, which she had worn in the city. *Ib.* 132.

<sup>45</sup> The exploit of Joan was sung by Chapelain. His large poem, which had been eulogized for twenty years before its appearance, sank into irretrievable neglect afterwards, as Scuderi's rival and not superior Alaric emerged. They are two of the Blackmores of French epic poetry. One passage of Chapelain's *Pucelle* is amusing; he composes her of three beings, girl, man, and angel:—

La ciel pour la former fit un rare mélange,  
Des vertus d'une fille et d'un homme et d'un ange;  
D'où vient après au jour, cet astre des François,  
Qui ne fut pas un d'eux, et qui fut *tous les trois*.

<sup>46</sup> The Maiden has found a poet more worthy of her, in Mr. Southey, who has

Released from these dreams of superstition, we admit no superhuman agency for that which natural means were competent to produce. The deliverance of Orleans, however extraordinary, sudden, and unexpected, was but a splendid example of what heroic enthusiasm can achieve<sup>47</sup>; and an illustration of the

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devoted to her his first, and one of his best heroic poems. In two passages he expresses so interestingly his conceptions of her peculiar feelings, that the reader may thank me for transcribing them. The first is—

From that night I could feel my burthen'd soul  
Heaving beneath incumbent Deity.  
I sate in silence, musing on the days  
To come, unheeding and unseeing all  
Around me, in that dreaminess of thought  
When every bodily sense is as it slept,  
And mind alone is wakeful : I have heard  
Strange voices in the evening wind ; — strange forms,  
Dimly discover'd, thron'd the twilight air.  
The neighbours wonder'd at the sudden change,  
And called me crazed ; and my dear uncle too  
Would sit and gaze upon me wistfully,  
A heaviness upon his aged brow,  
And in his eye such trouble, that my heart  
Sometimes misgave me. I had told him all  
The mighty future laboring in my breast,  
But that the hour, methought, not yet was come.

Joan of Arc, vol. i. p. 25.

The other effusion is in a grander style of fancy :—

A blessed spot ! oh, how my soul enjoy'd  
Its holy quietness ! with what delight,  
Escaping from mankind, I hasten'd there  
To solitude and freedom ! Thitherward  
On a spring eve I had betaken me,  
And there I sate, and mark'd the deep red clouds  
Gather before the wind—the rising wind,  
Whose sudden gusts, each wilder than the last,  
Appear'd to rock my senses. Soon the night  
Darken'd around, and the large rain drops fell  
Heavy ; anon tempestuously the gale  
Howl'd o'er the wood. Methought the heavy rain  
Fell with a grateful coolness on my head,  
And the hoarse dash of waters, and the rush  
Of winds that mingled with the forest roar,  
Made a wild music. On a rock I sat,  
The glory of the tempest fill'd my soul ;  
And when the thunders pealed, and the long flash  
Hung durable in heaven, and on my sight  
Spread the grey forest, memory, thought, were gone,  
All sense of self annihilate, I seem'd  
Diffused into the scene.—Ibid. p. 20.

<sup>47</sup> I remember hearing the late marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords,

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great results producible in war, by attacking single points with masses of concentered force. The military judgment of the day, on her own side, opposed, and on the English, ridiculed her measures; but her determination impetuously pursuing them, all the valor, skill, and troops in Orleans were drawn into her course; and each of the forts was attacked successively, by the whole of this combining energy and strength; and each had to resist the general torrent, by merely its own defensive powers. It was the application of this principle, which gave to Napoleon his first successes in Italy, which for awhile resembled something more than human, when army after army of the Austrians was annihilated by his attacks. The novelty of such efforts insures their success. Suffolk, fearing simultaneous assaults on other points, and doubtful if this was the real or the feigned one, and not then aware of the now acknowledged principle, that no fortress can be made impregnable against an adequate assailing force, and relying on the strength of his bulwarks, did not call together his troops from his surrounding works, and meet the French masses with his own that must have overpowered them. But thro the whole campaign, Suffolk displayed himself inferior in talent to the lamented Salisbury. If that nobleman had not fallen, the Maiden might have failed; for tho Talbot was so famed as to be a French scarecrow for his bravery, yet it was rather as a valiant Paladin than as a skilful general: while Joan, without pretending to be so, and without knowing it, from the instinctive sagacity of great natural genius, from her happy ignorance of all technical rules, from her soul of fire, her absorb-

mention that he had once asked the celebrated duke of Brunswick, If he would rather command an army of disciplined troops, or of enthusiasts?—"Of enthusiasts, most unquestionably," was the answer.



ing enthusiasm, and that virtual irresponsibility which hesitated at no difficulties, appeared in her actions as superior to them all. If we pass beyond these considerations, to the providential dispositions of human events, we must be careful to make the important distinction between an instrument used, and an agent commissioned.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> M. Dufresnoy discusses six different systems, that have been given to explain the phenomenon of the Maiden: 1, magic; 2, a divine mission; 3, intrigue of Baudricourt; 4, politics of the court; 5, a denial of all the facts; 6, a strong persuasion of success. Vol. ii. p. 201—217.

## CHAP. XX.

*Her further Military Exploits, and Capture.*

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THE retreat of the English from Orleans was followed by a succession of greater reverses; but at first it was with some difficulty, that the Maid prevailed on the king to pursue vigorously the success that had been obtained. All that she counselled, was against the military judgment of her countrymen. Her enthusiasm, or her genius, gave a new and bolder wing to the tactics of war, which taught future commanders to dare as well as calculate. Charles hesitated; and it was thought wiser to begin, by reconquering Normandy<sup>1</sup>; but she insisted that he should advance to Rheims to be crowned. Her energy and popularity, which amounted almost to an adoration, prevailed.<sup>2</sup> An army was raised under the duc d'Alençon, to accomplish her wishes, which marched towards Jargeau.<sup>3</sup> The earl of Suffolk defended it

<sup>1</sup> Dep. Dunois, Ch. ii. 147.

<sup>2</sup> We may perceive how she was estimated at the time by her friends, in the discourse which Gerson, one of the best and most intelligent doctors of the Parisian university, published six days after she had raised the siege of Orleans. In this he says, "She seeks neither honors nor worldly men. She abhors hatreds, seditions, and vanities. She lives in the spirit of mildness and prayer, in sanctity and justice. She employs no means of success, which the Church forbids; no surprise; no deceit: and she has no hope of any pecuniary advantage. She is sound in her belief; and exposes her body to wounds, without any extraordinary precaution to secure it. She has not been employed, till all proper inquiries and examinations have been made. The warriors obey her willingly, and expose themselves, under her orders, to all the dangers of war; yet all following the rules of prudence and of the military art." Charm. ii. 142, 143. M. Averdý, Notices des MSS. iii. p. 110, 111.

<sup>3</sup> Dep. D'Alenç. Ch. ii. 164. On the 8th June 1429, Guy the Seigneur de Laval thus describes her, in a letter to his mother:—"She treated my brother and me very handsomely. She was entirely armed, excepting her head, and she had a lance in her hand. After we reached Selles, I went into her house to see her. She ordered some wine, and told me she would soon give me some to drink at Paris. There seemed something Divine in her actions, and in seeing and hearing her. She went to-day, after hearing vespers, to Roromantin, the marshal and a great number of

with a superior garrison. The flower of the French chivalry was with Joan. She directed the artillery, with a correctness of eye and judgment that produced powerful effects, and after many skirmishes, an assault was resolved upon. At the sound of the trumpet to prepare, she put on her helmet, and bade the duke to follow her. He told her, it was not yet time. "It is time," she answered, "when it pleases God. It is time to act when He wishes us to act, and when He is acting Himself." Seeing him still hesitate, she added, "Ah, gentle duke! are you afraid? Did I not promise your wife to bring you back sound and safe?"<sup>4</sup>

She advanced herself immediately to the breach, and was eagerly followed. A terrible conflict succeeded. Joan was seen mounting the ladder in the most perilous part. Arrows and stones were thrown at her innumerable. A large mass was hurled, which struck down her standard, and glancing her helmet, felled her upon her knees. The English shouted in triumph. She sprang up with indignant ardor:—"French! French! up! up! take courage! our Lord has condemned them. Even now they are ours." Roused by her voice and danger, a new spirit animated the assailants. They poured to her assistance. The garrison was overwhelmed, and the place was taken.<sup>5</sup>

Her capture of Jargeau, 14 June,

The duke of Bedford wrote, with alarming earnestness, to the English administration, on these disasters.<sup>6</sup> But the cardinal Beaufort divided their councils, and

armed men with her. I saw her trying to mount a large black horse; she was in white armor, except her head, with a little battle-axe in her hand. The steed was restive, and would not let her get on him. She called for the cross from a church near her, and then she mounted, and in a feminine voice bade the priests go in procession. She returned, handling her little battle-axe, and with a pretty page displaying her standard. Her brother was with her, armed also in white." *Lettre du Guy Sire de Laval. Mém. Fr. vol. vii. p. 215—218. and Ch. ii. 155—163.*

<sup>4</sup> The duke had the candor to state this himself. *Dep. Ch. ii. 174.*

<sup>5</sup> *Dep. Chron. Hist. Ch. ii. 174—177.*

<sup>6</sup> *Rym. Fed. vol. x. p. 408.* In this document she is styled, "The feende, called

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the war in France began to lose its popularity. Too many discordant interests were now springing up among the nobles and people of England, to admit of a concentrated exertion against a distant enemy. No efforts, as great as the occasion demanded, were made; only a succession of inadequate reinforcements were sent, which were sufficient to protract, but not to prevent the final disaster.

Meun and  
Baugency.

The progress of the Maiden continued victoriously. The bridge of Meun, on the 15th of June, was forced, tho defended by Lord Scales<sup>7</sup>; and Baugency was taken on the 28th of June, while Talbot had left it, to get more powerful means of defending it.<sup>8</sup> He collected afterwards, with Scales and Falstoff, a body of 4000 Englishmen, and with these Joan ventured to fight her first pitched battle. It was her own battle; for when the English were found to be advancing, the duc d'Alençon asked her what was to be done. "Have you good spurs?" she exclaimed, with a loud sonorous voice. "What, then, are we to fly back?" was the reply. "No; it is the English that will be conquered: but you will need your spurs to ride well after them." By her orders, the French were placed in battle array. La-Hire was with them. "Strike hardily," she said to the chiefs; "they will not be long before they give way."<sup>9</sup>

Her confidence became theirs. The English lost their courage in their superstition. At the sight of her banner moving towards them, they fled. The presence of Satan could not have had more effect, than their firm belief of his auxiliary agency. They were pursued to Meun. Talbot attempted to rally them, but in vain; and Falstoff thought it best to

the Pucelle, that used fals enchantment and sorcerie." The Journal of a bourgeois of Paris calls her "a creature in the form of a woman." Ch. ii. 421.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. ii. 188.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. 190—204.

<sup>9</sup> Dep. Dunois and others, Ch. ii. 205, 206.

retreat till they could obtain effectual succors.<sup>10</sup> On his retiring, a feeble combat took place, ending in a disgraceful flight, which is called the battle of Patay. Talbot himself was taken prisoner, with Lord Scales. It was the first field battle that the French had gained in the last eight years. Their victory was the more important to them, as the English numbers were nearly equal to their opponents.<sup>11</sup> It is clear that Joan's military talent had become as great as her enthusiasm. She had the tact of discerning always the fittest movement, and of inspiring the requisite courage. Her judgment directed her spirit, and her spirit never failed her judgment. The coincidence was deemed inspiration, tho whenever it occurs, with adequate authority aiding, it always works wonders.

This defeat alarmed the duke of Bedford for the safety of Paris. Applications were again made by him to Burgundy and England, for succors; and one important fact ensued, which shews the extensive consequences that often result from events which seem to be unconnected with them. The little English army that cardinal Beaufort had raised for a crusade against the reformers of Bohemia, was diverted from that cruel object to assist the English interests in France.<sup>12</sup>

Talbot was conducted to the French sovereign, and at the generous request of the heroic Saintrailles, whose followers had made him prisoner, he was liberated without a ransom.<sup>13</sup> New troops, excited by the late successes, flocked on all sides to the army which the Maiden accompanied; and measures were

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Battle of  
Patay.

<sup>10</sup> Monstrelet, Ch. ii. 219.

<sup>11</sup> The greffier of the French parliament thus entered it on the registers: "Les ennemis estans en presque pareil nombre." Ch. ii. 223.

<sup>12</sup> The engagement with the cardinal for this altered destination of this force, was made so soon after Joan's successes as the 1st July 1429. Rym. Fœd. vol. x. p. 424—426.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. ii. 243. Talbot had the satisfaction afterwards of making Saintrailles his prisoner, and of giving him liberty with the same disinterestedness and generosity. Ibid. p. 244.

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prepared to extend its successes to the conquest of Rheims. At that time this city, and all the cities and fortresses of Picardy, Champagne, the Isle of France, Briè, Gartmois, L'Auxerrois, and Burgundy, and all the country between the Loire and the ocean, were in the occupation, or at the command, of the English.<sup>14</sup>

Charles  
marches,  
29 June  
1429 ;

On the 29th of June, Charles began the expedition that was to seat him securely on his throne. His bravest nobles and knights, with the Maiden, accompanied him. Twelve thousand soldiers formed his army. The deputies of Auxerre met it with the solicitation of a neutrality, which was granted. Troyes resisted, till the wants of the besiegers became so great, that a large part of their army were some days without bread.<sup>15</sup> It was deliberated, whether they should not retreat from it, when Joan assured them, that if they would seriously attack it, she would introduce them into it in three days.

She took her standard, mounted her horse, assembled the troops, and made them place their tents on the brink of the ditches. She ordered the fascines to be prepared ; all classes were immediately set to work to bring faggots, doors, tables, windows, and rafters, for the purpose ; and she passed the night with unwearied activity, in doing as much as two or three of the most experienced veterans could have accomplished.<sup>16</sup>

These preparations spread a panic thro the city. As the day opened, the trumpet sounded, at her order, for the assault. The fascines were thrown into the ditches, and the troops were about to rush on, when the cry of capitulation became universal among the citizens, and the place was surrendered.<sup>17</sup>

Troyes and Chalons submitted as Charles approached it. As

<sup>14</sup> Chron. sans titre, Ch. ii. 256.

<sup>16</sup> Various Dep. Ch. ii. 274, 275.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. ii. 267.

<sup>17</sup> Ch. ii. 276, 277.

their march led them near her native village, many of her old neighbors came to see her. To one of their questions, whether she was not afraid of meeting death in so many battles, she answered in these remarkable words; "I fear only treason."<sup>18</sup> An affecting observation; as it leads us to infer, that her penetrating mind had already discerned some indications of its occurrence.

Charles continued his march to Rheims, yet doubting to the last of its successful termination. As they approached it, he said, they had neither cannons nor machines. "Mistrust not," she replied; "advance boldly; fear nothing. Act but the man, and you will obtain your kingdom. The inhabitants will even come out to offer you submission."<sup>19</sup> He reached the castle of Sept-Sault, about twelve miles from Rheims, and there rested his army. Her superior mind, fearless from its enthusiasm, and become sagaciously venturous from its successes, multiplied their number by not ceasing to pursue them. Pause and hesitation would have dissolved the charm, which she had fixed on the minds both of her friends and enemies.

Consternation at these movements in the mean time agitated Paris. Suspicion succeeding alarm, the magistrates were changed. An activity, which was rather bustle than vigor, ensued. Public addresses were made, to rouse the vindictive feelings of the populace against Charles. The regent collected all his garrisons out of Normandy, and applied to England for new reinforcements. Burgundy assured him of his continual alliance, but retired into Artois; and the duke of Bedford, leaving the command of Paris to one of his officers, proceeded, not to meet and encounter his royal competitor, not to prevent

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Chalons  
surrender,  
9 July;

<sup>18</sup> Dep. Conrad. 289.

<sup>19</sup> Dep. Simon Charles, 301

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his advance to Rheims; but with a receding and disheartening movement, towards Normandy and Picardy<sup>20</sup>, either to preserve them, or to insure a retreat.

As Charles advanced to Rheims, its inhabitants consulted with the English commander on his abilities to defend them. His unsatisfactory answer, joined with their natural inclinations, decided them to invite the descendant of their ancient line into their city; and on the evening of the eighteenth day of his expedition, Charles entered, with great solemnity, the venerated scene of the coronation of the kings of France.<sup>21</sup>

Enters  
Rheims,  
16 July  
1429;

Joan had then the felicity of accomplishing the great project of her enthusiasm and of her patriotism. The day after his arrival, he was consecrated and crowned. Joan knelt, and embraced his legs with a flood of tears, the tribute of her sensibility and joy; and a new accession of warriors hastened to congratulate Charles, and to assist in producing his final triumphs.<sup>22</sup>

is crowned  
there,  
17 July.

The Maiden might have now retired, with glory, to a private and much-honored life. Reason, and perhaps virtue, would have thus counselled her. It is intimated that she wished it; but the evidence is not satisfactory. If she had actually resolved upon it, her firmness would have executed her intention. Her soul was, in truth, too great for a private station, and had been too much excited, to be contented with the gentle flow of ordinary life. She preferred the storms of grandeur, and she surrendered herself to the chances of its evils. Fond of activity, and anxious to leave nothing undone that seemed practicable, she wrote to the Duke of Burgundy, assuring him, that he would gain nothing by further hostilities, and be-

<sup>20</sup> Ch. ii. 291—301.

<sup>21</sup> Ib. 302—305.

<sup>22</sup> Ib. 307, and 317. He describes the ceremony, 310—318.



seeing him to war with her friends no more.<sup>23</sup> Her father joined her at Rheims, perhaps the happiest spirit of all its brilliant and exulting crowds.<sup>24</sup>

The king of France now summoned Soissons and Laon, and they surrendered. He proceeded to Châteauneuf Thierry and Provins, while the duke of Bedford, uniting his forces at Melun, marched along the Seine to Montereau, as if to act in his enemy's rear. From thence he sent a herald to Charles, with a letter of defiance.<sup>25</sup> But Charles advanced steadily towards Paris. Bedford hastened thither; but the French army obtained the command and the use of all the adjacent country.

The two armies could not long delay the mutually desired and expected battle. Talbot and Suffolk had joined Bedford, and the bravest warriors on each side collected in the field of conflict; but the English had entrenched themselves with a skill that made their position too dangerous to be attacked. The French dared them to come out to the open plain; and as Bedford would risk nothing, only partial, tho fierce, skirmishes ensued. The loss in these was equal; and the next day both armies fell back, without having gained any decisive advantage to either.<sup>26</sup>

The French now penetrated into Normandy with their flying parties, and pressed earnestly their negotiations with the duke of Burgundy, to separate him from the English alliance. Bedford quitted Paris, to defend the Norman provinces. Charles moved victoriously over other districts, and again advanced upon Paris. He reached St. Denis, and performed

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Bedford  
challenges  
Chas. VII.  
7 Aug.

Meeting of  
the two  
armies.

Charles'  
advances  
to Paris,  
25 Aug.

<sup>23</sup> See the letter in Ch. ii. 308.

<sup>24</sup> The archives of Rheims preserved an account of the sums paid him for his expenses there, during the king's coronation; they were 24 Parisian livres. Ch ii. 322. Charles went afterwards to the bourg de Corbeny, *to get the virtue of touching for the evil.* p. 323.

<sup>25</sup> Monstrelet, vol. vi. p. 287—291. In this letter he calls Joan "a woman of a disorderly and infamous life, and dissolute manners, dressed in the clothes of a man." p. 288. It is dated 7 August 1429.

<sup>26</sup> Ch. ii. 356—375.

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compelled  
to retire.

his devotions on the tomb of this saint, which the superstition of the day regarded as the palladium of France.<sup>27</sup> About this time, Joan broke her mysterious sword in the plebeian act of striking a loose woman and her companions with its flat side.<sup>28</sup> In the fancies of that age, it was deemed ominous of some disaster; and she bitterly regretted both the loss and the weakness in yielding to the angry excitation that occasioned it. Paris resolved to resist the French king, and the royal army zealously attacked it. Joan again distinguished herself, and was severely wounded. The assault was unsuccessful. It was the first enterprise she had failed to accomplish; and, the 12th of September 1429, Charles returned to the Loire. The disaster greatly disconcerted her, and diminished her reputation; yet some thought, if the attack had been sufficiently persevered in, it would have succeeded.<sup>29</sup>

Bedford had hastened to Paris, as soon as he heard of its being menaced. He arrived as Charles withdrew. His troops plundered St. Denis, but were repulsed at Lagny-sur-Marne.<sup>30</sup>

The event of the warfare now rested principally on the conduct of the duke of Burgundy. He began a change of policy, by several truces; but flattering propositions from Bedford kept him a little longer on the English side, and he joined the regent at Paris at the end of September. It was there discussed or arranged, that Burgundy should be the regent of France, and Bedford the governor of Normandy. It is at least certain, that the government of Paris was committed to Burgundy<sup>31</sup>; and he obtained from Charles a suspension of arms in favor of the capital and its vicinity.

<sup>27</sup> Ch. ii. p. 397.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* p. 403—428.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* iii. p. 21, 22.

<sup>28</sup> Dep. D'Alenc. Ch. ii. p. 399.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 11.

Various skirmishes, and attacks and defences, followed, but without deciding consequences. In December, Charles presented the Maid of Orleans with letters of nobility<sup>32</sup>, and directed her to wear its splendid garments.<sup>33</sup> Her manners continued to display the same pious, modest, temperate, and compassionate character, which she had always sustained. Greatness and fame diminished none of her virtues. Her military talents are strongly attested in several depositions.<sup>34</sup> She appears to have been one of those self-taught geniuses who are formed to excel in war, and become, when opportunity presents the avenue, the great commanders of their day. She obviously loved heroic deeds and military celebrity. It is her higher praise, that she added to warfare a probity and a humanity with which it had then been very rarely accompanied.<sup>35</sup>

But the history of her extraordinary triumphs drew near its close. She had saved her country; she was now to perish, that her mental delusions might not be a permanent and popular superstition. She went from Bourges with the seigneur d'Albret, to St. Pierre le Monstra, and took it by assault. She failed before Charité-sur-Loire. Impressions of approaching evils began to affect her spirits. She prayed that she might not be taken in battle alive. She believed that she received celestial intimations of the misfortunes that were to befall her. She withdrew herself from the military councils, contenting herself with implicitly obeying the dictates of others; and she awaited the issue with all the resignation of visible despondence.<sup>36</sup>

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The  
Maiden is  
ennobled.

<sup>32</sup> See in Charm. vol. iii. p. 47.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p. 55.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p. 63, 64.

<sup>35</sup> She declared, that in all her expeditions she had never killed any one. One of her natural answers to the questions of her judges shows the popular feeling towards her. "Many people came of their own accord to see me; and if they kissed my hands and my clothes, I could not help it. The poor people came to me of their own will, because I never did them any harm, and assisted them as far as was in my power." Ch. iii. 376.

<sup>36</sup> Ch. iii. 98.

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To counteract the effect of the coronation of Charles at Rheims, Henry VI. was brought to Paris in April 1430, and was crowned king of France; another public instance that the most valued objects of human grandeur are sometimes nearest their final departure, at the very period when they seem to be most completely attained. New efforts were made to re-inforce the English army from the parent island; but the excursions of the troops of Charles repeatedly shook Paris with inquietude and distress.

May  
1430.  
Her last  
victory at  
Lagny.

The Maiden now obtained her last success. She defeated, with considerable difficulty, and after great personal exertions, a body of English or Burgundians, near Lagny. The duke of Burgundy advanced from Noyen, and besieged Choisi, near Compeigne. Joan made an unsuccessful effort to relieve Choisi, and retired to Compeigne. Many of the French chieftains, from want of provisions, had left the army she accompanied, and withdrawn to the Loire. Choisi surrendered, and the allies, proceeding to besiege Compeigne, she threw herself, with heroic imprudence, into the place, and resolved to defend it against the Burgundians, who were now joined by 1500 English, under the earls of Huntingdon, Arundel, and Suffolk.

23 May  
1430.

She attempted a sally with 600 men, so late as five o'clock in the afternoon. She was dressed, with a conspicuous singularity, in a purple silk or velvet tunic, broidered with gold and silver, which covered her armor. Her steed, neither a war-horse nor a palfrey, assisted to distinguish her. Three times she charged her numerous enemies, but they rallied and repulsed her. The French retreated, and were pursued. The Maiden followed behind them, frequently turning round to check the pursuit. The English made an advance between them and the city, to intercept their entrance. This movement excited a

general panic, and all fled confusedly towards the gates. The bells of the city now sounded an alarm at the danger of the Maid. The Burgundians charged furiously on the body she headed. She was soon left alone, holding her standard firmly in one hand, while with her sword in the other, she beat off her assailants. Her steady valor enabled her to reach even the foot of the city bridge; but there, hindered from passing it by the crowds that thronged it, or by the sudden shutting of the barriers, she was, in the terror and confusion of the moment, left to the mercy of her foes. She cut a passage thro them, and attempted to gain the fields towards Picardy; but a soldier following, seized her tunic, and pulled her from her horse. She was soon overpowered and taken by her exulting adversaries. The news of her captivity was eagerly circulated. The Parisians made their bonfires, and sang their *Te Deums* of rejoicing; and dismay, for a short interval, startled the friends of the French king, who valued Joan<sup>37</sup>; yet, as her fame was becoming inconvenient for political gratitude, and her aid was no longer essential to the public safety, the court felt relieved from a debt which they could never pay; and those whom she eclipsed, emerged out of their shade and inferiority, on her downfall.

<sup>37</sup> Char. iii.127—133. Her own account of her capture was, "I entered Compeigne at a secret hour of the morning, without my enemies knowing of it; and I made the same evening the sally in which I was taken. My voices at Easter had told me, I should be taken before Midsummer. They repeated this almost every day. I begged that I might then die soon, without being long in prison. I asked to know the time of my being captive. They would not tell me. If I had known it, I would not have gone there. In the sally, I passed over the bridge and bulwark, and twice drove back the Luxembourg troops to their quarters, and the third time, half way. The English then intercepted my party. They fled, and I withdrew into the fields, towards Picardy, and was taken near the bulwark. I was on horseback. I asked nothing of my king but good arms, good horses, and money to pay my household; and I have only 10 or 12,000" — the word, whether *livres* or *escus*, is here wanting. Her answers on 10 March 1431, *Ibid.* p. 390—395.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Her Examinations, Trial, and Death.*BOOK  
II.REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.1430.  
Her at-  
tempts to  
escape.

THE vicar-general of the inquisitor of faith in France, friar Martin, claimed, from the authority committed to him by the Pope, the unfortunate prisoner, that she might be proceeded against as a vehemently suspected heretic.<sup>1</sup> But the Burgundians sent her to the castle of Beaulieu. She attempted to escape, by forcing her slender body between two pieces of wood, thro which she had made an opening; and was locking her guards in the tower from which she meant to reach the fields, when the porter by chance came near her. He raised an alarm, and compelled her to re-enter her prison. She was removed to Beauvoir, by John of Luxembourg, the duke of Burgundy's kinsman, where his wife and her sister treated her with a kindness that announced a noble sensibility; yet she was kept in the donjon, tho not chained, four months. She declined the ladies' offer of female garments.<sup>2</sup>

The university of Paris disgraced itself by urging her trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal, as one suspected of magic and witchcraft; and that she should be delivered up to the bishop of Beauvais and the inquisitors.<sup>3</sup> The bishop also required her to be given up to the church; and, as she was taken in his diocese, that he should be her judge; and that pecu-

<sup>1</sup> See his letter, Charm. iii. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Monstrel. vol. vi. p. 348. Her answers, Ch. iii. 384. and 370.

<sup>3</sup> See their letters, Ch. iii. 150, 151. This prelate "qui hassoit mortellement le parti François, parceque Charles VII. retenait ses revenus; et la pucelle, parcequ'il la regardoit comme la première cause de son bannissement, se pretendit juge naturel de la pucelle, qui avoit été arrêtée dans le territoire de son diocese." Ibid. 148.

niary remunerations should be given to her captors, that she might not be considered a prisoner of war<sup>4</sup>: an abominable subtlety, to procure her murder. The payment of the money was to ransom her from captivity, that she might then be seized by the cruel emissaries of the papal church.

It was October before these sanguinary negotiations took effect. But Joan's mind, obeying the impulses of nature, and forgetting her sacred pretensions, had become so alarmed at the reports which reached her, that she attempted to liberate herself, by a desperate leap from the top of the lofty tower in which she was confined. She fell senseless at the foot of the rampart, but was not killed. She was taken up nearly lifeless, and carried back to her prison. For two or three days she neither eat nor drank, but gradually recovered to be taken to Arras, and from thence to Crotoy.<sup>5</sup>

In the meantime Compeigne, after a valorous resistance of six months, in which the abbot of St. Faro distinguished himself by his sword, was about to surrender, when a vigorous effort, under Saintrailles, was made to relieve it, and succeeded. The besiegers were compelled to abandon their attempt; and this disappointment was followed by a severe defeat, which the English and Burgundians sustained in December.<sup>6</sup> These victories of the French contributed to insure their independence; but filled the minds

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<sup>4</sup> L'Averdy Notice des MSS. vol. iii. and Char. iii. 153 — 155. Monstrelet charges her with having caused Franquet d'Arras, whom she had taken in battle, to be beheaded, vol. vi. p. 343. When she was questioned on this act, she answered, "I consented to his being put to death, if he deserved it, because he confessed that he was a murderer, a robber, and a traitor. His process lasted 15 days. I desired him to be exchanged for a person at Paris: but when I found that this person was dead, and the bailiff of Senlis told me that I should do a great offence to justice to deliver Franquet, I said, Do to him, then, as you ought in justice to do. Ch. iii. 425, 426. This deed presses most on the Maiden's memory. He was a prisoner of war, as she was, and she directed or permitted him to be put to death!

<sup>5</sup> Charm. iii. 160—163. The castle of Crotoy is now destroyed, and sands, from the mouth of the Somme, have long covered its foundations. Ibid. 163.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 165—175.

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of her opponents with an exasperation, which fell heavily on the poor Maiden, who had begun these unexpected reverses.

The English government now degraded itself by commanding her legal prosecution. Yet not on that alone, must the shame of this cruel measure descend. The English soldiery, smarting under their disappointments and disasters, hated her cordially, and wished her death. The absurd conviction which pervaded their party, that she was the agent of devils, and had wrought her great achievements by their instrumentality, whose effects could only end with her life, hardened every heart against her; and they expected no military success till she was destroyed.<sup>7</sup>

She is  
taken to  
Rouen.

She was carried to the prison of the great tower at Rouen; her feet and legs were fettered to a strong chain, which traversed the end of her bed, and was locked to a large piece of wood, five feet long. Another chain was fastened around the middle of her thin and spare body, so that she could not move from her place. A cage of iron was sworn to have been made for her, in which she was fastened by the neck, feet, and hands, from the time of her arrival at Rouen, to the first day of her trial.<sup>8</sup> Three Englishmen passed the night in her chamber, and two more watched on the outside. It is with pain we remark, that they behaved to her with great brutality; but the imputation of witchcraft had made her an outcast from human nature.

Her trial  
and sen-  
tence,  
January  
1431.

The bishop of Beauvais, and the deputy of the grand inquisitor, consulted on the form of the process; and what was called her trial, was arranged according to the forms of the inquisition, in the following January, and actually began in the next month. These men seem to have been her presiding

<sup>7</sup> Several Depositions, Ch. iii. 177, 178.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. iii. 182. Dep. Ch. iv. 148.



judges.<sup>9</sup> Depositions were taken as to the circumstances of her life and actions. Her person was examined by the duchess of Bedford, and some matrons; and she was fifteen times brought before her judges, and very minutely interrogated, between the 21st of February and the 17th of March. But the event depended neither on her answers, nor on the evidence. Her answers clearly shewed that she had been guilty of no crime, but patriotism and enthusiasm, mingled with impressions, which her personal manner and countenance must have satisfied her examiners were mental hallucinations, not impious impostures. The unprejudiced and the humane would have admired and pitied her; but policy and bigotry condemned her; and to a cruel death. The English bravery was seduced from its habitual generosity by the mistaken hope, that her disgraceful execution would destroy the talisman which had reversed their successes; and it stooped to avail itself of the credulity, trick, injustice, and cruel prejudice, which doomed a prisoner of war to be burnt for sorcery and witchcraft. The name of England was too much implicated in this foul transaction, to be now cleared from inciting and enforcing it. But our present feelings of regret and resentment at the misconduct of our ancestors, are evidences that our hearts are uncorrupted, and our national character unchanged. Yet such incidents cannot but make us feel with awe, alarm, and self-distrust, that the most reputable individuals may countenance actions the most unworthy, without being sensible, at the time, either of the crime or the disgrace. What can protect us from such delusions, when passion or self-interest tempts, but a steady conviction, that no motive can justify a wrong action at any time, under any circumstances, or for any end.

<sup>9</sup> See the list of all the members and officers of the tribunal, in Char. iil. 232—240.

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HENRY VI.1431.  
Efforts to  
make her  
abjure.

The sequel is painful to read and narrate. She became ill, and the earl of Warwick sent physicians to her, with this injunction: "The king would not have her by any means die a natural death. He has bought her dear, and is desirous that she should die by justice, and be burnt. Visit her, therefore, and cure her." They found her in a fever and told him they must bleed her. "Beware of that," the earl replied; "she is cunning, and may kill herself."<sup>10</sup> She recovered. Her sentence was read to her. She refused to lay aside her male attire, except to take the sacrament.<sup>11</sup> She was at one time threatened with torture; but she calmly braved it. "If pain should draw from me false confessions, it will be your violence that will force them from me."<sup>12</sup> It was not inflicted. The duchess of Bedford kindly brought her female clothes, to lessen the irritation against her; she declined them; and when the tailor put his hand on her neck, to take off her dress, she struck him with indignation at the affront.<sup>13</sup> New efforts were made to induce her to appear in the garments of her sex, to confess the crimes imputed to her, and to abjure them. She exclaimed, "All that I have done, and all that I do, I have done well, and am doing well to act so." They promised her liberty; she was shaken for a moment, but at last said, "You will have a great deal of trouble to seduce me."<sup>14</sup> On further urgency, she agreed to sign the abjuration they brought, if the clergy and the church advised it. "Sign now," said Erard, a doctor of theology, "or you will finish your life to-day in the flames." She told him, she would rather sign than be burnt. The English secretary put a paper into her hands. She

<sup>10</sup> One of the physicians swore to these circumstances. Ch. iv. 68.<sup>11</sup> Ch. iv. 83.<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 89.<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 9.<sup>14</sup> Depositions of several, Ch. iv. 125, 126. Her inflexibility about her dress is not unlike the tenacity of derangement to its favorite ideas.

said, she could neither read nor write. They gave her a pen, and made her repeat the abjuration after them. She did so, and smiled, and drew a circle at the bottom of the paper. The secretary took her hand, and made her mark a cross.<sup>15</sup> She consented afterwards to put on female attire<sup>16</sup>; but she soon repented of her acquiescence, and resumed her male dress. This change of mind, obviously the vacillations of its unsoundness, defeated the hopes of the humane persons who were trying to save her life. The earl of Warwick is mentioned as rejoicing in her obstinacy, and exclaimed, "She is taken."<sup>17</sup> Others were greatly grieved. She was asked why she would persist in wearing a man's attire; she merely answered, that she preferred it to the dress of her sex. Being further urged, she said that it was more suitable to her, while she was guarded by men.<sup>18</sup>

The day at length arrived on which she was to suffer. It was announced to her in the morning, that she was to be burnt that day. She cried out most piteously on hearing it, wrung her hands, and tore her hair. "Am I to be treated so horribly and so cruelly? Must my body, which has always been wholly pure, be consumed to-day to ashes? I would rather be beheaded seven times than be burnt! O, I appeal to God, the Great Judge, for all the wrongs and injuries they have done to me!"<sup>19</sup> But recovering herself, she resumed her usual piety and resignation, and made her confession. She received the sacrament very devoutly, shedding tears profusely, and with inexpressible humility. When the prelate of Beauvais, one of her severest enemies, entered, she said to him, "Bishop! I die thro you; and

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REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.

Her cruel  
execution.  
30 May.

<sup>15</sup> Depositions of several, Ch. iv. 130—134. Charmette adds a copy of the alleged adjuration, 135, 136.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 147.

<sup>17</sup> So Isembard deposed, *ibid.* 160.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 161.

<sup>19</sup> Dep. du frère Toutmouille, *ibid.* 180, 181.

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I appeal against you before God." Seeing Peter Morice, an ecclesiastic, who had befriended her, she exclaimed, "Ah, monk Peter! where shall I be to-day?" "Have you not good hope in the Lord?" he answered. "Yes," was her reply; "If God help me, I shall be in Paradise."<sup>20</sup>

She was dressed in female habiliments, and at nine in the morning was taken on a car with her confessor, and, guarded by 800 men, armed with axes, swords, and lances, was carried to the market place of Rouen. Her tears, and lamentations, and prayers, all the way, melted the spectators. Arrived at the fatal spot, she cried out, "Rouen! Rouen! must I die here?" She was placed on a scaffold, with the wood that was to consume her. A vast multitude filled the place. The cardinal bishop of Winchester was one of the prelates that attended. A doctor in theology made a sermon to her and the people; she heard him patiently. When he had done, she fell on her knees and uttered such fervent prayers to God and her saints, and asked for those of the spectators so earnestly, that the English themselves, and the cardinal, wept profusely, and pitied her; but none stepped forward to release her. A vindictive and defamatory address was read to her, that could only embitter her last moments. She asked, in return, but for a cross. An Englishman present immediately made one from the end of a stick, and gave it to her. She took it, kissed, and put it into her bosom, and petitioned to have one from the church, that she might look on it till she expired. It was brought, and she eagerly and long embraced it; but her persecutors became impatient, and exclaimed, "Do you mean, priest! to make us dine here?" The clergy had before given her up to the secular

<sup>20</sup> Several Depositions, Charm. 183—185.

power, and the fire was now ordered to be applied. "Execute your office," was the last command; but two serjeants approached to draw her from the scaffold. She saluted them, and came down. Men-at-arms then seized her, and dragged her back with great fury to the stake. She made piteous outcries; invoked her Saviour, and moaned, "Rouen! Rouen! will you be my last abode?" Several persons, unable to support the sight, quitted the place. The degrading mitre of the inquisition was placed on her head, having the conspicuous words "Heretic; Relapse; Apostate; Idolator."<sup>21</sup> She was tied to a stake; the faggots were set on fire; she cried with a loud voice, as she felt the flames, "O Jesus!" Seeing her friendly friar in danger from the heat, she bade him retire, but to hold up the cross to her till she was dead. She refused to deny the revelations she believed she had received. She declared her conviction that she had done nothing but by the divine orders, and that her voices were not illusions. The scaffold being plastered, the flames advanced slowly, tho the executioner, in pity, wished to hasten their operation, that he might shorten her sufferings. As the fire and smoke distressed her, she called out for holy water. She implored fervently the divine assistance; calling on her saints; at times shrieking; at times groaning and praying. At last her head was seen to fall on one side; and the name of her Saviour pronounced with the loud voice of agony, was the last word she was heard to utter.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> On a board, facing the scaffold, were these words: "Joan, who calls herself La Pucelle; mischievous liar; abuser of the people; witch; superstitious; blasphemer! miscreant; boaster; idolator; cruel; profligate; invoker of devils; schismatic, and heretic." *Regist. du Parlement*, vol. xv.

<sup>22</sup> All these facts are taken from the depositions of the witnesses, collected by M. de Charmettes, vol. iv. p. 187—207. Her ashes, and the bones which the fire had not consumed of her body, cardinal Beaufort had thrown into the Seine, to prevent superstitious uses of them. *Ib.* 209. Several Englishmen, who witnessed her end, declared she must have been a good woman. The emotions of those that were

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So perished, after a year's imprisonment, and by this inhuman death, this patriotic and heroic woman, or rather girl; for she was scarcely twenty when she expired. No deliverer of a country has appeared, who has merited a more liberal fame, or achieved the great enterprise amid difficulties more arduous, or with a purer disinterestedness, than this noble-minded female. We cannot but regret that Winchester, and other nobles and gentlemen of England, could have witnessed her execution.<sup>23</sup> The belief that she was a devilish agent, may account for, but cannot justify, the inhumanity. Her sanction of Franquet's death may have also hardened the hearts of many against her; and as the administration and church establishment of England could, in the same reign, burn at home, so un pityingly, priests and tradesmen, for their religious tenets, it is not likely that they would be more compassionate to an enemy, who had produced to them such disasters.<sup>24</sup> The English government issued two papers, to justify what it had done<sup>25</sup>; but they could not abate the

more friendly to her were very great. It was a favorite belief that she went straight to Paradise. *Ib.* 210—213.

<sup>23</sup> One person deposed that some Englishmen laughed as she was burning. *Charm.* iii. 205. We will hope that this was the calumny of anger. An English man-at-arms, who had greatly hated her, and had sworn to put a faggot on her pile, was so affected at hearing her last cry, that he fainted, and was carried away to a tavern. Afterwards he expressed strongly his regret for what he had done, and even fancied that, as she died, he saw a white dove issuing from the flames. *Ib.* 206. The feelings of many were so excited, as to have had strange imaginations.

<sup>24</sup> Her death and behaviour at the stake dispossessed many of their prejudices against her. The king of England's secretary returned from it sad and mourning. He lamented greatly what he had seen done to her, and said, "We are all lost. A holy person has been burnt; but her soul is in the hands of God." One of her prosecutors felt such compunction, that for a month he was always weeping and stupified. *Charm.* iv. p. 111. One of the judge assessors declared the whole proceedings to be unjust; and that those who had deemed her an heretic for wearing men's clothes, ought to be punished as she was. From him we also learn, that many of those who had been present at her trial were very indignant at it, and thought the execution both rigorous and wicked; and that the common opinion was, that she had been badly judged. *Ib.* 215. No unprejudiced person could have thought otherwise.

<sup>25</sup> The first, in Latin, dated Rouen, 8 June 1431, is a declamation against false prophets; and a colored statement of her conduct, and of the proceedings against her. The second, in French, and meant for general circulation, issued 20 days

general sympathy for her. Wherever the judges, and they who took part in her death, were seen, the people pointed them out with their fingers, and loaded them with execrations.<sup>26</sup> It is easy to commit crime; its disgrace is indelible.

That Joan was an extraordinary phenomenon of human nature, is palpable to every one. But it is in the course of things, that in uncommon emergencies, uncommon agents should arise. The human mind, possessing powers which, as yet, seem unlimited, is capable of being excited to a degree, and to an elevation, at present indefinite. The soul being alike in all, high birth or education is not essential to its susceptibilities. The greatest intellects have frequently emerged from the peasant's hut. Every station is capable of being acted upon by the powerful impulses, which at intervals, affect society, and to incalculable consequences. We cannot beforehand conceive the direction an impressed mind may take, nor the exertions to which it may be stimulated. From the most exalted disdain of self-considerations, to the keenest sensibility and endurance in behalf of another; from the slenderest touch of human sympathy, to the sublimest wing of godlike aspiration; the soul may be influenced to achieve or attempt all that is possible on earth, and to aim at all that is accessible in heaven. Nothing is too immense for its desire, too lofty for its hope, or too remote for its pursuit. What it has attained, bears no proportion to what is

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afterwards, contains an elaborate recapitulation of the principal facts concerning her, so selected and expressed, as to excite the public feeling as far as possible against her. It is ably, but not faithfully done, some things are misstated in order to prejudice her. See it in *Des Charm.* vol. iv. p. 226—235.

<sup>26</sup> The notary Boys Guillaume, thus deposed. *Ib.* p. 237. The bishop of Beauvais thought it necessary to procure letters of protection and indemnity from Henry, dated 12 June, forbidding all persons to sue or molest him. *Ib.* p. 238. Charles VII. deposed him. Henry then made him bishop of Lineux. He died suddenly, as his barber was cutting his beard, in 1442. *Ib.* p. 241. *Des Charmettes* notices the peculiar deaths of others, who had assisted to produce her execution, p. 241—244. Her father and eldest brother died of grief at hearing of it. *Rich. Hist. Man. du Pucelle.*

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attainable, and to what it feels to be so, and to what it will therefore be ever striving to possess. Hence human wonders may always be expected in wonderful conjunctures. Exigencies have repeatedly set the inflammable soul of genius on fire; and the world has been astonished by its blaze. The comets of life have been as numerous as those of the atmosphere; but the memory of many has perished, for want of the record; or has vanished among the nebulosities of ancient mythology. As one of the greatest of these temporary phenomena, Joan will never be forgotten, even by ourselves; for tho she rescued and exalted France to our humiliation, yet she did nothing to diminish the solid greatness of our country. This has advanced with steady progress ever since; and we may therefore give her, liberally, the acclamation and the tear which our alarmed forefathers, in the irritation of immediate hostility, too harshly denied her.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> M. L'Averdy, has made an extensive "revision du procès de Jeanne d'Arc," in the Notices des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi, vol. iii. p. 247. M. des Charmettes has inserted a copious extract from it, with his own remarks, in his 15th book, vol. iv. p. 327—411.; and closes his work with his considerations on the different systems that have been framed to account for her. Ib. 411—466. He ends with saying, that if he be asked for his own opinion, he will only answer, "Je suis Français; je suis chrétien." p. 466. This is rather oracular than intelligible.

A case of mental affection has been lately described in a respectable periodical publication, which bears so great an analogy in its symptoms with those which characterized the Maid of Orleans, that I think the reader will thank me for selecting the circumstances which strongly illustrate the nature of her peculiarities.

"X. Y. about two years since, became the subject of moral causes, which harassed him exceedingly. He wanted peace of spirit, and his health was undermined. One night after retiring to rest, with these disturbing causes weighing on his mind, and also not well, he was awakened by the impression of hearing a conversation in the next house, which related to himself and to the peculiar object of his lengthened solicitude. He endeavoured, by getting up, to ascertain the truth of the impression; but all was quiet in the next house. He returned to bed, and again heard the same voices; in the morning he went to his duties.

"As the day wore away, and he was about to return to his abode, the voices became loud, and threatening destruction to himself; so that he was afraid of returning home, lest he should be torn to pieces. *His head felt as if on fire*; and to escape from these supposed enemies, he fled into the country, and wandered the whole night thro the fields. He returned to the town where he dwelt, the next or the following day, but not to his own home. He obtained a lodging for the night elsewhere. Before the usual hour of rising in the morning, *these voices* informed him that the house of a friend was to be burned down; and he hastened to acquaint



him with the event. Here he was kindly taken care of, and the attack subsided in a few days.

“At this time he was *not* under the influence of religious impressions. A little afterwards, when again conscious of being unwell, he took a walk, and was hurried into the fields by an impulse he knew not how to control. Here a *voice* proclaimed to him, as from the clouds, that the millennial reign had commenced; at the same time he *saw the forms* of many, whom he believed to be the happy spirits of the dead. He was *directed* to kneel down and say his prayers, which he did. He was *told* to be charitable, and he indiscriminately gave away the money in his pocket to the persons on the road, whom his extraordinary manner had gathered round him. He was *directed* to repair to a heath at some distance, to meet the spirit of his father at eleven o'clock that night. He went, but when there, began to consider the lateness of the hour, and that he must pass the night upon the heath. *The voice* then told him it was enough, and that he might return home. He often *hears the voices* of deceased relatives and friends, and recognizes them by the sound. He constantly hears his own thoughts repeated *by voices in the air*. These voices sometimes proceed from the air; sometimes from one part of the room, sometimes from another; and sometimes from his own body.

“Moreover, he often *sees* an appearance in the air as of a great number of *eyes*, and evidently contemplates them as *ministering* spirits.” Essay on Superstition, in Christian Observer, No. 333., p. 530, 531. In this case the sufferer thought that *voices* were in the habit of speaking to him both by day and night, and directing his conduct, and he saw forms of spirits and eyes, which he considered to be supernatural beings waiting on him.

The phenomena attending Joan were so analogous to those of this individual's malady, that we are justified in referring both to a similar cause—the occasional or frequent recurrence of some functional disease affecting the organs of visual and auditory sense.

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## BOOK III.

## CHAP. I.

*Continuation of the Reign of HENRY VI. until the Congress  
at Arras.*

BOOK  
III.

REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.  
1429.

FROM the death of Henry V. a division existed in the English cabinet, which, at first, took the shape of personal conflict, and seemed to be rather an ambitious dispute between the duke of Gloucester and his uncle the cardinal Winchester, for power and pre-eminence; than what it grew to be, a conflict of two great public interests and feelings, separating at last into hostility, and menacing a perilous collision.

At the accession of Henry VI. Gloucester, from his affinity to the crown, claimed, as of right, his elder brother being in France, the governance of the land during the king's minority. The house of lords, apparently under the advice of Winchester, directed searches into precedents; and at length, for the sake of peace, avoiding all titles that would confer real power, appointed him to be Protector and Defender.<sup>1</sup> They considered these names to import personal duties of defending the land, but not to convey any legal authority.

Thus wisely guarding against the evil of usurpation, the actual government was vested in the council

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 326.

of regency, which has been already noticed<sup>2</sup>; and Gloucester, to his personal mortification, but with the approbation of the country, found himself in a state of showy dignity, that was purposely kept distinct from all dangerous power. He acquiesced, tho re- piningly; and contemplated Winchester rather as his political watchman than his friendly kinsman; while the bishop, zealous for the young king, his great nephew, and for the interests of his order, and sus- picious of Gloucester's unsatisfied and visibly ambi- tious spirit, became the chief leader in the council, the parliament, and the metropolis, of all that thwarted the duke.<sup>3</sup>

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In the council of government, the protector had no permanent preponderance; and the decline of his influence appears in the diminution of his salary as protector. This was reduced, year after year, from 8000 marks to 6000, then to 5000, and afterwards to 4000.<sup>4</sup> But the decisive triumph over him was obtained by Winchester in 1429, when he procured the king's coronation, tho but eight years old, and induced the parliament to declare, that the name of protector should then cease. Gloucester struggled in vain against his deposition; the rival interest pre- vailed. He made a protest, that his resignation should be no prejudice to the right of his brother the duke of Bedford<sup>5</sup>; but he was forced to submit to the unpleasing degradation. A council was formed to conduct the government, of which he was per- mitted to be one; but he was forbidden to promise any suitor more, than that his petition should be seen by the council; but if he or Bedford should differ from the majority, the subject was only allowed to be deferred, with a nominal tribute of respect, till the next day, and then to be decided by numbers.<sup>6</sup> In-

Protecto-  
rate ended,  
1429.

<sup>2</sup> See before.

<sup>3</sup> On their public differences, see before.

<sup>4</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 425

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 337.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 338.

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III.REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.Henry  
crowned at  
Westmin-  
ster, 6 Nov.  
1429.

stead of guiding the administration, he was humbled into one of its train.<sup>7</sup>

The king was crowned with the accustomed pomp<sup>8</sup>, and from this time the cardinal obtained the ascendancy in the cabinet; and the speech of the archiepiscopal chancellor to the parliament indicated the

<sup>7</sup> The Lords of the Council whose names are to these articles, shew of whom the Regency consisted :

Gloucester,	Earl Warwick,
Winchester,	— Stafford,
Archb. Canterbury,	Lewis Robessart,
Archb. York,	R. Cromwell,
Bish London,	J. le Scrop,
— Ely,	W. Hungerford, Tr.
— Bath & Wells,	J. Tiptoft.
Duke of Norfolk,	Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 344.

<sup>8</sup> On 6 Nov. 1429. The ancient chronicler commemorates the dainties of the coronation banquet :

## 1st COURSE :

Frumentie with venison. Viand royal planted losinges of gold.  
Boar heads in castles of gold and armed.  
Beef with mutton boiled. Capon stewed. Cygnet roasted.  
Heron roasted. Great pike or luce.  
A red leche, with lions corvin therein.  
Custard royal, with a leopard of gold sitting therein and holding a fleur-de-lis.  
Fritter of sun fashion, with a fleur-de-lis therein.

A sotiltie of St Edward, and St Lewis, armed with their coat armor, holding between them a figure like king Henry; standing also in his coat armor, with a ballad under their feet.

## 2d COURSE :

Viande black barred with gold.  
Jelly, pastie written and noted with Te Deum laudamus.  
Pig endored. Crane roasted. Bittern. Conies.  
Partridge. Peacock enhakill. Great Breme.  
A white leche planted with a red antelope, with a crown about his neck with a chain of gold  
Flampaine powdered with leopards and fleur-de-lis of gold.  
A fritter garnished with a leopard's head and two ostrich feathers.

A sotiltie : an emperor and a king arrayed in mantles of garter, Sigismund and Henry V; and a figure like Henry VI kneeling before them with a ballad against the Lollards

## 3d COURSE :

Quinces in compost.  
Blaund sure powdered with quarter foies gilt  
Venison. Egrettes. Curlewe., Cock and Partridge.  
Plover. Quails. Snipes. Great birds. Larks.  
Carp. Crabs. Leche of three colors  
A baked meat like a shield quartered red and white, set with lozenges gilt and flowers of borage.  
A fritter crisped.

A sotiltie of our Lady sitting with her child in her lap, and holding a crown in her hand; St. George and St. Denis kneeling on either side, presenting to her king Henry with a ballad in his hand. Fab. 419.

party which predominated in the government, and the spirit with which it was meant to be conducted. It complained strongly of infidelity, and of the obstinacy of errors and heresies; it declared, that pertinacity and perversity menaced; that unbelief and error were shooting strongly forth; and that heresies were multiplying in England in an unusual degree.<sup>9</sup> The cardinal's prevailing influence, or that of the church, which he headed, was manifested by an enactment, that altho no one who had been raised to the dignity of cardinal had, after that, remained counsellor to the king, yet that he should be permitted to continue in the cabinet.<sup>10</sup>

The house of Lancaster, having been greatly indebted to the clergy for its revolutionary elevation to the throne, had, under Henry IV. the founder of its royal dynasty, and still more under Henry V., distinguished itself for its severe hostility to that reforming spirit, which, from the reign of Edward I. had been annoying and menacing the ecclesiastical establishments. This conflict will be described in some subsequent pages; but it may be here remarked, that a part of all classes of the people had now become desirous of important reformations in the church. Hence the more the Lancastrian princes identified themselves with all that was objected to in the sacerdotal system, the greater opposition to their

<sup>9</sup> Fab. p. 335.

<sup>10</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 338. The signatures to two orders of the Regency in 1430, shew how much the clergy preponderated in the cabinet.

25 Feb. 1430 :

H. Gloucester,  
H. Canterbury,  
J. York, Chancellor,  
W. London,

P. Ely,  
J. Bath and Wells,  
J. Duke Norfolk,  
R. E. Warwick,  
Cromwell.

Rym. 450.

1 March 1430 :

Gloucester,  
Canterb.  
York, Chanc.  
London,

Bath and Wells,  
Huntingdon,  
Hungerford, Treasurer

Ib. 451.

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III.REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.

administration began to pervade every rank of English society. The violence used to repress lollardy only deepened and extended the spirit of innovation, and the conviction of its necessity; and the more firmly the government upheld the church, the more rapidly the public discontent extended itself to both. The sympathies of the heart, as persecution increased, began to convert heresy into disloyalty; and a discerning eye might have seen, at the time of Henry the Sixth's accession, many prognostics of that political explosion which shook him from the throne; and which a disinterested sagacity, applying its healing counsels, and disarming compromises, with timely prudence, might have abated or prevented.

But no parties become dangerous till they can find leaders distinguished for rank or popularity; and as none such arose in the first part of this reign, the new feelings and opinions seemed but the heresies of individuals, offensive to the church, yet not injurious to the state. But the church, being identified with the state under the Lancastrian dynasty, and resenting the hostile criticisms, the administration, of which the cardinal, with the prelate of York, took the lead, reproached and resisted all innovations; and, adopting an ecclesiastical feeling and tendency, became pledged into an increasing hostility against the new religious spirit, the desired reformations, and the wanted improvements of the day. The great laity were not satisfied with these measures; they were excluded by the churchmen of the cabinet from all important councils; and such indications of their dissatisfaction appeared, that one of the articles made by the council lords was pointed against the turbulent retainers of the nobility, mentioning them with the most obnoxious epithets.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> "No lord shall maintain pillours, robbours, oppressours of the people, man-sleers, felons, outelawes, ravishers, unlawful hunters, or other misdoers." Parl. vol.

CHAP.

I

REIGN OF  
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The French council of government at Paris recommended, after the reverses produced by the Maid of Orleans, that Henry should be crowned in person, the king of France.<sup>12</sup> It being determined by the regency that this should be done, the cardinal consented to accompany him, "and do the good he may, if so be that the lords and captains, and others that go at this time also over with the king, will be of good rule and governance, and eschew divisions, and taking parties one against another, by dissension, or by their own authority; or else he protested he would come home, and report the cause of his departing<sup>13</sup>;" a condition which implies the great lay opposition which he was encountering.

On St. George's day, Henry VI. landed at Calais<sup>14</sup>, nine years old, to receive, what proved to be the unserviceable honor of his French coronation. Gloucester was made the keeper of the kingdom, and the king's lieutenant of England in his absence.<sup>15</sup> The English government wished his visit to France to be attended with all the splendor and efficacy of a powerful military force; but the exploits of the Maiden had so unnerved the minds of the English gentry, that it was found necessary at Canterbury on the 3d of May, from the fewness of the succors that arrived, to issue a royal proclamation, complaining that those captains and soldiers, who had been retained to attend the king, were making great delay to his peril; and were tergiversating, from the terror of the Maiden's enchantments. It commanded them to assemble immediately at Sandwich and Dover, in order to be conveyed to France.<sup>16</sup>

Henry  
lands in  
France,  
1430, 23d  
April.

iv. p. 334. The subsequent arraignment of Winchester by Gloucester, complains strongly of him, and the archbishop's usurping the command of the administration. See the next chapter.

<sup>12</sup> Rymer Fœd. vol. x. p. 432.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.* p. 456.

<sup>14</sup> Monstr. 348. Feb. 420.

<sup>15</sup> The grant is dated 20 April 1430. Rymer, p. 458.

<sup>16</sup> Rym. p. 459.

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But so inefficacious were menaces or intreaties, during the mental influence of this superstitious panic, that Henry continued at Calais, without advancing farther. He had remained there a month, when the unexpected news arrived, that the all-dreaded Maiden was captured at Compeigne, on the 23rd of May. But, altho a prisoner, this poor girl, not yet nineteen, still so much alarmed our self-tormenting countrymen, that even above six months afterwards, the duke of Gloucester, on the 12th of December, was compelled to address letters patent to the sheriffs of the southern counties, and of London, commanding them to arrest the soldiers, whom the "terrifyings" of the Pucelle had actuated to abandon their duties.<sup>17</sup> It was not until November that Henry ventured to Paris; and on the next month, to be crowned.

His entrance into Paris, and coronation, 17th Dec. 1430.

His entry into the French metropolis was picturesque and stately, according to the taste of the day. The provost and burghers of Paris met him, half way between that city and St. Denis, in their crimson satin doublets and blue hoods, with many inhabitants in scarlet. Persons armed, on horseback, representing the nine ancient worthies, saluted him; and the lords of the French parliament followed them, in flowing robes of vermillion. On his entering at the gate of St. Denis, three large crimson hearts, typical of the affections of the metropolis, were presented to him; and as he handled them, out of the first flew two doves; from the second, small birds sprang up about him, to startle and amuse his little majesty; and the third disclosed violets and flowers, which were thrown over the lords who accompanied him. An azure canopy, sprinkled with fleur-de-lis, was carried over him thro the city. At a little bridge appeared a small forest, with three savages struggling with a woman in it, till he passed. A

<sup>17</sup> "Quos terriculamenta puellæ animaverant." Rym. p. 472.



fountain of hippocras wine, and three mermaids swimming in it, were the next delighting spectacles; and beyond them, pageants, acting in dumb show, the nativity, the adoration of the magi, the massacre of the innocents, and an aged sower, scattering his good seed, claimed the favoring attention; but the legendary history of St. Denis over his gate, was most admired by the English. The next street was turned into a forest. Dogs and huntsmen chased a stag, and as the king approached, the well-taught animal took refuge under the royal horse, and his life was saved.<sup>18</sup>

On the 17th of December, the ceremony of the coronation was performed in the church of Notre Dame, more in the English than French manner. During the dinner, four pageants were introduced: the Virgin Mary, with an infant king crowned by her side; a great fleur-de-lis, surmounted with a crown of gold; a lady and a peacock; and a lady with a swan; while various instruments performed the best music they knew. A gallant tournament was held the next day, with prizes for the best tilters; and these festivities, more grateful to the fancy of our ancestors than our own, being over, Henry, after a few days, returned to Rouen, to pass his Christmas<sup>19</sup>; and afterwards remained some time at Calais. The events of the war gave no great splendor to the royal solemnity he had been celebrating. The famous Brabazan, in this month, attacked and defeated an

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<sup>18</sup> Monstrelet, vii. p. 45—48. Hall remarks on the disturbance given to this festivity by Winchester's ambition. As he "would have no man to him equal, he commanded the Duke of Bedford to leave off the name of regent, during the time the king was in France. The duke took such a secret displeasure with this doing, that he never after favored the cardinal, but repugned and disdained at all things that he did or devised." P. 161, 162.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 50, 51. Fab. 422, 423. A French knight, on 3 February, made a bold attempt to take Rouen by surprise. Mon. p. 59. But this was after the king had left it for Calais. In this last town, he remained a season before he embarked for England; and he landed at Dover, 9 February. Fab. 423. So that he could not have been at Rouen on the 3d.

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Henry re-  
turns to  
England,  
9 Feb. 1431.

united army of English and Burgundians, near Chalons<sup>20</sup>; but if he obtained this success, he was afterwards defeated and taken prisoner at Bar, by the duke of Burgundy.<sup>21</sup>

Landing at Dover, the king, still a child, moved gradually to the metropolis. At Barham Downs, the gentlemen of Kent met him in red hoods, and accompanied him to Blackheath. There the lord mayor and corporation received him; the citizens, clad in white, with the insignia of their trades embroidered on their sleeves, and the aldermen in scarlet. All these rode before him to London bridge, where a mighty giant was standing with his sword ready drawn, and his speech ready written, defying the king's enemies. At the drawbridge, beyond the first gate, was seen a goodly tower, richly apparelled in silk and cloth of arras, out of which suddenly emerged three ladies, in gold and silk, with coronets on their heads, to assure Henry, in tolerable rhyme, that they were dames Nature, Grace, and Fortune, and that they came to give him all their gifts. Seven virgins in white stood on their right hand, in bawdricks of blue; and seven more on their left, in garments powdered with stars of gold. The first seven presented him with (at least the words of) sapience, intelligence, good counsel, strength, cunning, pity, and dread of God; the others gave him the seven gifts of grace, in their best verses<sup>22</sup>, when all saluting him,

<sup>20</sup> A servant of a brother of La-Hire, that was in the battle, described it to Jean Chartier as a complete victory over the English, and he so states it in his History of Charles VII. Charm. iii. 173—176. See Fab. 421.

<sup>21</sup> Fab. 422. "For whose ransom (with another captain) the duke had yelden to hym the vale of Cassile in Flanders." Fab. 422. Saintrailles had before fallen at Beale Mount, in a battle against the Earl of Arundel. Ib.

<sup>22</sup> They were :

" God thee endowe with crowne of glorie ;  
And with the sceptre of clenenesse and pitie :  
And with a swerde of might and victorie ;  
And with a mantell of prudence clad thou bee :  
A shield of faith, for to defende thee.  
An helme of health, wrought to thyne encrease,  
Girte with a girdell, of love and parfitte peace."

began a roundelay, with what the old admiring chronicler is pleased to call "an heavenly melody and song."<sup>23</sup> Softly he rode on, till he was stopped at Cornhill by a curious tabernacle, in which dame Sapience was seen, with her pupils studying about her, Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. On the conduit at Cornhill, he beheld a child of wonderful beauty, dressed like a king, accompanied by lady Mercy and lady Truth. Before this imaged sovereign were two judges, and eight serjeants of the coif. Henry heard dame Cleanness address him, and rode on at a quicker pace to the conduit at Cheap. There flowed the wells of Mercy, Grace, and Pity, with a lady at each, who rewarded every one that asked for a taste of these virtues, with a draught of good wine. Verdant trees, bearing oranges, almonds, olives, pomegranates, dates, quinces, peaches, and many other fruits, adorned this spot, which was meant to represent paradise. Two patriarchs here prayed and preached to him in verse; and the shows and lectures closed at St. Paul's gate with a pageantry, which, in attempting its highest sublimity, became little else than puerile impiety. What was meant to be a celestial throne, with the Trinity upon it, surrounded by angels singing and playing upon all instruments of music then in use, was there exhibited; from which two stanzas were addressed to the king, as if from the mouth of the paternal deity. The absurdities of human pomp, flattery, and irreverent fancy, to a boy of ten years old, could go no higher; and he was perhaps happy, after so much compliment and lecturing, to be here

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23

"Souveraigne lord ! welcome to our cite !  
 Welcome our joy ! and our hartes pleasaunce !  
 Welcome our gladnesse ! welcome our suffisaunce !  
 Welcome ! welcome ! right welcome mought ye bee !  
 Singing before thy royal majesty,  
 We say with heart, withouten variance,  
 Souveraigne Lorde ! now welcome out of France !" Fab. 424.

conveyed into St. Paul's to have a little rest, during its service, before he was conducted, in further state, to his palace.<sup>24</sup> There is a nothingness in pomp, when reason recalls it to our quiet recollection, which makes us surprised that we could have enjoyed it; and yet we crowd to gaze at it, and to contribute to it, as if it merited our applause, and were an useful element of human felicity. It is manhood amusing itself with the drama and puppets of the child.

The second ballad of the coronation dinner was directed to applaud the emperor Sigismund and Henry V. for their persecutions of heresy<sup>25</sup>; and it was soon followed by the burning of a heretic<sup>26</sup>, and, in the next year, another.<sup>27</sup> During the administration in which the cardinal and his friends predominated, these arrests, imprisonments, and burnings, were continued.<sup>28</sup> The Pope called vigorously for a crusade against the Bohemian reformers<sup>29</sup>; and the cardinal ostentatiously affected to begin it; but how easily he abandoned his own attempt, to favor other purposes, has been already noticed.<sup>30</sup> To avert the

<sup>24</sup> Fab. 423—427.

<sup>25</sup> Against miscreantes, the emperour Sigismunde  
Hath shewed his might, which is imperiall;  
And Henry the fift, a noble knight, was founde  
For Christe his cause in actes martiall;  
Cherished the church; to Lollers gave a fall;  
Giving example to kynge that succede,  
And to their braunche here, in especiall,  
While he doeth reigne, to love God and drede. Fab. 420.

Sigismund was the emperor who had sanctioned the burning of Huss; and Henry V. had sacrificed his friend Oldcastle to the papal church, and had that kind of heart which could let him wait, and see a Lollard perish in the flames. The selection of two such characters for a coronation dinner was meant to be a threatening sermon to all present.

<sup>26</sup> "In the whiche pastyme, that is to meane, the 23 daie of January an hereticke was brent in Smithfelde." Fab. 421.

<sup>27</sup> Sir Thomas Bagley, vicar of Maunder in Essex, degraded and burnt in Smithfield. Fab. 422.

<sup>28</sup> See Wilkins' Concil. i. 433—515, and the references on this subject hereafter.

<sup>29</sup> In 1428, the Pope had issued a bull complaining of the *torrents* of heretics in Bohemia. Wilk. Con. i. 492. And his nuncio stated this fact in the council of the prelates at Canterbury. Ib. p. 453. Martin V. issued a bull to extirpate them, and to collect money for this purpose. Ib. 511.

<sup>30</sup> See before.

papal enmity at this mutation of purpose, it was declared, under the sign manual, that as it was not the king's intention to restrain his subjects from going to Bohemia in displeasure or contempt of the Pope, security would be given for the repayment of the whole sum, to which the wages of this army should amount.<sup>31</sup>

The severities of the ecclesiastical statesmen only increased the number and the activity of their haters and opponents. No pretext or power can reconcile man to persecution. The free-thinking individual sees in the violence but new evidence of its injustice; and derives from his own magnanimity of resistance, and from his belief of a still superior approbation, a consolation for his sufferings which death can neither end nor take away. Persecution may procrastinate what it dislikes, but ensures its occurrence. It soon replaces the individuals it removes. It either defeats its own purposes, or makes their attainment the punishment of its supporters. It is used, less from a dependence upon its efficacy, than because it gratifies that love of vengeance, which accompanies the irritation of endangered interests. Few own or applaud the vindictive feelings they obey. These rise gradually in the soul, till the natural sympathy that would prospectively abhor them, is destroyed by their indulgence; and hence, even polished and otherwise virtuous minds, have shewn themselves to be susceptible of this brutal degradation. Violence has often driven heresy into rebellion, and made both seem virtues.

This was experienced in England about Easter 1430. Notwithstanding the imprisonments and executed sentences of the establishment, the heretical critics were, this year, roused to such activity, as to diffuse their adherents into various parts, exhorting

<sup>31</sup> Rymer, vol. x. p. 425.

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the people to rise against the cloistered bodies and destroy their edifices. At Abingdon, they burst into actual insurrection, chose a captain and attacked the monastery.<sup>32</sup> The duke of Gloucester was directed by the regency to suppress them, and his military powers soon dispersed them, hanged their leader, and imprisoned many.<sup>33</sup> It was thought necessary to place their chieftain's head on London bridge. Similar insurgents or co-operators were executed in other counties.<sup>34</sup> The angry dispositions that were conspiring for the same objects, were intimidated for the moment; but the indignant spirit that felt itself oppressed, took its fatal revenge at a future opportunity.

The cardinal, and Kempe the archbishop of York, continued their preponderance in the cabinet. The speeches delivered for the crown to Parliament, in the two following years, display the government's desire, or determination for ecclesiastical severities under their influence, and betray the ill effects it was working in the country. During the chancellor's illness in 1431, Dr. Lyndewoode complained, that peace and unity were broken by whisperers and double tongues disseminating, daily, false and idle things; by oppressors of the poor, and by maintainers of litigation; that great evils were accruing to churchmen and to the king's lieges, and that many more were to be dreaded, if no remedy were applied.

<sup>32</sup> Walsingham in his MS. History, says, "Incipit antiqua heresis, sub modio in cordibus multorum fautorum absconsa, in palam ascendere; et suos nuncios, dispersim in diversa loca destinare, exhortando plebem, primo, in ecclesiasticas personas insurgere, et loca sua, licet consecrata, absque remedio, penitus de terra delere." Sloane MS. 1776. Hall says, that two of their articles were, that priests should have no possessions; and that all things, by the order of charity, among christian people, should be in common. P. 166

<sup>33</sup> Fabian says of their leader, "he confessed to have wrought much sorrowe against priestes, so that he would have made their heads as cheap as sheeps' heads,"—"and the same season was taken many of his complices, which were sent unto divers prisons." P. 422.

<sup>34</sup> "The other of his fautors were put in execution in *divers* places and *countries*, to the terror of others." Fab. 422.

Parliament had therefore been called to obviate these inconveniences, to cherish unity, and to punish all who were impugning it.<sup>35</sup> This unity was a tranquil submission both to church and state. But in the next year, the new chancellor, the bishop of Bath and Wells, declaimed in louder terms against the unbelieving; against those who censured and rebelled against the divine law; who denied the faith; despised the sacraments, and labored to destroy the ministers of God and the church. He declared that enemies were besieging them with ambushes on all sides, and would grievously disturb both the king and the kingdom.<sup>36</sup>

The commons now began to exhibit the popular feeling, by thwarting the government, and dissenting from the measures of the lords. Gloucester, excluded from all weight in the cabinet and sympathising with the ancient nobility, on their neglect by the government, became more favorable to the wishes of the discontented. His love of literature made him the Mæcenas of the day; and to be the patron and reader of the productions of the emerging mind of the country, necessarily liberalized and animated his own. What reason and knowledge might have been insufficient to have completed, his personal resentment against Winchester and his ministry supplied. To reform the church, was to humble his opponent; to resist the abuses of government, was to lessen that rival's power. Hence he came publicly forward this year, in answer to the chancellor's representations, to state that parliament would be more effectual, if the lords spiritual and temporal could be unanimous and concordant with the commons.<sup>37</sup>

This was obviously a recommendation to the upper house to concur with the measures of the other. He went on to assert, that from his birth he was en-

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<sup>35</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 367.

<sup>36</sup> *Ib.* 388.

<sup>37</sup> *Ib.* 389.

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titled to be the principal counsellor of the king, and yet had submitted to act only by the advice and assent of the rest of the council. He therefore called upon the peers to give him their assistance.<sup>38</sup> The lords cautiously answered, that they would concur with him, when he specially requested it, so far as from reverence to God (that is to the church) and the advantage of the king and kingdom they should be able.<sup>39</sup> The cardinal felt this to be a public arraignment of his administration, and soon appeared personally in parliament to repel the attack. He said, that by the king's licence obtained at Calais, he was going to the Roman court; but while in Flanders, had heard that he had been accused of treason in England; and more anxious to keep his fame than his earthly goods from injury, he had returned to meet the charge, which he declared that he was ready fully to answer.<sup>40</sup> A deliberation ensued, at the end of which he was assured that no one had accused him of treason, and that the king considered him to be faithful. His plate and jewels had been arrested at Sandwich, as the royal property. He agreed to give 6000*l.* for their release, on the condition that it should be returned to him, if within six years the king's title to the effects should not be proved. An attempt having been made to tax the church, he procured that measure to be deferred on allegations of its poverty, and undertaking to lend the exchequer 6000*l.* more.<sup>41</sup>

A council at Basle having been called as the successor or substitute for that of Constance, many English prelates this year applied for the king's leave to attend it. But as they were chiefly the friends of the cardinal, and as he himself was to be of the

<sup>38</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 389.<sup>40</sup> *Ib.* p. 390.<sup>39</sup> *Ib.*<sup>41</sup> *Ib.* 392.



number<sup>42</sup>, we may infer that their object was not favorable to religious liberty. The large sum which he was permitted to carry with him "without search," imply the uses to which it was intended to be subservient.<sup>43</sup>

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In 1433, the disapprobation of the measures of the cardinal's administration became so visible, that the duke of Bedford was requested by the commons to stay in England and take the lead of the government. He acquiesced, but desired to know what salary would be assigned. A general silence prevailed. Hearing no answer, he mentioned the allowances which his brother had received, but declared that he should be content with 1000*l.* a year, in England.<sup>44</sup> This liberal conduct could only meet applause; but in the same parliament, a fact, boding ill to the future peace of the country, was announced by the treasurer, Ralph Cromwell, in his petition, which stated that the revenues of government fell short of its expenses by 35,000*l.* a year; a truth that neither lords nor commons could credit, and therefore he prayed them to inspect his accounts.<sup>45</sup>

This unwelcome circumstance was accompanied with an earnest representation from this minister, to the king in parliament, that having not long before, by the advice of Gloucester and Bedford, been appointed treasurer of England, he had exhibited how greatly the crown was then indebted to the people; how inadequate the revenues of the land were to the charges, and that the debt must increase. Daily

<sup>42</sup> Among others, besides the cardinal, were the bishop of Rochester, as the king's ambassador; the archbishop of York; the bishops of Salisbury, London, Bangor, and Carlisle; the abbots of Glastonbury and St. Albans, and the dean of Bourdeaux. 10 Rym. 531—550.

<sup>43</sup> This was 20,000*l.* while York was to take out but 2000*l.*; Salisbury and London 1000*l.*; Carlisle 550*l.*; the abbot Glast. 550*l.*; St. Albans 400*l.*; Bangor 400 marcs, and the dean 120*l.* Rym. *ib.*

<sup>44</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 423—425.

<sup>45</sup> P. Rolls, p. 432. A curious account of the revenues and expenditure follows in the parliamentary record. P. 432—436.

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}

warrants for payments were brought unto him, by lords and others, more than equal to the whole revenues, if they had not been assigned before. But the truth was, that all the income had become anticipated, and appropriated for the next two years. If he paid any new warrant, he must leave the royal household, chamber, wardrobe, and works, unserved; and yet, if he refused to discharge them, he incurred great indignation from the lords, and great slander and enmity of other people.<sup>46</sup> Creditors to the amount of 100,000*l.* are mentioned in two following years<sup>47</sup>; and in 1442, their further debt is stated at double this amount.<sup>48</sup> So that financial deficiencies became one of the causes of evil in this disturbed reign. The crown borrowed and was unable to repay<sup>49</sup>, and could not satisfy the ordinary charges of the government; new taxes were necessarily imposed, and the public murmured at the unusual burthen.

The question which, next to the resisting all religious reformation, was most dangerous to the popularity of the crown, the stability of the administration, and the peace of the country, was now arising, and became every year more necessary to be decided, yet more difficult and disquieting. Should the war with France be prosecuted or discontinued? Peace was the best boon for both countries; but France, in the triumphant attitude it had acquired, would concede no terms that would satisfy the pride of the English nation, or the ambition and personal in-

<sup>46</sup> R. Parl. 439.<sup>47</sup> As in 1435, and in 1437. See before.<sup>48</sup> P. Rolls, vol. v. p. 39.<sup>49</sup> Thus in the eighth year of the reign 50,000*l.* was borrowed, of which the mayor and commonalty of London lent 6,666*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* P. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 418. At another time, in 1433, the merchants of the staple at Calais, lent 2,918*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* to be repaid from the customs. P. 474. In 1435, three individuals advanced 8000 marks, of which 5000 were to be repaid from the rent of the Duke of Bedford, then deceased, 1000 from the duchy of Cornwall, and 2000 from the king's treasury. Ib. 485.

terests of the nobility and gentry, who were engaged in carrying on the war. It had been long the policy of the cardinal to terminate hostilities; for they checked his power, occasioned demands to be made on the property of the clergy, and kept the sword in the hands of the great laity, whom he wished to reduce. Hence it had been represented in 1430, that it was a great charge to the land, and oppression to the people, to keep up the great multitude of walled towns and castles that were in our possession in Normandy and France; and the king, with his council, were empowered to dismantle all such as they should deem "unbehoeful, perilous, or harmful to be kept, or to stand."<sup>50</sup> In the next year, when the Pope sent cardinals, and Spain and Scotland ambassadors, to mediate a peace between the two countries, Winchester was appointed, with Bedford, and Gloucester, to treat for it.<sup>51</sup> That the cardinal had long labored to effect a treaty, was stated in December 1432, and new commissioners were empowered to negotiate.<sup>52</sup> The council of Basle recommended it. The duke of Orleans, still a prisoner in England, was employed to procure it<sup>53</sup>; and in 1435, the archbishop of York and the earl of Suffolk went to France with the same object.<sup>54</sup> But the main difficulty continually remained. The English government could not, with safety to itself, conclude that peace which the French would consent to. The conquest of France had become a disappearing rainbow, but it had been too brilliant an object for its temporary vision to be forgotten, or for the hope of its return, to be relinquished. It still remained in the imagination of the country as a matter of right and certainty, under an able administration. Bed-

<sup>50</sup> Roll. Parl. vol. v. p. 417.<sup>52</sup> Rym. vol. x. p. 510.<sup>54</sup> Ibid. p. 613.<sup>51</sup> Ibid. vol. iv. p. 371.<sup>53</sup> Ibid. p. 561-564.

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ford saw the fever that was diseasing the public mind on this subject, and endeavoured in parliament to vindicate himself from the angry criticism that clamored round him.<sup>55</sup> The cardinal dared not accomplish his own wishes. He settled no peace; but he adopted the policy of making the war linger as faintly as possible, that the popular expectations might gradually abate by time, reverses, and the absence of all exciting successes. Hence no more supplies were sent than sufficed to feed the war, without actually abandoning it; and the consequence was, that every commander complained of want of means, and called in vain for reinforcements. Warwick, York and Somerset, successively, after Bedford's death, were made governors of France; but with no other result than to see the French king gain perpetually new advantages, and to find themselves driven into Normandy, and not able to maintain that province. In 1439, the chancellor stated to the parliament, that Burgundy having, without any consultation with England, appointed a congress at Arras to treat, ambassadors from London had attended it, but only to find France so zealous for war, that as the Burgundians had withdrawn from it, the king of England must either lay down his title of king of France, or defend it in Normandy.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Parl. vol. v. p. 435. See his statement here, of his campaigns in France.

<sup>56</sup> R. Parl. vol. iv. p. 481. As Hall's remarks, "that while France was miserably afflicted by the war, England was not without dolour and trouble, because, daily, Englishmen, as well noble as mean personages, were slain, taken or wounded, and their substance continually exacted and consumed for maintenance of the war," (p. 165) were strictly true; we may ask, Why was peace unpopular in England? He and Comines give us the true answers; he says too justly "neither nation would yield or bow, the one to the other: neither yet once hear of abstinence of fighting—so much were their hearts hardened, and so princely were their stomachs." P. 174. To this pride we may add the benefits derived by some, for Comines tells us, that "the English lords got great fortunes out of France in their plunder, and in the ransoms of their prisoners." Vol. i. "That the regency of France was so profitable, that it had yielded Bedford 20,000 crowns a month." P. 63. "And that Normandy had, in one year, produced to its governors 950,000 francs," P. 93.

## CHAP. II.

*Continuation of the War, and Negotiations for Peace with France. — The King's Marriage with Margaret, 1435—1444.*

AT the congress of Arras, the future destinies of Europe stood awhile in suspense. Besides the Burgundian and French ambassadors, the Pope and the council of Basle sent two cardinals as their representatives<sup>1</sup>; and the archbishop of York and lord Suffolk attended it on the part of England<sup>2</sup>, who were joined, a month afterwards, by the cardinal Winchester.<sup>3</sup> These three ministers were the real leaders of the English cabinet. The French made them the important offer, to concede to England the possession of Guienne and Normandy, on the usual homage, which former English sovereigns had done for them, and on Henry's renouncing to Charles VII. the title of the king of France.<sup>4</sup> If these terms had been accepted, the French kingdom would not have become the formidable state it has since appeared, but have been more like Germany, a sovereignty of great dignity, but, from the independence of its powerful members, of restricted power, more endangered than endangering. The dukedoms of Burgundy, Bretagne, Normandy, and Guienne, would have been so many French electorates, perpetually confronting and limiting their feudal head; and connecting with them a great number of small independent seignories, oftener thwarting than aiding the king who ruled in

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1435.  
July, Sept.

<sup>1</sup> On 2 July. Monst. vol. vii. p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 215. Their commission was dated 20 June 1435. Rym. x. p. 613.

<sup>3</sup> He arrived there on 19th August. Ib. 232.

<sup>4</sup> Monst. vol. vii. p. 233.

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Paris, and over the rest of France. But the pride and passions of the English nobility, infatuating their imagination, curtailed their foresight, and prevented a just appreciation, both of their own resources and power, and of the increasing means of Charles; and also made them blind to the interests and feelings of Burgundy, and deaf to his advice and representations, and insensible to the inevitable consequence. On the 6th of September, the proffered conditions were rejected, and the English left Arras.<sup>5</sup>

The refusal of these terms was evidence to Burgundy, that England was pursuing objects quite distinct from his interests. It would have been more safe and beneficial to him, that the king of England should be only duke of Normandy, than sovereign of France. In the latter case, he would have had a dangerous master; in the former, a constant ally. By the acceptance of the offered terms, his dominions would have had the peace they needed; by their rejection, the continuation of warfare, unless he stopped it, became indefinite. Therefore yielding to the solicitation of the cardinals, he deemed the rupture of the general negotiation to be a sufficient justification to himself, for making a separate treaty with Charles, for his own subjects and dukedom, which soon became an effective auxiliary alliance, that ended all hope of establishing an English sovereign over France. The duke swore, before a cross of gold, that he would forget his father's death, and maintain a perpetual peace with Charles; and the duke of Bourbon and the constable, touching the same cross with their hands, begged pardon, in the king's name, of Burgundy for the deed, who immediately granted it, as a religious duty.<sup>6</sup>

Burgun-  
dy's peace  
with  
Charles,  
21 Sept.  
1435.

<sup>5</sup> Monst. vol. vii. p. 240.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 278. He gives the full treaty, 242—278. By the first article,

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Bedford's  
death, 13th  
Sept.

Greatly affected by the avowed intentions of Burgundy, and by his foresight of the certain consequences, the duke of Bedford died at Rouen, between the departure of the English embassy and the signature of the Burgundian treaty.<sup>7</sup> When this political transition was completed, Burgundy sent letters to Henry, explaining his conduct, which the king received with tears of regret and apprehension.<sup>8</sup> These were not lessened by the tidings, that the duke had united his forces to those of Charles.

This junction turned decisively the scales of war. The English took St. Denis<sup>9</sup>, but lost several towns in Normandy.<sup>10</sup> Henry implored aid from the Hollanders unavailingly.<sup>11</sup> Charles was enabled, in the next year, to recover Paris, with the assistance of its chief inhabitants, and to expel the English from its walls with disgrace.<sup>12</sup>

The duke of York assumed the command in Normandy, striving to stem the stream of ill-fortune<sup>13</sup>;

Charles acknowledged the death of the duke's father to have been iniquitously and treacherously perpetrated, and that if he had been of age to have judged of the consequences, he would have prevented it. The king agreed to deliver up the murderers or to banish them; foundations and endowments were made for masses for his soul; Charles was to pay Burgundy 54,000 golden crowns, and to give up to him several towns and lordships, castles and counties; the duke was to do no homage to the king; and a general oblivion was to take place.

<sup>7</sup> Fab. 431.

<sup>8</sup> Monst. vii. 291. His account is, "the young king Henry was so much hurt at their contents, that his eyes were filled with tears, which ran down his cheeks. The news was soon made public thro London. No one who was well-bred was sparing of the grossest abuse against the Duke of Burgundy and his country. Many of the common people collected together, and went to different parts of the town, to search for Flemings, Dutchmen, Brabanters, Picards, Hainaulters, and other foreigners, to use them ill. Several were seized in the heat of their rage, and murdered." Ib. 292.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 280.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 300.

<sup>11</sup> The king's letters to them were dated 14 Dec. 1435. Ibid. 310.

<sup>12</sup> Thus Fabian describes it. The heads of the city confederated to betray it to Charles and expel the English, "and as the Englishmen fled or fought by the streets, the women and other feeble persons cast upon them stones and hot liquors, to their great confusion, so that the Englishmen were in passing misery and desolation." P. 431. So on delivering up St. Denys, "when they should pass upon their journey, they were derided and scorned of the French nation out of all measure." P. 432.

<sup>13</sup> Fab. 432. He was accompanied by Earl Salisbury, the father of the famous Warwick.

and Burgundy, beginning to act zealously against his ancient and now execrating friends, laid siege to Calais, miscalculating both his own ability and the English prowess. His attack failed<sup>14</sup>; and Gloucester, arriving with a large army, hastily summoned from England, to its succor, he retired with precipitation. The English duke, in return, ravaged Flanders, from resentment, and for plunder<sup>15</sup>; but these movements only cemented the alliance between the new confederates, without endangering either. La-Hire took Soissons<sup>16</sup>, while the duke of York regained Fecamp, St. Germain-sur-Cailly, and other towns<sup>17</sup>; and the lords Scales and Talbot, with sir Thomas Kiriell, surprised and defeated, tho with no permanent benefit, the two great champions of France, La-Hire and Poton de Saintrailles.<sup>18</sup> Alternate successes occurred in 1437, when the earl of Warwick superseded York, and in 1438<sup>19</sup>; but the English generals could do little more than painfully maintain their ground, in the provinces which they had refused to take, as the price of peace.

A more serious effort to terminate the murderous warfare between two nations, that had become so equally proud, resentful, and defying, as to make pacification almost impracticable, was attempted in 1439, at a meeting between Calais and Gravelines; and the instructions given by the administration to the ambassadors display curiously the cabinet's perception of the extravagant expectations of the country, and its own sense of their impossibility or absurdity. The envoys were required, first, to demand that Charles should not disturb the king's occupation of France, nor question his title. If this was resisted, they were to offer to purchase acqui-

<sup>14</sup> Monst. vii. p. 318. 352.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 382. He landed there 2 August, 1436. Feb. 432.

<sup>16</sup> Monst. vii. p. 395.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 397.

<sup>18</sup> Monst. viii. p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 25. 33. 39. 95, &c.



escence, by ceding to Charles territories beyond the Loire, to be holden of Henry as chief lord. On the rejection of this, which, in the situation of the English at that time, could be considered only as an arrogant proposal, the ambassadors were to represent, that the wars for the crown of France had now lasted above a century; that in this period, more men had perished in the contest than the population of both kingdoms then amounted to: and that all the world did not contain so many noble princes, knights, squires, and men of feats, as these wars had destroyed. The orators were to add, that it was too great sorrow and horror to think or hear, that so much blood had been shed; that the Christian faith, which might have been dilated thro the world, had, in consequence, greatly decreased; and that either the conflict must be terminated, or one nation must destroy the other. These moral reminiscences, which ought to have occurred to the English mind as strongly at Arras as at this time, were to be followed by a consent, that Charles should enjoy, unconditionally, all France beyond the Loire, except Guienne and Poitou. If this failed, the negotiators were to ask only, that the king should retain what he should be possessed of on the day of the agreement. Should this moderated offer be declined, their proposal was then to be, that the English should have what their Norman princes had held in their proper right, with Calais, and the adjoining castle of Guyenes; and that Henry should marry the French sovereign's daughter.<sup>20</sup> If these terms should be found unattainable, they had private instructions, by which the ultimatum was to be settled. Orleans was to be released<sup>21</sup>; and full powers were given to the

<sup>20</sup> Rymer, vol. x. p. 724—726. These Instructions are dated 21 May 1439.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 728. 756.

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cardinal to conclude a final treaty.<sup>22</sup> One of the ambassadors, the archbishop of York, was, in a few months afterwards, made a cardinal.<sup>23</sup>

Diplomatic instructions, with such a wide horizon of demand, and such a contractile power of concession, put the result of the negotiation entirely into the hands, and rested it on the secrecy and fidelity of the ambassadors: and yet these were numerous.<sup>24</sup> The treacherous communication of a copy, or intimation of their contents, was certain to frustrate every article but the last, and to impede the granting even of that: and as the Pope was anxious for the pacification, on any terms, and was now inclining to the interests of France, it was not wise to make his cardinal and former legate, the most confidential negotiator for England.

It was one of the future accusations against the duke of Suffolk, that he made traitorous communications to Charles, of the councils of the English administration. He might be charged unjustly; but the envoys were too numerous to secure uncorrupted integrity, or impenetrable secrecy. The probability is, that the cabinet knew that all the terms, but the last, would be rejected; but that they had to make a parliamentary case, and to sooth the feelings of the country; and therefore, to evade impeaching charges, however moderate in their own expectations, they were large in their ostensible demands.

The duke of Gloucester protested firmly against the release of Orleans<sup>25</sup>, but in vain; yet, tho the

<sup>22</sup> These full powers were dated 25 May 1439, and gave him the real command of the negotiation. Rymer, vol. x. p. 758.

<sup>23</sup> On 4 Feb. 1440, he had licence to assume the dignity of cardinal. Ib. 758.

<sup>24</sup> They were:

J. Archbishop of York,  
J. Duke of Norfolk,  
T. Bishop of Norwich,  
T. ——— St. David's,

Earl Stafford,  
— Oxford,  
Lord Bourghchier,  
— Hungerford,  
and others.

Ib.

<sup>25</sup> On 2 June 1440. See it in old English, in Rymer, vol. x. p. 764.

ministry chose to liberate him for a ransom of 20,000 nobles<sup>26</sup>, they could not venture to conclude the unpopular peace. Events unfavorable to England

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<sup>26</sup> The convention for his release, for 20,000 English, nobles or 40,000 scuti, is dated 2 July 1440. Rym. 777. He gave his bond for this sum on 2 Nov. Ib. 817. The Duke of Bretagne guaranteed it Ib. 785. And on 12 Nov. he signed, at Gravelines, an acknowledgment that he was liberated. Ib. 829. He had been a prisoner in England from October 1415 to November 1440. His sonnets, for their general taste and elegance, make an era in early French poetry: the following, written on our expulsion from France at this period, is a specimen of his talents, and of the ancient French language at this time, and also gives his perception of the discontented state of the English mind against its government:—

“Comment voy je ces Anglois esbays ?  
Resjoys toy, franc royaume de France !  
On aperçoit que de Dieu sont hays,  
Puisqu'il y n'ont plus couraige ne puissance,  
Bien pensoient par leur outrecuidance  
Toy surmonter, et tenir en servaige ;  
Mais à present, Dieu pour toy se combat ;  
Et se montre du tout de ta partie ;  
Leur grant orgueil entierement abat ;  
Et t'a rendu Guyenne et Normandie.

Quant les Anglois as pieça envays ;  
Rien n'y valoit ton sens et ta vaillance ;  
Lors estores, anisi que fut Tays,  
Pecheresse, qui pour faire penance,  
Enclouse fut par divine ordonnance :  
Ainsi as tu esté en reclusaige,  
De desconfort et douleur de couraige :  
Et les Anglois menoient leur sabat,  
En grans pompes, banbans, et tirannie,  
Or a tourné Dieu ton deuil en esbat,  
Et t'as rendu Guyenne et Normandie.

N'ont pas Anglois souvent leurs roys trahys ?  
Certes ouyl ; tous en ont congnoissance.  
Et encore le roy de leur pays  
Est maintenant en douteuse balance ;  
D'en parler mal, chascun Anglois s'avance ;  
Assez monstrent, par leur mauvais langaige,  
Que volontiers lui feraient oultraige,  
Qui sera roy entr'eulx est grant debat.  
Pour ce, France ! que veulx tu que te dye ?  
De sa verge Dieu les pugnist et bat ;  
Et t'a rendu Guyenne et Normandie.

PRINCE.

Roy des François, gagné as l'avantage ;  
Parfaiz ton jeu comme vaillant et saige.  
Maintenant, las, plus belle qu'au rabat,  
De ton boneur France Dieu remercie  
Fortune en bien avecques toy sembat,  
Et t'a rendu Guyenne et Normandie.

MSS. Bib. du Roi, No. 2738. Charm. iv. 325.

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occurred during 1439 in the loss of Meaux<sup>27</sup>, and in the marriage of the French king's daughter with the duke of Burgundy's son.<sup>28</sup> But in the next Lent, Somerset and Talbot made incursions into Picardy<sup>29</sup>; and in April, Somerset besieged and took Harfleur.<sup>30</sup> Ambassadors from France, England, and Burgundy, again met at Calais, to treat of peace<sup>31</sup>; but, as the French king increased his demands with his advantages, and began to look forward to the entire expulsion of the English, no accommodation followed. Several towns submitted to Charles, who, in 1441, besieged Pontoise.<sup>32</sup> In July, the duke of York, who had been re-appointed to preside in France, marched with lords Talbot and Scales, and sir Richard Woodville, to relieve it<sup>33</sup>, and exerted himself with a vigor and a skill which obtained several successes.<sup>34</sup> The French nobles now urged Charles to make a peace; but his council, extending their views beyond the personal interest of the nobility, to the larger horizon of the national aggrandizement, he withstood their remonstrances.<sup>35</sup> In 1442, he directed his forces against Gascony, to the satisfaction of its inhabitants, and with great successes.<sup>36</sup> In the next year he invaded Normandy, and relieved Dieppe.<sup>37</sup> Somerset opposed him, with some advantages<sup>38</sup>; and in 1444, a truce was made between the two long-contending countries<sup>39</sup>, which was intended to be the precursor of a permanent peace, tho at the sacrifice of all that England held, or had fought for, or most coveted in France, and on which the calamitous marriage of

<sup>27</sup> Monst. viii. 156.

<sup>30</sup> Ib. 200. 210.

<sup>32</sup> Ib. 278. 280.

<sup>35</sup> Ib. 305—331.

<sup>37</sup> Ib. 348.

<sup>28</sup> Ib. 174.

<sup>31</sup> Ib. 218.

<sup>33</sup> Ib. 287.

<sup>36</sup> Ib. 333. 336—342.

<sup>38</sup> Ib. 348. He made some conquests.

<sup>29</sup> Ib. 181.

<sup>34</sup> Ib. 287—296.

<sup>39</sup> It was settled by Suffolk, Moleyns and others, to continue to 1 April 1445. Ib. 379. The powers to them, to treat of truce and peace, were dated 11 February 1444. Rym. xi. p. 59—67.

Margaret was intended to be engrafted. The instructions for this latter negotiation were sent in February 1444<sup>40</sup>: and if ever a diplomatic casket was a Pandora's box to any country, that which conveyed the authority for this treaty was so to England, to its sovereign, and to its ancient aristocracy.

The particular intrigues that were pursued in the royal household, and that were dividing the cabinet, have not been distinctly revealed to us. But they seem to have resembled those, which, in all ages and countries, attend royal minorities. We have seen the king's ninth year made an era of such sufficient capacity as to take from Gloucester his protectorate, because no longer necessary. When Henry was in his fourteenth year, he was advised by those who thought he was kept too much from public business, and that the council of regency was transacting the affairs of state without him, to demand to be now admitted to his proper participation in them. The ruling cabinet gave him a written answer, expressing high personal compliments, but containing a positive refusal which contradicted them.<sup>41</sup> In his seventeenth year, another disabling document appears, by which, instead of being allowed or encouraged to discharge, more

<sup>40</sup> They were dated 20 February 1444, and addressed to W. Pole, Earl Suffolk, "great seneschal of our household, our ambassador in France." 11 Rymer, p. 53.

<sup>41</sup> Their answer, after a commencing protestation that it was not their intent to require any thing prejudicial to the king's dignity, was, that they desired it might be said to him in their behalf, "that tho God have endowed the king with as great understanding and feeling as ever they saw or knew in any prince or other person of his age, nevertheless, to quit them truly to God, to the king, and to his people, they dare not take upon them to put in conceit or opinion that he is yet endowed with so great feeling, knowlege, and wisdom, the which must in great part grow of experience; nor with so great foresight and discretion, to separate and chuse, namely, in matters of great weight and difficulty, what is expedient and behoveful to him and his people, from what might be prejudicial, perilous and harmful to them. They intimate therefore, that it was not expedient as yet to change the rule and governance, that afore this in his tender age, hath by Parliament been appointed, for the good and surety of his noble person and of this land:" they then beseech him, "that if any such motions be again made to him, apart, in things of great weight and substance, &c. that he will take the advice of his parliament, or of his continual council for the time being." This was read to the king at Cirencester, 12 Nov. 1434. It is remarkable that the duke of Gloucester did not sign this answer. Rol. Parl. v. p. 438., from Titus, E 5.

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efficiently the duties of his great station, it is expressly declared, that "he shall not more attend to them in his own person, *as oft as he would.*"<sup>42</sup> This exclusion at the age of seventeen, and without any limitation of time, from that active conduct of the government which would have educated his mind to the habits of public business, could only render him unfit and unused, and in time unwilling, to transact it. From these documents, the political incapacity of Henry may be fairly ascribed to his injudicious governors, and too ecclesiastical cabinet. The evidence which their own language gives of his capacity, is also their condemnation; as it proves, that they either flattered, or misdirected him. Both he and his uncle of Gloucester appear to have been kept assiduously in the back ground, by those, who by thus forcibly continuing their own power, and promoting their own interests, undermined their popularity; and with that, the government, to which they gave a partial and exclusive bias.<sup>43</sup>

That cardinal Beaufort, with the aid of his coadjutor, the archbishop of York, had governed the administration to the exclusion of others of the regency council, was the complaint of the duke of Gloucester. In his address to the king against them, he states this to be a matter of public notoriety<sup>44</sup>; and that the cardinal had of his own

<sup>42</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. v. p. 438, 439. This curious document appoints an annual salary to each of these ruling counsellors, and provides, "that my lord of Gloucester shall not lay in his counter letter." Ibid. It is dated 13 Nov. 1437.

<sup>43</sup> Gloucester reminded the king, "how often tymes I have offered my service to and for the defence of your realme of Fraunce, and duchie of Normandy, where I have been put therefrom, by the labor of the said cardinal, in preferring other after his singular affection, which hath caused great part of the said duchie to be lost." See his articles in Hall, 201.

<sup>44</sup> "Through your landes it is noysed, that the said cardinal and archbishop had and have the governaunce of you and all your lande, and have also estranged me, your sole uncle; my cosyn of York; my cosyn of Huntingdon, and many other lords of your kin, from having any knowlege of any great matter that might touch your high estate; and of lords spiritual, the archbishop of Canterbury should be your chief counsellor, who is also set aside." Art. 4., Hall, p. 198.

authority, released the king of Scotland, and had taken upon himself the royal state: and had appointed the embassies to Arras and Gravelines, the latter for reasons unknown to other lords of the council; and had given the duke of Orleans his liberty.<sup>45</sup>

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Besides these assumptions of power, the cardinal is also charged with pursuing extraordinary and illegal means of amassing wealth<sup>46</sup>; and the duke declares, "that it had not been possible to the said cardinal to have come into his great riches, but by such means; for of his church, it might not rise: and inheritance he had none."<sup>47</sup> Gloucester desired that these ecclesiastical statesmen might be estranged from the council, "that men may be at their freedom to say what they think of truth:" he added, with the courage of a high spirit, and from a feeling of safety, which he was soon after to experience to be a vain confidence against the lawlessly exerted power of his great antagonist, "I dare speak of my truth. The poor dare not do so."<sup>48</sup> He dared; and the immediate attack on his wife, and the subsequent arrest and death of himself at Bury, exhibited the effects of his so daring.

The king received his charges, and "committed the hearing thereof to his council, whereof the most part were spiritual persons. So, what for fear, and

<sup>45</sup> Art. 6. 13, 14, 15. p. 199.

<sup>46</sup> See Art. 5, 6, 7. 9. 19, 20. Hall, p. 199—201. The duke declares, that as well in England as in France and Normandy, "neither office, livelihood, nor captain, may be had without too great a good given to him, whereby great part of all the loss that is lost, they have been the causes of; for who that would give most, his was the price; not considering the merits, service nor suffisance of persons." Art. 22. p. 201. It is improbable that the duke would have made a public charge of this sort, if it had been unfounded.

<sup>47</sup> Art. 22. p. 201.

<sup>48</sup> Art. 24. p. 201. As these Articles mention the meetings at Arras and Calais, they must have been presented after the latter, which was in 1439, and before Kempe, who is called archbishop, was made a cardinal, which was before 4 Feb. 1440. See note 23.

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what for favor, the matter was winked at, and nothing said to it;" but, "a fair countenance was made to the duke, as tho no displeasure had been taken, nor no malice borne against him."<sup>49</sup> The dissimulation was of no long continuance. The revenge taken was extreme.

The coadjutors of the cardinal Beaufort, in his administration, besides the cardinal archbishop of York, who became also chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, were, Adam Moleyns, who was made keeper of the privy seal and bishop of Chichester; William Pole the earl of Suffolk, the great seneschal of the royal household; lord Say, who became the king's chamberlain, and another prelate, the bishop of Salisbury. These, on the death of Bedford, became the great directors of the English cabinet; and we have one expressive intimation of their mode of government, in the complaint of the commons in the succeeding year, that the sheriffs returned persons to parliament as the members for cities and boroughs, who had not been elected by them.<sup>50</sup> This arbitrary and unconstitutional mode of procuring a commanding majority of the house of commons, was one of the grievances that produced the civil war.

Of this ministry, the earl of Suffolk became the leading lay-member, and the principal favorite at court<sup>51</sup>; and the two great measures on which he raised the ladder of his ambition, and which became his ruin, were, the marriage of the king with a princess of his own choosing, and the cessation of hostilities with France, on any terms, even to the sacrifice of all the English conquests. So grossly is

<sup>49</sup> Hall, p. 202.

<sup>50</sup> This petition, presented in 1436, is in the Parliament Rolls, vol. iv. p. 511. It prays that cities and boroughs may have the elections free, and that sheriffs return those who were actually chosen, under the penalty of forfeiting 10*l*. *Ib*.

<sup>51</sup> The impeachment against him in 1450, states, that twelve years before, or in 1438, he had been "the next and prvyest of the king's council and steward of the household." Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 180.



ambition cheated by its selfish contrivances: but it commonly ruins itself by its egotism. By narrowing its base to its own interests, its superstructure, however elaborate, is never stable; and it becomes the advantage of all others to overthrow it.

The lady first selected in 1442, with the concurrence or by the advice of Gloucester, for the queen, was the daughter of the earl of Armagnac, by which Gascony and Auvergne would have been secured to the English crown, and thus an important limitation have been founded to the power of France on the side of the Pyrenees. But Suffolk counteracted this alliance, to the duke's extreme displeasure<sup>52</sup>, and to the political injury of his country; and the French king, directing his arms successfully on those provinces, the nuptial treaty was annulled, tho the parties had been affianced. Suffolk, with the approbation of his friends in the cabinet, who saw the personal advantages to themselves, tho not to the state, of having a queen who should owe her elevation to them, selected Margaret for this high dignity, the daughter of the duke of Anjou, nominal king of Sicily and Jerusalem; altho her dowry was but a pleasing person, high spirit, and a resolution to give power to the ministers who procured her marriage. The king's consent was easily obtained, as he yielded to every persuader, and was desirous of being married. But there was one obstacle, that ought alone to have prevented an upright English statesman from countenancing the measure, if what were then thought to be the interests and the honor of England, were to be the objects of his regard. She was niece to the queen of France, and her father could not venture to consent

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of the  
king.

<sup>52</sup> Fabian, 440. After mentioning that Suffolk had frustrated this marriage, he adds, "which kindled a new brand of burning envy between the lord protector and him, and took fire in such wise that it left not, till both parties, with many others, were consumed and slain." Ib.

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to the match, without the previous approbation of the French king; and this was hopeless without such sacrifices as would satisfy his political demands, and terminate the war. Suffolk resolved to be the person who should accomplish what was really irreconcilable, both in rectitude and prudence. He felt, that the highest gratification of personal ambition would be his reward, if he succeeded; and to secure to himself the prime ministership of England, he plunged into all the difficulties and dangers of the measure: and he reaped fully all its advantages, and, not less abundantly, all its mischiefs.

He saw the hazards, but he thought his policy could surmount them. Having been appointed, with Adam Moleyns, to treat with France, one of his first precautions was, to obtain a mandate from the king, stating, that the earl, having fears and scruples about the matters of his embassy, the sovereign, from his own entire and peculiar desire for the peace and matrimony, enjoined him to fulfil, without hesitation, the whole of his embassy.<sup>53</sup> He caused this document to be sanctioned by Parliament.

His next step was for popular, as well as for parliamentary effect. In the sessions that was opened on the 25th of February 1444, the cardinal archbishop and chancellor expatiated on the diligent labors of Suffolk, with others, for the *glorious* marriage with princess Margaret, and for the establishment of peace, or at least for the abstinence of war, for a certain time. The speaker of the house of commons, on a subsequent day, by which time Suffolk had been created a marquis, after dilating on his labors in conserving peace within the kingdom, in repressing riots, in the wars beyond the seas, in treating for peace, in procuring a suspension of hos-

<sup>53</sup> Rymer, xi. p. 53.

tilities, to the great comfort of the merchants of the country, and in negotiating the royal marriage; requested, in the name of the commons, that Suffolk's services might be imprinted on the king's heart. The sovereign was instructed to answer, that their prayers were singularly pleasing to him; and that he would take the marquis into his benign grace and favor.<sup>54</sup>

Lest all these public acts should not be a sufficient indemnity, a message was delivered, in the king's name, to the two houses, notifying that the sovereign himself had appointed a day in October for the convention of a peace with France, and that none of the lords of his cabinet had moved him to it; that they had requested him then to declare that it was his own personal determination, and that they might be for ever discharged and excused, concerning it. An Act was then passed, reciting a former treaty, which bound the king not to make peace without the assent of parliament; and repealing this restriction.<sup>55</sup>

Thus secured, Suffolk thought that he had taken off from himself all political responsibility; and he proceeded to the conclusion of the marriage. It could be effected only by surrendering to her family, and thereby to the French king, Anjou, Mans, and the comté of Maine. Gloucester resisted this cession, as Maine was the key of Normandy.<sup>56</sup> His opposition was fruitless. The province was given up. The nuptials were celebrated by proxy at Tours, where the French king then resided; and the princess was brought by the exulting Suffolk, blind to the awful future, to the shores of her new country.

The English received her with a kindness which indicated, that if she had abstained from intermeddling with politics, she might have been popular and beloved. She was married to Henry at Southwike in

Margaret's  
arrival.  
May 1444.

<sup>54</sup> Roll. Parl. v. p. 66—74.

<sup>56</sup> Fab. 441.

<sup>55</sup> Ib. p. 103.

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Hampshire, and was conducted by the chief nobility and gentry, with great state to London. Their numerous retinues of knights, esquires, and retainers, were in appropriate liveries, with browdered sleeves, some enriched with beaten gold. Gloucester brought 500 of his feudal attendants, in one uniform of splendid apparel. On the 18th of May, the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and commonalty attended her at Blackheath, in their red hoods, and brown and blue gowns, and with the conisaunce or flags of their various trades. Pageants and resemblances, from old histories, were exhibited in the city as she passed, "to the great comfort of her, and of such as came with her." On Sunday, May the 30th, she was crowned at Westminster. Knightly justs were held for three days, in the sanctuary before the abbey<sup>57</sup>; and the genius of Lydgate was roused, or employed, to versify her welcome, and chant her praise.<sup>58</sup> Poets as lavishly promise felicities, as they ascribe excellencies, to the heroes and heroines of their panegyric; but they are neither good painters, nor true prophets. They can command words, and sometimes feelings, but not events. They talk eloquently of virtues and perfections, but can as little give them to their patronizing favorites, as they seem able, at times, to acquire them for themselves. The inspiration of the bard is not always from Olympus; and in Margaret's case, the sad realities of history falsified, most lamentably,

<sup>57</sup> Fab. 442. On this occasion, Lord Stafford was made Duke of Buckingham; Warwick, Duke of Warwick; Dorset, Marquis of Dorset; and Suffolk, Marquis of Suffolk. Ib. 441.

<sup>58</sup> Lydgate's verses and pageant on her marriage still remain among his MS. works. Hall says of her, that she "excelled all other as well in beauty and favor, as in wit and policie; and was of stomach and corage more like to a man, than a woman." P. 205. His epitome of the effects of her union is an expressive abridgment of the rest of the reign: "After this spousage, the king's friends fell from him; the lords of his realm fell in division amongst themselves; the commons rebelled against their natural prince; fields were foughten; many thousands slain, and finally, the king deposed, and his son slain, and his queen sent home again, with as much misery and sorrow, as she was received with pomp and triumph." P. 205.

all that was hoped and anticipated, rhymed or fore-told. She was not long the messenger of joy and peace; but soon, too soon, became a harbinger of woe, leading both her friends and enemies to exile, poverty, wretchedness, and death.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> The remarks which Dr. Gascoigne, the chancellor of Oxford, about this time, has inserted on this marriage in his *Diction. Theol.* still existing in MS. at Oxford, shew us the angered and disrespectful feelings with which the criticising part of the nation now contemplated that event, and the remarks they made upon it. I quote from the Cotton MSS. Vitel. 156, which contains Dr. James's MS. extracts from Gascoigne:—

“Lately in a kingdom, a certain woman was married to a certain king, and the person who contracted this marriage, by a secret and false compact, alienated a great duchy from this kingdom.”

“England received no advantage with queen Margaret, but the loss of Anjou and Maine, which her husband Henry VI. gave for her, under his great seal, to the king her father.”

“In consequence of losing these provinces, England also lost Normandy, France, and Gascony; Anjou was then lost. The duke of Suffolk betrothed for the king, Margaret, the younger daughter of the duke of Lorraine, who was called king of Sicily, but had no part of it. Having contracted this marriage, the duke came to England, and procured a large subsidy, and then sailed back to France, to bring Margaret here to be queen. But then the French arrested her, saying, that neither should have a safe conduct from their king to her, and that he should not carry her to England.”

“The duke considering what would befall him in England if he did not get her over, obtained from Henry leave to give up Anjou and Maine to her father Regnier. But immediately after these were surrendered, the French obtained Normandy and France without war or a struggle, from the hands of a few English that were there; and in a short time also Gascony.”

In another place he adds, “her father swore to the duke and duchess of Suffolk, that he would efficaciously labor for making the final peace between England and France, if Anjou and Maine were given up to him. The king and council authorized Adam Moleyns, the bishop of Chichester, to give up these provinces, who delivered them to Regnier (her father). Two dukes and an archbishop formed the council at the Dominican fryars at London, which consented to their concession.” James's MSS. Vitel. 155, 156. The pages referred to in Gascoigne's MS. are 579, 590, 609.

## CHAP. III.

*The Deaths of the Duke of GLOUCESTER and Cardinal BEAUFORT.*BOOK  
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A LARGE dowry of several manors was settled on the queen.<sup>1</sup> Suffolk was raised to the highest rank of English nobility; and several manors and wardships were given to him to support his ducal dignity. He became the ruling favorite with both king and queen; and he had established a great influence in the court of France, from which, as no benefits were derived by his country, some were inferred, and may be presumed, to have resulted to himself.

But before he could feel secure in his course of ambition, it was necessary that one political opponent should be removed. Greatness we are not born to, is suspicious of its own permanence, and alarmed at opposition. It knows itself to have arisen more by chance and contrivance than by merit, and it feels itself to have no natural stability. But even this jealousy seems insufficient to account for an attack on the next heir of the crown. This was a measure so unusually violent, that one of the most extravagant charges against Suffolk afterwards, that he aimed at vesting the succession to the crown in his own family, ceases to be improbable, when we consider his arresting, for the purpose of destroying, the king's uncle, and heir presumptive, the duke of Gloucester.

Before the king's marriage an attempt was made to vex or degrade the duke, by attacking the duchess

Duchess  
accused.

<sup>1</sup> Rol. Parl. 5. 118. Three years afterwards another grant occurs, which mentions that the king having assigned her 3,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in part of her dower, apports it to be paid from the customs at Southampton, the duchy of Cornwall, and the exchequer. Ib. p. 132.

with a charge, to us fantastical, but then of great impression; that she was destroying the royal life by witchcraft.<sup>2</sup> The power of necromancy was at that time believed to be attainable; in that emerging day of knowledge, when the art of transmuting metals into gold and silver, and of making elixirs of immortality, was earnestly pursued, under the sanction of royal patents<sup>3</sup>, the attempt to command nature by sorcery may have been actually studied. When all believed that this superhuman power was possible, and many taught that it could be practically acquired, some may have assayed to gain it, as numbers, in all ages, have wished for it; but many more persons were slandered with the imputation, from the alarm, malice, and ignorance of their prejudiced neighborhood. In this reign, the charge was peculiarly malevolent; for there is reason to suppose that it was made, not unfrequently, on those whose only crime was some of the new religious opinions, which were prosecuted as impious heresy.

The accusation against the duchess was, that, at her request, three clergymen, and an elderly woman, of Eye, had made an image of wax like the king, which they consumed gradually before the fire; that as that figure slowly melted, the king might pine and decay.<sup>4</sup>

It is so extraordinary, that the lady of the first person in the nation, after the king, his only living

<sup>2</sup> A similar charge was made afterwards against the duke of Clarence.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in 1449, in 1452, licenses to transmute metals were granted, and in 1456, to make "that precious medicine which some call the mother of philosophers and the empress medicine; others the inestimable glory; others the fifth essence (quintessence), and others the philosopher's stone and elixir of life." See these grants in Rym. Fœd. vii. p. 240. 309. 379.; and another in 1460, p. 462, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Fabian, 437. Absurd as these fancies are, yet even the courtier and the learned believed them in queen Elizabeth's days. Bishop Jewel, in an address delivered to the queen against witches, could then say, "These eyes have seen most evident and manifest marks of their wickedness. Your grace's subjects pine away even unto the death; their color fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed; their senses are bereft." Alkin's Mem. Eliz. i. 284. Nor did he speak to unbelieving ears, for a violent act of parliament was made against them.

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uncle, and the then next heir to the throne, should be harassed with a charge like this ; or that it should be even entertained at all in those days, when it was so dangerous to assail or to slander greatness, that we can have no doubt it was the premeditated act of a powerful party. No mere individual, unconnected with other purposes, would have presumed to make such an imputation, or would have been listened to if he attempted it. The incident is too little detailed for our curiosity to receive full satisfaction ; but there are some attendant circumstances that deserve our consideration. The individuals accused as her confederates, were Roger Bolingbroke, a clergyman ; Thomas Southwell, a canon of Westminster ; and John Hume, the chaplain of the duchess ; besides Margery Jourdemayn, a reputed witch.

This Margery Jourdemayn had been apprehended ten years before, together with three other ecclesiastics ; Thomas Norfelde, a Dominican friar, living at Worcester ; John Asshewell, a friar of the Holy Cross at London ; and John Virley, a clergyman, on a charge of sorcery : but the order to arrest Norfelde commanded him to be brought before the royal council, with all his books treating of magic, or *any other suspected matters*.<sup>5</sup> The latitude of the last expressions, considered with the recollection of the fierce persecution of what was called lollardy, at that time, leads to a belief, that sorcery was not the main imputation. Their commitment to such a place as Windsor castle also implies, that more important objects were connected with their seizure. Whatever was the plan, it seems to have failed ; for Margery was released on her husband giving bail for her ; and the others, on similar cautionary securities.

Former  
arrest of  
Margery.  
1432.

<sup>5</sup> Rym. Fæd. vol. x. p. 505. On the prosecution of R. Walker in 1419, for sorcery, see Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 394.



Four years after this, an event occurred, that is likely to have put Suffolk into a state of personal hostility with the duchess and her family. She was the daughter of Reynold Cobham, the lord of Stereburgh.<sup>6</sup> In 1433, the duke of Orleans was committed to the custody of Suffolk, with a daily salary for his maintenance.<sup>7</sup> But after Bedford's death, this illustrious and profitable prisoner was, in May, 1436, taken from Suffolk, and put under the care of sir Reynold Cobham, the father of the duchess, with the same pecuniary benefit.<sup>8</sup> Her father was descended from that ancestor from whom the lady Cobham came, who had married sir John Oldcastle.<sup>9</sup> If his new religious opinions had spread to the two branches of the Cobham line, the persecution of the duchess would become more intelligible.

The three ecclesiastics arrested with Margery Jourdemayn, on the charge against the duchess in 1443, were not those who had been imprisoned with her in 1432. One of them, Bolingbroke, is described by a contemporary as one of the most famous clerks in all the world, whose fate was exceedingly lamented by many. He was particularly distinguished for his knowlege of astronomy, as well as necromancy.<sup>10</sup> He was accused as the counsellor of the duchess in the magic art.<sup>11</sup> The supposition, that a clergyman of his celebrity would conspire with a person of her rank, for such a treasonable purpose, if it were practicable, and for such an absurd one, as with his science he must have known it to have been, is so improbable that it is more likely that lollardism, and not necromancy, was their actual crime. But the apparent farce was converted into a tragedy, by the sentences

Execution  
of the  
accused.

<sup>6</sup> Wals. MSS.

<sup>7</sup> This was 14s. 4d. a day. Rym. 10. 564.

<sup>8</sup> Rym. 10. 658.

<sup>9</sup> Banks' Baronage, vol. i. p. 270., and vol. ii. p. 106. 119. Oldcastle took the title of lord Cobham from his wife. Hall, 48.

<sup>10</sup> Will. Wyrcestre, p. 461.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

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on her alleged counsellors. Bolingbroke was exposed to public derision in St. Paul's churchyard, on a high seat, to be seen by all, in a fantastic dress, with waxen images, and things which they called his necromantic instruments. He was then drawn to Tyburn, hung and quartered, and his head was fixed on London bridge.<sup>12</sup> He protested, with his last breath, that he was innocent of the charge.<sup>13</sup> The next day, Margaret Jourdemayn was burnt in Smithfield.<sup>14</sup> Southwell, the canon of Westminster, died in the Tower the night before he was to have been judged; and Hume, the chaplain of the implicated duchess, received the suspicious bounty of a pardon.<sup>15</sup>

The powerful persecutors did not venture to make the blow at the duchess so fatal. Whether the public sympathy at transactions so nefarious, or dread of her husband's yet remaining power, mitigated her doom, is not mentioned. She had been imprisoned in Leeds castle; but she was sentenced to be brought to London, and to do three times penance. On Thursday, she was placed near the Temple gate, and was made to walk in public disgrace to St. Paul's, with waxen tapers in her hands. On Saturday, she was thus paraded from the Swan in Thames Street to Christchurch; and on the Sunday from St. Paul's to St. Peter's in Cornhill.<sup>16</sup> She was then committed to a lasting imprisonment; for, after being in other places<sup>17</sup>, we find a warrant, in the October of the next year, for transferring her from Chester castle to Kenilworth.<sup>18</sup>

This attack on the duchess could have but one effect on her husband's mind. The church was made the

<sup>12</sup> Will. Wyrcestre, p. 461.<sup>13</sup> Fabian, 439. Hall, 202.<sup>14</sup> W. Wyr. Fab.<sup>15</sup> Fab. 439.<sup>16</sup> W. Wyr. 460, 461. Lel. Collect. vol. ii. 493.<sup>17</sup> At first a castle under sir Thomas Stanley. Wyr. 461. And then, according to the Chronicle in Leland, to a prison in the Isle of Man.<sup>18</sup> Rym. vol. xi. p. 45.

engine to deal the blow; and the heads of the church were the ministers of the country, to whom, with Suffolk, the queen united herself, and with them, and by them, governed the country.<sup>19</sup> To have contributed to end an useless war, may have been Suffolk's wisdom rather than his treachery; but to make his administration and his policy so lucrative to himself, from the repeated grants of honors, manors, and property<sup>20</sup>, which he accumulated with a rapidity that looked like rapacity, led the nation to suppose, that the public good was sacrificed to his private advantage. This want of disinterestedness, which was both imputed and believed, caused that which was judicious to appear to be sordid; and fixed the general hatred on himself, extending it also to the principles which he espoused and disgraced, and to the government which he directed.

But the general attention became soon absorbed by a violence, which agitated the public sensibility into a personal hatred of the new-made duke, and his ministerial coadjutors; and which roused it to destroy most of them, within a few years afterwards, by one of the greatest and most ungovernable of all evils, a popular insurrection.

That the queen had been urged by her father, not to allow herself and Henry to be kept under, like young wards, but to take upon themselves the government of the kingdom; and that by her permission and favor, Suffolk and Buckingham, "not unprocured" by the two English cardinals, Winchester and York, conspired to destroy the duke of Gloucester, is asserted by the old chronicler, from

<sup>19</sup> "Shortly after, all was ruled by the quene and her council, to the great disprofit of the king and his realm, and to the great mauger and obloquy of the quene." Fab. 422.

<sup>20</sup> See Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 275. 284, 285. 287. Croyl. 521. He had the custody of the duke of Orleans. Rym. x. 564. And was in the embassies of 1435, 1444, 1445. Rym. Fœd. x. 613; xi. 53. 94.

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divers writers, whom he does not specify.<sup>21</sup> The precise plans and causes of such a wicked confederacy, have not come down to us; but the determined and fatal effects soon appeared.

The ministers issued writs to convene a parliament, at first at Cambridge; but the place was afterwards changed to meet at Bury St. Edmund's, as more fitted for their secret purpose, on the 10th of February.<sup>22</sup> With this summons they privately sent a requisition from the crown, for the people of the country, to meet there, "in their most defensible arms, to give attendance upon the king."<sup>23</sup> This order was obeyed; and the roads about the town were so strictly kept by armed men, both day and night, that many died of cold and watching.<sup>24</sup>

1447.  
Gloucester  
arrested.

The duke of Gloucester, unsuspecting of the plot of violence that had been concerted against him<sup>25</sup>, attended among the other peers. He had been, in the preceding year, accused, in open council, of various articles, which he satisfactorily repelled.<sup>26</sup> Such an unavailing accusation may have increased his animosity and popularity, and endangered his opponents; and their alarm may have hurried them into crime. But whatever was their motive, altho the calamities which had followed to the throne itself, by measures of the same sort, in the reigns of the second Edward and Richard, might have taught forbearance; yet after opening the session by a moral and religious speech on peace and good counsel, from the primate and chancellor<sup>27</sup>, the ministry suddenly arrested the duke of Gloucester, by the agency of lord

<sup>21</sup> Hall Chr. p. 209.<sup>22</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. v. p. 128.<sup>23</sup> Fabian, p. 443.<sup>24</sup> Stowe's Chron. p. 386.<sup>25</sup> "Nihil doli conjiciens." Hist. Croyl. cent. 521.<sup>26</sup> "The duke, not without great laud and praise, sufficiently answered to all things to him objected." Hall, p. 209. This writer had documents before him, on this period, which do not now exist.<sup>27</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. v. p. 128. On 11 Feb. the commons chose their speaker, W. Tresham, who on the Monday following was presented and approved. P. 129.

Beaumont, the high constable, accompanied by the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham. He was put into custody under a strong guard, and his thirty-two attendants were also seized, and sent to different prisons.<sup>28</sup> The fewness of these followers proved his arrest to be a measure unexpected by himself, as great men always came to parliament attended by large retinues, when they apprehended danger. Loud murmurs arose among the people, as the news became circulated; but the most favorable town for the purpose had been selected; and to allay the ferment, assertions were spread that he had conspired to kill the king, in order to liberate his duchess. Before any examination or trial occurred, within a few days afterwards, and altho seen safe and well in the preceding evening, he was found dead in his bed, on the morning of the 23rd February.<sup>29</sup> His body was exposed to public view, that it might be seen to have no wound<sup>30</sup>; as if our national history had not already shewn, that murder might be committed without leaving the marks of personal violence. If he was killed, no crime could be more foolish, and none ever became more pernicious to its inventors; if his death was the stroke of nature, it could not have occurred under circumstances more suspicious. The friends of the government maintained, that he had died of apoplexy. The nation believed that he had been murdered; and the political convenience of his death to the administration, their long hostility to him, and his violent arrest and imprisonment, before any ac-

<sup>28</sup> Fab. 444. Lel. ii. 494.

<sup>29</sup> Hist. Croyl. 521. W. Wyr. 464. Fab. 444. Hall mentions that some wrote, "that he was stifled between two feather beds." P. 209. His sudden death was certain. Its manner such, if violent, as to be undiscoverable by inspection.

<sup>30</sup> Fab. 444. W. Wyr. mentions his death without comment; and Whethampstead says, "that his arrest and close custody threw him into a sickness, which in a few days killed him." P. 365. But this is not sufficient to prove that his death was not violent. As Suffolk continued in full power for three years, no investigation took place; but the suspicion and imputation never left him: secret murders can rarely be proved.

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cusation, and without any specific charge, were deemed satisfactory evidences of the secret crime. At this distant period, we can only add, that when the ministry determined thus to arrest and imprison, on a charge of high treason, a personage who was not only the first nobleman in the kingdom, but also the presumptive heir to the crown; to whom a large portion of the nation was attached; and who possessed, in his own dignities and inheritances, a great force of military retainers, they must have deliberately resolved on his destruction. The arrest would have been their own downfall, if it were not followed by his death. Such an act of violence, if he survived it, could never be forgiven, nor, from the circumstances of the country, be long unavenged. Their own safety, and his life, became incompatible after such a measure; and to have voluntarily placed themselves in this dilemma, implies that his catastrophe, whether anticipated by an apoplexy of nature, or perpetrated by their atrocious order, was in accordance with their deliberate intentions. The public imputed it to their flagitious policy; and popular vengeance, in no long time afterwards, exacted a dreadful retribution.

Five of the duke's household were sent to London, and sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, as traitors. They were suspended on the gibbet in the presence of Suffolk, who chose to be at it; but when near expiring, and after being marked with a knife to be quartered, they were cut down, on his producing the king's pardon.<sup>31</sup> This theatrical ostentation of almost useless mercy, was cheered by the sudden feelings of the spectators; but the ancient chronicler adds, what might have been anticipated, "the grudge and murmur of the people ceased not against the marquis of Suffolk, for the death of the

<sup>31</sup> Fab. p. 444.

good duke of Gloucester, of whose murder he was specially suspected.”<sup>32</sup> That he could gratify himself by personally contemplating the last agonies of the servants of his political rival, and keep the pardon in his pocket till exhausted nature was ceasing her last struggles, announces a cruel insensibility of heart, which makes the imputation of their master’s murder less incredible.<sup>33</sup> The same stern animosity appears in the passing an act immediately afterwards, depriving the surviving duchess of her dower<sup>34</sup>, tho common policy might have suggested the expediency of affecting at least some sympathy for one, who was now as wretched as she was harmless. These circumstances compel us to recollect, that Suffolk had, three years before, given himself a pecuniary interest in Gloucester’s death, by having procured the grant of the county of Pembroke, if the duke should die without male heirs, and of Pembroke, Tenby, and Kilgarron castles, and of some Welsh domains, if he should leave no issue<sup>35</sup>; and had, in the year immediately preceding the catastrophe, enriched his nephew at Gloucester’s expence and degradation.<sup>36</sup>

The public sense of justice was soon after astonished, but gratified, to learn, that Gloucester’s bitterest and most ancient antagonist, the cardinal prelate

The cardinal dies.

<sup>32</sup> Fab. p. 444.

<sup>33</sup> Their pardon (Rymer, vol. xi. p. 179.) is grounded on four strange reasons: 1. Because God reserves vengeance to himself. 2. Because it was Friday when the king signed it. 3. Because the assumption of the Virgin was near. 4. Because of the many favors which the king had been receiving from God.

<sup>34</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. v. p. 135. This was done so soon after his death as 3 March. Ib.

<sup>35</sup> Col. Rot. Patent. p. 285. This was made one of the articles of his future impeachment. Rolls Parl. vol. v. p. 181. The grant was both to himself and his wife, as most of the grants to him were; a circumstance that indicates much connubial affection. The domestic feelings of husband and parent formed a part of his mixed character.

<sup>36</sup> This document is dated 22 Aug. 1446, by which the duke was compelled to abandon those lands and honors in Guienne which were then given to the foreign nobleman who had married Suffolk’s niece. Rym. vol. xi. p. 147. Suffolk had also obtained the wardships of the person and lands of the countess of Warwick, and of the duke of Somerset’s daughter. Hall, p. 207. The profit of such wardships we may infer from the fact, that the fine, or sum paid for the duke of York’s leave to marry, was 10,000*l*. Parl. Rolls, vol. iv. p. 465.

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of Winchester, survived him but six weeks.<sup>37</sup> The bishop may deserve the panegyric of the monk of Croyland, that he was peculiarly distinguished above all the nobility of England for his probity, wisdom, riches, and glory.<sup>38</sup> He could not fail to be affluent, who, besides lucrative dignities, obtained large grants from the crown, and a remission for life of all the tenths and quotas which the rest of the clergy paid, and a release from all fines<sup>39</sup>; and who had taken those means of amassing wealth, to which Gloucester alluded, in his last memorial against him. Worldly glory is the usual attendant on so much property and power. That he was an able man, cannot be disputed; and he may have had moral probity in his social transactions: but that he possessed or displayed those christian graces and feelings which it was the duty of a christian bishop to inculcate and exemplify, was hardly possible for one who lived and died a great statesman; and is not reconcileable with some of his recorded actions, which the most favoring candor can only pity and regret.

His death-bed.

The character drawn of him by Hall seems to correspond better with his public conduct<sup>40</sup>; and we owe to this writer an account of his death-bed feelings, which, coming from his own chaplain, may be

<sup>37</sup> Cardinal Beaufort died on the 11th April 1447. W. Wyr. 464. And his brother the duke of Exeter on the following August. Ib. He had placed this nobleman in parliament next to the duke of Gloucester. Rolls Parl. Rymer.

<sup>38</sup> Hist. Croyl. 521.

<sup>39</sup> Cal. Rot. Patent. 279, 281, 282, 283. Rym. Fæd. vol. x. p. 681. vol. xi. p. 20. He was rich enough to be frequently lending money to the crown: in one year 20,000*l.*; in the next year 10,000*l.*; in another 50,000*l.*; afterwards 6,000*l.*, 18,000*l.* and 9000 marcs and 7000 marcs; and to give the king 13,350 marcs for some castles and manors. Cal. Rot. p. 271, 272, 276, 277. 279, 280, 281, besides having leave to take 20,000*l.* to Basle. Rym. vol. x. p. 538. And to raise his crusading army. Ib. 419. We see his influence and one source of his wealth in a grant he obtained, on an allegation of unthriftiness in the abbot, of being guardian of the abbey of Battle, with power to take the revenue. MSS. Cleop. E. 3.

<sup>40</sup> "More noble of blood, than notable in learning; haut in stomach and high in countenance; rich above measure of all men, and to few liberal; disdainful to his kin, and dreadful to his lovers; preferring money before friendship; many things beginning, and nothing performing." Hall, p. 210.



considered as authentic. As he lay on that pillow from which he was never to rise in this world, he was heard to exclaim, "Why should I die, having so much riches? If the whole realm would save my life, I am able, either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it. Fie! will not death be hindered? nor will money do nothing? When my nephew of Bedford died, I thought myself half up the wheel: but when I saw mine other nephew of Gloucester deceased, then I thought myself able to be equal with kings; and so thought to increase my treasure, in hope to have worn a triple crown. But I see now the world faileth me; and so I am deceived. I pray you all to pray for me."<sup>41</sup> We have no right to ridicule or condemn the forms or manner in which any individual feels it to be consolatory, or hopes it will be beneficial to him to depart from his present state of being. Many have endeavored to implore mercy and to excite compassion by some act of personal mortification, as their dying spirit became hopeless of its continuance here. The cardinal Beaufort was of this number, and sought comfort on his departing soul, by having his funeral service performed over him as he lay on his death-bed.<sup>42</sup> His will expressed both his penitence and his benevolence.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> "Doctor John Baker, his privy counsellor and his chaplain, wrote, that he, lying on his death-bed, said these words." Hall, p. 210. I have not been able to meet with the MS. of Dr. Baker's work. It would be highly curious, if it could be found.

<sup>42</sup> His last moments are thus described by the monk of Croyland, who was present:—"While he was languishing in extremis, in his palace at Wolvesey, he had all the ecclesiastics, religious and secular, of the neighboring parts, assembled in his great chamber, and there had his solemn exequies chanted over him, as he lay in bed, with the mass of requiem. In the evening afterwards he had his will read over aloud, publicly before all, and added some corrections and codicils. The next morning it was repeated, and he confirmed it. He then took leave of all, and expired." Hist. Croyl. Contin. vol. ii. p. 582. Gale Script.

<sup>43</sup> He was the son of John of Gaunt, by the lady, whom after the cardinal's birth, he made his third wife. He studied in part at Aix-la-Chapelle. He was made in 1397, when very young, bishop of Lincoln, and in 1404, bishop of Winchester and chancellor. His will is dated 21 Jan. 1446, and has been printed among the royal and noble wills. P. 311—313. He begins it with a moral recollection that must have been rather his rhetoric, than his feeling, "How transitory, mutable and

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The end of those who were concerned in the arrest, if not in the murder, of the duke of Gloucester, was peculiarly unhappy. Cardinal Beaufort only survived him six weeks. The duke of Somerset, his nephew, in less than twelve months afterwards, committed suicide because that courtly favor waned, which, by his co-operation with its worst measures, he had sought to secure.<sup>44</sup> The duke of Suffolk perished violently. The duke of Buckingham was wounded in the first, and killed in the third battle of the civil war, in which lord Beaumont also fell; several of the other members of the administration were murdered afterwards by an insurgent mob. The queen herself, so far from profiting by it, found all her ambitious hopes defeated by its occurrence.<sup>45</sup> Crime usually disappoints the hope that adopts it.

Gloucester's character.

The duke of Gloucester, amid failings that have been before alluded to, has acquired the pleasing epithet of The Good<sup>46</sup>; and has been extolled for

perishing is this life! I look upon it to be rather as a shadow that soon vanishes, or a spectacle, than a solid duration of days." P. 321. His charitable legacies do credit to his feelings. Besides 4000*l.* to the prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, Fleet, Marshalsea, King's Bench, and in the prison belonging to his Southward manor, he bequeathed his residue for works of charity and pious uses, especially in relieving poor religious houses, in marrying poor girls, and in succoring the poor, as his executors "shall think most contribute to the salvation of his soul." His codicils were dated 7 and 9 April 1447. In the last two days before he died, he leaves queen Margaret his bed of the golden cloth of Damascus, in which she had slept at his manor of Waltham, with the Arras tapestry, hanging in the same chamber. P. 340.

<sup>44</sup> He died 31 March 1448. He had been a prisoner in France fifteen years. He was released at last, and made duke of Somerset in 1443. He went again to France, and returned with great pomp to England; but on some accusations, not particularized, he was forbidden the king's presence: the monk of Croyland adds, "the noble heart of so illustrious a man took the message of this unfortunate rumor most indignantly; and not able to bear the stain of so great a disgrace, by his own procuring (*procurando, ut fertur*) he hastened his own death; chusing rather to end compendiously his present sorrow, than to pass longer an unhappy life in opprobrium." P. 519. His daughter was the mother of Henry VII.

<sup>45</sup> "His death brought to pass that thing which she would most fain have eschewed, and took from her that jewel which she most desired. For, if this duke had lived, the duke of York durst not have made title to the crown; the nobles had not conspired against the king, nor the commons rebelled." Hall, p. 210.

<sup>46</sup> "For his honorable and liberal demeanor, he was surnamed the good duke of Gloucester." Fab. 444. The popular phrase of "dining with duke Humphrey," implies the long sympathising remembrance by the public, of his fate.

his promotion of the learned or deserving clergy.<sup>47</sup> Fond of literature, and of literary conversation, he patronized men of talent and erudition.<sup>48</sup> One is called, in a public record, his poet and orator<sup>49</sup>; and Lydgate prefaces one of his voluminous works, with a panegyric upon him, written during the king's absence on his French coronation, which presents to us the qualities for which, while he was living, the poet found him remarkable, and thought fit to commend him.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> W. Wyr. p. 463.

<sup>48</sup> "He was frequently noticed by the foreign literati: Leo Aretins dedicated to him a translation of Aristotle's Politics; Peter de Monte, a work on the Differences of the Virtues and Vices; Lapis Castellius, his book on the comparison of study and a military life; P. Candidus, a Latin version of Cato's Republic." Tanner, Bib. Mon. 420, 421. De Monte says to him, "nothing seem'd pleasant or acceptable to you, without reading; nor did you delight only in one art or science, but in almost all, and read their MSS. with great avidity." The duke was fond of astrology, and caused some tables of the planets to be calculated, and of the fixed stars. Tann. ib. In the British Museum MSS. E 5. is a work on Scotland, with these words at the end in the duke's hand-writing: "Cest livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre, lequel j'achetay des executeurs Maistre Thomas Polton feu eveque de Wurcestre."

<sup>49</sup> This was Titus Livius, who wrote the life of Henry VI. The grant of denization to him as an Italian, styles him, "poeta et orator of our dearest uncle the duke of Gloucester." Rym. vol. x. p. 661. Enæas Sylvius, who became a pope, praises the duke for his pursuing the studia humanitatis, summo studio; and adds, "who, as it has been related to me, patronises poets wonderfully, and highly venerates orators." Ep. 64.

<sup>50</sup> These verses are in the MS. 18 D 4. in the British Museum:

"Eek in this land, I dare affirm a thing,  
There is a prince full mighty of puissance,  
A kynges son; uncle to the kyng  
Henry the Sixte *which is now* in France:  
And is leftenant and hath the governance  
Of our Bretayne;  
He hath conserved in this region,  
Durying his tyme, off ful hih prudence  
Pes and quiete, and sustened riht;  
Yet notwithstanding his noble provydence  
He is indeede provyd a good knyght.  
Eied as Argus with resou and forsiht,  
Off hih lectrure I dar eck off him telle  
And trully deeme that he doth excelle  
In understanding all other of his age;  
And hath gret joie with clerkie to commune;  
And no man is more expert off language;  
Stable in studie, alwei he doth contune  
Settyng aside alle thynges of fortune;  
And when he loveth, gif I shall not tarie  
Without cause ful loth he is to varie.

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Duc off Gloucestre men this prince calle ;  
 And notwithstanding his staat and dignyte,  
 His corage never doth appalle  
 To studie in booke of antiquite ;  
 Therein he hath so gret felicite  
 Vertuousli hymself to occupie,  
 Off vinous slouth to have the malstrie :  
 And with his prudence, and wit his manheed  
 Trouthe to susteyne, he favour set aside  
 And hooli church menteynyng in deede  
 As verrai support, upholdere, and eeke guyde,  
 Spareth non, but maketh hymself strong  
 To punissh alle tho that do the church wrong.

Thus is he both manly, eek wise,  
 Chose of God to be his own knyght;  
 And off o thyng he hath a syngror price  
 That heretik dar non com in his siht :  
 In Christes feith he stant so hol upriht  
 Off hooli church defence and champion,  
 To chastise alle that do thereto treson.  
 And to do plesance to our Lord Jehu  
 He studieth eie to have intelligence :  
 Heedinge of bookis bringeth in vertu,  
 Vices excludying sloathe and negligence  
 Maketh a prince to have experience  
 To know hymselfe many sundry wise,  
 When he trespasseth his errour to chastize."

After mentioning that the duke had considered the book of Boccasio, on the Fall of Princes, he adds, "and he gave me commandment, that I shoulde after my conning this book translate him to do plesance." MSS. 18 D 4.

## CHAP. IV.

*Administration of the Duke of Suffolk ; his Impeachment,  
and Death.*

THE deaths of Winchester and Gloucester, the avowed favor of the queen, and the acquiescence of Henry, gave to Suffolk the command of the government of the country ; but without its good will. The certainty that he had caused the arrest, and the suspicion that he had contrived the murder, of the duke of Gloucester, added to the dislike of his French negotiations, created a public aversion to his administration, which his future conduct increased. Somerset seems to have struggled with him for his power, but to have failed, and to have been too proud to survive his failure.

It was not long before another incident occurred, which again turned the eye of suspicion upon this unprincipled or calumniated nobleman ; and with which, from bad judgment if he was innocent, and with a presumptuous short-sightedness if a criminal abettor, he chose to connect himself. As the lord Cromwell, who had been formerly appointed treasurer by Gloucester, was in the star-chamber, with the prime minister and others, one Tailboys came and stationed himself, with several followers, secretly armed, for the purpose of assassinating Cromwell, as that nobleman believed and asserted. The man being taken, endeavoured to excuse himself, and Suffolk favored his excuses ; but Cromwell indicted Tailboys for the meditated violence, and notwithstanding Suffolk's opposition, proceeded against him

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till he was fined three thousand pounds, and committed to the Tower. The countenance given by the new duke to this offender, led Cromwell to such inferences, that he is declared to have secretly urged the commons to that subsequent impeachment of the minister, which occasioned his destruction.<sup>1</sup>

But altho thus triumphant and powerful, Suffolk's mind was not tranquil. He still secretly trembled at the possibility of the popular clamor becoming a legal accusation, and he sought to avert this peril by forestalling a legal exoneration. He complained to the king in Parliament, that the enemy of civil concord and truth had spread thro the island, that he had acted faithlessly to the crown in delivering up Anjou and Maine; and he prayed, that a day and time might be appointed, on which he might vindicate himself from the allegation. The 25th of May, about three months after Gloucester's death, was fixed for this purpose, in the royal palace at Westminster; and the nominated judges were principally his friends. There he attended, and employed his eloquence to shew, that he had acted honorably and prudently. He spoke before a favorable tribunal, and he had confined the charge to a defensible point. The king, therefore, issued a judgment, declaring that he was innocent, and that his accusers and slanderers should be punished; and enjoining silence on all persons upon this subject.<sup>2</sup>

In December, the truce was again prolonged.<sup>3</sup> Powers were, in the following January, given to

<sup>1</sup> W. Wyr. has preserved this incident, pp. 467, 468. His procuring the pardon of Tailboys, was one of the second list of charges against him. P. Rolls, vol. v. p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Rym. Fœd. xi. p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Rym. p. 193. Monstrelet's account of the truce is, that the first expired 1 April 1445. vol. viii. p. 384. That the French ambassadors to England prolonged it to November 1446. p. 403. And bishop Molcyns, to 1 April 1447. p. 408. It was extended to 1 April 1449. p. 411. And afterwards to 1 June 1449, in hopes of effecting a peace. p. 412. On these, see Rymer, xi. pp. 97. 108. 120. 196. 214. 223.

bishop Moleyns, and others, to negotiate again.<sup>4</sup> The truce was, in April, continued further; and in June, the delivery of the towns in Maine was directed to be completed.<sup>5</sup>

The ministerial conduct of Suffolk is thus unfavorably stated, by an ancient chronicler, who lived at that period: "A man of singular cunning, and learned in the art of deceiving, he inclined people to assent to his will. Obtaining the king's confidence and familiarity, and abusing his simplicity, he thought to dispose as he pleased of almost all the business of the kingdom. Hence, conferring bishoprics and royal benefices for money, and casting out and intruding at his own will, he did many things in the kingdom against justice, for his power alone. His presumption advanced so far, that, by fraud or circumvention, he removed from the king's presence all the king's relations and friends, and all the kinsmen of the royal blood, and the prelates, clerks, and laymen."<sup>6</sup> In another passage he adds, "His heart became too much elated, and more and more exalted before his ruin. Perceiving, from the king's having no friends of the royal blood near, that his advice was only used, and that he could bend the king's mind as he wished, he introduced some of his own faction into the sovereign's peculiar service, as W. Ascough, the bishop of Salisbury, and lord Saye, who drove away all that strove for the king's grace and presence, without their connivance. Inflamed with an inextinguishable rapacity, they sent round to all the monasteries of the kingdom, collecting gifts and presents for themselves, in the king's name; and they divided among themselves the great sums raised from the tenths and taxes for the royal treasury."<sup>7</sup> These imputations

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Character  
of Suffolk's  
adminis-  
tration.

<sup>4</sup> Rym. 196.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. 214, 215.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. Croyl. 521.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 525. He subjoins to this, "their dropsical thirst increasing, they gave up the king's foreign castles, towns and possessions for immense sums of gold."

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shew the prejudices against his administration. Fabian gives another exciting cause of the disturbances that subsequently arose, in the intimation, that it was from the extraordinary subsidy applied for by Suffolk, to defray the expenses of the queen's coming to England, that "he grew into such hatred of the people, that finally it cost him his life."<sup>8</sup> Other grievances or evil measures may put the public mind into an explosive state; but financial impositions are the most perilous agitators.

1449.  
12 Feb.Somerset  
asks for  
succors.

Suffolk continued for a while to rule as he wished; and the parliament assembled at Westminster in February, to be prorogued to May; and at the end of May, to be deferred again to the middle of June, at Winchester.<sup>9</sup> There the new duke of Somerset, now the chief commander in France, represented, that the final truce with that country would expire in fourteen months; and that the French king was strengthening all his garrisons, and had commanded his nobles to be ready harnessed and armed within fifteen days; and that every thirty men should furnish a man horsed and armed, which would produce 60,000 men. He assured them, that if the threatened war should occur, Normandy was in no wise sufficient to resist it, as no place had been repaired, or provided with artillery; but that every fortress was in a ruinous and indefensible state. He added, that when the three estates in Normandy granted their last aid, they declared, that from the general poverty of the country, no more could be raised. He concluded, by calling to their minds the great, inestimable, and well nigh infinite cost and effusion both of money and blood, which England had borne and suffered for its

Ib. Such is the inculpation of Suffolk which the monk has recorded. We cannot now decide on the justice of all its imputations; but there is a general veracity in our monkish chroniclers, which entitles their assertions to great respect.

<sup>8</sup> Fab. 442.

<sup>9</sup> Rolls Parl. v. pp. 141—143.



French conquests; and that "the shameful loss of these would not only be the irreparable hurt of the common profit, but an everlasting spite and perpetual denigration in the fame and renown of this noble realm."<sup>10</sup>

This energetic statement produced neither a ministerial nor a parliamentary sympathy. No exertion was made; no supplies were sent. The field was left open for the French monarch, to traverse it when he pleased, and to drive us to the sea whenever he should judge it convenient, either to himself or to his English friends, to accomplish this result.

But the duke of York now came forward, to vindicate himself, and to attack the clerical statesman, Moleyns, the bishop of Chichester, who had so long held the privy seal. He charged the prelate with having falsely calumniated him for his conduct, while governor of France and Normandy, as to the administration of the finances, and the payment of the soldiers; and for imputing to him the loss of the French provinces. The minister denied having uttered the words complained of, and declared, that so far from laying the loss of Normandy to any person alive, it was his opinion, that this country was not yet to be despaired of, and ought not to be abandoned.<sup>11</sup>

York accuses  
Bishop  
Moleyns.

A struggle of parties soon ensued in the cabinet itself. Suffolk continued in his elevation; but the two Staffords, the chancellor and the treasurer, were dismissed, to the great displeasure of their brother, the duke of Buckingham. It was the queen's party triumphing over their rivals. York visited the king, and was kindly received; but would have been harshly treated, if Buckingham had not shielded

<sup>10</sup> Rolls Parl. v. p. 148.

<sup>11</sup> These articles of accusation are preserved in the Harl. MSS. No. 543

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him.<sup>12</sup> The parliament that met at Westminster in November, was adjourned, from the allegation of a pestilential sickness, to the Blackfriars at London; and in December, was prorogued to the latter end of January.<sup>13</sup> Moleyns, either from discerning the approach of a political storm, or from really feeling the infirmities that he mentioned, obtained leave to withdraw from the cabinet<sup>14</sup>; and the new year opened, that was destined to be so calamitous to the queen's friends and favorites. The government forbade any to carry arms in London or Middlesex<sup>15</sup>; and the duke of Suffolk, alarmed at his own unpopularity, again endeavored to prevent any dangerous impeachment, by inviting it, while he had the power to make it harmless. On the first day of the parliament assembling, he rose in the house of lords, in the presence of the king, and requested them "to admit his supplication and desire that he might make his declaration of the great infamy and defamation which were laid upon him, by many of the people of this land."<sup>16</sup>

Suffolk's  
speech.

Having obtained permission, he made the following address:

"Most high and dread sovereign lord!

"I suppose well that it be comen to your ears, to my great heaviness and sorrow, the odious and horrible language that runs through your land, almost in every common's mouth, sounding to my highest charge and most heaviest slander, by a certain confession of the keeper of your privy seal, made at his death, as it is said." He then mentioned his father's services to Henry IV. and to Henry V., in whose

<sup>12</sup> Fenn's Orig. Letters, vol. i. p. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Rolls Parl. v. pp. 171, 172.

<sup>14</sup> His petition alleges that he was weak in body and especially in sight; and that he is obliged to attend to his health, and must therefore abstain from all temporal business. This was granted, with leave to undertake a pilgrimage for the health of his soul, and to take 500 marks with him. Rym. xi. 255.

<sup>15</sup> Either "Palettos, loricas, gladios, polaxes, gleyves, or others." Ibid. 262.

<sup>16</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. v. p. 176.

army he died at Harfleur; that his eldest brother had perished at Agincourt, and two others in battle at Jargeau, "the day that I was taken, as a knight ought to be, I trust, and paid 20,000*l.* to my deliverance. My fourth brother, lying for me in hostage, died in the enemies' land. I was myself armed, in your father's days and yours, thirty-four winters, and have had the garter, thirty. For seventeen years I abode in the wars, without coming home or seeing this land, and have served you since my return, fifteen years." He then emphatically added, "All these things considered, if for a Frenchman's promise I should be either false or untrue to your high estate, or to this your land, that I am born of, there could be no earthly punishment but it would be too little for me."<sup>17</sup>

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Four days afterwards the commons seriously applied to his impeachment, and sent some members to the chancellor, to request, as Suffolk had confessed there was a heavy rumor and noise of slander and infamy upon him, that the king should be informed of it, and the duke be taken into custody. The chancellor asked the lords what was to be done; and they desired the judges to be consulted, who agreed, that as there was no special matter alleged against him, he should not be arrested.<sup>18</sup>

1450.  
26th Jan

27th Jan.

On the 28th of January, the lower house, by their speaker, declared, "that the king's poor commons of his realm were as lovingly, as heartily, and as tenderly set to the good, welfare, and prosperity of his person and kingdom, as ever were any commons set to the welfare of their sovereign lord; but that from every part of England there was come a great rumor and fame, that England was to be sold to the king's adversary of France and his uncle; who were making ready to enter this land, with all their power, with

<sup>17</sup> Rolls Parl. p. 176.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 177.

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the connivance of the duke of Suffolk, and that this minister had stuffed his castle of Wallingford with guns, gunpowder, and other habiliments of war, to give them a place of refuge and succor." Therefore they requested his committal to the Tower.<sup>19</sup>

Notwithstanding the repugnance and influence of the court, this measure was found to be too strongly called for by the feelings of the country to be resisted. He was apprehended; and the commons soon exhibited their bill of impeachment against him.

Suffolk  
impeached.

The substance of their charges was, That on the 20th of July 1447, he had excited and counselled the French ambassadors to persuade their sovereign to invade England, to depose Henry, and to place the duke's son on the throne, whom he had married to the heiress of Somerset, "presuming her to be the next inheritable to the crown."<sup>20</sup> That he had corruptly advised the release of the duke of Orleans, and counselled this nobleman to excite the French king to continue the war. That, when ambassador, he had promised the queen's father the surrender of Mans and Maine, without the knowlege of the rest of the embassy, which was alleged to be the greater cause of the loss of Normandy. That he had revealed the state of the armies, towns, and garrisons in France to the enemy, by which Normandy had been lost; and had discovered to the French court the secret of the king's council, as well concerning England, as for the

<sup>19</sup> Rolls Parl. p. 177.

<sup>20</sup> Suffolk had obtained the wardship and marriage of the daughter of the late duke of Somerset, the grandson of John of Gaunt, son to Edward III. The articles say, that he united her to his son, pretending that she was the next kin to the crown. Gloucester only preceded her on the Lancastrian side, and she was the line under which her son Henry VII. was invited to and obtained the crown. Hence tho the charge strikes us at first sight as strange, yet it may not have been quite frivolous. York's maternal line stood in the way, but the parliament having established the house of Lancaster on the throne in preference to York's ancestor and right of descent, this lady was a nearer heir to Henry, and therefore to the crown as settled on his family, than any other in England, except Gloucester. She was not the nearer heir to Edward III., the common ancestor; but she was so to Henry VI., the reigning sovereign, till his son was born.

government of Normandy and France. That, being the greatest of the royal council, he had communicated to Charles all the instructions given to the ambassadors from England, before they went into France, which occasioned the truce to have no effect, and all our places to be taken. That, when provision had been made for sending armies to France, he had prevented their passage; and that, in the truce which he made, he did not include either the king of Arragon or duke of Bretagne, our allies, by which the first was become unfriendly, and the latter an enemy. In proof of the traitorous intercourse with the French cabinet, it was also asserted, that he had declared, in the consultation at the Star-chamber, that he had his place in the council-house of the French king, as he had in England, and was as well trusted in one as in the other; and could remove from the service of Charles the priviest man of his council, if he chose.<sup>21</sup>

The bill was read, and the duke was ordered to answer to the accusation; but on the 9th of March, the house of commons presented eighteen further charges against him, which he was brought from the Tower to hear read.<sup>22</sup> He requested a copy of them; and four days afterwards, he was brought before the king and lords; and, kneeling, made his answer. He averred, that the first charge must needs be untrue; it was impossible that he should do so. They who had thus accused him, could not find the means to make it possible. It was against law and reason, to

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<sup>21</sup> Rolls Parl. v. pp. 177—179.

<sup>22</sup> The principal of these were, corrupt grants to enrich his own family and others, and to evade the laws; procuring offices for unworthy persons; discovering the councils of the cabinet to the French king; privy communications with his ambassadors; presents to the French queen and counsellors; misemploying subsidies; distributing to himself and friends great part of the 60,000*l.* left in the treasury by lord Sudeley; taking out of the treasury several of the bonds given for the ransom of the duke of Orleans, and putting in forged ones instead; making sheriffs for lucre; the procuring pardon for the murderer Tailboys, and the obtaining the reversionary grant of the earldom of Pembroke. *Ibid.* vol. v. pp. 180, 181.

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make the lady Margaret so near the crown as to support the charge; and he appealed to the lords, that they knew that if the earl of Warwick's daughter had lived, he had selected her to be his son's wife.<sup>23</sup>

On the other articles he referred to the official acts of the council, to the statutes made in parliament, and to the king's letters patent, for his justification. He had done nothing but what they sanctioned. The other lords of the council had been as privy as he was to the proceedings about Anjou and Mans; and the delivering them up was peculiarly attributable to the late privy seal, the bishop of Chichester. He seemed to be most pressed by the words he was charged to have uttered. He did not actually deny them, but he asserted that he had not said them in the form specified in the articles, but under other language; and he positively denied their treasonable import.<sup>24</sup>

17 March.

Eight days afterwards, the king sent for all the lords then in town, into the inmost chamber of his palace at Westminster. The duke was brought in, and knelt down. The chancellor, by the king's command, asked him what he meant to say. The duke answered, that the articles were too horrible to speak more of them; that he trusted he had answered them sufficiently, for he had denied the days, the years, and the places of the alleged communications. They were utterly false and untrue; and in a manner impossible, for such great things could not have been done or brought about by himself alone, unless other

<sup>23</sup> Rolls Parl. 182. He had obtained her wardship; but that he had before her death meant to have married her to his son, was no proof that he did not afterwards conceive the ambitious scheme with his other ward. He did in fact marry her to his son, and by that marriage placed his son close to the throne. It is certainly extraordinary that procuring Gloucester's death was not made one of the charges. But this may have arisen from the impossibility of proving so secret a transaction. The rolls of parliament shew that it was imputed to him in after proceedings.

<sup>24</sup> Rolls Parl. 182.

persons had contributed their part, and been privy to them as well as himself. He pledged his soul to perpetual damnation, if he knew more of such crimes than the child in the mother's womb; but without departing from his answer, he submitted wholly to the king's rule and governance, to do with him as he pleased.<sup>25</sup>

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The chancellor then replied, that as he had not put himself upon his peerage, but had submitted to the royal care, the king had commanded him to say, that as to the first accusation, the duke was neither charged nor delivered; and as to the second, his majesty, by his own advice, and without consulting with the lords, and not pronouncing it in the way of judgment, ordered him to absent himself from England for five years.<sup>26</sup> The lords entered a protest, that this measure was the king's own determination, and not their advice.<sup>27</sup> On 19th March, the king adjourned the parliament to Leicester, to meet there on the middle of April.<sup>28</sup>

His exile  
by the  
king.

The duke's unpopularity was so great, that while the government was hesitating on the proceedings against him, insurrections arose in several places, with captains assuming the name of Bluebeard, and other fantastic appellations; but they were vigorously met and suppressed.<sup>29</sup>

On the same night that the duke left Westminster for Suffolk, a mob of 2000 people rose in London, and searched about St. Giles for him. They found his horse saddled, and his servant waiting, and treated them cruelly.<sup>30</sup> But he was himself out of their reach.

<sup>25</sup> Rolls Parl. 183.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. A letter in Fenn's collection, dated March 1450, shews how this exile was construed: "It is said that the duke of Suffolk is pardoned, and hath his men again waiting upon him, and is right well at ease, and merry, and is in the king's good grace, and in the good conceit of all the lords as well as ever he was." Vol. i. p. 26.

<sup>28</sup> W. Wyr. 469.

<sup>29</sup> Fab. 448.

<sup>30</sup> W. Wyr. 468.

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22 April.

While the duke was at his country residence, the parliament, pursuant to its prorogation, met at Leicester. The debts of the crown, which in 1442 were 200,000*l.*, had now increased to 362,000*l.*; and the yearly expences of the royal household exceeded their appropriated funds by 19,000*l.*<sup>31</sup> The parliament imposed a taxation on all persons having lands, rents, or offices, according to the income received.<sup>32</sup> But the disastrous tidings that now came from all parts, soon terminated their sittings.

The duke of Suffolk appears to have enjoyed the comfort of his country retirement about a month, and on the 28th of April wrote that admirable letter of moral advice to his son, which makes us regret that ambition should have spoilt a mind so valuable.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Rolls Parl. v. p. 183.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. pp. 172, 173. This income tax was sixpence in the pound up to twenty pounds; a shilling from twenty to two hundred, and two shillings beyond that sum.

<sup>33</sup> It is among Fenn's original letters, vol. i. p. 32. "My dear and only well-beloved son, I beseech our Lord in Heaven, the maker of all the world, to bless you, and to send you ever grace to love him, and to dread him; to the which, as far as a father may charge his child, I both charge you, and pray you to set all your spirits and wits to do, and to know his holy laws and commandments, by the which ye shall, with his great mercy, pass all the great tempests and troubles of this wretched world.

"And that also, weetingly, ye do nothing for love nor dread of any earthly creature that should displease him. And there as [whenever] any frailty maketh you to fall, beseech his mercy soon to call you to him again with repentance, satisfaction, and contrition of your heart, never more in will to offend him.

"Secondly, next him above all earthly things, to be true liegeman in heart, in will, in thought, in deed, unto the king our alder [greatest] high and dread sov'reign lord, to whom both ye and I be so much bound to; charging you as father can and may, rather to die than to be the contrary, or to know any thing that were against the welfare or prosperity of his most royal person; but that as far as your body and life may stretch, ye live and die to defend it, and to let his highness have knowlege thereof in all haste ye can.

"Thirdly, in the same wise, I charge you, my dear son, always as ye are bounden by the commandment of God to do, to love, to worship, your lady and mother; and also that ye obey alway her commandments, and to believe her counsels and advices in all your works, the which dread not but shall be best and truest to you. And if any other body would steer you to the contrary, to flee the counsel in any wise, for ye shall find it nought and evil.

"Furthermore, as far as a father may and can, I charge you in any wise to flee the company and counsel of proud men, of covetous men, and of flattering men, especially and mightily to withstand them, and not to draw nor to meddle with them, with all your might and power; and to draw to you, and to your company, good and virtuous men; and such as be of good conversation, and of truth; and by them ye shall never be deceived nor repent you of.



Two days afterwards, he assembled the knights and gentlemen of the neighborhood, and swore to them on the sacrament, that he would prove himself to be free from the imputed treason, and from the sale of Normandy.<sup>34</sup> He then thought it expedient to leave England, and sailed from Ipswich in the first week of May, with three ships, towards the British channel.

As he came near Dover, he sent his smallest vessel towards Calais, to ascertain the reception he would experience. On 2d May, it was met by a large ship called Nicholas of the Tower, with others, whose commander learnt from it, that the duke of Suffolk was behind. As he came in sight, the captain sent out his boat, to question them. The duke himself answered that he was going by the king's order to Calais. He was told that he must speak with their master. Without hesitation he got into the boat with a few followers, and was towed to the Nicholas, whose master rudely greeted him with "Welcome, traitor." His men were asked if they meant to support him, but they readily abandoned him. He was detained two days in the ship, and after confessing with his chaplain, the sailors arraigned him in their own way, upon the impeachment, and found him guilty. The name of the ship brought to his remembrance an idle prediction, and his heart failed him.<sup>35</sup> He was then

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2 May.  
Suffolk is  
killed.

"Moreover, never follow your own wit in no wise, but in all your works, of such folks as I write of above, ask your advice and counsel, and doing thus, with the mercy of God, ye shall do right well, and live in right much worship, and great hearts rest and ease. And I will be to you as good lord and father as my heart can think.

"And last of all, as heartily and as lovingly as ever father blessed his child in earth, I give you the blessing of our Lord and of me, which of his infinite mercy increase you in all virtue and good living; and that your blood may by his grace from kindred to kindred multiply in this earth to his service, in such wise as after the departing from this wretched world here, ye and they, may glorify him eternally amongst his angels in heaven.

"Written of mine hand,

"The day of my departing fro this land,

"Your true and loving father,

"SUFFOLK.

"April 28,  
1450 H. VI."

<sup>34</sup> W. Wyr. 469.

<sup>35</sup> One Stacey had told him, that if he escaped the dangers of the Tower, he

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drawn out of the ship into a boat. One of the common men ordered him to lay his head down; saying that he should be fairly dealt with, and die on a sword. After earnest petitions for mercy, and promises of abundant recompence—in vain—he obeyed; and the fellow taking a rusty sword, after half a dozen blows, struck off his head. They took off his russet gear and doublet of mailed velvet; landed, and laid the body on the sands, with his followers, unhurt, and his property, and sailed away. The sheriff of Kent hastened to the spot, and watched the body; while his messengers carried the tidings to the judges and the king, and inquired their directions for his conduct.<sup>36</sup> His remains were removed to the collegiate church of Wingfield, in Suffolk, and honorably interred.<sup>37</sup>

Thus perished, from the murderous spirit of popular resentment<sup>38</sup>, a nobleman of some talents, whose domestic virtues might have surrounded his life with happiness as well as honor, if they had been less counteracted by his ambition. Love of power was the bait that lured him to his ruin; and an indifference to the means of acquiring it, and to the consequences of its intemperate exertion, produced a national resentment, which few ministers have incurred without

should be safe. Having been released from the Tower of London, he thought he was safe; but in the moment of real alarm, he suffered the coincidence of the ship's name "Nicholas of the Tower," to shake his courage.

<sup>36</sup> These particulars are mentioned in a letter written within three days after the duke's murder. Fenn, i. pp. 38—42. The writer feelingly says, "I have so washed this little bill with sorrowful tears, that scarcely ye shall read it." p. 39. See also Fabian, 449, and W. Wyr. 469.

<sup>37</sup> Hall, 219.

<sup>38</sup> W. Wyrcestre asserts, that the ships which took him were lying in wait for him; and the Croyland monk, p. 525, that they sailed after him. Others impute the crime to the lords who opposed him; yet the fair import of the facts detailed in the letters of the Paston family, published by Fenn, seems to imply an accidental meeting of the ships, and that the sailors murdered him as others destroyed the bishop at Portsmouth. It is remarkable that Monstrelet calls his destroyers the partizans of the duke of Somerset. 9. p. 116. This has been thought a mistake; but when we recollect that the preceding duke had killed himself from having been disgraced two years before by Suffolk's administration, it becomes difficult amid the numerous enemies he had made, to deny, or affirm of any, that they participated in the crime.

a fatal catastrophe. The lawless mode of his death was calculated to excite a general indignation; but the belief that he had caused the duke of Gloucester's end by violence, prevented any public sympathy for his own.<sup>39</sup> The foreign disasters of England, began

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<sup>39</sup> In the British Museum, Vesp. B 16, is a ballad written at this time on the catastrophes of Suffolk and his friends. It treats these horrors with an exulting levity, which shews the barbarous unfeelingness of political rancor; but it is curious for giving the names of those friends of the government who were most hated by the people. They are the clerical statesmen who were employed either in the offices of government, or on its embassies; and it shews how much the dominant church had, by these employments, become identified with the crown. It designates the duke of Suffolk by the cant term "Jac Napes," and is perhaps the earliest instance we have of the abusive application of the word Jackanapes. Our lexicographers derive this word from Jack and ape; but the ballad shews, that napes was a term of derision signifying a knave; and must therefore be the Saxon Cnapa; which bore also this meaning. This will explain the reason why our third figured card is called Jack, and also knave. The word Jackanapes therefore seems to be Jack Cnapa, and to mean, "Jack the knave." In this sense it is applied to Suffolk, and as the knave is next in power at cards to the king and queen, the nickname may be used in the ballad with an allusion to Suffolk's being the prime minister of Henry and Margaret. But as a clergyman only could have introduced so many Latin quotations from the Psalms, we cannot read it without regret that he should have had a heart so un pitying, as to be able to jest with such materials on such a calamity. Yet it is pleasing to feel that no one now in the English church could have written such a composition. Placebo and dirige were part of the chants of the funeral service. Most of the other Latin words are from the penitential Psalms, or from those used in the anthems for the dead.

In the moneth of May, when grass growes grene,  
Fragrant in her flowres with swete savour,  
Jac Napes wold on the see, a maryner to ben,  
With his clogi and his cheyn to seke more tresour.

Swych a payn prikked hym, he asked a confessour,  
Nicolas said, "I am redi, the confessour to be."  
He was holden so, that he ne passed that hour,  
For Jac Napes soule, "placebo et dirige."

Who shall execute his exeques with a solempnite?  
Bisshopes and lordes; as grete reson is;  
Monkes, chanons, prestes, and other clergie!  
Pray for this duke's soule, that it might come to blis.

And let never swych another come after this,  
His interfectores blessed might thei be,  
And graunte them for ther dede to regne with angeles;  
And for Jac Nape soule, "placebo et dirige."

"Placebo" begynneth the bisshop of Herford.  
"Dilexi, for myn avauncement," saith the bisshop of Chester.  
"Heu me!" saith Salisbury, this goth to farr forthe.  
"Ad dominum cum tribulares," saith the abbot of Glocestre.

"Dominus custodit," saith the abbot of Rouchestre,  
"Levam oculos," saith Frere Stanbury, "Volavi  
"Ei iniquitates," saith the bisshop of Worcestre.  
For Jac Nape soule, "de profundis clamavi."

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under him at the siege of Orleans; and its domestic calamities were greatly due to his unwise, arbitrary, and selfish administration.

“Opera manum tuarum,” saith the cardinal wisely,  
That brought forth “confitebor,” for all this Napes reson,  
“Audiui vocem,” songe allmighty God on hye,  
And therfore syng we “magnificat anima mea dominum.”

Unto this dirige most we gon and come,  
This pascall tyme to say veryli.  
Thre psalmes and thre lessons that alle is and some,  
For Jac Nape soule, “placebo et dirige.”

Executor of this office dirige for to syng,  
Shall begin the bisshop of Synt Asse,  
“Verba mea auribus,” sayth abbot of Redyng,  
Alle your joye and hope is come to “alasse.”

“Comitere Domine,” yet graunte us grace,  
Sayth abbot of Synt Albans ful sorely,  
The abbot of the Tower-hill *with his fat face*,  
Quakes and trembleth for Domine ne in furore.

Maister Waterhard shall syng “ne quando,”  
The abbot of Westmynstre “Domine Deus meus in te speravi.”  
“Requiem eternam,” graunte them all to come to,  
Therto a pater noster saith the bisshop of Synt Davy.

For ther soules that wise were and mightty,  
Suffolk, Moleyns and Roos thes thre,  
And in especial for Jac Napes that ever was wily,  
For his soule, “placebo et dirige.”

Rise up Say ! rede “Parce mihi Domine,”  
“Nichil enim sunt dies mei,” thou shalt syng.  
The bisshop of Carlyle syng “credo” ful sore,  
To such fals traitours come foule endyng.

The baron of Dudley with grete mornyng,  
Redeth, “tædet animam meam vitæ meæ.”  
Who but Danyel “qui lasarum,” shall syng,  
For Jack Nape soule, “placebo et dirige.”

John Say redeth “Manus tuæ fecerunt me.”  
“Libera me,” syngeth Trevilian, Warre the rere,  
That thei do no more so “requiescant in pace,”  
Thus preys all England ferre and nerre.

Where is Somerset, whi aperes he not here,  
To syng “dies iræ et misere ?”  
God graunte England all in fere,  
For these traitours to syng “placebo et dirige.”

Meny mo that be behinde the sothe for to telle  
That shall messes oppon thes do syng,  
I pray some may do ryng the belle,  
That these forsaiden may come to the sacryng.

And that in bref tyme without more tarienge,  
That this messe may be ended in such degre,  
And that all England joyful may syng  
The comendacion, with “placebo et dirige.”

## CHAP. V.

*Renewal of the War in France. — Disasters. — Tumults in England. — Jack Cade's Insurrection.*

THE disasters in France, which, in 1450, were disturbing the public mind of England, arose from that breach of the truce in 1448, which an officer in the English service had made by taking the town of Fougères from Bretagne, during the covenanted suspension of arms; and afterwards plundering the adjacent country.<sup>1</sup>

The French king complained of the infraction; but tho the government of England, and Somerset, its lieutenant in France, disavowed the action, they did not restore the place; and it was afterwards a charge against Somerset, that the violation of the truce was with his privity or procurement. The duke of Bretagne's allies surprised, in retaliation, an English garrison, with lord Fauconbridge, and then proposed an exchange of captures, which the English refused.<sup>2</sup> A bickering state ensued between the forces of the two nations, and some towns were wrested from the English, which the French king would have restored, if Fougères had been given up.<sup>3</sup> But this amicable arrangement was not acceded to, probably from this castle being a frontier place, between Bretagne and Normandy, and therefore deemed essential to the defence of the latter. At a subsequent conference for peace, the French not

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<sup>1</sup> Monst. vol. viii. pp. 428—431. On this event, Fabian remarks, "Of the taking of this town, ensued much harm to the Englishmen; for this was the occasion by which the Frenchmen, after, got all Normandy." P. 447.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 437—440.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 442—444.

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only demanded this town, but also 1,600,000 crowns for the damages they had sustained; this being immediately disdained, Charles made a protest of all that he had done to maintain peace, and made preparations for that vigorous war<sup>4</sup> which he soon after declared. The secret expeditions of the English garrisons for dishonorable plunder or revenge, made the hostilities against them popular.<sup>5</sup>

The French gentlemen, and the greater nobility, flocked zealously to their sovereign's banners; and August and September 1449 were distinguished by the easy capture, from their overpowering forces, of many towns and fortresses which the English had held.<sup>6</sup> The populace of Rouen wished also to surrender that important city; and tho Talbot and Somerset resisted, it was only to agree to a capitulation, afterwards in November, on worse terms.<sup>7</sup> It is with surprise we read, that, in such a perilous crisis, when the greatest activity and most determined resistance could alone check the French conquests, Somerset had his wife and children with him in his campaign in this city.<sup>8</sup> Such an attendance implies no intended military vigor, or no competent capacity. He left Rouen for Honfleur, which was besieged in December, and surrendered almost without defence.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Monst. vol. viii. p. 445.<sup>5</sup> Ibid. vol. ix. pp. 2, 3.<sup>6</sup> Monstrel. vol. ix. pp. 7—49. The towns were, Nogent, Pont Audemer, Verneuil, Mants, Loigny, Anjou, Gournay, in August; and Roche Guyen, Necorp, Harcourt, St. Lo, Carentan, Alençon, Mauleon, Argentan, Fresney, Gisors, Gallon, in September; Condé afterwards. Ibid.<sup>7</sup> Monst. pp. 60—75. This author asserts, that besides evacuating Rouen, and making payments in money, Somerset agreed to give up three castles and three towns, for which he gave hostages; but one of these, Honfleur, its governor refused to surrender. P. 87.<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 73.<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 94. Charles then made preparations to besiege Honfleur. During those at the abbey of Jamieges on the Seine, the celebrated Agnes Sorel met him—but only to die. Here this “fairest of the fair;” “the lady of beauty,” as she was called, from her person and from the castle of that name near Paris, which the king had given her, uttering a loud shriek and calling for mercy, expired, on 9 February 1450. Ibid. p. 99.

A commander of some celebrity, Sir Thomas Kerrell, landed with 3000 new troops from England, and took the field, with a selected army from all the English garrisons; but on the 18th of April 1450, was decisively beaten and taken prisoner at Fourmigny.<sup>10</sup> This disaster ensured the expulsion of the English from France. Avranches, Bayeux, and other towns in Normandy, were soon taken<sup>11</sup>, and Caen at last besieged. Such a succession of disgraces excited the highest indignation in all classes in England. No ministers could be in safety after such an accumulation of losses and defeats; especially with the suspicion that they had been wilfully provoked or procured. And the death of Suffolk, instead of appeasing the public indignation, only incited it to demand new victims, and to resort to new outrages.

Two other persons who suffered from this fury of the people, were the bishops of Salisbury and Chichester. The first was murdered by his tenants.<sup>12</sup> Adam Moleyns, the other, was a great encourager of literature, but unhappily for himself, the member of an obnoxious administration, from which he had just retired. To avoid danger, or to pursue his pilgrimage, he was endeavoring to escape to the continent, when the populace of Portsmouth discovered him, and notwithstanding his age and ecclesiastical dignity, inhumanly destroyed him.<sup>13</sup>

To the parliament at Leicester, the great noblemen went armed for their own safety<sup>14</sup>, both against the crown and the people, who were clamoring against

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1450.  
January,  
June.

<sup>10</sup> Monst. vol. ix. pp. 109—113.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. pp. 117—123.

<sup>12</sup> W. Wyr. 470. Hall, ch. 223. Fab. 453. Croyl. 525. He fell 29 June. Stowe, 392.

<sup>13</sup> The record dated at Leicester 30 May 1450, states the bishop as then lately dead. 11 Rym. 271. But he was killed 9 Jan. st. 387.

<sup>14</sup> Thus the earl of Devon came with 300 men "well beseen;" and Warwick with above 400. Fenn, i. 45. The prorogation had been made on 30 March to assemble at Leicester on 29 April. Rolls Parl. v. p. 172.

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an administration that was abhorred. No government can continue long amid extensive unpopularity, struggling with averted feeling. It may long despise, with safety, the criticism of the reason, but never the emotions of the hostile sensibility. The dissatisfaction of the country at the unwise measures of Suffolk and his party was so great, that men began already to meditate upon a change of dynasty, not from a dislike to the king, but from the impossibility of separating him from the queen, and her friends and faction. The duke of York was the natural choice, if the Lancastrian line, that had been forcibly interposed, were put aside. Hence his friends and favorers, altho he was in Ireland, began to talk publicly of his right, his excellent government in France, and his courteous demeanor; dangerous and exciting topics at this critical juncture.<sup>15</sup> But while the eastern and western coasts of England were falling into this disaffected state, a formidable insurrection actually burst out in Kent.

Cade's in-  
surrection.

The tumultuous assemblage commenced in the beginning of June, during the Whitsuntide week, and John Cade, an Irishman, who assumed the name of Mortimer, and pretended, and was said to be an illegitimate cousin to the duke of York<sup>16</sup>, was appointed to be their leader. They published their complaints in a list of fifteen grievances.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Hall, p. 219. The duke was himself in Ireland at this time, and there is no evidence that these ideas sprang from him. He was then, like the duke of Orleans in our own times, the object to which the discontented naturally looked.

<sup>16</sup> Fab. p. 449.

<sup>17</sup> Stowe has preserved these both in his Chronicle and in his MS. extracts. Harl. MSS. No. 545. The substance of them will shew the views of these rioters:—

1. That it is openly noised, that Kent shall be destroyed, with a royal power, and made a wild forest, for the death of Suffolk, of which the commons of Kent were never guilty.

2. The king is stirred to live only on his commons, and other men to have the revenues of the crown.

3. The lords of his blood are put from his daily presence, and other mean persons of lower nature, exalted and made chief of the privy council.

4. People not paid for stuff and purveyance taken to the king's use.

5. The king's menial servants asken daily goods and lands of those impeached



He arranged the vast multitude into convenient order, and marched to Blackheath.<sup>18</sup> Having served in the French wars, he was able to encamp them with some military skill, and had trenches made with stakes fixed in them for their defence.<sup>19</sup> Here he prepared and presented his petitions to the king, stating the injuries and oppressions of which the people complained.<sup>20</sup> Government determining on an imme-

and indicted of treason, which the king granteth as soon as the endangered be convicted.

6. Gentiles and the king's menial servants take the poor people's lands, notwithstanding their feoffments and titles.

7. The king's lands in France are aliened and put away fro the crown.

8. Collectors of the fifteenth penny in Kent, are greatly vexed in paying great sums into the exchequer.

9. Sheriffs and undersheriffs let to farm.

10. Simple people that use not hunting are greatly oppressed by indictments.

11. Returning names of inquests not summoned and warned.

12. Ministers of the court of Dover, vex and arrest out of their bounds.

13. People of Kent not suffered to have free election of their knights of the shire, but letters have been sent to the great rulers forcing them to chuse other persons than the commons wished.

14. That the knight of the shire should chuse the king's collectors indifferently without taking bribes, but the collector's offices are bought and sold extortiously at the knight's cost.

15. People are sore vexed in costs and labors by being called to the sessions of peace from the farthest and uttermost parts of the waste, which compel some men to five days journeying; they desire the size to be divided into two parts.

<sup>18</sup> Fab. p. 449. W. Wyr. dates the insurrection about the 7th June. P. 477.

<sup>19</sup> Hist. Croyl. p. 526.

<sup>20</sup> Fab. p. 449. Besides the general complaints already cited, Cade gave in his own memorial, which Stowe has also copied. We add a summary of these; they express great personal loyalty to the king.

"Imprimis desireth the said capitayne of the commons :

1. The welfare of the king and his true lords temporal and spiritual, and of all true lords of his council; he to take all his demesnes that he may reign like a king royal according as he is born our christen king anointed, and who so will say the contrary, we all will live and die in the same quarrel as his true liegemen.

2. Desireth—That he will avoid all the false progeny and affinity of the duke of Suffolk, and to take about his person his true lords: that is, York, lately exiled from him by Suffolk, and the mighty princes and dukes of Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, and all the earls and barons of the land; and then shall he be the richest king christian.

3. Punishment of the false traitors who imagined Gloucester's death. He was proclaimed traitor; on the which quarrel we purpose to live and dye that it is false.

4. The realme of France, the dutchies of Normandy, Gascony, Guienne, Anjou, and Maine were delivered and lost by means of the said traitors.

5. That all the extortions used dally among the common people be laid down; that is, the green wax so falsely used to the perpetual destruction of the commons of Kent; also, the King's Bench so greevful to the shire of Kent; also, the taking of wheat and other grains, beef, mutton, and all other victuals, which is importable to the said commons; also, the statute of labourers, and the great extortioners and false traitors Slegge, Crowmer, Isle, and Rob Este." Stowe, ch. 389.

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diate resistance, the parliament at Leicester was dissolved; and the king hastening to London, collected near Smithfield an army of 20,000 men, and with these advanced against the rebels.<sup>21</sup> Cade, apprised of his approach, retreated at midnight, to Sevenoaks, on the seventh day of his encampment<sup>22</sup>, and there embattled his followers. Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother, believing that they were flying, set out with a small party to pursue. Cade encouraged his men to stand the attack, and after a short conflict, the Staffords were defeated and killed.<sup>23</sup>

The king's council was, during this incident, discussing the demands of Cade, which some supported. The disaster of the Staffords occasioned a bolder expression of sentiment, and as it was intimated, that unless lord Say and others were committed to custody, those would join Cade who thought these ministers had injured the country, it was deemed prudent to send the arraigned persons to the Tower; and the royal army then returned to London and dispersed.<sup>24</sup>

Cade, after his victory, put on the coat of mail, with the gilt nails and the gilt spurs, of the knight he had slain, and resumed his camp at Blackheath on the 29th June.<sup>25</sup> There the archbishop of Can-

<sup>21</sup> W. Wyr. 470.

<sup>22</sup> Fab. 449. The ancient memorandum in Fenn, vol. i. p. 61, marks the 22d June as the day of Cade's retreat. Sir J. Fenn had not observed that Cade made this retrograde motion before his subsequent successes.

<sup>23</sup> W. Wyr. 470. Fab. 449. "All which season the king's host lay still upon Blackheath; being among them sundry opinions, so that some and many favored the captain." Fab. ib.

<sup>24</sup> Fab. 449. W. Wyr. 470. "The lords fearing their own servants, lest they would take the captain's party." Fab. 450. "The king, doubting as much his familiar servants, as his unknown subjects, which spared not to speak, that the captain's cause was profitable for the commonwealth." Hall, p. 221.

<sup>25</sup> Among Fenn's letters is one from Payne, whom his master, sir John Falstaff, sent from his house in Southwark, to get from the rebels the articles they wanted. He says, "So soon as I came to the Blackheath, the captain made the commons to take me, and I was brought forthwith before the captain of Kent. He demanded of me, what was my cause of coming thither." Finding that he came from Falstaff, Cade cried, Treason, and had it proclaimed that he came to espy their puissance

terbury and duke of Buckingham had long communications with him, and found him a man of no common understanding. He refused to lay down his arms, and insisted upon his terms; and the lords, finding the attachment of their own followers not to be depended upon, removed from London to Killingworth, to keep them from joining the revolters.<sup>26</sup>

London was now defenceless, except that lord Scales was appointed to guard the Tower; and Cade, thus encouraged, after beheading one of his officers for disobedience to his orders, on the 1st of July marched from Blackheath to Southwark, and slept there. On the same day, an insurrectionary multitude arrived at Mile-end from Essex<sup>27</sup>, to reinforce the Kentish insurgents.

Cade was not only supported by the general feeling of the people, but also by some of the superior classes. Besides those in the king's council, who enforced some of his demands, the duke of Exeter's herald and a gentleman of Norfolk, are mentioned as acting in his mob<sup>28</sup>; and at the common council, convened by the mayor of London, some advised the admission of the rebels into the city; and when an alderman opposed this approving measure, he was taken into custody.<sup>29</sup> The gates were opened to Cade. He hewed with his sword the ropes which upheld the drawbridge, to prevent deceit. He caused proclamations to be made in many parts in the king's name, that none on pain of death, should take any thing without paying for it. He rode thro the

from the greatest traitor in England; "therefore he said plainly, that I should lose my head; and so I was taken and led to the captain's tent, and one axe and one block was brought forth to have smitten off my head. Then master Poynings your brother, with other of my friends, came and said, that there should die an hundred or two, in case I died; and so by that means my life was saved at that time." Fenn's Letters, i. pp. 57. 59.

<sup>26</sup> Fab. 450. W. Wyr. 470.

<sup>27</sup> Fab. 470.

<sup>28</sup> Payne's letter, Fenn. i. 57. This letter gives a full detail of Cade's pillaging the writer's apartments in Southwark, p. 61.

<sup>29</sup> Fab. p. 450.

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streets, struck the old London stone with his sword, exclaiming, "Now is Mortymer lord of this city;" and after arranging with the mayor for the disposition of his followers, he returned to Southwark.<sup>30</sup>

On 3d July, he entered the city again; sent for lord Say from the Tower, and had him arraigned at the Guildhall before the mayor and other justices. Say claimed to be judged by his peers. Hearing this demand, Cade sent a body of men who brought him by force to the standard in Cheapside, where they struck off his head and placed it on a long pole. At Mile-end, Crowmer, his son-in-law, the sheriff of Kent, was also beheaded as one of the extortioners complained of, and their heads were carried about in all the savage frenzy of mob-exultation.<sup>31</sup>

The city had up to this time favored them, but their first atrocities exciting an appetite for more, they began to plunder some of the citizens' houses, and Cade even robbed where he had dined. This pleased the lowest orders, but alarmed the rest, and tho it is intimated by the ancient chronicler of the city, that if Cade had not robbed, and had intended well, he might have brought his purpose to good effect; yet the respectable inhabitants, who desired the reformation of others, but not the pillage of themselves, dreading a general plunder, resolved to drive him out of London.<sup>32</sup> They privately armed; concerted measures with the king's forces in the Tower, and, as it became dark, made a powerful

<sup>30</sup> Fab. p. 451.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 451. Stowe has transmitted to us in his MS. extracts and chronicle, one of Cade's arbitrary mandates for supplies; it is to Thomas Cooke in London, "Ye shall charge all lumbards and strangers being merchants, Genoese, Venetians, Florentines, and others, *this day* to draw them together, and to ordain for us, 12 harness complete of the best fashion, 24 brigandynes, 12 battle axes, 12 gloves, 6 horses with saddles and bridles, and 1000 marks of ready money; and if this our demand be not observed, we shall have the heads of as many as we can get of them." Harl. MSS 545 Chron. 388.

<sup>32</sup> Fab. 452. Croyl. 526.

attack on the main body of the rebel host, which was posted on the bridge. The struggle was obstinate, and lasted all night, with varying fortune. Many fell on both sides; but the position was at length forced, and Cade retreated.<sup>33</sup>

The next day, some of the ministers held a conference with Cade at St. Margaret's church, and received the statement of his complaints. They delivered to him the king's pardon, for himself and his adherents, on the 9th of July, and he retired the same day to Dartmouth, and thence to Rochester. At Rochester, where he remained two days, his multitude began to quarrel about the booty they had taken; and which, having caused their defeat, now happily produced their dispersion. Cade, despairing of further unity and success, mounted his horse, and left them. A proclamation of one thousand marks, to all who would take him alive or dead, immediately pursued him.<sup>34</sup> The new sheriff of Kent, with others, followed his track, overtook him in an orchard, and slew him<sup>35</sup>, hopeless of mercy, and therefore desperate of life. His body was brought to London, and his head was placed on the bridge.<sup>36</sup> All the rebels retired home, as privately as they could; but some were selected, seized, and punished.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Fab 452. W. Wyr. 471. The letter written in Fenn, vol. i. p. 61., mentions this conflict: "I was up till the night that the battle was at London bridge; and then at night the captain put me out into the battle at the bridge, and there I was wounded and hurt near hand to death, and there I was six hours in the battle."

<sup>34</sup> Stowe has preserved this. It recites that "Cade was born in Ireland, had the year preceding lived in Sussex with sir Thomas Dagre; had there slain a woman with child, and had fled to a church for safety, and afterwards went abroad. That for years before this he had joined the French party and dwelt with them, and now came to England to enrich himself with robbing and despoiling the king's liege men." Harl. MSS. 545. and Chron. 391. It is dated 10 July 1450.

<sup>35</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera* contains the order on the exchequer, dated 15 July, for the 1000 marcs to Alexander Iden, and the others with him who had brought the body of Cade, xi. p. 275.

<sup>36</sup> Wyr. 472. Fab. 453. As he was afterwards attainted, his goods and lands declared forfeited, and his blood corrupted by an act of parliament (which act gives some material dates: *Rolls Parl.* vol. v. p. 224.), he seems not to have been a common man.

<sup>37</sup> Fab. 453.

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In these tumultuary proceedings, the four most obnoxious ministers, Suffolk, Say, and the prelates of Chichester and Salisbury, had perished; and if the revolt had arisen only from personal causes, the triumph of government would have made its future course tranquil and strong. But the moral causes of these movements continuing to agitate the public mind, the repression of that wild fury of the populace which benefited no one, produced no domestic peace. The old system of administration was persevered in, under new leaders; and its opponents perceiving from the insurrections, a certainty of great popular support, prepared to begin that direct struggle for the possession of the government of the country, which produced the most destructive civil war that England has at any time experienced.

That Englishmen in general were speaking ill of their sovereign, and, by their bad language, seemed disposed to do him every outrage, and were debating who should be their king; and that Henry was existing in a very doubtful balance of public opinion, at this period, are the observations of the duke of Orleans, who did not leave England till these angry feelings had begun.<sup>38</sup> Yet Henry was himself never personally unpopular; it was the administration of the queen, of the cardinal, and her ecclesiastical ministry; of their pupil or creature the duke of Suffolk, and afterwards of Somerset, and the new favorites who succeeded to the same principles, and pursued the same measures, which put the crown into this peril; and finally shook it from the head of a king, good, mild, virtuous, religious, unoffending; but unhappily and badly governed, by a passionate wife, by a worldly persecuting church, by selfish courtiers, and ambitious favorites. The direction and

<sup>38</sup> See the last stanza but one in his ballad, inserted before in this volume, p. 423

counsels of an intelligent woman would have added credit to his reign; but Margaret allied herself with a party, and was ruled by favorites of inadequate worth and capacity. They misgoverned her, and she misgoverned him; and all of them misgoverned the country.

In every European monarchy, the great aristocracies of birth, talent, and property, sometimes directly, oftener insensibly, but always powerfully, influence, control, and shape the conduct of the government. Their aim, with a certain regard to their own interests as individuals, is usually the public good; because reason naturally loves what is best, and pursues as far as it can discern it; and what is most profitable for all, is ultimately most beneficial to each. Wise sovereigns act on the same principles; and then, between the crown on an able head, and the most improved part of the community, there is an harmony of feeling, and a coalition of action, which produce a peaceful and distinguished reign. An intelligent minister, by pursuing the same system, creates the same results, if the royal capacity be, as in Henry VI., in an infirm state; but weak sovereigns have usually been remarkable for breaking this natural link between the royal mind, and the intellect, feeling, wealth, and nobility of the country. Inferior and inexperienced persons get into their confidence, produce, for their own purposes, a jealousy of the aristocracy and property of the country; and by selfish rapacity, ambition, impatience, and misgovernment, plunge the crown into a state of irretrievable unpopularity with all classes of its subjects.

That the queen's father should advise her not to suffer herself and the king to be the wards of others<sup>39</sup>, came too late to do good, and operated only to do mischief. The ecclesiastical statesmen, as we have

<sup>39</sup> See before, Chap. III. Hall. Chron. 209.

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already seen, had made the king their dependant ward, and had excluded him from that active share of efficient government which would have educated him to have governed better. He was already in their wardship when Margaret came; and the question for her to decide was, whether she would end that state of subservient pupillage which had broken his spirit, weakened his mind, and made him ignorant of all state affairs, and therefore averse from them; and by connecting him more generally and liberally with his nobility, and with the intellectual classes of his kingdom, have made his name loved, and his reign honored; or become herself his political duenna, and the actual sovereign of the country, by a degrading and unwise combination with the very persons who had debilitated her husband, and were uprooting his popularity. She preferred to make her ministers her minions, and to join those she ought to have removed, and to begin a steady and haughty warfare against the nobility and constitution of the country, that the arbitrary power of the crown, and of her favorites, might be established.

All that has survived to us of the complaints of the nation, at this time, converge to these points. Gloucester's last memorial against Winchester; the papers of the insurrectionists under Cade; the private correspondence of the Paston family; the records of parliament; the public papers of the Warwick and Yorkist party; and the narratives and remarks of our old chroniclers, shew, that the circumstances we have lamented were among the most active causes of the sanguinary distractions of the country. The queen and her favorites, like Edward II., pitched the crown against the nobility, law, and constitution of the country, and produced the hurricanes that injured all.

The remarks of an Oxford chancellor who lived at



this period, and died before the deposition of Henry, may be cited as the evidence of an intelligent contemporary, of the real or imputed misconduct of the queen's administration.<sup>40</sup>

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In one passage, Dr. Gascoigne informs us, that the pulpit itself had been directed against the government. "The bad lords and bishops, in 1449 and 1450, declared that the preachers of the Word of God disturbed the people, and caused insurrections. Yet these preachers were men famous in life and science, and only preached against vices and sins, and against the insatiable cupidity of the king's council, and of the bishops and others, and against the deficiency of public justice, and against the promotion of the very worst persons in the church and public offices. And because they preached against these evils, which were sufficient to disturb the kingdom, and deserved the divine punishment, they were called 'disturbers,' by those who supported the king, and by various bishops. Their reproachers said, 'Thou hast disturbed England, and vexed divers persons by the evils thou hast caused.'" <sup>41</sup>

In another part he mentions, that in 1450, and before, "Many persons told Henry VI. that famous preachers, doctors, by their preaching against the sins used in his privy council, caused insurrections among the people against him. Yet the public injuries and the annual taxes and tithes, and the alienation of the goods of the crown, and the want of justice from the judges of the church and kingdom, were so manifest, and so numerous, that if these preachers wished to have been silent, the very stones, that is, the popular multitude, would have cried out." <sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> This is the same MS. work which we have before cited, Ch. II., Note 59. As I have not had an opportunity of consulting the MS. at Oxford; I quote the MS. excerpts from it by R. James, in the Cotton library, Vitell. c. ix. Dr. Gascoigne died in 1459.

<sup>41</sup> MSS. Vitell. c. ix. p. 155., referring to Gascoigne's MS. p. 578.

<sup>42</sup> MSS. Vitell. p. 156. Gasc. MS. p. 507. : he gives the names of some of those

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It seems, that sermons to this purport were sometimes addressed to the king himself; for the doctor mentions, that "Lord Say, with others, would not suffer any one to preach before the king, unless they saw his written sermon first, or unless he would swear not to preach against his ministers' actions or councils." <sup>43</sup>

He expressly declares, that the insurrections in 1450 were directed against the church, as well as the government. After mentioning, that Reginald Peacock, whom the duke of Suffolk promoted to the mitre, publicly taught, that bishops were not bound to preach because they were bishops: and that all the bishops of England favored, or did not oppose him; Gascoigne adds, "and immediately afterwards, insurrections overflowed against the church, and against the king of England, by thousands of men, who said, 'The ecclesiastics destroy us; they live luxuriously on their property, while we are perishing with want; and they have destroyed the king by their flattery, or silence.' This was the public voice: and the duke of Suffolk, bishop of Salisbury, and lord Say, were killed by the common people, in 1450." <sup>44</sup>

Other paragraphs aver the same facts. "From the time the bishop favored Peacock, then in the see of St. Asaph, for preaching that bishops were not bound to preach because they were bishops, and that they did not sin in giving annates, or first fruits, to the Pope, many rose up in insurrection, spoiling and killing several persons, and speaking the worst things of the clergy, who live on the goods of the church.

preachers. "The most famed ones were G. Wurthyngton, rector of St. Andrews, Holborn; W. Lythfield, rector of All Saints, London; Magister Petrus de Beverley, alias Herforth; some doctors of reputation for their lives and knowledge at Cambridge; and Dr. Th. Eburhall, of Oxford, then master of the College of Wyttington." MSS. *ib.*

<sup>43</sup> MS. Vitell. p. 157.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* p. 156. Gasc. MSS. 507.

Thus the insurgents said, 'The pluralities of churches, the appropriations in the monasteries and collegiate churches, the non-residence of prelates and rectors in their cures, and the unworthy promotion of immoral young men in the church, whom I myself knew to be unable to pronounce Latin, and who did not even receive their own revenues, but sent their servants to take and spend them: these evils, and the famous proclamantes, destroy the good government of the church, and of souls.'"<sup>45</sup> He adds, with an angry feeling, but with a foresight of consequences, which events soon proved to be sagacious: "Bishops now do not preach, either vocally or by example; but God will himself preach in action, by bringing on them, and other offenders, heavy punishments."<sup>46</sup> His displeasure that the prelates forsook the pulpits seems to have arisen from a perception, that the new neglect arose from luxurious indolence, and was producing that public obloquy, against which no power can stand.

Dr. Gascoigne gives us some important information, as to the vicious system of government then pursued by its ministers; or, at least, as to the popular belief and complaint of it.

The public objections to the conduct of government.

1st. As to their management of parliaments, to compel the unwilling commons to grant subsidies:

After remarking, that they and the courtiers lived on royal grants, and on the taxes raised from the people, and on the tenths granted by the clergy, he proceeds; "They cause the king to appoint the parliaments to meet in small cities, remote from the confines of the kingdom, that from want of good house-room and victuals, few may attend; and that lawyers might be absent, who would advise the commons; and they so prorogue parliament, and so long keep it continuing, that by their great and daily

<sup>45</sup> MS. Vitell. p. 157.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

expenses, the poor members of the commons, who remain there, may be compelled to grant what the king desires, however wrong and destructive to the kingdom it may be. And the root of this evil, is the avarice of those who hold the superior offices in the realm.”<sup>47</sup>

2d. He exhibits the Suffolk ministry as enriching themselves with the public money.

“The new counsellors of the king are very greedy, and care not what they do, if they can obtain honors and worldly affluence. They have enriched themselves, and by their assenting have so acted that the king has given away to others, and their heirs, all the crown revenues. Hence he has not the means of living, unless by the parliamentary subsidies; and altho he owes 1,500,000*l.*, he has nothing by which he can pay the debt.

“Yet these counsellors, whom he has made lords out of boys, advise earnestly the king not to resume his grants, tho the parliament has strongly petitioned him to do so. But these bad advisers tell him, that it would be a great disgrace and evil to make this resumption. Therefore he will not comply with the wishes of the parliament, tho he has no livelihood nor fund to discharge his debts, but what he can collect from the people.

“If the king ever becomes angry with any of his servants for detected falsehood, he forgets the fault the next day, and praises and obeys the false counsellor, as if he had never done wrong.”<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> MS. Vitel. p. 155. Gasc. MSS. 578.

<sup>48</sup> MS. Vit. p. 155. Gasc. MSS. 579. It may be interesting to add his account of Cade's insurrection, as it was written at or near the time of its occurrence. During the parliament at Leicester, the commonalty of Kent rose up, and called themselves the public seekers to do public justice, and the proclaimers of their own, and the kingdom's injury. While these were insurgent, the parliament ended, which had been long continued at London and Leicester, that the commons, weighed down by expences and labors, might consent to certain requests of the king, and to certain taxes which he asked; but these *were not* granted; for it was said, publicly, that unless the commons consented to the proposed articles, the parliament should not finish. But the commons of that parliament, endured more threats from the

These remarks display the strong feeling of one personally dissatisfied with the measures of the Suffolk administration; but being penned at the time, they exhibit the sentiments by which those, who were discontented with the government, were generally influenced in their opposition to it.<sup>49</sup>

The death of Cade and the ministers did not immediately tranquillize the nation. The public mind continued to be turbulent; and foreseeing men must have looked forward to an agitated futurity.<sup>50</sup> But as the remarks of the Oxford chancellor imply, that oppositions to the ecclesiastical state and system of conduct, were among the disturbing forces that acted on the country, this important subject may next claim our careful consideration.

king and from his *young* counsellors. They were commanded by the king to proceed with the articles, which were to provide money to defend Normandy; and that they should not intermeddle with the actions of the king and his lords. But this parliament, tho daily harassed by expences and labors, yet said openly, that they would *never* grant a tax to the king, till he resumed all the appurtenances to his crown, which he had alienated. Before the complete decision of these, the commons of Kent rose up under their captain *John Cade*, a bastard, descended from Roger Mortimer. He, *after the king's pardon to him*, and his, betrayed by one of his servants, as it is said, was mortally wounded, and brought dead to London, in July 1450; and in that month and year, the English were expelled from Normandy.

<sup>49</sup> Dr. Gascoigne, under the word "Promotio," in his Dictionary, and in a note, in calce Cod. Bodl. NE. A 5. 1., gives this account of himself. After mentioning, that he had a prebend of eight marks in the cathedral of Welles, he says, "Cardinal Kemp gave me a collation to the chancellorship of York, but I never had it. In 1445 I was appointed rector of St. Peter, Cornhill. The lord mayor and aldermen gave me the living, and, tho infirm, I accepted their presentation, hoping to be well soon, and to reside there in person, and to fulfil the duty of a pastor, or else meaning to resign. But my infirmity continuing, so that I could not baste thither from Oxford, I, R. Gascoigne, Dr. Theol. and chancellor of Oxford, gave in my resignation. For St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, never held any living unless he could personally reside there. Alas! alas! alas! the absence of a good pastor makes and causes many evils, as that of a pilot from a ship." Under "Peccatum," he mentions, "I resigned, of my own accord, my only rectory of Dighton to Dr. Th. Eborall, because he was more fit than myself to travel and preach in our diocese of York." He died 13 March 1450. Tanner Bib. Monast. 311. His Dictionarium is in Coll. Linc. Oxford, in two large volumes.

<sup>50</sup> In August 1450, a person writes, "Lord Moleyns had sore labored in his country to appease and still the people there, to restrain them from rising; and so he was daily laboring thereabouts in the king's service." He also mentions a report, that 9 or 10,000 men were up in Wiltshire. Fenn, vol. i. p. 91. In October, sir John Falstaffe wrote to the king, that Suffolk stood right wildly, p. 99.; and lord Oxford, in the following winter, reminds the sheriff of Norfolk, "what indisposition the commons of both countries were of, in the end of last summer," p. 107. But he adds, what proves that the public complained of real grievances, "I were loath to labor further, unless the commons should be eased, as God's law would." Ib.

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## CHAP. VI.

*Review of the State of the English Papal Hierarchy at this period. — The different Attacks made upon it. — The Reformati-  
ons urged; and its retaliated Hostilities, and Persecutions,  
on those who criticized and opposed it.*

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IN a subsequent volume, some of the attacks will be alluded to, which were made on the papal church establishment in England, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> But the church, at that time, possessed above half the knights' fees; that is, of the great landed property, and military tenures of England, besides tithes and personal goods, official dues, and perpetual benefactions.<sup>2</sup> Hence as they had larger power in the state, and greater wealth than any other single order of the community, and were superior to either the king, or the aristocracy, taken separately, they were not to be shaken, if at all, without a convulsion of the whole country. They saw and felt the danger that had arisen to them, from the union of the crown and nobility, under the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II.; and to prevent its continuance, made that alliance with the house of Lancaster, which deposed Richard; and under Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., enabled them to pursue a system of persecution, imprisonment, and burning, that kept all reformation at bay till the reign of Henry VIII.; but which contributed materially to the civil wars between the Yorkists and the Lancastrians, by supplying continually the fuel of discontent. As this important period of our history has not been

<sup>1</sup> See the 4th volume of this Work.

<sup>2</sup> The knights' fees were 53,215. And of these the clergy held 28,000. Ib. Book VII. chap. iv. note 65.

contemplated with these considerations; and we have now approached the time, when the dismal contests began, it will be useful to take a concise view of the state of warfare, into which the mind of the country became agitated against what was called in that day the *possessed* church; the church, with its legal and established property, and pecuniary rights; of the attacks which were made resolutely upon it from various quarters; and of its own, as determined, and vindictive efforts, in its defence. When the facts which we shall notice, are duly weighed, it will surprise no one, that the civil wars, which spilt so much English blood in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV., should have occurred. We shall feel, that our ancestors were not absurd enough to sacrifice life and comfort, to determine whether one descendant of Edward III., or another, had the best of two remote and doubtful rights to the crown. The cause which gave them supporters, and furnished so much supplies to the civil war, was that collision between the great contending interests in the country, which, at this time, were existing in active and irreconcilable hostility; and which, from the sacrifices of pride, power, influence, and property, that each had to submit to before either could be at peace, no other decision than that of the sword, could ultimately terminate. The sword was fiercely called in by both the antagonist parties, to contest and determine the mighty questions. Its first operations were to change the dynasty of the crown tho not the monarchical constitution; and to strike down the great nobility of the country. The church survived to enjoy the temporary victory, but only to fall itself when its own triumph united the crown, the subdued aristocracy, and the resenting people against it, under that monarch, who, after obtaining at first the title of its Defender, consented to its spoil and overthrow, as

soon as his own passions could be made to concur with the general feeling and long cherished wishes of the majority of the nation.<sup>3</sup>

It was the property and conduct of the clergy, which constituted their real danger. The ambition, pride, and luxury of their prelates, fixed the eye of angry criticism on their envied opulence, and on its abuse; and roused both avarice and reason to dispossess them of it.<sup>4</sup>

These hostile feelings were planting themselves deeply in the bosom of the thinking public, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. W. Occam, an Englishman, one of the great doctors of the schoolmen, displays them in his dialogue, between a knight and an ecclesiastic, written at that time.<sup>5</sup> The latter begins with complaining, how much the rights of the church were invaded, and what wrong the clergy endured against all law. To the knight's question, "What law?" the other answers, the ordinances of the popes, and the decrees of the fathers. The knight allows, that these may be authorities to the clergy, but not to the laity; and intimates, that he had therefore laughed, when Pope Boniface VIII. had, by a new statute then lately made, declared himself to be above all secular princes and kingdoms. He admits, that they who conduct the worship of the Deity, should have every necessary; but no temporal kingdom or lordships; and reminds his opponent, that our Saviour and St. Paul compare his order to workmen, to hired persons, and to laboring oxen;

<sup>3</sup> Spain appears to be now in a state something similar to what England was in the fifteenth century. Her clergy, when her late commotions began, enjoyed above half the property of the country; and are waging the same conflict in it, thro which our ancestors had to pass.

<sup>4</sup> See the remarks and quotations in Vol. IV. of this Hist.

<sup>5</sup> About 1305. It is intitled, "Disputatio super potestate prelati ecclesiæ atque principibus terræ commissa." And is printed in Goldasti Monarchica. He was a scholar of our Duns Scotus. An old English translation of his work was published, from which Oldys gives some important extracts in his British Librarian, p. 5.



and that these are not lords of things.<sup>6</sup> He expresses broadly his own conviction, that they were only upheld by the royal power. "If the authority of the king were to fail you, what would be your repose? would not the poor and prodigal nobles, if they should consume their own property, turn to yours? therefore the royal hands are your bulwark: the king's peace is your peace; the king's safety is your safety." With a sarcasm on both themselves, and their supporters, he adds: "It is because kings and princes, at their own expense and dangers, defend you and expose themselves gratuitously to death for your sake; that you repose under your shades, eat splendidly, drink joyously, lie down on ornamented beds, sleep quietly, and wanton with soft instruments of music. You, therefore, are the only lords. The kings and princes are but your servants."<sup>7</sup> When the clergyman claims what he possesses, as the property of God<sup>8</sup>, and accuses the layman of meaning to invade that, he answers, "We mean not to revoke what was given to the Supreme, but to apply it to those uses for which the gift was made."<sup>9</sup> The churchman desires him to leave them in peace. "No," exclaims the knight, "we are to see the wills of our forefathers fulfilled, who gave these temporalities so plentifully, that you should dispose of them to charitable purposes; to the health of our souls; to the honor of God; to praying for the dead; and to relieving the wants of the living." He reminds him again, that they are spending their wealth in sinful deeds of vanity, instead of distributing it in acts of mercy to the poor, to the sick, the diseased, and the oppressed;

<sup>6</sup> Occam's Dial. Oldy's Brit. Lib. p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Occ. Disp. Gold. Mon. p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> This title was early given to church possessions, with great ingenuity. In the most ancient Anglo-Saxon law that was made, they are called "Godes feoh." Wilk. Leg. Sax. p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Gold. p. 16.

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and adds this emphatic warning, "and if ye do not so, THEN MUST WE HAVE TO DO THEREWITH."<sup>10</sup>

The clergy did not lessen their splendor and enjoyments; and the gentlemen of England became more eager for their possessions. The knights were afterwards classed with the Lollards, for their hostility against the monastic orders.<sup>11</sup>

The government was interested to countenance the pomp and worldly expenditure of the church, because it added to the state of the court; and lessened the consequence, means, and popularity of an order which then wanted to tower above all others. But from the constitution of the English parliament, the command of the legislation of the country was connected with the possession of its landed property. Hence, to prevent this from being gradually absorbed by the growing opulence of the church, the acts called the Statutes of Mortmain, were passed under one of our most sagacious kings, which made void all future donations to them of landed property.<sup>12</sup> These enactments precluded any further territorial aggrandizement. But the pious feelings of the truly religious, and the anxieties of those who wished to atone for the abuse of their earthly possessions; or to secure the next world, after the unrestrained enjoyment of the present, still continued to pour their disposable affluence on the church. That property thus bestowed, ensures heaven to the bestower, has been not only the doctrine, but also the belief, of many

<sup>10</sup> Oldys, p. 8. Oldys has remarked, that Occam attacked vigorously John XXIII. and gave a mortal wound to the Pope's temporal power over princes. He obtained a protector in Louis of Bavaria. The Pope excommunicated him, and he was condemned at Paris for an heretic, and his books were burnt. Luther was familiar with his works. He was the only schoolman whom this reformer valued. Oldys, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Thus a MS in the Cotton library, has "ad verecundiam Lollardorum presentis temporis et militum detrahentium, qui satis infesti sunt, his diebus, ordini monachorum." MS. Claud. E 4. p. 330.

<sup>12</sup> Stat. 7 Ed. I.; 13 Ed. I. c. 32; and 15 R. II. c. 5. An exception was made in favor of the crown, by 18 Ed. III. st. 3. c. 3.; which has been finally adjusted by 7 and 8 Will. III. c. 37.

sacerdotal establishments in every age and country of the world; and will be so while property exists, and state and luxury are valued.<sup>13</sup> Hence the clergy, in some or other of their branches, continued to increase in wealth and in its display, while the censorious and craving rapacity of the laity, as steadily followed its expected prey.<sup>14</sup>

The danger which always impended over the crown, from a proud, jealous, vindictive, insubordinate, independent, warlike, high-spirited, self-estimating, powerful, and irritable nobility, usually kept the throne united with the church. And if the latter had not been goaded by the papal see, to support its extravagant claim to universal and imperial domination; and had been more willing to have let the sovereign occasionally share some portion of their revenues, the unity might never have been broken. All establishments left to themselves, tend to subside into the peaceful apathy of contented self-enjoyment. But the government occasionally wanted money, and

<sup>13</sup> That the clergy did not hypocritically teach the duty or efficacy of testamentary distributions for pious uses, but themselves really believed and felt what they taught, we perceive by their own wills and conduct. The cardinal of Winchester begins his will, by stating, that he desires to transmute his terrestrial goods into heavenly ones, and to dispose of his property for the salvation of his soul. Royal Wills, p. 321. Some of our most munificent foundations of charity and learning, have arisen from testamentary dispositions of the wealthy clergy. The highest ranks of the laity had the same impression. Hence Henry the Sixth's splendid establishments of Eton College, and King's College, Cambridge; on which see Parl. Rolls, vol. v. pp. 75—102.

<sup>14</sup> The anxiety of all the great and wealthy laity, to have masses said for their souls, either from love of pomp or from an alarmed feeling, as to the other world, appears in their wills; and was perpetually raining down money on some of the religious classes. Thus the countess of March gives one prior 10 marcs, to another 60 shillings, and to every canon of the priory, 40 shillings, to pray for her soul; and 200*l.* for keeping her anniversary, besides other valuable legacies. Royal Wills, p. 98. The earl March, her son, left 1000*l.* to an abbey, to be employed in the same manner; besides all their plate and furniture to several chapels; and 40*l.* each to three abbeys; and 40 marcs each to 21 other religious houses, to pray for his soul and his wife's; 20 marcs to three others; 20*l.* to one nunnery, and 40 marcs to two others, to pray for his soul and for all Christians for a year. *Ib.* 105—111. The earl of Arundel authorizes his executors, to apply a sum, not exceeding 1000 marcs, for his soul; besides 400 marcs, for singing for him and his lady at Lewes; and 100 to the church at Chichester. *Ib.* 121—128. Also, 20*l.* to another; 16*l.* to another; and 40*l.* each to four others; p. 135. Besides legacies of plate and garments. Almost every will has bequests of this sort.

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of the  
crown  
with the  
church and  
Pope.

the clergy resisted taxation. When the Pope threatened or issued excommunications, he called upon the prelates to support him, on pain of being excommunicated themselves. And as none of our sovereigns reigned without some disputes with the papal chair, it became as expedient for the crown, in regard to its own safety, to clip the beak and talons and wings of its church establishment, as to bruise the power of its fierce nobility.

Of the determination with which our ancient kings sometimes attacked the church, we have a remarkable instance in 1269, while Occam was flourishing. Edward I. then requested aid from both laity and clergy, for his war against France, on account of Gascony. The convocation divided itself into four bodies:—the bishops; the deans and archdeacons; the abbots and priors; and the representatives of the parochial ministers. Each consulted apart, and decided to give no contribution; and made a bull of Boniface, anathematizing all who submitted to such payments, their public excuse. The king, upon consulting his parliament, a few days after, issued what the chronicler reasonably calls “a cruel edict,” against the clergy, without any exception of persons or dignities. He sent writs to the sheriffs, and seized and confiscated all the lands, goods, and property of the clergy, of every description. He had a written list made out, of every acre they possessed, and the value of all their estates, and taxed them accordingly. None could get back their property, without due submission, and paying also such a fine as he imposed; and they who did not submit, were treated as outlaws and traitors, and could get no redress in the courts of law, for an injury which any layman chose to do them. This attack is declared to have made the clergy the opprobrium of men, and the contempt of the people.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Hearne's Chron. de Dunstaple, pp. 652—654.

It certainly pointed out to the great laity, the fat deer that was to be chased; and broke down that wall of veneration which had so long protected their possessions, as the property of the Supreme.

The two succeeding Edwards, and the second Richard, had felt themselves obliged to concur with the passions of the community, in curtailings, by slow degrees, the power of the church. Yet still, when the crown applied to it for money, the usual answer was returned, that it was too poor. Thus, in 1425, a subsidy was asked to support the duke of Bedford in his French war. The clergy refused it, on the allegation of their poverty.<sup>16</sup> These refusals, at the time they were exhibiting the most ostentatious luxury, compelled the government to look critically upon that, and to coincide with the call of society for its correction. It was clear, that what was spent for individual purposes, could not be contributed to the state; and therefore, even Henry V., who supported them so steadily as to destroy his military friend sir John Oldcastle, for their sake, and to witness himself the burning of a poor heretic<sup>17</sup>, ordered an inquiry into the parade and exorbitances of the Benedictine monks, and had restrictions enacted<sup>18</sup>, and he urged by his ambassadors at Constance, extensive reformation in the church. So, when in 1419, he applied to them for a subsidy to aid him in his war, and to pay for those who should be sent to Constance; he required also, the defects reigning among the clergy to be reformed.<sup>19</sup> This addition was perhaps found to be the most efficacious means of obtaining the taxation. His concession to them, was,

<sup>16</sup> Wilk. Concil. vol. iii.

<sup>17</sup> See before, Book II. chap. xii.

<sup>18</sup> The bishop of Exeter, from the king, made various propositions as to their excesses and abuses. Croyl. 514 See the process in the years 1422 and 1423, in Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. pp. 413—426. One restriction imposed, expresses emphatically, the assumed pomp, that it was felt necessary to lessen. Their superiors were not to ride out with *more* than 20 horses, including baggage; nor with gilt reins. Ib.

<sup>19</sup> Ib. p. 393.

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his permitting the convocation to arrest and persecute several heretics.<sup>20</sup>

As the Pope and the crown were competitors in exacting money from the clergy, this "irritamentum mali," as Ovid felt it to be; this "root of all evil," as the apostle pronounces it, induced the crown from the reign of Edward I., to be steady in its efforts, to diminish the papal power and influence in England. The two statutes, of *quare impedit* and *premunire facias*, had this direct tendency.<sup>21</sup>

Edward III. pursued the policy of his father and grandfather; and in 1343, when Clement VI. made provision for two of his cardinals, out of vacant benefices in England, to the amount of 2000 marcs, besides their prelacies and abbies, the king drove their collecting agents out of the kingdom<sup>22</sup>; and soon after published that celebrated letter to the Pope, asserting the liberty of the English church.<sup>23</sup>

It became so unpopular, both at court, and in the nation, for the English clergy to seek, as formerly, patronage from the papal see, that one who had obtained a bull for the see of Winchester<sup>24</sup>, and afterwards, another who had a similar one for the see of Ely<sup>25</sup>; were forced publicly to renounce their foreign appointments, as prejudicial to the crown. The ministers of Edward III. had such little deference

<sup>20</sup> As R. Walker; Rad. Owtrede; W. Browne; and R. Wyche. Wilk. vol. iii. pp. 394, 395.

<sup>21</sup> The first statute against papal provisions was made, 31 Edw. I., and was the foundation of all the subsequent statutes of *premunire*. Coke, 2 Inst. 583. The chapter in Blackstone's Commentaries on this subject, l. iv. c. 8., will give the reader full information upon it. Several statutes were enacted in Edward III.'s reign, against provisors, as 25 Edw. III. st. 6.; 27 Edw. III. st. 1. c. 1.; 38 Edw. III. st. 1. c. 4., and st. 2. c. 1, 2, 3, 4. These enact, that the court of Rome shall not present or collate to any bishopric or living in England; that the king, or his subjects, shall not be cited to answer at Rome; and that king John's donation of vassalage and annual rent to the Pope, was null and void. All the temporal nobility and commons engaged, that if the Pope should endeavour to maintain these usurpations, they would resist him with all their power. Seld. Flet. x. 4. Blackst. l. iv. c. 8.

<sup>22</sup> Harl. MSS. No. 7048, p. 228.: a neat selection of the most important facts in the MS. collection of documents in Cleop. E 2. and others. <sup>23</sup> Ib.

<sup>24</sup> 20 Edw. III. Harl. MSS. 229. Cotton MSS. Cleop. E 2.

<sup>25</sup> 36 Edw. III. ib. Cleop. ib.

to the feelings of the pontiff, that in 1374, they appointed Wicliffe one of the ambassadors to him from the king<sup>26</sup>; and the commons exhibited such a diminution of former veneration to the church as to petition, that no ordinance should be made on the application of the clergy, without assent of parliament; and that no one should be bound by any of their constitutions made for their own advantage.<sup>27</sup>

But it was the property and power, not the doctrines, of the church, against which the government pressed. When the clergy were disposed to be liberal with their temporalities, the crown supported their spiritual opinions. Hence even under Richard II., in 1381, a statute against Lollardy was passed<sup>28</sup>, and the king sent letters to Oxford in the following year, to search out and expel heretics, and to seize the books of John Wicliffe and Nicholas Herford.<sup>29</sup> Carmelites were sent down by the archbishop, to enforce this mandate; when the chancellor resisted, he was himself accused of heresy for the opposition<sup>30</sup>; and Richard II. was, five years afterwards, applauded by Urban VI., for his zeal against heretics and schism.<sup>31</sup>

But altho in this year the king's commissioners went to the corporation of Nottingham, to obtain and bring to the council the heretical books of Herford, and of Wicliffe, then lately dead<sup>32</sup>; yet, before two years had elapsed, we find an act of parliament made against the provisions and reservations of the Pope<sup>33</sup>; and a letter to him from the king and lords, justifying the hostile statute.<sup>34</sup> A clergyman was publicly forbidden to make any application to Rome, for the archdeaconry of Durham.<sup>35</sup> The king issued letters to prohibit every English bishop from collecting

<sup>26</sup> Harl. MSS. 229. Cleop. E 2.    <sup>27</sup> 51 Ed. III. Harl. MSS. 239. Cleop. E 2.

<sup>28</sup> Stat. 5 R. II.

<sup>29</sup> Harl. MSS. 233.

<sup>30</sup> Ib.

<sup>31</sup> 11 Rich. II. Harl. ib.

<sup>32</sup> Ib.

<sup>33</sup> Stat. 13 Rich. II.

<sup>34</sup> Harl. MSS. 233.

<sup>35</sup> Ib.

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money for the Pope, without leave of parliament<sup>36</sup>; and in 1391, at Whitsuntide, ordered all benefited clergy, that were at the Roman court, to return home by Michaelmas, under the penalty of deprivation<sup>37</sup>; tho at the same time he granted writs to enable the bishops to throw heretics into prison.<sup>38</sup> Thus the conscience was surrendered to the church; but the battle was strenuous for the golden fleece.

This distinction was repeatedly marked and maintained under the remainder of the reign of this unrespected sovereign. He ordered the chancellor of Oxford not to permit Friar Crampe to deliver his scholastic exercises against the Catholic faith<sup>39</sup>, and he desired the university, to consult by what methods heresies and schisms might be extirpated.<sup>40</sup> He commanded the mayor and sheriffs of London, to repress the conventicles of Lollards<sup>41</sup> in the metropolis, and he received complaints against the mayor of Northampton, for favoring heresy and heretics.<sup>42</sup> Yet at the same time he sent his writ, forbidding papal bulls to be admitted at Oxford, exempting the scholars from the jurisdiction of the bishops.<sup>43</sup> This mercenary and double-dealing conduct of his administration, aggravated his general misgovernment, and set the national mind in fatal hostility against him. His abetting the church, in their attacks on the right of conscience and freedom of opinion, made all the conscientious, the intelligent, the liberal in sentiment, and the objectors to ecclesiastical tyranny, his enemies; while his resistance to the Pope's asserted power, and his claims on the church property, alienated both the clergy and their foreign sovereign from his throne.

Richard became useless to the establishment in proportion as he was unpopular; and it abandoned

<sup>36</sup> Harl. MSS. p. 233.<sup>37</sup> Ib. 229.<sup>38</sup> Ib. 234.<sup>39</sup> Ib.<sup>40</sup> Ib.<sup>41</sup> Ib.<sup>42</sup> Ib.<sup>43</sup> Ib.



and assisted to depose him. The archbishop of Canterbury went in person to invite Henry IV. to invade<sup>44</sup>; and the prince began his reign under the patronage of the possessed clergy, and as their ally; and the severest statute that had yet passed against the Lollards, was soon enacted.<sup>45</sup>

So singular was the complexity of interests, which were now arising into mischievous contention, that the clergy were even obliged to resist their great bulwark, the Pope; and to support the government in its contests against him. His exactions of money produced this hostile conduct, as already noticed, in the thirteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Their resentment at his impositions blinded them to the perception, that he could not be depreciated, and they be secure; and in the fifteenth century, they began vigorously to attack him. Paulus Anglicus, in 1404, wrote his *Aureum Speculum* pointedly against him.<sup>47</sup> In 1408, R. Ullerstone was urged, by the bishop of Salisbury, to a work as inimical, in which he not only declared in express terms, that "no nation of the faith under heaven, is so noted for inexorable and insatiable avarice as the Roman court;" but extended his demands for reformation to most of the moral grievances which the church supported.<sup>48</sup> The celebrated W. Lyndwood<sup>49</sup>, was sent by the royal council at

<sup>44</sup> See before, Book II. chap. viii.

<sup>45</sup> See Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 125.

<sup>46</sup> See before, Book II. chap. ii.

<sup>47</sup> It is printed by Goldastus, in his *Monarchia*, vol. i. p. 1527. It contains a dialogue between Peter and Paul, "de insolentiis et erroribus Romanæ curiæ," p. 1528. He says, a century before Luther, "I will detect the most grievous errors of the Roman court, about the provisions of benefices, and the *grants of indulgences*, and will condemn them with the simoniacal transactions. I will declare all the Roman court to be erroneous, and to be *laboring under a state of damnation*."

<sup>48</sup> His book, *De Reformatione Ecclesiæ*, discusses these subjects: the election of the Pope; simony; exemptions; dispensations; pluralities; appeals; abuses of privileges; the apostasy of clergymen intermeddling with secular affairs; extortions; the superfluous, sumptuous, and inordinate apparel of the clergy, and their households. See Wharton's *Add. to Cave, Hist. Liter.* p. 74.

<sup>49</sup> He wrote the book that became a standard work, on the *Constitutions of the Church*.

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the accession of Henry VI. to the council at Basle ; and in the king's name preached against the pomp and arrogance of the Roman pontiffs, against appeals to them, and against their demand, that no king should acknowledge on earth a superior to themselves.<sup>50</sup> The Popes, on their part, endeavored to keep the English bishops their supporters against the king, and to nominate them accordingly. In 1422, on the archbishop of York's death, the pontiff appointed, as his successor, the bishop of Lincoln, who was then on an embassy to him. The regent lords chose another prelate. To please them, Lincoln renounced the papal nomination. On hearing this, the Pope exclaimed, "I thought he would have been a firm pillar ; but I now see, that he is only a reed, easily shaken."<sup>51</sup>

The papal see, equally unaware of the unfriendly future, whose advance it was accelerating, if not producing, fought stoutly against both the English government and the English clergy. Tho the long-continued, and most unwisely repeated, competitions of rival popes, anathematizing each other, had been shaking the whole papal establishment to its foundations ; and an Englishman, of great exertions against the heretics of his day, had disputed vigorously against two of these popes, as antipopes<sup>52</sup> ; yet the successful and acknowledged one, while on the one hand he struggled fiercely, and repeatedly, with government, on the right of nominating the bishops of England<sup>53</sup>, on the other, attacked the English prelacy

<sup>50</sup> Whart. Cave, p. 84.

<sup>51</sup> Walsingham MSS. Sloane, 1776.

<sup>52</sup> This was Netter the Carmelite, in 1409.

<sup>53</sup> He would not sanction the person named by the English regency, and kept the mitre of York unoccupied for some years, till the duke of Bedford at last recommended another bishop. Wals. MSS. Sloane. In 1434, we find Henry VI. reproving a priest for accepting the Pope's nomination to the see of Worcester, and writing to his envoy at Rome, to prevent the Pope's filling up the vacant bishopric of Rochester. MSS. Cot. Lib. Cleop. E 3.

itself, in the person of the archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1426.<sup>54</sup> Some pecuniary affairs seem to have been the secret cause, for it was after the departure of the Pope's financial officer from England, that the archbishop thought it necessary to write to the pontiff, that some "detractors striving to embitter the sweetness of his paternal love," had suggested that he and the duke of Gloucester were the chief impeters of ecclesiastical liberties in England.<sup>55</sup> The Pope, in answer, assures him, that until he received that letter, he had no idea, that the archbishop and the duke had been so hostile; but he commands him to labor for "a repeal of that execrable statute against ecclesiastical liberties<sup>56</sup>," called the statute against provisors, which forbade any foreign ecclesiastic to have benefices in England. To get this restriction abolished, he wrote both to the prelate and to the parliament.<sup>57</sup> The bishops, the university of Oxford, and the temporal lords, interfered with him in defence of the archbishop.<sup>58</sup> In vain — the Pope suspended the head prelate of England<sup>59</sup>, and sent his collector to serve on him the sentence. The duke of Gloucester commissioned an esquire to arrest the bearer of the papal bulls. The king's writ was issued, forbidding them to be promulgated<sup>60</sup>; and the archbishop appealed against the arbitrary pontiff.<sup>61</sup> The house of commons supported their injured prelate.<sup>62</sup>

While the king and pope, as their interests excited, were thus attacking the church; and by so doing, were sanctioning and increasing the hostile feelings that were spreading thro society against it; the house of commons took occasion to express and enforce some

<sup>54</sup> The papers are in Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. pp. 471—487.

<sup>56</sup> Ib. p. 474.

<sup>57</sup> Ib. pp. 479, 480.

<sup>55</sup> Ib. p. 472.

<sup>59</sup> Ib. pp. 476—478.

<sup>58</sup> See his bull, ib. 484.

<sup>60</sup> Ib. p. 486.

<sup>61</sup> Ib. 485.

<sup>62</sup> They petitioned the king in parliament on the subject, and prayed, that the Pope's proceedings for what he called the liberties of Rome in England, might be "cassés." Rolls Parl. vol. iv. p. 322.

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of these sentiments in the third year after Henry VI. had acceded.

The year 1425 was peculiarly marked by its complaints against the conduct of the clergy. In one petition it represented, that there were many chapels sufficiently endowed and annexed to parish churches, in various parts; and accustomed to have service performed, which were then tortiously withheld from their sacred use, by the parochial parsons or vicars.<sup>63</sup> In another remonstrance it stated, that from the non-residence of the clergy on their parsonages, and for lack of priests to do divine service, children had died unchristened, burials had been delayed, and pregnant women had perished. That in some parish kyrks, scarcely three masses were said in a week; and in some not one. That altho the old custom was, that a third part of the goods of holy church should be expended in each parish, upon its poor and needy; yet that now all that could be raised, was carried away from it to the parsons, wherever they were. That if a poor man took any penny of his tithing, he was denied the sacrament; and that sermons were not preached, and no manner of knowing good doctrine was supplied. It prayed a compulsion of residence, on pain of forfeiting half the profits.<sup>64</sup>

The object and spirit of the commons were visibly directed to depreciate and attack the church establishment, as far as in its then state of power they could safely venture; for in another petition they reminded the sovereign, that their ancestors had apprized Richard II., that the cathedral churches, colleges, abbeys, priories, and other benefices of his kingdom, had been founded and richly endowed, in order that they might be given to honest and suitable persons, to serve and honor God more loyally; to maintain

<sup>63</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. iv. p. 290.

<sup>64</sup> *Ib.*

hospitalities; to inform and teach the people; and to do what was appertaining to the cure of souls, according to the value of their benefices. They complained that these were given to foreigners, who did not reside in England; who would not, and could not, act as above described; who neither heard confessions, nor preached, nor taught; but who merely investigated, and exacted all the pecuniary emoluments, without any regard to their spiritual duties. They ended with mentioning the fact, which ought to have produced some disquiet, in every foreseeing ecclesiastic and statesman, that the whole state of the church was held in less reverence than before.<sup>65</sup> This address was the more pointed, because the bishop of Winchester had made, in his opening speech to that year's parliament, an invective against heresy and Lollards.<sup>66</sup> The royal answer was, the civil negative "Le Roy s'advisera."<sup>67</sup>

But the commons were not discouraged. They represented again, that divers men of holy church had not been resident on their livings; and expressly added, that by this neglect, the people had fallen into Lollardies and heresies, for default of teaching.<sup>68</sup>

The government was as unable as unwilling to remedy the evil; and chose therefore to meet this last application, by an assertion, that the existing laws were sufficient if executed<sup>69</sup>, and to join the church in repressing its opponents. Seven years afterwards, in 1432, this was distinctly shewn, by the speech to parliament being vehement against the incredulous and contemners, and rebels of the divine law, who deny faith, despise the sacraments, and seek to destroy the ministers of God and the church, as far as they are able.<sup>70</sup> After this mutual display

<sup>65</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. iv. p. 305.<sup>66</sup> Ib. 295.<sup>69</sup> Ib.<sup>67</sup> Ib. 305.<sup>70</sup> Ib. 388.<sup>68</sup> Ib. 306.

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of warring feeling, it is obvious, that the appeal to the sword was the only next resort; and that as the church was now directing the armed hand of the state against its opponents, they meditated and prepared for a retaliation of the violence against that government, which identified itself with their persecutors. A civil contest became inevitable, as soon as the dissatisfied party was strong enough to maintain it. The crown did not chuse to be neuter, and leave the church to the only weapons they ought to have used; reason, law, and wise reformation. The crown determined to fight the battle in its behalf, and fell itself with its steadiest supporters in the conflict.

Effect of  
the men-  
dicant  
orders.

The rise and progress of the mendicant orders, multiplied the embarrassments and the dangers of the possessed church, while they endeavored to uphold the papal domination. The popes did not discern the incompatibility of sustaining the one, and of attacking the other. Irritated by the resistance of the clergy to their exactions; and by the fact that the possessed body usually sided with the government against them, especially in their ambitious projects; and perceiving also the spreading unpopularity of clerical indolence and luxury, the pontiffs cherished the Franciscans, Dominicans, and other mendicant orders of friars, as more active, useful, and obedient servants, and as those who would prove its more zealous, able, and popular troops. At first these friars, being angrily discountenanced by the established clergy, especially in England, were left to endure the miseries of famine, and the oppressions of wealthy power.<sup>71</sup> But their appeal to the sympathies of the public, their recommendation by the Popes, and the moral contrast which they exhibited between their voluntary poverty and humility; and the pride and luxury

<sup>71</sup> See the Fourth volume of this History. The four principal mendicant orders were, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustines, and the Carmelites.

of the monks and prevailing clergy, soon raised them to high veneration and importance.

But altho it was found necessary to have religious militia of this sort, to oppose the new opinions of the day, which the wealthy possessors of the monasteries and church temporalities, by their relaxing habits occasioned, and were too indolent or too ignorant to combat: Yet no hostilities from the heretics, whose censures were so dreaded, could have been more dangerous, or more fatal to the papal church, than the unceasing, popular, and sanctioned warfare of these its new allies and missioned emissaries actually became. They began a steady and pertinacious attack on the wealth, luxury, attainments, and conduct of the established clergy. They contested with them for the exercise of all their functions, and especially of those so important for the influence and power, which all, who enjoyed them, exercised — confession, absolution, the administration of the sacraments, and the command of purgatory. They delighted to expose the ignorance and illiberality of the establishment, and to display their own superior attainments; and they succeeded in bringing the previous members of the church into popular disesteem; and in confirming the general dissatisfaction at their rich possessions, and worldly lives. The statutes of Mortmain, preventing these friars from receiving landed property, the religious, and those who wished to show their penitence, poured their pecuniary favors on their new orders, in preference to the established church, or in conjunction with it; and from this liberality, the Dominicans and Franciscans, in the fourteenth century, became rivals to the hierarchy in the very affluence and luxury, for which they had so unsparingly reviled it.

So great was the popularity of the mendicant orders, that during the fourteenth century, they es-

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established themselves in the highest favor at court. Thus, a Dominican became the confessor of Edward III. and another of Richard II. Such were their influence and power, and so despotic was their use of it, that the Dominican confessor of Edward, arrested the confessor of the archbishop of Canterbury, at the prelate's table, and had him dragged to prison, with several others, whom he kept many years in confinement, and from whom, by using the king's name, he made many grievous extortions.<sup>72</sup> In the same spirit, the friar who became confessor of Richard II. arrested, imprisoned, and tortured his criticising or resisting brethren, without hearing or permitting any defence, till he was disgraced and exiled: not even the great laity could escape his hostility. He interfered, in all things; and having the royal ear, he governed as he pleased.<sup>73</sup> Others of the Dominican order, are described as fascinating the princes and nobles, by their preaching and flattery, and thro their instrumentality oppressing, and beating down all whom they chose to attack.<sup>74</sup> In their influence over the female world, they are thus distinguished: The Franciscans were most favored by noble ladies and gentlewomen; the Dominicans by the nuns.<sup>75</sup>

The hostilities of the friars against the established monks and clergy, excited from these an indignant animosity. They wrote many works against mendicity, which were expressly aimed at these intruders.<sup>76</sup> Their anger took the shape of prophecy,

<sup>72</sup> Pet. Pateshul, British Museum MSS. Titus, D 10. This MS. contains the extracts which our biographer, Bale, made from this author's works.

<sup>73</sup> Pateshul, an Augustine friar, his contemporary, has transmitted these facts to us. MSS. ib.

<sup>74</sup> Patesh. MS. ib.

<sup>75</sup> Ib.

<sup>76</sup> Thus Jos. Ashwardby, in 1380, attacked the mendicity of friars. Tanner Bib. Mon. p. 53. So Jo. Aston, in 1382, ib. 55. The chancellor of St. Paul's discussed, in 1470, whether mendicants were in a state of perfection, Tan. 478; and in France, Will. de St. Amour, in his book on the dangers of the latter times, published a bitter invective against the mendicant orders. St. Lewis sent this to Pope



and finding that they could not prevent the aggrandizement of their rivals, they solaced themselves by predicting their speedy downfall. Thus the Abbot Joachim, ventured to announce, that the mendicant orders would soon be annihilated. A canon of Bridlington, who versified the English annals, when he reached the reign of Richard II., declared, that the fathers of the church would speedily abolish them; and a Jacobin friar, even fixed the year 1408, as the time when the chain of Dominic, and the rope of Francis, would be broken.<sup>77</sup> It is an Augustine friar, who, with similar feelings, warm from the battles of his day, repeats these attacks; and thus apprizes us, that the prosperity of the two most successful orders, had even divided the mendicant friars against each other; and that the friars were fighting among themselves, at the same time that they were assailing, and assailed by the church establishment.

But the opponents of the Franciscans and Dominicans, were not contented with uttering ominous predictions. They believed and circulated the most injurious anecdotes and fictions against them. Thus the Augustine describes a Franciscan as haunting a noble lady on her death-bed, to prevail on her to bequeath her property to his order.<sup>78</sup> The friars of a convent are named, who passed their nights in jovial revelry.<sup>79</sup> Three demons are declared to have been seen walking in the cloisters of the Dominicans,

Alexander IV. The celebrated Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure were sent into Italy, to defend their orders. Aquinas, in his nineteenth Opusculum, composed an apology for the mendicants. The Pope then condemned Amour's work, and he was banished from the university of Paris. Alban Butler's *Life of St. Thomas*, vol. iii. p. 50.

<sup>77</sup> Pat. MSS. Titus, D 10. This prediction was not so visionary, at the time it was uttered, as it may at first appear. The prevalence of the opinions of Wicliff, and the power of his supporters, were so great, that the church in this country would have been shaken, if Richard II. had not been deposed. It was the accession of Henry IV. that postponed the English reformation to Henry VIII. His change of the dynasty kept the established church from any alteration of its property for a century longer.

<sup>78</sup> Pat. MSS. Titus, D 10.

<sup>79</sup> Ib.

dressed in their habits<sup>80</sup>; and the most opprobrious vices are enumerated as the real character of their sanctimonious hypocrisy.<sup>81</sup> That no disgraceful imputation may be omitted, they are charged with being coiners and sorcerers.<sup>82</sup>

That the obnoxious and calumniated orders, were superior to their opponents, in their intellectual attainments, is proved by the accusation itself: for as two instances of their studying necromancy, and alchemy, the illustrious Franciscan, Roger Bacon; and the no less celebrated Dominican, Albertus Magnus, are peculiarly selected.<sup>83</sup> But when we recollect, that St. Thomas Aquinas was a Dominican, and that all the great schoolmen arose from the mendicant orders, we shall immediately perceive, that the triumph of mind and knowledge, was indisputably theirs. Few works, since the days of Aristotle, display such a profundity, acuteness, and activity of logical, ethical, and metaphysical thought, as those of Aquinas. They occupy nineteen folio volumes, and yet he died in his forty-eighth year.<sup>84</sup> The mental superiority of these new orders, naturally resulted from the fact, that becoming the most popular and energetic, the intelligent youth of the country, joined their schools and communities, in preference to the less-applauded establishment. Young spirits, who love fame and distinction, fly to the points where praise is most

<sup>80</sup> Pat. MSS. Titus, D 10, p. 194.

<sup>81</sup> "Contentiones, simulationes, iræ, rixæ, homicidia, furta, blasphemix, incestus, adulteria, masculorum concubitus, detractiones, proditioes." Pat. ib.

<sup>82</sup> Pat. ib.

<sup>83</sup> "Alios diversarum superstitionum libros a quodam fratre Rogero Bacono, minore, et fratre Alberto, predicatore, et aliis necromanticis, alchemistis, incantatoribus, predictarum sectarum doctoribus, editos." Pat. MSS. 194. Albertus Magnus wrote a treatise of affectionate piety, in Latin, on the union of the soul with the Deity, which was translated into Italian, and printed at Rome, in 1525.

<sup>84</sup> He died 7 March 1274. Alb. Butler's Life of St. Thomas, vol. iii. p. 58. He was not a mere subtle reasoner. He seems to have cherished the most ardent and spiritual feelings of christianity, and to have been a man of unambitious simplicity, and sincerity of character. It is to the credit of the great churchmen of his day, that, if they could not imitate, they could at least duly appreciate him.

attainable, and by the celebrity they acquire, perpetuate the attractions by which they were themselves attached to the societies they adorn.

St. Francis had enjoined his order to wear a hair-cloth next the skin, a coarse woollen tunic with a rope for a girdle, and no shoes; but at the close of the fourteenth century, the Franciscans, in England, are described to have used garments of the finest and softest wool, most delicately dyed, with a silken knotted cord made by friendly nuns, and with sandals curiously cut, embroidered with variegated silk needlework. They had lofty mansions, precious jewels, and bags of money; if they were reminded of their vow of poverty, they answered, "All these are the Pope's property, not ours. We have none."<sup>85</sup>

The English Dominicans had as much departed from their original institution. They who were to have had no money or fine buildings, to eat no flesh, unless sick, to have no linen, gloves, or boots, and to be clothed in coarse woollen from the head to the feet, had now made their dress as elegant and as delicate as the Franciscans.<sup>86</sup> It cannot be doubted, that in the reign of Henry VI. the great body of the clergy, both within and without the old establishment, were exchanging with universal emulation, the spirit and manners of religion for those of worldly affluence, ambition, and voluptuousness.<sup>87</sup> The noble exceptions that occasionally arose, but proved more clearly the prevailing degeneracy.

That the Franciscans were most vivacious in exert-

<sup>85</sup> Pet. Patt. MSS. 194.

<sup>86</sup> The two great bodies of mendicant friars, the Carmelites, and Augustines, were treading in the same steps. *Ib.* But our public records shew, that the superiors of the Cistercian monks made repeated efforts to visit and reform their brethren. See *Rym. Fœd.* x. p. 501. and N. 93.

<sup>87</sup> The prosecution in 1424, against the Dominican John Russell, for preaching, that a religious man would not mortally sin if he committed the immoral act which he mentions, is an instance of the innovations that were attempted. *Wilk. Conc.* vol. iii. p. 430.

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ing their intellectual pugnacity against the ancient churchmen; and were fond of displaying the great superiority of mind and knowledge which they had attained, will be noticed hereafter.<sup>88</sup> Not even their acquisition of wealth, dignity, and fame, could stop their propensity. They had excited their own inquisitiveness to an activity, which delighted to attack their established antagonists; who retorted with bitterness on them the charge of heresy, and actually prosecuted them for it. Thus in 1425, two Franciscans were cited for opinions savoring of error and heresy. They escaped by denying the truth of the allegations.<sup>89</sup> But a more formidable assailant arose in William Russell, a Franciscan, and guardian of the convent of his order in London. He taught in the same year the alarming doctrines, that personal tithes were not a divine precept, or at least should not be paid to the parochial clergy; that they were not due where there was no custom in their favor, and that unless there was a legal usage to the contrary, every one might dispense them in pious uses among the poor.<sup>90</sup> A long process was instituted against him for this attack on the pecuniary rights of the church, which ended in his making a solemn abjuration.<sup>91</sup> In the next year, another Franciscan at York, was prosecuted for teaching that a priest who lapsed into mortal sin was no priest as to heaven; and therefore, that a secular judge who should arrest one mortally sinning, did not lay violent hands on a priest: That the sacerdotal office rested merely in the consecration of the eucharist: That if the church would not punish the unchastity of its professors, laymen must; and that if a priest apprehended by the secular authority would not enter a prison, he might be driven into it

<sup>88</sup> See Fourth volume of this Work.<sup>90</sup> *Ib.* p. 434.<sup>89</sup> *Wilk. Conc.* vol. iii. p. 433.<sup>91</sup> *Ib.* p. 439.

by stripes.<sup>92</sup> These instances shew the continued hostilities of the order of St. Francis against the established church. The Dominicans were not more friendly.

But the warfare most dangerous to the establishment in the reign of Henry VI. was that waged by the Carmelites against it. They had distinguished themselves already in the same reign and under Henry V. for repelling the doctrines of the Wickliffites.<sup>93</sup> But they felt that the property and luxury of the great English clergy were inconsistent with their Christianity. As the discussions they caused have not been noticed in our national history, and shew very strongly both the state and feeling of the public mind on this subject, at this critical period,

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<sup>92</sup> Ib, 448. These mendicant orders were, however, real benefactors to literature, amid their bigotry and eccentricities. Our ancient drama is greatly indebted to them for its first, tho rude state. In the Cotton Library, Vesp. D 8, is an important MS. which exhibits their attempts to dramatize the history of the New Testament. The MS. title of the work is, "Contenta Novi Testamenti, scenice expressa, et acitata olim, per Monachos, sive Fratres Mendicantes. Vulgo dicitur hic liber, "Ludus Coventriæ, sive Ludus Corp. xi." It is written in English metre. Sir W. Dugdale thought it contained the dramas performed at Coventry during the feast of Corpus Christi. Ant. War. p. 116. It begins,—

"Now, gracyous God ! grounded of all goodnesse !  
As your grete glorie nevyr begynnyng had ;  
So them socour and save, all them that sytt and sese,  
And lystenyth to our talkyng with silens still and sad ;  
For, we purpose in pertly styлле in these plese,  
The pepyl to please with pleys ful glad.  
Now lysteneth us, lonely, beth mar and lesse,  
Gentlyllys and Yemanys ! of goodly lyff lad,  
This tyde.

We wal you shewe, as yt we kan,  
How that this world fyrst began ;  
And how God made bothe molde and man,  
Yff that ye wyll abyde.

In the first pagent, we thinke to play  
How God dede make yowe his own myth  
Hevyn so cler upon the fyrst day," &c.

<sup>93</sup> Thus Netter of Walden, one of their order, acquired great celebrity, in 1414, by his *Doctrinale Antiquum* against the opinions of Wicliffe. Wharton's App. to Cave. Hist. Lit. p. 75. In this work, he collected into one body all the questions and opinions of Wicliffe, and other reformers, and vigorously attacked them. Gaultier Dyse wrote against heresy and Lollardy. Richard Maydesley composed an applauded oration against them ; and R. Lanynfans read an attack on them at Oxford. Bale's MSS. Titus, A 10. These were all Carmelites.

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and the injuries which the church was receiving from its own members; it will illustrate this important subject, if we detail them from the authentic account, which the archbishop of Canterbury then sent to the Pope.<sup>94</sup>

In the middle of October 1464, a young Carmelite, Henry Parker, publicly taught at St. Paul's, that Christ lived like one of the poor, in a state of mendicity; that the mendicant was, therefore, the most perfect state of the militant church; and that the spiritual part of the church ought to have no property, but to live on pure alms.

To repel the effect of these opinions, a doctor appeared in the same pulpit on behalf of the establishment on the following Sunday, and with moderation and good temper preached a sermon, contradicting Parker's positions. But some little time afterwards, another Carmelite, Thomas Holden, a doctor of divinity, and head of his convent, declared in the same place, on the second Sunday in Advent, that he could not permit the doctrines of his brother and scholar, which had been reprobated, to remain undefended; and therefore he went at great length into the writings of the apostles and fathers, to prove that the Saviour had lived on public benevolence. He rested himself on this article, because the other doctrines followed immediately from it; and he declared that it should be discussed again in his schools on the following Friday. On this day, other persons resumed the subject, and maintained that it was a true and catholic tenet. On the following Sunday, they pursued their blow, and decided in the same schools, that Christ, while in his human nature, had chosen to be

<sup>94</sup> We are indebted for this to Bale's transcript in the Cotton library, Titus, D. 10, p. 185—187. It is signed also by seven doctors of divinity, one of whom is Thomas Eburhall. It is in answer to the Pope's letter, dated June 1465, desiring to know what had been preached against the faith, and to have a specimen of the sermons, that the heretical pravity may be punished with *worthy severity*. Ib.

neither king, nor lord, but to live poor like a beggar, till he arose from the dead.

The effect of these exertions was so great, the archbishop adds, that the faith of many began to vacillate; and to doubt about the propriety of a possessed church, to its great danger.<sup>95</sup>

Roused both by the obvious intention of such sermons and by the visible peril, a learned doctor was selected to discuss at length on the ensuing sabbath, in what catholic sense our Saviour's mendicity was to be understood; and to show, that neither he nor his apostles had begged alms, as the mendicant orders were accustomed to do. His eloquence appeased the people; but on the fourth Advent Sunday, the Carmelites were reinforced by a Dominican friar, who preached in confirmation of all the dreaded doctrines, and informed the people, that after dinner, if they chose to attend at the Carmelite chapel, they would hear a more full discourse on the same topics from a venerable doctor. Papers were then affixed on the doors of the church, to give further notice of this intended harangue. Thus the question, as to the property of the clergy, was made a regular battle between them and the mendicant orders.

In the afternoon, the people flocked with eagerness to the convent of the Carmelites: and there, the provincial of the order himself, John Mylverton, was seen to ascend the pulpit. He said, he had heard that one of his brethren had been defamed by the charge of error and blasphemy. He declared that he had diligently examined the question, and was satisfied that his brother was entirely guiltless, as he had uttered neither a blasphemous nor a vain opinion; and to convince them that he had preached nothing wrong, he would himself confirm all that had been

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said, from the authority of Scripture, and from the writings of the fathers.

He quoted largely for this purpose, and strove to persuade his audience that Christ was so far mendicant, as to have no right or title to any thing, but what he received from human bounty. His arguments, the prelate intimates to have been slender and scandalous, but to have been uttered with such gravity of countenance, such an ardent spirit, and such elaborate circumstances, that he disturbed very much the minds of his auditors, and the unlearned vulgar; always ready, he adds, to take the worst part.

A great tumult arose among the people; and alarming imaginations began to be indulged. "We know," says the archbishop, "that some thought, and we heard some even dare to say, If he were so poor, why should his followers, the pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates, have so many possessions, and such great property? Priests ought not to take tithes nor oblations, but as we please to give them, and ought to live on pure alms only." "Some," he subjoins, "were carried to that pitch of infamy, as not to fear to say, that the possessed church had apostatized from the very time it became endowed; and that it was a duty that would be grateful to God, to take from the prelates their riches and ample possessions, which they had held in contradiction to the example of their Lord and his apostles." The venom so spread, that they could scarcely be kept *from a public insurrection*.<sup>96</sup>

The prelate expresses his opinion, that the sword of the prince was more wanted than the authority of the church; that these errors had become so deeply rooted in the minds of the hearers, that they could

<sup>96</sup> MS. Titus, D 10.



not be plucked out; that he had caused the two Carmelites to be excommunicated, and he solicited the papal assistance.<sup>97</sup> This was granted and used; ecclesiastical censures were issued, with all their severities; some of the attacked, despised them; but others were terrified, and abjured. Mylverton went to Rome, to complain to the Pope, of the injuries brought on his order; but the archbishop pursued him with a letter to the pontiff, which had the effect of causing him to be imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo.<sup>98</sup> The Pope, in the inquiry, which occasioned the narrative, stated, that such heretical pravity must be amputated in its beginning; and therefore urged the metropolitan to admonish the people to fly from the deadly poison.<sup>99</sup> Mylverton was kept above two years in his dungeon; he long resisted the tyranny that wounded him: but his spirit was subdued at last, and then he was sent back with the Pope's epistle, stating, that he had returned to his saner senses; and calling him a beloved son.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> MSS. Titus, D 10.

<sup>98</sup> MS. Chron. Script. Anon. also extracted by Bale in Titus, D 10. p. 182,

<sup>99</sup> Paul the Second's letter is dated in June 1465. MS. Tit. D. 10. p. 184.

<sup>100</sup> The Pontiff's letter intitles himself, as usual, the Servus Servorum, and is dated 22 Dec. 1468. "Dilectum filium—per biennium et ultra carcere detineri fecemus—Is, et si diu negans—tamen ad saniozem sensum veri intellectus rediens, &c." MS. Tit. D 10. p. 187.

## CHAP. VII.

*Attacks on the Church from its Parochial Clergy.— Vices of the Prelates.— Spread of reforming Opinions.— The Defenders of the Establishment; its Persecutions and Severities.*

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THE establishment was attacked still more vitally, by several of its own parochial clergy, during the reign of Henry VI. on their doctrines and rites as well as conduct. William Tailleur, a priest, preached earnestly against praying to saints. He taught, that prayer to a creature was idolatry; that civil power was inconsistent with sacred perfection; that our Saviour had intimated that priests should not have worldly dominion; that friars begging was a condemnable and abominable thing; that offerings to the cross were idolatry; that opinions condemned at councils, may yet be true; and that kings, princes, and good men only, are permitted by the Deity, to govern, for civil purposes, their temporal kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> He was examined in the first year of Henry VI., and confessed, that for fourteen years, he had been of those sentiments.<sup>2</sup>

Three years after him, in 1425, we learn from the confessions of the rector of Braybroke<sup>3</sup>, that he had encouraged his parishioners, not to adore the cross, nor to think confessions necessary. He had taught, that if priests could convert the wafer into the Deity, they could make any thing a God. That all monks, nuns, friars and canons, were members of the Devil, not of the Supreme; and that the lords temporal ought to have all things in common. He had written

<sup>1</sup> Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 407—413.

<sup>3</sup> R. Stoke. J. Wilk. Conc. 434—437.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 405.

books, kept schools, and formed conventicles to diffuse these opinions. The rector of Snave<sup>4</sup> had also his schools and conventicles, to spread his deviating sentiments.

Another priest, in 1428, had for twenty years disseminated the opinions of Wicliffe, at Oxford and London; had spoken against monks and friars; and had insisted, that the Pope's indulgences were no benefit; that it was not lawful to attack the Bohemian reformers; that all goods should be in common, and that no person ought to have any separate property.<sup>5</sup> At the same time we find a chaplain<sup>6</sup> asserting, that the sacrament was not turned into our Saviour's body; that pilgrims would be better at home; that the legends and lives of saints were naught; and their miracles untrue; that no writings were holy but the Bible; and that the Pope was antichrist.

The vicar of Maunden, in Essex, in 1429, had been inculcating, that the consecrated host was true bread in nature, and was our Saviour's body but by figure; that priests could not make it the Deity; that every one is a pilgrim hastening to heaven, and will reach it if he observe the divine commandments, and does works of mercy; that to place hope in images, to make vows to them, or to pray for the dead, was of no use; that all our trust should be put only in God; and that Wicliffe, was higher in heaven than Thomas à Becket.<sup>7</sup> In 1459, Reginald Peacock, whom the duke of Gloucester, and afterwards Suffolk, had promoted, declared it not to be necessary to believe in the Catholic church, nor in the eucharist, nor in councils; and that the church might err in matters of faith.<sup>8</sup> These instances shew, that the

<sup>4</sup> Th. Drayton. Wilk. Conc. iii. 435.

<sup>5</sup> R. Meingyn. Ib. 500, 501.

<sup>7</sup> Th. Garenter. Ib. 515.

<sup>6</sup> Th. Garenter. Ib. 502.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. 576.

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papal system and establishment in England, were being undermined by their own members; and that the most agitating opinions, as to property, were also maintained. The schools and conventicles, which they formed, indicate that the materials of civil warfare, were, in many parts, providing; most probably unperceived by themselves, yet, with that certain result, when other causes should coincide, by these conscientious reformers.

Theoretical opinions never of themselves can disturb a country: they are meteors of mind, that dart up, glare, and vanish. No hierarchy has ever been overturned by the absurdity of any of its notions; while the conduct of its members has corresponded with the sanctity of their profession. It is vice that destroys popular reverence, and rouses popular hostility. All can judge of the inconsistency of profligacy and religion; and no one can avoid being affected by this contradiction in their sacred teachers, tho he may be unable or averse to investigate their doctrines. Hence, when we read of the character of the archbishop of York, who died the year that Henry VI. acceded, as drawn even by a zealous opposer of all heretics, that he acted in age as he had done in youth, and that he pursued, without restraint, his sensual and immoral propensities to the end of his life, according to his own arbitrary pleasure<sup>9</sup>; can we wonder that such prelates should create, in the public mind, an enmity against the church they governed; and a determined spirit of violent resistance, when that church so fiercely persecuted all that should dare to think it wrong? and yet so blind was the establishment to this inevitable effect on the public feeling, that in 1449, after indications of the coming storm had appeared, they

<sup>9</sup> Walsing. MS. Sloane, 1776.

ventured to have it stated for them in parliament, that in divers parts of the kingdom, many priests, as well secular as religious, had been grievously vexed and troubled wrongfully, by divers indictments of felony, and therefore prayed—what? That any unjust prosecution might be rectified? No; but, that every priest might be pardoned for all manner of felonies of rape, done before the 1st of June then *next coming*, and from all forfeitures for taking excessive salaries, provided a noble, or six shillings and eight pence, for every priest in the kingdom, were paid to the king.<sup>10</sup> It seems surprising that men of the great intellect who then governed the church should have permitted such a confession of criminality to be brought before parliament. It can be only explained on the ground, that they were determined not to amend their conduct; that they meant to put and keep the question upon the issue of power; that they felt they had this in their own hands, and that they had resolved to use it unshamed and unshrinking. To us who know the result, this seems infatuation both in themselves and in the government, which perished in their defence; but perhaps the evil had become so inveterate, as to be incurable by any thing short of an entire revolution of religious property, as well as of tenets; and the last extremity of battle was naturally resolved upon by those who, being in the enjoyment of this, would not abandon it but with life.<sup>11</sup> The order of the archbishop of Canterbury, in 1455, expresses very emphatically the immoralities that were then disgracing the English

<sup>10</sup> This curious petition is in the Rolls Parl. vol. v. p. 153. The king assented, "*in cas* the nobles of the saide preestes be graunted to hym in the saide convocations." *Ib.* The statute was made, and is printed in the Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. p. 352., the subsidy having been granted.

<sup>11</sup> Fabian mentions, that when Henry V. called "a synod of bishops and abbots, for amending their ill living, they, fearing their temporalities, encouraged him to war in France, to exercise him that way." P. 490.

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ployments  
of the  
clergy.

church establishment.<sup>12</sup> But, excepting the issuing of monitions and prohibitions, which became matters of course, like official proclamations against vice, neither read nor heeded, not one effective measure was taken to suppress the evil, that was preparing such general mischief.<sup>13</sup>

The minds of the clergy were at this time full set towards state employment. As if religion had become really a dream, worldly business, as well as worldly pleasures, became the object of all the leading ecclesiastics. To this end their studies were directed, and by such occupations their characters were formed. Clergymen were the secretaries of state, privy seals, cabinet counsellors, treasurers of the crown, ambassadors, commissioners to open parliament, commissioners to Scotland, presidents of the king's council, supervisors of the royal works, chancellors, keepers of the records, masters of the rolls, and even physicians both to the king and to the duke of Gloucester, during the reign of Henry VI. and afterwards.<sup>14</sup> They may have been, in abilities and attainments, the fittest for these offices: many certainly were; but they could not acquire such qualifications without the sacrifice of their most sacred duties; nor enjoy the offices without a diminution of their sacred character; nor exclude from them, laymen as ambitious as themselves, without incurring

<sup>12</sup> It recites, that some rectors and vicars went as vagrants and dissolute persons, thro the kingdom, in pursuit of worldly lucre, neglecting their cures, and by feasting and drunkenness, fornications, and other vices, wasted their revenues, and left their chancels and parsonage houses unrepared; and were not only unskilled in letters, but almost ignorant of them; had illegitimate children, &c. Wilk. Conc. iii. pp. 573, 574. In 1466, great complaints were made of the clergy by the provincial council at York, and it commanded them to avoid taverns, public spectacles, bad women, and injurious and forbidden sports and plays.

<sup>13</sup> This seems to have been the truth; because, at all the councils of this period, and before, many efforts were made, by the sincere and worthy part of the church, to reform its palpable immoralities: but they never succeeded. Either the requisite regulations were never made, or never enforced, nor intended to be so.

<sup>14</sup> The Rolls of Parliament, Calend. Rotul., Rymer's Fœdera, Tanner's Bibliotheca Monastica, Leland's Lives, and Wood's Athenæ Oxon. give many instances of all these facts.

the vindictive hatred of those whose advancement they precluded: neither could they give this direction to the clerical mind without destroying the public attachment to the religion they deserted.<sup>15</sup>

The laity becoming more and more disaffected to the establishment, were active instruments in diffusing what scholars preached and wrote. Books were written in English, and circulated secretly, which contained the new doctrines that proved so fatal to the church. One of the most obnoxious of these, in 1415, was "The Lantern of Light." It maintained that the Pope was antichrist, and had attached to the law of the Redeemer papal decrees which were of no authority, force, or value; that the archbishops and bishops were the seats of the great beast of the Revelation, who sat and reigned upon them; that their pretending to give licences to preach, was one of his true characters, and that every priest and believer might preach without them; that the Roman court was his chief head; the prelates, his body, and the new sorts of friars, monks, and canons, his tail; that ecclesiastical things should not be sumptuously adorned with gold, silver, or precious stones; nor should the ministers of Christ be otherwise than his humble imitators, adoring him

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English  
books  
against the  
papal sys-  
tem.

<sup>15</sup> The busy and promoted clergy of that day, when questioned on their secular pursuits and enjoyments, would probably have answered in sentiments somewhat similar to those expressed by the present archbishop of Cashel, in his recent and well-written charge: "Because we are invested with a peculiar office, and bound to the discharge of peculiar duties, many expect from us a total abstinence from all interference in secular concerns; forgetful that we are individual members of society, as well as public ministers, and that we have the same right to form our opinions, and to regulate our conduct, in that capacity, as other men, provided we take care neither to forget our station, nor to degrade our character. Having the wide field of public action before our eyes, to attract our attention, and the constant recurrence of local opinions and events, to exercise our mental energies, is it possible for us not to think and act independently, like other men? Social feelings, social interests, and social sentiments, will unavoidably, and may innocently, exert their influence over our minds."—On this delicate, but most important subject, a friendly layman can only answer, that the least possible degree of worldly business, state, and pleasures, seems to be the wisest, the safest, and the most suitable to a conscientious clergyman. But on this subject I would rather state the apology than criticise it.

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in simple and middling mansions, and not in the sumptuous edifices of those days; that priests should not be occupied in churches in singing so much, but should study the scriptures, and preach them; that indulgencies were unwarranted; that there should be no pilgrimage to images; that ecclesiastical ordinances benefited indifferently all who were virtuous; that Judas took the sacrament, inferring, therefore, that it was but bread and wine; that the people should not obey bishops, unless they watched over their souls in holy conversation; and that Christians were persecuted chiefly from two causes—the clergy retaining so much temporal property, and the begging of the friars.<sup>16</sup> This book was found in the house of a feltmonger, written in a good hand in English, on parchment, and neatly bound in red leather. He could not read, but he had it read to him; and tho he had been two years confined in Conway castle, and three years in the Fleet, for his opinions, he declared unhesitatingly, to his inquisitorial examiners, that he thought it contained many things very good and useful to himself and his soul.<sup>17</sup> His servants were taken up; one confessed, that he had seen the author bring it to his master, and converse on it; and others, that it was read often on festivals before his family, and by him in his house, in St. Martin's-lane, near Aldersgate.<sup>18</sup> A volume containing Wicliffe's tracts, belonging to Sir John Oldcastle, was seized in 1413, in Paternoster-row, where it had been sent to be illuminated, which was taken, and read to Henry V., in his palace at Kennington, who, after he had heard a portion read, protested his abhorrence of it.<sup>19</sup> Another book was taken,

<sup>16</sup> It was examined, and found to contain these doctrines. Wilk. Conc. iii. 374. Its author was stated to be John Greene. Ib. 372.

<sup>17</sup> Ib. 372. This was J. Claydon. The ten commandments were also with it; and he said he had much affection for it, because of a sermon preached at Horfaldowne, which was in it. Ib.

<sup>18</sup> Ib. 373, 374.

<sup>19</sup> Ib. 352.



that came from Coventry<sup>20</sup>; and works of this kind became so formidable, that a general question was put to a person apprehended, "whether he ever had, since his abjuration, in his house or custody, *any* books *written in English?*"<sup>21</sup>

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As there was then no printing press in England, tho in that century, and in the reign of Henry VI., this was introduced, it may be asked, how could these works be so dangerous? the answer may be given, that when new feelings are excited, and new opinions begin to sprout, every man whom they affect, becomes an intellectual press, teaching and influencing those about him. The countenance, gestures, mode of life, silent manners, habitual phrase, and daily conversation, become so many vehicles, which can be neither suppressed nor detected, for the diffusion of the new ideas, sympathies, and antipathies, which far outrun, both in celerity and impression, all the effect of the printer's labor. Every man, who has imbibed the new doctrines, becomes, often unconsciously to himself, a living book; and his daily manners, as well as his tongue, a silent printing press. Contempt, aversion, satire, derision, invective, and hostility, were not only displayed, and communicated intentionally, by the eye, the face, the limbs, and the demeanor, as well as by the voice and words; but even by the quiet, retired, and domestic conduct. We perceive this, by what the clergy declared to be suspicious indications of heresy; as, to remain sitting when the cross was presented, or when others were adoring it; not to kneel to images; not to kiss them; not to shew marks of veneration, as processions were passing; to visit, or to receive visits, or to have received them, from persons, who were, or had been, suspected of errors; to dwell

<sup>20</sup> Wilk. Conc. iii. 352.

<sup>21</sup> Ib. 372.

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where these lived ; to have English books ; to hear them read ; to sell them ; to borrow them, or to be acquainted with those who had them.<sup>22</sup> The archbishop of Canterbury actually made it one of the good grounds of denunciation for heresy, if a man differed in life and manners, from the common conversation of the faithful.<sup>23</sup> These circumstances shew what it was, which multiplied every where the alienation of the popular mind, before printing presses were used, and which will always so act, tho these were annihilated, if other causes rouse inimical sympathies. It is the feeling which gives meaning, interest, and circulation, to what types and mechanical contrivances exhibit ; and without which these would be dumb and useless. It is this, which anticipates, what they only follow to gratify and confirm. New feelings in society create new mind and impulse ; and form and spread around them, new epidemics of opinion ; like heat and damp, always radiating and diffusing, and powerfully felt in their effects, tho their agencies can be neither seen, pursued, nor prevented. The heretic may be silent and unoffending, yet his most peaceable demeanor excites the question, why does not that man do what others are taught to do ? and to cause such a question, is a shaking of the old system in the mind of the inquirer, and the suggestion of something else. No law, no persecution, and no power, can prevent this effect, unless they can extirpate the dissentient ; but the efforts to destroy these, have always multiplied their immediate number ; and if they could, at the time, fully succeed in their extinction, the history of that success is certain to re-produce either the same evil, or a greater ; even the weaker sex

<sup>22</sup> Instances of these, or allusions to them, may be seen in Wilk. Concil. vol. iii. pp. 374. 396. 372, 373. 434. 498, 499., &c.

<sup>23</sup> Wilk. Concil. vol. iii. p. 378.

catch and communicate, and perpetuate the contagion.<sup>24</sup> In such a day of conflict truth and right only can survive; and all that appertains to them, will be found to be unperishable.

An applauded act of the religion of that day, was the performance of pilgrimages, to the places where some part of a saint's body was deposited. It strikes our present feeling, like a disagreeable discord, to read of a dead corpse, which our sympathies now leave undisturbed in its solemn repose, and cannot endure to have molested, that it should be pulled to pieces out of real veneration, or for interested purposes. But yet one of the hands of Thomas Aquinas was cut off, and given to his sister for her domestic chapel, and afterwards to the Dominicans at Salerno. One of his arms was sent to their great convent at Paris; a bone of his other arm was given to Naples; and the rest of his body, for which Naples, Rome, the university of Paris, and many other universities, princes, and orders, had contended<sup>25</sup>, was granted by the Pope to be carried to Thoulouse; where the king's brother, the clergy and nobility, and 150,000 people went out to meet it. Many places in England were venerated for such remains, or for analogous legends, and were the objects of pilgrimages in this century.<sup>26</sup> We have here alluded to this custom, because a passion, at this time, seized the English public for wandering from their own pilgrim localities to that of St. James in Spain, and the clergy of

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Ill effects  
of pilgrim-  
ages.

<sup>24</sup> Thus Miss Catherine Dertford was in 1428 suspected of heresy, about pilgrimages, the adoration of images, and the sacrament of the altar. Wilk. Conc. iii. 493.

<sup>25</sup> Alban Butler's Lives, vol. iii. p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> Besides the well-known shrine at Canterbury, which our Chaucer has immortalized, we had, and still have, Winifred's well; but the Virgin at Walsingham was most frequented in the reign of Henry VI. and Edward IV. The duke of Norfolk is mentioned as going in pilgrimage, on foot, from his castle at Framlingham to Walsingham. Fenn, i. 167. Edward himself went there in October 1475. Fenn, v. p. 119. A Norfolk gentleman writes, "I have vowed to go in pilgrimage to Walsingham, and to St. Leonard's (in Norwich) for you. My mother vowed another image of wax of your weight, to our lady at Walsingham." Fenn, vol. i. p. 25.

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England were so unwise, as to encourage the fashion; without perceiving, that such journeys, and all the company, intercourse, and conversations, consequent upon them, were inimical to their domestic influence and authority; and could not but contribute to depreciate them. St. Gregory of Nyssa felt the pilgrimages to Jerusalem in his days to be dangerous to religious impressions.<sup>27</sup> They were certain to be far more so in the reign of Henry VI., when the most hostile opinions and criticisms were in full agitation; few came back more pious; but many, more satirical and refractory.<sup>28</sup>

Resistance  
of the esta-  
blishment.

The zeal and resistance of the establishment were not disproportionate to the attack. Literary defenders started up from their body, protecting even their least defensible of tenets and practices. Answerers to Wicliffe succeeded each other<sup>29</sup> with great animosity, if not with eloquence; and sturdy in the

<sup>27</sup> Tho he says of his own visit to Jerusalem, "When I saw these holy places, I was filled with a joy and pleasure which no tongue can express." T. iii. p. 665. Yet, remarking the ill effects on others, he wrote, after his return, a short treatise, in which he condemns the pilgrimages that are made occasions of sloth, dissipation of mind, and other dangers. Alban Butler's Lives, vol. iii. p. 101.

<sup>28</sup> The number of these pilgrimages of English persons to the Spanish saint, St. Jago in Galicia, at this time, is scarcely credible. The following are only those mentioned in two years in the king's licences for their going, which appear in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x.

1434.	Jan.	-	90	1445.	Jan.	-	200
	Feb.	-	850		Feb.	-	130
	Mar.	-	80		Mar.	-	860
	April	-	900		April	-	618
	May	-	750		May	-	192
	June	-	160		June	-	850
	July	-	50		July	-	50

Even one of the ministers, the lord privy seal, in 1449, obtained a licence to undertake the pilgrimage and vows, for the salvation of his soul, and to carry 500 marcs with him. Rym. xi. 255. And cardinal Beaufort, in 4 Hen. VI., petitioned for leave to go on a pilgrimage, to which he was bound by a vow. Harl. MSS. 7048. In April 1428, 560 went.

<sup>29</sup> In 1382, Th. Ashburn wrote against Wicliffe's celebrated *Triologus*. Tanner Bib. 52. Bankinus, an eloquent Dominican, was also an earnest opposer. Ib. 72. Gaulter Dysse, a Carmelite, Rich. Lanynfans, and Rich. Maydesley, defended also some part of the assailed church. Bale, MSS. And in 1397, W. Wodeford composed many works against Wicliffe, some of which still remain in the Cotton library.

battle, if not triumphant as to the victory. The university of Oxford appointed twelve masters to examine his numerous works, and in 1412, no fewer than two hundred and sixty-seven erroneous and heretical conclusions were pointed out, all "guilty of fire." They stated to the archbishop of Canterbury, that in his diocese, Wicliffe had generated so many heirs of his sect, that without the sharpest censures and the most biting hooks they would not be rooted out.<sup>30</sup> A Cistercian defended the monasteries against him<sup>31</sup>, and in 1400 Alynton vigorously championed the adoration of images.<sup>32</sup> But the most complete and masterly vindication of the establishment, was that of the active Carmelite, Thomas Netter, of Walden. He was educated at Oxford, and was sent by Henry IV. to the council of Pisa; where he attacked the two pontiffs whom his sovereign deemed antipopes. Becoming provincial prior of his order, he accused, in a sermon, Henry V. of sloth, in not punishing the Lollards. He was sent by him to the council of Constance to declaim against the Hussites. In 1419, he was dispatched to the king of Poland; and on his way converted to Christianity the uncivilized duke of Lithuania. In 1422, after receiving the dying breath of the conqueror of Agincourt, he was appointed confessor to Henry VI., whom he accompanied to Paris in 1430, for his coronation in France.<sup>33</sup> His chief work, against the doctrines of Wicliffe, Huss, and their successors, was received with

<sup>30</sup> Wilkins has printed these in his *Concil.* vol. iii. pp. 339—349. They had extracted as many more, which they state that they had omitted; and they had found several others, "which sound and taste as badly as these: but they may be maintained in the barren war of words; we have been sparing, as to them, of the sentence of extreme condemnation." *Ib.* p. 339.

<sup>31</sup> Adam Cisterciensis. Tanner, p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> Leland exults in this work. He calls it a triumph over the enemy. It still exists in MS. at Oxford.

<sup>33</sup> Where he died at Rouen. He is sometimes called Thomas Waldensis. Wharton's *Add. to Cave's Hist. Eccl.* p. 75.

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great applause, and has been several times printed on the continent.<sup>34</sup>

The bigotry or zeal of Netter in the pulpit and with his pen, was equalled or outdone by archbishops Arundel and Chicheley, in the more terrible exertions of their mitred influence and power.

The first of these prelates began the attack of the church in the last year of Henry IV. It was he who caused Wicliffe's works to be examined at Oxford<sup>35</sup>; and in 1412, his bones to be dug up, thrown upon a dunghill, and burnt.<sup>36</sup> In the next year, after the accession of Henry V., he had the tracts of Wicliffe consumed by fire in St. Paul's church-yard<sup>37</sup>; and roused the king against sir John Oldcastle<sup>38</sup>; and assisted in the convocation where the brave knight was so strictly interrogated.<sup>39</sup> Altho the university of Oxford, with an integrity of principle that adds honor to all its numerous claims to celebrity and applause for its distinguished science, talents, and learning, never more comparatively superior to all around it than in the times we treat of, presented several judicious articles for the moral reformation of the church in 1414<sup>40</sup>; yet the establishment, waiving all amendment, proceeded to obtain that sanguinary statute against heretics, which disgraces the second year of the reign of Henry V. By this, the chancellor, treasurer, judges, justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and all who had any share in the administration of the laws, were required, on entering into their offices, to swear, to exert their whole labor and diligence to search and destroy all manner of heresies, errors, and Lollardies, with all their power, and to

<sup>34</sup> It is his "Doctrinale Antiquum," in three volumes folio. It has been printed at Paris, in 1532; at Salamanca in 1556; and 1571 at Venice. Wharton's Add. Cave's Hist. Lit. p. 75.

<sup>35</sup> So he says, Wilk. Conc. iii. 350.

<sup>36</sup> Ib. 351.

<sup>37</sup> Ib.

<sup>38</sup> Ib. 352, 353.

<sup>39</sup> Ib. 355.

<sup>40</sup> See them in Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. pp. 360—365.

assist the ordinaries and their commissaries, on this subject, whenever required. All persons convicted of heresies, of whatever condition, were to be delivered to the secular arm, and to forfeit all their lands and tenements. The judges and justices were empowered to inquire about all Lollards and heresies; and who were their maintainers, receivers, or encouragers; who were the common writers of such books; and into their sermons, schools, conventicles, congregations, and confederacies.<sup>41</sup>

In the same spirit, Chicheley, who succeeded Arundel soon after this statute was passed, in 1416, ordered all the bishops and archdeacons by themselves, their officials or commissaries, to inquire diligently at least twice a year, what persons were suspected of heresy; and in every parish where heretics were reported to dwell, to make three respectable men swear, whether they knew of any heretics holding secret conventicles, or differing in life and manners from others, or supporting errors, or having suspicious English books, or receiving suspected persons, or dwelling in such places: and to denounce, prosecute, and imprison them.<sup>42</sup> Few Roman emperors, most decried for their persecutions, outdid these severities. If the papal church was not able to stand against the reason and moral principle of the

<sup>41</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. iv. pp. 24, 25. In Arundel's time, the establishment was so afraid of the undignified clergy, as to forbid any, even parish priests, to preach, and especially a *jure scripto*, from the written law, or scriptures, unless authorized. The order was, "Let no secular or regular clergyman assume the office of preaching the word of God to the people or clergy, unless he submit to a previous examination by the diocesan: and when found fit, let him be sent to some one certain parish. If any violate this statute, he shall incur the greater excommunication; and if he persist, he shall be reputed schismatic, and incur all the effect of the law, and all the pains of heresy and schism: so shall their aiders, receivers, or defenders. No preacher shall call in doubt what the church has decreed, nor its doctrines, decretals, or provincial constitutions, nor dispute on them, nor teach against the adoration of the cross; veneration of images, or pilgrimages to places or relics; but shall recommend these, and the usual processions, kneeling, bowings, incensings, kisses, oblations, and lights." Excommunication was the first punishment, and confiscation of property the next. Lyndewode's Constit.

<sup>42</sup> Wilk. Conc. iii. 378.

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was not for want of the most tyrannous exertions of the most arbitrary power, and the most vindictive hostility.

These laws were executed with the same stern spirit that devised them. The persons apprehended in 1414, at St. Giles, with Oldcastle, were hung and burnt, with the exultation of the persecuting party<sup>43</sup>, and with public processions and litanies, by Henry the Fifth's approbation and command and mental rejoicing.<sup>44</sup> The hierarchy pursued sir John Oldcastle for three years, till they burnt him in 1417<sup>45</sup>: and in most of the following years, some heretics were burnt in Smithfield or Tower-hill. There were continual prosecutions for their opinions.<sup>46</sup>

The establishment did not even spare its own prelates, who deviated from its prescribed tenets. Reginald Peacock, the bishop already noticed, who held some obnoxious sentiments, was arrested in his old

<sup>43</sup> T. Elmham seems quite delighted to record, both in his metrical Latin and his prose, their unsparing execution. P. 94. He gives the most singular explanation of the number 666 in the Revelation, that I have seen. He says, it points out sir John Oldcastle. Ib.

<sup>44</sup> "Quod fiunt processiones, cum litanis, e clero et populo ad *regis mandatum*." He illustrates this sentence with his verses :

"Cum precibus clerus procedit, *rege jubente*,  
Et populus sequitur, ordine quisque suo,  
*Regia mens gaudet ; præ plebs letatur et omnes.*" Elm. 94.

<sup>45</sup> Rolls Parl, vol. iv. p. 109.

<sup>46</sup> Some of these prosecutions are printed in Wilkins's Concilia. They relate to the following persons : of these several were burnt. Vol. iii.

1419.	R. Owtrede, p. 394.	1426.	T. Richmond, p. 487.
	W. Browne,	1428.	J. Jourdelay,
	R. Wyche, p. 395.		C. Dertford, p. 493.
1420.	W. James, p. 397.		R. Ruten, p. 494.
1422.	W. Taylour, p. 404.		W. Harvey,
1425.	Hatton,		J. Calle,
	Fleming, p. 433.		R. Meingyn, p. 497.
	W. Russell, p. 434.		R. Monk,
	R. Hoke,		T. Garentyr, p. 499.
	J. Drayton, p. 435.	1429.	Sir T. Bagley, p. 515.

Also, John Bismere was burnt, 16 Hen. VI. ; and Bredon, a minor, was punished, 24 Hen. VI. Harl. 7048. In 1428, W. White was burnt. In 1430, R. Hounden, and two others. In 1438, a priest, and in 1440, another of much fame, called Sir Richard, were all burnt, besides others. Cowper Chron. Fabian.



age, and sent to the abbey of Thorney, with minute instructions from the archbishop of Canterbury, as to his treatment in his confinement. Being a dignitary of the church, tho these orders subjected him to privations that he must have strongly felt, they were not painfully rigorous, but rather indulgent.<sup>47</sup>

But the support of the establishment, was not intrusted merely to sermons, severities, or controversial logic. The poetry of the day was called in to its aid. Metrical verses against Lollards were part of the devices of their pageantry, and state banquets<sup>48</sup>; and even ballads were written to stigmatize and burlesque them.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> "1. He shall have a secret, closed chamber, having a chimney and convenience within the abbey, where he may have sight to some altar, to hear mass; and that he pass not the said chamber.

"2. To have but one person that is sad and well disposed, to make his bed, and to make him fire, as it shall need.

"3. That he have no books to look on, but only a portuous, a mass-book, a psalter, a legend, and a Bible.

"4. That he have nothing to write with; no stuff to write upon.

"5. That he have competent fuel, according to his age, and as his necessity shall require.

"6. That he be served daily of meat, and dined, as a brother of the abbey is served when he is excused from the freytour; and somewhat better, after, as his disposition and reasonable appetite shall desire, conveniently after the good discretion of the said abbot." 40l. was assigned to the abbey for his finding. Harl. MSS. 7048.

<sup>48</sup> See before, chap. i.

<sup>49</sup> One of these, obviously composed on sir John Oldcastle, is preserved in the Cotton library, Vespas. B 16., of which I shall modernize part of the orthography. It attempts some awkward witticisms on the knight's name —

"He that can be Christes clerk  
And know the knotts of his creed,  
Now may see a wonder work,  
Of hard haps to take good heed.  
The doom of death is heavy drede  
For him that would not mercy try.  
Then is my rede,  
For muck nor mede,  
That no man melle \* of lollardrie.

I say for myself that wist I never  
But now, late, what it should be;  
And by my troth, I have well lever  
No more ken than my a, b, c.  
To *lolle* so hie, in such degree,  
It is no profit, perfecie;  
Come; seek example to thee given  
To beware of lollardrie.

\* Meddle with.

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In resolving to persecute, imprison, and destroy,  
the possessed church acted but as all possessed

The game is nought, to *lolle* so hie  
That feet fail fondement.  
And that it is a much folly  
For false believ to be brent ; (burnt)  
That the Bible is always went (wont)  
To jangle of Job or Jeremie ;  
That construe it after their intent,  
For lewer lust of lollardrie.

It is unkindly for a knight  
That should a king's castle keep,  
To babble the Bible day and night,  
In resting time, when he should sleep ;  
And carefully away to trepe  
For all the chief of chivalry.  
Well ought he to wail and weep,  
That such lust hath in lollardrie.

AN OLD-CASTLE was not repaired  
With wasted walls that waver wide ;  
The wages he full evil wared  
With such a captain to abide,  
That rereth not, for to ride  
Against the king and his clergy :  
With prue, poyne, and poor pride,  
There is a point of lollardrie.

For many a man within a while  
Shall abide his guilt full sore,  
So fele\* gostes to beguile,  
He ought to rue evermore.  
For his sorrow shall he never restore  
What he venomed with envy,  
But ban the burthen that he was of bore, †  
Or ever has lust in lollardrie.

Every sheep that should be fed in field  
And kept from wolf in his fold ;  
He needs neither spear nor shield,  
Nor in no Castle to be withhold,  
For that the pasture is full cold,  
In some season when it is dry ;  
And namely, when the soil is sold  
For lewde lust of lollardrie.

An Old-castle drew all down ;  
It is full hard to rear it new ;  
With such a congregation  
That cast them to be untrue.  
Who prays, will never bake nor brew,  
Nor have wherewith to borrow nor buy,  
Then may rot, ‡ rub, or rue  
Under the colour of lollardrie.

Many spirits.

† Was bearing.

‡ Plunder.

power has done, in every age, and under every system, whether civil or ecclesiastical; christian, infidel, or pagan. The resenting feelings of the natural

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That Castle is not for a king  
That the walls be overthrown ;  
And that, well worse abiding,  
When the captain away is flown,  
And forsakes spear and mail  
To creep from knighthood into clergy.  
That is a bitter blast yblown  
To be bold of lollardrie.

I trow that be no knight alive,  
That would have done so open a shame ;  
For that craft to study or strive,  
It is no gentleman's game.  
But if him lief to have a name  
Of pilour under ipography,  
And that were a foul defame  
To have such love of lollardrie.

And, parde, lolle they never so long,  
They that know law, make them loute.  
God will not suffer them to be so strong,  
To bring their purpose so about.  
With savour foul and savour douce,  
To reve, rot, and robbery.  
By reason thou shalt not long route,  
While the tail is docked of lollardrie.

Of the head it is less charge,  
When grace will not be his guide ;  
Nor suffer him for to leap at large,  
But heavily his head to hide.  
Where should he over-joust or ride  
Against the chief of chivalrie.  
Not hardy in no place to abide,  
For all the sect of lollardrie.

O, God ! what unkindly ghost  
Should grieve that God grudged nought  
These Lollards that loth images most  
With man's hands made and wrought,  
And pilgrimages to be sought ;  
They say it is but mawmentrie.  
He that this lore first up brought,  
Had great lust in lollardrie :

He was full lewde that would believe  
In figure made of stock or stone :  
That none should desire reprieve  
Never of Mary ; nor of John ;  
Peter ; Paul ; nor other man  
Canonized by clergy.  
Then, the saints, every one,  
A little beholden to lollardrie.

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man, are those of the wolf and the mastiff, against all who oppose or endanger. Alarmed and affronted

And namely James among them all,  
For he twice had judgment.  
Much mischance may him befall  
That last beheaded him in Kent.  
And all that were of that assent,  
To Christ of heaven and clepe and cry;  
Send them the same judgment,  
And all the sect of lollardrie.

For that vengeance against kind  
Was a point of cowardice;  
And namely, such one to beat or bind  
That they might not stand, sit, nor rise.  
What doom would ye him devise  
By law of arms or gentry,  
But serve him in the same wise  
All the sect of lollardrie.

When falsehood falls the foul folly,  
Pride will pursue soon among,  
Then willer-dome with old envy  
Can no other way but wrong.  
For sin and shame with sorrow strong,  
That false belief is fain to fong  
The lewde lust of lollardrie.

And under colour of such *lollyng*  
To shape sudden insurrection  
Against our liege lord king,  
With false imagination;  
And for the cursed conclusion  
By dome of knighthood and clergy,  
Now trueth to confusion,  
The sorry sect of lollardrie.

For Holy Writ beith witness,  
He that false is to his king,  
That shameful death and hard distress  
Shall be his dome at his ending.  
Then *double death* for such *lollyng*  
Is heavy when we shall heav'n eye.  
Now, Lord, that madest of nought all things,  
Defend us from all lollardrie."

I consider this ballad to lead us to the real derivation of Lollard, which has been so much contested. It shews, that it was not taken from a man's name; as it gives us the verb from which it originated; to *Lolle*. I cannot yet ascertain the meaning of this word. It is neither Saxon, nor old English, nor German, nor Norman French. In Welsh, *llo* means foolish idle talk; and *llo*lian and *llo*law, to babble and prate. This derivation would make lollard to imply a babbler. If the common English word to loll, or to lean idly, were the origin, then the term would express, an idler; but I think it must have some more express and applicable meaning. *Lollo*, in the Lapland language, is jealousy. *Lol*, in Persian, is shameless; and *lowlow*, frivolous. I have not had an opportunity of seeing whether the Bohemian language, from which it is more likely to have come, gives a more probable derivation. Lollard is not one of the twenty-five names of heretics mentioned in the edicts of the emperor Frederick II.

self-love rushes into violence, becomes conscientiously vindictive, and delights to punish the obstinacy that resists, the censure that mortifies, and the hostility that would dispossess it. The worldly leaders of the papal hierarchy, therefore, only did to their rising opponents, what these, as far as they were actuated by worldly motives, would have as un pityingly, and according to their self-flattering notions, as rightfully retaliated, if their power could have given efficacy to their will. As far as self-interest was the motive of either, the assailant and assailed, however mutually abusive, and mutually wrong, were equally reprehensible. When the emoluments of this world become the object of the contest; the dungeon and the gibbet, the sword and the stake, and in more barbarous times or countries, torture and cruelty, are its natural allies, and the ultimate deciders.

But the ecclesiastical statesmen of Henry's cabinet did not sufficiently discern, that the participation of the property of the church, was not the aim of all who now opposed or dissented from it. The reason and piety of the disinterested, unsullied by any hope of profit, were daily separating from it. Many minds were perceiving, and many hearts were feeling, that papal christianity was not the christianity of our Saviour and his apostles; and that the established hierarchy, and its artificial ramifications and appendages, had become the subverting contrast, instead of the beneficial resemblance or continuation, of what the great founders had taught and instituted. To combat the criticisms, and to menace the disapprobation, of such men with the terrors of persecution, was but making enthusiasm their duty, and suffering their happiness. Persecution has ever been powerless against sincerity: and from the presentation to the world of their heroic example; from diffusing the publicity of their objections; from rousing the

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attention of the indifferent, and from the irresistible sympathies, which inflicted cruelties, supported by fortitude, and not merited by what the populace deem moral guilt, always excite, persecution continually multiplies its enemies. Terror makes no impression upon an excited mind. The feeling of the martyrs, who, like the Indians of North America, so often defied their tormentors to increase their tortures, is the natural emotion of the enthusiastic spirit. Persecution, therefore, never overcomes true piety or conscientious resolution. It may annihilate the sordid, the capricious, and the hypocrite, and drive them from the ranks of the better spirits, whom they disgrace by their co-operation; but it always has been, and always will be, defeated by sincere faith, truth, rectitude, patience, and resignation. The natural results of these virtues are ever operating to produce the victory; and a blessing from a higher source is never wanting to ensure it.

But abstracted from these considerations, and from the ultimate results, persecution tends to occasion immediate evils to all who use it, of which they have frequently become the victims. It drives the opposed, from the public exhibition of themselves and of their actions, into secret societies, secret combinations, secret meetings, and secret conversations, in which zeal is kindled by mystery, and extravagance is fostered both by the seclusion and the exigence. Fear begets hatred; endurance, impatience; privation, spleen; and personal sufferings an eagerness for revenge. Prohibition never changes the will, tho it may coerce the conduct. Secret assemblies bring men together, who would have never else become acquainted; and severities combine those in temporary harmony, whom their mental and moral differences would, until driven into contriving privacy and mutual danger, have always kept asunder. Per-

secution thus produces confederacies, and makes disloyalty credible, till the criminality of treason becomes determined by its success; and is actually varied by law, as each party triumphs. What government could be safe, or what country happy, in such a state of things!

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The reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. afford a melancholy illustration of all the ill effects of both religious and political persecutions; and as violence so generally fails and is so often pernicious to its employers, how much wiser would it be, in the unfortunate periods of these mental collisions, to try to separate the conscientious from the interested; and to concede such improvements and reforms as the most dispassionate minds of both parties, looking only at truth, reason, and utility, and suspending all personal considerations, would agree to be wise and necessary! Much that is obsolete, unimportant, offensive, or injurious, becomes progressively attached to all establishments; and might be pruned with advantage, both to themselves and to their contemporaries. Such meliorations would take away the largest portion of those actual grievances, and pernicious evils, which, while man exists as he is, will be always arising from his former errors, his present ignorance, and the course of time; and which no one ought to wish to continue: this conduct would satisfy and tranquillize the well-meaning and the sincere; who, amid all their mistakes, are ever the great bulwarks of society, and are those whose countenance and feeling give the greatest danger to public clamor and political opposition. While these are kept steady, the more noisy and boisterous will but fret and fume, without real danger or effective power. To act otherwise, is to fight the battle against nature and providence, two adversaries but little adverted to, yet against whose unceasing agency, altho govern-

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ments, hierarchies, and nations, have often struggled, it has been but to be defeated with irreparable discomfiture and annihilating destruction.<sup>50</sup>

But no inquisitorial rigors, imprisonments, or burnings, availed. Cruelty excites too much sympathy, curiosity, indignation, fortitude, enthusiasm, disinterestedness, and impassioned determination; and proves too clearly the fears, the heartlessness, and the unworthiness of its abettors, to be of lasting service. Notwithstanding all these violent applications of unrestricted power, yet year after year, complaints were expressed in parliament of the increase and dangerous effect of heresy and heretics, in language which implies diffusing pertinacity among the people, and greater alarm in the government. In 1415, the year after Oldcastle's arrest, a petition of the commons states, that great and intolerable errors and heresies, and rebellions, and obstinations against the king, against the ancient doctrine of their holy fathers, and the determination of the church, were continually rising up among the common people.<sup>51</sup> Two years afterwards, the parliamentary record recites, that many subjects, vulgarly called Lollards, machinated to annul the royal dignity, the state and offices of the prelates, and the orders of the religious; to kill the king and bishops, to excite the monks and friars to leave the divine service for worldly occupa-

<sup>50</sup> The wisdom and moral beauty of the following remarks of the present archbishop of Cashel, deserve to be long remembered: "We embrace that peculiar code of faith, and adhere to that peculiar religious community, to which God has attached us, and which our conscience approves: but in the House of our Heavenly Father there are many mansions. On speculative points, speculative men will differ; but whatsoever zeal may be displayed in the support of specific tenets, that zeal should never be stimulated to excess by an overweening conceit in our own, or by an uncharitable contempt of every other opinion. Disciples of the cross, the characteristic badge of our profession affords us one common bond of union. As Christians, we owe to all who are designated by that blessed name, fraternal affection; and to mankind in general, without distinction of persons or creeds, universal benevolence." Prim. Visit. Charge. If these noble sentiments governed the world, there would be no religious wars, no religious persecutions, and no religious discord.

<sup>51</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. iv. p. 81.



tions, and to spoil cathedral churches, and monasteries and convents, of their relics and goods.<sup>52</sup> This document is the statute which directed Oldcastle to be burnt, and mentions that nearly four years before, 20,000 men, from various parts of England, had assembled in a great field, near St. Giles, to execute their purposes. That they meant to pursue some violent measures against the possessed church, seems probable; but the allegation that they intended to kill the king, and make Oldcastle the regent of the land, is not credible.<sup>53</sup> Some years before, in 1409, we find a disposition in many to attack the clergy.<sup>54</sup> All sorts of illegal violences were now attributed to the Lollards. The petition which asserted that divers malefactors in various parts of the kingdom, collected in multitudes armed to make war, broke into parks and chases, wounded the keepers, and ousted many of their free tenements; also added, that they were *probably* of the opinions of the Lollards, all lying maliciously in wait, or traitorously purposing to make insurrection or subversion of the catholic faith.<sup>55</sup> Eight years afterwards, in 1425, the bishop of Winchester still inveighed from the throne against heresy and lollardism.<sup>56</sup> As the bishop of Bath and Wells, likewise still more urgently in 1432.<sup>57</sup>

But altho the resolute persecutions of the church failed to extirpate the new opinions, they seem to have created an insurrectionary mind, in those whom they endangered. In 1430, the Lollards, and their

<sup>52</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. iv. p. 109.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. p. 109. Rous, who lived near this time, states their imputed objects more probably. He says, they purposed to have kept the king under their subjection, and after, *by his authority*, to have destroyed the church of England, and to slay the prelates, and distribute their possessions after their indiscreet advices and pleasure. It was to the earl of Warwick that secret information was given of their intent; and he persuaded the king to intercept and disperse them. Rossi Hist. E. Warw. p. 212.

<sup>54</sup> See Fab. 316.

<sup>55</sup> Rolls Parl. vol. iv. p. 114.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. p. 290.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. p. 388.

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friends, are represented as sending messengers into various parts, exhorting the people to rise up against the clergy, and to seize their property. At Abingdon, a seditious meeting assembled, to pull down the monastery there, and chose their captain; but the lord protector being apprised of it, arrested and beheaded the bailiff; and many of his party were hung up before the building.<sup>58</sup> The movement seems to have been extensive, for it is mentioned, that others of his supporters were executed in divers places and countries.<sup>59</sup> So little diminution of the evil was produced by the severities of the church, that in 1440, after a priest had been burnt for heresy, on Towerhill, the people crowded afterwards to the place of his execution, and made oblations and prayers there; and by night, raised a great heap of stones, and placed a cross upon it. So many went on pilgrimage to it, that the king ordered the mayor to prevent, and punish the enthusiastic visitors. The old chronicler adds, "So that by this means, a great dislander ran upon the church, and especially upon such as had put him to death."<sup>60</sup>

From all these facts it is evident, that a large proportion of the population of the country was fully disposed for a state of battle with the ecclesiastical establishment which assailed them, and with the government that supported it.<sup>61</sup> The materials for a civil war, on this ground, were every where accumulating; and the disaffected only awaited for a convenient opportunity, a plausible pretext, other popular irritations against the existing administrations, auxiliaries that could meet the first brunt of insulted power, and a chief of name, connections, and power,

<sup>58</sup> Wals. MSS. Sloane, 1776. Fab. 422.

<sup>59</sup> Fab. 422.

<sup>60</sup> Fab. 436.

<sup>61</sup> The warring state of mind which pervaded the kingdom at this time, is implied by the monk of Croyland's declaration, that the divisions of the kingdom were pervading every chapter, college, and convent. 529.

sufficient to assure, or to begin the chances of success. Authority prosecuted and chastised till it destroyed all loyalty and veneration; and converted peaceful obscurity into vindictive rebellion.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The severity to which the confiscation of the property of heretics was carried, if it failed to extirpate the heresy, could not fail to exasperate the public mind against the persecutors. The property of an heretic, had been ordered to be divided into three parts; one to the secular power, another to the city in which he was condemned, and a third *to his judge*. But in England, in 1430, when Lyndewoode wrote, the whole went to the king: this was sufficiently distressing; but the retroaction of this confiscation, was most revolting. Lyndewoode puts it as a question: "If a man should have been ten years an heretic, concealed; and should not, even in his life, be condemned for heresy; but should in the mean time, have given bonds, or alienated his possessions; and it should afterwards be discovered, that he had been an heretic; would his alienations and his bonds be void? the answer given is, that they would be void, and could not prevent the forfeiture; because, from the day that he fell into heresy, his property became confiscated by the law; and must be forfeited to the crown: and from that time he lost all power of disposing of it." Lyndew. Constit. Provinc. This author has given thirty double folio pages to his exhibition of the ordinances against heretics, and to his explaining commentary upon them; an indication, that those laws were then in great operation. He finished his elaborate work—one of our first and fullest on ecclesiastical law in England—in 1430. He may be called the lord Coke of the English church. When we think of these inflictions, it seems wonderful, that our ancestors had fortitude and perseverance enough to accomplish the emancipation of their conscience, and just freedom from tyranny so unsparing.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Competition of YORK and SOMERSET.*BOOK  
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THE deaths of Winchester, Suffolk, and the other obnoxious members of the administration, and royal household, did not change the measures of government. The cardinal of York survived, and the disastrous effects of mob government satisfying every one, that the populace would be destroyers not reformers, the queen recovered her influence. The ministry was again modelled to suit the politics of her own views and party, and of the possessed church; and the opposing portion of the nation finding no improvement practicable under Henry, began seriously to look forward to the hope of a new reign and the introduction of a new dynasty. Both of these, as Henry was yet childless, were certain of occurring on his demise, because the duke of York was the next presumptive heir, from another descent. But others saw that their effect was attainable in the king's lifetime, by this nobleman's regency, without disturbing the royal dignity. If Gloucester had lived, the succession would have been demanded by him; but his death left York no competitors, except in the house of Somerset, every member of which resisted him, till generation after generation of this unfortunate family was successively extinguished. The Somersets assumed themselves to be the representatives of the Lancastrian line, when Henry the Sixth's issue failed; and stood, therefore, invariably on its side, during all the conflicts that ensued both for the regency and the throne. When the inca-

capacity for government, in which Henry had been educated and kept, was found to continue, a patriotic regency became the desire of the nation; and at first the general wish extended no further. The public eye then turned to York as the fittest to take this station, which he claimed as his birthright, as he did afterwards the crown; and the following sketch will shew how far his pretensions to either were founded.

The duke united in himself two branches, one paternal, the other maternal, of the posterity of Edward III. This sovereign's *fifth* son, Edmund, had left two children<sup>1</sup>, of whom the eldest fell without issue, at Agincourt, and the other, the earl of Cambridge, had married the grand-daughter and heiress of the same king's *third* son Lionel; and the heir of this marriage was the duke of York<sup>2</sup>, who became the competitor of Henry VI.

Henry was descended from Edward's *fourth* son, John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster.<sup>3</sup> If York had possessed only the right of his paternal ancestry, Henry and John of Gaunt's descendants would have had the anterior title; but York uniting also the earlier maternal line of descent, became, by that, as the first son's posterity ended in Richard II., the heir of Edward III., and therefore of the crown, before the Henrys could, by mere legal inheritance, succeed to it: hence, so far as the question rested on the ancient common law of the country, in its general rules

<sup>1</sup> Edmund, the son of Edward III. and first duke of York, died 1 Aug. 1402. By Isabella, a Spanish princess, a daughter of Pedro the Cruel, he had these two sons. The wills of the two first dukes of York are published among the Royal and Noble Wills, pp. 187. 219. The second son of Edward III. left no issue.

<sup>2</sup> Lionel, created by his father, Edward III., duke of Clarence, had only one daughter, Philippa, who married Roger Mortimer, the earl of March. Their children were, Edmond, who died without issue, and Anne, who married Richard earl of Cambridge, and by her brother's death became the heiress of Lionel. Her right descended to her son the duke of York, who was father to Edward IV.

<sup>3</sup> See his will, Royal Wills, 148.

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of inheritance, the duke of York had a title to the English throne superior to that of Henry himself.

But the parliament had chosen to disturb the direct line of succession, by deposing Richard II. and by transferring the crown to Henry IV. and his issue. At that time the earl of March, the grandson of Lionel, was in reality the legal heir of Richard, if he left no issue; and during his life was so declared by parliament, and as such was designated to the throne.<sup>4</sup> But the great ecclesiastical and other interests, which had called Henry IV. to his invasion, chose to pass by the rights of the earl of March, and for their own purposes to enthrone Henry. This violation of its legal claims, was not forgiven nor forgotten by the family. It was to raise the earl of March's son to the crown, instead of Henry V. who had acceded to his prejudice, that the earl of Cambridge entered into those plots for which he suffered.<sup>5</sup> And in the beginning of Henry the Sixth's reign, another of the March family, sir John Mortimer, asserting, at least in argument, its superior rights, was apprehended and executed.<sup>6</sup> The duke of York had therefore the actual right to the crown, according to the English laws of real inheritance. But the house of Lancaster stood on the constitutional ground of parliamentary enactment. It was precisely the same question that existed between the house of Stuart and the house of Brunswick. The parliamentary title was with George II.; the legal common law title with the Pretender, who invaded him.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> He was so proclaimed in the ninth year of Richard II. *Lel. Col.* vol. ii. p. 481.; and 5 *Parl. R.* 484.

<sup>5</sup> The autograph of his confession and address to Henry V. is in the Cotton Library, *Vesp. C* 14.; and shews Monstrelet's correct information on the subject, in his vol. iv. p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> *Feb.* 410, 411.

<sup>7</sup> On the comparison of the adverse claims of the Yorkists and Lancastrians to the throne, we may remark, that altho monarchy, with parliaments, has always been the constitution of this country, yet almost every dynasty that has been on the throne has acceded or reigned by parliamentary right, against hereditary right.

The parliament having settled the crown in the Lancastrian line, while the duke of Gloucester lived, he also stood between the throne and York, because he would have succeeded to it on the parliamentary title. But his death put York into a new and formidable state of right, which seems not to have been adverted to by those, who so eagerly struck down Gloucester. By this nobleman's death, Henry VI. then having no issue, York actually stood as the presumptive heir to Henry VI. himself, excepting so far as the Somersets could interfere, who were tainted with illegitimacy, a disabling brand in that day of proud nobility.<sup>8</sup> So that in the year 1451, when he claimed the regency, he was the presumptive heir to the crown, and to Henry also, both by parliamentary right, and also by natural descent; and was actually

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William the Conqueror was elected, or admitted, to the prejudice of the ancient Saxon heir, Edgar Etheling. His son Henry I. was made king by the parliament, against his elder brother Robert's right, and procured his own family to be appointed to succeed him, to the exclusion of Robert's son. From Henry I. proceeded his grandson Henry II. and all our subsequent sovereigns. But the hereditary succession of this dynasty was again changed, on the death of Richard I., by the parliament giving the crown to John, to the disinheritation of his elder brother's son. Parliament deposed Edward II. to give the crown to his son Edward III.; and when it compelled Richard II. to resign, instead of letting the natural heir by inheritance, the earl of March, the living descendant of his eldest brother, succeed, it gave the crown to Henry IV. the son of a younger brother; and both Henry V. and VI. reigned to the prejudice of the hereditary right of the excluded family. When the parliament made Edward IV. king, the parliamentary and hereditary rights became united. They were again severed when Richard III. was made king; and also, when the crown was transferred, by parliament, to Henry VII., until Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV., was crowned. Henry VIII., as her son, united the two rights, and when her male line failed, the Stuarts acceded from her daughter. William III., Ann, and the Brunswicks, were also enthroned by parliamentary, against hereditary right. Therefore Henry VI., in reigning by his parliamentary title, had the practical constitution of the country in his favor.

<sup>8</sup> Catherine Swinford, tho she became the third wife of John of Gaunt, was not married to him, when John Beaufort, his eldest son by her, and cardinal Beaufort, were born. They were consequently illegitimate at their birth. Parliament afterwards enacted their legitimacy, which may have answered the legal purposes for all questions of property, but could not remove the fact of their native imperfection. This eldest son, whose will is printed (*Royal Wills*, p. 208.), died in 1410, leaving four sons, besides daughters. The first, born 1401, died 1418. The second, John, made duke of Somerset, 21 H. VI., was the one who killed himself, and whose daughter married the uterine brother of Henry VI. by Queen Catherine and Owen Tudor; the third, Edmund, became duke of Somerset on his brother's death, without issue male, in 1448, and fell at St. Albans, in 1455, when his son succeeded to his title, and became, like him, the steady adherent of Henry and Margaret, till he was beheaded at Tewkesbury in 1471.

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entitled to the crown itself, according to the country's common law of lineal succession, in preference to Henry. This combination of immediate right of possession, and of presumptive right of succession was, of all other things, the most adapted to bring the volcanic state of the country into an explosive eruption; because it would satisfy the consciences of so many, whose moral feelings would have otherwise controlled their angry passions, and have kept them from all seditious and insurrectionary violence. But when the house of Lancaster tried to govern without parliament, or to force that by violence and trick to comply with its will, it shook its own right—the artificial parliamentary one—and made it seem virtue to many, to assert and rescue the privileges of conscience, and the constitutional liberties of the country, by putting the duke of York into the regency, even with treasonable violence; as the state capacity of the sovereign notoriously required some directing superintendence. No treason can be vindicated, but it may be accounted for. The truly conscientious will never commit it; but when reasons and plausibilities exist, that deceive the moral sense into an acquiescence with their predominant inclinations, treason loses its criminal and abhorrent aspect; and the mental sophistication mistakes rebellion for a patriotic duty.

When Henry VI. acceded, the earl of March, brother of the duke's mother, had the lineal right to the crown. He was fond of appearing with a retinue, exceeding that of other noblemen; and to remove him from the gaze of the English populace, he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and within six months afterwards, died in that country.<sup>9</sup> The duke of York was then too young, not only to be dangerous, but to be even an object of suspicion. He was

<sup>9</sup> Wals. MSS. Sloane, 1776.



knighted with the king, and after the duke of Bedford's death, was sent to Normandy as the governor of France, or rather of so much of it as could be still retained. The absurdity of the appointment, as to its efficiency, is manifest by his military superintendents keeping him inactive, because he was too young to act usefully.<sup>10</sup> But when much older, in 1435, he went to France with 8000 men<sup>11</sup>, after the loss of Harfleur, and acted with creditable skill and valor. Three years after, he returned; and in July 1440, he was sent again as regent for five years.<sup>12</sup>

His government of this country having been so far approved of, as to occasion his re-appointment, the duke of Somerset, who had been released from fifteen years of imprisonment, in France, coveting the same honor, secretly applied for it. His interest with the queen, and her friends, procured the revocation of York's nomination, and the royal grant of it to himself. Supplanted by an intrigue, which he thought to be crafty and ungenerous, York was indignant at the insult and disappointment; and an inextinguishable hatred grew up in his bosom against this John duke of Somerset, craving for some dire re-

<sup>10</sup> Wals. MSS. Sloane, 1776. This was in 1428-9, *ib.*, and he was not of age in 1432. Rolls Parl. vol. iv. p. 397.

<sup>11</sup> Will. Wyrcestre, 457. On York's actions in France, see Monstrel. vol. vii. p. 396. vol. viii. pp. 188, 284, 287—297.

<sup>12</sup> Rym. Fœd. vol. x. p. 786. In the Cotton MSS. Nero, C 10. is a page in Edward VI.'s hand-writing, interesting for being this king's note, for his own information, of the articles described by the duke of York, for his government of France, on this appointment. It is thus: "Articles desired by the duke of York, for the government of Fraunce, 18 Henry VI. 1. To have the like power or command the duke of Bedford had. 2. To have 3 of theis 9 of every estate, one to be of counsel of Fraunce.

Bishop of Lincoln,  
Bishop of Norwich,  
Bishop of Salisbury,  
Sir Rauf Botiller,  
Sir Tho. Stourton,

Viscount Bemont,  
The lord Fannhope,  
The lord Hungerford,  
Sir Tho. Popham."

A copy of these articles, at length, may be seen in W. Wyrcestre's MSS. addressed by his son to Edward IV. among the MSS of the Antiq. Society, No. 41., but they are dated 1445.

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venge<sup>13</sup>, which an incident in Normandy directed on his brother. John duke of Somerset died in March 1448<sup>14</sup>, when his brother, Edmund, succeeded to his title and station. The gradual loss of every Norman town and fortress, made his regency unpopular.<sup>15</sup> The English forces may have been insufficient to man the military posts, face the enemy, and keep down the dissatisfied country; but this Somerset was suspected of keeping fewer numbers than he was paid for.<sup>16</sup> The siege of Caen supplied the tongue of public slander with an accusation, and the resentment of York, with a personal quarrel, as great as he had felt against the preceding duke. York, by the king's gift, had become the owner of this town, and had left it under the command of sir David Hall:

28 April.  
1450.

Siege of  
Caen.

After the last struggle, and deciding defeat, at Formigny, in which above 3000 English perished, and 800 were taken prisoners<sup>17</sup>, the king of France collected his forces to besiege Caen, to which the duke of Somerset, and his wife and family, had retired. He environed the town on every side. The English within observed their approaches in silence, but every man was at his loophole, and every captain at his post of superintendence. The French leaders had each different points of the town assigned for their

<sup>13</sup> Croyl. 518. Chron. of Jo. de Whethamstede, the abbot of St. Albans at this time, published by Hearne, vol. ii. p. 346. Somerset was made duke from earl of Somerset, in 1443. He was redeemed in 21 H. VI. Wals. MSS. For his actions in France, in 1439 and 1440, while earl, see Monst. vol. viii. pp. 181. 200—210.; and for his conduct afterwards, when governor, see ib. p. 348.

<sup>14</sup> See before, p. 446.

<sup>15</sup> He was the nephew whom cardinal Beaufort had appointed to head his Bohemian crusade. On the disasters in France, under his command, see Monst. vol. ix. pp. 60—87.

<sup>16</sup> Hall's Chron. p. 216.

<sup>17</sup> Monst. vol. ix. pp. 108—114. His statements are unaccountably disgraceful to the English. Their army 6000 to 7000 men; the French, according to the report of the heralds, but 3000. The English lost 3773 persons; the French but 8. The early flight of two of the English captains, which caused the defeat, looks like premeditated treachery. Sir Robert Vere was one of these. The instructions of sir John Falstoff, in Wycr. MSS. Antiq. Soc. MSS. No. 41., refer the defeat to the divisions of the leaders, and the petty captains negligently tarrying.

several, but combined attacks; and with their quarrels, morispikes, slings, and other engines, began the assault. While some of the defenders shot fiercely with their long bows, others cast darts, and rolled down great stones, and heavy bars of iron; at the same time javelins, firebrands, hot lead, and blocks, with flaming pitch and brimstone, flew with deadly activity among the assailants; great rolls of moving and unsteadfast timber were also hung over the battlements, that no scaling ladder might catch a firm hold, nor any person climb with a sure footing; and if any scaling ladders became fixed on the walls, men were ready to overturn them, or strike down those who reached the summit. The king of France, exasperated by the successful resistance, sent to Paris for his great ordnance, resolved not to quit the town till he had reduced it by sword or famine.

His heavy artillery was daily discharged at the walls; did some damage to the town, but none to the castle, which stood on a rock, nor to the strong dungeon within it; but the shot was more alarming than injurious. One day a stone flew into the town, and fell between the duchess of Somerset and her children. Terrified by their danger and her own, she flew to her husband, and implored him to save them. Affected by her entreaties, the duke assembled the magistrates of the town, and recommended them to surrender it. Sir David Hall reminded him, that altho he was the king's lieutenant-general of the province, yet he had no right to talk of giving up the place. "This appertains to my lord and master, Richard duke of York, who hath given to me the custody of it, and with the divine help, I shall well defend it against the French king, and all his puissance, until my master succor me; for of men, money, and munitions, I trust I have sufficient." The duke insisted on his power, as representing the king's

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surrenders.

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person. The faithful commander closed the discussion with a firm refusal to permit him to yield up the town without the duke of York's authority. Somerset is charged with inciting the town's people to an insurrection against sir David; and surrendered Caen to the French king, on the condition that his family and himself might depart in safety, with all their property.<sup>18</sup> Sir David refused to be included in the composition, and sailed to the duke of York, in Ireland, with a detail of the proceedings. The duke heard them with an indignation against Somerset, which never ceased to stimulate him to the most deadly animosity.<sup>19</sup>

York in  
Ireland.

York was in Ireland during the proceedings against Suffolk, and the sedition of Cade. He had been sent there to subdue a rebellion which had begun, but with a force inadequate enough to make him discontented with the ministry who had employed him. Yet his talent and judgment supplied the deficiency, and his conduct was so pleasing to the "wild and savage" Irish, that they contracted a steady attachment to his person and family.<sup>20</sup>

During the summer of 1450, the whole popular mind continued to exhibit the indications of dissatisfaction and turbulence already noticed.<sup>21</sup> Somerset was in France, and the administration in England was headed by the cardinal archbishop of York, the chancellor, whose measures were still unpopular.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> On these events, see Hall's Chron. p. 216.; and Monstrelet, vol. ix. pp. 123—136., who says, it was the strongest castle in all Normandy, p. 128.

<sup>19</sup> Hall, p. 216. The instructions of Falstoff, in Wyrcestre's MSS., one "of the king's great council," were written while the duke was besieged in Caen, and state, that he "was in great jeopardy of his person, and in doubt of losing all that country;" and ordered relief "in all goodly haste." Whether this aid was insufficient, or the duke surrendered before it arrived, does not appear.

<sup>20</sup> Hall, p. 213.

<sup>21</sup> See before, chap. i.

<sup>22</sup> The writer in Fenn, iii. p. 179., calls him "The cursed cardinal;" and on his death, in February 1453, exclaims, "The cardinal is dead, and the king is relieved." He was appointed chancellor on the dismissal from that office of the archbishop of Canterbury, of the Buckingham family, on 31 Jan. 1450 (Parl. Rolls, vol. vi. p. 172.), when lord Beauchamp was made treasurer, and lord Cromwell chamberlain. W. Wyr. p. 473.

In September, the court was alarmed by the news that the duke of York had quitted Ireland, and proceeded to his castle in Wales.<sup>23</sup> That those who wished his presence and interference went to meet him, and that he solicited them to do so, appears from the murder of Tresham, a legal man, who had been formerly speaker of the house of commons.<sup>24</sup> His widow's petition for redress states, that the duke had written to him to meet him; and that on 21st September, a party of 160 men, armed with weapons, which are called "jakkes, salettes, long swords, long debeofs, and bore speares," lay in wait for him under a hedge, in the highway, and as he came along, saying matins to the Virgin, rushed upon him, smote him with a lancegay and other weapons, till he fell, and then plundered him of a collar of the king's livery, his chain of gold, his horse, and money.<sup>25</sup> These assailants were the people of Lord Grey.<sup>26</sup>

A force under lord Lyle, son of the famous Talbot, was sent to stop York's advance, but this counteraction was ineffectual; the duke reached London with 4000 men, at the end of September; and proceeding to the palace at Westminster, knelt before the king, complained of the state of the kingdom, and implored him to summon a parliament.<sup>27</sup> He was afterwards charged with having come to this interview with a multitude of armed men, beating down the spears and walls of the presence-chamber in insolent contempt of his sovereign, who is said to have answered his desires and demands, as if inspired with the divine spirit. The royal wisdom is stated to have covered him with confusion.<sup>28</sup> But his re-

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} Septem-  
ber. Ycrk  
advances  
to London;

<sup>23</sup> W. Wyr. p. 473.

<sup>24</sup> He was speaker in 1439, 1441, 1447, 1449. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. pp. 4. 36. 129. 172. After his death, sir William Oldhall was chosen, p. 210.; and Thomas Thorp in 1453, p. 227.

<sup>25</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 211.

<sup>26</sup> W. Wyr. p. 473.

<sup>27</sup> Ib.

<sup>28</sup> This statement is in the preamble to the act of his attainder. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 346.

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but retires.

His com-  
plaint  
against  
Somerset.

tiring so abashed may have arisen from the queen's not disguising her displeasure, and advising those violent measures against him, which Buckingham prevented. This lord fought and fell on the king's side in the first battle that occurred between the factions. But he was at this juncture dissatisfied that his two brothers had been dismissed from their high stations of chancellor and treasurer<sup>29</sup>; and therefore let York withdraw unmolested to his castle at Fodingay.<sup>30</sup> Somerset was now chosen to be the favorite adviser of the crown. He was made constable of England, and sent for out of Normandy. He arrived in England in the ensuing month, in such great popular hatred, from the belief that he had given up Normandy<sup>31</sup>, as to weaken the government he had been called to uphold.

The petition or complaint which York presented about this time to the king, has been preserved to us. It mentions the great grudging and rumor which was universal, that justice was not duly ministered, especially against those who had been indicted for treason, and against those who "were openly noised," of the crime. He recommended that it should be enforced against them, and offered to do his duty in executing it, and urged the king to issue orders for their arrest.<sup>32</sup>

The general feeling at this period has been thus sketched out to us by a chronicler of the age of Elizabeth. "Many of the nobility and more of the

<sup>29</sup> Letter, Fenn, vol. i. p. 27.

<sup>30</sup> W. Wyr. p. 473. This castle had been built by the first duke of York, the fifth son of Edward III.

<sup>31</sup> Rymer, vol. xi. p. 276. W. Wyr. p. 473. Fab. p. 454. The loss of France may have dissatisfied the national pride of England; but, from the pecuniary accounts in W. Wyr. MSS. above cited, the occupation of it was a financial burthen. The list of England's receipts from its revenues, under the duke of Bedford, from Oct. 1427 to Oct. 1428, was 57,466*l.*; but the payments from these were 68,408*l.* So that the revenue, in this year, fell short of the expenditure, 10,942*l.* MSS. Antiq. Soc. No. 41.

<sup>32</sup> The petition is in Fenn, vol. i. p. 67.

mean estate, wisely pondering the state and condition of the realm, perceiving more loss than increase, more ruin than advancement to ensue daily, and remembering that France was conquered, and Normandy gained by the French, in so short a space, thought that the fault of all these miserable chances happened either because the king was not true in heart, or that he or his councils were not able of wit, policy, and circumspection, to rule the kingdom.”<sup>33</sup> Hence they began to wish a change in the dynasty, and to recollect the nearer descent of the duke of York from their revered Edward III. They circulated the opinion, that York’s popular conduct towards the Irish nation shewed, that if he who “had brought that rude and savage nation to civil fashion and English urbanity, once ruled in England, he would depose evil counsellors, correct evil judges, and reform all unamended matters.”<sup>34</sup> But these were at present rather dangerous speculations, than actual conspiracy. They believed that it was possible to change the obnoxious system of government, without disturbing the throne; and parliament, under these impressions, assembled at Westminster, in the beginning of November.

The duke came to London with a force sufficient for his safety; and his friends, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Salisbury, and his son, who became the celebrated Warwick, the earl of Devonshire, and lord Cobham, a man of considerable talent and experience<sup>35</sup> also attended. Norfolk came with a great power<sup>36</sup>, and prepared to take a leading part. The result of these consultations, was an immediate resolution to impeach Somerset, who was now become the chief minister<sup>37</sup>, but who was so disliked by the populace, that they broke into his house near the

<sup>33</sup> Hall’s Chron. p. 219.<sup>34</sup> *Ib.* p. 219.<sup>35</sup> *Ib.* p. 223.<sup>36</sup> W. Wyr. p. 474.<sup>37</sup> *Ib.* p. 475.

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Blackfryars, and plundered his goods. On the same day he had nearly perished in the Thames, as he was escaping from the mob, when he was taken into the earl of Devonshire's barge.<sup>38</sup>

The parliament met on the 6th of November, and the cardinal of York urged them to provide for the safe custody of the sea; to furnish aid for Aquitaine, and to pacify and punish that part of the population which was riotously disposed.<sup>39</sup> After sitting six weeks, it was prorogued to the 20th January<sup>40</sup>, and commissioners were sent to Norfolk, to tranquillize the people.<sup>41</sup> One of the commons, a lawyer, moved, as the king had no issue, that his heir apparent should be declared, and he named the duke of York; but he was sent to the Tower for the unseasonable proposition.<sup>42</sup>

1451.

The violence of the contending parties continued to agitate the nation. The earl of Devonshire besieged lord Bonville in Taunton, who surrendered himself to the duke of York and his friends.<sup>43</sup> York was met, beyond St. Albans, by a body from the western counties, that would have killed him, if sir William Oldhall had not protected him, nearly at the sacrifice of his own life.<sup>44</sup> The earl Salisbury, returning from his son's marriage, had a serious conflict with lord Egremont, near York, which is noticed as the commencement of all the future evils.<sup>45</sup>

York im-  
peaches  
Somerset.

In the parliament of this year, the duke of York exhibited several articles of impeachment against Somerset<sup>46</sup>: 1st, that Normandy was lost by or thro

<sup>38</sup> W. Wyr. p. 474. Fab. p. 453.<sup>40</sup> Ib. p. 213.<sup>42</sup> W. Wyr. p. 475.<sup>44</sup> Fenn, vol. iii. p. 157. In May, Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by the cardinal of York, to whose dignity Bothe, bishop of Chester, was raised. The abbot of Gloucester had his see, and a doctor of the Carmelites that of Hereford. W. Wyr. p. 476. Bothe and the abbot were two of the obnoxious statesmen of the day.<sup>45</sup> W. Wyr. p. 476.<sup>46</sup> I have seen those only in the Cotton MSS. Vesp. C 14. They begin, "These<sup>39</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 210.<sup>41</sup> Fenn, vol. iii. p. 107.<sup>43</sup> Ib. p. 275.



him: 2d, that he was the cause of the breaking of the truce, which gave the French king the pretext for renewing the war<sup>47</sup>: 3d, that he would give no counsel nor aid to the captains of divers strong places and garrisons, who had applied to him for advice and succor<sup>48</sup>: 4th, that he unnecessarily went into Rouen, when he might have been elsewhere, and gave up that town and several other places, to procure the enlargement of his children and property<sup>49</sup>: 5th, that he was planning to give up Calais to the duke of Burgundy; and 6th, that he had received large sums at the yielding up of Anjou and Maine for the English there, which he had appropriated to his own use.

It was answered by Somerset's friends, that if this were an offence, it was but trespass, not treason. The duke of Norfolk, in a long speech, supported the accusation with great severity.<sup>50</sup> But the power and influence of the queen made his efforts unavailing. The commons petitioned to have the memory of Suffolk branded as a traitor, and his blood cor-

articles and pointes folowing geve, shewe and munstre, I, Richard duc of York, youre true liegeman, and submit unto youre highnesse, summarilly purposing and declaryng thaym agenst Edmond duc of Somerset, for the grete welfare and interesse of youre majestie roiall, and of this youre noble roialme." P. 40.

<sup>47</sup> The duke particularly instances the taking of Fougères, MS. ib. Monstrelet gives an account of this incident, vol. viii. p. 427. York also charges Somerset with having, contrary to the truce, re-fortified several places that had been dismantled. MS. ib.

<sup>48</sup> "Insomuch that he made no provision for the castle of Rouen, neither of men, stuffe, nor vitaille." MS. ib.

<sup>49</sup> "And, moreover, other good towns and castles, as Caadebek, Tancarville, Monsterbillers, and Argues, key of all Canly, not besieged, nor in peril of loss at that time." MS. ib. This document shews Monstrelet's exactness in his account of the surrender of those places, vol. ix. p. 87. York says, that this "might not, nor hath not be done, nor seen by law, reson, or cronikel, or by course of war, by any leutenant, altho he had been prisoner." He gives the dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, and D'Alençon, as instances, that such surrenders as these were never made. Those princes never offered such terms for their liberation, "tho they had many strong places of their own." MS. ib. Yet general Melas, in our days, acted somewhat like this, when, to procure safety for himself and his army, he gave up the most important fortresses of Italy, after the battle of Marengo.

<sup>50</sup> See Norfolk's speech in Fenn, vol. iii. pp. 111—116. He quotes the book called "L'Arbre de Bataille," as the authority for punishing Somerset for the loss of towns and castles, without siege, and to prove, that "a knight who flies for dread of battle should be beheaded." P. 113.

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rupted: and that Somerset, Suffolk's widow, the two prelates Bothe and the abbot of Gloucester, lord Hastings, and lord Stanley, should be removed from the royal court. The king by his chancellor answered, that he meant to be accompanied by virtuous persons only; that he did not know why those objected to should be displaced; but except such as were peers, and the few who actually waited upon him, he was willing that the rest should absent themselves for a year.<sup>51</sup>

York assembles an army;

But legal prosecutions became inadequate to suit the feelings of the enraged leaders, and their partisans. York in the middle of winter circulated proclamations, complaining of the conduct of the king's counsellors; and assembling a large force in the marches of Wales, he declared that he moved only for the public welfare.<sup>52</sup> The king, astonished at the sudden commotion, raised a powerful force, and in the middle of February, with Somerset and other lords, advanced to meet the duke.<sup>53</sup> To avoid an immediate collision, for which he thought his present strength unequal, York avoided the king's line of march, and passing on towards the metropolis, crossed the Thames at Kingston, and proceeded into Kent, where he was sure of receiving considerable reinforcements. On a heath near Dartford he encamped, and fortified himself with trenches and artillery. The king marched after him, and pitched his tent at Blackheath. But his friends, averse from risking an immediate contest, caused two bishops to be sent to York, to inquire the cause of his rebellious semblance. The duke asserted, that he had no intention to injure the king, but aimed to remove from him the evil counsellors, whom he called "the blood-suckers of the nobility, the plunderers of

encamps at Dartford;

<sup>51</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 216. As to Suffolk, "Le roy s'advisera." P. 226.

<sup>52</sup> His subsequent attainder charges him with writing letters to many cities, boroughs, and towns, and to many private persons, to make a common insurrection. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 346.

<sup>53</sup> Feb. p. 434.

the clergy, and the oppressors of the commonalty," and again arraigned Somerset. The government doubting its ability to subdue York by force, the king affected to put the accused under restraint; and it is an indication that York, at this period, intended no larger object, that on this acquiescence he dissolved his army on the 1st of March, and came unguarded to the royal tent.<sup>54</sup>

As he entered it, he beheld Somerset at liberty near the king, and felt that he was betrayed. He charged the obnoxious favorite with treason, bribery, and oppression; who retorted the epithet of traitor, and accused him of meditating to seize the crown. York was now in his power, and was compelled to ride before the king to London, as a prisoner, where Henry held a council, to deliberate on their mutual arraignment. The discussions were interrupted by rumors, that the son of the imprisoned duke was marching with a large army to release his father. The queen and her friends became alarmed, and ambassadors at the same juncture arriving from Bourdeaux, to promise a revolt of Gascony, in favor of the English, if a protecting force was sent thither, the council determined not to risk a civil war<sup>55</sup>, but to let York go. After swearing an oath of allegiance and future fidelity, in public, at St. Paul's, he went immediately to his castle at Wigmore, in Wales; and Somerset rose higher in favor with both king and queen. The veteran lord Talbot was sent to Gascony. He ravaged the country; but the king of France concentrating a powerful force, this high-famed warrior fought an unsuccessful battle. The

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taken to  
London as  
a prisoner.

<sup>54</sup> See Whethamstede's account, a contemporary, pp. 348, 349.; Fab. 455.; and Hall's Chron. p. 226.

<sup>55</sup> Fab. p. 455, Hall, p. 227. Let. vol. ii. p. 495. The Rolls of Parliament give his oath at length. He swears to be Henry's humble subject and liegeman; to bear him faith as his sovereign lord to his life's end; not to attempt any thing against him, nor gather any assemblies of people without the king's command, or in his own defence. This oath he subscribed and sealed. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 346.

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HENRY VI.

August  
1451.  
Loss of  
Aquitaine.

increased use of artillery made the personal prowess of the ancient chivalry less formidable; and Talbot, who feared no martial competitor, and had never been subdued by any single opponent<sup>56</sup>, was struck by a fatal shot, which no valor or skill of arms could avert. The total loss of Aquitaine followed, after England had possessed it nearly three centuries.<sup>57</sup>

The chancellor and treasurer having declared that the debts of the king amounted to 372,000*l.* and that his expenditure was 19,000*l.* a-year more than his income, and that the poor commons were full nigh destroyed by former taxations, the parliament passed an act to resume all the royal lands, and possessions, and property, which had been granted to any one by the king, except those which are there enumerated.<sup>58</sup>

Somerset's  
power.

The duke of Somerset continued to be triumphant. His ascendancy in the government was complete. Both king and queen placed in him their unbounded confidence. He was made captain of Calais, in the room of the duke of Buckingham, and all honors were bestowed thro him. He governed all the kingdom. A council was held in September, in Coventry, to effect a conciliation between him and York, and their differences were discussed before the king, and submitted to the judgment of other lords.<sup>59</sup> A temporary arrangement appears to have been the result; and while the factions that divided

<sup>56</sup> He was so dreaded by the French, that "women to feare their young children would crye, 'The Talbot commeth! The Talbot commeth!'" Hall, p. 230. For the detail of the French conquest of Guienne, see Monst. vol. ix. pp. 159—190.

<sup>57</sup> Of this province, Hall says, "The keeping of this duchy was neither costly nor troublesome to England, but both pleasant and profitable. Young gentlemen learned there the experience of war, and expert men were promoted to many rich offices, and great livings in it." It contained three archbishops, 34 bishops, 15 earldoms, 102 baronies, and above 1000 captainships and balliwicks. Hall, p. 230. So that the loss of Normandy and Guienne was the loss of so much patronage to government, and of the means of providing for the younger branches of the English gentry. Hence, much of the discontent which resulted from their abandonment.

<sup>58</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 217.

<sup>59</sup> W. Wyr. p. 476.

the nation paused from their animosities, the queen endeavored to increase her popularity, by visiting some of the country gentry.<sup>60</sup>

The parliament met on the 6th of March, in the abbey at Reading, and was called upon from the throne, to provide for the sound and solid government of the kingdom.<sup>61</sup> Grants of subsidies were obtained, not for three years, as had been customary, but with the unusual addition for the life of the king: 20,000 archers were also required and voted for the defence of the kingdom, to which every county and city was to contribute.<sup>62</sup> Neither of these measures was adapted to increase the popularity of government. The parliament, after sitting twenty-two days only, was prorogued to the end of April, to meet at Westminster. There 7000 of the archers were taken off<sup>63</sup>, and the 13,000 were to be raised and kept together as an entire body; but afterwards the levy of the whole was suspended for two years.<sup>64</sup> This alteration and virtual repeal of a favorite measure, announce that the government found that it had ventured upon a dangerous policy, from which it was expedient to retreat.

Somerset petitioned for the payment of 21,648*l.* 10*s.* due to him for the wages of himself and soldiers at Calais, after the duke of Buckingham's claim should be settled. This was enacted.<sup>65</sup> And on the 2nd of July, the king in person thanked the commons for their liberal subsidy.<sup>66</sup> By his command, cardinal Kemp stated to the parliament, that his sovereign was disposed to exert himself to put an end to the

<sup>60</sup> Thus in April 1452, she went into Norfolk, and stayed two days at Norwich, and sent for its ladies to come to her, to whom she gave a flattering reception. *Fenn*, vol. i. p. 69.

<sup>61</sup> *Parl. Rolls*, vol. v. pp. 227—229.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* p. 231.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* p. 231. The proportions for each country are stated, p. 232.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 233. 238.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* p. 234.

<sup>66</sup> His words were, "We cordially thank you: and you must not doubt, that we will be a gracious and kind lord to you." *P. Rolls*, p. 236. These were certainly the expressions of Henry's heart: This kindness of feeling was peculiarly his own.

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oppression, riots, and misdeeds, that had so long prevailed in the kingdom, and desired the members so to inform the people. He prorogued them to the 12th of November, at Reading, when, on the allegation of a great mortality in the town, their meeting was again deferred until the ensuing February.<sup>67</sup>

But before this month arrived, a revolution in the administration took place, from a dangerous illness, which, in October 1453, abstracted the king from all public business, and all domestic society.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 238.

Character  
of  
Henry VI.

<sup>68</sup> We have a full description of Henry VI. from Blakman, a Carthusian monk, who had much intercourse with him. The following particulars are taken from his account :

“ He was a man of pure simplicity of mind, without the least deceit or falsehood ; he did nothing by trick ; he always spoke truth, and performed every promise he made : he never knowingly would do an injury to any one ; he made rectitude and justice the rule of his public conduct.

“ He was very devout and fond of religion ; he disliked the sports and business of the world ; he thought them frivolous ; he loved to read the Scriptures and the old chronicles ; he was assiduous in prayer ; he was fond of exhorting his friends and visitors, and especially young men, to avoid vice, to pursue virtue, and to attach themselves to piety.

“ His demeanor at church was peculiarly reverential ; he would not sit indifferently down, or walk about during the service, as was then the fashion ; but with an uncovered head and bent knees, and his eyes continually on his book, or with his hands raised to heaven ; he performed earnestly his devotions ; and meditated deeply within, as the Scriptures were being read.

“ He would not allow swords or spears to be brought into the church, nor contracts to be made, nor conversations to be carried on there. He was in the habit of sending epistles of advice to many of his clergy, full of moral exhortations, to the amazement of many. A bishop, who had been his confessor for ten years, declared, that he heard nothing wrong confessed ; only venial faults.

“ He delighted in female modesty ; and when he saw some young gentlemen dancing in dresses which left the maternal parts of their necks uncovered, he turned away to his room, exclaiming, ‘ Fie ! fie ! for shame ! forsooth ye be to blame.’

“ He was very liberal to the poor ; he never oppressed those subject to him with immoderate exactions, as other great men did ; but he was fond of living among them, as a father among his children.

“ His kindness of feeling was so great, that hearing one day that a person of his household had been robbed, he sent him twenty nobles, with an admonition to take more care of his property, but with a request, not to prosecute the thief. When the scholars from his college at Eton, came to Windsor Castle, on a visit to some of his servants, he was fond of going to them, and giving them moral exhortations to be steadily virtuous. He usually added a present of money, with this short address: ‘ Be good lads, meek and docile, and attend to your religion.’ But he did not like to see them at court, from his dread of their being contaminated by the dissolute examples of his courtiers.

“ His dress was plain ; he would not wear the up-pointed, hornlike toes, then in fashion. He had a great aversion to the vehement knockings on his doors, when a great man came. He frequently rebuked his lords for their violent oaths. His

only affirmations were, 'forsooth, and forsooth' Coming one day from St. Albans to Cripplegate, he saw a quarter of a man impaled on a stake there, for treason; he was greatly shocked, and exclaimed, 'Take it away; I will not have any christian so cruelly treated on my account.' Having heard that four gentlemen of noble birth were about to suffer for treason to him, he sent his pardon with an earnest expedition to the place of their punishment.

"His Sundays were always consecrated to devotion, and to correspondent reading. His other days were passed in some public business, or in reading the Scriptures, or history, to which he was greatly attached. In all the church preferments that he gave, he was very careful to select proper persons. He was very affectionate to his two maternal brothers; Edmund, the father of Henry VII., and Jasper, earl of Pembroke; and had them carefully brought up, under the most honest and virtuous ecclesiastics." Blakman Collect. printed by Hearne, at the end of his Otterb. pp. 288—302.

These facts shew Henry to have been a very estimable man; and if he had married a queen of less ambition, and of a more congenial temper, than the haughty and restless Margaret, his reign might have been much happier both to himself and his people.

## CHAP. IX.

*HENRY's dangerous Illness.—YORK appointed Protector; his Dismissal.—SOMERSET's Ascendancy.—YORK collects an Army.—First Battle of St. Albans.—YORK again appointed Protector; again displaced.—Reconciliation of the contending Parties.*

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HENRY VI.October  
1453.The king's  
illness.

THE affliction fell upon the king at Clarendon, and by disordering his mind, and depriving the administration of his apparent sanction, paralyzed all the functions of government.<sup>1</sup> He lost both sense and memory, and the use of his limbs. He could neither walk, stand, rise up, nor move<sup>2</sup>: and during this calamitous state, his queen, on the 13th of October, was brought to bed of a son, who became the unfortunate prince Edward—unfortunate in his premature death; and not less so on his birth, from the suspicions of his legitimacy which attended it<sup>3</sup>, and from its adding to the distractions of the country, by putting aside the expected succession of the duke of York.

The king's almost suspended animation continuing unabated, overturned the government of Somerset and the queen; and the general feelings of the country brought forward York and his friends to assume the administration. In January 1454, Somerset was arrested in the queen's public chamber, and sent to the Tower. In his letter to the king of Scotland, he states this to have been done for his safety.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Wyr. p. 477.<sup>2</sup> Whetham. p. 349.<sup>3</sup> Fab. p. 456.<sup>4</sup> It is in the Harl. MSS. p. 543. He says, "As for my being in the Tower, it was done by th' advice of the lords of the king's council, which, as I understood, was mooste for the surety of my person." P. 163.



The parliament was opened in February, at Reading, by the earl of Worcester, as treasurer of England, but was adjourned to meet at Westminster, in three days. The duke of York there addressed it as the royal commissioner.<sup>5</sup>

Having been informed by the chancellor, that 11,000*l.* were wanted for the defence of Calais, the commons represented the liberal subsidies they had granted at Reading, and added, that "they cannot, may not, and dare not, make any more grants, considering the great poverty and penury of the people." They reminded the government that they had been promised at Reading, that "a sad and wise council of discreet lords and others should be established, to whom all might have recourse for justice and equity; but that it had not yet been done; and they recommended a special attention to the internal peace of the nation."<sup>6</sup>

The death of the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, on the 23rd of March<sup>7</sup>, occasioned a deputation from parliament to the king. Twelve spiritual and temporal peers were sent to Windsor, to state to him, if he could hear and understand them, the points on which they were deputed to speak. These were to express an earnest desire for his relief from his great sickness, and to assure him that they would attend daily to such things as they should deem most promotive of the welfare of himself and of his kingdom. They were to proceed to no other subjects, unless the royal attention were adequate to hear them. But

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REIGN OF  
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1454.

Cardinal  
Kemp's  
death.

<sup>5</sup> The commons petitioned for the release of Thorp, who was in prison, on a verdict of 1000*l.* given against him for seizing the duke of York's goods; but the lords would not interfere. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 239. Thorp was one of the leading instruments of the queen and Somerset, and was afterwards mentioned in that character.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 240.

<sup>7</sup> Altho not liked by those who were dissatisfied with the measures of government, this prelate was estimated so highly by Henry, that when his death was mentioned to him, on his recovery, Henry remarked, "One of the wisest lords in this land was dead." Fenn, vol. i. p. 80.

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if his capacity permitted, they were to inquire as to his pleasure in supplying the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, to inform him that they had deposited the archiepiscopal seals in a coffer in his treasury, and to request him to name the discreet and sad council, for which the commons had solicited. The noble deputies were ordered to express these matters to no one but to the king.<sup>8</sup>

Lords visit  
the king.

The lords went to Windsor in execution of their mission. They waited till he had dined, and then the bishop of Chester respectfully addressed him on the two first articles. The sovereign returned no answer. The prelate explained the rest. Not a word: not a sign either of comprehension, or of reply, was given from the royal body. Their laments and their exhortations produced no effect. Silence and insensibility only appeared. The lords then withdrew to dinner, and afterwards again visited the king. They moved him. They shook him, but could excite neither voice nor attention. They had him led by two men out of that room into another, and again by pulling him about, strove to rouse him from his senseless lethargy. But every effort was in vain. The royal person could eat, be moved, and breathe, but neither hear, understand, nor speak. They returned to parliament, and made this distressing report<sup>9</sup>, and the duke of York was named protector and defender of the realm.<sup>10</sup>

The duke earnestly desired that they would express that it was upon their wish, and not by any presumption of his own, that he took upon himself

<sup>8</sup> Parl. Rolls, pp. 240, 241.

<sup>9</sup> The Parl. Rolls describe this interesting scene, p. 241. There is an authority from the council, dated 6 April, to the king's physician, to administer, as medicines, to him, a formidable catalogue of "electuaries, potions, waters, syrups, confections, laxatives, clysters, gargles, head-purses, bathings, fomentations, embrocations, shaving of head, unctions, plasters, cerates, blisters, scarifications, &c." Rym. vol. xi. p. 347.

<sup>10</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 242. Rym. vol. xi. p. 346.

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this dignity.<sup>11</sup> The parliament, for the legal safety of all, passed an act to this effect, and made it like that which had been framed in the king's minority. The new power was to cease when the prince Edward attained the years of discretion: and it was declared, that when he reached that period, he should become the protector and defender, instead.<sup>12</sup> An income of 2000*l.* a-year was attached to the dignity. Five peers, with a large fleet of ships of war, were appointed to guard the sea.<sup>13</sup> And the needed subsidies were granted. Exertions were also made to regulate and supply the proper expenses of the royal household.<sup>14</sup> Penalties were enacted against those peers who declined to attend parliament.<sup>15</sup> The young prince was created prince of Wales, and earl of Chester; and the king's brothers, by the second marriage of the queen dowager with Owen Tudor, who had been made earls of Richmond and Pembroke, were noticed in the parliamentary records.<sup>16</sup> Somerset, arraigned in parliament<sup>17</sup> by the duke of York, was kept still in prison.<sup>18</sup> But the queen's

<sup>11</sup> The duke's expressions seem to have been earnestly chosen, to obviate any suspicion of his own ambition. "I desire and pray you, that it be enacted, that of yourself and of your free and mere disposition, ye desire, name, and call me to the said name and charge: and that, of any presumption of myself, I take them not upon me; but only of the due and humble obeissance that I owe to do unto the king, our most dread and sovereign lord, and to you, the peerage of this land; in whom, by th' occasion of th' infirmity of our said sovereign lord, resteth th' exercise of his authority: whose noble commandment I am as ready to perform and obey as any his liege man alive. And that, at such time as it shall please our blessed Creator to restore his most noble person to healthful disposition, it shall like you so to declare and notify to his good grace." P. Rolls, vol. v. p. 242. This language implies, that a respectful loyalty existed, either in himself, or in the parliament he addressed, towards his afflicted king.

<sup>12</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 243.

<sup>13</sup> They were, Richard earl of Salisbury, John earl of Shrewsbury, John earl of Worcester, James earl of Wiltshire, and John lord Stourton. Ib. p. 244.

<sup>14</sup> Parl. Rolls, pp. 245, 246. The subsidies were to be levied 20 June 1454 in the proportions mentioned in the Rolls, p. 245.

<sup>15</sup> Every archbishop and duke was to pay 100*l.*; every bishop and earl, 100 marcs; every abbot and baron, 40*l.* Ib. p. 248.

<sup>16</sup> Ib. pp. 249, 250.

<sup>17</sup> Whethamsted, p. 349.

<sup>18</sup> This fact is proved, by himself and lord Cobham being excepted from the fine for not attending parliament, "being in prison." P. Rolls, p. 248.

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friends ventured to charge the earl of Devonshire with high treason, tho but to produce his acquittal.<sup>19</sup> This accusation being considered by the duke of York to blemish his own allegiance, roused him to declare that it touched his own honor; that he ever had been a true and humble liegeman to the king, and never thought nor meant the contrary; and that as a knight, he would put his body against any person whom it fitted him to answer, that should lay any charge of the said matter upon him. The lords assured him of their conviction of his faithful loyalty.<sup>20</sup>

The duke of York was appointed to the high military command of governor of Calais, for seven years: but lessoned by the pecuniary losses of his predecessors in the office, he desired the payment, before hand, of "a notable sum of money," for the garrison. He also requested that what was due to him for his former services in Normandy and Ireland, for which his great jewels and plate were still in pledge<sup>21</sup>, should be discharged. In this sessions lord Cromwell applied for surety of the peace against the duke of Exeter.<sup>22</sup>

The king's malady continued all the summer and autumn, with a total suspension of his intellectual faculties. At Christmas it suddenly left him, and he sent his almoner with an offering to St. Edward's shrine at Canterbury. The queen then came, to pre-

<sup>19</sup> P. Rolls, p. 249. ; probably for his besieging lord Bonville in Taunton. See before, 548.

<sup>20</sup> "We knew never, nor at any time could conceive, but that ye be and have been true and faithful liegeman to the king, our sovereign lord, as it belongeth your estate to be; and so we know, take, accept, repute, hold, and declare you." Parl. Rolls, p. 250.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. pp. 254, 255. His appointment is dated 28 July. Rym. vol. xi. p. 351. There is an order, dated 4 December, to Somerset, to deliver Calais to him. Ib. p. 359.

<sup>22</sup> P. Rolls, p. 264. The earl Salsbury was appointed warden of the west marches, capital steward of the duchy of Lancaster, with the constabularies and master forestship of Pomfret and Galpes; so that "he had in rule all the king's castles and honorable offices north of the Trent." Ib. p. 347.

sent to him her princely babe. The king asked his name. She told him, "Edward." He raised his hands, and thanked God for it. He declared he had not known the child till that time, nor any thing which had been said to him, nor where he had been during his illness. This state of lethargic idiocy had lasted nearly a year. He stated himself to be in charity with all the world, and wished that all the peers were so too.<sup>23</sup> No sovereign seems to have had purer feelings, or more upright intentions than the meek and gentle Henry.

As the king recovered, the queen and her party, aided by the ecclesiastical influence, resumed their power; and Somerset, in February 1455, after an imprisonment of fourteen months, was set at liberty.<sup>24</sup> The protectorate of York was made to cease, with the malady which had occasioned it, and he was removed from the government of Calais.<sup>25</sup> To this envied post Somerset was appointed, and regained all his power in the administration of the country.

The competition between him and York raged but more fiercely from these mutations. The lords prevailed on these fiery spirits to submit their differences to arbitration.<sup>26</sup> Pecuniary claims might be so arranged. But what award can satisfy resentment, jealousy, or contending ambition? It was a mortal blow to the peace of York, to see Somerset again the principal actor about the sovereign, and the ruling master of the country.<sup>27</sup> He withdrew to the north

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February,  
1455.  
Somerset's  
re-ascen-  
dency.

<sup>23</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 80—82. The Parliament, which had been held at Westminster on 9 July 1454, was, on 31st, adjourned to 12 December, and on 13 December was prorogued to 14 Jan. 1455. Parl. Rolls, p. 321.

<sup>24</sup> Rym. Fœd. vol. xi. p. 361. He gave for bail, on 5 February, the duke of Buckingham and three others, who were discharged on 31 March. p. 362.

<sup>25</sup> Ib. p. 363. York was removed from the protectorate on 25 February. Parl. Rolls, p. 321.

<sup>26</sup> Their submission was made on 4 March, to abide the decision of the archbishop of Canterbury, bishop of Ely, duke of Buckingham, earls of Wilts and Worcester, and three knights. Rym. vol. xi. p. 362, 363.

<sup>27</sup> Whet. p. 350.

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in unappeased disgust and animosity. He saw the popular feeling to be accordant with his own, and he felt his own safety to be compromised. He entered into conferences with two great nobles, his relations, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury: He stated to them his conviction, that Somerset aimed to kill both him and them; and that he had lately been informed, that the obnoxious minister had persuaded the king to go secretly to Leicester, and, collecting his powerful friends in that part, to convene a parliament, for the destruction of York and his adherents, if they came; and to deprive them of their dignity and property for disobedient contumacy, if they should stay away. He recommended the most violent resolutions against Somerset—either his death or exile.<sup>28</sup>

A deadly crisis had now arrived between these two noblemen. Irascible ambition, and tenacious pride, had brought their quarrel to a mortal issue. Somerset could not pardon his fourteen months imprisonment, nor York the disgrace of being superseded by such a rival. Neither was safe while his opponent was alive; and the mental factions in the nation inflamed this mutual animosity. But up to this period, there is no evidence that any plan or intention had been formed of dethroning Henry. The regency of York, and its consequence, a new and more popular administration, appear to have been the extent of the views of the opposing classes at that time, and of his own ambition.

May,  
1455.  
Beginning  
of the civil  
war.

As York had done before, he now marched in the spring towards London, with his military retainers, to enforce the convocation of a parliament, and to expel Somerset. The earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and lord Cobham, joined him with their forces. The king's government, aware that York had too many friends in the metropolis, to be resisted there, resolved

<sup>28</sup> Whet. p. 351, 352.

to meet him in the north, and put the issue at once to a martial field. Accordingly, the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, with earl Stafford, the son of the latter, and the earl of Northumberland and Wiltshire, and lord Clifford, left Westminster on 20th May. On the same day, York had reached Royston, and from thence, sent letters to the chancellor, asserting his intentions to keep his loyalty unspotted and unbruised; to lay aside his own particular quarrels, and to do nothing contrary to the honor and welfare of the king and people; he solicited the prelate to issue the censures of the church against every one that should purpose any injury to the sovereign: he declared, that his enemies had misrepresented his coming with a military power; and intimating a suspicion, that violence was intended against himself, he protested, that he marched in arms only to protect himself from the danger that threatened him.<sup>29</sup> At Ware, on the next day, he wrote a letter, professing much loyalty to the king, and referring to his address to the chancellor; and on the 22d May, he reached St. Albans, where he found the regal forces already stationed. These letters were concealed from Henry, whom York, in the morning, made some unavailing attempts to see.<sup>30</sup>

On 21st May, the king had passed the night at Watford, and on the next day, reached St. Albans, with the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the earls of Pembroke, Northumberland, Devonshire, Stafford, Dorset, and Wiltshire, and the lords Clif-

Both parties at St. Albans.

<sup>29</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 280, 281.

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.* p. 281, 282. "And the said 22d day, our said cousins, hearing of our being in the said town of St. Albans, came thither, desiring, in full lowly wise, to have had knowlege of our intent and pleasure of their demeaning, touching the matter in their said letters, and to come to our presence. Whereunto, about 12 of the clock of that same day, by the advice of the said Edmund, (d. Somerset) Th. Thorp, and W. Joseph, it was, as we conceive, without our knowlege, answered unto them, that then we had not seen the same letters." Such is the same statement put, in the king's name, on the Rolls of Parliament, p. 282.

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ford, Sudeley, and Roos. These noblemen constituted that portion of the nobility who had combined against the York party. They were attended by their knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomanry, but their whole force was not much above 2000 men.<sup>31</sup> This shews, that the first struggle was between the nobility themselves; the public, as yet, stood aloof from such a deadly contest.

The king's banner was pitched in the town, in St. Peter's-street, and his troops were immediately stationed to guard all the barriers, under the command of lord Clifford. York and his friends were in the Seyfield, near the town, and remained from seven o'clock in the morning, for three hours, inactive, but in anxious deliberation.

It was a moment of the greatest solicitude; all the noble competitors, on each side, were there. The promptitude of the royal movement, announced the firm decision of the court, to take the dread arbitration of battle; and as York and his friends had passed into the full depth of legal treason, they had no alternative but victory or death.

The duke of Buckingham coming to inquire if their intention were pacific<sup>32</sup>, their council ended in sending a message to the king, which, after a soothing preamble, added this requisition: "Please it your majesty royal, to deliver up such as we will accuse, and they to have like as they deserved; and this done, you to be honorably worshipped, as most rightful king." Foreseeing that this request might be met with temporary promises given, as they intimate had been done before, only to be broken, they concluded with, "we will not now slack for no such promise or

<sup>31</sup> Stowe has left us a MS. account of this battle, taken from some work, which he does not describe; but that it was written by a contemporary, and about the time, appears from its calling Henry, several times, "*our sovereign lord*." Henry ceased to be so in 1460, and the battle was in 1455. It is in the Harleian MSS. No. 545., and must have been composed between 1455 and 1460.

<sup>32</sup> Whet. p. 353.



oath, until we have them which have deserved death; or else we, therefore, to die.”<sup>33</sup>

The confederated nobles must have been surprised to have received from Henry this high-toned and peremptory answer:—“I, kyng Henry, charge and command, that no manner of person, of what degree, estate, or condition that ever he be, abide; but that they avoid the field; and nowght to be so hardy to make resistance against me in my own realme: for I shall knowe what traitor dare to be so bold to array any people in my own land, thro which I am in great disease and heaviness. By that faith I owe unto St. Edward and unto the crown of England, I shall destroy then every mother’s son, and eke, they to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, that may be taken afterwards of them; to make an example for all such traitors, to beware for to make any rising of people within mine own land, and thus traiterously to abide their king and governor. And for a conclusion, rather than they shall have any lord that here is with me at this time, I shall this day, for their sake in this quarrel, myself live and die.”<sup>34</sup>

These menaces left no hope but to the successful sword. York’s force was 3000 men: he addressed his army with energy, and at noon assaulted the barriers of the town in three places. The king was then sheltered in the house of the hundredor of the town; but hearing of the duke’s attack, he is stated to have ordered his men to slay all that should be taken of the Yorkist army.<sup>35</sup> Lord Clifford’s defence was so steady, that all the assaults failed. Perceiving this result, Warwick moved to the garden-side of the town, and his men effecting an entrance there, blew

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22 May,  
1455.  
First battle  
of St. Albans.

<sup>33</sup> Harl. MSS. p. 545.

<sup>34</sup> We owe this document to the same MS. The Parliamentary Record dates the battle, 22 May. Parl. Rolls, p. 282.

<sup>35</sup> So this contemporary account mentions; but these were probably not orders issuing from Henry, but given in his name. He was too mild to forbid quarter.

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their trumpets, and shouted "A Warwick! a Warwick!" with an exulting noise, that roused their friends to new efforts, and disheartened their opponents. Such sudden clamors of triumph exaggerate the new forces and their successes; and in a battle, the impression of a moment often gives victory or defeat. The barriers were now burst thro, and it became a deadly conflict, hand to hand in the streets.<sup>36</sup> The great chieftains on the king's side, feeling it to be their personal battle, put themselves forward with indignant rivalry and defying bravery. The event, from their resolute exertions, was for some time doubtful. The place became strewed with dead.<sup>37</sup> But the skilful dispositions and the desperate energies of the duke of York, prevailed. He was assiduous, from the reserves he set apart, to reinforce every point that was pressed, and to send fresh men to replace the wounded and the weary. His arrows disabled the royal leaders<sup>38</sup>; and Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford falling, their troops gave way, and fled over the hedges and gardens, throwing off their armor in the ditches and woods, to facilitate their escape.<sup>39</sup> Sir Philip Wentworth cast down the king's standard, to provide for his own safety; for which unknighly deed, even his opponents threatened to hang him<sup>40</sup>: and Henry finding himself left alone and bleeding<sup>41</sup>, and the shafts still flying about him, withdrew to the house of a tanner. There York

<sup>36</sup> Harl. MSS. No. 545.

<sup>37</sup> The abbot describes what he saw in his own town; one lying with his brains dashed out; another without his arm; some with the arrow in the throat, and others with the chest pierced. He heard the shield striking shield, and the sword clashing on sword. Whet. p. 353.

<sup>38</sup> Henry was struck in the neck, and the duke of Buckingham and lord Sudeley were hurt in their faces with arrows. The earl of Stafford in his right hand; and the earl of Dorset was so sorely wounded, as to be carried home in a cart. Harl. MSS. p. 545.

<sup>39</sup> Harl. MSS. p. 545.

<sup>40</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 107.

<sup>41</sup> The subsequent impeachment of York mentions his wound: "your roial persone was sore hurte, and in grete perell of youre lif." Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 347.

came respectfully to him, and after permitting his victorious troops to have that plunder in St. Albans, for which the ruder men from the north were always eager<sup>42</sup>, he conducted him, with reverence, the next day to London. The bodies of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and lord Clifford, the persons most obnoxious to the conqueror, were found among the slain, and buried. Buckingham was much wounded, and Wiltshire escaped. The slain were few, but the issue of the battle was of deciding importance, from the deaths of the courtly nobles.<sup>43</sup>

The immediate result of the victory was the appointment of York to be the constable of England; Warwick to be captain of Calais; and viscount Bouchier, treasurer of England.<sup>44</sup> The duke of Buckingham soon after joined the triumphant party, and the earl of Wiltshire solicited a similar reconciliation.<sup>45</sup> A false rumor, that three of the king's household had confederated to assassinate the duke of York, occasioned the citizens of London to arm themselves in a tumultuary insurrection.<sup>46</sup>

The march of the king's army to St. Albans, was ascribed to the advice of lord Cromwell, who, tho of the queen's party, had contributed to the downfall of Suffolk.<sup>47</sup> The partisans of each faction were still so

<sup>42</sup> Whet. describes those as more fierce, and ready for battle and bloodshed, and more greedy of plunder. p. 357.

<sup>43</sup> The Harl. MS. distinctly names, besides Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford, 14 squires, 1 gentleman, and 4 yeomen, who fell; besides 25 more whose names were not known, and makes 48 persons, the whole number buried on the king's part. Yet the romancing Hall states 8000 men to have fallen on the king's side, which is almost double the amount of all the troops of both parties in the battle. The abbot, who was on the spot, gives the force of York as only 3000, and the Harl. MS. states the king's as 2000 and more. The original letter, in Fenn, vol. i. p. 100, mentions only six score persons to have fallen of the king's men. It was the death of the leaders, not the number of the killed, that made the victory so complete.

<sup>44</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 102. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 341. Warwick was also made great captain of the sea, with 1000*l.* a year. *Ib.* p. 347.

<sup>45</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 105.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* p. 110. But the blame of the battle was imputed to Somerset, Thorpe, now a baron of the exchequer, and another person, Whet. p. 370.; especially by concealing York's letters. Parl. Rolls, p. 282. These were deprived of all their offices and emoluments, *ib.* p. 342.; and imprisoned for twelve years, *ib.* p. 333.

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mistrustful of the other, that the men of York, Warwick, and Salisbury, went about in harness, with weapons unusual in a city, and sent barges full of arms to their lords at Westminster. Proclamations were issued, to forbid this military demeanor.<sup>48</sup>

In June, the king again became diseased.<sup>49</sup> In July, the parliament met. The fallen Somerset was charged with having moved the king to mistrust the duke of York, and with having collected an army to destroy him, and with suppressing the letters that declared his pacific intentions. No protectorate was re-established, but the king's pardon was given in an express statute to York, Warwick, Salisbury, and all their adherents, for having taken arms.<sup>50</sup> And it is a strong indication that York, at this time, had formed no plot to attempt the crown, that he, tho the victor in the late battle, took, on the 24th of July, a solemn oath of allegiance to Henry, with the other lords.<sup>51</sup> After which, the parliament was prorogued to the 12th of November.<sup>52</sup>

1455.  
York again  
made pro-  
tector.

In October, the king's health again varied<sup>53</sup>; and in November, York opened the parliament, as the king's lieutenant. The commons petitioned the lords, that if his majesty could not attend to the defence of the country, an able person should be appointed pro-

<sup>48</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 112.

<sup>49</sup> An order, dated 5th June 1455, commanding the dean of Salisbury's attendance on the king, as a physician, states his majesty to be then occupied and labored with sickness and infirmities. Rym. Fœd. vol. xi. p. 366. Fenn, vol. i. p. 119.

<sup>50</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 282. By the names annexed, the house of lords appears, on this occasion, to have consisted of 2 archbishops, 2 dukes, 11 bishops, 6 earls, 2 viscounts, 18 abbots, 2 priors, and 17 barons. Ib.

<sup>51</sup> The duke of York began the oath by laying his hand on his breast, and taking the king by the hand. Its substance was, "I shall truly and faithfully keep the liegance that I owe unto you, my most sovereign lord; and to do all that may be to the welfare, honor, and safeguard of your most noble person and royal estate, pre-eminence, and prerogative. And I shall, at no time, will or consent to that which might in anywise be to the prejudice of your person, dignity, corone or estate; and I shall, with all my power, resist and withstand all them that would presume to attempt the contrary." Parl. Rolls, p. 282. The duke of Buckingham and the lords, kneeling, requested the king to shew no more grace to York, or others, if they attempted similar hostilities. Ib. p. 347.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. p. 283.

<sup>53</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 119.

tector. There seems to have been some hesitation in the lords to revive this high office; and the commons, after stating that great riots had occurred in the western counties, again urged their request. The chancellor consulted the lords. They agreed upon the expediency of compliance: and the duke was appointed protector and defender of the kingdom, with an income of 3000 marcs. He desired to be excused from the task, but his real or assumed reluctance was disregarded.<sup>54</sup> The lower house described the commotions in Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset, to be tumultuary contests between the adherents of lord Bonville and the earl of Devon, and complained especially of the latter's attacking and robbing the church of Exeter, with 800 horse and 4000 foot; and suggested that the parliament should be prorogued or dissolved, that these disturbances might be quelled.<sup>55</sup> On the 17th of November, the duke obtained the explanations he required, as to the authority he was to exercise; the next day he accepted the office, and four days afterwards the privy council was directed to provide and speed all such matters as should concern the good governance of the land. Edward was created prince of Wales and duke of Cornwall. The former royal grants were resumed with numerous exceptions, and in the middle of December the parliament was prorogued for a month.<sup>56</sup>

Thus far York had made no pretensions to the crown, and the parliament had exhibited no intentions of affecting it. The change was but a new administration with a new chief presider; but this alteration did not last long; suspicion, or the competition of interests, overturned this arrangement.

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IX.

REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.

February  
1456.  
York dis-  
placed.

<sup>54</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 284, 285. This office was to end, when prince Edward reached the age of discretion, if he should then wish to assume it himself. Ib. p. 289.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p. 285. 332.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. p. 286—321.

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The parliament had been suspended to the 14th of January: and on the 25th of February, the queen and her friends regained such an ascendancy over the king and parliament, that the duke of York was on that day discharged from his protectorate.<sup>57</sup> The king and queen seem not to have resided together. He is mentioned more than once as at Sheen, near Richmond, and she, at one time at Tutbury and afterwards at Chester.<sup>58</sup> But, apprehending the hostility of the city of London, to her measures, she removed him from it.<sup>59</sup> The duke of York, from his castle at Sendal, watched her movements; at this period the Kentish people were disposed to be unquiet<sup>60</sup>, and lord Egremont, one of the queen's friends, made a serious attack on the earl of Warwick, in which many were slain.<sup>61</sup>

Affairs rested in this position about two years: but the queen during this period is charged with entering into a conspiracy to destroy the duke of York and his friends; and that to mature it, she induced the king to make a progress into Warwickshire, for his health and recreation, and so with hawking and hunting, to avert all suspicion, brought him to Coventry, where the duke of York, and Salisbury and Warwick, were invited to meet them. Suspecting no treason, these noblemen arrived there unguarded; but a secret intimation of the intended mischief reached them in time to save their lives. They quitted the town with precipitation, and escaped: York to his castle at Wigmore, Salisbury to Middle-

Queen's  
plans  
against  
him and  
his friends.

<sup>57</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 321. Fabian, p. 461: he adds, that she discharged earl Salisbury from the chancellorship. But in December 1455, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, was chancellor. Parl. Rolls, p. 321. If Fabian be correct the prelate was displaced that Salisbury might be appointed, and this, offending the church, may have caused the next revolution of the ministry.

<sup>58</sup> See Fenn, vol. i. p. 132. and 134. About this time a disturbance occurred in London, respecting foreign merchants, which Fabian details, p. 460.; and to which the letter in Fenn, vol. i. p. 132., alludes.

<sup>59</sup> Fab. p. 461.

<sup>60</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 137.

<sup>61</sup> Fab. p. 462. Hall, p. 236.

ham, and Warwick to Calais. This frustrated attempt, made the enmity between them and Margaret implacable and deadly.<sup>62</sup> No moderate measures, no future confidence, no solid peace could afterwards ensue.

The king, whose heart was honest, and his disposition averse to all violence or discord, endeavored to effect a reconciliation between them<sup>63</sup>, and invited the chief lords, of both parties, to London; they came in the beginning of the year, but with armed forces sufficient to prevent that sudden treachery<sup>64</sup>, which each now expected from the other. In January, York took his abode at his mansion of Baynards castle, within the city; and the young duke of Somerset, with the duke of Exeter, were lodged without Temple-bar. In February, Warwick came with a great band from Calais, to the Gray Fryars; and in the middle of March, the king and queen, with a large retinue, occupied the bishop's palace. The warlike followers of all were so numerous, and so mutually hostile, that the lord mayor had daily 5000 citizens well armed, of whom nearly half kept guard all the night.<sup>65</sup> An earnest negotiation followed, in which the archbishop of Canterbury took a zealous part.<sup>66</sup> A temporary reconciliation was at last effected, and public processions were made to St. Paul's, to consecrate, to perpetuate, and to promulgate the amity.<sup>67</sup> The king went in his royal habit and crown. Before him, the according nobles walked hand in

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1458.  
Henry's  
effort to  
conciliate  
the nobles.

<sup>62</sup> Hall, p. 236. It was afterwards made one of the treasonable charges against York, that at divers times, when sent for to come to the king's council, he disobeyed. Parl. Rolls, p. 348. Salisbury had before excused himself from coming to London, on account of sickness. Fenn, vol. i. p. 149.

<sup>63</sup> Whethamsted says, that the idea occurred to the king, as he was reading in his books alone.

<sup>64</sup> York attended with 140 horse, his own household only; Salisbury with 400 horse, 80 knights, and some esquires; Somerset with 200 horse. Fenn, vol. i. p. 152. Warwick received permission to come to London with 24 foreigners. Rym. vol. xi. p. 408. <sup>65</sup> Fab. p. 463.

<sup>66</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 155. For the king's award on their pecuniary differences, see Whet. p. 418—428, and Rym. Fœd. vol. xi. <sup>67</sup> Fab. p. 464.

hand; Somerset with Salisbury, and Exeter with Warwick; while after the king, the duke of York led the queen, with great seeming familiarity.<sup>68</sup> But it was only the theatrical pageantry of proud spirits, disdainng the reconciliation they condescended to act. Its pacific effects did not long survive its popular representation. Neither party had yet suffered enough, to teach them the folly of that turbulent haughtiness, which a mechanical religion of the atoning ceremonies they could purchase, prevented them from feeling to be crime. Yet the ocular exhibition delighted the well-disposed; for it awakened those sweet sensibilities of the human heart, which make us welcome every appearance of affection, friendship, kindness, and tranquillity. The rude poetry of the day, gave its voice to express the public feeling, and to shew that the most violent periods cannot wholly suppress the lovely charities of human nature.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Hall, p. 238.

<sup>69</sup> The following Ballad was composed on the occasion, which may be read as a specimen of the feeling, tho not of the poetry, of the truly patriotic. I modernize some of its orthography. It is in the British Museum MSS. Vesp. B. 16.

When charity is chosen with states to stand,  
Stedfast and still without distance,  
Then wrath may be exiled out of this land,  
And God, our guide, to have the governance.

Wisdom and wealth, with all pleasure,  
May rightful reign, and prosperity;  
For love hath underlaid wrathful vemaunce.  
Rejoice! England! our lords accorded be.

Rejoice! and thank God for evermore;  
For now shall increase thy conciliation.  
Our enemies quaken and dreaden full sore,  
That peace is made, where was division.

Which to them is a great confusion,  
And to us joy and felicity.  
God hold them long in every season,  
That Angland may rejoice: concord and unity!

Now is sorrow with shame fled into Fraunce,  
As a felon that hath forsworn this londe;  
Love hath put out malicious governaunce,  
In every place, both free and bonde.



A disastrous change was effected, by the consequences of a petty fray, or rather the minds of both

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The dis-  
cord re-  
vives.

In Yorke, in Somerset, as I understande,  
In Warrewik also, is love and charity;  
In Salisbury eke, and in Northumberlande,  
That every man may rejoyce, concord and unity.

Egremont and Clifford, with other aforesaid,  
Ben set in the same opynyon.  
In every quarter love is thus laide ;  
Grace and wisdom hath thus the dominacion.

Awake ! wealth ! and walk in this region,  
Round about in town and city ;  
And thanke them that brought it to this conclusion.  
Rejoyce ! England ! to concord and unity.

At Paul's in London, with great renown,  
On oure Ladyday in Lent, this peace was wrought.  
The kyng, the quene, with lords many oone,  
To worship that Virgine as they ought,

Went in a procession, and spared right nought,  
In sighte of all the commonalty,  
In token that love was in heart and thought.  
Rejoyce ! England ! to concord and unity.

Ther was between them lovely countenance,  
Which was great joy to all that there were,  
That long tyme hadden been in variance,  
As friends for ever, that had been in fear,

They wenten togeder, and made good cheer.  
France and Britayne ! repent shall thee ;  
For the bargayn shall ye abide full dere.  
Rejoyce ! England ! to concord and unity.

Our sovereign lord king, God help alway ;  
The queen, and the archbishop of Canterbury ;  
And the bishop of Wynchestre, chancellor of Anglond,  
And other that han labored to this loveday.

God preserve them, we pray heartily ;  
And London ; for they full diligently  
Kept the peace, in trouble and adversity ;  
To bring in rest they labured ful truly.  
Rejoyce ! England ! to concord and unity.

Of three things I prize the worthful city :  
The first, the true faith that thei have to the kyng ;  
The second, of love to the commonalty ;  
The third, good will for evermore keeping.

The which God maintain evermore durying,  
And save the mayor, and all the worthy city ;  
And that is amiss, God bring to amendyng,  
That England may rejoyce to concord and unity.

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parties continued to be so combustible, that the first spark re-inflamed them; a servant of the king's quarrelled with one of Warwick's, and attacked him. The earl's man fled, but the other being wounded, his fellow-menials assembled in great number, and watching the earl as he went from the council to his barge, assailed him with their swords, while others wielded their spits and forks. The earl having few attendants, was in great danger, and with difficulty escaped to the river. This unexpected attack in the moment of the most solemnly affianced peace, was still more aggravated by the queen's commanding him to be apprehended, and sent to the Tower, as if he had been the treacherous aggressor. A secret friend warned him of this order, and he departed immediately for his castle at Warwick, with a deep-seated conviction, that his destruction was resolved upon, and that the queen was capable of the most faithless violences to achieve her purpose.<sup>70</sup> From Warwick, he went to his government at Calais, where he defeated a Spanish fleet of 28 ships, in a naval battle; a greater than had occurred for the last forty years; and he waited with resentful caution, to see the course that his friends would pursue.<sup>71</sup>

York and Salisbury felt in this faithless conduct their own danger, and resolved to appeal to the king on the manifest perfidy. The queen, on her side, had been led into the apparent faithlessness, by the mistatement of her friends and her own too eager misconceptions. She was led to believe, that Warwick had contrived the affray, and that his object was to dethrone the king and exalt the duke of York. This idea had now become the popular report, from the dread of one party, and the desire of the other.

<sup>70</sup> Fab. p. 465. Hall, p. 239.

<sup>71</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 158. Whet. p. 447. And see Rym. Fœd. vol. xi. p. 415.

York had hitherto attempted no usurpation. But as the unpopularity of the government made the event always possible, and the attempt inviting, nothing could dispossess the queen and her friends of the belief, that it was the resolution of York, and his noble friends, to effect it; and she seems to have caused its occurrence, by driving her opponents to the state of having no alternative between the action she most feared, and their own certain destruction by her power.

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## CHAP. X.

*Civil War. — Battle of Bloreheath. — Flight of YORK and his Friends. — WARWICK and EDWARD invade from Calais. — Battle of Northampton. — Queen's Flight. — YORK's first Claim to the Crown. — Battle at Wakefield. — YORK beheaded. — Second Battle of St. Albans.*

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III.  
REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.  
1459.  
April —  
August.  
Civil war  
begins.

CONFIDENCE in each other being irrecoverably lost, the appeal to arms for deadly purposes was resolved on. At the end of April, the king summoned his forces to meet him at Leicester, on the 10th of May<sup>1</sup>: and the great nobles, York, Warwick and Salisbury, projected a combined movement to surprise their antagonists. Their plan was to unite at Kenilworth, before the government heard of their advancing: and for this purpose, Warwick issued from Calais, and Salisbury from Middleham. But their councils were betrayed; and Henry was persuaded to move with celerity against Salisbury, while he was marching alone. So rapid was the king's unexpected advance, that Salisbury found himself anticipated; and to escape a force that he could not with prudence encounter, he was driven to make a larger circuit, which brought him suddenly, with his 5000 troops, in collision with a superior force, which lord Audley had collected from Cheshire and Shropshire, at Bloreheath, in Staffordshire, on the 23d of September. The queen and prince Edward had accompanied Audley to Chester, and summoned lord Stanley with other nobility to join the royal standard. Stanley declared he would lead its van division, but moved so slowly as to keep at a distance of six miles from

<sup>1</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 174. 178.

both the queen and Salisbury: with the same feelings that afterwards actuated him in Bosworth field.<sup>2</sup> Audley took his station, and displaying the number of 10,000 men, Salisbury felt that he was circumvented: he saw that stratagem alone could produce victory; and he formed his plans with the hopes and the resolution of proud despair. He placed his camp that night by the side of a small but deep brook, beyond which his antagonists lay. In the morning, his men shot their arrows over the stream on the confronting army, and then pretended to retreat. Audley, eager to obey the queen's orders to bring Salisbury alive or dead before her, began to pass the stream in eager pursuit. When Salisbury's watching eye had ascertained that enough had crossed over to divide his enemies into two separated portions, he suddenly rallied, and attacked that which had crossed. A fierce combat ensued; but the first being discomfited before the other could get into action, it ended in the death and defeat of Audley. Salisbury's two sons were wounded, and as they were journeying homewards, were taken by the queen's friends, but the people rescued them. It is remarked, that the Welsh were generally favorable to the popular noblemen.<sup>3</sup>

This victory enabled Salisbury to join the duke of York, who had collected a strong body, and encamped at Ludford, near Ludlow. There Warwick met them with the best of his old soldiers from Calais, among whom sir Andrew Trollope was one of the most distinguished. The papers they dispersed,

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Battle of  
Bloreheath,  
23rd Sept.  
1459.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 348. On Stanley's conduct, see p. 369, 370. His absence is declared to have been a great cause of the defeat. His brother, sir William, was acting with Salisbury; and he himself wrote to the earl, congratulating him on his victory. Salisbury sent this letter to sir Thomas Harrington, who shewed it openly, saying, "Sirs! be merry, for we have yet more friends." *Ib.* p. 369. Yet the king would not consent to his impeachment.

<sup>3</sup> Hall, p. 240. Whetl. p. 456. Fabian, p. 465.

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explaining their intentions, urged a change of administration, not of the dynasty.<sup>4</sup>

The royal army, which had missed Salisbury, was moved by its skilful directors rapidly to Ludlow, enlarging as it passed. It allowed no impediment to stop it, either from the difficulty of the roads or intemperance of the weather, for thirty days; resting only on Sundays, and the king himself lodging sometimes in the bare fields. Proclamations preceded them, offering grace to all that would depart, and pardon to York and Warwick, if within six days they should request it.<sup>5</sup> The three confederated noblemen answered by a letter to the king, asserting earnestly their loyalty to him, but complaining of their wrongs, and emphatically soliciting him not to apply his power to their destruction.<sup>6</sup> This request was

<sup>4</sup> A copy of the articles dispersed by Warwick, in the name of his party, on his march, are in the Harl. MSS. 543., p. 164. They are important, as shewing the public grounds taken by the combined lords, as the justification of their treasonable warfare. They state,

1. That the common weal and good politic laws had been piteously overturned.
2. That the crown property had been outrageously spoiled and robbed.
3. That sufficient was scarcely left for the sustentation of the royal household.
4. That the merchants and people had, by illegal novelties, suffered great extortions, without payment, from the ministers of the king's household.
5. That the government permitted great and abominable murders, robberies, perjuries, and extortions; and favored and cherished, instead of punishing them.
6. That the king, from his own blessed conversation, and noble disposition, graciously applied himself to the common weal; but that certain persons, from their covetise, and that they might rule, had hidden all these evils from him.

They declared, that from the tender they bore to the realme, and proudly to the king's estate, they meant to go into his presence as true subjects; to shew him these inconveniences; lowly to beseech him to vouchsafe to redeem his land from this jeopardy; and, by the advice of the great lords of his blood, to redress it.

<sup>5</sup> Whethamsted gives the reasons of the confederated lords, why these offers were not accepted: 1. We have had other pardons, but they have availed us nothing. 2. Because the king had degraded them both to the nobility and the people; and had neither called them to his council, nor summoned them to parliament. 3. That the king's relations, with haughtiness and obstinacy, acted as they pleased. 4. That tho the lords ought to have been called to parliament, and have full liberty of going, staying, and departing; yet, that when Warwick came, he had been so purposely surrounded and pressed on at Westminster, that he would have been infallibly suffocated, if an unexpected aid had not rescued him. P. 457.

<sup>6</sup> "We beseech your good grace to receive our said truth and intent; and not apply your said blessedness, ne the great righteousness and equity wherewith God hath ever endued your high nobility, to the importune, impatience, and violence of such persons as intend of extreme malice to proceed, under shadow of your high might and presence, to our destruction, for such inordinate covetise as they have to our lands, offices, and goods." They declared that they would not use their defence

disregarded; and on the 13th of October, the two armies were confronted. To silence the scruples of loyalty that were shaking some, York had recourse to a dangerous fraud, which recoiled on himself, when detected to be false. He caused some persons to swear in front of his army, that Henry had suddenly expired, and ordered the masses for the dead to be sung. The king was roused by his friends to an energy he had never felt before. He exhorted his troops "so knightlily, so manly, and so comfortwise; with so princely apport and assured manner, that the lords and people took great joy, and only desired to fulfil his courageous desire."<sup>7</sup> This vigorous proof of the king's actual existence and new martial spirit, being communicated to York's army, revealed his deceitful falsehood. The waters being out, it was evening before the royal forces could take a suitable station. York, skirmishing as he advanced, fortified his chosen ground, placed his cannon in front of his position, laid his ambushes, and prepared by an early morning attack to anticipate his opponents. But Trollope, in whom Warwick had principally confided, suddenly departed secretly in the night, and joined, with the chief soldiers from Calais, the royal banner. This desertion, the dismay it created, the instability of spirit that followed it in some, and the uncertainty how many would imitate the treachery, unnerved the courage of the rest: and York, at midnight, found it necessary to order a retreat, as failure was treason. A general dispersion followed. York fled thro Wales, with his youngest son, to Ireland. His eldest, Edward lord March, now almost eighteen years old, re-

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York's failure at Ludlow, in October.

"until the time that we shall be provoked of necessity." They mentioned, that they had sent him an indenture of their truth and loyalty by Dr. W. Lindwoode, who had taken, upon the sacrament, their oaths of truth and duty to him. Stowe's Chron. p. 405, 406. This solemn declaration of their loyalty, up to that time, is dated at Ludlow, 10 Oct. Ib.

<sup>7</sup> These are the words of the Parliamentary Record, p. 348.

tired with Salisbury and Warwick into Devonshire. Lord Grey and others went to the king's tent, and sued for pardon.<sup>8</sup>

The king's army, astonished at their easy triumph, plundered the duke's castle and town of Ludlow, and sent the duchess and her two youngest sons, one of whom was afterwards Richard III. then seven years old, to be kept in custody by her sister, the duchess of Buckingham.<sup>9</sup> A parliament was assembled at Coventry, on the 20th of November. The fugitive nobles were proclaimed traitors, and their estates confiscated.<sup>10</sup> Lord Stanley was spared, and the countess of Salisbury was charged with having counselled and abetted all the treason.<sup>11</sup> It was afterwards alleged, that this parliament was unduly summoned; that a great part of the county members and burgesses, had been named by the crown and returned, some without due election, and others without any election at all.<sup>12</sup> But the queen's party had now unopposed sway. The command of the north was given to the earl of Northumberland and lord Clifford; and Somerset, as his father had been, was already appointed to take the captainship of Calais.<sup>13</sup> The house of York seemed abased for ever.

But Warwick, Salisbury, and the young Edward, by the aid of a gentleman, John Denham, who became lord high treasurer to Henry VII. procured a

<sup>8</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 348, 349. Fab. p. 466. Wheth. p. 459. Fenn, vol. i. p. 181. Hall, p. 241, 242.

<sup>9</sup> Hearne's Fragment, p. 284. Fab. p. 466.

<sup>10</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 370. W. Wyr. p. 478.

<sup>11</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 349. She, on August 1., at Middleham, and sir William Oldham and others, in London. Parl. Rolls. This parliament was dissolved Dec. 21. 1459. p. 370. The king had been at Coventry from May 20. to June 26. Rym. vol. xi. p. 453—455.

<sup>12</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 374. Letters from the privy seal were sent to divers sheriffs of the preceding year, to proceed to the elections: and an act was passed, declaring their returns to be valid, and indemnifying them against the penalties for acting so illegally. Ib. p. 367.

<sup>13</sup> On Oct. 9. Rym. vol. xi. p. 436.



ship at Exeter, which conveyed them to Guernsey. They rested secretly here till the 2nd of November, and then sailed privately to Calais, where they were admitted by lord Fauconbridge, thro a postern gate. Once safely within the walls, they met a joyful reception from its troops and people.<sup>14</sup>

From such persons it was not easy for the duke of Somerset to take Calais. He repeatedly attacked it, but a vigorous artillery repulsed him. To co-operate with him, lord Rivers, the father of that lady who became afterwards the wife of the young Edward, against whom he was now acting; and lord Scales, a veteran soldier, collected a navy at Sandwich. But Denham was dispatched from Calais, at the end of January, to surprise these succors; and executed his task so ably, that he took Rivers in his bed, and, with his son and the shipping, returned triumphant to his friends.<sup>15</sup> Rivers was brought before the Yorkist lords, amid the light of 160 torches; and it is a curious instance of the human ignorance of futurity, that they assailed the father of their next queen, and whose marriage ultimately occasioned their destruction, with the most bitter reproaches. Salisbury called him, "knave's son;" and Warwick taunted him, with his father's being a squire, and himself only made of consequence by marriage; and that it was not his part to talk of lords as he had done. Edward also, unconscious of the then unknown Elizabeth, that was to win his fondest affection, "rated him in like wise."<sup>16</sup>

York was received in Ireland with an enthusiasm which consoled his depression, and gave tokens of a

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HENRY VI.

1460  
January.  
Expeditions from  
Calais.

<sup>14</sup> Fab. p. 466, 467. Whet. p. 474—476.

<sup>15</sup> Whet. p. 476. Fab. p. 467. The king's letter, mentioning this event, is dated Feb. 10. 1460. Rym. Fœd. vol. xi. p. 440. But W. Paston's letter of Jan. 29. notices it. Fenn, vol. i. p. 187.

<sup>16</sup> We owe this interesting scene to W. Paston. Fenn, vol. i. p. 189. Denham received a wound in this enterprize, which made him lame ever afterwards. Fab. p. 478.

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brighter day.<sup>17</sup> The spring of 1460 evinced to both sides, that temporary victory was not permanent success. The popular feeling in England was discovered to be in favor of the noblemen in exile, and it was rumored, that they would soon be in it.<sup>18</sup> A naval force was again stationed at Sandwich, to assist Somerset to assault Calais, but was again discomfited.<sup>19</sup> Another succor under lord Audley was driven into Calais, by a tempest, and secured.<sup>20</sup> The king, in coming to London, excited the people to join him as he advanced; and sent commissioners into several counties, ordering every man to be in his best array, ready to march when the orders should be sent.<sup>21</sup>

Warwick  
consults  
with York,  
in Dublin.

The ministry perceiving that the dangerous attack must cross the channel, a strong fleet under the duke of Exeter was sent to guard it.<sup>22</sup> Warwick ventured to cross it from Calais, to concert with York at Dublin the plan of their intended invasion. This voyage was a daring experiment on the fidelity of the English seamen. He returned with his mother, the proscribed countess of Salisbury, and met the fleet of Exeter, about Whitsuntide, off Cornwall. His capture was certain, if the royal fleet had done its duty. But he was popular in the navy, and no one would act against him. To the vexation of Exeter, he passed thro his ships unmolested, and returned to Calais in safety.<sup>23</sup>

The victories at Sandwich had given the command of the Kentish promontory to the revolted lords, and they ascertained the disposition of the Kentish men

<sup>17</sup> Whethamsted says, they hailed him like another Messiah. P. 474.

<sup>18</sup> The king's letters, of February 22. and March 17., to his friends, so announced. Rym. vol. xi. p. 444—447.

<sup>19</sup> Whet. p. 477. W. Wyr. p. 479. Fab. p. 478.

<sup>20</sup> Whet. p. 477.

<sup>21</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 189. The duke of Buckingham was rewarded for "his attention to us in our journey, against the rebels in Kent." Rym. vol. xi. p. 443.

<sup>22</sup> Rym. vol. xi. p. 449. The order for its provisions is dated March 30.

<sup>23</sup> W. Wyr. p. 479. Fab. p. 478.

to be with them, provided they attempted nothing against the king's person.<sup>24</sup> It was, therefore, resolved to land at this point, while York entered in the north from Ireland. After addressing, to the archbishop of Canterbury and commons of England, a statement of their complaints<sup>25</sup>, at the end of May they left the French shore; and on the 5th of June<sup>26</sup>, were on the English soil, but accompanied only by 1500 men; with these, from Sandwich, they marched direct to Canterbury, and, after a brief pause, they moved immediately to London. So popular was their cause, and so acceptable their declarations, that before they reached the metropolis, 40,000 men in arms had joined them.<sup>27</sup>

This welcomed reception makes it important to consider what were the political questions, connected with these lords' resistance to the government, which so deeply affected the public sensibility. We have a document remaining, which fully acquaints us with the motives which actuated, on this occasion, our insurrectionary ancestors. It is, the articles published by the men of Kent, when they assembled to greet and join the rebellious nobility. They shew, that it was the system of administration which had excited the public aversion, and was producing the civil war. There was no disloyalty to their good king Henry, nor any personal attachment to the house of York, independent of the redress of grievances that became connected with his name. The line of York was not dearer to the nation than that of Lancaster; but because the latter supported the abuses which were felt to exist, and resisted the improvements that were desired; and because their measures to maintain the

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REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.

Warwick  
lands in  
Kent,  
5th June.

<sup>24</sup> Whet. p. 478.

<sup>25</sup> See these at length in Stowe's Chron. p. 407. The charge of duke Humphrey's murder is one of their allegations. Ib.

<sup>26</sup> The order in Rymer, vol. xi. p. 454, gives this date.

<sup>27</sup> Whet. p. 479. Lord Cobham was among these.

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evils they espoused, endangered public liberty, and intruded on private property and comfort, the nation clung to the house of York, as its political deliverer, and identified the white rose with freedom of religious opinions, reformation of grievances, and preservation from arbitrary power.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> These articles of the Kentish men are preserved in the Harleian MSS. No. 543. The following is their substance. I have not seen them noticed before:—

“These be the points and causes of the gathering and assembling of us, the king’s true liegemen of Kent, the which we trust to remedy, with help of him the king, our sovereign lord, and all the commons of England :

“1. The king, by the unsatiable covetousness, malicious purpose, and falsehood of brought-up-of-nought persons, daily and nightly about hi shighness, is daily informed that good is evil, and evil is good.

“2. They say, that our sovereign lord is above law, and that the law was made but to his pleasure ; and that he may make and break it as often as him list, without any distinction. The contrary is true. And also, that he should not have been sworn, in his coronation, to keep it, which we conceive for the highest point of treason that any subject may do against his prince, to make him reign in perjury.

“3. They say, how that the king should live upon his commons, so that all their bodies and goods been his. The contrary is true ; for then he need never to set parliament to assess any goods of them.

“4. Item, they inform the king, how that the commons would first destroy the king’s friends, and after himself, and then bring in the duke of York to be their king ; so that, by these false means and lesyngs, they made him to hate and to destroy his very friends, and love his false traitors, that call themselves his friends.

“5. They say, it is a great reproach to the king to reassume what he has given away for livelihood.

“6. The false traitors will suffer no man to come into the king’s presence, for no cause, without he will give a bribe.

“7. That the good duke of Gloucester was impeached of treason by one false traitor alone. How soon was he murdered ! and never might come to his answer. And that false traitor *Poole*, impeached by all the commonalty of England, (the which number passed a quest of 24,000) might not be suffered to die as the law would : but rather these said traitors, at the said *Poole*’s assent, was as fals as *Fortiger*, would that the king should hold battayle in his own realm, in the destruction of all his people, and of himself, both.

“8. They, whom the king will, shall be traitors, and whom he will not, shall be none.

“9. The law seemth only to do wrong.

“10. That our sovereign lord may well understand that he hath had false counsel : for *his law* is lost ; his merchandise is lost ; his commons bene destroyed ; the sea is lost ; France is lost ; himself is made *so poor*, so that he may not pay for his meat ne drink ; he oweth *more*, and is greater in debt, than ever was king in England. This notwithstanding, yet daily these said traitors that bene about him, awaiten where any thing should fall, and come to him, and profit by his law, they bene ready enow to ask it from him.

“11. They ask gentleman’s lands and goods in Kent, and call up risers and traitors, and the king’s enemies ; but we shall be found his true liegemen.

“12. WE WILL that all men know, that we neither robbe nor stele ; but the defaults amended, we will go home. Wherefore we exhort all the king’s true liegers to help and support us.

“13. We blame not all the lords about the king’s person, nor all gentlemen, nor

As they approached the metropolis lord Scales attempted to defend it; but the mayor and citizens, from their sympathy with the insurrectionists, declining to assist him, Edward, the eldest son of York, and their future sovereign, entered the city on the 2nd of July, accompanied by Warwick and Salisbury.<sup>28</sup> The pope's legate had ridden with them thro Kent<sup>29</sup>, and the archbishop of Canterbury attended them to London, with his cross borne in state before him.<sup>30</sup> A convocation of the clergy assembled at St. Paul's church. The invading nobles recited the causes of their enterprise, and the misgovernment of the land, and swore that they had ever borne true allegiance to Henry, and intended nothing against him.<sup>31</sup> Thus, what they had done, received the sanction of the heads of the church; and a general determination was manifested to separate Henry from those who were misconducting the government. His deposition was not at this time projected. A new system of government would have satisfied the country. With this spirit, they determined promptly on their future measures. York had not yet reached them from Ireland, but his son Edward, of military talents superior to his father, was with them: and while Salisbury and Cobham, were left to watch lord Scales, in the Tower, Edward, with Warwick, Fauconbridge, and Bouchier, and attended by the archbishop of Canterbury, and four bishops<sup>32</sup>, advanced immediately on Coventry, then nicknamed "the queen's secret arbor."<sup>33</sup> A stream

all men of law, nor *all bishops*, nor *all priests*; but *only such as may* be found guilty, by a just and true inquiry by the law." The papers end:—

"God be our guide,  
And then we shall spede,  
Whoever says, nay."

<sup>28</sup> Fabian, p. 469.<sup>29</sup> W. Wyr. p. 480.<sup>30</sup> Stowe's Chron. p. 408.<sup>31</sup> Ibid. W. Wyr. p. 480. Whethamsted mentions the interposition of the spiritual lords, p. 479.<sup>32</sup> W. Wyr. p. 481. Stowe, p. 408.<sup>33</sup> Hall, p. 244.

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of popularity seems to have followed them.<sup>34</sup> The king's friends were alert, and Somerset, Buckingham, and other great lords, collected their forces around him at Northampton.<sup>35</sup>

The prelates who accompanied the popular nobles, sent the bishop of Salisbury to the king, to conjure him to prevent the effusion of blood by a treaty of peace. But he returned answers of displeasure, mistrust, and contempt; for tho Henry was pacifically disposed, the nobles on his side so relied on their own military skill, and the strength of their camp, that their inferiority in numbers did not shake their resolution to abide the event of a battle. Hence they sent back abuse and insulting defiance.<sup>36</sup>

Battle of  
North-  
ampton,  
July 10.

The queen met the crisis with spirit and activity. She warmly harangued her army, and promised liberal rewards to all who should distinguish themselves. She had passed the Nene, and it was in the new field between Harryngton and Sandifford, that her captains had strongly fortified themselves with high banks and deep trenches.<sup>37</sup> The nobles surveying the entrenchment, resolved to attack it in three distinct bodies. The first was given to young Edward; the second to Warwick, and Fauconbridge led the third. On the 10th of July 1460, in separate but simultaneous movements, they attacked the ditch of circumvallation full of stakes, hedge-shrubs and small trees. The height and slope of the inward rampart for a while baffled their attempts to ascend it. But lord Grey de Ruthyn, at his post, insidiously assisted

<sup>34</sup> Whethamsted mentions them to have been followed by an immense multitude; above 160,000. p. 479.

<sup>35</sup> The king was at Northampton on July 7. Rym. vol. xi. p. 457.

<sup>36</sup> Whet. p. 479, 480.

<sup>37</sup> Hall. The earl of Warwick sent bishops to be admitted to the king, to confer with him on the exigency. They being refused admittance, a herald was next commissioned. He being also prevented from access, a third messenger was sent, to declare, that before two hours after noon, the earl would either speak with Henry, or die in the field. Stowe's Chron. p. 409.

them. His soldiers extending their hands, helped up the assailants into the royal camp.<sup>38</sup> Warwick entered it about seven in the morning. Edward eagerly followed with his father's banner. The cavalry dismounting, fought on foot, and a desperate, tho short, conflict of two hours, ended in the total discomfiture of the king's army. Buckingham, Talbot the son of the celebrated earl, lords Egremont and Beaumont, and many gentlemen perished. The defeated were driven on the stream, and as an unusual flood from rain had made it wide and deep, many were drowned.<sup>39</sup> Somerset narrowly escaped. The queen and her son were nearly taken in their flight by a retainer of lord Stanley, about Chester; and she was robbed of all her jewels and property by her own servants; but she got safe into Wales, with the prince, then but seven years old, and from Wales she fled into Scotland.<sup>40</sup>

Edward and Warwick proceeded to the king's tent, and found him sitting alone and abandoned, lamenting the general madness that was raging round him. They bent before him to the ground, and consoling him with reverential words, and soothing assurances, led him with every circumstance of honor into the town. In the morning, after returning thanks to heaven for their victory, they put him on a horse, and marched back to London, where he was solemnly and affectionately received by all classes of the people; and the successful nobles treated him with every decorum, honor and reverence.<sup>41</sup> Lord Scales delivered up the Tower, and was entering a small boat to escape to the queen, when some

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<sup>38</sup> Whet. p. 480, 481. W. Wyr. p. 481.

<sup>39</sup> Whet. p. 481. Fab. p. 469. Stowe mentions, that the rain was so heavy on that day, that the king's cannon could not be fired. P. 409.

<sup>40</sup> W. Wyr. p. 481, 482. "She was robbed by the way in Lancastershire, of all her goods, to the value of ten thousand marks." Stowe's Chron. p. 409.

<sup>41</sup> Whet. p. 481, 482. The king reached London the July 16., and was lodged in the bishop's palace. Stowe's Chron. p. 409.

watermen, part of Warwick's retainers, saw him, and inhumanly murdered him with their darts and daggers.<sup>42</sup> The bishop of Exeter, Warwick's brother, was made chancellor, and lord Bouchier, treasurer.<sup>43</sup>

The duke of York was sent for from Ireland.<sup>44</sup> His duchess came to London in the middle of September, but on his landing near Chester about that time, she went to Hereford to join him, leaving her children in the capital.<sup>45</sup> The duke reached London on the 10th of October.<sup>46</sup>

Thus far the insurrectionary nobles had disclaimed any idea of deposing Henry, or of changing the dynasty. Respect to the reigning sovereign had been combined with all their movements and successes. But now their councils altered, and a revolution as to the throne was determined upon. York's arrival in London had been delayed three months from the victory at Northampton, probably to give time to settle this momentous point. Their reasons for the mutation have not been transmitted to us: but they are sufficiently inferrible. If Henry had been unmarried, or had been wedded to a queen of peaceful and domestic temper, he would not have been dethroned. His gentle and unambitious spirit would have endangered no one. He forgot and forgave every offence and insult; and disliking all conflicts of violence, he would have allowed the resisting nobles to have conducted the government as they wished. But Margaret had made herself the queen of a political party, and had imbibed feelings of implacable antipathy to her opponents. The king

<sup>42</sup> "I saw him," says, W. Wyrcestre, "lying naked near the church-porch, in the burying ground of St. Mary Overy, Southwark. He had been stripped of his clothes, but was buried honorably the same day, by Edward and Warwick." P. 482.

<sup>43</sup> W. Wyr. p. 481.

<sup>44</sup> Fab. p. 469.

<sup>45</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 199. He landed about September 8., and went to his castle at Ludlow. W. Wyr. p. 483.

<sup>46</sup> Fab. p. 469. As he came, he had commissions to sit in judgment in various towns, to inflict severities on the king's friends. Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Hereford, Leicester, and Coventry, are named. Fenn, vol. i. p. 201.



and his wife could not be kept long apart; and her return, from his yielding disposition, would have been followed by the destruction of those who had defeated her, and by a revival of all those plans and measures of government, which had been so odious to the liberalizing spirit of the nation. Hence a new king was represented as indispensable to the personal safety of all who had been in arms against the crown, and for the reformation of those abuses which had been so loudly censured: and York came to the metropolis to accomplish this revolution.

The parliament assembled in October, in the painted chamber. On the 16th of that month the duke of York entered Westminster, in great state, with a numerous armed retinue, sounding their horns and trumpets; and entering the palace, he proceeded to the house of lords. He passed thro it to the throne, and placing his hand on the cushion, kept it there a short time, like a man meditating to take possession of his right; then withdrawing it, he turned to the peers; and standing under the royal canopy, he bowed while they applauded. The archbishop of Canterbury advanced, and asked him to go and see the king, who was then in the queen's palace. The duke haughtily answered, that he knew one in the kingdom, who ought rather to come to him.<sup>47</sup> Ambitious pride had now become his dominant passion, and judgment, and duty, and eventually his life, were sacrificed to its gratification. For the first time, he publicly stated his title and made his claim to the crown, and delivered it in writing to the chancellor.<sup>48</sup> When the duke of York's counsel on the next day prayed an answer, the lords thought that no subject

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York  
claims the  
crown,  
16th Oct.

<sup>47</sup> Whethamsted gives us these particulars, p. 484; and adds, that all ranks began to murmur at his behaviour.

<sup>48</sup> Parl. Rec. p. 374, 375. He claimed, as the lineal heir of Lionel, the third son of Edward III., and therefore as having a right before any issue of that king's fourth son, John of Gaunt, from whom the house of Lancaster was descended.

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could enter into any communication upon it, without the king's commandment and assent. They went to his majesty, and he desired them to search to find all the objections that could be made to the duke's title. They asked him if he had discovered any reasonable ones. He told them, that he had seen and understood many writings and chronicles. The great question was the next day referred to the justices, but after two days' deliberation, they stated, that as it touched the king's high estate and regality, it passed their learning, and they durst not decide upon it. The king's serjeant and attorney-general were ordered to argue on Henry's behalf; and they rested his cause on the former oath of allegiance of all the peers, on the act of parliament, and its entails, settling the crown in the house of Lancaster; on York's not having borne Lionel's arms; and on Henry the Fourth's right as a conqueror.<sup>49</sup> This was conceding York's lineal title, which they could not dispute. His reply was heard<sup>50</sup>: and the lords then decided that Henry should keep the crown for life, but that York and his family should succeed him. A new act of settlement to this effect was passed. The royal assent was given to it, and the opposing statutes were repealed.<sup>51</sup> Thus a new parliamentary right was added to the lineal title of the house of York. The king went to Eltham and Greenwich to hunt and sport, while

His suc-  
cession  
enacted.

<sup>49</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 374—379.

<sup>50</sup> This was, that what was right was obligatory on every man: that no oath could discharge him from it; nor was any oath binding to the prejudice of another; and that no man is bound by his oath of allegiance to do an unlawful thing. The duke offered to refer this question to any competent spiritual judge. That as to the acts and entails alluded to, Henry IV. could not have needed these enactments, if he had any title of inheritance; and that they were of no force against a right inheritor of the crown, both by divine law, and by all natural laws. That he had abstained from bearing the Lionel arms, as he had abstained pursuing his right, for causes not unknown to the realm; but, tho' right for a time rest and be put to silence, yet that it rots not, and shall not perish. The pretence of Henry IV. to be the true heir of Henry III., he asserted to be a mere saying, to color his *unrighteous* and *violent usurpation*. Parl. Rolls, p. 377.

<sup>51</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 378, 379. An income of 10,000*l.* a year was assigned to the duke of York. p. 380.

his queen and son were with Exeter, seeking shelter in Wales.<sup>52</sup> This modified arrangement of the succession, was the suggestion of the most dispassioned and moderate part of the nobility, who sought to unite the preservation of their own honor and allegiance to Henry, with the personal and national advantages expected from a new dynasty. York and his two eldest sons swore to do nothing to abridge the king's life, or to diminish his dignity or liberty: and to imagine York's death, was enacted to be high treason.<sup>53</sup> On the 31st of October, these points were finally adjusted.

The king, York, and several lords, afterwards rode in great pomp to St. Paul's to the evening service, to return thanks for this peaceable settlement; and on the 9th of November, the duke was solemnly proclaimed heir apparent, and also lord protector, during the king's life.<sup>54</sup> Till the arrangement was concluded, he declined to visit Henry, affirming, that he was subject to no man, and that the Deity only was his superior.<sup>55</sup>

York persuaded Henry to send for his queen and son; but she, disdaining the arrangement which dethroned her child, went to join her friends, who, by using the king's name in the north, had assembled another army. The earl of Northumberland and lord Clifford met at York, with their force; to which city, the duke of Somerset, and earl of Devon, advanced with their friends from the western counties.<sup>56</sup> The duke of York, leaving Warwick and Norfolk with the king, went himself with his son Rutland, and Salisbury, towards the north, directing his eldest

<sup>52</sup> Fenn, vol. i. p. 201. The writer places Somerset at Dieppe, with sir A. Trollope, and others, under the king of France's safe conduct. Ib.

<sup>53</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 379.

<sup>54</sup> Fab. p. 470, 471. The falling of the crown, that hung on a chandelier in the house of lords, at this time, impressed the populace with a feeling that it prognosticated a change of dynasty. Hall, p. 248.

<sup>55</sup> Fab. p. 469. Hall, p. 248.

<sup>56</sup> W. Wyr. p. 484.

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son Edward to follow him, with the rest of his army. On the 21st of December, York reached his castle at Sendal, with 6,000 men, and spent his Christmas there, while Somerset and his enemies lay at Pomfret, and Edward was as far off as Shrewsbury. The most judicious men seem on some critical occasions, actuated by an impulse or presumption so unreasonable, as to resemble a fatality. The duke exhibited this impression. Somerset, aware of his small army, advanced with 18,000 to besiege him. Sir David Hall, his old and faithful knight, advised him to stay within his castle, and defend it till his son Edward arrived with the forces he was collecting. The duke, jealous of his own fame, perhaps of his son's rising reputation as a soldier, or urged by that mysterious influence which, tho frequently occurring, no physical reasoning can explain, replied with great anger, — "Hast thou loved me so long, Davy! and wouldest thou now have me dishonored? Thou never sawest me keep fortress when I was regent in Normandy. But like a man, I issued forth and fought mine enemies, ever to their loss, and to my own honor. I will fight them, tho I fight alone."<sup>57</sup> Salisbury, seeing his determination, and venerating its principle, felt that without an impeachment of his own courage, he could not refuse to act as he did: York took his station near the city of Wakefield, and fixing his tents, challenged the queen's army to appoint a day for the combat. It was not unusual in those chivalric times to give and to accept such a defiance, and the arrangement was then solemnly abided by. But in civil war honor, as well as law and morality, is forgotten. The queen's friends fixed the day of battle; but, observing that the duke's army was, in the meantime, remiss in its discipline, and that part

<sup>57</sup> Grafton, p. 648. Hall, p. 250. Fab. 471.

frequently wandered about to forage, and that there was a general carelessness of guard, determined, in violation of their own compact, to attempt a surprise before the day named for the combat.<sup>58</sup>

Somerset moved the royal army in three divisions; reserving the main battle for himself, he detached lord Clifford with a body to act separately on the left, and the earl of Wilts, with another on the right. York, instead of retreating into the castle, with courageous infatuation, hastily arranging the forces he had with him, advanced against the great central mass under Somerset, and was immediately outflanked and surrounded by Clifford and Wiltshire. A desperate but unequal conflict ensued, that under such arrangements could have but one termination. Every personal motive made it deadly. Both sides were fighting for life, and for all that made life valuable to them,—honor, fame, property and power. But, surrounded by a trebly superior force, directed by competent skill, with equal bravery, knightly valor could not long avail.<sup>59</sup> In half an hour, the duke of York, whose foot had been almost on the throne, was with Salisbury a prisoner in the queen's hands, and 2800 of his followers were slain—victims to his pride of untainted valor. The priest, who was the tutor to his second son Rutland, led the interesting youth, not twelve years old, out of the bloody field towards the town. Clifford saw his rich dress, followed, overtook him on the bridge, and demanded what he was: the boy, speechless from alarm, fell on his knees, and held up his hands, and raised up his imploring eyes. "Save him," said the chaplain; "he is the son of a prince, and may do you good hereafter." "The son of York!" shouted the

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1460.  
30 Dec.  
Battle of  
Wakefield.

<sup>58</sup> Whet. p. 489. W. Wyrcestre mentions, that part of York's forces were out foraging. P. 485.

<sup>59</sup> Grafton, p. 649. Hall, p. 250.

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killed.

vindictive lord, remembering his own loss at the battle of St. Albans. "Thy father slew mine, and so will I thee and all thy kin;" and to the destruction of his knightly fame, buried his dagger in the youth's heart!<sup>60</sup> York himself was taken to a little ant-hill, and placed in mockery on that as upon a throne: a crown was hastily twisted of grass, and forced on his head; and bowing their knees to him, in deriding homage, they cried out, "Hail! king, without a kingdom! Hail! prince, without a people!" And then struck off his head.<sup>61</sup> Clifford presented this on a pole to the queen. "Madam, your war is done; here is the ransom of your king." Such a scene was a satire on their inhumanity and folly. It was received with a laughter at which sensibility must have shuddered; and it roused a public indignation that destroyed all the advantages of their success. The queen sent Salisbury and other valuable prisoners to Pomfret, to be beheaded; and their heads were placed on the gates of York.<sup>62</sup>

Edward, on this disaster, having, from earl of March, become the duke of York, found none of his father's friends discouraged by his fate. A large army of Welsh borderers, fond of a prince of the race of their own Mortimer, crowded around him; and when Jasper, earl of Pembroke, with Owen Tudor his father, and the earl of Wilts, advanced with a mixed force of Welsh and Irish to surprise him, the young prince, with a greatly superior force, overpowered and defeated them, with the loss of 3800 men. The two earls fled and escaped; but Owen Tudor, the husband of queen Catherine, and whose grandson was afterwards raised to the English throne,

<sup>60</sup> Grafton, p. 649. Hall, p. 251.<sup>61</sup> Whet, p. 489.<sup>62</sup> Grafton, p. 649. Hall, p. 251. W. Wyr. p. 458. Whet, p. 495. Hearne's Frag. p. 284. Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 466. Fab. p. 471. York's two younger sons, one of them the future Richard III., now eight years old, were sent to Utrecht. Hearne's Frag. p. 284. Fab. p. 472.1461.  
2 Feb.  
Battle of  
Mortimer's  
Cross.

under the title of Henry VII., was taken and beheaded at Hereford.<sup>63</sup>

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While these incidents occurred in Wales, the queen, eager to pursue her victory, marched up to London, to regain possession of both the king and kingdom. The dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the earls of Northampton, Devon, and Shrewsbury, with some lords, and 24,000 soldiers, accompanied her. Success at first attended her martial movements.

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The earl of Warwick and the duke of Norfolk marched out of London with the king, as the legal chieftain of their army, to meet her. To wait for an adequate force seems to have been a policy that was incompatible with the high-spirited pride of the renowned fighters of the day. Warwick took his station at St. Albans. York's former victory there may have occasioned him to select this town as the place of battle. The queen's forces attacked. But the archers near the great cross repulsed them. They rallied, and penetrated by an alley into St. Peter's-street; and there a serious conflict began, which was succeeded by a fiercer battle on the heath, at the north end of the city, between part of the two armies. Warwick, with all the personal bravery of the soldier, was not equally possessed of the skill of the general. The abbot of the town declares, that if his troops had pressed fiercely on the queen's adherents with persevering attacks, they would have infallibly succeeded. Five thousand only of his forces maintained the struggle in this direction, and instead of the rest of his army being moved to their support, they were allowed to be broken and to be pursued; when the other divisions, tho still 20,000 men, dispersed also into flight. The king's manifest indifference or dis-

17 Feb.  
Second  
battle of  
St. Albans.

<sup>63</sup> Grafton, p. 650., and Hall, p. 252., mention the project of surprise; but Wyrcestre states the number of Edward at 51,000, and of his opponent at 8000. P. 486. If so, this is another of those rash battles which took place in this war.

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like to the party he was with, contributed to the result: for the nobles in the army seeing that he displayed no spirit or mind, or animating gestures, or discourse, but inclined only to his wife and her friends, withdrew in vexation and disgust; and Henry, as in a former battle, was found standing alone, without lords, knights, standard bearer, armor bearers, or any of the men at arms, who had been placed at his side, for the safeguard of his person. He was taken to lord Clifford's tent as the nearest, and the queen and prince were brought to him. He received them with great joy, embraced them, kissed them eagerly, gave thanks to heaven, and knighted his son, then a boy about seven years of age. The abbot humbly begged he would save the town from being plundered: but the boisterous northern soldiers declared that they had been promised the plunder of all places beyond the Trent as their reward, and they claimed and exercised unsparingly the granted right of promiscuous pillage.<sup>64</sup>

This partly vindictive and partly political promise and permission, operated only to exasperate the country, and to make her victory a barren laurel. Her army had signalized itself by depredation from York to St. Albans. Whatever they could carry or destroy, was seized and spoiled. No monasteries or churches were spared. They took away what was transportable, and devastated what they were obliged to leave<sup>65</sup>: and a general dread and aversion at their conduct excited a wish for their discomfiture and impaired their further success.

At this critical juncture Edward appeared in London eight days after the battle of St. Albans. He

Edward  
arrives in  
London.

<sup>64</sup> Whet. pp. 497—504. The most distinguished person who fell in this battle, on the queen's side, was sir John Grey, whose widow, Elizabeth, became the queen of Edward IV.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. pp. 495. 504.



was received with a transport of joy, tho scarcely nineteen : and a profound and perplexing consultation began, what measures were the most expedient now to be adopted. Most of the gentry from the south and east of England, flocked into London to welcome him.<sup>66</sup> He counselled and communicated daily with the prelates and lords in the metropolis, and with other solid and sensible men.<sup>67</sup> The great question to be now decided was, did the national welfare as well as their own make an alteration of the dynasty inevitable; or could Henry's reign be prolonged without sacrificing the general good. The queen had not only drawn the revengeful sword, but had thrown away the scabbard; and the late events had shewn that Henry was unchangeably identified with her. The blood that had been shed, made compromise both impossible and undesired. Neither party would now forgive the other. One must triumph and the other fall. The day of moderation had passed, and that of extremes had come on. In such a state of things the triumphant party would of course determine in favor of the alternative that most suited its interests; and in conformity with the opinions and wishes of the first men of the country then in London, the populace assembled in the fields beyond Clerkenwell. The chancellor explained Edward's claim. Lord Falconbridge expatiated on Henry's misgovernment; and all the people, with loud acclamations, proclaimed Edward to be their king.<sup>68</sup> The lords and commons, in a hasty meeting, at Barnard's castle, confirmed the election. Edward hesitated awhile in accepting the throne; he had sworn not to disturb Henry during his life. The chances of war

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Edward ' made king,  
4 March.

<sup>66</sup> Fab. p. 472.

<sup>67</sup> Whet. pp. 511, 512. W. Wyr. 488.

<sup>68</sup> "I was there," says W. Wyrcestre. "I heard them, and I returned with them into the city." P. 489.

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had exceedingly fluctuated. The queen had yet an unbroken army, that had been twice victorious. But there was no safety now to himself or to his supporters in refusing it, and the populace were cordially with him. Youth and ambition yielded to the splendid temptation. On the 4th of March 1461, he went as king to St. Paul's<sup>69</sup>, and thence to Westminster to the royal throne, in the house of lords, and declared, to all that assembled, his genealogy and title. He sat awhile with the sceptre, and then proceeded under a canopy to the abbey, and putting on the crown, and holding the sceptre of the confessor at the great altar, he again explained his title, and received the homage and fealty of the nobility, while the people shouted their salutations. Getting afterwards into his boat, he was rowed to London; and the next day was proclaimed king thro the city, by the title of Edward IV.<sup>70</sup>

In the meantime, when Henry, on rejoining his son, had dubbed him the same evening a knight, with thirty other youths, who had partaken of the honor of the day, it was for the queen and her advisers to decide, whether she ought not to march immediately to London. In war, the spirit of adventure is much oftener wisdom than hesitating caution. The knowledge, that the citizens were against her, and, if made desperate, were numerous enough to endanger her; the certainty, from experience, that her troops, if marched to the metropolis, would expect the plunder of the city, a measure perilous from its consequences to her future government; a perception how much their unbridled violences had already injured her<sup>71</sup>;

<sup>69</sup> W. Wyr. Hall.

<sup>70</sup> Whet. pp. 512—514. W. Wyr. p. 489. Hearne's Frag. p. 286. Hall, p. 254.

<sup>71</sup> To the authorities on this point already cited, we may add, Hist. Croyl. p. 531.; the speaker's speech to parliament, Parl. Rolls, vol. v. p. 462.; and the act of at-

and perhaps a humane reluctance to so dreadful a calamity, suspended her progress, and contenting herself with demanding supplies from the metropolis, she paused at Dunstable. The populace stopped the carts at Cripplegate that were destined for her, and repulsed there some of her cavalry which came to plunder. To allay her irritation at this opposition, the duchesses of Bedford and Buckingham, with lady Scales, accompanied the recorder to Barnet, as an embassy, soliciting pardon and peace: and the queen and her council appointed some lords, with a detachment, to reconnoitre the city.<sup>72</sup>

This hesitation was fatal to her interest. If she had marched straight from her victory to the metropolis, the sudden dismay might have placed it in her hands. By pausing, she gave time for the success of Edward at Mortimer's Cross to become known both to his own friends and to the citizens, and for his arrival in the capital; and the impression of her own successes immediately diminished. The report that he had met the defeated Warwick at Chipping Norton, and was advancing on London, completed her alarm. London she saw was hostile. Kent she knew was so, and Essex she could not trust. She saw no safety but in the north; and in an evil hour for herself, she withdrew towards it, accompanying her retreat with an act of severity, that could but increase the enmity against her<sup>73</sup>, and the dread of her suc-

CHAP.  
X.

REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.

Queen re-  
tires to the  
north.

tainer, p. 476. The letter from a friend of the Warwick family, in Fenn, vol. i. p. 207., dated January 1461, implies both the fact and the effect. "In this country, every man is well willing to go with my lords here; and I hope God shall help them. For the people in the north rob and steal, and be appointed to pillage all this country, and give away men's goods and livelehoods in the south country. My lords have much to do to keep down all this cuntry, more than four or five shires; for they would be for upon the men in the north: for it is for the weal of the south."

<sup>72</sup> W. Wyr. p. 487. Fab. p. 471. Hall, p. 252.

<sup>73</sup> W. Wyr. pp. 487, 488. Hall, p. 253.

BOOK  
III.

cess.<sup>74</sup> She never had any reasonable prospect of the throne again.<sup>75</sup>

REIGN OF  
HENRY VI.

<sup>74</sup> Against Henry's wishes, she had lord Bonville and sir Thomas Tyrrel beheaded. Hall, p. 253.

<sup>75</sup> The transactions between England and Scotland, after the release of James I. from his captivity, in 1423, who had married the first earl of Somerset's daughter, were not of great importance during the reign of Henry VI. A truce of seven years was made in 1424, and renewed for five years, from 1431. In 1437, James was murdered. His son James II. acceded at the age of six years; and a truce was made with England in 1438, for nine years. Mutual border incursions violated this pacification, for a short time, in 1449; but in that year, the truce was renewed for an unlimited period, which was afterwards made definite to 1457, and again prolonged to 1468. In 1460, James II. was killed at the siege of Roxburgh, and was succeeded by his son James III., who reigned till 1468. Henry's Hist. Eng. vol. ix. and Pinkerton's Hist. Scotl. vol. i.

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