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(3 of 6): England (2 of 9), by Raphael Holinshed**

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Title: Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (3 of 6): England (2 of 9)

Author: Raphael Holinshed

Release date: August 24, 2014 [EBook #46671]

Language: English

Credits: Produced by Richard Tonsing, Jonathan Ingram and the Online  
Distributed Proofreading Team at <http://www.pgdp.net>

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AND IRELAND (3 OF 6): ENGLAND (2 OF 9) \*\*\*



# HENRIE THE FIFT, PRINCE OF WALES, sonne and heire to Henrie the fourth.

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Henrie prince of Wales, son and heire to K. Henrie the fourth, borne in Wales at Monmouth on the riuer of Wie, after his father was departed, tooke vpon him the regiment of this realme of England, the twentieth of March, the morrow after proclaimed king, by the name of Henrie the fift, in the yeare of the world 5375, after the birth of our sauior, by our account 1413, the third of the emperor Sigismund: the thrée and thirtieth of Charles the sixt French king, and in the seuenth yeare of gouernance in Scotland vnder Robert brother to him that (before entrance into his kingdome 1390) had Iohn to name, which by deuise and order of the states was changed into Robert the third, who at Rotsaie (a towne in the Iland of Got, 1406) deceased by occasion thus. As vpon hope in this gouernor to himselfe conceiued how to come to the crowne, he at the castell of Falkland, latelie had famisht his coosine Dauid the kings elder sonne and heire (a dissolute yoong prince) yet to his fathers excéeding sorrow, at whose deceasse the father verie carefull, and casting for the safegard of Iames his yoonger son and heire, from Basse the rocke in a well appointed ship, vnder charge of Henrie Saintcléere earle of Orkeneie, into France to his old fréend king Charles for good education and safetie this yoong prince he sent: who in the course, whether for tempest or tendernes of stomach, tooke land in Yorkeshire at Flamborrow, that after by wisdom and good consideration of the king and his councill was thought verie necessarie here to be retained. But by the sudden newes of this staie, the father (at supper as he sat) so stroken at hart that well nie straight had he fallen downe dead, yet borne into his chamber, where for gréeffe and pine within thrée daies next he deceased. The yoong king Iames his sonne after an eightéene yeares staie, in which time he had béene well trained in princehood, at last with right honorable marriage at saint Marie Oueries vnto Ione daughter to the earle of Summerset, coosine vnto Henrie the sixt then king, and with manie other high gratuities here beside was sent and set in his rule and kingdome at home.

An. Reg. 1.

*Wil. Patten. Buchanan  
rer. Scoticar. lib. 10.*

Such great hope, and good expectation was had of this mans fortunate successe to follow, that within thrée daies after his fathers deceasse, diuerse noble men and honorable personages did to him homage, and sware to him due obedience, which had not béene séene doone to any of his predecessors kings of this realme, till they had béene possessed of the crowne. He was crowned the ninth of Aprill being Passion sundaie, which was a sore, ruggie, and tempestuous day, with wind, snow and sléet, that men greatlie maruelled thereat, making diuerse interpretations what the same might signifie. But this king euen at first appointing with himselfe, to shew that in his person princelie honors should change publike manners, he determined to put on him the shape of a new man. For whereas aforetime he had made himselfe a companion vnto misrulie mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence (but not vnrewarded, or else vnpreferred) inhibiting them vpon a great paine, not once to approach, lodge, or sojourne within ten miles of his court or presence: and in their places he chose men of grauitie, wit, and high policie, by whose wise councill he might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie; calling to mind how once to his offence of the king his father, he had with his fist striken the chéefe iustice for sending one of his minions (vpon desert) to prison, when the iustice stoutlie commanded himselfe also streict to ward, & he (then prince) obeied. The king after expelled him out of his priuie councill, banisht him the court, and made the duke of Clarence (his yoonger brother) president of councill in his stéed. This reformation in the new king Christ. Okl. hath reported, fullie consenting with this. For saith he,

Homage doone to K.  
Henrie before his  
coronation.

The day of king Henries  
coronation a verie  
tempestuous day.

A notable example of a  
woorthie prince.

*In Angl. præl. sub. Hen.  
5.*

Ille inter iuuenes paulo lasciuior antè,  
Defuncto genitore grauis constànsq; repentè,  
Moribus ablegat corruptis regis ab aula  
Assuetos socios, & nugatoribus acrem  
Pœnam (si quisquam sua tecta reuiserit) addit,  
Atq; ita mutatus facit omnia principe digna,  
Ingenio magno post consultoribus vsus, &c.

But now that the king was once placed in the roiall seat of the realme, he vertuously considering in his mind, that all goodnesse commeth of God, determined to begin with some thing acceptable to his diuine maiestie,

A parlement.

and therefore commanded the cleargie sincerelie and trulie to preach the word of God, and to liue accordinglie, that they might be the lanternes of light to the temporaltie, as their profession required. The laie men he willed to serue God, and obeie their prince, prohibiting them about all things breach of matrimonie, custome in swearing; and namelie, willfull periurie. Beside this, he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the realme, to the offices of iustice; and men of good liuing, he preferred to high degrées and authoritie. Immediatlie after Easter he called a parlement, in which diuerse good statutes, and wholesome ordinances, for the preservation and aduancement of the common-wealth were deuised and established. On Trinitie sundaie were the solemne exequies doone at Canturburie for his father, the king himselfe being present thereat.

*Thos Walsin.*

The funerals of King Henrie the fourth kept at Canturburie

About the same time, at the speciall instance of the king, in a conuocation of the cleargie holden at Paules in London, it was ordeined, that saint George his daie should be celebrate and kept as a double feast. The archbishop of Canturburie meant to haue honored saint Dunstaines daie with like reuerence, but it tooke not effect. When the king had settled things much to his purpose, he caused the bodie of king Richard to be remooued with all funerall dignitie conuenient for his estate, from Langlie to Westminster, where he was honorablie interred with quéene Anne his first wife, in a solemne toome erected and set vp at the charges of this king. ¶ Polychronicon saith, that after the bodie of the dead king was taken vp out of earth, this new king (happilie tendering the magnificence of a prince, and abhorring obscure buriall) caused the same to be conueied to Westminster in a roiall seat (or chaire of estate) couered all ouer with blacke veluet, & adorned with banners of diuers armes round about. All the horsses likewise (said this author) were apparelled with blacke, and bare sundrie sutes of armes. Manie other solemnities were had at his interrement, according to the qualitie of the age wherein he liued and died.

S. Georges day made a double feast.

*Abr. Fl. out of Polychron.*

Also in this first yéere of this kings reigne, sir John Oldcastell, which by his wife was called lord Cobham, a valiant capteine and a hardie gentleman, was accused to the archbishop of Canturburie of certeine points of heresie, who knowing him to be highlie in the kings fauour, declared to his highnesse the whole accusation. The king first hauing compassion of the noble man, required the prelats, that if he were a straied shéepe, rather by gentlenes than by rigor to reduce him to the fold. And after this, he himselfe sent for him, and right earnestlie exhorted him, and louinglie admonished him to reconcile himselfe to God and to his lawes. The lord Cobham not onelie thanked him for his most fauorable clemencie, but also declared first to him by mouth, and afterwards by writing, the foundation of his faith, and the ground of his beliefe, affirming his grace to be his supreme head and competent iudge, and none other person, offering an hundred knights and esquires to come to his purgation, or else to fight in open lists in defence of his iust cause.

The king vnderstanding and persuaded by his councill, that by order of the lawes of his realme, such accusations touching matters of faith ought to be tried by his spirituall prelats, sent him to the Tower of London, there to abide the determination of the clergie, according to the statutes in that case prouided, after which time a solemne session was appointed in the cathedrall church of saint Paule, vpon the thrée and twentieth day of September, and an other the fiue and twentieth daie of the same moneth, in the hall of the Blacke friers at London, in which places the said lord was examined, apposed, and fullie heard, and in conclusion by the archbishop of Canturburie denounced an heretike, & remitted againe to the Tower of London, from which place, either by helpe of fréends, or fauour of kéepers, he priuilie escaped and came into Wales, where he remained for a season.

Sir Iohn Oldcastell escaped out of the Tower.

*Titus Liuius. 1414*

After this, the king kéeping his Christmasse at his manor of Eltham, was aduertised, that sir Roger Acton knight a man of great wit and possessions, Iohn Browne esquier, Iohn Beuerlie priest, and a great number of other were assembled in armour against the king, his brethren, the clergie and realme. These newes came to the king, on the twelfth dale in Christmasse, wherevpon vnderstanding that they were in a place called Ficket field beside London, on the backe side of saint Giles, he streight got him to his palace at Westminster, in as secret wise as he might, and there calling to him certeine bands of armed men, he repaired into saint Giles fields, néere to the said place (where he vnderstood they should fulle méet about midnight) and so handled the matter, that he tooke some, and slue some, euen as stood with his pleasure. The capteins of them afore mentioned, being apprehended, were brought to the kings presence, and to him declared the causes of their commotion & rising, accusing a great number of their complices.

*Hall.*

A commotion raised by sir Roger Acton and others.

*Titus Liuius.*

The rebels surprised.

The king vsed one policie, which much serued to the discomfiting of the aduersaries (as Thom. Walsingham saith) which was this: he gaue order, that all the gates of London should be streictlie kept and garded, so as none should come in or out, but such as were knowen to go to the king. Hereby came it to passe, that the chiefest succour appointed to come to the capteins of the rebels, was by that meanes cut off, where otherwise suerlie (had it not béene thus preuented and staid) there had issued fourth of London to haue ioined with them, to the number (as it was thought) of fiftie thousand persons, one and other, seruants, prentises,

*Thom. Walsin.*

By this excessive number it may appeare, that Walsingham reporteth this matter according to the cōmon fame, and not as that searched out an

and citizens, confederate with them that were thus assembled in Ficket field. Diuerse also that came from sundrie parts of the realme, hasting towards the place, to be there at their appointed time, chanced to light among the kings men, who being taken and demanded whither they went with such spéed, answered, they came to méet with their capteine the lord Cobham.

exquisite truth.

But whether he came thither at all, or made shift for himselfe to get awaie, it dooth not appeare; for he could not be heard of that time (as Thomas Walsingham confesseth) although the king by proclamation promised a thousand marks to him that could bring him foorth, with great liberties to the cities or townes that would discouer where he was. By this it maie appeare, how greatlie he was beloued, that there could not one be found, that for so great a reward would bring him to light. Among other that were taken was one William Murlie, who dwelt in Dunstable, a man of great wealth, and by his occupation a brewer, an earnest mainteiner of the lord Cobhams opinions, and (as the brute ran) in hope to be highlie aduanced by him if their purposed deuse had taken place, apparant by this; that he had two horssees trapped with guilt harnesse led after him, and in his bosome a paire of gilt spurs (as it was déemed) prepared for himselfe to weare, looking to be made knight by the lord Cobhams hands at that present time. But when he saw how their purpose quailed, he withdrew into the citie with great feare to hide himselfe; howbeit he was perceiued, taken, and finallie executed among others.

William Murlie.

To conclude, so manie persons herevpon were apprehended, that all the prisons in and about London were full, the chiefe of them were condemned by the cleargie of heresie, and atteinted of high treason in the Guildhall of London, and adiudged for that offense to be drawn and hanged, and for heresie to be consumed with fire, gallowes and all, which iudgement was executed the same moneth, on the said sir Roger Acton, and eight and twentie others. ¶ Some saie, that the occasion of their death was onelie for the conueieng of the lord Cobham out of prison. Others write, that it was both for treason and heresie, and so it appeareth by the record. Certeine affirme, that it was for feined causes surmized by the spiritualtie, more vpon displeasure than truth, and that they were assembled to heare their preacher (the foresaid Beuerlie) in that place there, out of the waie from resort of people, sith they might not come together openlie about any such matter, without danger to be apprehended; as the manner is, and hath béene euer of the persecuted flocke, when they are prohibited publikelie the exercise of their religion. But howsoeuer the matter went with these men, apprehended they were, and diuerse of them executed (as before ye haue heard) whether for rebellion or heresie, or for both (as the forme of the indictment importeth) I néed not to spend manie words, sith others haue so largelie treated thereof; and therefore I refer those that wish to be more fullie satisfied herein vnto their reports.

Sir Roger Acton & his complices condemned of treason and heresie.

Whilest in the Lent season the king laie at Killingworth, there came to him from Charles Dolphin of France certeine ambassadors, that brought with them a barrell of Paris balles, which from their maister they presented to him for a token that was taken in verie ill part, as sent in scorne, to signifie, that it was more méet for the king to passe the time with such childish exercise, than to attempt any worthie exploit. Wherefore the K. wrote to him, that yer ought long, he would tosse him some London balles that perchance should shake the walles of the best court in France. ¶ This yeare, Thom. Arundell archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, a stout prelat, and an earnest mainteiner of the Romish religion: Henrie Chichelie bishop of saint Daud succéded the same Arundell in the sée of Canturburie, and the kings confessor Stephan Patrington a Carmelite frier was made bishop of S. Daud. Henrie Persie then but a child, sonne to the lord Henrie Persie surnamed Hotspur, after his fathers deceasse, that was slaine at Shrewesburie field, was conueied into Scotland, and there left by his grandfather, where euer since he had remained: the king therefore pitied his case, and so procured for him, that he came home, and was restored to all his lands and earledome of Northumberland, which lands before had béene giuen to Iohn, the kings brother.

Eiton.

A disdainfull ambassage.

Tho. Walsi.

Persie restored to the erledome of Northumberland.

A case verie strange, and for manie causes alwaies right worthie of remembrance, in this yeare 1414, the second of this kings reigne did befall, which containing in it so manie matters for knowledge of Gods great power and iustice of wilfull breaking his diuine lawes, of the easie slip into ruine where his mercie dooth not staie vs, the busie bogging of the diuell alwaies, our weakenesse in combat with him, into what outrage and confusion he haleth where he is not withstood, with what tyrannie he tormenteth where he vanquisheth, what the will and power of a souereigne ouer a subiect may force in cases of iniquitie, where by vertue and grace he be not restrained: the zeale of a parent, the pangs of a child, but chéeflie the verie plague of Gods wrath and indignation vpon wilfull and obstinate offenders, all which at those daies though touched in Naples, yet at all times and euerie where so well seruing for example and warning, it hath béene thought verie conuenient the same in our stories also héere to be noted, which was thus. At this time newes were brought into France, how king Lancelot (the aduersarie to Lewes king of Sicill) was departed, and in manner thus. It hapned that he fell in loue with a yoong damosell his owne physicians daughter (a puzell verie beautifull) and he in hope to inioy hir the easilier, caused hir father for his consent to be talked withall in the matter, which he vtterlie refused to grant, and shewed foorth manie reasons for him; but at last all causes & excuses reiected, sith (though constreinetl) he must néeds assent,

W. P.

Le Rosier la second partie.

feined himselfe willing and content. And forcing talke with his daughter vpon his mind in the matter, chéeflie how méet it were she vsed his counsell how best with the king to kéepe hir still in grace, he gaue hir a little box of ointment, and instruction withall, that when the king should come to haue his will, she should afore with that balme annoint all hir wombe; the damosell òn good obseruation did after (at oportunitie) as hir father taught hir. Héerevpon so pittifullie came it to passe that the verie same night the king laie with hir, his bellie and hirs were by and by set as it were all on a sindging fier, with torments of such vnquenchable scorching and burning euen into the verie entrailles, that he of his kingdome, his life, his loue; and she of hir princelie promotion, thus soone both together made a sorrowfull end. After the plaie of this lamentable tragedie, the physician fled for his safetie, and straight vpon the newes king Lewes gathered a great assemblie, wherewith to passe towards Naples, and sent before a good companie vnder the lord Longnie marshall of France.

In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie called his high court of parlement, the last daie of Aprill in the towne of Leicester, in which parlement manie profitable lawes were concluded, and manie petitions mooued, were for that time deferred. Amongst which, one was, that a bill exhibited in the parlement holden at Westminster in the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth (which by reason the king was then troubled with ciuill discord, came to none effect) might now with good deliberation be pondered, and brought to some good conclusion. The effect of which supplication was, that the temporall lands deuoutlie giuen, and disordinatlie spent by religious, and other spirituall persons, should be seized into the kings hands, sith the same might suffice to mainteine, to the honor of the king, and defense of the realme, fiftéene earles, fiftéene hundred knights, six thousand and two hundred esquiers, and a hundred almesse-houses, for reliefe onelie of the poore, impotent, and néedie persons, and the king to haue cléerelie to his coffers twentie thousand pounds, with manie other prouisions and values of religious houses, which I passe ouer.

An. Reg. 2. 1414

A bill exhibited to the parlemēt against the clergie.

This bill was much noted, and more feared among the religious sort, whom suerlie it touched verie néere, and therefore to find remedie against it, they determind to assaie all waies to put by and ouerthrow this bill: wherein they thought best to trie if they might mooue the kings mood with some sharpe inuention, that he should not regard the importunate petitions of the commons. Wherevpon, on a daie in the parlement, Henrie Chichelie archbishop of Canturburie made a pithie oration, wherein he declared, how not onelie the duchies of Normandie and Aquitaine, with the counties of Aniou and Maine, and the countrie of Gascoigne, were by vndoubted title appertaining to the king, as to the lawfull and onelie heire of the same; but also the whole realme of France, as heire to his great grandfather king Edward the third.

The archbishop of Canturburies oration in the parlement house.

Herein did he much inueie against the surmised and false fained law Salike, which the Frenchmen alledge euer against the kings of England in barre of their iust title to the crowne of France. The verie words of that suppose'd law are these, In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant, that is to saie, Into the Salike land let not women succéed. Which the French glossers expound to be the realme of France, and that this law was made by king Pharamond; whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betwéene the riuers of Elbe and Sala; and that when Charles the great had ouercome the Saxons, he placed there certeine Frenchmen, which hauing in disdeine the dishonest maners of the Germane women, made a law, that the females should not succéed to any inheritance within that land, which at this daie is called Meisen, so that if this be true, this law was not made for the realme of France, nor the Frenchmen possessed the land Salike, till foure hundred and one and twentie yeares after the death of Pharamond, the supposed maker of this Salike law, for this Pharamond deceased in the yeare 426, and Charles the great subdued the Saxons, and placed the Frenchmen in those parts beyond the riuier of Sala in the yeare 805.

The Salike law.

Mesina.

Moreouer, it appeareth by their owne writers, that king Pepine, which deposed Childerike, claimed the crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he was descended of Blithild daughter to king Clothair the first: Hugh Capet also, who vsurped the crowne vpon Charles duke of Loraine, the sole heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the great, to make his title séeme true, and appeare good, though in déed it was starke naught, conueied himselfe as heire to the ladie Lingard, daughter to king Charlemaine, sonne to Lewes the emperour, that was son to Charles the great. King Lewes also the tenth otherwise called saint Lewes, being verie heire to the said vsurper Hugh Capet, could neuer be satisfied in his conscience how he might iustlie kéepe and possease the crowne of France, till he was persuaded and fullie instructed, that quéene Isabell his grandmother was lineallie descended of the ladie Ermengard daughter and heire to the aboue named Charles duke of Loraine, by the which marriage, the bloud and line of Charles the great was againe vnited and restored to the crowne & scepter of France, so that more cléere than the sunne it openlie appeareth, that the title of king Pepin, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of Lewes, yea and the French kings to this daie, are deriued and conueied from the heire female, though they would vnder the colour of such a fained law, barre the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance.

The archbishop further alledged out of the booke of Numbers this saieng: "When a man dieth without a sonne, let the inheritance descend to his daughter." At length, hauing said sufficientlie for the prooue of the kings iust and lawfull title to the crowne of France, he exhorted him to aduance forth his banner to fight for his right, to conquer his inheritance, to spare neither bloud, sword, nor fire, sith his warre was iust, his cause good, and his claime true. And to the

intent his louing chapleins and obedient subiects of the spirituallie might shew themselues willing and desirous to aid his maiestie, for the recouerie of his ancient right and true inheritance, the archbishop declared that in their spirituall conuocation, they had granted to his highnesse such a summe of monie, as neuer by no spirituall persons was to any prince before those daies giuen or aduanced.

When the archbishop had ended his prepared tale, Rafe Neuell earle of Westmerland, and as then lord Warden of the marches against Scotland, vnderstanding that the king vpon a couragious desire to recouer his right in France, would suerlie take the wars in hand, thought good to moue the king to begin first with Scotland, and therevpon declared how easie a matter it should be to make a conquest there, and how greatlie the same should further his wished purpose for the subduing of the Frenchmen, concluding the summe of his tale with this old saieng: that Who so will France win, must with Scotland first begin. Manie matters he touched, as well to shew how necessarie the conquest of Scotland should be, as also to prooue how iust a cause the king had to attempt it, trusting to persuade the king and all other to be of his opinion.

The earle of Westmerland persuadeth the king to the conquest of Scotland.

But after he had made an end, the duke of Excester, vnclie to the king, a man well learned and wise, (who had béene sent into Italie by his father intending that he should haue been a préest) replied against the erle of Westmerlands oration, affirming rather that he which would Scotland win, he with France must first begin. For if the king might once compasse the conquest of France, Scotland could not long resist; so that conquere France, and Scotland would soone obeie. For where should the Scots lerne policie and skill to defend themselues, if they had not their bringing vp and training in France? If the French pensions mainteined not the Scottish nobilitie, in what case should they be? Then take awaie France, and the Scots will soone be tamed; France being to Scotland the same that the sap is to the trée, which being taken awaie, the trée must néeds die and wither.

The duke of Excester his wise and pithie answer to the earle of Westmerlands saieng.

A true saieng.

To be briefe, the duke of Excester vsed such earnest and pithie persuasions, to induce the king and the whole assemblie of the parlement to credit his words, that immediatlie after he had made an end, all the companie began to crie; Warre, warre; France, France. Hereby the bill for dissoluing of religious houses was cléerelie set aside, and nothing thought on but onelie the recouering of France, according as the archbishop had moued. And vpon this point, after a few acts besides for the wealth of the realme established, the parlement was proroged vnto Westminster. ¶ Some write, that in this parlement it was enacted, that Lollards and heretikes with their mainteiners and faouurers should be Ipso facto adiudged guiltie of high treason: but in the statute made in the same parlement against Lollards, we find no such words: albeit by force of that statute it was ordeined, that persons so conuicted & executed, should lose their lands holden in fée simple, and all other their goods and cattels, as in cases of felonie.

During this parlement, there came to the king ambassadors, as well from the French king that was then in the hands of the Orliental faction, as also from the duke of Burgognie, for aid against that faction; promising more (as was said) than laie well in his power to performe. The king shortlie after sent ambassadors to them both, as the bishop of Durham, and Norwich, with others. Moreouer at this parlement, Iohn the kings brother was created duke of Bedford, and his brother Humfrie duke of Glocester. Also, Thomas Beaufort, marquesse Dorset, was created duke of Excester. Immediatlie after, the king sent ouer into France his vnclie the duke of Excester, the lord Greie admerall of England, the archbishop of Dublin, and the bishop of Norwich, ambassadors vnto the French king, with fiue hundred horsse, which were lodged in the temple house in Paris, kéeping such triumphant chéere in their lodging, and such a solemne estate in their riding through the citie, that the Parisiens and all the Frenchmen had no small meruell at their honorable port.

Ambassadors from the Frêch king and from the duke of Burgognie.

Creation of dukes.

Harding.

Ambassadors sent to Frâce.

The French king receiued them verie honorablie, and banketted them right sumptuouslie, shewing to them iusts and Martiall pastimes, by the space of thrée daies togither, in the which iusts the king himselve, to shew his courage and actiuitie to the Englishmen, manfullie brake speares and lustilie tournied. When the triumph was ended, the English ambassadors, hauing a time appointed them to declare their message, admitted to the French kings presence, required of him to deliuer vnto the king of England the realme and crowne of France, with the entier duchies of Aquiteine, Normandie and Aniou, with the countries of Poictiou and Maine. Manie other requests they made: and this offered withall, that if the French king would without warre and effusion of christian bloud, render to the king their maister his verie right & lawfull inheritance, that he would be content to take in mariage the ladie Katharine, daughter to the French king, and to indow hir with all the duchies and countries before rehearsed; and if he would not so doo, then the king of England did expresse and signifie to him, that with the aid of God, and helpe of his people, he would recouer his right and inheritance wrongfullie withholden from him, with mortall warre, and dint of sword. ¶ This in effect dooth our English poet comprise in his report of the occasion, which Henrie the fift tooke to arrere battell against the French king: putting into the mouthes of the said king of Englands ambassadors an imagined spéeche, the conclusion whereof he maketh to be either restitution of that which the French had taken and deteined from the

*Abr. Fl. out of In Angl. præl. sub Hen. 5.*



English, or else fire and sword. His words are these,

--- raptum nobis aut redde Britannis,  
Aut ferrum expectes, vltrices insuper ignes.

The Frenchmen being not a little abashed at these demands, thought not to make anie absolute answer in so weightie a cause, till they had further breathed; and therefore praied the English ambassadors to saie to the king their maister, that they now hauing no opportunitie to conclude in so high a matter, would shortlie send ambassadors into England, which should certifie & declare to the king their whole mind, purpose, and intent. The English ambassadors returned with this answer, making relation of euerie thing that was said or doone. King Henrie after the returne of his ambassadors, determined fullie to make warre in France, conceiuing a good and perfect hope to haue fortunate successe, sith victorie for the most part followeth where right leadeth, being aduanced forward by iustice, and set foorth by equitie.

And bicause manie Frenchmen were promoted to ecclesiasticall dignities, as some to benefices, and some to abbeies and priories within the realme, and sent dailie innumerable summes of monie into France for the reléefe of their naturall countrimen and kinsfolke, he therefore in fauour of the publike wealth of his realme and subjects, in a councill called at London, about Michaelmas, caused to be ordeined, that no stranger hereafter should be promoted to anie spirituall dignitie or degré within this realme, without his especial licence, and roiall consent; and all they that should be admitted, should find sufficient suerties, not to disclose the secrets of this realme to anie forren person, nor to minister aid or succour to anie of them with monie, or by anie other meanes. This was confirmed in a conuocation called at the same time by the new archbishop of Canturburie.

*Thom. Wals.*

It is not like that in this councill writers meane the parlement that was adorned from Leicester to Westminster, where it began in the octaues of saint Martin, in this second yeare 1415.

Moreouer, such as were to go vnto the generall councill holden at Constance, were named and appointed to make them readie: for the king hauing knowledge from the emperor Sigismund, of the assembling of that councill, thought it not conuenient to sit still as an hearer, and no partaker in so high a cause, which touched the whole state of the christian common-wealth, as then troubled by reason of the schisme that yet continued. Wherefore he sent thither Richard earle of Warwike, the bishops of Salisburie, Bath, and Hereford, the abbat of Westminster, and the prior of Worcester, with diuerse other doctors and learned men of the spiritualltie; besides knights and esquiers. They were in number eight hundred horsse, so well appointed and furnished, as well the men as horsse, that all nations maruelled to see such an honorable companie come from a countrie so far distant.

The councill of Constance.

The earle of Warwike and others sent to the generall councill.

Diuerse other things were concluded at that present: for the king had caused not onelie the lords of the spiritualltie, but also of the temporalltie to assemble here at London the same time, to treat speciallie of his iournie that he purposed to make shortlie into France: and herevpon meanes was made for the gathering of monie; which was granted with so good a will both of the spiritualltie and temporalltie, that there was leuied the summe of threé hundred thousand markes English: and herewith order was giuen to gather a great hoast of men, thorough all his dominions. And for the more increasing of his nauie, he sent into Holland, Zeland, and Frizeland, to conduct and hire ships for the transporting and conueieng ouer of his men and munitions of war, and finallie prouided for armour, victuals, monie, artillerie, cariage, boates to passe ouer riuers couered with leather, tents, and all other things requisite for so high an enterprise.

*Enguerant.*

Great preparation for the French wars.

The Frenchmen hauing knowledge hereof, the Dolphin, who had the gouernance of the realme, bicause his father was fallen into his old disease of frensie, sent for the dukes of Berrie and Alanson, and all the other lords of the councill of France: by whose aduise it was determined, that they should not onelie prepare a sufficient armie to resist the king of England, when so euer he arriued to inuade France, but also to stufte and furnish the townes on the frontiers and sea coasts with conuenient garrisons of men: and further to send to the king of England a solemne ambassage, to make to him some offers according to the demands before rehearsed. The charge of this ambassage was committed to the earle of Vandosme, to maister William Bouratier archbishop of Burges, and to maister Peter Fremell bishop of Liseur, to the lords of Yvry and Braquemont, and to maister Gaultier Cole the kings secretarie, and diuerse others.

These ambassadors accompanied with 350 horsse, passed the sea at Calis, and landed at Douer, before whose arriuall the king was departed from Windsore to Winchester, intending to haue gone to Hampton, there to haue surueied his nauie; but hearing of the ambassadors approching, he tarried still at Winchester, where the said French lords shewed themselues verie honorablie before the king and his nobilitie. At time prefixed, before the kings presence, sitting in his throne imperiall, the archbishop of Burges made an eloquent and a long oration, dissuading warre, and praising peace; offering to the king of England a great summe of monie, with diuerse countries, being in verie déed but base and poore, as a dowrie with the ladie Catharine in mariage, so that he would dissolue his armie, and dismisse his soldiers, which he had gathered and put in a readinesse.

An. Reg. 3.

Ambassadors out of France.

When his oration was ended, the king caused the ambassadors to be highlie feasted, and set them at his owne table. And after a daie assigned in the foresaid hall, the archbishop of Canturburie to their oration made a notable answer, the effect whereof was, that if the French king would not giue with his daughter in mariage the duches of Aquiteine, Aniou, and all other seignories and dominions sometimes appertaining to the noble progenitors of the king of England, he would in no wise retire his armie, nor breake his iournie; but would with all diligence enter into France, and destroie the people, waste the countrie, and subuert the townes with blood, sword, and fire, and neuer ceasse till he had recouered his ancient right and lawfull patrimonie. The king auowed the archbishops saieing, and in the word of a prince promised to performe it to the vttermost.

The archbishop of Burges much gréeued, that his ambassage was no more regarded, after certaine brags blustered out with impatience, as more presuming vpon his prelasie, than respecting his dutie of considerance to whom he spake and what became him to saie, he praied safe conduct to depart. Which the king gentlie granted, and added withall to this effect: "I little estéeme your French brags, & lesse set by your power and strength; I know perfectlie my right to my region, which you vsurpe; & except you denie the apparant truth, so doo your selues also; if you neither doo nor will know it, yet God and the world knoweth it. The power of your master you sée, but my puissance ye haue not yet tasted. If he haue louing subiects, I am (I thanke God) not vnstored of the same: and I saie this vnto you, that before one yeare passe, I trust to make the highest crowne of your countrie to stoope, and the proudest miter to learne his humiliatedo. In the meane time tell this to the vsurper your master, that within thrée moneths, I will enter into France, as into mine owne true and lawfull patrimonie, appointing to acquire the same, not with brag of words, but with déeds of men, and dint of sword, by the aid of God, in whome is my whole trust and confidence. Further matter at this present I impart not vnto you, sauing that with warrant you maie depart suerlie and safelie into your countrie, where I trust sooner to visit you, than you shall haue cause to bid me welcome." With this answer the ambassadors sore displeased in their minds (although they were highlie interteined and liberallie rewarded) departed into their countrie, reporting to the Dolphin how they had sped.

A proud presumptuous prelat.

The wise answer of the k. to the bishop.

After the French ambassadors were departed, the king like a prouident prince, thought good to take order for the resisting of the Scots, if (according to their maner) they should attempt anie thing against his subiects in his absence. For that point appointed he the earle of Westmerland, the lord Scroope, the baron of Greistocke, sir Robert Umfreuill, & diuerse other valiant capteins to kéepe the frontiers & marches of Scotland, which sir Robert Umfreuill on the daie of Marie Madgdalen fought with the Scots at the towne of Gederig, hauing in his companie onelie thrée hundred archers, and seuen score spears, where he (after long conflict) slue of his enimies sixtie and odde, tooke thrée hundred and sixtie prisoners, discomfited and put to flight one thousand and more, whome he followed in chace aboue twelue miles, but their hands full of preies and prisoners, retired homeward (not vnhurt) to the castell of Rockesborough, of the which he was capteine.

*Harding.*

An ouerthrow to the Scots by sir Robert Umfreuill.

When the king had all prouisions readie, and ordered all things for the defense of his realme, he leauing behind him for gouernour of the realme, the quéene his mooter in law, departed to Southampton, to take ship into France. And first princelie appointing to aduertise the French king of his comming, therefore dispatched Antelope his purseuant at armes with letters to him for restitution of that which he wrongfully withheld, contrarie to the lawes of God and man: the king further declaring how sorie he was that he should be thus compelled for repeating of his right and iust title of inheritance, to make warre to the distruction of christian people, but sithens he had offered peace which could not be receiued, now for fault of iustice, he was forced to take armes. Neuerthelesse exhorted the French king in the bowels of Iesu Christ, to render him that which was his owne, whereby effusion of Christian blood might be auoided. These letters chéeflie to this effect and purpose, were written and dated from Hampton the fift of August. When the same were presented to the French King, and by his councill well perused, answer was made, that he would take aduise, and prouide therein as time and place should be conuenient, so the messenger licenced to depart at his pleasure.

The quéene mother gouernour of the realme.

When king Henrie had fullie furnished his nauie with men, munition, & other prouisions, perceiuing that his capteines misliked nothing so much as delaie, determined his souldiors to go a ship-boord and awaie. But sée the hap, the night before the daie appointed for their departure, he was credible informed, that Richard earle of Cambridge brother to Edward duke of Yorke, and Henrie lord Scroope of Masham lord treasurer, with Thomas Graie a knight of Northumberland, being confederat together, had conspired his death: wherefore he caused them to be apprehended. The said lord Scroope was in such fauour with the king, that he admitted him sometime to be his bedfellow, in whose fidelitie the king reposed such trust, that when anie priuat or publike councill was in hand, this lord had much in the determination of it. For he represented so great grauitie in his countenance, such modestie in behaiour, and so vertuous zeale to all godlinesse in his talke, that whatsoeuer he said was thought for the most part necessarie to be doone and followed. Also the said sir Thomas Graie (as some write) was of the kings priuie councill.

The earle of Cambridge & other lords apprehended for treason.

*Thom. Wals.*

These prisoners vpon their examination, confessed, that for a great summe of monie which they

had received of the French king, they intended verelie either to haue deliuered the king aliue into the hands of his enimies, or else to haue murdered him before he should arriue in the duchie of Normandie. When king Henrie had heard all things opened, which he desired to know, he caused all his nobilitie to come before his presence, before whome he caused to be brought the offenders also, and to them said. "Hauing thus conspired the death and destruction of me, which am the head of the realme and gouernour of the people, it maie be (no doubt) but that you likewise haue sworne the confusion of all that are here with me, and also the desolation of your owne countrie. To what horror (O lord) for any true English hart to consider, that such an execrable iniquitie should euer so bewray you, as for pleasing of a forren enimie to imbrue your hands in your bloud, and to ruine your owne natiue soile. Reuenge herein touching my person, though I séeke not; yet for the safegard of you, my déere fréends, & for due perseruacion of all sorts, I am by office to cause example to be shewed. Get ye hence therefore ye poore miserable wretches to the receiuing of your iust reward, wherein Gods maiestie giue you grace of his mercie and repentance of your heinous offenses." And so immediatlie they were had to execution.

Hall.

King Henries words to the traitours.

The earle of Cambridge and the other traitors executed.

This doone, the king calling his lords againe afore him, said in words few and with good grace. Of his enterprises he recounted the honor and glorie, whereof they with him were to be partakers, the great confidence he had in their noble minds, which could not but remember them of the famous feats that their ancestors aforetime in France had atchiued, whereof the due report for euer recorded remained yet in register. The great mercie of God that had so graciouslie reuealed vnto him the treason at hand, whereby the true harts of those afore him made so eminent & apparant in his eie, as they might be right sure he would neuer forget it. The doubt of danger to be nothing in respect of the certeintie of honor that they should acquire, wherein himselfe (as they saw) in person would be lord and leader through Gods grace. To whose maiestie as chéeflie was knowne the equitie of his demand: euen so to his mercie did he onelie recommend the successe of his trauels. When the king had said, all the noble men knéeled downe, & promised faithfullie to serue him, dulie to obeie him, and rather to die than to suffer him to fall into the hands of his enimies.

This doone, the king thought that suerlie all treason and conspiracie had béene vtterlie extinct: not suspecting the fire which was newlie kindled, and ceased not to increase, till at length it burst out into such a flame, that catching the beames of his house and familie, his line and stocke was cleane consumed to ashes. ¶ Diuerse write that Richard earle of Cambridge did not conspire with the lord Scroope & Thomas Graie for the murdering of king Henrie to please the French king withall, but onelie to the intent to exalt to the crowne his brother in law Edmund earle of March as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence: after the death of which earle of March, for diuerse secret impediments, not able to haue issue, the earle of Cambridge was sure that the crowne should come to him by his wife, and to his children, of hir begotten. And therefore (as was thought) he rather confessed himselfe for néed of monie to be corrupted by the French king, than he would declare his inward mind, and open his verie intent and secret purpose, which if it were espied, he saw plainlie that the earle of March should haue tasted of the same cuppe that he had drunken, and what should haue come to his owne children he much doubted. Therefore destitute of comfort & in despaire of life to saue his children, he feined that tale, desiring rather to saue his succession than himselfe, which he did in déed: for his sonne Richard duke of Yorke not priuillie but openlie claimed the crowne, and Edward his sonne both claimed it, & gained it, as after it shall appeare. Which thing if king Henrie had at this time either doubted, or foreséene, had neuer béene like to haue come to passe, as Hall saith.

But whatsoever hath béene reported of the confession of the earle of Cambridge, certeine it is that indicted he was by the name of Richard earle of Cambridge of Connesburgh in the countie of Yorke knight, and with him Thomas Graie of Heton in the countie of Northumberland knight; for that they the twentieth daie of Iulie, in the third yeare of king Henrie the fifts reigne, at Southampton, and in diuerse other places within this realme, had conspired together with a power of men to them associat, without the kings licence, to haue led awaie the lord Edmund earle of March into Wales, and then to haue procured him to take vpon him the supreme gouernment of the realme, in case that king Richard the second were dead: and herwith had purposed to set forth a proclamation there in Wales, in name of the said earle of March, as heire of the crowne against king Henrie, by the name of Henrie of Lancaster the vsurper, to the end that by such meanes they might draw the more number of the kings liege people vnto the said earle; and further to haue conueied a banner of the armes of England, and a certeine crowne of Spaine set vpon a pallet, and laid in gage to the said earle of Cambridge, by the king, together with the said earle of March into the parties of Wales aforesaid.

The effect of the earle of Cambridges indictment.

A iewell.

Further, that the said earle of Cambridge, and sir Thomas Graie had appointed certeine of the kings liege people to repaire into Scotland, and to bring from thence one Thomas Trumpington; also an other resembling in shape, fauour, and countenance king Richard, and Henrie Persie, together with a great multitude of people to fight with the king, and him to destroie in open field. Beside this, that they had meant to win certeine castels in Wales, and to kéepe them against the king: and manie other treasons they had contriued, as by the indictment was specified, to the intent they might destroie the king and his brethren, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, and other the great lords & péers of the realme. And Henrie Scroope of Masham, of Flarflet, in the countie of Yorke was likewise indicted, as consenting to the premisses. So that it appeareth their

purpose was well enough then perceived, although happily not much bruted abroad, for considerations thought necessary to have it rather hushed and kept secret.

About the selfe same time the lord Cobham with his friends, whether as one of counsell in the conspiracie with the earle of Cambridge or not, was determined to have made some attempt against the lord of Aburgauennie, who being advertised thereof, got for his defense from Worcester, Persore, Teukesburie, and other places thereabout, to the number of five thousand archers, and other armed men, which came to him vnto his castell of Haneleie: whereof when the lord Cobham was advertised, he withdrew againe to such secret places about Maluerne, as he had provided for his suertie, to resort vnto: but a priest that belonged vnto him, was taken, and diuerse other, who disclosed to the lord Aburgauennie, one of the places where the said lord Cobham with his men vsed to keepe themselves close. Vnto that place the lord Aburgauennie went, where he found indeed monie and armor piled vp betwixt two wals, handsomelie conueied and framed for the purpose; but the lord Cobham with his folkes were withdrawne into some other place, after they once heard, that the earle of Cambridge and the lord Scroope were executed.

But now to proceed with king Henries doings. After this, when the wind came about prosperous to his purpose, he caused the mariners to weie vp anchors, and hoise vp sailes, and to set forward with a thousand ships, on the vigill of our ladie daie the Assumption, and tooke land at Caur, commonlie called Kidcaur, where the riuer of Saine runneth into the sea, without resistance. At his first comming on land, he caused proclamation to be made, that no person should be so hardie on paine of death, either to take anie thing out of anie church that belonged to the same, or to hurt or doo anie violence either to priests, women, or anie such as should be found without weapon or armor, and not readie to make resistance: also that no man should renew anie quarell or strife, whereby anie fraie might arise to the disquieting of the armie.

*Titus Liuius.*

The king saileth ouer into France with his host.

*Titus Liuius.*

A charitable proclamation.

Princelie and wiselie.

*Harding.*

The next daie after his landing, he marched toward the towne of Harflue, standing on the riuer of Saine betwene two hils; he besieged it on euerie side, raising bulwarks and a bastell, in which the two earles of Kent & Huntington were placed, with Cornwall, Graie, Steward, and Porter. On that side towards the sea, the king lodged with his field, and the duke of Clarence on the further side towards Rone. There were within the towne the lords de Tuteuill and Gaucourt, with diuerse other that valiantlie defended the siege, dooing what damage they could to their aduersaries; and damming vp the riuer that hath his course through the towne, the water rose so high betwixt the kings campe, and the duke of Clarence campe (diuided by the same riuer) that the Englishmen were constrained to withdraw their artillerie from one side, where they had planted the same.

The French king being advertised, that king Henrie was arrived on that coast, sent in all hast the lord de la Breth constable of France, the seneshall of France, the lord Bouciqualt marshall of France, the seneshall of Henault, the lord Lignie with other, which fortified townes with men, victuals, and artillerie on all those frontiers towards the sea. And hearing that Harflue was besieged, they came to the castell of Caudebecke, being not farre from Harflue, to the intent they might succor their friends which were besieged, by some policie or meanes: but the Englishmen, notwithstanding all the damage that the Frenchmen could worke against them, forraied the countrie, spoiled the villages, bringing manie a rich preie to the campe before Harflue. And dailie was the towne assaulted: for the duke of Glocester, to whome the order of the siege was committed, made threé mines vnder the ground, and approaching to the wals with his engins and ordinance, would not suffer them within to take anie rest.

The king besieged Harflue.

For although they with their countermining somewhat disappointed the Englishmen, & came to fight with them hand to hand within the mines, so that they went no further forward with that worke; yet they were so inclosed on ech side, as well by water as land, that succour they saw could none come to them: for the king lieng with his battell on the hill side on the one partie, and the duke of Clarence beyond the riuer that passeth by the towne, and runneth into Saine on the other partie, beside other lords and capteins that were lodged with their retinues for their most aduantage: none could be suffered to go in, or come foorth, without their licence; insomuch that such powder as was sent to have bene conueied into the towne by water, was taken by the English ships that watched the riuer.

*Titus Liuius.*

The capteins within the towne, perceiuing that they were not able long to resist the continuall assaults of the Englishmen, knowing that their wals were vndermined, and like to be ouerthrowne (as one of their bulwarks was alreadie, where the earles of Huntington and Kent had set vp their banners) sent an officer at armes foorth about midnight after the feast daie of saint Lambert, which fell that yeare vpon the tuesdaie, to beseech the king of England to appoint some certeine persons as commissioners from him, with whome they within might treat about some agrément. The duke of Clarence, to whome this messenger first declared his errand, advertised the king of their request, who granting thereto, appointed the duke of Excester, with the lord Fitz Hugh, and sir Thomas Erpingham, to vnderstand their minds, who at the first requested a truce vntill sundaie next following the feast of saint Michaell, in which meane time if

*Harding.*

*Thos. Walsi.*

The seuentéenth of September they within Harflue praie parlée.

no succour came to remooue the siege, they would vndertake to deliuer the towne into the kings hands, their liues and goods sauued.

The king aduertised hereof, sent them word, that except they would surrender the towne to him the morow next insuing, without anie condition, they should spend no more time in talke about the matter. But yet at length through the earnest sute of the French lords, the king was contented to grant them truce vntill nine of the clocke the next sundaie, being the two and twentieth of September; with condition, that if in the meane time no rescue came, they should yéeld the towne at that houre, with their bodies and goods to stand at the kings pleasure. And for assurance thereof, they deliuered into the kings hands thirtie of their best capteins and merchants within that towne as pledges. But other write, that it was couenanted, that they should deliuer onelie twelue pledges, and that if the siege were not raised by the French kings power within six daies next following, then should they deliuer the towne into the king of England hands, and thirtie of the chéefest personages within the same, to stand for life or death at his will and pleasure: and as for the residue of the men of warre and townesmen, they should depart whether they would, without carieng foorth either armour, weapon, or goods.

A fiue daies respit.

The king neuertheless was after content to grant a respit vpon certeine conditions, that the capteins within might haue time to send to the French king for succour (as before ye haue heard) least he intending greater exploits, might lose time in such small matters. When this composition was agréed vpon, the lord Bacqueuill was sent vnto the French king, to declare in what point the towne stood. To whome the Dolphin answered, that the kings power was not yet assembled, in such number as was conuenient to raise so great a siege. This answer being brought vnto the capteins within the towne, they rendered it vp to the king of England, after that the third daie was expired, which was on the daie of saint Maurice being the seuen and thirtith daie after the siege was first laid. The souldiors were ransomed, and the towne sacked, to the great gaine of the Englishmen. ¶Some writing of this yéelding vp of Harflue, doo in like sort make mention of the distresse whereto the people, then expelled out of their habitations, were driuen: insomuch as parents with their children, yoong maids and old folke went out of the towne gates with heauie harts (God wot) as put to their present shifts to séeke them a new abode. Besides that, king Henrie caused proclamation to be made within his owne dominions of England, that whosoeuer (either handicraftesman, merchantman, gentleman, or plowman) would inhabit in Harflue, should haue his dwelling giuen him gratis, and his heire after him also inioy the like grace and fauour; insomuch that great multitudes flocked to the sea coasts, waiting wind and wether for their transportage into Harflue, where being arriued woonderfull it is to tell, within how short a time the towne was peopled. This doth Anglorum prælia report, saieing (not without good ground, I beléeue) as followeth:

Harflue yéelded and sacked.

*Abr. Fl. out of Angl. præl.*

*sub. Hen. 5, and Polychron.*

--- tum flentes tenera cum prole parentes  
Virgineúsque chorus veteres liquère penates:  
Tum populus cunctus de portis Gallicus exit  
Mœstus, inarmatus, vacuus, miser, æger, inópsq;  
Vtque nouas sedes quærat migrare coactus:  
Oppidulo belli potiuntur iure Britanni, &c.

All this doone, the king ordeined capteine to the towne his vncler the duke of Excester, who established his lieutenant there, one sir Iohn Fastolfe, with fiftéene hundred men, or (as some haue) two thousand and thirtie six knights, whereof the baron of Carew, and sir Hugh Lutterell, were two councellers. And bicause manie of his nobles whilest this siege laie before Harflue, fell sicke of the flix and other diseases, diuerse also dead, amongst whom the earle of Stafford, the bishop of Norwich, the lords Molins and Burnell were foure (beside others) the king licenced his brother the duke of Clarence, Iohn earle marshall, and Iohn earle of Arundell, being infected with that disease, to returne into England.

King Henrie, after the winning of Harflue, determined to haue procéded further in the winning of other townes and fortresses: but bicause the dead time of the winter approched, it was determined by aduise of his councill, that he should in all conuenient spéed set forward, and march through the cuntry towards Calis by land, least his returne as then homewards should of slanderous toongs be named a running awaie: and yet that iourne was adjudged perillous, by reason that the number of his people was much minished by the flix and other feuers, which sore vexed and brought to death about fiftéene hundred persons of the armie: and this was the cause that his returne was the sooner appointed and concluded.

Great death in the host by the flix.

But before his departing thence, he entered into the towne of Harflue, & went to the church of saint Martines, and there offered. All the men of warre which had not paid their ransoms, he sware them on the holie euangelists, to yéeld themselues prisoners at Calis by the feast of saint Martine in Nouember next. There were two strong towers standing on the hauen side at Harflue, which looking for aid, did not yéeld, till ten daies after the towne was rendered. When the king had repaired the walles, bulwarks and rampiers about the towne, and furnished it with vittels and artillerie, he remooued from Harflue toward Ponthoise, intending to passe the riuier of Some with his armie, before the bridges were either withdrawen or broken. Such vittels and other necessaries as were to be caried with the armie, he appointed to be laid on

The kings mercifull dealing with the French prisoners.

horses, leauing the carts and wagons behind for lesse incombred.

The French king hearing that the towne of Harflue was gotten, and that the king of England was marching forward into the bowels of the realme of France, sent out proclamations, and assembled people on euerie side, committing the whole charge of his armie to his sonne the Dolphine and duke of Aquitaine, who incontinentlie caused the bridges to be broken, and the passages to be kept. Also they caused all the corne and vittels to be conueied awaie, or destroyed in all places, where it was coniectured that the Englishmen would passe. The king of England nothing dismaied herewith, kept his iournie in spite of his enimies, constringing them within diuerse townes and holds to furnish him with vittels: but yet as he passed by the towne of Ew, the garrison of the towne issued foorth, and gaue the Englishmen a skirmish, who beat them into the towne with losse, namelie of armes, named Lancelot Piers. There were manie Englishmen hurt with the loops and wals, as they pursued the enimies vnto the gates.

Corne & vittels destroyed where the Englishmen should passe.

A skirmish with the garrison of Ew.

*Enguerant.*

of a right valiant man  
quarrels shot off from

At length the king approched the riuer of Some, & finding all the bridges broken, he came to the passage of Blanchetake, where his great grandfather king Edward the third a little before had striken the battell of Cressie: but the passage was now so impeached with stakes in the botome of the foord, that he could not passe, his enimies besides there awaie so swarming on all sides. He therefore marched forwards to Arames, marching with his armie, and passing with his carriage in so martiall a maner, that he appeared so terrible to his enimies, as they durst not offer him battell. And yet the lord Dalbreth constable of France, the marshall Boncequault, the earle of Vendosme great master of France, the duke of Alanson, and the earle of Richmont, with all the puissance of the Dolphin laie at Abuile, but euer kept the passages, and coasted aloofe, like a hauke though eager yet not hardie on hir preie. The king of England kept on his iournie till he came to the bridge of saint Marence, where he found aboute thirtie thousand Frenchmen, and there pitched his field, looking suerlie to be fought withall.

Blanchetake.

Wherefore to encourage his capteins the more, he dubbed certeine of his hardie and valiant gentlemen knights, as Iohn lord Ferrers of Grobie, Reginald of Greistocke, Piers Tempest, Christopher Morisbie, Thomas Pikering, William Huddleston, Iohn Hosbalton, Henrie Mortimer, Philip Hall, and William his brother, Iaques de Ormond, and diuerse other: but the French making no semblance to fight, he departed in good order of battell by the towne of Amiens, to another towne néere to a castell called Bowes, and there laie two daies looking for their bidding of battell euerie houre. From thence he came néere to Corbie, where he was staid that night, for that the common people and pezants mightilie there assembled, hauing gotten them some head and hartening by meanes of their number that was great, and by trust of a strength (then ioined vnto them) made of men at armes (manie too tall and well appointed for fight) all of the garrison of Corbie: a strong towne well walled and warded. Herevpon at a streict (which they had preoccupied) they stoutlie from our armie not onelie kept the passage, but also vpon vs gaue a proud onset: wherein sir Hugh Stafford knight lord Bourghchier, cheéfteine of a wing to the king vnder his standard of Guien, and as then néerest to the enimie, though far inferior in number, yet with readie and valiant incounter receiued them. The force and slaughter grew great both on the one side and the other, by the French in especiall, at first right fiercelie pursued, in so much as with an hardie charge vpon our men, they had both beat downe the standard, and also from vs quite woone it awaie, to their hie encouragement, and our incredible despite and dismaie. Whereat one Iohn Bromley of Bromley in Staffordshire esquier, a néere kinsman vnto the lord Bourghchier, was euen streight so pearsed at hart, as he could not conteneine him, but by and by ran eagerlie vpon the French; and with his souldiers (in whom wrath and téene had already inflamed furie and desire of reuenge) did so fiercelie set vpon them, that they were not onlie beaten backe, but also forced to abandon the place. At this push the capteine cutting through the thickest, strake downe the champion that bare the standard, and so gloriouslie recouered it againe, and after during the fight (where as manie of the French lost their liues) couragiously ouer his souldiers aduanced it himselfe. The rest that fled awaie our people pursued in chasing & slaughter vnto Corbie verie gates. So in victorie, honor, and great ioy, with our small losse (in comparison) thanks vnto Gods maiestie, the chéefteine brought his host into his campe and order againe. The singular prowes of this worthie capteine the noble man highlie regarding, in an ample testimonie thereof and vpon his owne honorable consideration, by a faire ancient déed yet extant at these daies did giue him reward of fortie pounds annuitie for his life. The monument so plainelie declaring the truth of the matter, with the maner and dignitie of the feat, as it was doone, hath béene thought verie méet for the storie in hand here now to place it as followeth.

Diuerse capteins knights.

*W. P.*

Standing in Picardie betwéene Amiens & Peron all vpō the riuer of Some.

Sir Hugh Stafford lord Bourghchier.

Iohn Bromley. He came of a younger brother in the linage of the right honorable the lord chancelor that now is 1585.

The kings standard recouered.

1585.

## A copie of the said déed.

Hoc præsens scriptum testatur, quòd nos Hugo de Stafford dominus le Bourghchier concessimus & per præsentis confirmauimus prædilecto consanguineo nostro Iohanni Bromley de Bromley armigero, pro suo magno auxilio nobis impenso in oppugnatione contra Francos prope le Corbie; & præcipuè pro suo laudabili seruitio in recuperatione & supportatione vexilli domini regis de Guien sub nostra conductione, vnam annuitatem siue annualem redditum quadraginta librarum legalis monetæ annuatim percipiendum, durante tota vita naturali prædicti Iohannis de Bromley, de & in omnibus manerijs, terris, & tenementis nostris cum pertinentibus in comitatu Stafford & Warwik, ad festa Penthecostes & sancti Martini in hyeme æquis portionibus. Et si contingat prædictam annuitatem siue annualem redditum quadraginta librarum, à retrò fore in parte vel in toto, ad aliquod festum quo solui debeat, tunc bene licebit prædicto Iohāni & assignatis suis in prædictis manerijs, ac in omnibus alijs terris & tenementis cum suis pertinentibus præscriptis, distringere & districtiones effugare & retinere, quousque de prædicta annuitate simul cum arreragijs, si quæ fuerint, plenariè sibi merit satisfactum & persolutum. Et vt hæc nostra concessio, & scripti huius confirmatio (durante tota vita prædicti Iohannis de Bromley vt præfertur) rata & stabilis permaneat, hoc scriptum impressione sigilli armorum meorum roborauit. Hijs testibus, Iohanne de Holland, Richardo le Greuyll, Meardo de Horwood, Thoma le Forestar, & alijs. Datum apud Madeley decimo die mensis Martij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum quarto.

For that by the armes in the scale it may the better be knowne of what stem this noble man sproong (a matter which this storie séemes iustlie to require) vnderstand yée thus were the same. In his shield, a cheuorne charged with a mullet; his crest, a swans head couped betwéene two wings displaced all out of a crowne supported by two greihounds; about the shéeld ingraven, Signa Hugonis de Stafford militis. Héereby is gathered that he was a third brother of the duke of Buckingham house. This feat thus well doone, the king the same daie found a shallow, betwéene Corbie and Peron, which neuer was espied before, at which he with his armie and carriages the night insuing, passed the water of Some without let or danger, and therewith determined to make haste towards Calis, and not to séeke for battell, except he were thereto constrained, bicause that his armie by sicknesse was sore diminished, in so much that he had but onelie two thousand horssemen and thirtéene thousand archers, bilmen, and of all sorts of other footmen.

*W. P.*

King Henrie passeth the riuer of Some with his host.

The kings armie but of 15000.

The Englishmen were brought into some distresse in this iornie, by reason of their vittels in maner spent, and no hope to get more: for the enimies had destroyed all the corne before they came. Rest could they none take, for their enimies with alarmes did euer so infest them: dailie it rained, and nightlie it fréesed: of fuell there was great scarsitie, of fluxes plentie: monie inough, but wares for their reléefe to bestow it on, had they none. Yet in this great necessitie, the poore people of the countrie were not spoiled, nor anie thing taken of them without paiement, nor anie outrage or offense doone by the Englishmen, except one, which was, that a souldier tooke a pix out of a church, for which he was apprehended, and the king not once remooued till the box was restored, and the offender strangled. The people of the countries thereabout, hearing of such zeale in him, to the maintenance of iustice, ministred to his armie victuals, and other necessaries, although by open proclamation so to doo they were prohibited.

The English armie sore afflicted.

Iustice in warre.

Note the force of iustice.

*Hall.*

The French king being at Rone, and hearing that king Henrie was passed the riuer of Some, was much displeased therewith, and assembling his councill to the number of fiue and thirtie, asked their aduise what was to be doone. There was amongst these fiue and thirtie, his sonne the Dolphin, calling himselve king of Sicill; the dukes of Berrie and Britaine, the earle of Pontieu the kings yoongest sonne, and other high estates. At length thirtie of them agréed, that the Englishmen should not depart vnfought withall, and fiue were of a contrarie opinion, but the greater number ruled the matter: and so Montioy king at armes was sent to the king of England to defie him as the enimie of France, and to tell him that he should shortlie haue battell. King Henrie aduisedlie answered: "Mine intent is to doo as it pleaseth God, I will not séeke your maister at this time; but if he or his séeke me, I will méet with them God willing. If anie of your nation attempt once to stop me in my iournie now towards Calis, at their ieopardie be it; and yet I wish not anie of you so vnaduised, as to be the occasion that I die your tawnie ground with your red bloud."

The French king cōsulteth how to deale with the Englishmen.

Dolphin king of Sicill.

The French k. sendeth defiance to king Henrie.

K. Henries answer to the defiance.

When he had thus answered the herald, he gaue him a princelie reward, and licence to depart. Vpon whose returne, with this answer, it was incontinentlie on the French side proclaimed, that all men of warre should resort to the constable to fight with the king of England. Wherevpon, all

men apt for armor and desirous of honour, drew them toward the field. The Dolphin, sore desired to haue béene at the battell, but he was prohibited by his father: likewise Philip earle of Charolois would gladlie haue béene there, if his father the duke of Burgognie would haue suffered him: manie of his men stale awaie, and went to the Frenchmen. The king of England hearing that the Frenchmen approached, and that there was an other riuier for him to passe with his armie by a bridge, and doubting least if the same bridge should be broken, it would be greatlie to his hinderance, appointed certeine capteins with their bands, to go thither with all spéed before him, and to take possession thereof, and so to kéepe it, till his comming thither.

Those that were sent, finding the Frenchmen busie to breake downe their bridge, assailed them so vigorouslie, that they discomfited them, and tooke and slue them; and so the bridge was preserued till the king came, and passed the riuier by the same with his whole armie. This was on the two and twentieth day of October. The duke of Yorke that led the vauntgard (after the armie was passed the riuier) mounted vp to the heighth of an hill with his people, and sent out scowts to discouer the countrie, the which vpon their returne aduertised him, that a great armie of Frenchmen was at hand, approaching towards them. The duke declared to the king what he had heard, and the king therevpon, without all feare or trouble of mind, caused the battell which he led himselfe to staie, and incontinentlie rode foorth to view his aduersaries, and that doone, returned to his people, and with chéerefull countenance caused them to be put in order of battell, assigning to euerie capteine such roome and place, as he thought conuenient, and so kept them still in that order till night was come, and then determined to séeke a place to incampe & lodge his armie in for that night.

King Henrie rideth foorth to take view of the French armie.

There was not one amongst them that knew any certeine place whither to go, in that vnknowne countrie: but by chance they happened vpon a beaten waie, white in sight; by the which they were brought vnto a little village, where they were refreshed with meat and drinke somewhat more plenteouslie than they had béene diuerse daies before. Order was taken by commandement from the king after the armie was first set in battell arraie, that no noise or clamor should be made in the host; so that in marching foorth to this village, euerie man kept himselfe quiet: but at their comming into the village, fiers were made to giue light on euerie side, as there likewise were in the French host, which was incamped not past two hundred and fiftie pases distant from the English. The chéefe leaders of the French host were these: the constable of France, the marshall, the admerall, the lord Rambures maister of the crosbowes, and other of the French nobilitie, which came and pitched downe their standards and banners in the countie of saint Paule, within the territorie of Agincourt, hauing in their armie (as some write) to the number of thréescore thousand horssemen, besides footmen, wagoners and other.

The number of the French mē thrée score thousand.

*Enguerant.*

They were lodged euen in the waie by the which the Englishmen must néeds passe towards Calis, and all that night after their comming thither, made great cheare, and were verie merie, pleasant, and full of game. The Englishmen also for their parts were of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter, and yet they were both hungrie, wearie, sore trauelled, and vexed with manie cold diseases. Howbeit reconciling themselues with God by hoossell and shrift, requiring assistance at his hands that is the onelie giuer of victorie, they determined rather to die, than to yéeld, or flée. The daie following was the fiue and twentieth of October in the yeare 1415, being then fridaie, and the feast of Crispine and Crispinian, a daie faire and fortunate to the English, but most sorrowfull and vnluckie to the French.

The battell of Agincourt, the 25 of October, 1415.

In the morning, the French capteins made thrée battells, in the vaward were eight thousand healmes of knights and esquiers, foure thousand archers, and fiftéene hundred crosbowes which were guided by the lord de la Breth, constable of France, hauing with him the dukes of Orleance and Burbon, the earles of Ewe and Richmond, the marshall Bouciquault, and the maister of the crosbowes, the lord Dampier admerall of France, and other capteins. The earle of Vandosme with sixtéene hundred men of armes were ordered for a wing to that battell. And the other wing was guided by sir Guichard Dolphine, sir Clugnet of Brabant, and sir Lewes Bourdon, with eight hundred men of armes, of elect chosen persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishmen, were appointed sir Guilliam de Saueuses, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrie de Maillie, and Allen de Gaspanes, with other eight hundred of armes.

The order of the French armie.

In the middle ward, were assigned as manie persons, or more, as were in the foremost battell, and the charge thereof was committed to the dukes of Bar and Alanson, the earles of Neuers, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grant Prée, & of Russie. And in the rereward were all the other men of armes guided by the earles of Marle, Dampmartine, Fauconberg, and the lord of Lourreie capteine of Arde, who had with him the men of the frontiers of Bolonois. Thus the Frenchmen being ordered vnder their standards and banners, made a great shew: for suerlie they were estéemed in number six times as manie or more, than was the whole companie of the Englishmen, with wagoners, pages and all. They rested themselues, waiting for the bloudie blast of the terrible trumpet, till the houre betwéene nine and ten of the clocke of the same daie, during which season, the constable made vnto the capteins and other men of warre a pithie oration, exhorting and encouraging them to doo valiantlie, with manie comfortable words and sensible reasons. King Henrie also like a leader, and not as one led; like a souereigne, and not an inferior, perceiuing a plot of ground verie strong & méet for his

As manie in the battell.

The French estéemed six to one English.



purpose, which on the backe halfe was fenced with the village, wherein he had lodged the night before, and on both sides defended with hedges and bushes, thought good there to imbattell his host, and so ordered his men in the same place, as he saw occasion, and as stood for his most advantage.

First he sent priuillie two hundred archers into a lowe medow, which was néere to the vauntgard of his enimies; but separated with a great ditch, commanding them there to kéepe themselues close till they had a token to them giuen, to let driue at their aduersaries: beside this, he appointed a vaward, of the which he made capteine Edward duke of Yorke, who of an haultie courage had desired that office, and with him were the lords Beaumont, Willoughbie, and Fanhope, and this battell was all of archers. The middle ward was gouerned by the king himselfe, with his brother the duke of Glocester, and the earles of Marshall, Oxenford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the strong bilmen. The duke of Excester vncke to the king led the rereward, which was mixed both with bilmen and archers. The horssemen like wings went on euerie side of the battell.

The order of the English armie and archers.

The vaward all of archers.

Thus the king hauing ordered his battels, feared not the puissance of his enimies, but yet to prouide that they should not with the multitude of horssemen breake the order of his archers, in whome the force of his armie consisted [¶ For in those daies the yeomen had their lims at libertie, sith their hosen were then fastened with one point, and their iackes long and easie to shoot in; so that they might draw bowes of great strength, and shoot arrowes of a yard long; beside the head] he caused stakes bound with iron sharpe at both ends, of the length of fiue or six foot to be pitched before the archers, and of ech side the footmen like an hedge, to the intent that if the barded horssemen ran rashlie vpon them, they might shortlie be gored and destroyed. Certaine persons also were appointed to remooue the stakes, as by the mooueing of the archers occasion and time should require, so that the footmen were hedged about with stakes, and the horssemen stood like a bulwarke betwéene them and their enimies, without the stakes. This deuise of fortifieng an armie, was at this time first inuented: but since that time they haue deuised caltraps, harrowes, and other new engins against the force of horssemen; so that if the enimies run hastilie vpon the same, either are their horssemen wounded with the stakes, or their féet hurt with the other engins, so as thereby the beasts are gored, or else made vnable to mainteine their course.

Archers the greatest force of the English armie.

*Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 392 and Polychron.*

A politike inuention.

*Hall.*

King Henrie, by reason of his small number of people to fill vp his battels, placed his vauntgard so on the right hand of the maine battell, which himselfe led, that the distance betwixt them might scarce be perceiued, and so in like case was the rereward ioined on the left hand, that the one might the more readilie succour an other in time of néed. When he had thus ordered his battels, he left a small companie to kéepe his campe and cariage, which remained still in the village, and then calling his capteins and soldiers about him, he made to them a right graue oration, moouing them to plaie the men, whereby to obtaine a glorious victorie, as there was hope certaine they should, the rather if they would but remember the iust cause for which they fought, and whome they should incounter, such fainthearted people as their ancestors had so often ouercome. To conclude, manie words of courage he vttered, to stirre them to doo manfullie, assuring them that England should neuer be charged with his ransome, nor anie Frenchman triumph ouer him as a captiue; for either by famous death or glorious victorie would he (by Gods grace) win honour and fame.

K. Henries oration to his men.

It is said that as he heard one of host vtter his wish to another thus: "I would to God there were with vs now so manie good soldiers as are at this houre within England! the king answered: I would not wish a man more here than I haue, we are indéed in comparison to the enimies but a few, but, if God of his clemencie doo fauour vs, and our iust cause (as I trust he will) we shall spéed well inough. But let no man ascribe victorie to our owne strength and might, but onelie to Gods assistance, to whome I haue no doubt we shall worthilie haue cause to giue thanks therefore. And if so be that for our offenses sakes we shall deliuered into the hands of our enimies, the lesse number we be, the lesse damage shall the realme of England susteine: but if, we should fight in trust of multitude of men, and so get the victorie (our minds being prone to pride) we should thervpon peraduenture ascribe the victorie not so much to the gift of God, as to our owne puissance, and thereby prouoke his high indignation and displeasure against vs: and if the enimie get the vpper hand, then should our realme and countrie suffer more damage and stand in further danger. But be you of good comfort, and shew your selues valiant, God and our iust quarrell shall defend vs, and deliuer these our proud aduersaries with all the multitude of them which you sée (or at the least the most of them) into our hands." Whilest the king was yet thus in spéech, either armie so maligned the other, being as then in open sight, that eueris man cried; Forward, forward. The dukes of Clarence, Glocester, and Yorke, were of the same opinion, yet the king staid a while, least anie ieopardie were not foreséene, or anie hazard not preuented. The Frenchmen in the meane while, as though they had béene sure of victorie, made great triumph, for the capteins had determined before, how to diuide the spoile, and the soldiers the night before had plaid the Englishmen at dice. The noble men had deuised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantlie conueie the king captiue to the citie of Paris, crieng to their soldiers; Haste you to the spoile, glorie and honor; little wéening (God wot) how soone their brags should be blowne awaie.

A wish.

A noble courage of a valiant prince.

Here we may not forget how the French thus in their iolitie, sent an herald to king Henrie, to inquire what ransome he would offer. Wherevnto he answered, that within two or thrée houres he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common rather with the Englishmen for their ransoms, than the English to take thought for their deliuerance, promising for his owne part, that his dead carcase should rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his liuing bodie should paie anie ransome. When the messenger was come backe to the French host, the men of warre put on their helmets, and caused their trumpets to blow to the battell. They thought themselues so sure of victorie, that diuerse of the noble men made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once stae for their standards: as amongst other the duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a speare, the which he commanded to be borne before him in stéed of his standard.

Hall.

But when both these armies comming within danger either of other, set in full order of battell on both sides, they stood still at the first, beholding either others demeanor, being not distant in sunder past thrée bow shoots. And when they had on both parts thus staid a good while without dooing anie thing, (except that certeine of the French horsemen aduancing forwards, betwixt both the hosts, were by the English archers constreined to returne backe) aduise was taken amongst the Englishmen, what was best for them to doo. Therevpon all things considered, it was determined, that sith the Frenchmen would not come forward, the king with his armie imbattelled (as yée haue hard) should march towards them, and so leauing their trusse and baggage in the village where they lodged the night before, onelie with their weapons, armour, and stakes prepared for the purpose, as yée haue heard.

These made somewhat forward, before whome there went an old knight sir Thomas Erpingham (a man of great experience in the warre) with a warder in his hand; and when he cast vp his warder, all the armie shouted, but that was a signe to the archers in the medow, which therewith shot wholie altogether at the vauward of the Frenchmen, who when they perceiued the archers in the medow, and saw they could not come at them for a ditch that was betwixt them, with all hast set vpon the fore ward of king Henrie, but yer they could ioine, the archers in the forefront, and the archers on that side which stood in the medow, so wounded the footmen, galled the horssees, and combed the men of armes, that the footmen durst not go forward, the horssemen ran together vpō plumps without order, some ouerthrew such as were next them, and the horssees ouerthrew their masters, and so at the first ioining, the Frenchmen were foulie discomforted, and the Englishmen highlie encouraged.

The English gaue the onset.

The two armies ioine battell.

When the French vauward was thus brought to confusion, the English archers cast awaie their bowes, & tooke into their hands, axes, malls, swords, bils, and other hand-weapons, and with the same slue the Frenchmen, vntil they came to the middle ward. Then approched the king, and so encouraged his people, that shortlie the second battell of the Frenchmen was ouerthrowne, and dispersed, not without great slaughter of men: howbeit, diuerse were reléueed by their varlets, and conueied out of the field. The Englishmen were so busied in fighting, and taking of the prisoners at hand, that they followed not in chase of their enimies, nor would once breake out of their arraie of battell. Yet sundrie of the Frenchmen stronglie withstood the fiercenesse of the English, when they came to handie strokes, so that the fight sometime was doubtfull and perillous. Yet as part of the French horssemen set their course to haue entered vpon the kings battell, with the stakes ouerthrowne, they were either taken or slaine. Thus this battell continued thrée long houres.

The vauward of the French discomfited.

Their battell beaten.

The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alanson; yet with plaine strength he slew two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe; whome when he would haue yelded, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) slue out of hand. In conclusion, the king minding to make an end of that daies iornie, caused his horssemen to fetch a compasse about, and to ioine with him against the rereward of the Frenchmen, in the which was the greatest number of people. When the Frenchmen perceiued his intent, they were suddenlie amazed and ran awaie like shéepe, without order or arraie. Which when the king perceiued, he encouraged his men, and followed so quickelie vpon the enimies, that they ran hither and thither, casting awaie their armour: manie on their knées desired to haue their liues saued.

A valiant king.

The French rereward discomfited.

In the meane season, while the battell thus continued, and that the Englishmen had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine Frenchmen on horsebacke, whereof were capteins Robinet of Borneuille, Rifflart of Clamas, Isambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of six hundred horssemen, which were the first that fled, hearing that the English tents & pauillions were a good waie distant from the armie, without anie sufficient gard to defend the same, either vpon a couetous meaning to gaine by the spoile, or vpon a desire to be reuenged, entred vpon the kings campe, and there spoiled the hails, robbed the tents, brake vp chests, and carried awaie caskets, and slue such seruants as they found to make anie resistance. For which treason and hascardie in thus leauing their camp at the very point of fight, for winning of spoile where none to defend it, verie manie were after committed to prison, and had lost their liues, if the Dolphin had longer liued.

The kings campe robbed.

But when the outcrie of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he doubting least his enimies should gather together againe, and begin a new field; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enimies, or the verie enimies to their takers in déed if they were suffered to liue, contrarie to his accustomed gentleness, commanded by sound of trumpet, that euerie man (vpon paine of death) should incontinentlie slaie his prisoner. When this dolorous decrée, and pitifull proclamation was pronounced, pitie it was to sée how some Frenchmen were suddenlie sticked with daggers, some were brained with pollaxes, some slaine with malls, other had their throats cut, and some their bellies panched, so that in effect, hauing respect to the great number, few prisoners were sauéd.

All the prisoners slaine.

When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the Englishmen disposed themselues in order of battell, readie to abide a new field, and also to inuade, and newlie set on their enemies, with great force they assailed the carles of Marie and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Louraie, and of Thine, with six hundred men of armes, who had all that daie kept together, but now slaine and beaten downe out of hand. ¶ Some write, that the king perceiuing his enimies in one part to assemble together, as though they meant to giue a new battell for preseruacion of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and giue battel: promising herewith, that if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie those prisoners which his people alreadie had taken; but also so manie of them as in this new conflict, which they thus attempted should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption.

A fresh onset.

A right wise and valiant challenge of the king.

The Frenchmen fearing the sentence of so terrible a decrée, without further delaie parted out of the field. And so about foure of the clocke in the after noone, the king when he saw no appearance of enimies, caused the retreat to be blowen; and gathering his armie together, gaue thanks to almightie God for so happie a victorie, causing his prelats and chapleins to sing this psalme: In exitu Israel de Aegypto, and commanded euerie man to knéele downe on the ground at this verse: Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam. Which doone, he caused Te Deum, with certeine anthems to be soong, giuing laud and praise to God, without boasting of his owne force or anie humane power. That night he and his people tooke rest, and refreshed themsleues with such victuals as they found in the French campe, but lodged in the same village where he laie the night before.

Thanks giuen to God for the victorie.

A woorthie example of a godlie prince.

*Titus Liuius.*

In the morning, Montioie king at armes and foure other French heralds came to the K. to know the number of prisoners, and to desire buriall for the dead. Before he made them answer (to vnderstand what they would saie) he demanded of them whie they made to him that request, considering that he knew not whether the victorie was his or theirs? When Montioie by true and iust confession had cléered that doubt to the high praise of the king, he desired of Montioie to vnderstand the name of the castell néere adioining: when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he said, Then shall this conflict be called the battell of Agincourt. He feasted the French officers of armes that daie, and granted them their request, which busilie sought through the field for such as were slaine. But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone, for they searched with them, & found manie hurt, but not in ieopardie of their liues, whom they tooke prisoners, and brought them to their tents. When the king of England had well refreshed himselfe, and his souldiers, that had taken the spoile of such as were slaine, he with his prisoners in good order returned to his towne of Calis.

The battell of Agincourt.

When tidings of this great victorie was blowne into England, solemne processions and other praisings to almightie God with boune-fires and ioifull triumphes, were ordeined in euerie towne, citie, and burrow, and the maior & citizens of London went the morow after the daie of saint Simon and Iude from the church of saint Paule to the church of saint Peter at Westminster in deuout maner, rendring to God hartie thanks for such fortunate lucke sent to the king and his armie. The same sundaie that the king remooued from the campe at Agincourt towards Calis, diuerse Frenchmen came to the field to view againe the dead bodies; and the pezants of the countrie spoiled the carcasses of all such apparell and other things as the Englishmen had left: who tooke nothing but gold and siluer, iewels, rich apparell and costlie armour. But the plowmen and pezants left nothing behind, neither shirt nor clout: so that the bodies laie starke naked vntill wednesdaie. On the which daie diuerse of the noble men were conueied into their countries, and the remnant were by Philip earle Charolois (sore lamenting the chance, and mooued with pitie) at his costs & charges buried in a square plot of ground of fiftéene hundred yards; in the which he caused to be made thrée pits, wherein were buried by account fiue thousand and eight hundred persons, beside them that were caried awaie by their fréends and seruants, and others, which being wounded died in hospitals and other places.

The same day that the new maior went to Westminster to receiue his oth, the aduertisement of this noble victorie came to the citie in the morning betimes yer men were vp from their beds.

*Register of maiors.*

Thrée graues that held fiue thousand and eight hundred corpses.

After this their dolorous iournie & pitifull slaughter, diuerse clearks of Paris made manie a lamentable verse, complaining that the king reigned by will, and that councellers were parciall, affirming that the noble men fled against nature, and that the commons were destroyed by their prodigalitie, declaring also that the cleargie were dumbe, and durst not saie the truth, and that

the humble commons dulie obeied, & yet euer suffered punishment, for which cause by diuine persecution the lesse number vanquished the greater: wherefore they concluded, that all things went out of order, and yet was there no man that studied to bring the vnrulie to frame. It was no maruell though this battell was lamentable to the French nation, for in it were taken and slaine the flower of all the nobilitie of France.

There were taken prisoners, Charles duke of Orleance nephue to the French king, Iohn duke of Burbon, the lord Bouciqualt one of the marshals of France (he after died in England) with a number of other lords, knights, and esquiers, at the least fiftéene hundred, besides the common people. There were slaine in all of the French part to the number of ten thousand men, whereof were princes and noble men bearing baners one hundred twentie and six; to these of knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, so manie as made vp the number of eight thousand and foure hundred (of the which fiue hundred were dubbed knights the night before the battell) so as of the meaner sort, not past sixtéene hundred. Amongst those of the nobilitie that were slaine, these were the chéefest, Charles lord de la Breth high constable of France, Iaques of Chatilon lord of Dampier admerall of France, the lord Rambures master of the crossebowes, sir Guischard Dolphin great master of France, Iohn duke of Alanson, Anthonie duke of Brabant brother to the duke of Burgognie, Edward duke of Bar, the earle of Neuers an other brother to the duke of Burgognie, with the erles of Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grandprée, Roussie, Fauconberge, Fois and Lestrake, beside a great number of lords and barons of name.

Noble men prisoners.

The number slaine on the French part.

Of Englishmen, there died at this battell, Edward duke Yorke, the earle of Suffolke, sir Richard Kikelie, and Daue Gamme esquier, and of all other not aboue fiue and twentie persons, as some doo report; but other writers of greater credit affirme, that there were slaine aboue fiue or six hundred persons. Titus Liius saith, that there were slaine of Englishmen, beside the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Suffolke, an hundred persons at the first incounter. The duke of Glocester the kings brother was sore wounded about the hips, and borne downe to the ground, so that he fell backwards, with his féet towards his enimies, whom the king bestrid, and like a brother valiantlie rescued from his enimies, & so sauing his life, caused him to be conueied out of the fight, into a place of more safetie. ¶ The whole order of this conflict which cost manie a mans life, and procured great bloudshed before it was ended, is liuelie described in Anglorum prælijs; where also, besides the manner of disposing the armies, with the exploits on both sides, the number also of the slaine, not much differing (though somewhat) from the account here named, is there touched, which remembrance verie fit for this place, it were an errour (I thinke) to omit; and therefore here inserted (with the shortest) as followeth.

Englishmen slaine.

*Rich. Grafton. Titus Liius.*

*Abr. Fl. out of Anglorum prælijs sub Henr. 5.*

--- equitatus ordine primo,  
Magnanimi satrapæ, post hos cecidere secundo  
Nauarræ comes, & tuus archiepiscopus (ô Sans)  
Præterea comites octo periere cruentis  
Vulneribus, trita appellant quos voce barones  
Plus centum, clari generis plus mille cadebant  
Sexcenti, notiq; decem plus millia vulgi  
Ex Francorum, ter centum perdidit Anglus:  
Et penes Henricum belli victoria mansit.

After that the king of England had refreshed himselfe, and his people at Calis, and that such prisoners as he had left at Harflue (as ye haue heard) were come to Calis vnto him, the sixt daie of Nouember, he with all his prisoners tooke shipping, and the same daie landed at Douer, hauing with him the dead bodies of the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Suffolke, and caused the duke to be buried at his colledge of Fodringhey, and the earle at new Elme. In this passage, the seas were so rough and troublous that two ships belonging to sir Iohn Cornewall, lord Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland; howbeit, nothing was lost, nor any person perisht. ¶ The maior of London, and the aldermen, apparelled in orient grained scarlet, and foure hundred commoners clad in beautifull murrie, well mounted, and trimlie horssed, with rich collars, & great chaines, met the king on Blackheath, reioising at his returne: and the clergie of London, with rich crosses, sumptuous copes, and massie censers, receiued him at saint Thomas of Waterings with solemne procession.

Hall.

The king like a graue and sober personage, and as one remembring from whome all victories are sent, séemed little to regard such vaine pompe and shewes as were in triumphant sort deuised for his welcomming home from so prosperous a iournie, in so much that he would not suffer his helmet to be caried with him, whereby might haue appeared to the people the blowes and dints that were to be séene in the same; neither would he suffer any ditties to be made and soong by minstrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie haue the praise and thanks altogether giuen to God. The news of this bloudie battell being reported to the French king as then sojourning at Rone, filled the court full of sorrow. But to remedie such danger as was like to insue, it was décréd by councill, to ordeine new officers in places of them that were slaine: and first he elected his chiefe officer for the wars, called the constable, the earle of Arminacke, a wise and politike capteine, and an ancient enimie to the Englishmen. Sir Iohn de Corsie was made maister of the crossebowes. Shortlie after, either for

Titus Liius.

The great modestie of the king.

The death of the Dolphin of France.

Part of those that spoiled the English campe.

melancholie that he had for the losse at Agincourt, or by some sudden disease Lewes Dolphin of Viennois, heire apparant to the French king, departed this life without issue, which happened well for Robinet of Bourneuill, and his fellowes, as ye haue heard before, for his death was their life, & his life would haue béene their death.

After the French king had created new officers, in hope to relieue the state of his realme and countrie, sore shaken by the late great ouerthrow, it chanced, that Thomas duke of Excester capteine of Harflue, accompanied with thrée thousand Englishmen, made a great rode into Normandie, almost to the cite of Rone, in which iournie he got great abundance both of riches and prisoners: but in his returne, the earle of Arminacke newlie made constable of France, intending in his first enterprise to win the spurs, hauing with him aboue fiue thousand horssemen, incountred with the duke. The fight was handled on both parts verie hotlie, but bicause the Englishmen were not able to resist the force of the Frenchmen, the duke was constrained to retire with losse at the least of thrée hundred of his footmen.

1416.

A sore conflict.

Howbeit being withdrawen into an orchard, which was stronglie fensed and hedged about with thornes, the Frenchmen were not able to enter vpon the Englishmen; but yet they tooke from them all their horssees and spoile, & assaulted them till it was night, and then retired backe to the towne, not far distant from the place where they fought, called Vallemont: this was vpon the 14 day of March. In the morning vpon the breake of the daie, the Englishmen issued foorth of the orchard, where they had kept themselues all the night, & drew towards Harflue, wherof the Frenchmen being aduertised, followed them, & ouertooke them vpon the sands néere to Chiefe de Caux, and there set on them: but in the end, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and a great number of them slaine by the Englishmen, which afterwards returned without more adoo vnto Harflue. The French writers blame the constable for this losse, bicause he kept on the high ground with a number of men of war, and would not come downe to aid his fellowes.

In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, the emperour Sigismund, coosine germane to king Henrie, came into England, to the intent that he might make an attonement betwéene king Henrie and the French king: with whom he had béene before, bringing with him the archbishop of Remes, as ambassadour for the French king. At Calis he was honorable receiued by the earle of Warwike lord deputie there, and diuerse other lords sent thither of purpose to attend him. Moreouer, the king sent thither thirtie great ships to bring him and his traine ouer. At Douer the duke of Glocester, and diuerse other lords were readie to receiue him, who at his approaching to land, entered the water with their swords in their hands drawen; and by the mouth of the said duke declared to him, that if he intended to enter the land as the kings fréend, and as a mediator to intreat for peace, he should be suffered to arriue: but if he would enter as an emperour into a land claimed to be vnder his empire, then were they readie to resist him. This was thought necessarie to be doone for sauing of the kings prerogatiue, who hath full preheminance within his owne realme, as an absolute emperour.

An. Reg. 4.

The emperor Sigismund commeth into England.

*Titus Liuius.*

The strange manner of receiuing the emperour at Douer.

When the emperour herevpon answered that he was come as the kings fréend, and as a mediator for peace, and not with any imperiall authoritie, he was of the duke and other his associats receiued with all such honor as might be deuised. The king with all his nobilitie receiued him on Blackheath the seuenth day of Maie, and brought him through London to Westminster with great triumph. Shortlie after there came also into England Albert duke of Holland, who was likewise fréendlie interteined. Both these princes, the emperour and the duke of Holland were conueied to Windsore to saint Georges feast, and elected companions of the noble order of the garter, and had the collar and habit of the same to them deliuered, and sat in their stals all the solemnitie of the feast. Shortlie after that the feast was finished, the duke of Holland returned into his countrie; but the emperour tarried still, and assaied all maner of meanes to persuade the king to a peace with the Frenchmen.

Albert duke of Holland cōmeth into England.

But their euill hap, as they that were appointed by Gods prouidence to suffer more damage at the Englishmens hands, would not permit his persuasions to take place: for whereas peace was euen almost entring in at the gates, the king was suddenlie stirred to displeasure vpon a new occasion, for he being aduertised of the losse of his men at the late conflict in the territorie of Rone (as ye haue heard) refused to heare this word peace once named. The emperour like a wise prince passed ouer that time till another season, that some fauourable aspect of the planets should séeme to further his purpose. And when he thought the same was come, he broched againe the vessell of concord and amitie, which he put in so faire a cup, and presented it with such effectuous words, that suerlie the king had tasted it, if word had not béen brought about the same time that Harflue was besieged of the French both by water and land, as it was in déed: for the constable of France encouraged by his last conflict (though the same was not much to his praise) assembled an armie, and vpon a sudden laid siege to the towne. At the same instant Iohn vicount of Narbon the vice-admerall of France, brought the whole nauie to the riuage and shore adioining to the towne, in purpose to haue entered by the waterside; but the duke of Excester defeated his intent, and defended the towne verie manfullie.

The emperor an earnest mediator for peace.

Harflue besieged by the French.

King Henrie aduertised hereof, meant at the first to haue gone with his nauie in person to the succors of his men; but the emperour dissuaded him

*Titus Liuius.*

from that purpose, aduising him rather to send some one of his capteins. The king following his louing and reasonable aduertisement, appointed his brother the duke of Bedford accompanied with the earles of March, Marshall, Oxford, Huntington, Warwike, Arundell, Salisburie, Deuonshire, and diuerse barons, with two hundred saile, to passe into Normandie, for rescue of the towne of Harflue; which vsing great diligence shipped at Rie, and after some hinderance by contrarie winds, at length came to the mouth of the riuer of Seine on the daie of the Assumption of our ladie. When the vicount of Narbon perceiued the English nauie to approch, he couragiously set forward, and gat the possession of the mouth of the hauen. The duke of Bedford séeing his enimies thus fiercelie to come forward, set before certeine strong ships which at the first incounter vanquished and tooke two French ships, the capteins whereof were too rash and forward.

A great ouerthrow by sea giuen to the French by the duke of Bedford.

The duke followed with all his puissance, and set on his enimies. The fight was long, but not so long as perillous, nor so perillous as terrible (for battels on the sea are desperate) till at length the victorie fell to the Englishmen, so that almost all the whole nauie of France, in the which were manie ships, hulkes, carikes, and other small vessels, to the number of fiue was sunke & taken. Amongst other vessels that were taken, thrée great carikes of Genoa, a citie in Italie, were sent into England. In the same conflict were slaine of the Frenchmen no small number, as appeared by the dead bodies, which were séene euerie daie swimming about the English ships. After this, the duke of Bedford sailed vp to Harflue, & refreshed the towne both with vittels and monie; notwithstanding certeine other French gallies did what they could to haue letted that enterprise. When the earle of Arminacke heard that the puissant name of France was vanquished, he raised his siege & returned to Paris.

The French nauie of fiue hundred vessels vanquished.

*Titus Liuius.*

*Titus Liuius.*

Harflue rescued by the Englishmen.

After this discomfiture and losse, the puissance of the Frenchmen began to decaie, for now the princes and nobles of the realme fell into diuision and discord among themselues, studieng how to reuenge their old priuat iniuries, & refused to take paine for succour of the publike weale and safeguard of their countrie: wherevpon their power began to wax slender, their state brought into imminent danger of perpetuall bondage; which thing no doubt had fallen vpon them if king Henrie had longer liued. For as vpon once inconuenience suffered, manie doo follow, so was it in France at that time: for the king was not of sound memorie, the warre that was toward both doubtfull and perillous: the princes vntrustie and at discord: with a hundred things more (which might bring a realme to ruine) out of frame and order in France in those daies. After that the duke of Bedford was returned backe againe into England with great triumph and glorie, he was not so much thanked of the king his brother, as praised of the emperour Sigismund, being to him a stranger, which said openlie, that happie are those subiects which haue such a king, but more happie is the king that hath such subiects.

Ciuill discord amongst the nobles of France.

Charles the French king not of sound memorie.

When the emperor perceiued that it was in vaine to mooue further for peace, he left off that treatie, and entered himselfe into a league with king Henrie, the contents of which league consisted chéeflie in these articles, that both the said emperour and king, their heires, and successors, should be fréends ech to other, as alies and confederats against all manner of persons, of what estate or degré so euer they were (the church of Rome, and the pope for that time being onlie excepted) and that neither they, nor their heires, nor successors should be present in councill or other place, where either of them, or his heires or successors might susteine damage, in lands, goods, honors, states, or persons: and that if anie of them should vnderstand of losse or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they should impeach the same, or if that laie not in their powers, they should aduertise the others thereof with all conuenient spéed: and that either of them, and their heires and successors should aduance the others honor and commoditie without fraud or deceit. Moreouer, that neither of them, nor their heires and successors should permit their subiects to leaue warres against the others, and that it should be lawfull and frée for ech of their subiects, to passe into the others countrie, and there to remaine and make merchandize, either by sea or land, paieng the customes, gabels, and duties due and accustomed, according to the lawes and ordinances of the places and countries where they chanced to traffike.

*Titus Liuius.*

The emperor entereth into league with king Henrie.

The cõtents of the league.

Furthermore, that neither of the said princes, nor their heires nor successors should receiue any rebell, banished man, or traitor of the others wittinglie; but should cause euerie such person to auoid out of their countries, realmes, dominions, and iurisdictions. Againe, that neither of the said princes, their heires, nor successors should begin any wars against any other person, other than such as they had warres with at that present, without consent of the other his confederate, except in defence of themselues, their countries and subiects, in case of inuasion made vpon them. Also, that it should be lawfull for the king of England, to prosecute his warres against the Frenchmen for recouerie of his right, as should séeme to him expedient; and likewise to the emperor, for recouerie of any part of his right in France, so that neither of them did preiudice the others right in that behalfe. Lastlie, that either of them should assist other, in recouerie & conquest of their rights, lands, and dominions, occupied, withholden, and kept from them, by him that called himselfe king of France, and other the princes and barons of France. This aliance, with other

*Titus Liuius.*

conditions, agréments, and articles, was concluded & established on the ninetéeenth daie of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1416. This doone, the emperor returned homewards, to passe into Germanie; and the king partlie to shew him honor, and partlie bicause of his owne affaires, associated him to his towne of Calis.

During the time of their abode there, the duke of Burgognie offered to come to Calis, to speake with the emperor and the king, bicause he had knowledge of the league that was concluded betwixt them: the king sent his brother the duke of Glocester, and the earle of March to the water of Graueling, to be hostages for the duke of Burgognie: and also the earle of Warwike, with a noble companie to conduct him to his presence. At Graueling foord the dukes met, and after salutations doone, the duke of Burgognie was conueied to Calis, where of the emperor and the king he was highly welcomed and feasted. Here is to be noted, that in Iune last, the king of England had sent the earle of Warwike, and other, vnto the duke of Burgognie, as then remaining at Lisle, where by the diligent trauell of those English ambassadors, a truce was concluded betwixt the king of England and the duke of Burgognie, touching onelie the countie of Flanders and Arthois, to indure from the feast of saint Iohn Baptist in that present yeare 1416, vnto the feast of saint Michaell, in the yeare next insuing. Which truce at the dukes being now at Calis (when no further agrément could be concluded) was prolonged vnto the feast of saint Michaell, that should be in the yeare 1419. The duke of Glocester was receiued at Graueling, by the earle Charolois, and by him honorablie conueied to saint Omers, and there lodged that night.

*Continuation de la chronicles de Flanders.*

A truce betwéene the k. and the duke of Burgognie.

The next day, the earle Charolois came with diuerse noble men, to visit the duke of Glocester in his lodging, and when he entered into the chamber, the dukes backe was towards him, talking with some one of his seruants, and did not see nor welcome the earle at his first entrie; but after he said to him shortlie without any great reuerence, or comming towards him; You be welcome faire cousine, and so passed foorth his tale with his seruants. The earle Charolois for all his youth, was not well content therewith, but yet suffered for that time. When the duke of Burgognie had doone all his businesse at Calis, after the ninth daie he returned to Graueling, where the duke of Glocester and he met againe, and louinglie departed, the one to Calis, and the other to saint Omers; for the which voiage the duke of Burgognie was suspected to be enemie to the crowne of France. After the dukes departing from Calis, the emperor was highlie feasted and rewarded, and at his pleasure sailed into Holland, & so rode towards Beame. The king likewise tooke ship, and returned into England on saint Lukes euen.

About the same time, the king sent new ambassadors vnto the generall councell, which still continued at Constance, whither the emperor Sigismund also returned, chéefelie for chasing awaie of that pestilent smoke of schisme then blasted vp betwéene Iohn the thrée and twentieth, Gregorie the twelfth, and Benet the thirtéeenth (as they intituled themselues) the thrée peruerse prelates, that all at once with such eager malice stroue together for the sacred sée of papasie Gods vicarage (that was) who to be highest here in earth. The infectious smother of this venomous vapor by the spirit of these holie men thus raised vp thorough faction and parts taking, had béene readie to choke all christendome, had not by the wisdome and authoritie of the princes there, the same the sooner béene vented away. Here by the consent also of all nations it was ordeined in this councell, that this realme should haue the name of the English nation, and be called and reputed for one of the fiue principall nations of the councell, which to grant before that time, through enuie, other nations had vtterlie refused.

*Titus Liuius. W. P.*

The prerogatiue of the English nation in the generall councell.

The ninetéeenth of October, the parlement that had béene broken vp, by reason of the emperours comming, began againe at Westminster, and there the king made to them a short and pithie oration, declaring the iniuries latelie doone and committed by the French nation, shewing also the iust and lawful occasion of his warres: signifieng furthermore the great discord and ciuill dissention which reigned amongst the nobilitie of France, rehearsing manie things, for the which it were necessarie to follow the warres now in hand against them, and that without delaie. He therefore desired them to prouide for monie and treasure, that nothing should be wanting when néed required: his request héerein was granted, for euerie man was willing and glad to further that voiage, so that the cleargie granted two dismes, and the laitie a whole fiftéeenth. In this parlement also Iohn Duke of Bedford was made gouernour or regent of the realme, to hold and enioie the office so long as the king was occupied in the French wars. Moreouer, in this parlement, the king gaue to the duke of Excester a thousand pounds by yeare, to be paid out of his owne cofers; besides fortie pounds yearelie, which he was to receiue of the towne of Excester, of the kings reuenues there, and had the same grant confirmed by authoritie of the parlement, insomuch that some write, that in this parlement he was made duke of Excester, and not before.

*Thom. Walsi.*

The kings oration.

The duke of Bedford regent of England.

*Tho. Walsi.*

The king kept his Christmase at Killingworth, and the morrow after Christmase daie were certeine writings cast abroad, in great mens houses, and almost in euerie inne within the townes of S. Albons, Northampton, and Reading, conteining sharpe reproofes against all estates of the church, and it could not be knowne from whence those writings came, nor who was the author of them. The king verie earnestlie procured all things to be made readie for the warre, meaning to passe the

Libels against the cleargie.

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next summer ouer into France, to recouer his right by force, which by no other meane he saw how to obteine. ¶ In this meane while had the Frenchmen hired a great number of Genowaies and Italians, with certeine carickes and gallies well appointed, the which being ioined with the French fléet, laie at the mouth of the riuer of Seine, and vp within the same riuer, both to stop all succour by sea that should come to them within Harflue, and also to waft abroad, and doo what damage they could vnto the English, as occasion serued.

*Tit. Liuius.*

The king therefore yer he passed ouer himselfe, sent the erle of Huntington to search and scowre the seas. This lustie earle, called Iohn Holland (sonne to the earle of Huntington, otherwise called duke of Excester, beheaded at Circester, in the time of king Henrie the fourth, and cousine to the king) with a great nauie of ships searched the sea, from the one coast to the other, and in conclusion incountred with nine of those great carickes of Genes (the which the lord Iaques the bastard of Burbon had retained to serue the French king) and set on them sharplie. The conflict was great, and the fight long (continuing the more part of a summers daie) but in conclusion, the Frenchmen and Italians were ouercome and fled. Thrée of the greatest caricks with their patrons, and monsieur Iaques de Burbon their admerall were taken, with as much monie as should haue paid the soldiers of the whole fléet for halfe a yeare, and thrée other caricks were bowged.

A great exploit by sea doone by the earle of Huntington.

*Tit. Liuius.*

The earle returning backe with this good lucke, found the king at Hampton, who receiued him with thankes, as he had well deserued. Shortlie after, vpon the thrée and twentieth of Iulie, the king tooke his ship at Portesmouth, accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Glocester; the earls of Huntington, Marshall, Warwike, Deuonshire, Salisburie, Suffolke, and Summerset; the lords Rosse, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, Clinton, Scroope, Matreuers, Burchier, Ferreis of Grobie, and Ferreis of Chartleie, Fanhope, Graie of Codnore, sir Gilbert Umfreuile, sir Gilbert Talbot, and diuerse other; and so hauing wind and weather to his desire, the first daie of August he landed in Normandie, néere to a castell called Touque, where he consulted with his capteins, what waie was best for him to take concerning his high enterprise.

*Tit. Liuius.*

His armie contained the number of sixtéene thousand and foure hundred soldiers and men of warre of his owne purueiance, beside others. The duke of Clarence had in his retinue a hundred lances, and thrée hundred archers: and beside him, there were thrée earles, which had two hundred and fortie lances, and seauentéene hundred and twentie archers. The duke of Glocester foure hundred and seauentie lances, and fouretéene hundred and ten archers. The earles of March, Marshall, Warwike, and Salisburie, each of them one hundred lances; and thrée hundred archers a péce. The earle of Huntington fortie lances, and six score archers. The earle of Suffolke thirtie lances, and fourescore and ten archers. Beside these, there were thirtéene lords, as Aburgauennie, Matreuers, Fitz Hugh, Clifford, Graie, Willoughbie, Talbot, Courtnie, Burchier, Roos, Louell, Ferrers of Chartlie, and Harington, the which had in their retinue the number of fiue hundred and six lances, and fiftéene hundred and fourescore archers. Also, there were in this armie thréescore and seauentéene knights, which had vnder them nine hundred and fortie fiue lances, and two thousand eight hundred and fiftie two archers; so that in all, there were fiue and twentie thousand, fiue hundred, and eight and twentie fighting men: of which number euerie fourth man was a lance. Beside the soldiers and men of warre, there were a thousand masons, carpenters, and other labourers.

The number of the armie 16400, of his owne purueiance.

*Tit. Liuius.*

The Normans hearing of the kings arriuall, were suddenlie striken with such feare, that they fled out of their houses, leauing the townes and villages, and with their wiues and children, bag and baggage, got them into the walled townes, preparing there to defend themselues, & with all spéed sent to the French king, requiring him to prouide for the defense and preseruation of his louing subjects. Héerevpon, the men of war were appointed to resort into the strong townes, to lie within the same in garrisons, to resist the power of the Englishmen, so that all the walled townes and castels in Normandie were furnished with men, munition, and vittels. The king of England, when he had resolued with his councill for his procéding in his enterprises, laid siege vnto the castell of Touque. The duke of Glocester that led the fore ward, had the charge of that siege, the which by force of assaults, and other warlike meanes, brought to that point, that they within yélded the place into his hands, the ninth daie of August. The earle of Salisburie, who led the battell, tooke the castell of Amberuilliers, the which was giuen to him by the king, and so this earle was the first that had anie territorie giuen him of the king in this new conquest. The king made at the winning of Touque eight and twentie knights, and left sir Robert Kirkelie capteine there.

The Normans flée to the walled townes.

Touque castell beseiged by the Englishmen & taken.

Amberuilliers castell taken.

After this, on deliberate aduise taken how to procéed, the k. set forward toward the towne of Caen in most warlike order, wasting the countrie on euerie side as he passed. Which towne standeth in a plaine fertile countrie, no stronger walled, than déepe ditched, and as then well vittelled and replenished with people: for the citizens fearing the kings comming, had there prouided all things necessarie and defensible. But his maiestie doubting least the Frenchmen, vpon their vnderstanding of his approach to the towne, would haue burned the suburbs and buildings without the walles, sent the duke of Clarence with a thousand men before him, to preuent that mischéefe. The duke comming thither, found the suburbs already set on fire, but



used such diligence to quench the same, that the most part was saued. He also wan the abbeie church of saint Stephan, which the Frenchmen were in hand to haue ouerthrowne, by vndermining the pillers; but the duke obtaining the place, filled vp the mines, and so preserued the church. He also wan a cell of nunnes, verie stronglie fensed, after the manner of warre.

Then came the king before the towne, who caused forthwith to be cast a déepe trench, with an high mount, to kéepe them within from issuing fourth, and that doone, began fiercelie to assault the towne: but they within stood manfullie to their defense, so that there was sore and cruell fight betwixt them, and their enimies. But when king Henrie perceiued that he lost more than he wan by his dailie assaults, he left off anie more to assault it, and determined to ouerthrow the wals, with vndermining. Wherefore with all diligence, the pioners cast trenches, made mines, and brought timber: so that within a few daies, the wals stood onelie vpon posts, readie to fall, when fire should be put to them. The king meaning now to giue a generall assault, caused all the capteins to assemble before him in councill, vnto whome he declared his purpose, commanding them not before the next daie to vtter it; till by sound of trumpet they should haue warning to set forward towards the wals, least his determination being disclosed to the enimies, might cause them to prouide the better for their owne defense. He also prescribed vnto them, what order he would haue them to kéepe, in giuing the assault, and that was this; that euerie capteine deuiding his band into thrée seuerall portions, they might be readie one to succéed in an others place, as those which fought should happilie be driuen backe and repelled.

Caen besieged.

*Tit. Liuius.*

The order of the assault.

In the morning next following, being the fourth of September, somewhat before the breake of the daie, he caused his people to approach the wals, and to shew countenance, as though they would giue a generall assault; and whilst they were busied in assailing and defending on both sides, the Englishmen pearsed and brake thorough the wals by diuerse holes and ouertures made by the pioners, vnder the foundation: yet the king vpon diuerse respects, offered them within pardon of life if they would yéeld themselues and the towne to his mercie; but they refusing that to doo, the assault was newlie begun, and after sore fight continued for the space of an houre, the Englishmen preuailed, and slew so manie as they found with weapon in hand, readie to resist them.

The duke of Clarence was the first that entred with his people, and hauing got the one part of the towne, assailed them that kept the bridge, & by force beating them backe, passed the same, and so came to the wals on the other side of the towne, where the fight was sharpe and fierce betwixt the assailants and defendants; but the duke with his people setting on the Frenchmen behind, as they stood at defense on the wals, easilie vanquished them, so that the Englishmen entred at their pleasure. Thus when the king was possessed of the towne, he incontinentlie commanded all armours & weapons of the vanquished, to be brought into one place, which was immediatlie doone.

*Titus Liuius.*

Caen taken by the Englishmen.

Then the miserable people came before the kings presence, and knéeling on their knées, held vp their hands, and cried; Mercie, mercie: to whome the king gaue certaine comfortable words, & bad them stand vp. All the night following, he caused his armie to kéepe themselues in order of battell within the towne, and on the next morning called all the magistrats & gouernors of the towne to the senat house, where some for their wilfull stubbornesse were adiudged to die, other were sore fined and ransomed. Then he calling together his souldiers and men of warre, not onelie gaue them great praises and high commendations for their manlie dooings, but also distributed to euerie man, according to his desert, the spoile and game gotten in the towne, chéeflie bicause at the assault they had shewed good prooffe of their manhood and valiant courages.

Diuision of spoile.

After that the towne was thus woone, the lord Montainie, capteine of the castell, would not yéeld, but made semblance, as though he meant to defend the place, to the vtterance: but after that he was sharplie called vpon by king Henrie, either to yéeld it, or else that he should be assured to haue all mercie and faour sequestred from him, he tooke better aduise, and therevpon being in despaire of reléefe, made this composition, that if he were not rescued of the French power by a certaine daie, he should render the fortresse into the kings hands, with condition, that he and his souldiers should be suffered to depart with all their goods, the habiliments of warre onelie excepted. Herevpon twelue hostages were deliuered to the king, and when the daie came, being the twentieth of September, they within rendred the castell into the kings hands; and thus, both the towne and castell of Caen became English.

The capteine of the castell held out.

*Titus Liuius.*

Caen castell yéelded.

Whilst the king was thus occupied about his warres in Normandie, the Scots in great number, entring England, wasted the countrie with fire and sword whersoouer they came. The English lords that were left in trust with the kéeping of those parties of the realme, raised the whole power of the countries, so that there came together the number of an hundred thousand men vpon Baw moore, where the generall assemblie was made, and as it chanced, the duke of Excester, vncle to the king, who had latelie before mustered a certaine number of men to conueie them ouer to the king as a new supplie to his armie there, was the same time in the north parts on pilgrimage at Bridlington; and hearing of this inuasion made by the Scots, tooke vpon him to be generall of the armie prepared against

*Titus Liuius.*

The Scots inuade the English borders.

*Titus Liuius.*

A great armie to resist the Scots.

them, and to giue them battell. Also, the archbishop of Yorke, although he was not able to sit on horssebacke by reason of his great age, caused himselfe to be caried foorth in a charet in that iournie, the better to encourage other. But the Scots hearing that the Englishmen approched toward them with such puissance, withdrew backe into their countrie, and durst not abide the bickering; either because they mistrusted an infortunat euent on their side, by reason of the English prowess; or else for that they had learned by others ouerthrowes to auoid the like, wherein standeth a profitable point of wisdom, as the poet verie sententiouslie saith,

Thom. Walsin.

The Scots recoile home.

Feliciter sapit qui in alieno periculo sapit.

The same time, the lord Cobham, sir Iohn Oldcastell, whilest he shifted from place to place to escape the hands of them, who he knew would be glad to laie hold on him, had conueied himselfe in secret wise into an husbandmans house, not farre from S. Albons, within the precinct of a lordship belonging to the abbat of that towne. The abbats seruants getting knowledge hereof, came thither by night, but they missed their purpose, for he was gone; but they caught diuerse of his men, whome they caried streict to prison. The lord Cobham herewith was sore dismaied, for that some of them that were taken were such as he trusted most, being of counsell in all his deuises. In the same place, were found books written in English, and some of those books in times past had béene trimlie gilt, limned, and beautified with images, the heads whereof had béene scraped off, and in the Letanie they had boltted forth the name of our ladie, and of other saints, till they came to the verse Parce nobis Dommine. Diuerse writings were found there also, in derogation of such honor as then was thought due our ladie. The abbat of saint Albons sent the booke so difigured with scrapings & blottings out, with other such writings as there were found, vnto the king; who sent the booke againe to the archbishop, to shew the same in his sermons at Paules crosse in London, to the end that the citizens and other people of the realme might vnderstand the purposes of those that then were called Lollards, to bring them further in discredit with the people.

Plautus.

Sir Iohn Oldcastell.

The seruants of the abbot of S. Albons go about to catch the lord Cobham.

In this meane time that the king of England was occupied about Caen, the Frenchmen had neither anie sufficient power to resist him, nor were able to assemble an host together in their necessitie, by reason of the dissention among themselues: for their king was so simple, that he was spoiled both of treasure and kingdome, so that euerie man spent and wasted he cared not what. Charles the Dolphin being of the age of sixtéene or seauentéene yeares, bewailed the ruine and decaie of his countrie, he onelie studied the reléefe of the common-wealth, and deuised how to resist his enimies; but hauing neither men nor monie, was greatlie troubled and disquieted in mind. In conclusion, by the aduise and counsell of the earle of Arminacke the constable of France, he found a meane to get all the treasure & riches which his moother quéene Isabell had gotten and hoorded in diuerse secret places: and for the common defense and profit of his countrie he wiselie bestowed it in waging souldiers, and preparing of things necessarie for the warre.

Commendation of the Dolphin of France.

The quéene forgetting the great perill that the realme then stood in, remembring onelie the displeasure to hir by this act doone, vpon a womanish malice, set hir husband Iohn duke of Burgognie in the highest authoritie about the king, giuing him the regiment and direction of the king and his realme, with all preheminance & souereigntie. The duke of Burgognie hauing the sword in his hand, in reuenge of old iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin, determining, that when he had tamed this yong vnbrideled gentleman, then would he go about to withstand, and beat backe the common enimies of the realme. The like reason mooued the Dolphin, for he minded first to repress the authours of ciuill discord, before he would set vpon forreine enimies, and therefore prepared to subdue and destroe the duke of Burgognie, as the chéefe head of that mischéefe, whereby the realme was vnquieted, decaied, and in manner brought to vtter ruine. Thus was France afflicted, and in euerie part troubled with warre and diuision, and no man to prouide remedie, nor once put forth his finger for helpe or succour.

The yong Dolphin fléeced his old moother of hir treasure, what mischéefe rose vpon it.

The duke of Burgognie chéefe doer in France.

King Henrie in the meane time following victorie and his good successe, sent the duke of Clarence to the sea coast, where (with great difficultie) he got the towne of Baieux, whereof the lord Matreuers was appointed capteine. The duke of Glocester also finding small resistance, tooke the citie of Liseaux, of which citie sir Iohn Kirkleie was ordeined capteine. King Henrie himselfe taried still at Caen, fortieng the towne and castell, and put out fiftéene hundred women and impotent persons, replenishing the towne with English people. Where while the king sojourned, he kept a solemne feast, and made manie knights; beside that, he shewed there an example of great pitie and clemencie: for in searching the castell, he found innumerable substance of plate and monie belonging to the citizens, whereof he would not suffer one penie to be touched, but restored the same to the owners, deliuering to euerie man that which was his owne.

Baieux takē.

Liseaux taken.

Caen peopled with English inhabitants.

A worthie & rare example of equitie in king Henrie.

When the fame of his mercifull dealing herein, of his bountie to captiues, and of his fauourable vsing of those that submitted themselues to his

The Normans willinglie

grace, was spred abroad, all the capteins of the townes adioining, came willinglie to his presence, offering to him themselues, their townes, and their goods, whervpon he made proclamation, that all men, which had, or would become his subiects, and sweare to him allegiance, should inioy their goods, and liberties, in as large or more ample maner, than they did before: which gentle interteining of the stubborne Normans, was the verie cause, why they were not onlie content, but also glad to remooue and turne from the French part, and become subiects to the crowne of England.

sworne English.

When the king had set Caen in good order, he left there for capteins, the one of the towne, the other of the castell, sir Gilbert Umfreuill earle of Kime or Angus, & sir Gilbert Talbot, and made bailiffe there sir Iohn Popham, and so departed from Caen the first of October, and comming to the castell of Courfie, within thrée daies had it rendred to him. From whence, the fourth of October, he came vnto Argenton; they within that towne and castell offered, that if no rescue came by a daie limited, they would deliuer both the towne and castell into the kings hands, so that such as would abide and become the kings faithfull subiects should be receiued, the other to depart with their goods and liues saued whither they would: the king accepted their offer. When the daie limited came, and no succours appeared, they yéelded according to the couenants, and the king performed all that on his behalfe was promised. The lord Graie of Codnor was appointed capteine there. After this, resorted dailie to the king, of the Normans, people of all sorts and degrées, to sweare to him fealtie and homage. The cite of Sées which was well inhabited, and wherein were two abbeies of great strength, one of them yéelded to the king, and so likewise did diuerse other townes in those parties, without stroke striken.

The castell of Courfie rendered.

Argenton builded.

The voluntarie subiection of the French.

Sées yéelded.

The towne of Alanson abode a siege for the space of eight daies; they within defending it right valiantlie at the first; but in the end, considering with themselues, what small hope there was for anie succours to come to remooue the siege, they grew to a composition, that if within a certeine daie they were not reléueed, they should yéeld both the towne and castell into the kings hands, which was doone: for no succours could be heard of.

Alanson besieged and yéelded vp.

*Titus Liuius.*

The king appointed capteine of this towne, the duke of Glocester, and his lieutenant sir Ralfe Lentall. The duke of Britaine vnder safe conduct came to the king, as he was thus busie in the conquest of Normandie, and after sundrie points treated of betwixt them, a truce was taken, to indure from the seuenth daie of Nouember, vnto the last of September, in the yeare next following, betwixt them, their souldiers, men of warre, and subiects. The like truce was granted vnto the quéene of Ierusalem and Sicill, & to hir sonne Lewes, for the duchie of Aniou, and the countie of Maine, the duke of Britaine being their deputie for concluding of the same truce.

About the same time also, at the sute of Charles the Dolphin, a treatie was in hand at Touque, for a finall peace, but it came to none effect. From Alanson the king set forward towards the towne and castell of Faleis, meaning to besiege the same, where the Frenchmen appointed to the kéeping of it, had fortified the towne by all meanes possible, and prepared themselues to defend it to the vttermost. The earle of Salisburie was first sent thither before with certeine bands of souldiers to inclose the enimies within the towne, & to view the strength thereof. After him came the king with his whole armie, about the first of December, and then was the towne besieged on ech side. The king lodged before the gate that leadeth to Caen, the duke of Clarence before the castell that standeth on a rocke and the duke of Glocester laie on the kings right hand, and other lords & noble men were assigned to their places as was thought expedient. And to be sure from taking damage by anie sudden inuasion of the enimies, there were great trenches and rampiers cast and made about their seuerall campes, for defense of the same.

A truce taken betwéene king Henrie and the duke of Britaine.

Faleis besieged.

The Frenchmen notwithstanding this siege, valiantlie defended their wals, and sometimes made issues foorth, but small to their gaine: and still the Englishmen with their guns and great ordinance made batterie to the wals and bulworks. The winter season was verie cold, with sharpe frost, & hard weather; but the Englishmen made such shift for prouision of all things necessarie to serue their turns, that they were sufficientlie provided, both against hunger and cold: so that in the end, the Frenchmen perceiuing they could not long indure against them, offered to talke, and agréed to giue ouer the towne, if no rescue came by a certeine daie appointed. About the same season was sir Iohn Oldcastell, lord Cobham taken, in the countrie of Powes land, in the borders of Wales, within a lordship belonging to the lord Powes, not without danger and hurts of some that were at the taking of him: for they could not take him, till he was wounded himselfe.

*Thom. Wals.*

Sir Iohn Oldcastell taken.

At the same time, the states of the realme were assembled at London, for the leuieng of monie, to furnish the kings great charges, which he was at about the maintenance of his wars in France: it was therefore determind, that the said sir Iohn Oldcastell should be brought, and put to his trial, yer the assemblie brake vp. The lord Powes therefore was sent to fetch him, who brought him to London in a litter, wounded as he was: herewith, being first laid fast in the Tower, shortlie after he was brought before the duke of Bedford, regent of the realme, and the other estates, where in the end he was condemned; and finallie was drawen from the Tower vnto saint Giles field, and there hanged in a chaine by the middle, and after consumed with fire, the gallowes and all.

Sir Iohn Oldcastell executed.

When the daie was come, on the which it was couenanted that the towne of Faleis should deliuered, to wit, the second of Ianuarie, because no succours appeared, the towne was yéelded to the king: but the castell held out still, into the which the capteine and gouernour both of the towne and castell had withdrawne themselues, with all the souldiers; and being streictlie besieged, the capteine defended himselfe and the place right stoutlie, although he was sore laid to, vntill at length, perceiuing his continuall assaults, and such approches as were made to and within the verie wals, he was driuen to compound with the king, that if he were not succoured by the sixt of Februarie, then should he yéeld himselfe prisoner, and deliuer the castell; so that the souldiers should haue licence to depart, with their liues onelie sauéd. When the daie came, the couenants were performed, and the castell rendered to the kings hands, for no aid came to the rescue of them within. The capteine named Oliuer de Mannie was kept as prisoner, till the castell was repaired at his costs and charges, because the same, through his obstinat wilfulness, was sore beaten and defaced, with vnderminings and batterie. Capteine there, by the king, was appointed sir Henrie Fitz Hugh.

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Faleis rendered vp to king Henrie.

After this, king Henrie returned to Caen, and by reason of a proclamation which he had caused to be made for the people of Normandie, that had withdrawne themselues foorth of the baliwicks of Caen and Faleis, he granted awaie to his owne people the lands of those that came not in vpon that proclamation, and in speciall, he gaue to the duke of Clarence, during his life, the vicounties of Auge, Orbec, and Ponteau de Mer, with all the lands of those that were withdrawne foorth of the same vicounties. This gift was made the sixtéenth of Februarie, in this fift yeare of this kings reigne. All the Lent season, the king laie at Baieux with part of his armie, but the residue were sent abroad, for the atchiuing of certeine enterprises, because they should not lie idle.

*Histoir des ducs de Normandie.*

*Tho. Walsin. Titus Liuus.*

¶ In this yeare 1418, and in the first yeare of the reigne of this victorious king, Henrie the fift, on Easter daie in the after noone (a time which required deuotion) at a sermon in saint Dunstans in the east of London, a great fraie happened in the said church, where through manie people were sore wounded, and one Thomas Petwarden fishmonger that dwelt at Sprots keie was slame outright; as they (vpon a good intent) did what they could (to their owne perill as vnfortunatlie it befell) to appease the turmoile, and to procure the kéeping of the kings peace. Herevpon the church was suspended, and the beginners of the broile, namelie the lord Strange and sir Iohn Trussell knight (betwéene whome such coles of vnkindnesse were kindled (at the instigation of their wiues, gentlewomen of euill disposition and at curssed hatred one with another) that their husbands ment at their méeting in the said church to haue slaine one another) were committed to the counter in the Pultrie. Two wise gentlemen (I wisse) and well aduised (no doubt) who without regard of day, place, people, preacher, or perill that might insue; were so forward to become the instrument of their mischieuous wiues malice; the fulfilling wherof they would haue forborne, if with discretion they had pondered the verdict of the poet concerning the said sex:

*Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 397 and Iohn Stow. pag. 598.*

Slaughter and bloudshed in S. Dunstans church on Easter day.

Women full of mischéefe.

Fœmina lætalis, fœmina plena malis.

The archbishop of Canturburie, when he had intelligence giuen of this outragious prophanation of the church, caused the offenders to be excommunicat, as well at Paules, as in all other parish churches of London. Shortlie after, to wit on the one and twentieth of Aprill, the said archbishop sat at saint Magnus, vpon inquisition for the authors of the said disorder, and found the fault to consist speciallie in the lord Strange and his wife. So that vpon the first daie of Maie next following in Paules church, before the said archbishop, the maior of London, and others, the said offenders submitted themselues to doo penance, and sware to doo it in such sort as to them it was inioined; namelie, as followeth. That immediatlie all their seruants should (in their shirts) go before the parson of saint Dunstans, from Paules to the said saint Dunstans church; and the lord Strange bare headed, with his ladie barefooted; Reignold Kenwood archdeacon of London following them. Also it was appointed them, that at the consecrating or hallowing of the said church (which they had prophaned) the ladie should fill all the vessels with <sup>[1]</sup> water, and offer likewise to the altar an ornament of ten pounds; and the lord hir husband a pix of siluer of fiue pounds. Which doone by waie of a satisfactorie expiation, it is likelie they were absolued: but the lord Strange had first made the wife of the said Petwarden slaine in the fraie, large amends: as Fabian saith, though in what sort he maketh no mention.

*Record. Cant.*

The principall offenders punishment.

[1] Not teares of hir cōplaint (I trust) for sorrow of hir sinne.

Whilest the king of England wan thus in Normandie, his nauie lost nothing on the sea, but so scowred the streames, that neither Frenchmen nor Britons durst once appeare; howbeit, on a daie there arose such a storme and hideous tempest, that if the earles of March and Huntington had not taken the hauen of Southampton, the whole nauie had perished; & yet the safegard was strange, for in the same hauen, two balingers, and two great carickes, laden with merchandize were drowned, and the broken mast of another caricke was blowen ouer the wall of the towne. When the furie of this outragious wind and weather was

A sore tēpest.

A violent tempest of wind.

asswaged, and the sea waxed calme, the earles of March and Huntington passed ouer with all their companie, and landing in Normandie, they marched through the countrie, destroieng the French villages, and taking preies on each hand, till they came to the king where he then was.

In the sixt yeare of king Henries reigne, he sent the earle of Warwike, and the lord Talbot, to besiege the strong castell of Dampfront. The duke of Clarence was also sent to besiege and subdue other townes, vnto whome, at one time and other, we find, that these townes vnderwritten were yéelded, wherein he put capteins as followeth. In Courton Iohn Aubin, in Barney William Houghton, in Chambis Iames Neuill, in Bechelouin the earle Marshall, in Harecourt Richard Wooduill esquier, in Fangernon Iohn S. Albon, in Creuener sir Iohn Kirbie to whom it was giuen, in Anuilliers Robert Hornebie, in Bagles sir Iohn Arthur, in Fresnie le vicont sir Robert Brent.

An. Reg. 6.

Townes in Normandie yéelded to K. Henrie.

The duke of Glocester the same time, accompanied with the earle of March, the lord Greie of Codner, and other was sent to subdue the townes in the Ile of Constantine, vnto whome these townes hereafter mentioned were yéelded, where he appointed capteins as followeth. At Carentine the lord Botreux, at Saint Lo Reginald West, at Valoignes Thomas Burgh, at Pont Done Dauie Howell, at the Haie de Pais sir Iohn Aston, at saint Sauieur le vicont sir Iohn Robsert, at Pontorson sir Robert Gargraue, at Hamberie the earle of Suffolke lord of that place by gift, at Briqueuill the said earle also by gift, at Auranches sir Philip Hall bailiffe of Alanson, at Vire the lord Matreuers, at S. Iames de Beumeron the same lord.

After that the duke had subdued to the kings dominion, the most part of all the townes in that Ile of Constantine, Chierburgh excepted, he returned to the king, and forthwith was sent thither againe to besiege that strong fortresse, which was fenced with men, munition, vittels, and strong walles, towers, and turrets, in most defensible wise, by reason whereof it was holden against him the space of fiue moneths, although he vsed all waies and meanes possible to annoie them within, so that manie fierce assaults, skirmishes, issues, and other exploits of warre were atchieued, betwixt the Frenchmen within, and the Englishmen without: yet at length, the Frenchmen were so constrained by power of baterie, mines, and other forceable waies of approachings, that they were glad to compound to deliuer the place, if no rescue came to raise the siege, either from the Dolphin, that then was retired into Aquitane, or from the duke of Burgognie that then laie at Paris, within the terme of thrée score and two daies (for so long respit the duke granted) but they trusting further vpon his lenitie and gentlenesse hoped to get a far longer terme.

Chierburgh besieged by the English.

Now were the Dolphin and the duke of Burgognie growen to a certaine agréement, by mediation of cardinals sent from the pope, so that the Englishmen suerlie thought that they would leaue a power, and come downe to rescue Chierburg. The duke of Glocester therefore caused his camps to be stronglie intrenched, and manie defensible blockehouses of timber to be raised, like to small turrets, that the same might be a safegard to his people, and to conclude, left nothing vnforeséene nor vndoone, that was auailable for the defense of his armie. The king doubting least some power should be sent downe, to the danger of his brother, and those that were with him at this siege, caused two thousand men to be imbarked in thirtie ships of the west countrie, by order sent vnto certaine lords there.

The Frenchmen within the towne, perceiuing those succors to approach néere to the towne, thought verelie that there had béene a power of Frenchmen comming to their aid: but when they saw them receiued as fréends into the English campe, their comfort was soone quailed; and so when the daie appointed came, being the ninetéenth of October, or rather about the later end of Nouember (as the historic of the dukes of Normandie hath) they rendred vp both the towne and castell, according to the couenants. The lord Greie of Codnore was made the kings lieutenant there, and after his deceasse, sir Walter Hungerford. About the same time, or rather before, as Titus Liuius writeth, to wit, the two and twentieth of Iune, the strong castell of Dampfront was yéelded into the hands of the earle of Warwike, to the kings vse. But the historie writen of the dukes of Normandie affirmeth, that it was surrendred the two and twentieth of September, after the siege had cōtinued about it from Aprill last. The king by honorable report of other, and of his owne speciall knowledge, so rightlie ascertained of the great valure that (for feats at armes and policie in warre) was alwaies found in the person of that Iohn Bromley esquier (spoken of a little here before) for which his maiestie so sundrie waies roiallie rewarded him againe; some specialtie yet of the gentlemans merits together with the souereignes bountie to him among other, séemes here (at mention of this Dampfront, whereof shortlie after he was capteine) verie well to deserue a place: and to that purpose as the king in Iulie went ouer againe, and this Iohn Bromley in Iune the same yeare, with conduct of charge was sent afore, imploieing himselfe still in venturous actiuitie with great annoie to the enimie: his highnesse for good liking of the same, and for hartening and example to other (in Aprill next following) gaue fourtie pounds land to him and his heires males by letters patents in words as followeth, and remaining yet of record in the Tower of London.

Chierburgh yéelded to the Englishmen.

The castell of Dampfront yéelded.

W. P.

## A copie of the said letters patents.

HENRICUS Dei gratiâ rex Angliæ & Franciæ & dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentis litteræ peruenerint salutem. Sciatis quòd de gratiâ nostra speciali & pro bono seruitio quod dilectus seruiens noster Iohannes Bromley nobis impendit & impendet in futurum: dedimus & concessimus ei hospitium de Molay Bacon, infra comitatum nostrum de Baieux, ac omnes terras, tenementa, redditus, hæreditates, & possessiones infra ducatum nostrum Normandiæ, quæ fuerunt Alani de Beaumont nobis rebellis, vt dicitur. Habendum & tenendum præfato Iohanni & hæredibus suis masculis de corpore suo procreatis, hospitium, terras, & tenementa, redditus, hæreditates, & possessiones supradictas, vna cum omnimodis franchisesijs, priulegijs, iurisdictionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, eschetis, forisfactoris, feodis militum, aduocationibus ecclesiarum, & aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorū quorumcúnq; terris, pratis, pasturis, boscis, warēnis, chaseis, aquis, vijs, stagnis, molēdinis, viuarijs, moris, mariscis, ac alijs cōmoditatibus quibuscúnq; dictis hospitio, terris, tenementis, redditibus, hæreditatibus, & possessionibus pertinentibus siue spectantibus, ad valorem quadraginta librarum sterlingorum per annum, tenendis de nobis & hæredibus nostris per homagium, &c.: ac reddendo nobis, & eisdem hæredibus nostris apud castrum nostrum de Baieux vnam zonam pro lorica, ad festum Natuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptistæ singulis annis: nec non faciendo alia seruitia, &c. Reseruato, &c. Prouiso semper, &c. Castro seu ciuitati nostro de Baieux, &c. Qudóq; prædictum hospitium, &c. In cuius rei, &c. Teste me ipso apud dictam ciuitatem nostram de Baieux, 18 die Aprilis, anno regni nostri sexto, per ipsum regem.

Yet héereat the noble prince not staieng his bountie, but rather regarding euer how iustlie new merits doo deserue new dignities, and peradventure the more mooued somewhat to reare vp the degré of this esquire, toward the state of his stocke, who a long time before had béene indued with knighthood, and also bicause that vnto the duke of Buckingham he was of bloud, which his behaiour alwaies had from staine so farre preserued, as rather brought to it some increase of glorie, did (in the most worthie wise which to that order belongeth) dub him knight of warfare in field, made him also capteine generall of this strong castell of Dampfront, seneshall and great constable of Bosseuile le Rosse, with other offices and titles of worship, as partlie may appeare by a déed, in which this knight taking patterne at his princes benignitie had giuen an annuitie of twentie pounds to his kinsman Walter Audeley.

Sir Iohn Bromley made  
capteine of Dampfrôt.

## A copie of that writing sundrie waies so well seruing to the truth of the storie was thought right necessarie héere to be added, thus.

Omnibus ad quos hoc præsens scriptum peruenerit, Iohānes de Bromley miles, capitaneus generalis de Dampfront, senescallus & magnus constabularius de Bosseule le Rosse & March ibidem, salutem. Sciatis quòd pro bono & fideli seruitio quod dilectus consanguineus meus Gualterus de Audeley mihi fecerit, tam infra regnum Angliæ quàm extra, & præcipuè contra Francos: dedisse & concessisse, & hac præsentì charta mea confirmasse eidem Gualtero vnum annualem redditum viginti librarum, exeuntem de manerio meo de Bromley, & omnibus alijs terris & tenementis meis infra regnum Angliæ, vna cum herbagio pro quatuor equis habendo infra boscos meos de Bromley & Willoughbridge, & octo carucatis fœni capiendis infra prata mea de Shurlebrooke & Foordsmedo annuatim, durante tota vita prædicti Gualteri, in festo sancti Iacobi apostoli. Et si contingat prædictum annualem redditum, a retrò fore in aliquo festo, durante termino prædicto; tunc bene licebit eidem Gualtero, in manerio meo, & omnibus alijs terris meis prædictis distringere, & districiones inde captas penes se retinere, quousq; de redditu prædicto, vna cum arreragijs (si quæ fuerint) plenariè fuerit persolutum & satisfactum. Et vltèriùs volo, quòd prædictus Gualterus habeat liberum egressum & regressum cum equis suis prædictis, & ad asportandum fœnum predictū, quandocunq; voluerit, per omnes semitas & vias, sine aliqua contradictione mei prædicti Iohannis, aut hæredum meorum aliquali. Reddendo inde mihi ipsi Gualtero annuatim in festo sancti Georgij martyris, si tunc fuerim infra regnum Angliæ, vnum par calcarium deauratorum, pro omnibus. Et etiam volo & concedo quòd prædictus Gualterus liber sit, durante tota vita sua, ad volandum, venandum, piscandum, & alias commoditates percipiendum, tam infra manerium meum de Bromley quàm in omnibus alijs manerijs, terris, & tenementis meis infra regnum Angliæ, sine aliqua contradictione vel impedimento mei præfati Iohannis de Bromley militis, hæredum, aut assignatorum meorum aliquali. Et vt fidele testimonium præsentibus habeatur, sigillum meum apposui: hijs testibus Roberto de Bruyn milite, Iohanne de Holland, Gulihelmo de Brereton, Richardo le Greuill, Iohanne de Egerton, Richardo le Beston, Thoma le Creu, & alijs. Datum apud Dampfront prædicto, 12 die mensis Augusti, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum sexto.

The old armes of the house of Bromley being quarterlie gules and ore per fesse indented, had in the seale to this déed, an inscutchen charged with a griffin surgiant; his creast, out of a crowne, a demilion supporting a standard charged with a lion passant gardant; about the shield was ingrauen, Sigillum Iohannis de Bromley militis. That inscutchen and creast (as like is) giuen him in laudable remembrance for his valiant recouerie of the standard at the sharpe and bloodie skirmish by Corbie. The earle of Warwike, and the lord Talbot, after the winning of this fortresse, made spéed to come vnto the siege of Rone, where they were imploied, as after shall appeare. And in like manner, the duke of Gloucester, hauing once got the possession of Chierburgh, hasted towards the same siege: for the better furnishing of which enterprise, he had first caused an armie of fiftéene thousand men to be brought ouer to him vnder the leading of his vnclè the duke of Excester, who imbarcking with the same, about the feast of the holie Trinitie, was appointed by the king to besiege the citie of Eureux, as the earle of Angus, otherwise called earle of Kime, was sent to win the castell of Millie Leuesche. These townes being deliuered to the kings vse, the duke ordeined capteine of Eureux sir Gilbert Halsall knight.

The king now determing with all spéed to besiege Rone, prepared all things necessarie for his purpose. Into this citie the Normans had conueied out of euerie part their monie, iewels, and houshold stufte, as into the most sure and strongest place of the whole duchie. For since his arriual, they had not onlie walled that citie, and fortified it with rampiers and strong bulworks, but also furnished it with valiant capteins, and hardie soldiers, to the number of foure thousand, beside such of the citizens as were appointed for the warre, according to their estates, of the which there were at the least fiftéene thousand readie to serue in defense of the citie, as soldiers, and men of warre in all places where they should be assigned. King Henrie to haue the cuntries frée, before he would besiege this citie, thought good first to win such townes as laie in his waie, and therefore departing from Caen (where he had kept the feast of saint George) the ninth daie of Iune, he marched streight vnto the towne of Louiers, and laid his siege about the same.

They within the towne, being well furnished of all things necessarie for the defending of a siege, manfullie resisted the Englishmens inforcements, which spared not to deuise all waies and means how to approach the walles, and to batter the same with their great artillerie, till at length they brought the Frenchmeñ to that extremitie, that they were contented to yéeld the towne on these conditions; that if by the thrée and twentieth of Iune there came no succour from the French king to raise the siege, the towne should be deliuered into the kings hands, the soldiers of the garrison should serue vnder the king for a time, and the townesmen should remaine in their dwellings as they did before, as subiects to the king: but the gunners that had discharged anie péece against the Englishmen should suffer death. When the daie came, and no aid appeared, the couenants were performed accordingle. From thence went the king with all spéed vnto Point de Larch, standing vpon the riuier of Seine, eight miles aboue Rone towards Paris: he came thither about the seauen and twentieth of Iune.

*Titus Liuius.*

Louiers besieged.

Louiers yéelded vp.

When the Frenchmen which kept the passage there heard of the kings approach, they gathered together a great number of men of warre,

The English armie

mindung to defend the passage against him, appointing an other band of men (if they failed) to kéepe the further side of the bridge; and to watch, that neither by boate nor vessell he should come ouer the riuer by anie maner of meanes. At his comming néere to the towne, he perceiued that it was not possible to passe by the bridge without great losse of his people, and therefore he retired almost a mile backward, where, in a pleasant and commodious place by the riuer side he pitched his campe, and in the night season, what with boates and barges, and what with hogsheds and pipes, he conueied ouer the broad riuer of Seine a great companie of his soldiers, without anie resistance made by his enimies. For they which were on the hither side of Seine, thinking that the Englishmen had gone to winne some other place, followed them not, but studied how to defend their towne, which was inough for them to doo.

passeth the riuer of Seine.

And to put the French men in doubt, leas the Englishmen should séeke passage somewhere else, the king appointed certeine of the soldiers which had skill in swimming, to go to a place thrée miles from the siege by the riuer side, and there to enter into the water, making great clamor and noise, as though they had meant to haue passed; but they had in commandement not to trauerse past halfe the riuer, so to procure the Frenchmen to make thitherwards, whilest the king in one place, and his brother the duke of Clarence in another, got ouer their men, and that in such number, before the Frenchmen had anie vnderstanding thereof, that when they made towards them, and perceiued that they were not able to incounter them, they fled backe, and durst not abide the English footmen, which would faine haue béene dooing with them.

A good policie.

When the king saw that his men were on the other side of the water, he (the next daie earlie) returned to the towne, & assaulted it on both sides. When the inhabitants therefore saw themselues compassed on both sides, contrarie to their expectation, with humble heart and small ioy they rendered vp the towne vnto the kings hands. After this, the king hauing no let nor impediment, determined forthwith to besiege the citie of Rone, and first sent before him his vncl the duke of Excester, with a great companie of horssemen & archers to view the place, & thervpon with banner displaied came before the citie, and sent Windsore an herauld at armes to the capteins within, willing them to deliuer the citie vnto the king his maister, or else he would pursue them with fire and sword. To whome they prouddie answered, that none they receiued of him, nor anie they would deliuer him, except by fine force they were therevnto compelled: and herewith there issued out of the towne a great band of men of armes, and incountered fiercelie with the Englishmen, the which receiuing them with like manhood, and great force, draue the Frenchmen into the towne againe to their losse, for they lett thirtie of their fellowes behind prisoners and dead in the field.

Pont de larch rendred vp to the Englishmē.

The duke returned with this good spéed and proud answer of the Frenchmen vnto the king, who remained yet at Pont de Larch, and had giuen the towne of Louiers to his brother the duke of Clarence, which made there his deputie sir Iohn Godard knight. After that the duke of Excester was returned to Pont Larch, the French capteins within Rone set fire on the suburbs, beat downe churches, cut downe trées, shred the bushes, destroyed the vines round about the citie, to the intent that the Englishmen should haue no reléefe nor comfort either of lodging or fewell. When the king heard of these despitefull dooings, he with his whole armie remooued from Pont Larch, and the last daie of Iulie came before the citie of Rone, and compassed it round about with a strong siege. This citie was verie rich in gold, siluer, and other pretious things, in so much that when the same was taken and seized vpon by the English, the spoile was verie great and excéeding aduantagable: which the compiler of Anglorum prælia hath verie well noted, in a few lines, but pithie; saieng

Rone besieged by K. Henrie.

Vltima Rothomagus restat, quæ mercibus, auro,  
Argento, vasis pretiosis diues abundat:  
Rothomagus capitur, íámq; Anglus adeptus opimas  
Prædas, in patriam perpulchra trophæa remittit.

Angl. præl. sub.

Hen. 5.

The king laie with a great puissance at the Chartreux house, on the east side of the citie, and the duke of Clarence lodged at S. Geruais before the port of Caux on the west part. The duke of Excester tooke his place on the north side: at port S. Denis, betwéene the dukes of Excester and Clarence, was appointed the earle marshall, euen before the gate of the castell; to whome were ioined the earle of Ormond, and the lords Harington and Talbot, vpon his comming from Dampfront: and from the duke of Excester toward the king were incamped the lords Ros, Willoughbie, Fits Hugh, and sir William Porter, with a great band of northerne men, euen before the port of saint Hilarie. The earles of Mortaigne and Salisburie were assigned to lodge about the abbie of saint Katharine. Sir Iohn Greie was lodged directlie against the chappell called mount S. Michaell: sir Philip Léech treasurer of the warres kept the hill next the abbeie, and the baron of Carew kept the passage on the riuer of Seine, and to him was ioined that valiant esquier Ienico Dartois.

Before Pont S. Hiliarie.

Titus Liuius.

The order of the siege.

Before the gate called Markeuile.

Titus Liuius.

Salisburie & Huntington on the other side of the riuer of Seine.

On the further side of the riuer were lodged the earles of Warren and Huntington, the lords Neuill and Ferrers, sir<sup>[2]</sup> Gilbert Umfreuile with a well furnished companie of warlike soldiers directlie before the gate



called Port de Pont. And to the intent that no aid should passe by the riuer toward the citie, there was a great chaine of iron deuised at Pont Larch, set on piles from the one side of the water to the other: and beside that chaine, there was set vp a new forced bridge, sufficient both for cariage and passage, to passe the riuer from one campe to another. The erle of Warwike that had latelie woone Dampfront, was sent to besiege Cawdebecke, a towne standing on the riuer side, betwéene the sea and the citie of Rone. A memorable feat in seruice néere to that place was doone at that time by a well minded man then noted soone after in writing: which matter vnable to be better reported than by him that had so well marked it, nor like to be more trulie expressed than by the ancient simplicitie (and yet effectuell) of the selfe same words wherein they were written, therefore thought méetest to haue them rehearsed as they were in order, thus.

The lord Talbot.

W. P.

[2] Umfreuile.

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# The truth of the said memorable feat as it was reported in writing.

MEMORANDUM, that my lord the earle of Warwike did send out my cosin sir Iohn Bromley and my cosin George Umfreuile with an hundred archers, and about two hundred soldiers a strett, to kéepe at a little castell called the Stroo néere to Cawdebeke, where they wearen met with aboute eight hundred Frenchmen & the fraie betwéene them long yfought, and the Englishmen in great dread and perill: till at length by the might of God and saint George, the féeld did fall to our Englishmen, and the Frenchmen wearen put to flizt, and thear wearen yslaine aboute two hundred Frenchmen, and as manie ytaken prisoners, and their capteine who was ycalled the lord of Estrisles was thear also yslaine, and thear wearen yslaine of our Englishmen my said cosin George Umfreuile and aboute twentie mo: on whose solles Iesus haue mercie, and thear wearen hurt in the face my said cosin sir Iohn Bromley & my cosin Walter Audeley sore wounded and maimed in the right arme of his bodie, he then being but of the age of eightéene yeares. But thanks be giuen to the blessed Trinitée, thear wearen manie noble victories ywoon by the said noble erle of Warwike and his folke, as in his officiall booke (written by maister Iohn le Tucke then present with the said noble earle) is amply recorded. My said cosin Walter Audeley died at Warwike the seauentéenth daie of Iulie<sup>[3]</sup> anno Domini one thousand foure hundred and twentie, and was buried at Acton in Cheshire, néere the bodie of my said cosin sir Iohn Bromley: on whose solles Iesus haue mercie. By me sir Richard Braie, chapleine to my ladie the old countesse of Warwike; Iesus Maria, Amen, Pater noster, Aue Maria.

A conflict néere to Cawdebeke.

The L. of Estrisles slaine.

George Umfreuile slaine.

Walter Audeley sore wouëd.

- [3] And this sir Iohn Bromley departed from this life the fourth day of Sept. 1419, which was in anno reg. 7, as by the office takē after his death remaining of record in the castell of Chester dooth manifestlie appeare.

After this conflict, this towne was so hardlie handled with fierce and continuall assaults, that the capteins within offered to suffer the English nauie to passe by their towne without impeachment, vp to the citie of Rone. And also if Rone yéelded, they promised to render the towne without delaie. Héerevpon the English nauie, to the number of an hundred sailes, passed by Cawdebeke, and came to Rone, and so besieged it on the water side. There came also to this siege the duke of Glocester, with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Aburgauennie, which had taken (as before yée haue heard) the towne of Chierburgh, & lodged before the port of S. Hilarie, néerer to their enimies by fortie rodes than any other person of the armie.

During this siege also, there arriued at Harflue the lord of Kilmaine in Ireland, a band of sixtéene hundred Irishmen, in maile, with darts and skains after the maner of their countrie, all of them being tall, quicke and nimble persons, which came and presented themselues before the king lieng still at the siege, of whom they were not onelie gentlie receiued & welcomed; but also because it was thought that the French king and the duke of Burgognie would shortlie come, and either attempt to raise the siege, or vittell and man the towne by the north gate, they were appointed to kéepe the north side of the armie, and speciallie the waie that commeth from the forest of Lions. Which charge the lord of Kilmaine and his companie ioifullie accepted, and did so their deuoir therein, that no men were more praised, nor did more damage to their enimies than they did: for suerlie their quicknesse & swiftnesse of foot did more preiudice to their enimies, than their barded horssees did hurt or damage to the nimble Irishmen. Also the kings coosine germane and alie (the king of Portingale) sent a great nauie of well appointed ships vnto the mouth of the riuier of Seine, to stop that no French vessels should enter the riuier, and passe vp the same, to the aid of them within Rone.

The lord of Kilmaine capteine of the Irishmen.

The good seruice of the Irishmen at this siege.

*Titus Liuius.*

The king of Portingale sendeth aid to king Henrie.

Thus was the faire citie of Rone compassed about with enimies, both by water and land, hauing neither comfort nor aid of King, Dolphin, or Duke. And yet although the armie was strong without, there lacked not within both hardie capteins and manfull souldiers. And as for people, they had more than inough: for as it is written by some that had good cause to know the truth, and no occasion to erre from the same, there were in the citie at the time of the siege, two hundred and ten thousand persons. Dailie were issues made out of the citie at diuerse gates, sometime to the losse of the one partie, and sometime of the other, as chances of warre in such aduentures happen. The Frenchmen in déed preferring fame before worldlie riches, and despising pleasure (the enemie to warlike prowess) sware ech to other neuer to render or deliuer the citie, while they might either hold sword in hand or speare in rest.

The number within Rone.

The king of England aduertised of their haultie courages, determined to conquer them by famine, which would not be tamed with weapon. Wherefore he stopped all the passages, both by water and land, that no vittells could be conueied to the citie: he cast trenches round about the wals, and set them full of stakes, and defended with archers, so that there was left neither waie for them within to issue out, nor for anie that were abroad to enter in without his licence. To rehearse the great paines, trauell and diligence, which the king tooke vpon him in his owne person at this siege, a man might woonder. And because diuerse of the souldiers had lodged themselues for their more ease,

*Titus Liuius.*

in places so farre distant one from an other, that they might easilie haue béene surprised by their enimies, yer anie of their fellowes could haue come to their succors; he caused proclamation to be made, that no man vpon paine of death should lodge without the precinct appointed them, nor go further abroad from the campe than such bounds as were assigned.

Now as it chanced, the king in going about the campe, to surueie and view the warders, he espied two souldiers that were walking abroad without the limits assigned, whom he caused straightwaies to be apprehended and hanged vpon a trée of great height, for a terrour to others, that none should be so hardie to breake such orders as he commanded them to obserue. Whilst the king laie thus with his power about the mightie citie of Rone, the Frenchmen sought to indamage as well those that were at that siege, as other of the Englishmen that laie in garrisons within the townes that were alreadye in the king of Englands possession, insomuch that (as some haue written) within the octaues of the Assumption, thrée notable victories chanced to the Englishmen in thrée seuerall places. First an hundred Englishmen at Kilbeuf tooke thrée great lords of the Frenchmen, besides fourescore other persons, and put thrée hundred to flight.

King Henrie his iustice.

*Thom. Wals.*

Thrée great victories on the English side within a short time together.

Also vpon the thursdaie within the same octaues, foure hundred Frenchmen that were entered within the suburbes of Eureux were repelled by eleuen Englishmen, that tooke foure of those Frenchmen prisoners, slue twelue of them, and tooke fortie horsse. On the saturday following, the Frenchmen tooke in hand to steale vpon them that laie in garrison within Louiers, in hope to surprise the towne earlie in the morning: but the capteine perceiuing their purpose, sallied foorth with a hundred of his men, and putting the Frenchmen to flight, being a thousand, tooke an hundred and fourescore of them being all gentlemen. But to returne to them before Rone. The siege thus continuing from Lammas, almost to Christmas, diuerse enterprises were attempted, and diuerse policies practised, how euerie part might indamage his aduersaries; no parte greatlie reioised of their gaine. But in the meane time vittels began sore to faile them within, that onelie vinegar and water serued for drinke.

If I should rehearse (according to the report of diuerse writers) how déerelie dogs, rats, mise, and cats were sold within the towne, and how gréedilie they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and how the people dailie died for fault of food, and yoong infants laie sucking in the stréets on their moothers breasts lieng dead, starued for hunger; the reader might lament their extreme miseris. A great number of poore sillie creaturs were put out at the gates, which were by the Englishmen that kept the trenches beaten and driuen backe againe to the same gates, which they found closed and shut against them. And so they laie betwéene the wals of the citie and the trenches of the enimies, still crieng for helpe and reléefe, for lacke whereof great numbers of them dailie died.

Extreme famine within Rone.

Howbeit, king Henrie mooued with pitie, vpon Christmase daie, in the honor of Christes Natiuitie, refreshed all the poore people with vittels, to their great comfort and his high praise: yet if the duke of Burgognies letters had not béene conueied into the citie, it was thought they within would neuer haue made resistance so long time as they did; for by those letters they were assured of rescue to come. Diuerse lords of France hauing written to them to the like effect, they were put in such comfort herewith, that immediatlie, to expresse their great reioising, all the bells in the citie were roong foorth chéerefullie, which during all the time of the siege till that present had kept silence. In déed by reason of a faint kind of agrément procured betwixt the Dolphin and the duke of Burgognie, it was thought verelie that a power should haue béene raised for preseruacion of that noble citie, the loosing or sauing thereof being a matter of such importance.

A vertuous and Charitable prince.

The king of England, to preuent the enimies purpose, caused a large trench to be, cast without his campe, which was pight full of sharpe stakes, with a great rampire fensed with bulworks, and turnepikes, in as defensible wise as might be deuised. Sir Robert Bapthorpe, knight, was appointed comptroller, to sée this worke performed, which he did with all diligence accomplish; in like case as he had doone, when the other trench and rampire stronglie staked and hedged was made at the first betwixt the campe and the citie, to restreine such as in the begining of the siege rested not to pricke foorth of the gates on horsse backe. And so by this meanes was the armie defended both behind and before.

*Chron. S. Alb.*

A large trêch without the campe.

Finallie, the whole number of the Frenchmen within the citie were brought to such an extremitie for want of vittels, that they were in danger all to haue starued. Wherevpon being now past hope of reléefe, they determined to treat with the king of England, and so vpon Newyeares euen there came to the wals such as they had chosen amongst them for commissioners, which made a signe to the Englishmen lieng without the gate of the bridge, to speake with some gentleman, or other person of authoritie. The earle of Huntington, which kept that part, sent to them sir Gilbert Umfreuile; vnto whom they declared, that if they might haue a safe conduct, they would gladlie come foorth to speake with the king. Sir Gilbert reparing to the duke of Clarence, and other of the kings councill, aduertised them of this request.

1419

Herevpon the duke of Clarence with the other councillors resorted to the kings lodging, to informe him of the matter, and to know his pleasure therein; who after good aduisement and deliberation taken, willed sir Gilbert to aduertise them, that he was content to heare twelue of them,

They within Rone demand parlée.

which should be safely conveyed into his presence. This answer being brought to the Frenchmen by the said sir Gilbert, on the next daie in the morning, foure knights, foure learned men, and foure sage burgesses, all clothed in blacke, came fourth of the citie, and were receiued at the port saint Hilarie by sir Gilbert Umfreuile, accompanied with diuerse gentlemen and yeomen of the kings houshold, commonlie called yeomen of the crowne, by whome they were conveyed to the kings lodging, whome they found at masse, which being ended, the king came out of his trauerse, sternelie, and princelie beholding the French messengers, and passed by them into his chamber. And incontinentlie after he commanded that they should be brought in before his presence, to heare what they had to say.

One of them séene in the ciuill lawes, was appointed to declare the message in all their names, who shewing himselfe more rash than wise, more arrogant than learned, first tooke vpon him to shew wherin the glorie of victorie consisted, aduising the king not to shew his manhood in famishing a multitude of poore, simple, and innocent people, but rather suffer such miserable wretches as laie betwixt the wals of the citie, and the trenches of his siege, to passe through the campe, that they might get their liuing in other places, and then if he durst manfullie assault the citie, and by force subdue it, he should win both worldlie fame and merit great méed at the hands of almightie God, for hauing compassion of the poore, néedie, and indigent people.

A presumptuous orator.

When this orator had said, the king who no request lesse suspected, than that which was thus desired, began a while to muse; and after he had well considered the craftie cautell of his enimies, with a fierce countenance, and bold spirit he reprooued them, both for their subtill dealing with him, and their malapert presumption, in that they should séeme to go about to teach him what belonged to the dutie of a conquerour. "And therefore since it appeared that the same was vnknowne vnto them, he declared that the goddesse of battell called Bellona, had thrée handmaidens, euer of necessitie attending vpon hir, as blood, fire, and famine. And whereas it laie in his choise to vse them all thrée; yea, two, or one of them at his pleasure, he had appointed onelie the méekest maid of those thrée damsels to punish them of that citie, till they were brought to reason.

The kings answer to this proud message.

"And whereas the gaine of a capteine attained by anie of the said thrée handmaidens, was both glorious, honourable, and woorthie of triumph: yet of all the thrée, the yoongest maid, which he meant to vse at that time was most profitable and commodious. And as for the poore people lieng in the ditches, if they died through famine, the fault was theirs, that like cruell tyrants had put them out of the towne, to the intent he should slaie them; and yet had he saued their liues, so that if anie lacke of charitie was, it rested in them, and not in him. But to their cloked request, he meant not to gratifie them within so much, but they should kéepe them still to helpe to spend their vittels. And as to assault the towne, he told them that he would they should know, he was both able and willing thereto, as he should see occasion: but the choise was in his hand, to tame them either with blood, fire, or famine, or with them all, whereof he would take the choice at his pleasure, and not at theirs."

This answer put the French ambassadors in a great studie, musing much at his excellent wit and hawtinesse of courage. Now after they had dined (as his commandement was they should) with his officers, they vpon consultation had together, required once againe to haue accesse to his roiall presence, which being granted, they humbling themselues on their knées, besought him to take a truce for eight daies, during the which they might by their commissioners take some end and good conclusion with him and his councill. The king like a mercifull prince granted to them their asking, with which answer they ioifullie returned. After their departure were appointed and set vp thrée tents, the one for the lords of England, the second for the commissioners of the citie, and the third for both parties to assemble in, and to treat of the matter.

A truce for eight daies.

The commissioners for the English part were the earles of Warwike and Salisburie, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir Walter Hungerford, sir Gilbert Umfreuile, sir Iohn Robsert, and Iohn de Vasques de Almada. And for the French part were appointed, sir Guie de Butteler, and six others. These commissioners met euery daie, arguing and reasoning about a conclusion, but nothing was doone the space of eight daies nor so much as one article concluded: wherfore the Englishmen tooke downe the tents, & the Frenchmen tooke their leaue: but at their departing they remembering themselues, required the English lords (for the loue of God) that the truce might indure till the sunne rising the next daie, to the which the lords assented.

Cōmissioners appointed.

When the French commissioners were returned into the citie without any conclusion of agrément, the poore people ran about the stréets, crieng, and calling the capteins and gouernors murtherers and manquellers, saieng that for their pride and stiffe stomachs all this miserie was happened, threatning to flea them if they would not agrée vnto the king of Englands demand. The magistrats herewith amazed, called all the townesmen together to know their minds and opinions. The whole voice of the commons was, to yéeld rather than to sterue. Then the Frenchmen in the euening came to the tent of sir Iohn Robsert, requiring him of gentlenes to moue the king, that the truce might be prolonged for foure daies. The king therevnto agréed, and appointed the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other seuen before named for his part, and the citizens appointed a like number for them.

The tents were againe set vp, and dailie they met together, and on the fourth daie they accorded on this wise, that the citie and castell of Rone should be deliuered vnto the king of England, at what time after the

The articles cōcerning the yéelding vp of

middest of the ninetéeenth daie of that present moneth of Ianuarie, the said king willed the same; and that all the capteins and other men whatsoever, dwelling or being within the said citie and castell, should submit them in all things to the grace of the said king: and further, that they should paie to the said king thrée hundred thousand scutes of gold, whereof alwaies two should be woorth an English noble, or in stead of euerie scute thirtie great blankes white, or fiftéene grotés.

Rone.

Moreouer it was accorded, that euerie soldier and stranger, being in the said citie and castell, should sweare on the euangelists before their departure, not to beare armour against the king of England before the first daie of Ianuarie next to come. Also they within the towne should suffer all the poore people lieng in ditches, or about the ditches of the citie, which for penurie were chased out, to enter the citie againe, and to find them sufficient food till the said ninetéeenth daie of Ianuarie. There were diuerse other articles, in all to the number of two and twentie agréed as well on the behalfe of the citizens, as of king Henrie, who granted, that all the souldiers, strangers, and other within the said citie and castell at that time, being not willing to become his lieges, should depart, after that the citie and castell was once yéelded, fréelie without let, leauing to the said king all their armors, horsses, harnesse, and goods, except the Normans, which if they should refuse to become lieges to him, were appointed to remaine as his prisoners, together with one Luca Italico, and certeine others.

Luca Italico

When the daie of appointment came, which was the daie of saint Wolstane, sir Guie de Buttler, and the burgesses, deliuered the keies of the citie and castell vnto the king of England, beséeching him of faouour and compassion. The king incontinentlie appointed the duke of Excester, with a great companie to take possession of the citie, who like a valiant capteine mounted on a goodlie courser first entered into the citie, and after into the castell. The next daie being fridaie, the king in great triumph, like a conquerour, accompanied with foure dukes, ten earles, eight bishops, sixtéene barons, and a great multitude of knights, esquiers, and men of warre entered into Rone, where he was receiued by the cleargie, with two and fourtie crosses; and then met him the senat, and the burgesses of the towne, offering to him diuerse faire and costlie presents.

The vicar generall of the archbishoprike of Rone for denouncing the king accused was deliuered to him and detained in prison til he died.

*Titus Liuius.*

In this manner he passed through the citie to our ladie church, and there hauing said his orisons, he caused his chapleins to sing this antheme: Quis est tam magnus dominus: Who is so great a lord as our God. This doone, he came to the castell, where he continued a good space after, receiuing homages and fealties of the burgesses and townesmen, and setting orders amongst them. He also réedified diuerse fortresses, and townes, during which time he made proclamation, that all men which would become his subiects, should enioy their goods, lands & offices, which proclamation made manie townes to yéeld, and manie men to become English the same season.

One Alane Blanchart was likewise deliuered to him, & by his cōmandement put to death.

Trāslator of *Titus Liuius.*

King Hêries entrie into Rone.

The duke of Britaine, vnderstanding that if the king of England should continue in possession of Normandie, his countrie could not but be in great danger, if he prouided not to haue him his fréend, vpon safe conduct obtained for him & his retinue, came to Rone with fiue hundred horsses, and being honorablie receiued of the king, after conference had betwixt them of diuerse things, at length they agréed vpon a league on this wise, that neither of them should make warre vnto the other, nor to any the others people or subiects, except he that meant to make war denounced the same six moneths before. Thus this league being concluded, the duke tooke leaue of the king and so returned into Britaine.

*Titus Liuius.*

A league concluded betwéene king Henrie and the duke of Britaine.

About the same time, at the sute of certeine bishops and abbats of Nomandie, the king confirmed vnto them their ancient priuileges, granted by the former dukes of Normandie and kings of France, except such as were granted by those whome he reputed for vsurpers, and no lawfull kings or dukes. He also established at Caen the chamber of accounts of the reuenues of his dukedome of Normandie. In Rone he begun the foundation of a strong tower behind the castell, that from the castell to the tower, and from the tower to his palace, the men of warre appointed there in garrison, might passe in suertie without danger of the citie, if perhaps the citizens should attempt any rebellion.

In this sixt yeare, whilst these things were adooing in Normandie, quéene Ione late wife of king Henrie the fourth, and mother in law to this king, was arrested by the duke of Bedford the kings lieutenant in his absence, and by him committed to safe kéeping in the castell of Léeds in Kent, there to abide the kings pleasure. About the same time, one frier Randoll of the order of Franciscanes that professed diuinitie, and had béene confessor to the same quéene, was taken in the Ile of Gernesey; and being first brought ouer into Normandie, was by the kings commandement sent hither into England, and committed to the Tower, where he remained till the parson of the Tower quarelling with him, by chance slue him there within the Tower ward. It was reported that he had conspired with the quéene by sorcerie and necromancie to destroie the king.

She was cōmitted to the safe kéeping of Pelham, who appointed hir nine seruants to attend hir & conueied hir to the castell of Pompsey.

*Tho. Walsin.*

Frier Rādoll.

Whilest the king remained in Rone, to set things in order for the establishment of good policie in that citie, he sent abroad diuerse of his capteins, with conuenient forces to subdue certeine townes & castels in those parties, as his brother the duke of Clarence, who wan the strong towne of Vernon and Mante. In Vernon was sir William Porter made capteine, and in Mant the earle of March. The earle of Salisburie wan Hunflue, after he had besieged it from the fourth of Februarie vntill the twelfth of March. This towne was giuen afterwards vnto the duke of Clarence. Also the said earle of Salisburie wan the townes of Monster de Villiers, Ew, Newcastle, and finallie all the places in that quarter, which till that present were not vnder the English obeisance. At Newcastle sir Philip Léech was made capteine.

Vernon and Mante taken by the English.

*Titus Liuius.*

Hunflue takē.

After Candlemasse, the king departed from Rone to go to Eureux, whither he promised to come in like case, as the Dolphin promised to be at Dreux, to the end that they might aduise vpon a conuenient place where to méet, to intreat of peace to be concluded betwixt the two realms. But the Dolphin by sinister persuasion of some enimies to concord, brake promise, and came not. When the king saw that thorough default of his aduersarie, no treatie would be had, he remooued to Vernon, and there a while remained. Now from Eureux the king had dispatched the earle of Warwike vnto the siege of la Roch Guion, which fortresse he so constrained, that it was yéelded into his hands, the sixt of Aprill, in the beginning of this seuenth yeare of king Henries reigne, and giuen to sir Guie Buttlar late capteine of Rone, of the kings frée and liberall grant.

An. Reg. 7.

Roch Guion rendered vp.

About the same time, the duke of Excester laid siege vnto Chateau Galiard, which siege continued from the last of March, vnto the latter end of September, or (as some write) vnto the twentieth of December, as after shall appeare. The duke of Gloucester being sent to win the towne and castell of Yuri, tooke the towne by assault, and the castell was deliuered by composition after fortie daies siege. After this the Englishmen ouerran the countrie about Chartres, and did much hurt to their enimies in all places where they came. The hearts of the Frenchmen were sore discouraged with the losse of Rone, and the other townes which yéelded one after another thus to the Englishmen, so that such as loued the wealth of their countrie sore lamented the imminent mischéefes, which they saw by the diuision of the nobilitie, like shortlie to fall on their heads, namelie bicause they saw no remedie prepared.

Chateau Galiard besieged.

Yuri taken by assault.

But who euer else was disquieted with this matter, Iohn duke of Burgognie raged and swelled, yea and so much fretted therewith, that he wist not what to saie, and lesse to doo: for he knew well that he was neither frée from disdaine, nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice, bicause that he onelie ruled the king, and had the whole dooings in all matters about him. And therefore he considered, that all such mishaps as chanced to the state of the common-wealth would be imputed to his negligence and disordred gouernement. To find some remedie against such dangers at hand, he thought first to assaie, if he might by any reasonable means conclude a peace betwixt the two mightie kings of England and France, which if he might bring to passe, he doubted not to reuenge his quarell easilie inough against the Dolphin Charles, and to repress all causes of grudge and disdaine.

Herewith intending to build vpon this fraile foundation, he sent letters and ambassadors to the king of England, aduertising him, that if he would personallie come to a communication to be had betwéene him and Charles the French king, he doubted not but by his onelie meanes, peace should be brought in place, and bloudie battell cléerelie exiled. King Henrie giuing courteous eare to these ambassadors, sent with them the earle of Warwike as his ambassador, accompanied with two hundred gentlemen to talke with the duke, as then remaining in the French court at the towne of Prouince. The earle was assailed by the waie as he iournied, by a great number of rebellious persons, gotten into armour of purpose to haue spoiled him of such monie and things as he and his companie had about them. But by the high valiancie of the English people, with the aid of their bowes, the Frenchmen were discomfited and chased.

Ambassadors sent on either side.

*Titus Liuius.*

The earle at his comming to Prouince was honorablie receiued, and hauing doone the effect of his message, returned; and with him the earle of saint Paule, and the sonne and heire of the duke of Burbon were also sent as ambassadors from the French king, to conclude vpon the time and place of the méeting, with all the circumstances. Wherevpon the king of England agréed to come to the towne of Pontoise, that either part might méet other in a conuenient place betwixt those two townes néere to Meulan. According to this appointment, K. Henrie came to Mante, where in the feast of Pentecost he kept a liberall house to all commers, and sate himselfe in great estate. Vpon the which daie, either for good seruice already by them doone, or for the good expectation of things to come, he created Gascoigne de Fois, otherwise called the captau or captall de Buef a valiant Gascoigne, earle of Longueuile; and sir Iohn Greie earle of Tankeruile, and the lord Bouchier, earle of Ew.

Creation of earles.

After this solemne feast ended, the place of enteruiew and méeting was appointed to be beside Meulan on the riuer of Seine, where in a faire place euerie part was by commissioners appointed to their ground. When the daie of appointment approached, which was the last daie of Maie, the

Either part was appointed to bring with them not past two

king of England accompanied with the dukes of Clarence, and Gloucester, his brethren, the duke of Excester his vncler, and Henrie Beauford clerke his other vncler, which after was bishop of Winchester and cardinall, with the earles of March, Salisburie, and others, to the number of a thousand men of warre, entered into his ground, which was barred about and ported, wherin his tents were pight in a princelie maner.

thousand and fiue hundred men of warre as *Tit. Liu.* saith.

Likewise for the French part came Isabell the French quéene, because hir husband was fallen into his old frantike disease, hauing in hir companie the duke of Burgognie, and the earle of saint Paule, and she had attending vpon hir the faire ladie Katharine hir daughter, with six and twentie ladies and damosels; and had also for hir furniture a thousand men of warre. The said ladie Katharine was brought by hir mother onelie to the intent that the king of England beholding hir excellent beautie, should be so inflamed and rapt in hir loue, that he to obteine hir to his wife, should the sooner agréee to a gentle peace and louing concord. But though manie words were spent in this treatie, and that they met at eight seuerall times, yet no effect insued, nor any conclusion was taken by this fréndlie consultation, so that both parties after a princelie fashion tooke leaue ech of other, and departed; the Englishmen to Mante, and the Frenchmen to Pontoise.

A treatie of peace.

Seuen times the last being on the last day of Iune.

*Titus Lilius.*

Some authors write that the Dolphin to staie that no agrément should passe, sent sir Taneguie de Chastell to the duke of Burgognie, declaring that if he would breake off the treatie with the Englishmen, he would then common with him; and take such order, that not onelie they but the whole realme of France should thereof be glad and reioise. Howsoever it came to passe, truth it is that where it was agréed, that they should eftsoones haue met in the same place on the third of Iulie; the king according to that appointment came: but there was none for the French part, neither quéene nor duke that once appeared; so that it was manifest inough how the fault rested not in the Englishmen, but in the Frenchmen. By reason wherof no conclusion sorted to effect of all this communication, saue onlie that a certeine sparke of burning loue was kindled in the kings heart by the sight of the ladie Katharine.

*Chro. of Flanders.*

*Titus Lilius.*

The king without doubt was highlie displeased in his mind, that this communication came to no better passe. Wherefore he mistrusting that the duke of Burgognie was the verie let and stop of his desires, said vnto him before his departure: "Coosine, we will haue your kings daughter, and all things that we demand with hir, or we will driue your king and you out of his realme. Well (said the duke of Burgognie) before you driue the king and me out of his realme, you shall be well wearied, and thereof we doubt little." Shortlie after, the duke of Burgognie and the Dolphin met in the plaine fields besides Melun, and there comming together, concluded apparantlie an open peace and amitie, which was proclamed in Paris, Amiens, and Pontoise.

This agrément was made the sixt of Iulie in the yeare 1419. It was ingrossed by notaries, signed with their hands, and sealed with their great seales of armes: but as the sequele shewed, hart thought not what toong spake, nor mind meant not that hand wrote. Whiles these things were a dooing, diuerse of the Frenchmen in Rone went about a conspiracie against the Englishmen, whereof the king being well aduertised, sent thither certeine of his nobles, which tried out these conspirators, caused them to be apprehended, had them in examination, and such as they found guiltie were put to death; and so setting the citie in quietnes, returned to the king, who counted it great honor to kéepe the countries which he woone by conquest in obedience and aw; sith such victories are not obtained without sore labour and toile, both of prince and people, as the poet rightlie saith:

An agrément betwéene the duke of Burgognie & the Dolphin.

*Titus Lilius.*

A conspiracie in Rone.

Quærere regna, labor; virtus est parta tueri  
Maxima.

*In Angl. præl. sub Hen. 5.*

The king of England, perceiuing, by this new aliance, that nothing was lesse to be looked for, than peace at the hands of the Frenchmen, deuised still how to win townes and fortresses, which were kept against him: and now that the truce was expired, on the thirtieth daie of Iulie, he being as then within the towne of Mante, appointed certeine bands of souldiers in the after noone to passe out of the gates, giuing onelie knowledge to the capteins what he would haue them to doo. And to the intent that no inkling of the enterprise should come to the enimies eare, he kept the gates himselfe as porter. These that were thus sent foorth being guided by the earle of Longueuile, otherwise called the captau de Buef, were commanded in secret maner as they could to draw toward the towne of Pontoise, and to kéepe themselues in couert till the darke of the night, and then approach the walles of that towne, and vpon espieng their aduantage to enter it by scaling, hauing ladders and all things necessarie with them for the purpose.

*Hall.*

These bands belonged to the earle of Longueuile & to the lord de Lespar Gascoignes.

*Hist. des ducs de Normand*

The king plaieth the porters part.

Moreouer, about the closing of the daie and night in the euening, he sent foorth the erle of Huntington with other bands of soldiers, to succor and assist the other, if they chanced to enter the towne according to the order taken. Those that were first sent foorth (according to their instructions)

This captau was brother to the earle of Foix.

conueid themselues so closelie to their appointed places, that the enimies heard nothing of their dooings. Wherevpon when the night was come, they came in secret wise vnder the walles, and there watched their time till the morning began to draw on. In the meane time, whilst the watch was departed, and before other were come into their places to relieue it, the Englishmen setting vp their ladders, entered and brake open one of the gates to receiue the other that followed.

*Hall.*

Pontoise surprised by the Englishmen.

The Frenchmen perceiuing that the walles were taken, and their enimies entered into the towne, at the first were sore amazed: but after perceiuing the small number of the Englishmen, they assembled together and fiercelie assailed them, so that they were constrained to retire to the walles and turrets which they had taken, and with much adoo defended the same; some leaping downe into the diches, and hiding them in the vines, till at length the earle of Huntington, with his companies came to their succors, and entring by the gate which was open, easilie did beat backe the enimies, & got the market place. Which when the lord Lisle Adam capteine of the towne perceiued, he opened the gate towards Paris, by the which he with all his retinue, and diuerse of the townesmen to the number of ten thousand in all, (as Enguerant de Monstr. recounteth) fled towards Paris, taking awaie with them their coine, iewels, and plate. Some of them fléeing towards Beauuois were met with, and stripped of that they had, by Iehan de Guigni, and Iehan de Claw, two capteins that serued the Orlientiall faction.

*Hall.*

*Hall.*

There were within the towne of Pontoise at that time when it was thus taken by the Englishmen, a thousand lances, and two thousand arcubalisters, as Thomas Wilsingham affirmeth, and of Englishmen and Gascoignes that went first foorth of Mante with the captau de Buef, not past fiftéene hundred, as Hall reporteth: although Enguerant de Monstrellet saith, they were about thrée thousand. But how manie soeuer they were, they durst not at the first, by reason of their small number (as may be thought) once diuide themselues, or deale with booties, till about the houre of prime, that the duke of Clarence came to their aid with fiue thousand men, who much praising the valiantnesse of the earle and his retinue that had thus woone the towne, gawe to them the chéefe spoile of the which there was great plentie.

Then went the duke foorth towards Paris, and comming thither, lodged before it two daies and two nights, without perceiuing anie proffer or issue to be made foorth against him by his enimies, and therefore séeing they durst not once looke vpon him, he returned to Pontoise, for the taking of which towne the whole countrie of France, and speciallie the Parisians were sore dismaied: sith now there was no fortresse able to withstand the English puissance; for that the Irishmen ouerran all the Isle of France, did to the Frenchmen damages innumerable, (as their writers affirme) brought dailie preies to the English armie, burst vp houses, laid beds on the backes of the kine, rid vpon them, carried yoong children before them, and sold them to the Englishmen for slaues. These strange dooings so feared the Frenchmen within the territorie of Paris, and the countrie about, that the sorie people fled out of the villages with all their stuffe into the citie.

The duke of Clarence cōmeth before Paris with his armie.

The Irishmē spoil the Ile of France.

The French king, and the duke of Burgognie lieng at saint Denis, in this season, departed from thence with the quéene and hir daughter, and went to Trois in Champaigne, there to consult of their businesse, hauing left at Paris the earle of S. Paule, and the lord Lisle Adam, with a great puissance to defend the citie. The king of England immediatlie after that Pontoise was woone (as before yée haue heard) came thither in person, as well to giue order for the placing of a sufficient garrison there for defense thereof; as to procéed further into the countrie for the getting of other townes and places: and so after he had well prouided for the good gouernment, & safe kéeping thereof, the eightéenth daie of August he departed out of the same with his maine armie.

And bicause they of the garrison that laie in the castell of Vaucon Villers had doone, and dailie did diuerse and sundrie displeasures to the Englishmen, he pight downe his field néere to the same, the better to restraine them from their hostile attempts, and withall sent part of his armie to besiege the castell, which put them in such feare, that they despairing of all reléefe or succour, and perceiuing they should not be able long to defend the place against the kings puissance, yéelded the place, with all their coine and other goods into the kings hands. The soldiers of that garrison, and the inhabitants, at the contemplation of a certeine ladie there amongst them, were licenced by the king to depart without armor or weapon, onelie with their liues sauéd. Iohn of Burgh that was after bailiffe of Gisours, was appointed capteine of this castell.

*Titus Liuius.*

The castell of Vaucon Villers besieged and taken.

*Titus Liuius.*

After this, all the townes and castels within a great circuit offered to yéeld themselues vnto the English obeisance; the strong towne and castell of Gisours onelie excepted, which still held out, & would shew no token of will to yéeld. Héerevpon the king the last of August began to approach the same, but at the first he could not come néere, by reason of the marishes and fennes: but yet such was the diligence of the Englishmen, aduanced by the presence of the king, readie in all places to commend them that were forward in their businesse, and to chastise such as slacked their duetie, that dailie they came néerer and néerer, although the Frenchmen issued foorth dailie to encounter them, giuing them manie sharpe skirmishes. For the towne being double walled and fensed with those broad marishes, so encouraged them within, that they thought no force had béene able to haue subdued them.

Gisours besieged and yéelded to the Englishmen.



But at length calling to remembrance, that theking of England came before no towne nor fortresse, from which he would depart before he had brought it vnder his subiection, they offered to come to a parlée, and in the end compounded to render the towne into the kings hands the eight daie of September next insuing, and the castell (bicause it was the stronger péee) they couenanted to deliuer the foure and twentieth of the same, if in the meane time no rescue came to raise the siege. Herevpon when no such reléeffe could be heard of, at the daies limited, the soldiers of the garrison, and the more part of the townsmen also submitted themselues, and receiued an oth to be true subjects to the king, and so remained still in their roomes. The earle of Worcester was made capteine there.

*Thom. Wals.*

Duke of Clarence saith  
*Rich. Grafton.*

About the same time, to wit, the thrée and twentieth of September (as some write) was castell Galiard surrendred to the hands of the duke of Excester, which had béene besieged euer since the last daie of March (as before yée haue heard.) But others write that it held out seauen moneths, and was not deliuered vp till the twentieth of December. This castell was not onelie strong by situation, standing vpon the top of a stéepe hill, but also closed with mightie thicke walles, and furnished with men and all maner of munition and things necessarie. The king appointed the lord Ros capteine of it. After that Gisours and castell Galeard were thus yéelded to the English obeisance, all the other townes and castels thereabout, and in the countrie of Veulquessin, shortlie after yéelded to the king, as Gourneie, Chauniount, Neaufle, Dangu, and other small fortresses. Of Gourneie, was sir Gilbert Umfreuile made capteine; at Neaufle, the earle of Worcester; and at Dangu, Richard Wooduile. Shortlie after was the castell Daumall yéelded to the earle of Warwike, to whome it was giuen. And thus was the whole duchie of Normandie (Mont saint Michael onelie excepted) reduced to the possession of the right heire, which had béene wrongfullie detained from the kings of England euer since the daies of king Iohn, who lost it about the yeare one thousand two hundred and seauen.

*Titus Lilius.*

Normandie brought  
into the kings  
subiection, that had  
béene lost & detained a  
long time frō the  
English.

To satisfie those that be desirous to know what capteins were appointed by the king in diuerse townes that were yéelded to him (of which we haue made no mention heretofore but in generall) here their names doo follow, and of the townes, as we find them in the chronicles of maister Hall. At Crewleie sir Henrie Tanclux an Almaine; at Torignie, sir Iohn Popham, to whome it was giuen; at Chamboie, the lord Fitz Hugh; at Vernueil in Perch, sir Iohn Neuill; at Essaie, sir William Huddleston bailiffe of Alanson; at Crulie sir Lois Robsert; at Conde Norean sir Iohn Fastolfe; at Cawdebecke, sir Lois Robsert; at Déepe, William lord Bouchier earle of Eu; at Aubemarle, the earle of Warwike, and his deputie thereof William Montfort; at Bellincombre, sir Thomas Ramston lord thereof by gift; at Longueuille, the capitall de Beuf or Buz, earle thereof by gift; at Danuille, sir Christopher Burden; at Couches, sir Robert Marburie; at Chierburg, sir Iohn Gedding; at Bacqueuille, the lord Ros; at Arques sir Iames Fines, bailiffe of Caux; at Monceaux, sir Philip Léech; at Estrie Pagnie, Richard Abraham; at Sentler Surget, William Basset; at Bretueill, sir Henrie Mortimer bailiffe of Hunflew.

But now to returne where we left. The wise and graue personages of the realme of France, sore lamenting & bewailing the miserie of their countrie, saw they had puissance inough to defend their enimies, if they were of perfect concord amongst themselues. And therefore to remooue all rancor and displeasure betwixt the Dolphin, and the duke of Burgognie, they procured a new méeting, which was appointed to be at Monstreau ou fault Yonne, where the two princes at the daie assigned met. But such was the fortune of France, that the duke of Burgognie was there murthered, as he knéeled before the Dolphin: wherevpon insued greater debate than before. For Philip earle of Charolois, the sonne and heire of the said duke, tooke the matter verie gréeuouslie, as he had no lesse cause, and determined to be reuenged on the Dolphin, and other that were guiltie of the murther: so that now there was great expectation of slaughter and bloudshed, but no hope for the most part of tranquillitie & peace. France therefore, what with ouerthrowes giuen by the English, & diuision among themselues, was verie sore afflicted; insomuch that one miserie riding on anothers necke, the whole land was in danger of desolation by ciuill dissention & mutuall mutinies; as the poet noteth:

The duke of Burgognie  
murthered.

--- accessit ad ista  
Tunc mala Celtarum Burgundio fraude preemptus  
Sparsaq; ciuilis tota dissensio terra.

*Anglorum prælia sub  
Henr. 5.*

When he had well considered of the matter, and taken aduise with his councell, he first sent ambassadours to the king of England, then lieng at Gisours to treat and conclude a truce betwéene them both for a certeine space, that they might talke of some conclusion of agrément. King Henrie receiued the ambassadours verie courteouslie, and granted that communication might be had of peace, but vtterlie denied anie abstinence from warre, bicause he would not lose time, if the treatie sorted not to good effect. Herevpon hauing his armie assembled at Maunt, he diuided the same into thrée parts, appointing the duke of Gloucester with one part to go vnto the castell of S. Germane in Laie, and to laie siege therevnto. The duke according to his commission, comming before that castell, within a while constrained them within by continuall skirmishes and assaults to diliuer vp the place into his hands. An other part of the armie was sent vnto the castell of Montioie, which likewise by such fierce

Ambassadors sent to  
king Henrie.

*Titus Lilius.*

A wise and princelie  
caution.

The castell of S.  
Germane in Laie and  
Montioie yéelded to the  
Englishmen.

assaults and manfull approches, as the Englishmen made thereto, was shortlie giuen ouer and yéelded. The third part of the hoast went to Meulanc, a verie strong towne compassed about with the riuer of Seine.

But the king deuised to fasten botes and barges together, and to rere vp certeine frames of timber aloft on the same for defense of his soldiers, that should by that meanes approach the walles, wherewith those that had the towne in kéeping were so put in feare, that their capteine was glad to come to a communication, & agréed to deliuer the towne into the kings hands, if no rescue came before the thirtieth daie of October next insuing. On which daie, for that no succours appeared, the towne (according to the couenants) was giuen vp into the kings hands. Sir Thomas Ramston was made capteine there, and after him sir Iohn Fastolfe. The king, whilest these places were besieged, and thus brought vnder his subiection, continued for the most part at Maunt; but yet oftentimes he went foorth to visit his campes, and to sée that nothing should be wanting, that might further the spéedie dispatch of his enterprises.

A policie for redie bridges.

The strong town of Meulanc yéelded to the English.

About the same time, there came againe ambassadours to him from Charles the French king, & from the yoong duke of Burgognie to treat with him of some good conclusion of peace to be had; who had no such trust in their sute, but that he doubted their meaning, and therefore ceased not to procéed in the winning of townes and castels, as he was in hand. Now when Christmasse approached, the king withdrew to Rone, and there kept the solemnization of that feast, appointing in the meane time his men of warre to be occupied as occasion serued. The earle of Salisburie was sent to besiege the towne of Fresneie, the which after stout resistance made at the first, shortlie after was deliuered to him to the kings vse. The earles Marshall and Huntington, sir Iohn Gréene Cornewall, sir Philip Léech, and diuerse other, were sent into the countrie of Maine, where, not farre from the citie of Mens they were incountered by a power of Frenchmen, which the Dolphin had sent against them. There was at the first a sharpe bickering betwixt them, but in the end the victorie remained with the Englishmen; so that manie of the Frenchmen were slaine, and taken, and the residue chased out of the field. There were slaine (as Thomas Walsingham saith) at the point of fiue thousand, and two hundred taken prisoners, among whome was the marshall de Rous, and diuerse other of good account. The two English earles remained there as victors, in the countrie which was by the king to them assigned.

1420 An. Reg. 8.

A great victorie on the English side.

Whilest these victorious exploits were thus happilie atchiued by the Englishmen, and that the king laie still at Rone, in giuing thanks to almightie God for the same, there came to him eftsoones ambassadours from the French king and the duke of Burgognie to mooue him to peace. The king minding not to be reputed for a destroyer of the countrie, which he coueted to preserue, or for a causer of christian blood still to be spilt in his quarell, began so to incline and giue eare vnto their sute and humble request, that at length (after often sending to and fro) and that the bishop of Arras, and other men of honor had béene with him, and likewise the earle of Warwike, and the bishop of Rochester had béene with the duke of Burgognie, they both finallie agréed vpon certeine articles, so that the French king and his commons would thereto assent.

King Henrie condescendeth to a treatie of peace.

Now was the French king and the quéene with their daughter Katharine at Trois in Champaigne gouerned and ordered by them, which so much faouered the duke of Burgognie, that they would not for anie earthlie good, once hinder or pull backe one iot of such articles as the same duke should séeke to preferre. And therefore what néedeth manie words, a truce tripartite was accorded betwéene the two kings and the duke, and their countries, and order taken that the king of England should send in the companie of the duke of Burgognie his ambassadours vnto Trois in Champaigne sufficientlie authorised to treat and conclude of so great matter. The king of England, being in good hope that all his affaires should take good successe as he could wish or desire, sent to the duke of Burgognie his vnclé, the duke of Excester, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Elie, the lord Fanhope, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir Iohn Robsert, and sir Philip Hall, with diuerse doctors, to the number of fiue hundred horsse, which in the companie of the duke of Burgognie came to the citie of Trois the eleuenth of March. The king, the quéene, and the ladie Katharine them receiued, and hartilie welcomed, shewing great signes and tokens of loue and amitie.

A truce tripartite.

Ambassadors from K. Henrie to the French king.

After a few daies they fell to councill, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of England should come to Trois, and marie the ladie Katherine; and the king hir father after his death should make him heire of his realme, crowne and dignitie. It was also agréed, that king Henrie, during his father in lawes life, should in his stéed haue the whole gouernment of the realme of France, as regent thereof, with manie other couenants and articles, as after shall appéere. To the performance whereof, it was accorded, that all the nobles and estates of the realme of France, as well spirituall as temporall, and also the cities and commonalties, citizens and burgesses of townes, that were obeisant at that time to the French king, should take a corporall oth. These articles were not at the first in all points brought to a perfect conclusion. But after the effect and meaning of them was agréed vpon by the commissioners, the Englishmen departed towards the king their maister, and left sir Iohn Robsert behind, to giue his attendance on the ladie Katharine.

The articles of the peace concluded betwéene king Henrie and the French king.

King Henrie being informed by them of that which they had doone, was well content with the agrément and with all diligence prepared to go vnto Trois, and therevpon hauing all things in readinesse, he being accompanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Glocester, the earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Huntington, Eu, Tankeruile, and Longuile, and fiftéene thousand men of warre, went from Rone to Pontoise; & departing from thence the eight daie of Maie, came to saint Denis two leagues from Paris, and after to Pontcharenton, where he left a strong garison of men, with sir William Gascoigne, to kéepe the passage; and so then entering into Brie, he tooke by the waie a castell which was kept against him, causing them that so kept it, some to be hanged, and the residue to be led foorth with him as prisoners. And after this kéeping on his iournie by Prouins, and Nogent, at length he came to Trois.

*Thom. Wals.*

*Titus Liuius.*

The duke of Burgognie accompanied with manie noble men, receiued him two leagues without the towne, and conueied him to his lodging. All his armie was lodged in small villages thereabout. And after that he had reposed himselfe a little, he went to visit the French king, the quéene, and the ladie Katharine, whome he found in saint Peters church, where was a verie ioious méeting betwixt them (and this was on the twentieth daie of Maie) and there the king of England, and the ladie Katharine were affianced. After this, the two kings and their councill assembled together diuerse daies, wherein the first concluded agrément was in diuerse points altered and brought to a certinetie, according to the effect aboue mentioned. When this great matter was finished, the kings sware for their parts to obserue all the couenants of this league and agrément. Likewise the duke of Burgognie and a great number of other princes and nobles which were present, receiued an oth, the tenor whereof (as the duke of Burgognie vttered it in solemne words) thus insueth, accordinglie as the same is exemplified by Titus Liuius De Foro Liuisiis in Latine.

King Henrie commeth to Trois to the French king.

King Henrie affieth the French kings daughter.

*Titus Liuius.*

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## **The oth of the duke of Burgognie.**

Ego Philippus Burgundiæ dux, per me meosque hæredes, ad sacra Dei euangelia domino regi Henrico Angliæ, Franciæque, pro Carolo rege regenti iuro, quòd humiliter ipsi Henrico fidelitérque; cunctis in rebus; quæ rempublicam spectant & Franciæ coronam, obediemus, & statim post mortem Caroli domini nostri, domino Henrico regi suisque successoribus in perpetuum ligei fideles erimus; nec alium quempiam pro domino nostro supremo Franciæ rege, quàm Henricum & suos hæredes habebimus, néque patiemur. Non erimus præterea in consilio vel consensu cuiuscquam damni regis Henrici, suorúmue successorum, vbi quicquam detrimenti patiantur capitis siue membri, vel vitam perdant; sed prædicta (quantum in nobis fuerit) quàm citissimis literis vel nuntijs, vt sibi meliùs prouidere valeant, eis significabimus.

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## The same in English.

I Philip duke of Burgognie, for my selfe, and for mine heires, doo here sweare vpon the holie euangelists of God, to Henrie king of England, and regent of France for king Charles, that we shall humblie and faithfullie obeie the said Henrie in all things which concerne the commonwealth and crowne of France. And immediatlie after the deceasse of our souereigne lord king Charles, we shall be faithfull liegemen vnto the said king Henrie, and to his successors for euer. Neither shall we take or suffer anie other souereigne lord and supreme king of France, but the same Henrie and his heires: neither shall we be of councell or consent of anie hurt towards the said king Henrie or his successors, wherby they may suffer losse & detriment of life or lim, but that the same so farre as in vs may lie, we shall signifie to them with all spéd, by letters or messengers, that they may the better prouide for themselues in such cases.

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The like oth a great number of the princes and nobles both spirituall and temporall which were present, receiued at the same time. This doone, the morow after Trinitie sundaie, being the third of Iune, the mariage was solemnized and fullie consummate betwixt the king of England, and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclaimed heire and regent of France. And as the French king sent the copie of this treatie to euerie towne in France: so the king of England sent the same in English vnto euerie citie and market towne within his realme, to be proclaimed and published. The true copie whereof, as we find it in the chronicles of maister Hall, we haue thought good here to set downe, for the more full satisfieng of those that shall desire to peruse euerie clause and article thereof as followeth.

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# The articles & appointments of peace betwéene the realmes of England and France.

Henrie by the grace of God king of England, heire and regent of France, lord of Ireland, to perpetuall mind of christian people, and all those that be vnder our obeisance, we notifie and declare, that though there hath béene here before diuerse treaties betwéene the most excellent prince Charles our father of France and his progenitors, for the peace to be had betwéene the two realmes of France and England, the which heretofore haue borne no fruit: we considering the great harmes, the which haue not onelie fallen betwéene those two realmes, for the great diuision of that hath béene betwéene them, but to all holy church; we haue taken a treatie with our said father, in which treatie betwixt our said father and vs, it is concluded & accorded in the forme after the manner that followeth.

1 First, it is accorded betwéene our father and vs, that forsomuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the good of the peace betwéene vs and our most déere beloued Katharine, daughter of our said father, & of our most déere moother Isabell his wife; the same Charles and Isabell béene made our father and moother: therefore them as our father and moother we shall haue and worship, as it fitteth and séemeth so worthie a prince and princesse to be worshipped, principallie before all other temporall persons of the world.

2 Also we shall not distrouble, diseason or let our father aforesaid, but that he hold and possede as long as he liueth, as he holdeth and possedeth at this time, the crowne and dignitie roiall of France, with rents and profits for the same, of the sustenance of his estate and charges of the realme. And our foresaid moother also hold as long as she liueth, the state and dignitie of quéene, after the manner of the same realme, with conuenable conuenient part of the said rents and profits.

3 Also that the foresaid ladie Katharine shall take and haue dower in our realme of England as quéenes of England here tofore were woont for to take and haue, that is to saie, to the summe of fortie thousand scutes, of the which two algate shall be a noble English.

4 And that by the waies, manners, and meanes that we without transgression or offense of other made by vs, for to speake the lawes, customes, vsages and rights of our said realme of England, shall done our labour and pursuit, that the said Katharine, all so soone as it maie be doone, be made sure to take, and for to haue in our said realme of England, from the time of our death, the said dower of fortie thousand scutes yearelie, of the which twaine algate be worth a noble English.

5 Also if it happe the said Katharine to ouerliue vs, we shall take and haue the realme of France immediatlie, from the time of our death, dower to the summe of twentie thousand franks yearelie, of and vpon the lands, places and lordships that held and had Blanch sometime wife of Philip Beasaill to our said father.

6 Also that after the death of our said father aforesaid, and from thence forward, the crowne and the realme of France, with all the rights and appurtenances, shall remaine and abide to vs, and béene of vs and of our heires for euermore.

7 And forsomuch as our said father is withholden with diuerse sicknesse, in such manner as he maie not intend in his owne person for to dispose for the néeds of the foresaid realme of France: therefore during the life of our foresaid father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernance and disposition of the publick & common profit of the said realme of France, with councell, and nobles, and wisemen of the same realme of France, shall be and abide to vs; so that from thencefoorth we maie gouerne the same realme by vs. And also to admit to our counsell and assistance of the said nobles, such as we shall thinke méet. The which faculties and exercise of gouernance thus being toward vs, we shall labour and purpose vs spédfullie, diligentlie, and trulie, to that that maie be and ought for to be vnto the worship of God, and our said father and moother, and also to the common good of the said realme, and that realme with the councell & helpe of the worthie and great nobles of the same realme for to be defended, peased and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Also that we of our owne power shall doo the court of parlement in France to be kept and obserued in his authoritie and souereignetie, and in all that is doone to it in all manner of places that now or in time comming is or shall be subject to our said father.

9 Also we to our power shall defend and helpe all and euerie of the péeres, nobles, cities, townes, communalities, and singular persons, now or in time comming, subjects to our father in their rights, customes, priuileges, frédomes, and franchises, longing or due to them in all manner of places now or in time comming subject to our father.

10 Also we diligentlie and truelie shall trauell to our power, and doo that iustice be administred and doone in the same realme of France after the lawes, customes, and rights of the same realme, without personall exception. And that we shall kéepe and hold the subjects of the same realme in tranquillitie and peace, and to our power we shall defend them against all manner of violence and oppression.

11 Also we to our power shall prouide, and doo to our power, that able persons and profitable béene taken to the offices as well of iustices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines, and of other offices of the said realme of France, for the good right and peaceable iustice of the same, and for the administration that shall be committed vnto them; and that they be such persons, that after the lawes and rights of the same realme, and for the vtilitie and profit

of our said father, shall minister, and that the foresaid realme shall be taken and departed to the same offices.

12 Also that we of our power, so soone as it may commodiously be doone, shall trauell to put into the obedience of our said father, all manner of cities, townes, and castels, places, countries, and persons within the realme of France, disobedient, and rebels to our said father, holding with them which béene called the Dolphin, or Arminacke.

13 Also that we might the more commodiously, suerlie and fréelie doone, exercise, & fulfill these things aforesaid, it is accorded that all worthie nobles and estates of the same realme of France, as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities notable and communalities, and citizens, burgesses of townes of the realme of France, that béene obeisant at this time to our said father, shall make these othes that followen.

14 First to vs hauing the facultie, exercise, disposition, and gouernance of the foresaid common profit to our hests and commandements, these shall méekelie & obedientlie obeie and intend in all manner of things concerning the exercise of gouernance of the same realme.

15 Also that the worthie, great, and noble estates of the said realme as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities and notable communalities, and citizens and burgesses of the same realme, in all manner of things well and trulie shall kéepe and to their power shall doo to be kept of so much as to them belongeth, or to anie of them, all those things that béene appointed and accorded betwéene our foresaid father and moother and vs, with the counsell of them whome vs list to call to vs.

16 And that continuallie from the death, and after the death of our said father Charles, they shall be our true liegemen, and our heires; and they shall receiue and admit vs for their liege and souereigne and verie king of France, and for such to obeie vs without opposition, contradiction, or difficultie, as they béene to our foresaid father during his life, neuer after this realme of France shall obey to man as king or regent of France, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsell, helpe, or assent that we léese life or limme, or be take with euill taking, or that we suffer harme, or diminution in person, estate worship, or goods; but if they know anie such thing for to be cast or imagined against vs, they shall let it to their power, & they shall doone vs to wéeten thereof, as hastilie as they maie by themselfe, by message, or by letters.

17 Also that all maner of conquests that should be made by vs in France vpon the said inobedients, out of the duchie of Normandie, shall be doone to the profit of our said father; and that to our power we shall doo, that all maner of lands and lordships that béene in the places so for to be conquered, longing to persons obeieng to our foresaid father, which shall sweare for to kéepe this present accord, shall be restored to the same persons to whom they long to.

18 Also that all manner of persons of the holie church, beneficed in the duchie of Normandie, or any other places in the realme of France, subiect to our father, and fauouring the partie of the dukes of Burgognie, which shall sweare to kéepe this present accord, shall inioy peaceablie their benefices of holie church in the duchie of Normandie, or in other places next aforesaid.

19 Also likewise, all maner of persons of holie church, obedient to vs and beneficed in the realme of France, and places subiect to our father, that shall sweare to kéepe this present accord, shall inioy peaceablie their benefices of holie church in places next abouesaid.

20 Also that all maner of churches, vniuersities, and studies generall, and all colleges of studies, and other colleges of holie church, being in places now or in time comming subiect to our father, or in the duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France subiect to vs, shall inioy their rights and possessions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties, & franchises, longing or due to them in any maner of wise in the said relme of France, sauing the right of the crowne of France, and euerie other person.

21 Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the crowne of France, the duchie of Normandie, and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of France, shall bow vnder the commandement, obeisance, and monarchie of the crowne of France.

22 Also that we shall force vs, & doo to our power, that recompense be made by our said father without diminution of the crowne of France to persons obeieng to him, and fauoring to that partie that is said Burgognie, to whom longeth lands, lordships, rents, or possessions in the said duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France, conquered by vs hithertoward giuen by vs in places and lands gotten, or to be gotten, and ouercome, in the name of our said father vpon rebels and inobedients to him. And if so be that such maner of recompense be not made to the said persons, by the life of our said father, we shall make that recompense in such maner and places, of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the crowne of France. And if so be that the lands, lordships, rents, or possessions, the which longeth to such maner of persons in the said duchie and places be not giuen by vs, the same persons shall be restored to them without any delaie.

23 And during the life of our father, in all places now or in time comming subiect to him, letters of common iustice, and also grants of offices and gifts, pardons or remissions, and priuileges shall be written and procéed vnder the name and seale of our said father. And for somuch as some singular case maie fall, that maie not be foreséene by mans wit, in the which it might be necessarie and behououefull, that we doo write our letters; in such maner case, if any hap for the good and suertie of our father, and for the gouernance that longeth to vs, as is beforesaid; and for to eschewen perils that otherwise might fall, to the preiudice of our said father, to write our letters, by the which we shall command, charge, and defend after the nature and qualitie of the

néed, in our fathers behalfe and ours as regent of France.

24 Also, that during our fathers life, we shall not call nor write vs king of France; but verelie we shall absteine vs from that name, as long as our father liueth.

25 Also that our said father, during his life shall name, call, and write vs in French in this maner: Nostre treschier filz Henry roy d'Engleterre heretere de France. And in Latine in this maner: Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus rex Angliæ & hæres Franciæ.

26 Also that we shall put none impositions or exactions, or doo charge the subiects of our said father without cause reasonable and necessarie, ne otherwise than for common good of the realme of France, and after the saieng and asking of the lawes and customes reasonable approoued of the same realme.

27 Also that we shall trauell to our power to the effect and intent, that by the assent of the thrée estates of either of the realmes of France and England, that all maner of obstacles maie be doone awaie, and in this partie, that it be ordeined and prouided; that from the time that we or any of our heires come to the crowne of France, both the crownes, that is to saie, of France and England perpetuallie be together in one & in the same person, that is to saie, from our fathers life to vs, and from the tearme of our life thenceforward in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after an other, and that both realmes shall be gouerned from that we or any of our heires come to the same, not seuerallie vnder diuerse kiugs in one time, but vnder the same person which for the time shall be king of both realmes, and our souereigne lord (as it is before said) kéeping neuerthesse in all maner of other things to either of the same realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, vsages, and lawes, not making subject in any maner of wise one of the same realmes, to the rights, lawes, or vsages of that other.

28 Also that thenceforward, perpetuallie, shall be still rest, and that in all maner of wise, dissentions, hates, rancors, enuies and wars, betwéene the same realmes of France and England, and the people, of the same realmes, drawing to accord of the same peace, may cease and be broken.

29 Also that there shall be from henceforward for euermore, peace, and tranquillitie, & good accord and common affection, and stable friendship betwéene the said realmes, and their subiects before said. The same realmes shall kéepe themselues with their councill, helps, and common assistance against all maner of men that inforce them for to dooen or to imagine wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or grieuances to them or either of them. And they shall be conuersant and merchandizen fréelie and suerlie together, paieng the custome due and accustomed. And they shall be conuersant also, that all the confederats and alies of our said father and the realme of France aforesaid, and also our confederats of the realme of England aforesaid, shall in eight moneths from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauing neuerthesse either of the same crownes, and also all maner actions, rights and reuenues, that longen to our said father and his subiects, and to vs and our subiects, against all maner of such alies and confederats.

30 Also neither our father, neither our brother the duke of Burgognie shall begin, ne make with Charles, cleping himselfe the Dolphin of Viennes, any treatie, or peace, or accord, but by councill and assent of all and ech of vs thrée, or of other the thrée estates of either of the said realmes aboute named.

31 Also that we with assent of our said brother of Burgognie, and other of the nobles of the realme of France, the which thereto owen to be called, shall ordeine for the gouernance of our said father sekerlie, louinglie, & honestlie, after the asking of his roiall estate and dignitie, by the maner that shall be to the worship of God, and of our father, and of the realme of France.

32 Also all maner of persons, that shall be about our father to doo him personall seruice, not onelie in office, but in all other seruices, aswell the nobles and gentlenes as other, shall be such as hath béene borne in the realme of France, or in places longing to France, good, wise, true, and able to that foresaid seruice. And our said father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience, and no where else. Wherefore we charge and command our said liege subiects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they kéepe and doo to be kept in all that longeth to them, this accord and peace, after the forme and maner as it is accorded; and that they attempt in no maner wise, any thing that may be preiudiciall or contrarie to the same accord and peace, vpon paine of life and lim, and all that they may forfeit against vs. Yeuen at Troes, the thirtieth day of Maie, 1420, & proclaimed in London the twentieth day of Iune.

33 Also that we for the things aforesaid, and euerie one of them, shall giue our assent by our letters patents, sealed with our seale vnto our said father, with all approbation and confirmation of vs, and all other of our bloud roiall, and all other of the cities and townes to vs obedient. Sealed with our seales accustomed. And further, our said father, besides his letters patents sealed with our great seale, shall make or cause to be made letters approbatorie, and confirmations of the péeres of his realme, and of the lords, citizens, and burgesses of the same, vnder his obedience. All which articles we haue sworne to kéepe vpon the holie euangelists.

On the fourtéenth of Iune being fridaie, there was a solemn procession at London, and a sermon at Paules crosse, in which the preacher openlie declared the effect of the kings mariage, and the articles concluded vpon the same, by reason whereof (he said) there must be a new great seale deuised, and the old broken, and in the new the kings name with a new addition of his title as regent of France, and heire apparant of that

*Tho. Wals.*

A league betwéene king  
Henrie & the duke of  
Burgognie.



kingdome was to be ingrauen. Beside the league thus concluded by king Henrie with the French king, and the whole bodie of the realme of France, there was a priuat league accorded betwixt him and the duke of Burgognie, the effect wherof was comprehended in articles as followeth.

1 First, that the duke of Burgognie should procure this peace latelie before concluded, to be obserued firme and stable in all couenants and points therof, so far as he by any meanes might further the same: in consideration whereof, one of the brethren of king Henrie should take to wife one of the said duke of Burgognies sisters. 2 That king Henrie should euer haue in singular fauour the said duke of Burgognie, as his most déere brother, and support him in all his rights. 3 That the said duke, after the deceasse of king Charles, should take an oth of fealtie to be true to K. Henrie & his heires, according to the forme & tenor thereof before expressed, & should in all things be friend to king Henrie and his heires for euer. 4 That king Henrie should doo his vttermost indeuour, that due punishment might be had for the murther of duke Iohn, father to the said duke of Burgognie, aswell vpon Charles that named himselfe Dolphin, as vpon others that were guiltie and priuie to that murther.

5 If the said Dolphin chanced to be taken, in battell or towne besieged, or if anie other chanced so to be taken, that should be prooued guiltie or priuie to the murther of the said duke Iohn, he should not be deliuered without iust punishment for his déeds, nor without the consent of the two kings Charles and Henrie, & of the thrée estates of both the realmes. 6 In consideration of the great diligence, and painfull trauell susteined by the duke of Burgognie, it was also agréed, that he should haue by patent granted of king Charles and quéene Isabell a fée of twentie thousand pounds Parisien, of yéerelie reuenues, assigned foorth néere to the confines of his countrie, to inioy the same to him and to his wife the duches Michaell, and to the heires males betwixt them two, lawfullie begotten, to the obteneing whereof, king Henrie should shew all his furtherance; & if it might not be brought to passe till king Henrie had obtained the crowne of France, then should he see the same performed, vpon the receiuing of his homage.

The king of England, after all the articles of the said treaties and agréments were concluded, passed and sworne vnto, made to the French king, the duke of Burgognie, and other the French lords, a sumptuous banquet; and before they departed from the same, he sadlie and with great grauitie made to them a right pithie and sententious oration, declaring to them both how profitable the ioining of the two kingdomes should be to the subiects of the same, and also the right that he had thereto, being by lineall descent of the womans side (which is the surest) rather a Frenchman than an Englishman. And though he was an Englishman borne, yet he assured them to tender the wealth of the realme of France, as much as he would the aduancement of his owne natiue countrie of England.

The effect of king  
Henries oration to the  
French king.

Herewith, he inueied against Charles the Dolphin, being the head and onelie maintainer of all the ciuill discord, whose wicked nature, and cruell disposition, did well appeare in the murther of the late duke of Burgognie. He therefore willed them, according to their dutie, oth, and agrément, to stand with him, and helpe to reduce such a stubborne and disloiall sonne vnto the obeisance of his father king Charles, that he might shew himselfe conformable vnto such orders and décrées, as they had taken, appointed, and agréed vpon: and for his part, he promised to worship, loue, and honor his father in law the said K. Charles, in place of his owne father, according to the true mening of this concord and agrément, trusting the same to be a peace finall.

And to conclude, he promised, that if they shewed themselues true and loiall to him, according to the same agrément; the Ocean sea should sooner ceasse to flow, and the bright sunne lose his light, than he would desist from dooing that which became a prince to doo to his subiect, or a father to his naturall child. When he had thus persuaded the nobilitie, and dispatched his businesse at Troies, he with all his armie, hauing with him the French king, and the duke of Burgognie, departed from thence the fourth of Iune; and vpon the seauenth daie of the same moneth, came before the towne of Sens in Burgognie, which held on the Dolphins part: but after foure daies siege, it was yéelded vnto the king, and there he made capteine, the lord Genuille. From thence, he remooued to Monstreaux ou fault Yonne, which towne was taken on the thrée and twentieth daie of Iune, by assault, so that manie of the Dolphins part were apprehended, before they could get to the castell.

It was rendered vp the  
tenth of Iune.

Titus Liuius Sens &  
Mōstreaux besieged and  
taken.

The siege was laid the  
16 of Iune.

Whilest the siege laie there, and before the towne was entred, the duke of Bedford came thither vnto the king, bringing with him a faire retinue of soldiers out of England. After the getting of the towne, the castell being well vittelled and manned, denied to render, and therefore was it enuironed with a strong siege. During the which, the duke of Burgognie was informed, in what place of the towne the duke his father was buried, who was slaine there (as before you haue heard) and now his corps was taken vp againe by his sonnes appointment, and seared, and so conueied vnto Digeon in high Burgognie, and there buried by his father Philip: to the end that the remembrance of him should remaine to posterities, by the reseruatiō of some monument abiding in the place of his interment, after that his bodie was consumed, and his naturall countenance forgotten. Which is the last point of reuerend dutie (as we may well thinke) which pietie of children towards their parents dooth require; namelie, that they be decentlie buried when they be departed; and that their graues or toome stones may put vs that are alieue in mind of going the same waie, and to set no more by this flitting life, than standeth with the vncerteintie and shortnesse of the same; as one right well saith:

Cùm tumulum cernis, cur non mortalia spernis?  
Esto memor mortis, quo viuis tempore fortis.

Bicause they within the castell of Monstreau, gaue opprobrious words vnto the kings herald that was sent to them, the king caused a gibet to be set vp before the castle, on the which were hanged twelue of those spitefull offenders, all gentlemen & fréends to the capteine named monsieur de Guitrie, who at length, perceiuing that by no means he could be succoured; and fearing to be taken by force, began to treat with the king of England, who for the space of eight daies would hearken to none of his offers; but in conclusion, he and his rendred themselues simplie, their liues onelie sauéd, six wéekes after they had béene besieged. The earle of Warwike was made capteine, both of the towne and castell, who fortified it with men, munition, and vittels.

It held not out so long as should appeare by Tit.

Liuius, who saith, that it was rendred the fourth of Iulie.

[About this time Robert the gouernour of Scotland, the fiftéenth yéere after his brothers reigne, and in the thirtith yeare of his owne regiment deceased, in whose stéed and office his sonne Mordac duke of Albanie was by and by chosen, who had sonnes thrée, Walter, Alexander, and Iames, whereof the two eldest beginning betimes to be obstinate, grew soone after verie graceles and wicked: that in one flagitious feat among the rest by this Walter verie impioulsie against his parents was vttered. The gouernour had a faire, a gentle, and well flieng falcon, whereby he set great store. The sonne verie desirous of the same, made manie meanes and motions to haue hir, not without note of malapert importunitie and lacke of reuerence toward his parents pleasure, which the father dissembling to sée, would not yet in anie wise forgo his hawke. Whereat this child reiecting regard of dutie, and receiuing an vnnaturall hate and heat by broth of iniquitie set a boiling in his brest, came in on a time, where standing a while at a sudden braid, pluckt awaie the bird from his fathers fist, and straight before his face wrang of hir necke. The gouernour héereat sore astonied, for verie gréefe gaue a great grone; "Well sonne (quod he) since yée cannot bridle your brunts for dutie and reuerence toward me your parent and souereigne, I will bring in one that shall bridle vs both." Héerevpon soone after, he with one Calen Campbell, a noble man & of much authoritie (vnto whome this Walter had doone a great despight) and with other of the nobilitie fell straight in consultation about the calling home of their king. Which all with one assent they did right well allow, whereby soone after (as is touched afore, and followeth more at large) he was by them in his kingdome right roiallie placed. But this came of it. These mischééfous children Walter and Alexander, the verie cause of their fathers confusion and their owne, within few yeares after condemned by law, vpon a hill by Sterling castell, had their heads chopt off at once. Walters wife with hir two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, ran for refuge awaie into Ireland; thus for their long iniquities their hires iustlie paid all in a daie.]

W. P. Buchan. lib. 10.

Now to procéed in our processe of France. After the thus winning of the towne and castell of Monstreau; the king departing from thence, came to Melun vpon Seine, the thirtéenth daie of Iulie, and besieged it round about, hauing then in companie with him the French king, and the yong king of Scots, the dukes of Burgognie, Clarence, Bedford, Gloucester, and Bar, the prince of Orajnge, and one and twentie earles, besides lords, barons, & knights, equal to lords in degré, to the number of seauen and fiftie, what of England and France; and beside also fiftéene maister soldiers. This siege continued the space almost of seuen moneths, or (as Thomas Walsingham saith) fouretéene wéekes, and foure daies, with skirmishing, scaling assaulting, and defending, to the losse (no doubt) of both parts. Capteine of this towne was one monsieur de Barbason, a Gascoine of such experience and approoued valiancie in wars, that his renowme and fame was spred through the world.

Melun besieged by king Henrie.

The king of Scots in K. Héries armie.

Eightéene wéekes haue the chronicles of Flanders.

Titus Liuius.

Monsieur de Barbason a valiât captein.

Titus Liuius.

At the first laieng of the siege, he called all the soldiers there in garrison, and likewise the townesmen afore him, and warned them all on paine of death, that none of them should be so hardie, as to treat, or once to motion anie word of surrendring the towne, or of comming to anie composition or agrément with the two kings; except they made him being their capteine priuie thereto, before they attempted anie such thing. ¶ In the meane season, the French quéene, the quéene of England, and the duches of Burgognie, lieng at Corbeill, came diuers times to visit their husbands, and to sée their fréends; whome the king of England highlie feasted and louinglie interteined, that euerie creature reported great honour of him. This towne of Melun séemed verie strong, both by reason of the riuer of Seine, which compassed part thereof, and also by strong walles, turrets, ditches, and bulworks made about it.

The king therefore, to take awaie all the issues and entries from them within, made a bridge ouer the riuer, able to beare horssees and carriage: and againe, appointed diuerse botes furnished with men of warre, to kéepe the streame; so that they within should haue no waie to come abroad, either by water or land; yet on a daie, the Frenchmen sailed foorth, and assailed the English lodgings, where the earle of Warwike was incamped on the east side of the towne, not farre from the duke of Burgognie; but by the valiant prowesse and manlie courage of the Englishmen, the enimies were easilie beaten backe and constreined to retire into the towne againe with their losse. Héere is to be remembred, that during this siege before Melun, there came to the king the duke of Bauiere, the kings brother in

The duke of Bauiere, commeth to king Henrie with a number of horssemen.

law (but the kings sister that had béene married to him, was not then liuing) and brought with him seauen hundred well appointed horssemen, which were reteined to serue the king, and right worthilie they bare themselues, and therefore most liberallie recompensed at the kings hand, for the time they continued in his seruice.

The king inforced this siege by all waies and meanes possible, to bring the towne into subiection, as well by mines as otherwise, but they within the towne so valiantlie behaued themselues, as well by countermines (whereby at length they entered into the kings mines) as by other waies of resistance, that by force of assaults it was not thought anie easie matter to win the same. It fortunod on a daie, that whilst there rose a contention betwixt two lords of the kings host, who should haue the honor to go first into the mine, to incounter with the Frenchmen, that now had brought their mine through into the English mines, and made barriers betwixt, that they might safelie come and fight with the Englishmen: the king (to auoid the strife) entered the mine himselfe first of all other, and by chance came to fight hand to hand with the lord Barbason, who was likewise entered the mine before all other of them within the towne.

The trāslator of *Tit. Liuius.*

K. Henrie and mōsieur Barbason fight hand to hand.

After they had fought a good season together, at length they agréed to discouer either to other their names; so as the lord Barbason, first declaring what he was; the king likewise told him, that he was the king of England. Wherevpon, Barbason perceiuing with whome he had fought, caused the barriers foorthwith to be closed, and withdrew into the citie, and the king returned backe to his campe. At length, vittels within the towne began to faile, and the pestilence began to wax hot, so that the lord Barbason began to treat; and in conclusion, about the middest of Nouember (as Fabian saith) the towne was yéelded vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that all that were consenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, should be deliuered to the king of England, of whome the lord Barbason was suspected to be one. The king sent them vnder the conduct of his brother the duke of Clarence, to the citie of Paris, whereof the French king made him capteine, and so at his comming thither, he tooke possession of the Bastill of S. Anthonie, the Loure, the house of Néelle, and the place of Bois de Vincennes.

It was surrendred about Alhalontide, as Thom.

Wal. noteth.

Melum yéelded vp to king Henrie.

Monsieur de Barbason was accused by the duke of Burgognie, and his sisters as guiltie to their fathers death; but he in open court defended himselfe as not guiltie of that crime, granting indéed and confessing, that he was one of the familiar seruants to the Dolphin, but that he was priuie or consenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, he vtterlie denied. Wherevpon he was not condemned, neither yet acquitted, by reason of such presumptions and coniectures as were alledged and brought against him, so that he remained in prison at Paris and else-where, the space of nine yeares, till at length, being brought vnto castell Galliard, it chanced that the same castell was woone by those of the Dolphins part, and he being as then prisoner there, escaped out of danger, and so by that means was set at libertie, as after shall appeare.

*Titus Liuius.*

Some write, that he had béene put to death, if he had not appealed from king Henries sentence, vnto the Judgement of the officers at armes; alledging, that by the lawe of armes, no man hauing his brother in armes within his danger, afterwards ought to put him to death for any cause or quarell. And that he was the kings brother in armes he prooued it, for that he had fought with him hand to hand within the mines (as before yée haue heard) which combat was thought of equall force by the heralds, as if he had fought with the king bodie to bodie, within solemne lists. The credit of this matter we leaue to the consideration of the readers. The earle of Huntington was made capteine of Melum. In defense of this towne and castell, the French had gotten vnto them manie Scots. At the siege héere the king kept with him yoong Iames of Scotland, who sent to those Scots, that they should come put and yéeld them vnto him, and not to stand in armes against their liege lord and king; but they gaue word backe againe, they could not take him for king, that was in the power of another, and so kept them in hold and in their armor still. King Henrie vpon winning of these forts, for their rebellion against their prince, which they would haue to be counted constancie, and for their contemptuous answer vnto him, twentie of the proudest, in example of the rest, caused he there to be hanged at once.

Note this appeale.

A note in law of armes.

*W. P.*

From thence the king departed with his armie vnto Corbeill, where the French king and the two quéenes then sojourned; and after, both the kings, accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgognie, Glocester, and Excester, and the earls of Warwike and Salisburie, with a great number of noble men and knights, set foorth towards Paris, whome the citizens in good order met without the gates, and the cleargie also with solemne procession. All the stréets were hanged with rich clothes, the two kings rode together (the king of England giuing the vpper hand to his father in lawe) though the great citie of Paris, to our ladie church, where after they had said their deuotions, they departed vnto their lodgings; the French king to the house of S. Paule, and the king of England to the castell of Louer.

King Henrie is receiued in at Paris.

The next daie, the two quéenes made their entrie and were receiued with like solemnities, as their husbands were the day before. During all the season that these two kings laie in Paris, there was a great assemblie called, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the nobles of the temporaltie, in the

The duchess of Burgognie hir appeale.

which, the kings set as iudges, before whom the duches of Burgognie by hir proctor, appealed the Dolphin, and seauen other, for the murther of duke Iohn hir husband. To the which appeale, the counsell of the other part made diuerse offers of amends, as well of foundations of chantries for préests, to praie for the soule, as recompense of monie to the widow and children; for the finall determination whereof, the kings, to take further aduise and counsell therein, appointed another daie.

At this same time, the thrée estates of the realme of France assembled at Paris, and there euerie person seuerallie sware vpon the holie euangelists, to kéepe, support, mainteine and defend the treatie and finall accord, which was concluded betwéene the two kings and thereto euerie noble man, spirituall gouernour and temporall ruler, set to their seales, which instruments were sent to the kings treasure of his eschecker at Westminster safelie to be kept, where they yet remaine. The French king at the same time being in good and perfect state of health, openlie there in parlement declared, that peace was concluded, accorded, and made by his frée assent, and with the aduise of all the counsell of France, and that he would for his owne part and that his successors ought for their parts, obserue and kéepe the same, with all the articles therein contened. And likewise, that all his subiects were bound for euer, to obserue and kéepe the same, without breaking or dooing anie thing preiudiciall therevnto.

The oth of the thrée estates of Frâce.

During the time that the two kings thus soiourned in Paris, the French king kept a small port, verie few, and those of the meaner sort resorting vnto his court; but the king of England kept such a solemne state, with so plentifull an house, and shewed himselfe so bountifull in gifts, and setting fourth of warlike shewes and princelie pastimes, that all the noble men and other resorted to his palace to see his estate, and to doo him honor. He tooke vpon him as regent of France, to redresse causes, remooue officers, reforme things that were amisse, and caused a new come to be made, called a salute, wherein were the armes of France, and the armes of England and France quarterlie stamped. Also, to set all things in quiet, he constituted sir Gilbert Umfreuile capteine of Melun, with a good number of valiant soldiers, to remaine there in garrison, and the earle of Huntington (coosine germane to the king) was deputed capteine at Bois de Vincenes; and the duke of Excester, with fíue hundred men of warre, was assigned to kéepe Paris. Thus had king Henrie (when he was constituted gouernour of the land) the disposing of prouinces, townes, and castels at his pleasure; and the making of lawes and ordinances, standing with the drift of his policie to kéepe both people in due obedience; as Anglorum prælia bréefelie noteth; saieing:

King Henrie taketh vpon him the office of regent of France.

The coine salute.

Rectorem patriæ postquam rex Gallus & omnes  
Vnanimis proceres Henricum constituerunt;  
Plantageneta dabat princeps iam iura duabus  
Gentibus, effrænes ductis cohibebat habenis.

The duke of Bauier about the same time, with the kings licence, departed into his countrie, both he and his retinue, receiuing large gifts or the kings great liberalitie, and amongst other things, the king gaue him a cup of gold, garnished and set with pretious stones of great price and value. Moreouer, he had a pension giuen him of a thousand markes by yeare, vnder the kings letters patents, to be had and receiued of the kings frée and liberall grant, during the life of the said duke. A right roiall reward & worthie the maiestie of a king, bestowed vpon the said duke, and his retinue, partlie in respect of the aliance betwixt the king and him (for he had married the kings sister) but speciallie for the notable seruice which they did him at the siege before Melun. So that hereby is commended vnto vs an example of gratitude and beneficence; teaching vs, that to such as haue béene good and gracious vnto vs, we should be alwaies forward with a right hand and readie mind to make amends in some proportion and measure.

The duke of Bauier & his troope with the kings fauor departeth.

When the king had thus ordered his businesse, he with the quéene his wife, the princes, & nobles of the realme departed from Paris, the sixt of Ianuarie, and came to Rone, but first before his departing, he caused processe to be made and awarded fourth against Charles the Dolphin, commanding him to appéere at the marble table at Paris; where for lacke of appearance, he was with all solemnitie in such case requisite, denounced guiltie of the murther and homicide of Iohn duke of Burgognie, and by the sentence of parlement banished the realme; but the Dolphin withdrew into Languedoc, and after to Poictiers, getting to him such fréends as he could; and namelie, he found the earle of Arminacke verie faithfull to him, not onelie aiding him with men, but also with his owne person he continuallie serued him against all his aduersaries.

1421

Sentence against the Dolphin.

The king of England comming to Rone, soiourned there a certeine time, and receiued the homage of all the nobles of Normandie, amongst whome, the earle of Stafford did homage for the countie of Perch, and Arthur of Britaine likewise for the countie of Yurie. He also ordeined his lieutenant generall, both of France and Normandie, his brother Thomas duke of Clarence; and his deputie in Normandie was the earle of Salisburie. When the feast of Christmasse was passed, he departed from Rone, with the quéene his wife, and by Amiens came to Calis, where he tooke ship the morow after Candlemasse daie, and landed at Douer, and came to Canturburie and from thence to Eltham, and so through London to Westminster. I passe ouer to write what ioy and triumph

These counties they inioied of the kings gift.

He landed at Douer vpon Candlemasse ieue saith *Tho. Walsingham*.

was shewed by the citizens of London, and of all other his subjects in euerie place where he came.

The king himselfe, to render vnto God his most humble & hartie thanks, caused solemne processions to be obserued and kept fiue daies together in euerie citie and towne. After that doone, he made great purueiance for the coronation of his quéene & spouse, the faire ladie Katharine: which was doone the daie of S. Matthew, being the twentie fourth of Februarie, with all such ceremonies and princelie solemnitie as appertained. Which because it was full of roialtie and honour (the qualitie of the principall personages requiring no lesse) and recorded by writers of former ages, it séemeth necessarie and conuenient in this place to report it, in such sort as it is found at large in some, though others glansinglie passe by it, as a matter of no great obseruation. But it is worth the noting, to consider and take a view of the goodlie order and reuerend dutifulnesse exhibited on all sides to the new quéene; of whome Anglorum prælia saith,

King Henrie returneth into England with his new wife.

*Thomas Walsingham* saith, she was crowned the first in Lent which that yere, fell vpon the ninth of Februarie.

The coronation of quéene Katharine.

More coronatur maiorum regia coniux,  
Ingeminans rex ô viuat, reginâque vulgus,  
Altisonis suprema ferit clamoribus astra.

¶ After the great solemnization at the foresaid coronation in the church of saint Peters at Westminster was ended, the quéene was conueied into the great hall of Westminster, and there set to dinner. Vpon whose right hand sat at the end of the table the archbishop of Canturburie, & Henrie surnamed the Rich cardinall of Winchester. Vpon the left hand of the quéene sat the king of Scots in his estate, who was serued with couered messe, as were the forenamed bishops; but yet after them. Vpon the same hand and side, néere the boords end, sat the duchesse of Yorke and the countesse of Huntingdon. The earle of March, holding a scepter in his hand, knéeled vpon the right side: the earle marshall in like manner on the left of the quéene. The countesse of Kent sat vnder the table at the right foot, and the countesse marshall at the left. The duke of Glocester sir Humfrie was that daie ouerséer, and stood before the quéene bareheaded. Sir Richard Neuill was that daie caruer to the quéene, the earles brother of Suffolke cupbearer, sir Iohn Steward sewar, the lord Clifford pantler in the earle of Warwikes stéed, the lord Willoughbie buttler in stéed of the erle of Arundell, the lord Graie Ruthin or Riffin naperer, the lord Audleie almoner in stéed of the earle of Cambridge, the earle of Worcester was that daie earle marshall in the earle marshals absence; who rode about the hall vpon a great courser with a multitude of tipped staués about him, to make and képe roome in the said hall. Of the which hall the barons of the cinque ports began the table vpon the right hand, toward saint Stephans chappell; and beneath them at the table sat the vouchers of the chancerie. Vpon the left hand next to the cupboord sat the maior and his brethren the aldermen of London. The bishops began the table against the barons of the cinque ports; and the ladies against the maior. Of which two tables, for the bishops, began the bishop of London and the bishop of Durham; and for the ladies, the countesse of Stafford, and the countesse of March.

*Abr. Fl.* out of *Fabian* pag. 402, 409.

A roiall basket.

The feast was all of fish, for the ordering of the seruice whereof were diuerse lords appointed head officers, as steward, contrroller, surueior, and other honourable officers. For the which were appointed the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Fitz Hugh, the lord Furneuall, the lord Graie of Wilton, the lord Ferres of Grobie, the lord Poinings, the lord Harrington, the lord Darcie, the lord Dacres, and the lord de la Ware. These with others ordered the seruice of the feast as followeth; and thus for the first course. Brawne and mustard, éeles in burneur, frument with balten, pike in herbage, lamprie powdered, trowt, codling, plaice fried, martine fried, crabs, léech lumbard flourished, tartes; and a deuise called a pellican, sitting on hir nest with hir birds, and an image of saint Katharine holding a booke, and disputing with doctors, holding this poesie in hir right hand, written in faire and legible letters, Madame le Royné; and the pellican answering.

The first course.

C'e est la signe & du roy, pour tenir ioy,  
Et a tout sa gent, elle mette sa entent.

The second course was: gellie coloured with columbine flowers, white potage or creame of almonds, breame of the sea, coonger, soles, cheuen, barbill and roch, fresh salmon, halibut, gurnard, rochet broiled, smelts fried, creuis or lobster; léech damaske, with the kings poesie flourished therevpon, vne sans plus; lamprie fresh baked, flampeine flourished with a scutchion roiall, and therein thrée crownes of gold planted with flourdeluces and floure of camomill wrought of confection: with a deuise of a panther, and an image of saint Katharine with a whéele in one hand, & a scroll with a poesie in the other, to wit,

The second course.

La royné ma file, in cesta ile,  
Per bon resoun, aues renoun.

The third course was, dates in compost, creame motle, carpe deore, turbut, tench, pearch with goion, fresh sturgion with welks, porperous rosted, mennes fried, creuisse de eau douce, pranis, éeles rosted with lamprie, a léech called the white léech flourished with hawthorne leaues & red hawes; a marchpane garnished with diuerse figures of angels, among which was set an image of S.

The third course.

Katharine, holding this poesie,

Il est escript, pur voir & eit,  
Per marriage pure, cest guerre ne dure.

And lastlie a deuse of a tiger looking in a mirror, and a man sitting on horssebacke all armed, holding in his armes a tigers whelp with this poesie; Per force sans resounie ay prise ceste best: and with his owne hand making a countenance of throwing of mirrors at the great tiger, which held this poesie; Gile che mirrour ma feste distour. Thus with all honour was finished the solemne coronation, after which the quéene soiourned in the palace of Westminster till Palmesundaie following; and on the morow she tooke hir iournie towards Windsor; where the king and she held their Easter.

After the solemne feast of the coronation was ended, the king as well to visit certeine places for deuotion by waie of pilgrimage, as also to see in what state and order diuerse parts of his realme stood, departed from the quéene, appointing daie and place where she should méet him, and so iournied foorth from place to place, thorough sundrie countries, as well of Wales as England, and in euerie quarter where he came, he heard with diligent eare the complaints of sutors, and tooke order for the administration of iustice both to high and low, causing manie misdemeanours to be reformed. At length he came to the towne of Leicester, where he found the quéene according to the appointment before taken. Here at Leicester, he held the feast of Easter.

Iustice ministered by king Henrie in progresse.

¶ How then standeth this with the report of Fabian, who saith, that the king and quéene kept their Easter at Windsor; and that when the said festiuall time was expired, the king made prouision for his warres in France, during the tearme of Richard Whitinghams meraltie of London, which was in the eight yeare of this king Henries reigne: Suerlie there must néeds be an errour, either in mistaking the yeare or the place: vnlesse we will grant the king and quéene (with their court of attendants) to haue béene Hic ibi simul, which priuilege is granted to none but Ubiquitaries.

*Abr. Fl.*

But while these things were thus adooing in England, the duke of Clarence, the kings lieutenant in France and Normandie, assembled together all the garrisons of Normandie, at the towne of Bernaie, and from thence departed to the countrie of Maine, and at Pont le Gene he passed the riuer of Yonne, and rode through all the countrie to Lucie, where he passed the riuer of Loire, and entered into Aniou, and came before the citie of Angiers, where he made manie knights, that to saie, sir William Ros, sir Henrie Goddard, sir Rowland Rider, sir Thomas Beaufort, called the bastard of Clarence, and diuerse other; and after that he had forraied, burnt, and spoiled the countrie, he returned with preie and pillage to the towne of Beaufort in the vallie, where he was aduertised, that a great number of his enimies, Frenchmen, Scots, Spaniards, and other were assembled together, at a place called Viell Bauge, that is Old Bauge, with the duke of Alanson, calling himselfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin.

An. Reg. 9.

The duke of Clarence made a rode into Aniou.

Viell Baugē or Bauge.

The duke of Clarence had a Lombard resorting vnto him, reteined with the part aduerse (his name was Andrew Forgusa) of whom the duke inquired the number of his enimies, to whome he reported, that their number was but small, & not of puisance to match with halfe the power of his strong armie, intising him with assurance of victorie, to set on the Frenchmen.

Forgusa, a Lumbard betraieith the duke of Clarence.

The duke like a couragious prince, assembled together all the horssemen of the armie, and left the archers vnder the guiding of the bastard of Clarence, and two Portingales, capteins of Fresnie le vicount, saieing, that he onelie and the nobles would haue the honor of that iournie. When the duke was passed a certeine streict and narrow passage, he espied his enimies ranged in good order of battell, by the monition of the Lombard, which had sold him to his enimies, & his aduersaries had laid such ambushments at the streicts, that the duke by no waie without battell could either retire or flée.

The Englishmen séeing this, valiantlie set on their enimies, who were foure to one, by reason whereof at length the Englishmen were oppressed with multitude, and brought to confusion. There were slaine, the duke of Clarence, the earle of Tankeruille, the lord Ros, sir Gilbert Umfreuile earle of Angus, and sir Iohn Lomlie, sir Robert Verend, and almost two thousand Englishmen: & the earles of Summerset, Suffolke, and Perch, the lord Fitz Water, sir Iohn Berkelie, sir Rafe Neuile, sir Henrie Inglis, sir Wiliam Bowes, sir Wiliam Longton, sir Thomas Borough, and diuerse other taken prisoners. And of the Frenchmen were slaine aboute twelue hundred of the best men of warre they had, so that they gained not much.

The Englishmen discomfited.

The duke of Clarence and diuerse nobles of England slaine.

The bastard of Clarence which tarried at Beaufort, being informed of the great number of the Frenchmen, made forward with all the archers, to come to the succor of the duke, but they came too late. For the Frenchmen, hearing of the approaching of the archers, fled with their prisoners, and left the bodie of the duke, and other the dead carcasses behind them. The archers buried them all sauing the dukes corpse, which with great solemnitie was sent to England, and buried at Canturburie beside his father. After this the Englishmen burnt and spoiled the countrie of Maine, and so returned to Alanson, and after departed euerie man to his garrison. This battell was fought on Easter euen, in the yeare 1421. But now to returne to the king.

After he had kept his Easter at Leicester, he with the quéene remoued and went northward, till they came to Yorke, where they were receiued with great ioy of the citizens, and other the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie. The king went vnto Beuerlie, to visit the shrine of saint Iohn, and immediatlie vpon his departure from thence, the sorowfull newes of his brother the duke of Clarences death, came to him, for which he was right pensife. But sith mourning would not auaile, he called to remembrance what he had to doo, and therevpon without delaie, sent Edmund earle of Mortaigne, brother to the earle of Summerset into Normandie, giuing to him like authoritie and preheminance, as his brother the late deceased duke of Clarence had before enioied.

The earle of Mortaigne made lieutenant of Normandie.

After this, he called his high court of parlement, in the which he declared with such great wisdom & grauitie, the acts which had béene doone in France, the state of the time present, and what was necessary to be prouided for the time to come (if they would looke to haue that iewell and high kingdome, for the which had so long laboured and sought) that the communitie gladlie granted a fiftéenth, & the clergie beneuolentlie offred a double disme. And bicause no delaie should be in the kings affaires for lacke of payment, the bishop of Winchester the kings vncle lent vnto him twentie thousand pounds, to be paid him againe of the same dismes. When all things necessarie for this iournie were readie and prepared, he sent his brother the duke of Bedford before him to Calis with all his armie, being (as some write) foure thousand men of armes, and twentie thousand archers and others; though some haue written, that the whole armie passed not twelue thousand of one and other.

A parlement.

The bishop of Winchester lent the king 20000.

King Henrie saileth into France againe.

The king himselfe shortlie after, about the middle of Maie, passed the seas to Calis, and so from thence he marched through the countrie vnto Boies de Vincennes, where the French king and the quéene as then soiourned. The duke of Burgognie also that had receiued him at Monstruell, attended him to Dowast in Ponthieu, and there hauing taking leaue of him for six daies, returned now againe to him, according to his promise. Then did they consult together about their affaires, and appointed in all hast to fight with the Dolphin, and to raise the siege of Chartres which he had there planted. Herevpon, the king of England with all his puissance, came to the towne of Mante, and thither repaired the duke of Burgognie; but yer they departed from thence, they had knowledge, that the Dolphin hearing of the puissant armie of the king of England approching towards him, was recoiled with his people towards Towers in Touraine.

He tooke sea at Douer the fourth of Iune, as *Titus Liuius* saith, and so saie the chronicles of Flanders.

Herevpon the king of England incontinentlie, did not onelie send backe the duke of Burgognie into Picardie, to resist the attempts of sir Iaques de Harecourt, which made war in that countrie for the Dolphin; but also appointed the king of Scots, with the duke of Glocester, to besiege the towne of Dreux. They comming thither about the eightéenth of Iulie, planted siege on euerie side, both of the towne and castell; and what with power of batrie, and other forcible meanes, so constrained them within, that on the eight daie of August they compounded, that if no sufficient rescue came to raise the siege, before the end of twelue daies next insuing, both the towne and castell should be deliuered to the king of Englands vse, so as the soldiers might depart with their goods whither they would, except one Englishman, which was knowen to be amongst them, being fled for treason out of the kings dominions.

The king of Scots serueth king Henrie. Dreux besieged & rendred to the Englishmen.

On the twentieth daie of August, which was the day of the appointment, the king of Scots receiued the towne and castell to the behoofe of his souereigne lord the king of England, who (during all the time of the siege) laie at Moraumall. The townesmen that would remaine still in their houses, were sworne to be true subiects to the king; and the other which refused, departed with the souldiers. The Englishman that was excepted, was deliuered according to the couenants; and after executed, as he had deserued. The earle of Worcester was made capteine of Dreux, and sir Henrie Mortimer bailiffe there. This doone, the king hearing that the Dolphin should be at Baugencie, assembling his power, hasted thitherwards: but at his comming into those parties, he found no appearance of enimies in the field, and so he remained there fiftéene daies.

King Henrie pursueth the Dolphin.

In which meane while, the earle of Suffolke was sent foorth to discouer the countrie, and the king wan by assault the towne of Baugencie, and after when vittels began to faile, he marched forward, meaning to pursue the Dolphin. But the Dolphin douting the English puissance, conueied all the vittels foorth of those quarters, and retired himselfe to Burges in Berrie, choosing that place as his first refuge, & therefore determined there to remaine, till fortune turning hir wéele shuld looke on them with a more fauorable countenance, hereof in scorne was he commonlie called king of Berrie. The king of England followed, till vittels and forrage began sore to faile on all sides, and then returning, passed towards Orleance, taking the castell of Rouge Mont by assault.

The Dolphin, why called king of Berrie.

He staid thrée daies before Orleance, and from thence, for want of vittels, marched through Gastinois, till he came to Vignie sur Yonne, where he remained for a season, to refresh his people that were sore trauelled, in that painefull passed iournie: in which the king lost not onelie manie of his men for lacke of vittels, but also a great number of horsses and carriages. Some haue written, that about the same time, he should win the citie of Sens, otherwise called the kings new towne by surrender;

*Titus Liuius.*

*Les histories des ducz de Normandie.*

but after he had remained for a time at Vignie, we find that he removed to Paris, where he was honorably received. ¶ For he came among them as one having empire and dominion in his hand, so that to him they were no less forward in submission for fear of his indignation, than ready to give him all the intertainment that they could devise for the keeping of his favour: the lacke whereof they knew stood with the hazard of their safety, as the contrary tended to their welfare.

*Abr. Fl.*

Shortly after, considering with himselfe that the towne of Meaux in Brie, being replenished with enemies, was not to be suffered to remaine in that state, in the middes of his new gotten subjects; he determined to take awaye the open scruple that might poison and infect the members, dwelling hard by: wherefore with a great number of earles and barons in his companie, he came to besiege it. This towne was no less well vittelled than manned, and no better manned than fortified; so that the king could neither have it to him delivered at his pleasure, nor gaine it by assault, without the great losse of his people: yet neuertheless, he determined not to depart till he had got it by one meane or other. The river of Marne divided this towne into two parts, so that there was no entrie from the one into the other, but by a bridge, raised up, and made over the river, sustained with many arches. The one part is called the citie, and the other la March being the strongest and best fortified. The king first lodged a mile off in a castell, and sent the duke of Excester to begin the siege, which he did according to his instructions, upon the sixt of October.

The strong towne of Meaux besieged by the Englishmen.

Shortly after, the king himselfe came, and lodged in the abbey of Pharon, the duke of Excester in the abbey de Chage, the earle of March at the grey friers, and the earle of Warwike directly against that part that is called la March. They within defended themselves right valiantly, so that the Englishmen were not all at their ease, but specially through lacke of vittels many died, and many fell sicke, by reason whereof, no small number returned home into England; wherein the meane time, on the first of December, a parlement was called and holden at Westminster, by the duke of Bedford, gouverneur of the realme in the kings absence. ¶ In this parlement, a fiftéenth was granted to the king towards the maintenance of the warres, the one moitie to be paid at Candlemasse, and the other at Martinmasse, of such monie as at the time of the grant was current.

A parlement called by the duke of Bedford, the king being in France.

This yeare at Windsore on the daie of saint Nicholas in December, the queene was delivered of a sonne named Henrie, whose godfathers were Iohn duke of Bedford, and Henrie bishop of Winchester, and Iaquet, or (as the Frenchmen called hir) Iaqueline of Bauier, countesse of Holland was his godmother. The king being certified hereof as he laye at siege before Meaux, gave God thanks, in that it had pleased his diuine prouidence to send him a sonne, which might succeed in his crowne and scepter. But when he heard reported the place of his natiuitie; were it that he warned by some prophesie, or had some foreknowledge, or else iudged himselfe of his sonnes fortune, he said vnto the lord Fitz Hugh his trustie chamberleine these words; "My lord, I Henrie borne at Monmouth, shall small time reigne, & much get; and Henrie borne at Windsore, shall long reigne, and all loose: but as God will, so be it."

Windsore. The birth of king Henrie the sixt.

King Henrie prophesied of his sonne.

The king held his Christmasse at the siege before Meaux, for he would not give over that siege, although his armie was greatly diminished, by reason of lacke of vittels, extreme cold, foule weather, and other discommodities that bred great store of diseases and sicknesse among his people; notwithstanding, all the helps and means that might be, he devised to remedie the same: so that beside such as died, as well of sicknesse as by the enemies hand, many returned home into their countries. But yet he ceased not to continue the siege, beating the walles with his ordinance, and casting downe bulworkes and rampiers on each side the towne, made approaches as well by water as land, with mightie engines devised of boords to defend the Englishmen, as they approached the walles, and gave assaults. The walles also were in diuerse places vndermined.

*Titus Lilius.*

1422

After this, the Englishmen found meanes, by bridges made of boats, to passe the river; but yet the souldiers and other within defended their rampiers and breaches most stoutly, and with guns and quarrels still shot at the Englishmen, of whome they slue many; and among other the earle of Worcester was slaine, with a bullet of the great artillerie, & the lord Clifford with a quarrell of a crossebow; yet the Englishmen still wan ground, and got neerer and neerer to the walles. They also woone the chiefest part of a bridge from the enemies, and kept watch and ward upon and about the same. The earle of Warwike had also taken a Vaumure from them of the market place, built on the southside thereof, able to receive and lodge a good number of men, which serving to good purpose, for the better brideling of them within, he caused to be kept, and thus were they within Meaux sore oppressed on euery side.

Hereupon in Februarie, the captains doubting least the citie could not be defended long, caused all the vittels and goods to be conveyed into the market place, and retired all the men of warre into the same, leauing none in the other part of the citie, but the commons, and such as were not able to doo any auailable seruice in the warre. The king advertised hereof commanded in all hast to assault the citie, which was quickly doone; so that the citie by fine force was within threé houres taken and spoiled; and the same daie the market place besieged round about, and a mill woone

Meaux taken by assault.

An. Reg. 10.

Queene Katharine



adjoining vnto the same. In Aprill, the quéene passed ouer into France, with a faire retinue of men, vnder the conduct of the duke of Bedford, the duke of Glocester remaining lord gouernour of the realme in his place. At hir comming thither, she was so welcommed and honorablie receiued, first of hir husband, and after of hir father and mother, that she appeared to be no lesse loued of hir noble husband, than of hir déere and naturall parents.

salleth into France.

Whilist the siege still continued before Meaux, Oliuer Mannie a valiant man of warre of the Dolphins part (which before was capteine of Faleis, and yéelding it, sware neuer to beare armour against the king of England)

Oliuer Mannie.

assembled a great number of men of warre, as well Britaines as Frenchmen, that is to saie, the lord Monthorchier, the lord of Coinon, the lord of Chatelgiron, the lord Tintignace, the lord de la Howssaie, and diuerse other, which entered into the countrie of Constantine in Normandie, and robbed and killed the Englishmen, where they might either espie or take them at their due aduantage. But the earle of Suffolke kéeper of the marches, hearing of their dooings, sent for the lord Scales, sir Iohn Aston bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Hall, sir Iohn Banaster, and many other, out of the garrisons within that territorie, the which incountred with their enimies at a place called Le parke leuesque, in English, The bishopps parke.

There was a sore fight and a long betwixt them, but finallie the Frenchmen were put to flight, so that in the conflict and chace were slaine, the lord of Coinon, the lord of Chatelgiron, and thrée hundred other: and there were taken prisoners, the lord de la Howssaie, and sir Oliuer Mannie, with thréescore others. The king pardoned sir Oliuer Mannie his life, though he ill deserued so great a benefit, for that he had broken his oth and promise, but he was sent into England, there to learne to speake English, and so being brought to London, shortlie after died, being as then a verie aged man, & was buried in the white friers. ¶

A sore conflict.

*Abr. Fl.*

But here note (by the waie) the roiall hart of this king, who as he tempered all his actions with singular circumspection; so with a pitifull mind he pondered the miserie of his enimies; so that when he might (Iure belli, by the law of armes) haue spoiled them of goods and life, he diuerse times spared both; with clemencie cōmonlie making conquest of them, who séemed by open hostilitie scarce conquerable.

The king lieng still before the market place at Meaux in Brie (as ye haue heard) sore beat the wals with his ordinance, and cast downe bulworkes and rampiers on euerie side the towne, so that he had made an open breach for his people to enter. Wherof the lord of Offemont being aduertised, with a companie of chosen persons sent by the Dolphin, assaied in the night season to enter the towne, to the succours of them within. But though diuerse of his people got ouer the walles, by helpe of ladders which they had set vp; yet such was his chance, that as he passed a planke, to haue come to the walles, he fell into a déepe ditch; and in the meane time, the Englishmen perceiuing by the noise what the matter meant, came running to the ditch, tooke the lord of Offemont, and slue diuerse of his companie that stood in defense.

The capteins within, perceiuing in what case they stood, by reason their succours were thus intercepted, and doubting to be taken by assault, for that they wanted munition and weapon, began to treat with the king of England, who appointed the earle of Warwike, and the lord Hungerford, to commune with them; and in conclusion an accord was taken, and so the towne and market place with all the goods were deliuered into the king of Englands hands, the tenth daie of Maie, in the yeare 1422. The appointment taken with them of this towne was this, that they should yéeld themselues simplie vnto the kings pleasure, their liues onlie saued: and herevpon manie of them were sent ouer into England, amongst whome was the bishop of that towne, which shortlie after his arriual here fell sicke and died.

*Continuation de la chronicles de Flanders.*

*Titus Liuius.*

The conditions of the surrender of Meaux into the kings hands.

There were also foure persons excepted, against whome the king might by order of law and iustice procéed as he saw cause, for their faults and trespasses committed. As first, the capteine of the towne, named the bastard of Vaureu, the which had doone manie gréeuous oppressions to the people of the countrie thereabouts, in spoiling them of their goods and ransoming them at his pleasure. He had also put diuerse to death most cruellie, when they were not able to paie such finance and ransomes as he demanded. Wherevpon, being now put to death himselfe, his bodie was hanged vpon a trée that stood on an hill without the towne, on the which he had caused both husbandmen and townesmen, with other prisoners, to be hanged before time. His standard also, which was woont to be borne before him in battell, was set vp in the same trée. The bailiife also of the towne, and two of the chéefest burgesses that had béene of counsell with him in his vnlawfull dooings, were likewise executed. Also beside these, there were found in this towne diuerse that were accused to be guiltie of the duke of Burgognies death, wherefore they were put to their triall, in the parlement at Paris, and some of them being found guiltie, were executed.

When the deliuerie of the strong towne of Meaux was published thorough out the countrie, all the townes and fortresses in the Ile of France, in Lannois, in Brie, & in Champaigne, yéelded themselues to the king of England, which appointed in the same valiant capteins, and hardie soldiers. After that he had thus got possession of Meaux, and the other fortresses, he returned againe to Bois de Vincennes, and being there receiued of the king and quéene of France, and of the quéene his wife the thirtith daie of Maie, being Whitsun éeuen, they remooued all together vnto Paris, where the king of England lodged in the castell of Loure, and the French king in the house of saint Paule. These two kings kept great estate with their quéenes, at this high feast of

The roiall port of the K. of England.

Pentecost, but the king of Englands court greatlie excéeded, so that all the resort was thither. The Parisiens that beheld his princelie port & high magnificence, iudged him rather an emperour then a king, and their owne king to be in respect of him like a duke or marquesse.

The Dolphin hauing knowledge by espials where the king of England and his power laie, came with all his puissance ouer the riuier of Loire, and besieged Cosneie, a towne situate vpon that riuier, a six score miles distant from Paris, and appointed part of his armie to waste and destroie the confines of the duchie of Burgognie, to the intent to diuide the power of the king of England, from the strength of the duke of Burgognie, supposing (as it came to passe indéed) that the duke would make hast towards Burgognie, to defend his owne lands. In the meane time they within Cosneie were so hard handled, that they promised to render their towne to the Dolphin, if they were not rescued by the king of England within ten daies. King Henrie hearing these newes would not send anie one creature, but determined to go himselfe to the raising of that siege, and so with all diligence came to the towne of Corbeill, and so to Senlis, where (whether it were with heat of the aire, or that he with his dailie labour were féebled or weakened) he began to wax sicke, yea and so sicke, that he was constrained to tarrie, and send his brother the duke of Bedford to rescue them of Cosneie, which he did to his high honor. For the Dolphin hearing that the duke of Bedford was comming to raise his siege departed thence into Berrie, to his great dishonor, and lesse gaine.

Cosneie besieged by the Dolphin.

The king falleth sicke.

Cosneie rescued by the duke of Bedford.

About the same time, the duke of Britaine sent his chancellor the bishop of Maunts, with the bishop of Vannes, and others of his counsell, as ambassadors from him vnto king Henrie, with full commission, to ratifie and allow for him and his people the peace concluded at Troies: but by reason of the kings gréeuous sicknesse, nothing was then doone in that matter. Neuerthelesse, the duke himselfe in person came afterwards to Amiens, and there performed that which he had appointed his ambassadors at this time, in his name, to haue doone and accomplished. In the meane season, king Henrie waxed sicker and sicker, and so in an horsselitter was conueied to Bois de Vincennes, to whome shortlie after repaired the dukes of Bedford and Glocester, & the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, whome the king louinglie welcomed, and séemed glad of their presence.

Titus Liuius.

The duke of Britaine sendeth ambassadors to the K. of England.

The king of England is brought sicke to Bois de Vincennes.

Now, when he saw them pensife for his sicknesse, and great danger of life wherein he presentlie laie, he with manie graue, courteous, and pithie words, recomforted them the best he could, and therewith exhorted them to be trustie and faithfull vnto his sonne, and to séc that he might be well and vertuouslie brought vp. And as concerning the rule and gouernance of his realms, during the minoritie and yong yeares of his said sonne, he willed them to ioine together in fréendlie loue and concord, kéeping continuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgognie, and neuer to make treatie with Charles that called himselfe Dolphin of Vienne, by the which anie part either of the crowne of France, or of the duches of Normandie and Guien may be lessened or diminished; and further, that the duke of Orleance, and the other princes should still remaine prisoners, till his sonne came to lawfull age, least returning home againe, they might kindle more fire in one daie than might be quenched in thrée.

His aduise vpon his death bed.

He further aduised them, that if they thought it necessarie, that it should be good to haue his brother Humfreie duke of Glocester to be protector of England, during the nonage of his sonne, and his brother the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of Burgognie to rule and to be regent of France, eommanding him with fire and sword to persecute the Dolphin, till he had either brought him to reason and obeisance, or else to driue and expell him out of the realme of France. And herewith he protested vnto them, that neither the ambitious desire to inlarge his dominions, neither to purchase vaine renowme and worldlie fame, nor anie other consideration had mooued him to take the warres in hand; but onelie that in prosecuting his iust title, he might in the end atteine to a perfect peace, and come to enioie those péeces of his inheritance, which to him of right belonged: and that before the beginning of the same warres, he was fullie persuaded by men both wise and of great holinesse of life, that vpon such intent he might and ought both begin the same warres, and follow them, till he had brought them to an end iustlie and rightlie, and that without all danger of Gods displeasure or perill of soule.

Titus Liuius.

Chéeflie Chichelie archb. of Cantur. for dashing the bill against the cleargie, as appeares before, pag. 65.

The noble men present, promised to obserue his precepts, and to performe his desires; but their hearts were so pensife, and replenished with sorrow, that one could not for wéeping behold an other. Then he said the seauen psalmes, and receiued the sacrament, and in saieng the psalmes of the passion ended his daies héere in this world, at Bois saint Vincent, the last of August, in the yeare a thousand foure hundred twentie and two. This Henrie was a king, of life without spot, a prince whome all men loued, and of none disdained, a capteine against whome fortune neuer frowned, nor mischance once spurned, whose people him so seure a iusticer both loued and obeied (and so humane withall) that he left no offense vnpunished, nor fréendship vnrewarded; a terrour to rebels, and suppressour of sedition, his vertues notable, his qualities most praise-worthie.

He departed this life the last of August 1422.

The commédation of king Henrie the fift as is expressed by maist.

Hall.

In strength and nimblenesse of bodie from his youth few to him comparable, for in wrestling, leaping, and running, no man well able to compare. In casting of great iron barres and heauie stones he excelled commonlie all men, neuer shrinking at cold, nor slothfull for heat; and when he most laboured, his head commonlie vncovered; no more wearie of harnesse than a light cloake, verie valiantlie abiding at néeds both hunger and thirst; so manfull of mind as neuer séene to quinch at a wound, or to smart at the paine; nor to turne his nose from euill sauour, nor close his eies from smoke or dust; no man more moderate in eating and drinking, with diet not delicate, but rather more méet for men of warre, than for princes, or tender stomachs. Euerie honest person was permitted to come to him, sitting at meale, where either secretlie or openlie to declare his mind. High and weightie causes as well betwéene men of warre and other he would gladlie heare, and either determined them himselfe, or else for end committed them to others. He slept verie little, but that verie soundlie, in so much that when his soldiers soong at nights, or minstrels plaied, he then slept fastest; of courage inuincible, of purpose vnmutable, so wisehardie alwaies, as feare was banisht from him; at euerie alarum he first in armor and formost in ordering. In time of warre such was his prouidence, bountie and hap, as he had true intelligence not onelie what his enimies did, but what they said and intended; of his deuises and purposes few, before the thing was at the point to be done, should be made priuie.

He had such knowledge in ordering and guiding an armie, with such a gift to incourage his people, that the Frenchmen had constant opinion he could neuer be vanquished in battell. Such wit, such prudence, and such policie withall, that he neuer enterprised any thing, before he had fullie debated and forecast all the maine chances that might happen, which doone with all diligence and courage he set his purpose forward. What policie he had in finding present remedies for sudden mischéues, and what engines in sauing himselfe and his people in sharpe distresses: were it not that by his acts they did plainlie appeare, hard were it by words to make them credible. Wantonnesse of life and thirst in auarice had he quite quenched in him; vertues in déed in such an estate of souereigntie, youth, and power, as verie rare, so right commendable in the highest degré. So staid of mind and countenance beside, that neuer iolie or triumphant for victorie, nor sad or damped for losse or misfortune. For bountifulnesse and liberalitie, no man more fréed, gentle, and franke, in bestowing rewards to all persons, according to their deserts: for his saieng was, that he neuer desired monie to kéepe but to giue and spend.

Although that storie properlie serues not for theme of praise or dispraise, yet what in breuitie may well be remembred, in truth would not be forgotten by sloth, were it but onlie to remaine as a spectacle for magnanimitie to haue alwaies in eie, and for incouragement to nobles in honourable enterprises. Knowen be it therefore, of person and forme was this prince rightlie representing his heroicall affects, of stature and proportion tall and manlie, rather leane than grose, somewhat long necked and blacke haired, of countenance amiable, eloquent and graue was his spéech, and of great grace and power to persuade: for conclusion, a maiestie was he that both liued & died a paterne in princehood, a lode-starre in honour, and mirrour of magnificence: the more highlie exalted in his life, the more déepelie lamented at his death, and famous to the world alwaie. Peter Basset (a chéefe man in his chamber) affirmed that he deceased of a pleurisie, though the Scots and French set it downe to be of saint Feacres disease, that they saie was a palsie with a crampe, which Enguerant reports to be saint Anthonies fire, but neither of them trulie. ¶ Anglorum prælia saith, that it was a sharpe feuer, which happening vnto him (weariéd with the broiles of warre) in a verie vnseasonable time of the yeare, namelie the dogdaies, tormented him the sorer, and grew to be not onelie dangerous, but also desperat; for it left him not till life was extinguished: the poets report is, as followeth:

*Abr. Fl. out of Angl.  
præel. sub. Hen. 5.*

Interea fractúmꝑ; æstu nimióꝑ; labore  
Corripit Henricum languentem febris acuta,  
Cœli intemperies, sextili Sirius ardens  
Virus<sup>[4]</sup> pestiferi fecit ingrandescere[\*4] morbi

[4] A pestilent feuer.

His bodie imbalmed and closed in lead, was laid in a chariot roiall, richlie apparelled with cloth of gold. Vpon his coffin was laid a representation of his person, adorned with robes, diadem, scepter, & ball, like a king; the which chariot, six horssees drew richlie trapped, with seuerall appointments; the first with the armes of S. George, the second with the armes of Normandie, the third of king Arthur, the fourth of saint Edward, the fift of France, and the sixt with the armes of England and France. On this same chariot gaue attendance Iames K. of Scots, the principall mourner, king Henries vnclé Thomas duke of Excester, Richard earle of Warwike, the earle of March Edmund, the earle of Stafford Humfrie, the earle of Mortaigne Edmund Beaufort, the lord Fitz Hugh Henrie, the lord Hungerford Walter, sir Robert Robsert lord Bouchier, sir Iohn Cornwall lord Fanhope, and the lord Crumwell were the other mourners. The lord Louell, the lord Audeleie, the lord Morleie, the lord Sowch bare the baners of saints and auoouries, as then they were called; the baron of Dudleie bare the standard, and the earle of Longuile the baner. The hachments were caried onelie by capteins to the number of twelue; and round about the chariot rode fiue hundred men of armes all in blacke armour, their horssees barbed blacke, and they with the but ends of their speares vpwads.

*Lord Crumwell.*

The conduct of this dolorous funerall was committed to sir William Philip, treasurer of the kings houshold, and to sir William Porter, his chéefe caruer, and others. Beside this, on euerie side of the chariot went thrée hundred persons, holding long torches, & lords bearing baners, banerols,

and penons. With this funerall appointment was he conueied from Bois de Vincennes, to Paris, and so to Rone, to Abuile, to Calis, to Douer, from thence thorough London to Westminster, where he was interred with such solemne ceremonies, mourning of lords, praier of priests and such lamenting of commons, as neuer before then the like was séene in England. Shortlie after this solemne buriall, his sorowfull quéene returned into England, and kept hir estate with the yoong king hir sonne.

Thus ended this puissant prince his most noble and fortunate reigne, whose life (saith Hall) though cruell Atropos abbreviated; yet neither fire, malice nor fretting time shall appall his honour, or blot out the glorie of him that in so small time had doone so manie and roiall acts. [In this yeare, the one and twentieth of October deceased the gentle and welbeloued Charles French king the sixt of that name, who was buried at S. Denis.] ¶ So that betwéene the death of these two kings, namelie the one of England, the other of France, there was no great space of time; sith Charles departed in October, and Henrie in August: by the priuation of whose liues, which of the two realmes susteined the greater losse, it is a question not to be discussed. Certeine it is that they were both souereigns tenderlie loued of their subiects, as they were princes greatlie faououring their people. Finallie, in memorie of this Henrie the fift, a king of a roiall hart, and euerie waie indued with imperiall vertues, I find so fit a report conspiring in truth with his properties and disposition, that I thinke it verie conuenient here to be inserted in place of an epitaph:

W. P.

Abr. Fl. out of Angl.  
præ.

Henrici illustris properans mors occupat artus,  
Ille suæ patriæ decus immortale per æuum  
Venturum, virtutis & indelebile lumen,  
Celso animo prorsus, leni quoque pectore ciues  
Non solùm, atiuustos hostes fideique probatæ  
Dilexit, niueo rarò iracundior ore.

Of learned men and writers, these I find remembred by Bale and others, to haue liued in the daies of this noble and valiant king Henrie the fift. First. Alaine de Lin, borne in Lin, and professed a Carmelite frier in that towne, he at length became prior of that conuent, procéded doctor of diuinitie in Cambridge, and wrote manie treatises; Thomas Otterborne that wrote an historie of England, is thought to liue about this season, he was a Franciscan or graie frier, as they called them, a great student both in diuinitie and philosophie: Iohn Seguard an excellent poet, and a rhetorician, kept a schoole, and read to his scholers in Norwich, as is supposed, writing sundrie treatises, reproouing as well the profaning of the christian religion in monks and priests, as the abuse of poetrie in those that tooke vpon them to write filthie verses and rimes; Robert Rose a frier of the Carmelites order in Norwich commonlie called the white friers, both an excellent philosopher, and diuine, procéded doctor at Oxenford, promoted to be prior of his house, and writing diuerse treatises: amongst all the sophists of his time (as saith Bale) he offended none of the Wickleuists, who in that season set fourth purelie the word of God, as maie appeare by his workes.

Moreouer, Iohn Lucke, a doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, a sore enimie to the Wickleuists; Richard Caister borne in Norfolke, vicar of saint Stephans in Norwich, a man of great holinesse and puritie in life, faououring (though secretlie) the doctrine of the Wickleuists, and reproouing in his sermons, the vnchast manners and filthie example that appeared in the cleargie. Of sir Iohn Oldcastell lord Cobham ye haue heard before; William Walleis a blacke frier in Lin, and prouinciall of his order here in England, made a booke of moralizations vpon Ouids Metamorphôseis, comparable to postils vpon Aesops Fables; Richard Snetisham, a student in Oxenford, where he profited so greatlie in learning and wisdom, that he was accounted the chéefest in all that vniuersitie, in respect whereof he was made chancellor of the same, chosen also to be one of the twelue to examine and iudge vpon Wickliffes doctrine by the archbishop of Canturburie; Iohn Langdene a monke of Christes church in Canturburie, an other of those twelue; William Tailor a priest, and a master of art in Oxenford, a stedfast follower of Wickliffes doctrine, & burnt for the same in Smithfield at London, the second day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1422, & last of king Henrie the fift his reigne.

W. P.

Furthermore, Richard Grasdale student in Oxenford, one of those twelue also; William Lindwood a lawier excellentlie learned, as well in the ciuill as canon lawes, aduanced to the seruice of this king, and made by him kéeper of the priuie seale, sent in ambassage both to the kings of Spaine and Portingale, about businesse of most weightie importance. It is said that he was promoted to the bishoprike of saint Dauid; Bartholomew Florarius, supposed (as Bale saith) by Nicholas Brigham, to be an Englishman, wrote a treatise called Florarium, whereof he tooke his surname; and also an other treatise of abstinence, in which he reprooueth certeine corrupt manners in the cleargie, and the profession of friers mendicants; Adam Hemmelington, a Carmelite frier, studied both in Oxenford and Paris; William Batecombe is placed by Bale about the time of other learned men that liued in this kings time, he was an excellent mathematician, as by the title of his works which he wrote it should appeare.

Titus Liuius de Fora Luisiis liued also in these daies, an Italian borne: but sith he was both residant here, and wrote the life of this king, I haue thought good to place him among other of our English writers. One there was that translated the said historic into English, adding (as it were by waie of notes in manie places of that booke) sundrie things for the more large vnderstanding of the historie; a copie whereof I haue séene belonging to Iohn Stow citizen of London. There was also about the same time an other writer, who (as I remember) hath followed

the said Liuius in the order of his booke, as it were chapter for chapter, onelie changing a good, familiar and easie stile, which the said Liuius vsed, into a certeine poeticall kind of writing: a copie whereof I haue séene (& in the life of this king partlie followed) belonging to master Iohn Twine of Kent, who (as I was informed) meant to leaue to posteritie some fruits of his labours for the due vnderstanding thereof.

Thus farre Henrie the fift sonne and successor to Henrie the fourth.

Transcriber's Notes:

Simple spelling, grammar, and typographical errors were corrected.

Punctuation normalized.

Anachronistic and non-standard spellings retained as printed.

The author's usage of accents was inconsistent. Specifically accented "ée" is far more prevalent than "ee" even for the same word. Changed all instances of "ee" to "ée."

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