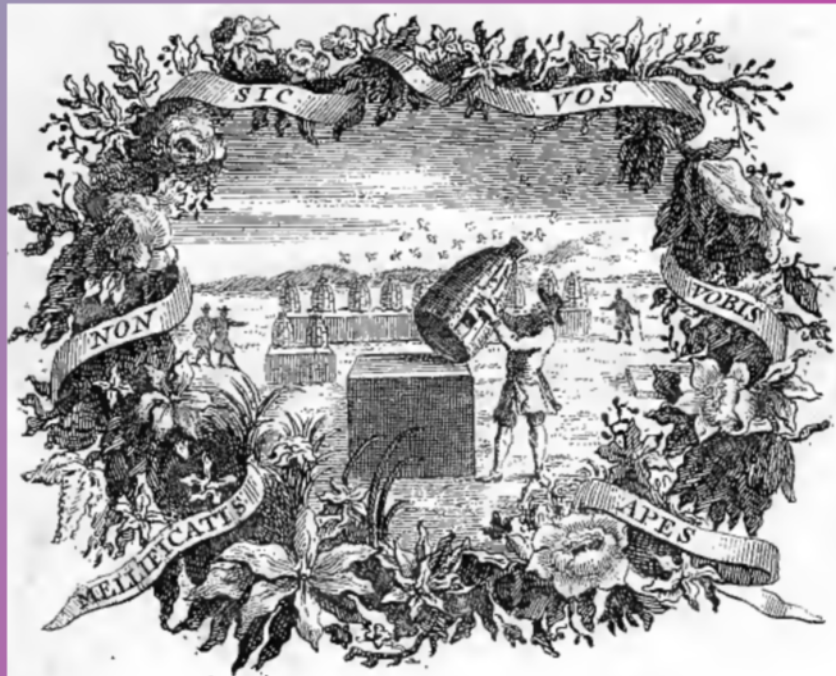


Rapin's History of England



Book 12

The Reign Henry VI

**The History
of
England
Written in French
By
Mr. Rapin de Thoyras**

Translated from French

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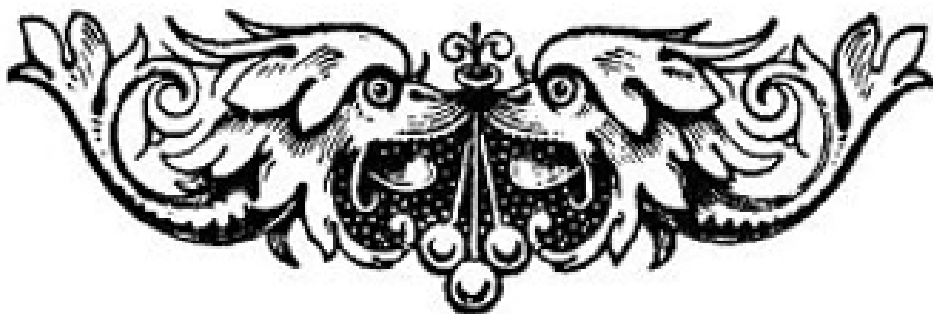
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Book Twelve

King Henry VI



Joan of Arc

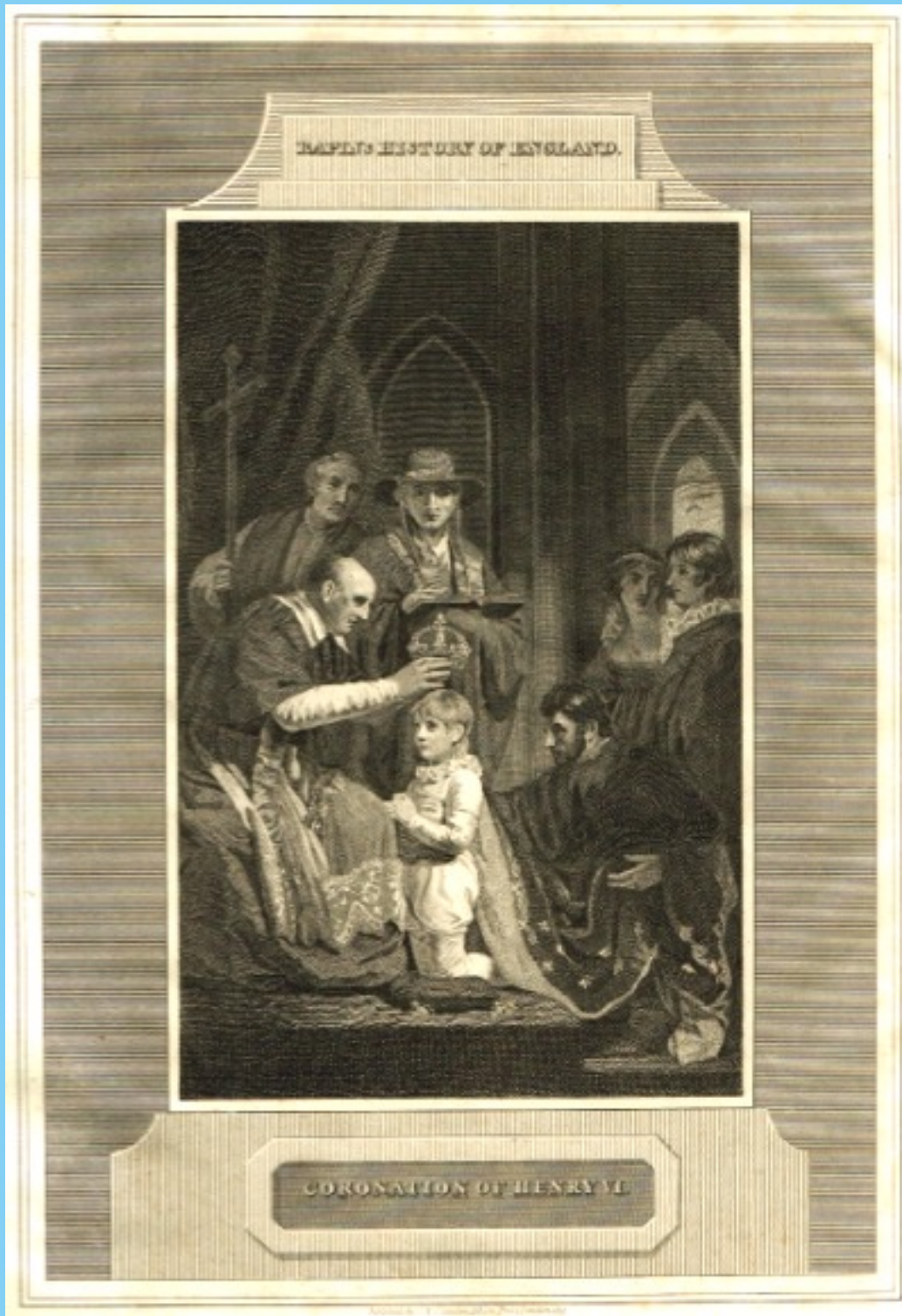




Henry The VI
Born 1431 — Died 1471



The Duke of Bedford Regent of France



The Coronation of Henry VI



Book XII

THE REIGN OF HENRY VI SIRNAMED OF WINDSOR



HENRY V when within view of his end, seemed to have been taken out of the world, by a particular direction of Divine Providence, which is sometimes pleased to stop the best concerted undertakings, when just on the point of accomplishment. The peace of Troye not being yet firmly settled, and the Prince who was to mount the throne, but an infant of nine months, every thing seemed to occur to take from the English the hopes, of seeing the two kingdoms of France and England united under a King of their nation.

On the other hand, the noble qualities of the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, brothers of the deceased King, encouraged the most timid. How great soever the loss might be, it was not thought irreparable, since the valour, experience, and wisdom of these two Princes, enabled them to support the new King's minority. Instead therefore of being disheartened at so terrible a blow, they showed, by proclaiming young Henry King of England, and heir of France, that they were determined to maintain what the King his father had so gloriously established.

The Duke of Gloucester had governed the kingdom by the title of guardian, ever since the Duke of Bedford his eldest brother attended the Queen into France. But this dignity being inconsistent with a King actually present in his kingdom, ceased the moment young Henry was proclaimed. It is true, the late King had ordered upon his death-bed, that during his son's minority, the Duke of Gloucester should be Regent, or protector in England. But this was not a sufficient warrant to exercise that important office. The Parliament's confirmation was also requisite. For that, and some no less urgent reasons, the council speedily summoned a Parliament for the 9th of November. Till the two Houses should settle the form of government, during the King's minority, the council, whereof the Duke of Gloucester was president, issued all necessary orders for whatever would not admit of delay.

Previously to the meeting of the Parliament, died King Charles VI. at Paris, the 21st of October, having survived Henry V his son-in-law, but fifty-five days. His death entirely changed the face of affairs. It was not doubted that the Dauphin would take the title of King of France, and exert his utmost to procure the possession of a crown, which he deemed fallen to him by the death of the King his father. Whilst Charles VI was alive, many of his subjects thought it their duty to obey him, without enquiring, whether what he did was conformable to the laws, and beneficial to the state, because, their oath to him was not conditional.

But after his death, they believed it no less incumbent upon them, to acknowledge the Dauphin his son, for Sovereign, notwithstanding the peace of Troye, which deprived him of his right. These considerations obliged the Duke of Bedford, who continued in France, seriously to reflect on the possible ill consequences of this change, and to seek means to prevent them. Charles VI

had no sooner closed his eyes, but the Duke ordered Henry to be proclaimed King of France, and, pursuant to the will of the late King his brother, took himself the title of Regent. Then he broke the Great Seal, and caused a new one to be made with the arms of France and England, and the effigies of the young King holding a sceptre in each hand.

The succession to the crown of France being settled by the peace of Troye, the Regent thought he might, upon that foundation, and without a new consent of the state, put the King his nephew in possession of the kingdom. Wherefore, contenting himself with assembling at Paris all the great men of the English party, he made a speech, exhorting them to recognize young Henry for their sovereign. He insisted on the peace of Troye, and their oath to maintain it, and endeavoured to convince them, it was for their own, as well as the kingdom's interest, inviolably to observe it.

This done, all that were present swore allegiance to Henry, and did homage to him, in the person of the Regent, for the lands they held of the crown. The same thing was afterwards required of those that were absent, and of the towns in subjection to the English.

This ceremony being ended, the Regent, the council of France, and city of Paris sent deputies to London, of whom the Bishop of Terouenne was the chief, to congratulate the young King upon his accession to the crowns of the two kingdoms. At the same time, the deputies had orders to go by the Low-Countries, and exhort the Duke of Burgundy to remain firm to the alliance.

Whilst the Duke of Bedford was taking all necessary precautions to settle the affairs of the King his nephew, the Dauphin was no less intent upon his. He was at Espaly, a house belonging to the Bishop of Puy, when he heard of his father's death. He shed many tears at the news, whether nature roused herself upon the occasion, or he had really ever preserved an affection for a father, who was not to be blamed for the mischief he had done him.

The first day he appeared in mourning, but on the morrow put on scarlet, and was proclaimed King of France, with all the solemnity the circumstances of his court, and the place he was in, would permit. After that, he came to Poitiers, where he had removed the Parliament of Paris. He was crowned there in the beginning of November, because the city of Rheims, where the coronation of the Kings of France is usually performed, was in the hands of the English.

Thus Henry VI. and Charles VII. assumed, both at the same time, the title of King of France, and disputed with each other the possession of the throne thirty years. This renders the history of the present reign so interwoven with that of France, that they cannot possibly be separated: Charles was but twenty, or one and twenty years old, and Henry but an infant of nine months.

However, in this very thing the advantage was on Henry's side, whose affairs were managed by two uncles of great abilities, and by the wisest council then in Europe. On the contrary, Charles, who never passed for an extraordinary genius, was, by reason, of his age, more difficult to be ruled, his passions frequently hindering him from following the best advice. To the time he assumed the title of King, he had distinguished himself neither by his valour nor conduct. More prone to pleasures than war, he appeared very unfit to restore the affairs of the French monarchy, which was upon the brink of destruction.

The Duke of Burgundy's murder, committed in his presence, and by, his orders, had raised disadvantageous prejudices against him. He had not been more scrupulous, with regard to the Duke of Bretagne his brother-in-law. This Prince, whom the Earls of Pontievre, by a notorious treachery, had carried away by force, and long detained in prison, came to know, after his deliverance, that the plot was contrived against him with the Dauphin's privity and consent. And therefore, it might be said, it was not Charles's fault, that the Duke of Bretagne had not undergone the same fate with the Duke of Burgundy. These things made a deep wound in his reputation,

which was not otherwise supported by any bright virtue or action. All that could be said to his advantage, was, that he had not meanly stooped to his enemies.

As to the forces of the two Kings, Henry had greatly the advantage of his rival, since with what he possessed in France, he had moreover all England on his side. France was then so divided between them, that each had whole provinces under his obedience, and in others, each had fortified towns and adherents. In the provinces thus. divided; there was scarcely a walled town, but what had a garrison for one or the other. And this rendered them, above thirty years, the seat of the war.

Charles was possessed of all Languedoc, whence he had lately expelled the Earl of Foix, whilst Henry V. was employed in the siege of Melun, and had appointed for governor, the Earl of Clermont, eldest son of the Duke of Bourbon. From that time, the Earl of Foix had in vain attempted to recover that province.

Dauphin, was likewise entirely subject to Charles, who possessed also Berry, Auvergne, Touraine, and part of Saintonge, the city of Rochelle and Poitou. Besides these provinces, he considered as countries dependent on him, Provence, Maine, and Anjou, for reasons mentioned hereafter.

Henry was in possession of Normandy and Guienne, the richest provinces of the kingdom. Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, and the Isle of France belonged to him, excepting a few places, which still held out for King Charles. In a word, he was master of Paris, the metropolis of the kingdom, which alone was equivalent to a great and rich province. He could moreover rely on the two Burgundies, Flanders, and Artois, which belonged to the Duke of Burgundy, his vassal and ally.

Thus, it is easy to perceive, that the war might be carried on in all the provinces of France, Bretagne excepted, which hitherto had stood neuter. But there were some places more exposed than others to the fury of the sword, as Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, and the Isle of France. The reason is, because the English, before all things, would clear these provinces of King Charles's garrisons, in order to attack him afterwards beyond the Loire, without being forced to leave any thing behind them. For the same reason, it was Charles's interest to prosecute the war in the same provinces, to prevent his enemies from carrying their conquests into the southern provinces, which were his last refuge.

Ever since the beginning of the war, John V, Duke of Bretagne, had stood neuter, without concerning himself in a quarrel, which could not fail of drawing the war into his country, if he had been so ill advised, as to declare for either of the Kings. But after the peace of Troye was signed and sworn, he believed it no longer possible to continue in a state of neutrality.

Charles VI. and Henry V being united by the peace, and as there was but one King of France, he could not help acknowledging him, unless he would openly join with the Dauphin. But such a proceeding would have been very imprudent, since the Dauphin was so low, that there was little appearance of his ever recovering. Upon these accounts, as soon as the Duke saw the two Kings united, he sent Henry V word, he was ready to sign the peace, of Troye, and do homage for his duchy to King Charles.

This negotiation, though begun in 1420, could not be ended before Henry's death. Probably, the Duke of Bretagne prolonged it, on purpose to see how the war against the Dauphin would go. Be this as it will, Henry dying before this affair was finished, the Duke of Bretagne saw himself in the same state, as before the peace of Troye, that is, at liberty to chuse his side, or stand neuter, according as he should be determined by the events. There was however one strong reason for his not siding with the Dauphin, and that was, the discovery of the Dauphin's being deeply

concerned in the conspiracy of the Pontievrians. Nevertheless, preferring the peace of his subjects, to the pleasure of revenge, he had not thought proper to declare for England.

Arthur, Earl of Richemont, brother to the Duke of Bretagne, was taken prisoner at Azincourt in 1415, and carried into England, where he remained till 1420. Meanwhile, the Duke his brother being seized by the Pontievrians, he desired King Henry's leave, to go and endeavour to free him. Leave was granted him upon certain conditions, namely, that on Michaelmas day 1422, Arthur should return to London, and appear before the King, or his successor, the Lord Chancellor, or **the mayor of London**.

That, during the term of his enlargement, he should make no alliance with the Dauphin, or any other person whatever, against the King of England, or the Duke of Burgundy; neither should he attempt any thing contrary to the peace of Troye. That Alan de Rohan, the Duke of Bretagne's lieutenant, the states and barons of the country, should promise the same thing, during the Earl's absence from England. For security of these conditions, the Earl of Montfort was to be delivered to the King, whom he promised to restore, upon the Earl of Richemont's return to London.

The Earl ratified and swore to all these articles, and then departed for Bretagne. The death of Henry V happening a month before the expiration of his leave, instead of returning into England, according to his oath, he still remained at the Duke his brother's court, who was freed from his imprisonment. Thus, at the time of Charles VI's death, he was really prisoner of the English, though he was not actually in their power; and, moreover, liable to the reproach of breach of faith.

Besides the Duke of Bretagne's disposition with respect to the two rival Kings, he was moreover prompted to side with the English; by the Earl of Richemont his brother, who had a great influence over him. Arthur not only thereby designed to free himself from his engagement, but had also other views, which shall be mentioned hereafter. It may therefore be said, that though the Duke of Bretagne stood neuter, or was desirous of still passing for such, he was upon the point of declaring for England.

As for the Duke of Burgundy, it will suffice to say, that he did not think the death of the Duke his father sufficiently revenged, whilst Charles enjoyed any part of France.

Lewis III. Duke of Anjou, and King of Sicily, who was possessed in France, of Provence, Anjou, and Maine, was entirely in the interest of King Charles his brother-in-law. But he had been some time employed at Naples, in securing the inheritance of Joan II. Queen of that country, who had adopted him for her son. In his absence, Violante of Aragon, his mother, had the administration of affairs, and remained firmly attached to King Charles her son-in-law.

The house of Foix made then a very great figure in the kingdom[1]. Matthew of Castlebon, Earl of Foix, and sovereign of Bearn, dying without issue in 1399, Elizabeth his sister, wife of Archembald de Graille, Captal of Ruch in Guienne, took possession of his dominions. Charles VI. attempted to deprive the Captal and his wife of this noble inheritance, but they found means to keep possession. Archembald died in 1413, leaving five sons, all of distinguished merit.

John, the eldest, was Earl of Foix and Bigorre, and sovereign of Bearn. Gaston, who bore the title of captal of Bach, adhered to Henry V who made him Knight of the Garter, and Earl of Longueville. From him sprung the house of Candale. Archembald, Lord of Noailles, the third son, was killed on Montereau bridge; with the Duke of Burgundy. Matthew the fourth brother, married the heiress of Cominge. We shall see hereafter, that a quarrel between him and his wife, caused the country of Cominge, to fall into the hands of Charles VII. Peter the youngest, was at first a Franciscan friar, then Bishop of Lescar, and at last cardinal, and legate a latere in France, under the pontificate of Martin V. He founded the college of Foix at Toulouse.

Hence it appears, that the house of Foix was very considerable, as well for extent of dominion in the southern parts of France, as for the merit of the four brothers, whereof it consisted. The neighbourhood of Guienne obliged the Earls of Foix, to pay great regard to the Kings of England, who were masters of that dukedom. Foix, Bearn, and Bigorre, could with ease be invaded by such powerful neighbours, and with difficulty be assisted by the Kings of France. Besides, the capital of Buch, and the Earl of Cominge, were vassals of the King of England.

An ancient quarrel between the house of Foix, and the Earls of Armagnac, was a farther inducement to that house, to continue under the protection of the English, and the Duke of Burgundy, sworn enemy of the Armagnacs. These considerations led Henry V when he entered upon the Regency of France, to give the government of Languedoc, and Bigorre, to the Earl of Foix. He made an agreement with the Earl, to find a considerable number of troops[2], to keep that province in obedience to Charles VI.

He was, as has been shewn, expelled by the Dauphin, and the Earl of Clermont put in his room. Immediately after the death of Henry V. the Earl of Foix renewed the agreement with his successor, who made him governor again. But it was not in his power to dispossess the Earl of Clermont. Afterwards, the Earl of Foix, seeing England did not observe the agreement, sided with King Charles. But in the beginning of the present reign, he and his two brothers openly declared for the English.

On the other hand, the houses of Armagnac, and Albret, very powerful in Guienne, declared for Charles though a little before, they had complied with the times, and made their peace with Henry V.

The house of Orleans consisted of two Princes, Charles Duke of Orleans, and John Earl of Angouleme his brother, both prisoners in England. The first had been there ever since the battle of Azincourt in 1415. The second was given in hostage to the Duke of Clarence in 1412, for security of the payment of the English troops, sent by King Henry IV to assist the Princes in league against the Duke of Burgundy. These two Princes being prisoners, were as to their persons, neither serviceable nor hurtful to either of the two parties, but their strong towns were at the disposal of King Charles.

John Duke of Alençon, about thirteen or fourteen years old, son of the Duke of Alençon, slain in the battle of Azincourt, began to give tokens of an uncommon valour and conduct, which caused him to be looked upon as a Prince of great hopes. He was firmly attached to King Charles's side, as well as Peter his bastard brother, who passed for one of the stoutest warriors in the kingdom.

Charles d' Artois, Earl of Eu, was prisoner in England, ever since the battle of Azincourt. As he was not released till 1434, he made no figure in France, the first years of this reign: John Duke of Bourbon, head of the illustrious house of Bourbon, which was divided into several branches[3], was prisoner in England since the year 1415. So, though he was a Prince of great merit, he had no share in the transactions of France. But the Earl of Clermont, his eldest son, firmly adhered to King Charles, with all his father's towns.

Lewis Earl of Vendôme, of the house of Bourbon, was likewise prisoner in England, since the battle of Azincourt. It is true, he agreed with Henry V. for his ransom, whereof he had even paid part; but as he could not raise the rest, was not yet released. The French authors say, that in 1423, he miraculously escaped out of captivity, and in memory thereof, instituted an annual procession at Vendôme.

Having spoken of the Princes of the royal family of France, it will be proper to mention the other Lords and Generals, in the service of King Charles. The Earl of Buchan a Scotchman, son of the

Regent of Scotland, and first cousin to King James I. was constable of France a dignity conferred on him by the Dauphin, after the battle of Bauge.

Among the other Generals, the most considerable were, the Marshals de la Fayette, and de Severac, Andrew de Laval Lord of Loheac, John d' Harcourt, Earl of Aumarle, John de la Haye, Lord of Cologne, Culant, afterwards High-Admiral, Aymeri, Viscount of Narbonne, Pothon of Xantrailles, Stephen de la Hire, surnamed Vignoles, Graville, and some others of an inferior rank, or less note. To these may be added the bastard of Orleans, natural brother of the Duke of that name, though as yet, he did but begin to appear.

After the generals, it will be farther necessary to say something of the most eminent persons, belonging to the court of the new King. Mary of Anjou, his Queen, was a Princess of exceeding great beauty, but much more valuable for her extraordinary merit. Yet Charles loved her not as he ought, and as she deserved, being continually drawn aside by other amours, which possessed in his heart the place, she ought to have held. How mortifying soever the King's coldness might be, she bore it with great constancy, without the least murmur, or reproach; still hoping to gain his affection by her patience, moderation, and dutiful behaviour.

Violante of Aragon Queen of Sicily, and mother of the Queen, was generally at Charles's court, where her merit and capacity gave her great credit.

Tannegui du Chatel was the King's chief favourite. It was he that first struck the late Duke of Burgundy, on Montereau bridge.

Louvet, president of Provence, was the next in the King's favour. He had the management of the finances. As he was very covetous and ambitious, he generally preferred his own, to his master's interests. He is said to have been one of the advisers of the Duke of Burgundy's murder. On the other hand, the Duke of Bretagne considered this minister, as well as d' Avaugour, another of Charles's courtiers, as the chief authors of the Pontievrian conspiracy, because they had prevailed with the Dauphin to approve it.

La Trimouille, of a very ancient family, was in great favour with the King, though not in so great as Du Chatel and Louvet. He was very ambitious, and notwithstanding his high birth, regularly made his court to the favourites, in order to increase his credit.

De Giac, and the Camus de Beaulieu, creatures of Louvet, were considerable at court, by reason of their patron's interest.

These were the most noted persons of Charles's court, which usually was not very numerous. Most of the Princes of the blood were prisoners in England, and the other great men found it more advantageous to follow the army; the King's circumstances not affording them any great prospect at court.

We must now consider the chief managers of the public affairs of the English, both at court and in the army.

John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, under the young King his nephew, was the most accomplished Prince then in Europe. Wise, judicious, of great valour, solidity, and penetration, master of his passions, and of a genius, superior to all employed by him, he seemed born for a throne, though providence had ranked him among subjects. To all these qualities he added a majestic stateliness, which became his birth, and high rank in France, and in England. But this he never carried beyond what was necessary to command a due respect and regard, for his person and authority. To sum up his character in a word, he was perfectly like the late King his brother, and in all his actions took him for pattern. He had with him in France, the Earls of Warwick,

Salisbury, and Arundel, the Dukes of Somerset, Fastolif, Talbot, and many others, all eminent for their valour and experience in the art of war.

The Duke of Burgundy had, at the same time, three generals, whom we shall rank among the English, because they were in the service of the same Prince.

The first was John de Luxemburg, Earl of Ligny, son of Valeran de Luxemburg, constable of France. This general signalised himself, during the whole war.

Lisle-Adam, Marshal of France, was a bold and enterprising warrior, and withal, capable of managing the most difficult undertaking. It was he, that in 1419, made the Duke of Burgundy master of Paris. After that, incurring, by his too great haughtiness, the displeasure of Henry V. he was committed to the Bastille; whence the Duke of Bedford had lately freed him, at the Duke of Burgundy's request.

Toulougeon, commonly called Marshal of Burgundy was in high esteem with the Duke his master, on account of his valour and parts.

In England, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, younger brother of the Duke of Bedford, was a Prince equally qualified for the field and the cabinet. His noble endowments, improving by an extensive knowledge of the sciences, would have put him upon a level with the Duke his brother, had he been more master of his passions, or less ambitious and haughty.

The Princes of the house of Lancaster, legitimated by the name of Beaufort, held the next rank to the Duke of Gloucester. Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, and Henry his brother, Bishop of Winchester, were sons of John of Gaunt, and Catharine Roet, his third wife. John Earl of Somerset, their elder brother, was dead, and had left four sons, of whom, Henry the eldest, bore the title of Earl of Somerset. Of the other three, Thomas, John, and Edmund, the last only was at court, the other two being prisoners in France.

Richard Duke of York, son of Richard Earl of Cambridge beheaded at Southampton in 1415, and grandson of Edmund de Langley Duke of York, fifth son of Edward III. was the only male issue of this family. He was very young at the time we are speaking of, but we shall have frequent occasion to mention him in the course of this reign.

Humphrey Earl of Stafford, was son of Ann of Gloucester, daughter of the unfortunate Duke of Gloucester, whom Richard II his nephew, caused to be strangled at Calais.

Henry Earl of Essex, half brother of the Earl of Stafford, had married Isabella, sister of the young Duke of York.

Ralph Nevin, Earl of Westmoreland, was allied to the royal family, by his marriage with John Beaufort's sister of the Duke of Exeter, and Bishop of Winchester.

Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, had for wife a sister of the Duke of Somerset. Henry Talbot; had married a sister of the Earl of Essex.

Henry Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, descended from a half-sister of Richard II was prisoner in France, since the battle of Bauge, Wherein the Duke of Clarence was slain.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, were married to Princesses of the house of Marche.

Nothing more remains, in order to give a general knowledge of the affairs of the two contending Kings, but to see how some foreign Princes stood affected towards them.

It is strange, that during this long war of thirty-eight years, no Prince in Europe would be concerned in it. Immediately after the peace of Troye, Henry V. sent ambassadors into several parts, to make alliances, in order to render himself so superior to the Dauphin, as to put it out of his power to make any resistance. But we do not find that he succeeded in this design. If he made alliances with some Princes, they were so worded as did not oblige them to be parties in this war; so that he reaped but little advantage from thence.

The Emperor Sigismund might, by virtue of his league with Henry V have assisted his son. But he was himself embroiled in troubles on the- account of religion in Bohemia, which wholly employed him. The rest of the German Princes were unconcerned at what passed in France. They were not sorry to see the English and French unable, by their dissension, to disturb their neighbours. All Italy stood neuter. The Duke of Milan alone was inclined to King Charles, but had hitherto sent him no supplies.

Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, were in peace, or in truce, with the two rival Kings, and assisted neither. Their policy was to let them beat each other, and afterwards join with the conqueror.

The Duke of Lorrain was inclined to King Charles, on account of the alliance between their families. But he durst not assist him, for fear of drawing the war into his country.

Among all the neighbouring Princes of France, Amadeus, first Duke of Savoy, and Lewis de Chalon Prince of Orange, were those, on whom the eyes of both parties were chiefly fixed, by reason of the diversions they could make in Provence and Dauphine. Meanwhile, these two Princes observed a neutrality, pleased with being courted by both sides. It was, however, easy to perceive, they leaned to the English, on account of the Duke of Burgundy, the Prince of Orange being his nephew, and the Duke of Savoy his vassal.

As for the neighbours of England, there were only the Princes of the Low-Countries and the Scots, that could be so concerned in the quarrel, as greatly to advantage, or prejudice the two Kings. The Duke of Burgundy possessed Flanders, and Artois. John of Burgundy, his first cousin, held Brabant, and the Earldom of Limbourg. Moreover, by his marriage with Jaqueline of Bavaria, daughter of the late Earl of Hainault, he had acquired the sovereignty of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friseland. The first of these two Princes was firmly united with the English, and the other took care not to declare against them, for fear of depriving his subjects of their advantageous commerce with England.

As for the Scots, the war in France ought not to have been indifferent to them. It is certain, their interest required their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the English in that kingdom. Besides their ancient alliance, whereby they were obliged to assist the French, it was easy for them to perceive, it could not but be very dangerous to their state, to suffer the King of England to grow so very powerful. But, the private interests of the Regent had hindered them from taking the course, most agreeable to the good of their country, till at length, they sent seven thousand men to the Dauphin.

From that time growing more and more sensible of their error, in permitting the English to become masters of France, they had resolved to send thither a more powerful supply. But the Duke of Albany dying in the meantime, and Mordac his eldest son, a Prince of a mean genius, succeeding him in the Regency, intestine troubles arose, which prevented the Scots from executing their resolution. So, till the death of Henry V. they had acted nothing in that respect, and King James was returned into England prisoner as before.

After this hasty sketch of the affairs of the two Kings, it is time to resume the thread of our history. The Parliament met on the 9th of November, according to the summons. The Duke of Gloucester, by a patent under the Great Seal, was commissioned to hold it in the King's name. The Parliament's first care was to. settle the government, during the King's minority. They

nominated the members of the council filled the offices of the crown; and gave the Great seal to the Bishop of Durham. To pursue the plan that was formed, it was necessary to appoint a protector, who should take upon him the administration of the public affairs, during the minority, Henry V. had ordered, on his death bed, that this high dignity should be conferred on the Duke of Gloucester his brother.

But his will could not be obeyed, without great injury to the Duke of Bedford, the eldest brother, the second person in the kingdom, and presumptive heir of crown as long as Henry was childless. After a serious examination of the affair, the Parliament nominated the Duke of Bedford, Protector of England, Defender of the Church, and first Counsellor to the King, But a clause was added, that he should exercise this office, only whilst in the kingdom, without having, in his absence, any concern in the government.

At the same time, the protectorship was likewise conferred on the Duke of Gloucester[4], with power; to act only in the absence of the Duke of Bedford his brother, who upon his return into England, was to be acknowledged for sole protector. The protector's salary was settled at eight thousand marks a year[5].

The Duke of Gloucester, was not so moderate, as the Duke of Bedford his brother, impatient of any opposition to his will. For this reason, the privy council were always upon their guard, to hinder his assuming a greater authority, than his station entitled him to. Therefore, in the council itself, there was a sort of confederacy against him, managed by the Bishop of Winchester his uncle. The Bishop's opposition to the protector, ended at length in a quarrel, the sad effects whereof, we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this reign.

After having settled what related to the protectorship, the Parliament appointed governors, to take care of the King's person and education, These were Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, and Henry his brother, Bishop of Winchester, both great uncles of the King. We know not the qualities of the Duke of Exeter, not having met with his character in any historian[6].

The Bishop of Winchester, was a Prince more proper for the world and court, than the church. However, he is placed by some in the class of the learned of those days. After he was made Bishop of Winchester, in 1405, his principal business was to heap up riches; wherein he had so happily succeeded, that he was generally reckoned the wealthiest of all the English nobles. Henry V his nephew had some regard for him, but was apprehensive of his intriguing temper. Hence he opposed the Pope's making him a cardinal, for fear that dignity would give him occasion to exercise his talents too much.

Whilst the courts of the two new Kings were equally employed in affairs, which would not admit of delay, the war was but faintly prosecuted in France. Besides, the season permitted not, (after the death of Charles VI. on the 21st of October,) great armies to keep the field. So, from that time, to the end of year 1422, the troops of the two Kings took some repose, in order to prepare to renew the war.

There is nothing therefore remarkable in this interval, but the taking of St. Valery, a place of great importance, months which surrendered to the English, pursuant to a capitulation made some months before, and of Bussi in the Earldom of Guise, by the Earl of Ligny, the Duke of Burgundy's General. On the other hand, James de Harcourt became master of La Rue in Picardy, and La Hire of Vitry in Champagne.

A.D. 1423] The Duke of Bedford's design, according to the late King his brother's project, was to reduce all the towns Charles still held in the Isle of France, and the adjoining provinces, that he might afterwards attack him beyond the Loire. It was the more necessary to proceed in this manner, because, so long as Charles had places about Paris, the English durst not remove from the metropolis, without leaving a strong garrison, and much weakening their armies. At the time

the Regent was preparing to execute this design, he received the ill news that Graville, one of King Charles's captains, had taken Meulan by storm, the 4th of January. This loss troubled him extremely as well because it retarded the execution of his projects, as by reason of the neighbourhood of Meulan, which was but six leagues from Paris. He therefore, determined to open the campaign with this siege.

Shortly after, King Charles's troops took likewise La Ferte-Milon, a small town between Meaux, and Soissons. But the castle making a brave resistance, the Marshal de l' Isle Adam had time to relieve it, and drive the French out of the town. In the beginning of February, the Regent himself besieged Meulan[7].

As it was King. Charles's interest to keep the war in the Isle of France, and the neighbouring provinces, he ordered the Earl of Aumarle to join Stuart, who commanded the Scotch troops, and march with him to the relief of that place. The French gave Stuart, the title of Constable of Scotland; but it does not appear, he was styled so by the historians of his nation.

Be this as it will, the Earl of Buchan being then in Scotland, Stuart commanded the auxiliary troops of that kingdom. The two Generals were actually joined; but a contest arising about the command they parted again without action. Graville hearing of it, capitulated the 2nd of March. The capitulation ran, that such of the besieged as had any castles in their power, should deliver them to the Regent. Pursuant to this agreement, the Regent took possession of Marcoussi, Montheri, and several other places.

Though these towns are of little consequence at this day, they were then of great importance, chiefly on account of their lying near Paris, and keeping the English at a distance from the Loire, which was very advantageous to King Charles. For this reason he so managed, that his adherents fortified themselves in those parts, in all the towns and castles, capable of making any resistance, in order to continue the war there. And this also was the reason, that induced the Regent to form the project, of clearing the Isle of France of all these garrisons.

However, he would not have opened the campaign so early, had he not been forced to it by the loss of Meulan. He was meditating a much more important design, which he executed immediately after the retaking of that place.

It has been observed, that the Duke of Bretagne made some advances towards swearing to the peace of Troye, but that the death of Henry V broke off the negotiation. The Duke of Bedford, perceiving of what consequence it was to the King his nephew to gain this Prince to his interest, had spent the whole winter in negotiating an alliance with him, by the Duke of Burgundy's mediation.

This negotiation succeeding to his wish, he came to Amiens, where he met the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, with the Earl of Richemont his brother. According to the plan before formed, they signed a treaty of league and alliance against King Charles. To render their union more firm, they moreover concluded two marriages, namely, between the Duke of Bedford and Ann, fifth sister of the Duke of Burgundy; and between the Earl of Richemont and Margaret, eldest sister of the same Duke, and widow of Lewis the Dauphin, who died in 1415.

As the Earl of Richemont had been the means of engaging the Duke of Bretagne in this alliance, it was very reasonable the mediator should find his advantage therein. The young. Earl, having an extraordinary opinion of his own merit, his vanity was agreeably flattered by this marriage. Indeed, it was no small honour for him, to espouse a sister of the Duke of Burgundy, widow to a Dauphin of France. But to obtain the Princess's consent, he was forced to agree, that, according to the custom of England, she should keep the title of Dauphiness, because she absolutely refused to take the inferior one of Countess of Richemont. The treaty between these Princes was concluded April the 8th.

Soon after, the Duke of Bedford went to Troye, where he consummated his marriage. An historian says, that the Duke of Burgundy, in case he died without male issue, promised him the Earldom of Artois, but there was no occasion to perform this engagement. In conducting his bride to Paris, the Regent stayed some time in Champagne, to form the siege of Pont-sur-Seine, a small town of that country, which was carried by storm. After that, he came to Paris, and lodged in the Hotel des' Tournelles, which he had ordered to be repaired, and magnificently furnished.

In the beginning of the year, the Earl of Salisbury had been invested with the government of Champagne and La Brie, and had received orders from the Regent, to clear these two provinces of King Charles's garrisons.

This General, having taken the field in April, besieged, or rather blockaded, Montaign an exceeding strong castle, seated upon a cape, belonging to the province of Burgundy, but running into Champagne. There were but six score men in the castle, and yet, by reason of its situation, it was almost impregnable. The Earl of Salisbury having formed the blockade, left the Earl of Suffolk with some troops, and marched himself to other conquests. In June, he became master of Vertus, Sezanne, Epernay, and some other places.

Meanwhile, King Charles, to whom the keeping of some towns in those parts was of great consequence, ordered Tannegui du Chatel to relieve Montaign. The Earl of Salisbury, who had left but few troops before that castle; fearing some misfortune, posted immediately to their assistance. He made such speed, that Tannegui du Chatel, who was now far advanced, finding himself too inferior to the English, was forced to retire into Burgundy, where the French had lately surprised Macon and Crevant, at the two extremities of that province. Salisbury followed, but not being able to overtake him, resolved to besiege Crevant, a strong place upon the Yonne, three leagues above Auxerre.

Charles had no sooner received this news, but he ordered Stuart, who was lately reinforced from Scotland to draw some troops out of the neighbouring garrison and join du Chatel, in order to attempt the relief of Crevant. All these forces together, made a body of ten thousand men, whereof, by order of the King, the Marshal de Severac went and took the command. But as it required some time, before they could be joined in one body, Salisbury had sufficient leisure to take the place after that, not knowing yet the designs of the French he joined Suffolk before Montaign.

Whilst these things passed in Burgundy, the Duke of Bedford caused Orsay to be besieged, a small place between Paris and Montihéri. The garrison holding out six weeks, and surrendering only at extremity, he resolved to make them an example, for a terror to the other small towns. All the officers and soldiers, then carried away prisoners to Paris, and ordered to be put to death. But, happily for them, the Duchess of Bedford meeting them as they were going to punishment, stopped the execution, and obtained their pardon.

Meantime, the French army, drawn together in Auxerre, marched to Crevant, which they had not been able to relieve, and besieged it. The army was commanded by the Marshal de Severac, who had under him du Chatel, Stuart, Ventadour, and some others officers of note.

The Duchess Dowager of Burgundy; then at Dijon, sent immediately to the Marshal Tonlongeon, and all the Burgundian nobles, to try to relieve Crevant. At the same time, she desired the Earl of Salisbury to join her Generals, in order to raise the siege. Salisbury was very sensible, how necessary it was to comply with the Duchess's request, and therefore leaving part of his troops before Montaign, the garrison whereof was reduced to twenty men, repaired to Auxerre, and joined the Burgundians.

Next day, they marched together to Crevant. They had in all; but six thousand men, however, they were some of the best soldiers then in Europe.

The besiegers, hearing of their march, raised the siege in order to meet them, and posted themselves at some distance from Crevant, upon a hill, where it was very difficult to force them. The resolution of the French Generals, surprised the English and Burgundians, who seeing no possibility of attacking them in that spot, altered their route, and, as if they had some other design, passed the Yonne at Cologn-le-Vimeaux, with intent to re-pass it at some other place, and proceed to Crevant.

The French, finding, that by this march, their station on the hill was become useless, descended, and posted themselves by the river side, in order to defend the passage. The two armies remained above three hours facing each other, with the river between them. At length, a body of English gaining a certain bridge, withstood the efforts of the French army with uncommon resolution, and gave the rest of the troops time to come to their support.

This action, which was one of the boldest, was performed with that bravery, order, and conduct, that it was not possible for the French to beat them from the bridge. As soon as all the English and Burgundians were over, they so vigorously attacked their enemies, that they put theirs to rout. The Marshal de Severac, was blamed for retiring too soon, and leaving Stuart engaged with his Scotch troops. There were slain on the spot, above five hundred[8], most of them Scots. As many more were made prisoners, among whom were Stuart, and Xaintrailles, with forty officers of note.

The loss sustained by the French on this occasion, rendering them incapable to keep the field before a victorious army, the Earl of Salisbury returned to the blockade of Montaign. A few days after his arrival; the place capitulated, and the fortifications were demolished. Then, being apprehensive of no opposition from the French, he divided his army with the Earl of Suffolk, who took Macon, whilst the Earl of Salisbury finished the conquests of Champagne. After that, Salisbury entered the Isle of France, and took Coucy, and some other castles.

In the meantime, the Regent had laid siege to Crotoy, a town in Picardy, situated on the Somme, over against St. Valery. Ralph Boteler had the management of this siege, which employed him till October: At last, James d' Harcourt, governor of the town, agreed to surrender it the 1st of March next, if not relieved by that time. Though the governor of Crotoy, had given ample time to prepare for his relief, Charles was not in condition to attempt it, and the town was surrendered to the Duke of Bedford.

The battle of Crevant, was the more prejudicial to Charles's affairs, as he lost many officers of distinction, some whereof were slain, and the rest prisoners in the hands of the English or Burgundians. Among the prisoners, Xaintrailles was the person for whom the King was most concerned, knowing him to be one of the bravest officers in the kingdom, and most capable of doing him service. Though he had not much money, he sent him wherewithal to pay his ransom. Xaintrailles, very thankfully received this favour, and to give the King sensible marks of his gratitude, presently after his release, found means to surprise Ham and Guise. At the same time, La Hire, or Vignoles did the same by Compiene.

The loss of these places gave the Regent no small uneasiness, as it obliged him to keep his forces near Paris, in spite of the projects he had formed. As he could not execute his designs till the French were expelled the northern province, he ordered the three towns taken by surprise, to be besieged all at once.

The Regent's design being, to retake these three places, the Earl of Ligny invested Ham, and the Marshal de l' Isle Adam made an attempt upon Compiene. But l' Isle Adam falling into an ambush laid for him by La Hire, lost three hundred of his men. Nevertheless he obliged his enemy to keep within the walls. After Ligny had taken Ham, he invested Guise. Xaintrailles, who commanded in that place, perceiving, that with his few troops, he should make but a faint

resistance, went away in quest of relief. But instead of succeeding in his design, he fell himself into the hands of the Burgundians, and Guise surrendered immediately. After that Ligny joined Adam before Compiègne, and La Hire was forced at last to capitulate. So, all the advantage Charles gained by taking the three places, was making the Regent lose time, which however was no small matter, considering the situation of his affairs.

After the Duke of Bretagne had taken part with the English, Charles saw nothing in France able to support him, and therefore resolved to apply to foreign Princes, for assistance. He could hope for aid, only from Philip Maria Visconti Duke of Milan, and the Scots. Philip was uncle to the Duke of Orleans, and consequently a friend of the house of Valois, his affairs being then in a good situation, he sent King Charles a thousand men at arms, and five hundred lances, at the time when the loss of the battle of Crevant had made him despair of keeping the field.

These troops being, arrived on the borders of France, Grolee Governor of Lyonnais, and Culant, lately made admiral, went to receive them. As they were entering Baujolois, the governor of la Fussiere sent the generals word, that he was in negotiation with Toulangeon, Marshal of Burgundy, to surrender the town, and as the marshal knew nothing of their march, it would be easy to surprise him when he came to take possession. The stratagem was executed with such secrecy, that Toulangeon entering la Fussiere with seven hundred men, was made prisoner with all his followers. The Duke his master exchanged him afterwards for Stuart taken at Crevant.

This little advantage was not capable of comforting King Charles for all his losses. But shortly after, he had a fresh occasion of joy, in the news, that a body of English troops were defeated in Maine with great loss. John de la Pole, brother of the Earl of Suffolk, knowing the French had no army in the field, departed from Normandy with a body of troops drawn out of several garrisons, and throwing himself into Anjou, burnt the suburbs of Angers.

After that, he retired with a booty of twelve thousand head of cattle, taken in his incursion. Whilst he was employed in this expedition, the Earl of Armarle, governor of Anjou, assembled some troops to stop his progress. The young Duke of Alençon, Loheac, Coulange, the bastard of Alençon, and several others, joining him with what troops they could draw together, he overtook the English at Graville in Maine.

Pole perceiving, it was impossible to drive away his booty without fighting, drew up his troops, and entrenching himself with his carriages in the front, received the French with great resolution. But whilst his men were courageously fighting, a detachment of the enemy attacking them in the rear, it was not possible for them to defend themselves on two sides. After a very obstinate resistance, they were at length defeated with the loss of fourteen hundred men, and all their booty. Pole himself was taken prisoner[9].

This success served to raise Charles's hopes, especially when it was seconded with the news of the arrival of five thousand men, brought him from Scotland by the Earl of Buchan. This Lord had returned into his own country, to take care of the interests of his new master, to whom he was entirely devoted. The great men of Scotland were much inclined the same way. The new Regent being a Prince of no great genius or credit, it was not difficult for the Earl his brother to do King Charles service.

By his care and solicitations he procured an aid of five thousand men, commanded by Archibald Earl of Douglas his father-in-law. Douglas was a Lord of great repute in his own country, on account of his qualities, riches, and alliances, but still more considerable for his merit and experience in military affairs. At Rochel he landed his troops, which could never more seasonably arrive. Charles, pleased, as may be imagined, to see these supplies, loaded the principal Scotch officers with honours, caresses, and favours. He had already conferred on the Earl of Buchan the highest military post, to which he could make no addition. Douglas was created Duke of Touraine. Stuart was made Baron d'Aubigni, and afterwards Earl of Evreux, with licence to

quarter his arms with those of France. To give the Scots a farther mark of his esteem and confidence, Charles chose out of them a company of guards, which in process of time was increased to a regiment. In short, he forgot nothing, that could help to gain the affection of the Scots, in order to engage them to send him greater supplies, or make a powerful diversion in England.

Thus the affairs of Charles began to flourish, by the succours of the Scots and the Duke of Milan, which enabled him to withstand his enemies. His joy at the arrival of these troops, was preceded by the satisfaction of having a son born on the 4th of July the same year. He gave the young Prince the name of Lewis, with the title of Dauphin.

Besides these successes, which gave new life to Charles, an event was preparing in his favour, that was no less proper to restore his affairs. This was the Earl of Richemont's change, who drew after it that of the Duke of Bretagne. Richemont having consummated his marriage at Dijon, where the Duke of Burgundy came with the Dauphiness his sister, went and paid a visit to the Duke of Bedford at Paris.

During his stay, he frequently intimated to the Duke, that he was extremely desirous of commanding the English army, to which he offered to join a considerable body of the Duke his brothers's troops. But the Regent did not think proper to set at the head of his army a young foreign Prince, who had never commanded in chief, nor even served since the battle of Azincourt. The Earl of Richemont, who was extremely haughty and conceited, could not brook this refusal. He considered it as a great affront, and from that time resolved to be revenged.

Shortly after, Charles and the Duke of Burgundy made a truce for Lyonnois and Burgundy. This truce was absolutely necessary for these two provinces, as well as for the Duke of Savoy, by whose means it was procured. His subjects, and the inhabitants of Burgundy and Lyonnois not being able to live without trading together, the war was very detrimental to these two provinces.

Whilst France was the seat of war, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, by the good order established in the government. In the month of May, Edmund Mortimer Earl of Marche, was made Governor of Ireland, with a very extensive authority. Policy required that, during the King's minority, this Prince should be removed from the kingdom, on account of his right to the crown. Not that he had given occasion by his conduct for any suspicion. But it was not impossible, that even without his consent, he might prove the cause of commotions, which the wisdom of the council was willing to prevent. He did not depart till February or March the next year.

The Parliament, which met on the 20th of October, granted the King a subsidy[10] for the support of the war in France, where King Charles still kept his ground, notwithstanding the great disproportion between his, and his rival's forces[11]. We have observed, that the Scots were extremely caressed by King Charles, and that the nation began to follow maxims entirely different, from what they had done during the Duke of Albany's Regency.

The Duke of Gloucester and the Council of England perceiving this alteration, which might prove very prejudicial. to the King's affairs, thought it necessary to countermine King Charles's designs, by means of the King of Scotland, prisoner in England ever since 1408. To that end, they resolved to set him at liberty, upon such terms as. should attach him to the interests of England.

This was indeed the only way, to stop the career of the Scotch nobles, who were almost all inclined to an open rupture with the English. Whilst the Council was thinking how to proceed without a to plain discovery of their design, an accident in Scotland saved them the trouble of making the first advances. Murdac Stuart, Regent of Scotland since the death of the Duke of Albany his father, had three sons, all very ill tempered, and who created him a great deal of trouble, because he was neither able nor steady enough to keep them within the bounds of their

duty. The youngest asking one day for a certain hawk, and being denied, wrung the bird's neck, though he knew it to be greatly valued by his father.

This action convincing the Regent, how difficult it would be for him to govern the nation committed to his care, since his own children had so little respect for him, he assembled the states, and proposed a negotiation with England concerning their King's liberty. A motion so agreeable to the wishes both of nobles and people, was received with joy and applause. And, not to afford him time to repent, ambassadors were immediately named, and empowered to negotiate the affair.

As the Council of England stood affected, these ambassadors met with a very civil reception, and commissioners were appointed. to treat with them. The commissioners' instructions were, that they should consent to King James's liberty, upon the following terms: that the captive Prince should pay the King the sum of forty, or at least of thirty-six thousand marks, for his expenses in England during. his captivity: that a truce should be made, during which neither of the two Kings should assist the other's enemies.

Moreover they were Ordered to intimate to the Scotch ambassadors, that it would be very proper, to marry their King to a Princess of the royal family of England. But the Council wished, that if possible this motion should come from the Scots.

The first conference upon this affair was held at York, in the beginning of September, and on the 10th of the same month the plenipotentiaries agreed, that James should have his liberty, and return into his kingdom. That he should pay, at several times, the sum of forty thousand marks, and give hostages for security of payment. In the second conference, held at London on the 4th of December, every thing relating to the payment of the- money, and the quality of the hostages, was settled. Then it was agreed; that the King of Scotland should marry Joanna, sister of the Duke of Somerset, and niece of the Duke of Exeter and Bishop of Winchester. On account of this marriage, which was solemnized in the beginning of February next year, Henry, or the Council in his name, abated ten thousand of the forty thousand marks the King of Scotland was to pay[12].

Matters being thus settled, the ambassadors of both nations signed a seven years truce, to commence in the spring of 1424; during which, each of the two Kings was obliged to hinder his objects from doing any damage to the other. So, by this treat, James bound himself indirectly, to call his troops out of France, before May the 1st. Nevertheless, whether he neglected to send orders for their return, or, as is most likely, his generals found some pretence to evade them, these troops were still there in August.

These negotiations being ended, James was conducted to the borders, and set at liberty the beginning of March. An English historian affirms, that before James quitted England, he swore fealty, and did homage to young Henry in Windsor Castle, for the whole kingdom of Scotland. It were to be wished, that in advancing a fact of such importance, and so very improbable, that historians, who relate the very words of the oath and homage[13], had discovered the fountain from whence it was drawn.

Whilst the King of Scotland's liberty was negotiating in England, the war was continued in France, with various success. In the beginning of the year, the French took, by scalade, Beaumont upon Oyse, a small town in the Isle of France, six leagues from Pontoise.

On the other hand, Perrinet Grasset, a Burgundian adventurer, surprised La Charitê, a place of great importance, which might open the English a passage. over the Loire, and enable them to carry their, arms beyond that river. The taking of places by surprise was then so frequent, that it is strange, the daily instances should not have rendered the governors more vigilant. The Duke of Bedford was extremely concerned to see, that as he promoted the execution of his projects,

by taking- the enemy's towns about Paris, others were surprised, which retarded his designs. His scheme was, to clear the northern provinces, and yet he could not accomplish it.

It was necessary, in order to pursue his project, to take Beaumont from the French. For that purpose, he opened the campaign in March, with an army of ten thousand men. After, he had recovered this place, he made himself master likewise in the Isle of France, of several castles, by which the Parisians were much incommoded.

Whilst he was employed in these slight expeditions, news was brought, that Giraut, a captain of King Charles's party, had surprised Ivry, on the frontiers of Normandy. He posted immediately into those parts, and, not to give the French time to provide for its defence, laid siege to the town the beginning of July. Giraut perceiving, he could not long defend it, in his present condition, capitulated to surrender on the 15th of August, if not relieved by that time.

King Charles being soon informed of this capitulation, resolved to relieve Ivry at any rate, and to employ in that service the Italian and Scotch troops lately arrived. To these, he joined about eleven thousand men, drawn out of several provinces and garrisons; foreseeing, that without a great superiority of forces, it would be very difficult to succeed in his design. All these troops together, made an army of twenty thousand men, which was formed in Maine. Charles had never had one so numerous. It was the Earl of Buchan's place, as constable of France, to command in chief. But he was pleased to resign that honour to the Earl of Douglas his father-in-law, to whom the King sent for that purpose a patent, constituting him his Lieutenant-General of the whole kingdom, otherwise, the constable could not have been under his command.

All the French nobles of Charles's party repaired to the army, in order to share in the glory, which was expected from this expedition. The French beginning to march, passed on the 12th of August, by the walls of Verneuil, a town in Perch, possessed by the English. The next day, they came in sight of the English army, which was advantageously intrenched before Ivry. Douglas had no sooner viewed the enemy's camp, but he judged it impossible to be attacked. So, altering his design on a sudden, he immediately returned, and resolved to lay siege to Verneuil.

He reckoned he should have time so to fortify his camp, as to expect the English with advantage; or, in case they would not venture to attack him, the taking of Verneuil, would make the King ample amends for the loss of Ivry. Upon his appearing before Verneuil, the garrison preposterously imagined, he was come from defeating the English before Ivry; taking it for granted, that with so great a superiority, he would never return thus without action. In this belief, which the French took care not to destroy[14], they surrendered upon the first summons, and Douglas garrisoned the place with French.

Upon news of the march of the French, the Earl of Salisbury hastened to join the Regent, with a thousand men at arms, and two thousand archers, who arrived at the camp on the 14th So, the English army was about fifteen thousand strong.

On the 15th of August, Ivry opened her gates to the besiegers, pursuant to the capitulation; and next day, the Regent marched to Verneuil, where the French still remained. When he came within a league of their camp, he sent a herald to offer them battle. At the same time, he bid him tell Douglas, "he was come to take a bite with him;" to which the other replied, "he should find the cloth laid." Naturally, it was the Duke of Bedford's business to advance, since he was in quest of his enemies. But knowing the impetuous humour of the French, he did not question, that being superior in number, they would come and attack him, and therefore resolved to expect them. For that purpose, he chose an advantageous post for his camp, and for the field of battle, a ground flanked by a hill, on which he placed two thousand archers. He ordered his foremost ranks to take such piles, as the late King his brother had so successfully used in the battle of Azincourt, for the better resisting the efforts of the French horse, among whom were all the nobles. In this

posture, he waited the enemies' resolutions, hoping they would be so imprudent as to attack him in this post; and he was not deceived in his expectation.

The Earl of Douglas having viewed the English camp, called a council of war. He represented, that the Duke of Bedford, instead of advancing, designed to fight with advantage, on a ground chosen by himself; and therefore, it was by no means proper to attack him in that place. That the danger the King's affairs would be in, was of so great a consequence, that he thought a battle was not to be hazarded. That however, if it was judged necessary to fight, the best way would be to chose an advantageous post, and there expect the enemy, in order not to engage, till after such precautions were taken, as would in some measure warrant success.

This advice coming from a foreigner, was thought too cautious by some of the council. Amidst the debates a party was formed against the General, headed by Aymeri Viscount of Narbonne. This Lord represented, that, if with such a superiority, a battle was avoided, the reputation of the King's arms would be irreparably lost. That by this cowardice, the troops would be so terrified, that there would be no possibility to lead them against enemies, who were avoided, when they ought to have been attacked.

That the King's affairs were not to be restored without some great action; and, as there could not be a fairer opportunity to vanquish the enemy, to neglect it, would be to betray the interest of the King and kingdom. Notwithstanding these reasons, the constable and oldest captains were of the general's opinion. But the contrary party were resolved to carry their point. Narbonne, their head, going out of the council, ordered his banner to be displayed, and began to march towards the enemies.

They who were of his mind, did the same, and were joined by all the volunteers of the army. Douglas was enraged at this disobedience. But neither his, nor the constable's authority, was capable of making them return. Had he been in his own country, he would have left these rash men to perish. But as he was in a foreign kingdom, he was afraid of being taxed with cowardice, or with having voluntarily suffered part of his troops to be lost. Besides, the number of the disobedient continually increasing, he saw himself forced, though with extreme indignation, to march with the rest of the army.

When they saw themselves followed, they readily left the general the conduct of the army, congratulating one another upon having conquered his obstinacy. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the Earl of Douglas's care, his troops, fearing victory would escape them, were in such disorder and confusion, that, when they came in sight of the English, they were almost out of breath.

However, they immediately attacked them, without regarding those that advised to rest a little before they engaged. The Italians, being exposed to the arrows of the two thousand archers on the hill, were the first that took to flight. The French and Scots behaved better, but had to deal with soldiers inured to war, who were not easily frightened. In short, the leaders seeing the attack unsuccessful, and themselves liable to everlasting disgrace, and some even justly fearing an exemplary punishment, chose an honourable death before a shameful retreat.

The Earl of Douglas, the Earl of Buchan, Narbonne, Ventadour, Graville, Rambouillet, being slain, and many others of the most considerable wounded, there was scarcely a General left to lead the soldiers to the charge. So, the whole army was utterly routed, and hotly pursued. Then it was, that the greatest slaughter was made. The Italians returning, upon a false information, that their friends had the advantage, met the victorious English, who slew many more of them. These foreign troops would have been all cut in pieces, had not the night cooled the ardour of the conquerors. The French and Scots lost above five thousand men[15], who lay dead on the spot, besides a great number of wounded and prisoners. Among the last were the Marshal de la Fayette and Gaucour. The young Duke of Alenson, who had behaved most gallantly, was found

among the dead, with some remains of life, and by the extraordinary care of the Regent; cured of his wounds. But as will be seen hereafter, the recovery of his liberty cost him dear.

The 17th of August, the next day after the battle, the Regent invested Verneuil, where Rambure commanded. This governor could have long defended himself, had he been well stored with provisions. But that want, and perhaps the consternation of the garrison, obliged him to surrender the third day. There was found in Verneuil, all the baggage of the French, Scotch, and Italian Generals, with the money designed for the payment of the army. As they entered the town, the English met the corpse of the Viscount Narbonne, going to be buried and, because he was one of the Duke of Burgundy's murderers, took his body and hung it on a gibbet.

After the battle of Verneuil, the Regent left the command of the army to the Earl of Salisbury, and posted to Paris, where some mutineers had raised a sedition, in a belief, that he could not fail of being defeated by the French. This commotion was appeased by the death of some of the ring-leaders: however, it convinced the Regent that he must not trust to the affection of the Parisians, unless it was in his power to keep them always in awe.

The Earl of Salisbury finding himself able to make some considerable attempt, entered Maine, and besieged Mans, the capital of the province, and one of the strongest cities in France. The Governor made a long and brave defence; but at length, despairing of relief, he capitulated. After the taking of Mans, the English General invested La Ferte Bernard, another place in the same province, which could hardly be carried by storm, by reason of its situation. Whilst part of his troops kept this place blocked up, he overran the rest of the province, and took St. Suzanne, with some other places. He finished this glorious campaign, and the conquest of Maine, with taking La Ferte-Bernard, after a four months blockade.

The defeats of Crevant and Verneuil, had thrown King Charles's troops, and all his towns, into great consternation. Had not winter been so near, probably, the English would have pushed their conquests farther. But this delay, which the season gave King Charles, would have only retarded his reign a few months, if a favourable and unexpected event, had not given him time to breathe. This was the quarrel between the Dukes of Gloucester and Brabant, wherein the Duke of Burgundy was also engaged. It may be truly said, that this affair caused the English to lose the fatal moment, which, probably, was to determine the ruin of the house of Valois, and render them masters of all France.

William of Bavaria, late Earl of Hainault, had by Margaret his Countess, daughter of Philip le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, an only daughter called Jaquelina, who had been married to John second son of Charles VI. John being Dauphin by the death of his eldest brother Lewis, died at Compiègne in 1416, and Jaquelina remained a widow at her father's house. The Earl her father dying shortly after, she became heiress of his dominions, containing Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland. So noble an inheritance, could not fail to attract the addresses of many Princes. But the Countess her mother being desirous to procure this rich match for a Prince of her own family, cast her eyes on John Duke of Brabant, her nephew, and persuaded her daughter to marry him.

This marriage proved unfortunate. The new married couple soon quarrelled; for reasons foreign to our history[16]. Their quarrel grew to that height, that Jaquelina at last caused herself to be run away with, by some English Knights, who carried her to London. This voluntary rape, as before observed, was not unknown to King Henry V. Very probably, this monarch had then thoughts of marrying Jaquelina to the Duke of Gloucester.

Upon this Princess's arrival in England, she began to think of annulling her marriage with the Duke of Brabant. To that end, she applied to the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII. who, though deposed by the Council of Pisa, persisted in keeping his title and dignity. The pretended Pope, overjoyed at being addressed, annulled Jaquelina's marriage, with permission to marry again. But whether

Henry V was afraid of disobliging the Duke of Burgundy, Cousin German to the Duke of Brabant, or thought it too irregular to use the dispensation of a Pope, whom he himself acknowledged not for such, he hastened not the conclusion of the projected marriage.

Henry dying, the Duke of Gloucester believed, he ought not to delay any longer so advantageous a marriage. He espoused Jaquelina, either in the very 1422, or at least in the beginning of 1423[17] However this be, the Duke had no sooner consummated his marriage, but he thought of means to take possession of his duchess's dominions, now in the hands of the Duke of Brabant. Meanwhile, the Duke of Burgundy foreseeing Jaquelina's third marriage might create a war between the two Princes her husbands, had a conference upon that subject with the Duke of Bedford, at Amiens, and afterwards another at Paris in December 1423.

They agreed, that the decision of this affair should be left to the Pope, as the proper judge of such cases. The Duke of Brabant approved of the expedient, because he knew, there was no sufficient reason to induce the court of Rome to annul the marriage. But the Duke of Gloucester rejected it, protesting however, he was ready to consent to a reasonable agreement. Meantime, he made preparations to support his pretensions, whilst the Duke of Bedford his brother was triumphantly prosecuting the war in France. At last, in October 1424, he came, to Calais with his duchess, and brought with him a body of five thousand men. He staid there till about the middle of November.

Though the Duke of Burgundy was entirely in the Duke of Brabant's interest, his good understanding with the English Was not altered. He still hoped, the Duke of Gloucester would desist from his pretensions; and the more, as he saw the Duke of Bedford his brother, using his endeavours to persuade him. The arrival of the English troops at Calais alarmed him not, being yet ignorant, they were designed against the Duke of Brabant. Nay, very likely they were sent from England to strengthen the Regent. And therefore whilst the Duke of Gloucester staid at Calais, Philip was at Paris, partaking of the diversions and entertainments made by the Regent, on account of his glorious campaign.

At his return to Dijon, he celebrated his second nuptials with Bona of Artois, widow of Philip Earl of Nevers, his uncle. She was sister of the Earl of Eu, prisoner in England, and half-sister of the Earl of Clermont, eldest son of the Duke of Bourbon. Whilst this marriage was solemnizing at Dijon, the Duke of Gloucester departed from Calais, and, with Jaquelina his wife, marched towards Hainault. He passed through part of the Duke of Burgundy's dominions, without suffering his troops to commit any disorder, and came before Bouchain, which opened her gates to him. Shortly after, all the other towns of Hainault submitted, and swore fealty to him and the duchess.

Whereupon the Duke of Burgundy, ordered Ligny and I' Isle Adam, to draw an army together with all possible speed, and join the Earl of St. Poi, brother of the Duke of Brabant, who was making preparations at Brussels, for the assistance of the Duke his brother. But, before we, proceed in this affair, it will be necessary to close the account of the occurrences of the year 1424, with what passed in England.

Sir John Mortimer; uncle of Edmund Earl of Marche, having been some time prisoner in the Tower, was charged with attempting to make his escape, in order to stir up an insurrection in Wales. It was pretended, his design was to proclaim the Earl of Marche his nephew, and upon his refusal, to proclaim himself. Whether his crime was proved, or it was thought proper to make away with a person, who in case he had escaped, might have done mischief, he was condemned and executed.

The Earl of Marche his nephew did not long survive him. He died in Ireland about the latter end of the year, without any issue. By his death the title of Earl of Marche, and his right to the crown of England, from which he was excluded, by the election, of Henry IV descended to Richard

Duke of York his nephew, son of Ann his sister, and the Earl of Cambridge, beheaded at Southampton in 1415.

All the English historians unanimously affirm, that this Prince, then under age, bore not yet the title of Duke of York, which according to them, was not conferred upon him, till the Parliament of Leicester in 1426. But we find in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that he is styled Duke of York, in an act dated February 26, 1425, that is, thirteen months before the Parliament of Leicester, where. he was only made knight[18].

In the beginning of the year 1425, the affairs of King Charles were in a deplorable condition. The battles of Crevant and Verneuil, had deprived him of his troops, and best generals. He had neither money nor credit. His revenues being all mortgaged, he saw himself unable to bring an army into the field. The Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, the two most powerful vassals of the crown, were in strict union with the English.

The King of Sicily his brother-in-law, had just lost Maine, and could hardly preserve the rest of his dominions. The King of Scotland, ancient ally of France, had made a truce with the English, which tied up his hands, and hindered him from sending any succours. Reduced to this wretched state, he saw himself as it were forced beyond the Loire, without hopes of keeping any longer his towns about Paris.

To this as added, the just apprehensions of quickly seeing the enemy's armies in Berry, Languedoc, and Dauphine. The English called him only the Earl of Ponthieu, or in derision, the King of Bourges.

Certainly, if the Duke of Gloucester had shown the Same zeal for the King his nephew's interests, as he did for his own, and sent the Duke of Bedford the troops and money, he employed against the Duke of Brabant, it may be reasonably presumed, France would have been undone. Never would Charles have had it in his power to wrest that conquest out of the hands of the English. This was the critical minute, which that nation should not have neglected.

They were near the end of a war, which had lasted ten years, and probably; as on the point of ending according to their wish, in securing the crown of France to the Kings of England. The Duke of Bedford saw it plainly. He never ceased to solicit his brother to improve so favourable a juncture, and defer the execution of his design till a more convenient season, when he might even employ all the forces of France and England. But his remonstrances were not capable of diverting the ambitious Duke, from an enterprise, which promised him the possession of four of the finest provinces of the Low-Countries.

He was a younger brother, and the succession of the throne of England, supposing the King his nephew died without issue, was to come to his brother before him. For this reason, he thought he should not neglect this opportunity, which would raise him above the rank of a subject, and was not likely to offer again. But at the same time, he caused the Duke, his brother to lose that, of completing the conquest of France.

The great number of garrisons requisite in the kingdom, where was neither town nor castle, but what was fortified, drained the English army. So, the Regent, not receiving any supplies, because of the diversion of Hainault, was no more able than King Charles, to bring an army into the field. This is the true reason why, during the year 1425, the war was, as it were, discontinued in France, and no considerable conquests made on either side.

We left the Duke of Gloucester master of Hainault, and the Duke of Burgundy preparing to dispossess him. In Burgundy's orders to the generals, for levying an army, he set forth, that having agreed with the Duke of Bedford, upon an expedient to end the quarrel, it was accepted by the Duke of Brabant, but rejected by the Duke of Gloucester, The English Prince hearing what the

Duke of Burgundy had advanced, sent him a letter, dated from Mons, January the 12th 1424-5, taxing him with saying an untruth. The Duke of Burgundy, provoked at this affront, returned him a very abusive answer. He told him, he lied, and offered to make good his assertion, in single combat, and to take the Duke of Bedford for judge.

The Duke of Gloucester accepted the challenge, and appointed St. George's day for the combat. Several other bitter letters passed between them. Whilst these two Princes were thus reviling each other, the Earl of St. Poi, brother of the Duke of Brabant, besieged the little town of Braine in Hainault, defended by two hundred English. After a faint resistance, the garrison capitulating, the Brabanters violated the articles, put the English to the sword, and set fire to the town.

Meanwhile, as the single combat of the Dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester, was to decide the principal quarrel between Gloucester and Brabant, it was thought proper to make a truce, in expectation of the success of the combat. Upon signing the truce, the Duke of Gloucester returned into England. He would have carried: the Duchess along with him, but the people of Mons were so urgent with him to leave her behind, that he could not deny their request. He made the magistrates however, solemnly swear to defend her, at the peril of their lives, against all persons what ever[19].

Whilst the war of Hainault suspended that of France, Charles took measures to improve this happy diversion. In a great Council, held to consider the state of his affairs, it was unanimously agreed, there was but one way to free him from his present circumstances. And that was, to offer the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, a Carte Blanche, in order to win them from the English. The first had openly broken with the Duke of Gloucester. The other might be gained by the Earl of Richemont his brother, who had great influence over him, and moreover was very angry with the Duke of Bedford.

This was a juncture which not was to be neglected. On the other hand, Bona of Artois, lately married to the Duke of Burgundy, being French, and half-sister to the Earl of Clermont, the King's zealous adherent, it was likely she would readily endeavour to gain the Duke her spouse. The resolution being then taken to try these two means, Charles sent to the Earl of Richemont, private emissaries, who told him, what a great esteem the King had him; intimating, that he had often said, he should deem himself invincible, if he could have him at the head of his army.

This was attacking the Prince in the most sensible part. As he had a high conceit of his own merit, it was no small pleasure to him, to see King Charles offer him a post, scornfully refused him by the Duke of Bedford. However, knowing the persons that talked to him thus, were sent only to sound him, he contented himself with returning a civil answer to their compliments, and artfully insinuating, he had a great inclination to serve their master.

This first step being taken, Charles sent to him the Queen dowager of Sicily his mother-in-law, with Tannegui du Chatel, and empowered them to offer him the constable's sword. This post had been vacant ever since the death of the Earl of Buchan, slain in the battle of Verneuil. The Queen of Sicily, and du Chatel, found the Earl entirely disposed to the change. He was exasperated against the Duke of Bedford, and being extremely proud and vindictive, was pleased to think, he should have an opportunity of revenging his contempt.

So, without much solicitation, he accepted the King's offer, with great demonstrations of thankfulness, and promised to engage the Duke his brother his interests. However, he required two conditions, without which, he protested, he could not accept the honour designed for him by the King, or promise any thing, with regard to the Duke his brother. The first was, that Louvet, and d' Avaugour, the principal authors of the Pontievrian conspiracy, should be removed from court. The second, that the Duke of Burgundy should consent to the proposed affair. His reason was, because he had engaged himself by oath with the Duke of Burgundy, in the treaty of Amiens. He had not the same scruple with respect to the Duke of Bedford, though he was no less engaged

with him, than with the Duke of Burgundy. The Queen and du Chatel, readily assured him, the King would comply with his demands.

Whereupon he came to Tours, where Charles flattered his vanity, with all possible civilities and caresses. However, the Earl stood firm to his previous demands. The King gave him hopes of the first, without however fixing the time; and as to the second, was pleased, that he should talk with the Duke of Burgundy, to obtain his consent. He took likewise this opportunity, to send to the Duke of Burgundy the Bishops of Puy and Chartres, with orders to sound him, whether there was any way to disengage him from the King of England.

Though the Duke of Burgundy was extremely incensed against the Duke of Gloucester, he appeared not so inclinable to an agreement, as Charles and his council expected. The murder of the Duke his father being still fresh in his mind, he shewed at first great aversion to a reconciliation. Nevertheless, pressed by the King's envoys, who endeavoured to excuse their master by casting the blame on his evil counsellors, he replied, the King therefore should dismiss those pernicious counsellors, and then it would be time to talk of an accommodation. This was a sufficient intimation, that he was not inexorable, especially as he readily consented, that the Earl of Richemont should accept of the constable's sword.

Charles, it seems, had reason to congratulate himself upon his good fortune. It was in his own power to gain the Duke of Bretagne; and moreover, he had hopes that the Duke of Burgundy was not proof against a reasonable satisfaction. However, the terms imposed upon him, threw him into great perplexity. To procure these advantages, he must part with his two principal favourites and confidants, namely, Tannegui du Chatel, who slew the Duke of Burgundy, and Louvet, president of Provence, whom the Duke of Bretagne considered the author of the Pontievrian conspiracy. Du Chatel saved him part of his trouble to make this sacrifice. He came and cast himself at his feet, entreating him, in reward of his services, to give him leave to retire, since his presence at court could not, for the future, but be detrimental to so good a master. It was with extreme reluctance that the King granted his request. It was a long time before he could come to a resolution.

At length; pressed by the continual stances of a faithful servant, who desired his leave, only to give him a fresh proof of his zeal, he suffered him to retire. Louvet, who was not so disinterested, did not think himself obliged to follow this example. He would have kept himself in his post, at the expense of all the advantages, the King could expect from an alliance with the Duke of Bretagne.

The Earl of Richemont not doubting that the King would perform his promise in relation to Louvet, came to him at Tours, where he received the constable's sword, the 7th of March 1425. He had promised to win the Duke of Bretagne from England, but, as he still saw Louvet and d' Avaugour about the King, he was not in haste to perform his engagement. Charles was willing enough to make him a sacrifice of the last.

But Louvet had a surer footing at court. Besides his being beloved by the King, one of his daughters, wife of the Lord de Joyeuse, shared Charles's heart with Agnes Sorrel, who began to appear at court as a favourite. Wherefore, to gain the Duke of Bretagne, Charles saw himself forced to dismiss a beloved minister, and disoblige a mistress. This gave him no small concern.

On the other hand, Louvet used his utmost endeavours to ruin the constable in his master's favour. He represented to him, with what haughtiness he had imposed terms on his sovereign, as if he had been his equal, and caused it to be considered as a favour, that he was pleased to accept of the constable's sword. In short, he so managed the King, that Charles, who was very obstinate, resolved not to part with his minister. The constable finding himself disappointed, resolved to ruin Louvet in spite of the King himself. For that purpose, knowing this minister was not beloved by the great men at court, he so caballed with them, that a plot was formed to remove him from

the King. When he was secure of the success of his project, he withdrew from court without taking leave, and sent the King word, he would never return so long as Louvet was there.

Charles little regarding his retreat, still persisted in the resolution to keep his minister. But when he saw, that by degrees the great men retired to their governments, on divers pretences, that they refused to receive his orders, and that he had but two or three towns left, which he could call his own, he found he must resolve to part with Louvet, or his kingdom. He was even apprehensive, that the constable would deliver the Duke of Bretagne's places to the English. So he was forced, though with extreme indignation, to dismiss his minister, who had still credit enough to cause his creature de Giac to be received in his room.

Upon this removal, the constable was willing to return to court, but Charles was so provoked with him, that he could not bear to see him. However the state of his affairs obliged him at length to admit him. The constable, content with having accomplished his designs, performed his promise concerning the Duke his brother, and brought him to Sautnur, where he did homage to the King[20].

Whilst the Earl of Richemont was raising disturbances in the court of King Charles, Henry enjoyed no greater tranquillity. The Hainault expedition furnished the Bishop of Winchester with an opportunity which he knew how to improve. When that undertaking was proposed in council, he strenuously opposed it, and manifestly showed, how prejudicial it might be to the King's affairs. But though on this occasion, he was in the right, the Duke of Gloucester had interest enough to have it approved. He departed with a mind embittered against his uncle, and with a resolution to be revenged, the first opportunity.

The historians inform us not, how the government was settled during the Duke of Gloucester's absence, which lasted about a year[21]. Very likely, the Bishop of Winchester had the greatest share in it, and made use of this advantage to create his enemy many vexations. Some even say, all his proceedings tended to deprive him of the protectorship, in order to obtain it for himself.

The Duke having returned into England, about October 1425, this quarrel was kindled afresh, with great animosity on both sides. One day as he intended to go to the Tower, Sir Richard Woodville the governor refused him admittance, by the Bishop of Winchester's advice. The protector flew into a great passion with the Bishop, and proceeded even to threats. In a word, the quarrel was carried so far, that they both began to arm their friends.

The Duke of Coimbra, Prince of Portugal, then in England[22], and the Archbishop of Canterbury, endeavoured in vain to reconcile them. An historian says, the Bishop of Winchester was forced to fly for refuge to the Tower, and that eight or ten of his people were killed by the Duke's. But this is unlikely, since, in their mutual complaints, laid before the ensuing Parliament, there is no mention of any such circumstance.

The prelate having no warriors on his side, did not find his account in deciding the quarrel by arms. The intrigues of the cabinet were more within his province. And therefore, to prevent the mischief that might befall him, if things remained in this state, he wrote to the Duke of Bedford, desiring him to come into England. He told him in his letter, unless he made all possible haste, the kingdom was in danger of being exposed to fatal commotions, by his brother's violent temper. The Duke of Bedford perceiving the importance of this quarrel, set out immediately, leaving in France, Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to command in his room, and arrived in England December the 20th.

As soon as the Duke set foot in the kingdom, he assumed the title of protector, and was received as such, pursuant to the act of Parliament in 1422. A few days after his arrival, the Duke of Bedford spoke in the council, of the treachery of the Duke of Bretagne, and the Earl of Richemont, representing the prejudice it brought to the King's affairs. Upon his remonstrances, and by his

advice, it was unanimously resolved, to declare war against the Duke of Bretagne; which was accordingly done on the 15th of January, by proclamation. Moreover, to find that Prince employment in his own country, and hinder him from assisting King Charles, a resolution was taken to support the Pontievrians his enemies, and try, by their means, to raise a civil war in Bretagne. To that end, safe-conducts were dispatched to the two brothers of Pontievre: however, nothing came of it. Probably, their interest was not great in that country.

This affair being ended, the Duke of Bedford wholly applied himself, to procure a sincere reconciliation between the Duke his brother and the Bishop of Winchester. The way to succeed, was to favour neither. Had- he had taken his brother's part, as the ties of blood seemed to require, he would not have been fit to perform the office of a mediator. Moreover, besides the character of brother and nephew, he had another to maintain, in order to answer his duty, and the expectations of the public; that of protector, chiefly concerned in the good of the state, independently of the duties of nature. So, not to take upon himself alone so nice an affair, he assembled some of the prime nobility at St. Albans, in hopes of finding, with their assistance, some expedient, to content these two Princes.

But their animosity was so great, that it was not possible to succeed by this means. After many fruitless endeavours, the decision of the affair was forced to be referred to a Parliament summoned at Leicester; for March. When the Parliament met, the Duke of Gloucester exhibited six articles against the Bishop.

I. He accused him of causing him to be denied entrance into the Tower, and thereby rendered the dignity of protector contemptible.

II. That he would have removed the King from his palace at Eltham, to Windsor, with design to become master of his person.

III. That not being satisfied, with causing him to be denied admittance into the Tower, as was said in the first article, he had placed armed men on London bridge, and in Southwark, on purpose to murder him.

IV. That he had concealed a villain in the late King's room, when Prince of Wales, in order to murder him.

V. That he had advised the same Prince, to seize. the crown, before the King his father's death.

VI. That in his letter to the Duke of Bedford, it evidently appeared that his design was to raise a civil war in the kingdom.

The Bishop gave a particular answer to these accusations, by explaining such of his actions as might have been ill construed, or by denying the facts laid to his charge[23].

The Parliament appointing commissioners to examine the accusation and answers, declared, upon their report, that the. charge was groundless, and acquitted the Bishop. Then they obliged the two Princes to be reconciled. Whereupon they shook hands, and seemingly parted good friends, but however. were no less enemies to each other.

Meanwhile, as the times and circumstances of affairs would not allow the Duke of Gloucester to be entirely sacrificed to his enemy, the protector took care to procure him also some satisfaction. In the first place, he took the Great Seal from the Bishop of Winchester, and gave it to the Bishop of London. Moreover, as it was impossible for the two adversaries to be together in the council, without great prejudice to the King's affairs, he prevailed with the Bishop to go with him into France, under colour of performing a vow. But to repair the injury his absence

might do him, he had leave to solicit a Cardinal's cap, which was sent him shortly after. This affair being thus happily ended, the protector restored John Mowbray, Earl Marshal, to the title Of Duke of Norfolk, which his father Thomas, was deprived of by Richard II. At the same time, he made forty Knights, among whom was the young Duke of York.

Whilst the Duke of Bedford was thus employed in England, the constable Richemont levied an army in Bretagne. He was extremely impatient to show, that he was not unworthy of his post. By his care and credit, this army amounted to twenty thousand men. With these numerous forces, which the Earl of Warwick was not in condition to withstand, he entered Normandy, and took Pontorson about the end of February.

Then he laid siege to St.. James de Beuvron, where the English had a strong garrison. This siege proved more tedious and difficult than he expected. He had been promised a convoy of money, which came not. De Giac, who had the management of the treasury, was in no haste to send it, being glad to make him receive some mortification. He was afraid, if the constable gained reputation at this siege, he would grow more haughty, and daring, and pretend to rule the court as he pleased.

Meanwhile, the army diminished every day by desertions. These disappointments exceedingly troubled the constable, in a dread, that his reputation would be blasted in his first notable action. In short, he received false intelligence, that the English were assembling all their forces to raise the siege. His fear of a disgrace, made him resolve to storm the town, though the breach was not yet sufficiently wide or prepared.

Meanwhile, to secure himself against the dreaded relief, he detached two thousand men, with orders to post themselves on the road to Avranches, and oppose the first efforts of the enemies, if they came during the assault. Then he caused the breach to be vigorously attacked. But the garrison, which was very numerous, made so brave a resistance, as gave the besiegers but small hopes of being masters of it. Whilst both sides were fighting with equal ardour, the detachment hearing no news of the enemies, and imagining it dishonourable to expect them in vain, whilst the rest were engaged, hastily returned to assist at the assault.

Their coming threw the besiegers into a panic. They fancied, the detachment being repulsed by the enemies, were flying for refuge to the camp, and in this belief relinquished the assault. The constable did all he could to undeceive them, but the disorder was already so great, that it was not possible to make them renew the fight. Meantime, the besieged seeing the confusion that prevailed in the camp, sallied out, and suddenly falling upon troops already terrified, easily put them to flight.

The, constable himself was forced to follow them, and leave his baggage and artillery in the power of his enemies, extremely concerned to see all his projects confounded, by this unfortunate accident. However, as he had not lost many men, he found himself still able, after drawing his army together, to march into Anjou, and take la Fleche and. Galerand belonging to the English. The taking of these two places, was not however capable of comforting him for his misfortune before St. James's. He openly accused de Giac of being the cause; and regardless of the King's resentment, resolved to be revenged.

The moment he returned to court, after the campaign, which the desertion of his troops obliged him to end sooner than he would, he caused de Giac to be seized in his bed, and by a sentence, as violent as irregular and rash, ordered him to be strangled, and then thrown into the Loire. After that, he boldly declared, he would serve in the same manner, any person whatever, that should endeavour to engross the King's favour. The Camus of Beaulieu not being terrified with these threats, and accepting de Giac's place, which was offered him, was, by the constable's means, assassinated in the King's own palace, and even before his eyes. His pride could not bear any person at court, that was not his creature.

Charles was so provoked at these haughty proceedings, that he would not see the constable: Nay; he could not hear him mentioned without horror: But his displeasure was little regarded by a man, who had for him both the nobles and peoples In the King's .extremity, every one thought he did him a favour to serve him.

Upon the least discontent; he was threatened to be left, for the English; who received with open arms those that submitted to their King: Besides, the Earl of Warwick had now invested Montargis about a month, and the King had no other way to relieve that place; but by the help of the Bretons. So, notwithstanding the constable's outrageous affronts, he gave leave, at the instance of La Trimouille, that this proud Prince should pay his respects to him. But his affairs were not more advanced by it.

Whilst the Duke of Bedford was in England, the Earl of Warwick, who commanded in France, did all that lay in his power, to keep the affairs of the English in good state. He found himself at first too weak to oppose the constable's entrance into Normandy; but upon news that the Bretons had disbanded themselves; because there was no money to pay them, he thought himself able to make some attempt. With a body of five thousand men he entered Maine, and retook several castles, which the Bretons had seized.

The surprising of places was then so frequent, that sometimes the same town changed master twice or thrice in one year. The Earl of Warwick seeing the constable's defeat before St. James's, the desertion of his troops, and the broils in Charles's court, had long disabled the French from having an army in the field, formed a design to become master of Montargis. This place was necessary for the execution of the Regent's project, to carry the war beyond the Loire. Indeed, the English general could not expect, with his few troops, to take Montargis, by a siege in form; but was in hopes, the place, being closely blocked up, would be forced to surrender, before it could be relieved.

The river Loin parting into three branches near this town, there was a necessity to separate the troops into three different quarters, the principal of which the Earl of Warwick commanded. The second was entrusted with the Earl of Suffolk, and the third with John de la Pole his brother. These quarters were joined by bridges of communication, and in this posture the English patiently waited, till hunger should constrain the besieged to capitulate.

The blockade had now lasted three months, and King Charles had taken no care about relieving the place. At length, the besieged acquainting him that they could no longer resist, without assistance, he. cast his eyes on the constable for that undertaking. But Richemont, who had now no army, refused the commission, being unwilling with new levied troops to expose himself to a disgrace like that of St. James.

Upon his refusal, the management of this expedition was committed to the bastard of Orleans[24], who was returned from Avignon, where he had retired with Louvet his father-in-law. The young Lord, then but twenty-two years of age, had already made eight campaigns, and on several occasions given signal proofs of his conduct and courage. He must needs have been young, to take such an enterprise upon him, with only sixteen hundred men, against the Earl of Warwick[25], whose reputation was equal to that of the greatest generals.

The besieged having notice that succours were preparing, let go their sluices to favour them. The Loin was so swollen thereby, that the bridges of communication between the English quarters were overflowed. The bastard of Orleans arriving in the meantime, thought; as there could not be a more favourable opportunity, he ought immediately to attack the enemies, before the waters were fallen. He gave half his troops to La Hire to attack Pole's quarter, and with the other half fell upon the Earl of Suffolk. It was a strange sort of battle, the soldiers on both sides, standing up to their middle in water. At last, after a long resistance, the two quarters were forced, with the loss of fifteen hundred men on the side of the English; many of which were drowned in

endeavouring to pass into the other quarter, by reason the bridges were under water. Warwick finding it impossible to assist his men, chose to retreat in good order. This action acquired the bastard of Orleans a great reputation, being from that time considered as a person, that would one day become a famous general.

Since the end of the last year, the Dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester, had been preparing for their single combat, which probably, as it was not fought at the time appointed, namely, St. George's day, was deferred by consent. Though these two Princes seemed to have nothing more to manage, and the decision of the affairs of Hainault was likely to depend on the success of their combat, the Duke of Burgundy did not think himself obliged to confound his personal quarrel with the Duke of Brabant's affairs, or to neglect the advantages procured him by the truce, to put that Prince in possession of his wife's dominions.

He no sooner saw the Duke of Hainault, but he began by secret emissaries, to cabal among the chief men of the country, for the delivery of Jaquelina, who continued at Mons. The Countess her mother, ever a friend to the house of Burgundy, came into the plot, though she took care to conceal it from her daughter. When matters were ripe, the towns of Hainault suddenly declared for the Duke of Brabant, and the Earl of St. Pol his brother appeared before Mons with an army. Then the magistrates of the city, pretending a fright, and intimating they could not alone bear the brunt of the war, entered into a treaty with him.

As every thing had been privately settled, they promised to deliver Jaquelina to the Duke of Burgundy, till the Pope should decide the difference in question. All this was transacted unknown to Jaquelina, who heard nothing of the matter till it was too late to help it. She wrote to the Duke of Gloucester, complaining of being basely betrayed, but her complaints were in vain. On the 13th of June 1426, she was forced to go from Mons, under the conduct of the Prince of Orange, who guarded her as far as Ghent, where she was to reside. After that, all Hainault unanimously received the Duke of Brabant for sovereign.

Jaquelina was enraged to see herself a prisoner. But perceiving, resistance would but render her condition more grievous, she feigned to be pleased, that her affair was left to the Pope's determination. This dissimulation procured her a mild and honourable treatment, which she knew how to improve. In September, she found means to escape in man's cloaths, and retire into Holland. She was well received by some of her subjects, whilst others chose rather to adhere to the Duke of Burgundy; knowing how difficult it would be to support her against so potent an enemy. The Duke, vexed that his prey had escaped him, carried the war into Holland, to hinder her from fortifying herself in that country. This war lasted the year 1427, and part of 1428.

A. D. 1427] The Earl of Warwick's loss before Montargis, and the necessity of garrisoning so many towns, prevented his keeping the field. Besides, the Duke of Bedford had ordered him to spare his troops against an important expedition, which it was not yet proper to discover. All this while Charles was in no better condition. The advantage lately gained by his troops, had not augmented his forces. Thus both sides were forced to remain inactive, or at least to content themselves with attempts to surprise some places.

In the beginning of this year, the Earl of Foix, who had at length taken part with King Charles, sent him a body of troops, under the command of count d' Orval, of the house of Albret. This general approaching Mons, where the Earl of Suffolk was with few soldiers, held intelligence with some of the Burghers, who promised to deliver the city.

Accordingly, he was admitted, and the Earl of Suffolk forced to retire into the castle, where he had but three days provisions. In this extremity, he sent to Talbot, who was at Alenson, desiring him to endeavour to relieve him. Talbot lost not a moment. By the next night, he was with some troops at the foot of the castle, towards the country, and entered at a postern gate, whilst d' Orval thought himself safe in the city, not imagining the besieged could be so soon relieved.

At break of day, Suffolk and Talbot sallied out of the castle, and taking the French unprepared, drove them before them quite out of the city. Thus the place was almost as soon recovered as lost, by the extraordinary diligence of Talbot, one of the bravest and most experienced leaders of the age.

After this expedition, the two generals marched to Laval, a little town in Maine, and carried it with ease. Then joining the Earl of Warwick, who was marching to those parts, they besieged Pontorson, taken by the constable Richemont last year.

The Duke of Bedford arrived from England the beginning of this year, with a reinforcement that rendered him formidable. The Bishop of Winchester came with him, who had received at Calais, a cardinal's cap, given with great ceremony. He was generally styled the cardinal of England, doubtless, because he was of the royal family.

The siege of Pontorson still continued, without King Charles's being able to relieve that town. He had then much more important affairs upon his hands. The constable Richemont had retired to Vannes in Bretagne, extremely displeased at the King's coldness. Since his receiving the constable's sword, he had done nothing to answer the great expectations he had raised of his valour and abilities. On the contrary, instead of advancing the King's affairs, he had rendered the royal authority so contemptible, by his pride and oppressions, and violent doings, that Charles was less a King than ever.

The Princes and great men at court, after his example, took upon them to give law to their sovereign. Since the death of Beaulieu, la Trimouille was the sole favourite and had such an ascendant over the King, that nothing was done but by his direction. The constable thought at first, to have been a great gainer by this change, because the new favourite had always professed a friendship for him, but he was quickly convinced of the contrary. His behaviour to the former ministers, making this apprehensive of the same treatment, he used his utmost endeavours to inflame the King's aversion for him.

The whole court quickly perceived it, with extreme concern. The great men could expect no preferment, unless the King's affairs were in a good situation, and were persuaded, the constable alone was capable of restoring them. For this and several other reasons, la Trimouille grew exceedingly odious. This hatred was carried so far, that at last a confederacy was formed against him, of which the Earls of Clermont and De la Marche his cousin, were the heads. They began with an attempt upon his life, after Richemont's example.

Having notice that the King was gone to Loches, and had left la Trimouille at Bourges, they assembled some troops, and marched thither to seize the favourite. But they found he was already gone after the King. However, not to lose their labour entirely, they resolved to carry away La Borde and De Prie, two of his creatures, who were retired into the great Tower. De Prie was killed in defending himself, but La Borde held out, till the King himself came to rescue him. This affair turned to a civil war, which after lasting some months, was at length ended by the Duke of Alençon's mediation.

This young Prince, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Verneuil, had been lately released by the Duke of Burgundy's intercession, who though an enemy of King Charles, sought all occasions to gain the friendship of the French Princes. But it cost the Duke of Alençon two hundred thousand crowns. To procure this money, he was forced to part with his jewels, and sell the Duke of Bretagne the town of Fougères, at a very low rate. In return for his late service to the King, Charles made him a present of fourscore thousand crowns, though he himself was in great want. Meanwhile, la Trimouille still kept his post at court.

Whilst Charles was employed in quelling his domestic enemies, the Duke of Bedford as intent upon executing a design, formed before he left England; and that was, to reduce the Duke of

Bretagne to the obedience of King Henry. Ever since June he had caused Pontorson to be besieged[26], a strong town on the borders of Bretagne, which might have been a great obstacle to his entrance into that dukedom, had it continued in the hands of the French. This siege, which had been very long, being ended, the Duke of Bedford repaired to the army, with a reinforcement which increased it to twenty thousand men.

With this powerful body, to which he knew his enemies had nothing like it to oppose, he prepared to enter Bretagne, threatening the country with utter destruction. Whether the Duke of Bretagne was surprised, or, was glad to have an excuse to abandon King Charles, whom he had joined only out of condescension to the constable his brother, he wisely prevented the impending danger. He was very sensible, Charles was not able to protect him. Besides, he was displeased with him on the constable's account: For these reasons, he sent ambassadors to the Duke of Bedford, to sue for peace, upon what terms he pleased.

Though it was in the Regent's power to be revenged of the Duke of Bretagne he thought it his duty, to prefer the interests of the king his nephew, to his own satisfaction. Indeed, it was much more advantageous for the King, to make of the Duke of Bretagne a willing friend, by treating him civilly, than a private enemy, by using him rigorously. So, he required nothing more of him, than to swear to the peace of Troye, and cause all his states to do the same, pursuant to his engagements with Henry V and to promise with an oath to do homage to young Henry when required.

This moderation made great impression on the Duke of Bretagne, who ever after, proved a friend to the English, even in the decline of their affairs. On the other hand, though the Regent perceived, he could expect no great assistance from the Duke of Bretagne, by reason of the influence, the constable his brother had over him, yet he thought the gaining that Prince from Charles's party was no small advantage to the English.

The Duke of Burgundy's war in Holland, did not turn much to Jaquelina's advantage. There was too great a disproportion between the two parties. The Duke of Gloucester was not able of himself to give his Duchess the assistance she wanted. To that end, he must have employed the public revenues of England, or procured an extraordinary subsidy of the Parliament. But that was not easily to be obtained, at a time, when the war in France was expensive to the nation.

However, in the Parliament held this year, the Duke had interest enough to procure a small aid. The Parliament petitioned the King, to assign the Duke of Gloucester, the sum of five thousand marks, out of the subsidy granted him, to enable him to assist his Duchess. To this sum, the King advanced five thousand marks, upon the salary annexed to the protectorship. With this aid the Duke sent a reinforcement of some English troops, under the command of the Lord Fitzwalter.

But these troops being defeated by the Duke of Burgundy, presently after their landing, Jaquelina found herself reduced to a sad condition. By the Duke of Bedford's intercession; she obtained a truce, during which the Duke of Gloucester was brought to consent; that his affair with the Duke of Brabant, should be decided by the Pope. It must be observed, that the Duke of Bedford had now annulled the single combat; between the Dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester.

Some time after, the Pope published his sentence, annulling Jaquelina's marriage with the Duke of Gloucester, and confirming her first marriage with the Duke of Brabant[27], who survived but a few months this determination, and was succeeded by the Earl of St. Pol his brother. By the death of the Duke her husband, Jaquelina ought to have had peaceable possession of her dominions. But the Duke of Burgundy discovered on this occasion, that the Duke of Brabant's interest, was not the motive of his proceedings. He so ordered it, that Jaquelina's subjects refused to receive her, and made himself mediator between them. The Duke obliged Jaquelina, to commit to him the government of her dominions, appoint him her heir, and promise never to marry again without his consent[28].

Historians generally fix these occurrences to the year 1427. Yet it appears in the **Collection of the Public Acts**, that this affair was not ended May the 18th 1428: At least the Duke of Gloucester and Jaquelina had not submitted to the Pope's sentence; for there, Henry, VI. speaking of this Princess, calls her Jaquette, Duchess of Gloucester and Holland, his well beloved aunt. Probably, the Duke of Brabant's death, had put them in hopes, that their marriage might be confirmed, or a dispensation obtained to marry again.

Accordingly, it was on this account, doubtless, that the Duke of Burgundy exacted from Jaquelina the before mentioned conditions, in order to deprive the Duke of Gloucester of all hopes of ever setting foot again in the Low-Countries. Be this as it will, the Duke of Gloucester, pressed by his brother and the council, who saw how prejudicial to the King's affairs, his obstinacy was, desisted from his pretensions. He relinquished Jaquelina, and shortly after married Eleanor Cobham, whom he had long kept as his mistress. Thus ended the quarrel, which had proved so fatal to England[29].

A. D. 1428] The English had still a great superiority over King Charles. Though the business of Hainault had somewhat disordered their affairs, they were, notwithstanding that diversion, in so flourishing a condition, as seemed to promise certain success.

The Duke of Bretagne no longer gave them any uneasiness. The Earl of Richemont his brother was at variance with King Charles, without any probability of a reconciliation. The Duke of Burgundy, freed from the Holland war, could for the future powerfully assist his allies. In fine, besides their numberless garrisons in the kingdom, the Regent had on foot, a body of twenty thousand men, and moreover expected a strong reinforcement with the Earl of Salisbury from England.

On the other hand, King Charles was without allies, and without refuge. It is true, in order to obtain succours from Scotland, he was negotiating a marriage between the Dauphin his son, and Margaret daughter of King James though they were yet both in their infancy. But this was a distant prospect. Besides, the King of Scotland had no way shown an inclination to break the truce with the English. So, Charles seeing no appearance of supporting himself, seemed to have entirely given over all care of preventing the designs of his. enemies. He lived in a surprising indolence, with out losing any of his usual diversions.

The consideration of the posture of the affairs of the two nations, made the Duke of Bedford conclude, the war would soon end, and two or three campaigns: infallibly drive Charles out of the Kingdom. He resolved therefore to exert his, utmost, during so favourable an opportunity, But as he had many troops, it was necessary first to provide for their subsistence. For that purpose, he held an assembly of the chief men at Paris, to whom he proposed revoking all the grants made to the church for forty years past. But he met with so strong an opposition from the clergy, that not to alienate the affection of so powerful a body, he was obliged to desist, and to make use of other means for the maintenance of his army.

Before he began the execution of his projects, he lost the assistance of the brave Earl of Warwick, who returned into England and being appointed governor to the King. He was designed for this place, immediately after the death of the Duke of Exeter in 1426. But as he was, necessary in France, his patent was not drawn up till the 1st of June this year, Probably, it was thought proper to stay till the Earl of :Salisbury, who was to lead a strong reinforcement to the Duke of Bedford, was ready to depart.

The Earl of Salisbury arrived in France in July, with five thousand men[30], raised at his own charge, pursuant to an agreement with the council[31]. Upon his arrival at Paris, the Regent gave him the command of an army of sixteen thousand men. This was more than sufficient to be master of the field, King Charles not being able to set on foot any such body of troops. The Regent's design was, to drive Charles beyond the Loire, knowing that when once that Prince was at a

distance, all his towns, on this side the river, would surrender. for want of succours. To this end, it was necessary to take from him the places, which preserved the communication with the northern provinces, in order to deprive him of all hopes of returning.

It was with this view, that the Earl of Salisbury, assisted by the Earls of Suffolk, Talbot, Fastolff and several other famous leaders, marched towards the Loire, the beginning of August. Orleans was the most important place in those parts. It belonged to the Duke of Orleans, who was prisoner in England, ever since the battle of Azincourt. The Earl of Salisbury holding a great council of war, it was resolved to besiege Orleans.

It appears; in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that this resolution was taken without the Duke of Bedford's knowledge, and contrary to his opinion. To succeed in this undertaking, the neighbouring places, which might annoy the besiegers, were first to be secured. Accordingly, the months of August and September were spent in that work. During that space, the English took Genville; Mehun, Beugenci, Gergeau, Clery, Sully, and some other small towns, and at last, appeared before Orleans the 12th October.

The French easily perceived, by all the English general's proceedings, that he intended to besiege Orleans. Accordingly, whilst he was elsewhere employed, they had sent thither both men and ammunition[32]. Gaucour, a creature of the Duke of Orleans, commanded there, though he was still a prisoner of the English, and released upon his parole, only to have means to provide his ransom. He had even been recalled ever since June.

The bastard of Orleans, d' Orval, La Hike, Xaintrilles, Thouars, Boussac, Chas banes, La Fayette Graville, and several other officers of note, had thrown themselves into the city, to acquire reputation in the service of their sovereign.

The English army not being sufficiently numerous to invest the city on all sides, the besiegers received succours in the very beginning of the siege, But the Earl of Salisbury, who considered this enterprise as a decisive action for the King his master, and his own reputation, omitted nothing to deprive the besieged of that advantage. He run up round the city sixty, forts. or redoubts, called then Bastilles. How great soever this work might be, nothing could divert him from it, since the success of the siege entirely depended upon it. In vain would he have pushed his attacks, if the enemies could continually introduce fresh supplies. Besides, the season, now far advanced, suggested to him, that he would be forced to pass the winter in the camp, and during that time be liable to many insults.

Among the sixty forts, there were six much stronger than the rest, upon the six principal avenues of the city. The French could before with ease introduce convoys into the place, and had made frequent use of that advantage. But after these forts were built, it was with extreme difficulty, that they could, now and then, give some assistance to the besieged. Upon these six great redoubts the general erected batteries, which thundered against the walls. But as the artillery was not then in its present perfection, it must not be imagined, it did the same execution as now.

Charles readily perceived, the taking of Orleans would deprive him of the advantage, of continuing the war in the northern provinces of the kingdom: but, as he had neither men nor money, he could not raise the siege. However, he approached and came to Chinon, where he convened the chief men, and obtained an aid of money. Whilst he was in this place, the constable Richemont sent him an offer of his service. But in whatever distress he might be, and however great his want was of a speedy assistance, he could not resolve to forgive him.

Meanwhile, the siege was vigorously prosecuted, The bulwark of the Tournelles[33] being much shaken by the besiegers' cannon, and the besieged thinking it prosper to set it on fire, the English extinguished the flames, and lodged themselves in that post. At the same time they became masters of the Tower on the bridge, whence, the whole city could be viewed. The taking of this

Tower proved fatal to the Earl of Salisbury. One day, as he was looking out of a window, a cannon shot from the city hit him as it passed on the right side of his head, carried away his cheek, and struck out one of his eyes. He died a few days after at Mehun, where he had been removed. This loss, though very great to the English, interrupted not the siege. The Earl of Suffolk taking the command of the armour; continued the attacks as vigorously as before assisted by Talbot, one of the bravest and most experienced captains of his age.

There was nothing every day but continual assaults, sallies, and skirmishes, wherein the besieged behaved with equal bravery and conduct, Notwithstanding the precautions used by the English, to prevent succours from being thrown into the city, troops and convoys were, from time to time, introduced, though always by dint of sword, Thus the garrison, which at first consisted only of twelve hundred men, was become three thousand strong by the end of December, On the other hand, the army of besiegers was increased to three and twenty thousand, by the supplies perpetually sent by the Regent, so that the siege daily grew more important and difficult.

A. D. 1429] The English had now been four months before Orleans, and the success of their enterprise was yet doubtful. The Regent, who began to be uneasy at the length of the siege, was confirmed more and more in his opinion, that it was a rash undertaking. However to neglect nothing in his power, he sent from Paris a convoy of salt fish[34], the Lent season of the year 1429 being come. He left the conduct of it to Fastolff, one of the bravest and most able generals the English then had, and gave him a guard of seventeen hundred men.

Charles having notice, of the day the convoy was set out from Paris, resolved to waylay it. He commissioned the Earl of Clermont for that purpose, who, at the head of three thousand men, attacked the convoy on the road to Orleans, February the 12th at seven in the morning. Fastolff having heard of the approach of the French, had made an entrenchment with his carriages, behind which he had secured himself against their first charge. It was indeed very vigorous, but the English sustained it with such resolution, that, instead of being routed by the first shock, they put their enemies into extreme disorder, by the great slaughter of their men.

When Fastolff saw their confusion, he ordered the carriages to be removed, and falling upon the French troops, already disheartened, entirely defeated them with great slaughter. Six score lords or officers of note fell that day, besides a great number of common soldiers. The Bastard of Orleans, who had sallied out to assist the Earl of Clermont in defeating the convoy, preserving a presence of mind in this rout, found means to re-enter the city with four hundred men. This action was called the Battle of Herrings.

King Charles was extremely dejected upon news of this defeat. He saw himself upon the point of losing Orleans, and was sensible of the consequences of the loss. The thoughts of seeing the English ravage the provinces, beyond the Loire, and thereby disable him from continuing the war, could not but trouble him exceedingly. This misfortune would infallibly follow, upon their being masters of Orleans.

In this distress, he devised an expedient, proper, as he thought, to rob them of this advantage, reckoning, they would be so blind as not to see through his artifice. This was, to send to the commanding officers a power to deliver the place to the Duke of Burgundy, to be kept in trust till the end of the war. Xaintrilles and others, who were appointed to treat of this affair, going to Paris, made the Duke of Bedford the offer, who laughed at the stratagem. He plainly told them, it was a great mistake to think he would beat the bush for another to run away with the game.

Charles not succeeding in his project, and seeing no other way to save Orleans, began now to think of retiring into Dauphine, when a very extraordinary accident gave a sudden turn to the affairs of the two contending nations. About the end of February 1429, a country girl, called Joan of Arc, a village in Domremy[35] in Lorraine, came to Robert de Baudricourt, Governor of Vaucouteurs, and told him, she had received express orders from God to raise the siege of

Orleans, and crown King Charles at Rheims. Baudricourt at first considered the girl as a visionary, but afterwards finding she talked very sensibly in the rest of her discourses, he thought fit to send her to the King, who was still at Chinon. Charles being informed, that Joan of Arc was coming, declared, that Maria d' Avignon a nun, had formerly told him, Heaven would arm one of her sex in defence of France. Adding, that perhaps this girl was the person designed by Heaven.

This was sufficient to satisfy the court beforehand, that Joan of Arc's calling was miraculous. This supernatural mission perfectly squared with the sentiments of the Queen, of Agnes Sorrel the King's mistress, and of the principal courtiers, who used all possible endeavours to dissuade the King from his purpose to retire into Dauphine. So, nothing was more proper to divert him from this retreat, than the hopes of a change in his fortune.

However this be, in these dispositions, was Joan of Arc expected first time she appeared at court, she addressed herself directly to the King, discovering him among all his courtiers, though she had never seen him, and he had taken care to have nothing about him to distinguish him. However, he seemed at first to make no great account of this girl. But as she earnestly pressed him to credit her words, which, were the same she had spoken to Baudricourt, he resolved to have her examined.

The divines, her examiners, declared, upon what ground we know not, that her mission was divine. Then she was sent to the Parliament at Poitiers, who were of the same opinion. Lastly, to confirm this belief, the King declared, she had told him secrets, which no mortal knew but himself.

Every one being now prepossessed, that Joan of Arc, commonly called la Pucelie, or the maid, was sent from God to save France, she was looked upon with eyes of admiration. All her actions, words, and gestures were construed to her advantage. There was discovered in her, a fine genius, solid judgment, greatness of soul, and a knowledge very unusual in one of her sex and condition. This was the common effect of prejudice.

Thus far there is nothing that should seem very strange. It is easy to conceive, that this might be a contrivance to revive the courage of the French; and perhaps of the King himself, dismayed at so many losses, and beholding the kingdom just going to fall under the dominion of foreigners. But that this invention, if it be one, should succeed according to the design of the authors, is what may indeed be just cause of admiration, and afford ample matter for moral and political reflections.

Meanwhile, the siege of Orleans being vigorously prosecuted, Charles resolved to try to throw a convoy into the city. Joan desiring to be of the party, and to have arms and a man's habit, easily obtained her request[36]. To render herself more remarkable, she would have a certain sword sent for from the tomb of a Knight buried in the church of St, Catherine de Fierbois. The convoy designed for Orleans departed April the 25th. Several French writers affirm that Joan commanded the guard, and conducted the convoy into the city, but Monstrelet, a contemporary author, says the contrary.

The convoy having arrived on the 29th in the morning near the Burgundian gate, the Bastard of Orleans made a sally to favour their passage. A fierce and bloody battle ensued, wherein, after a long resistance, the English were defeated, and forced to let the convoy go in[37]. Joan made her entry into Orleans, with the generals, amidst acclamations of the people, who ascribed to her the good success of that day.

On the 4th of May, Joan, at the head of a detachment of the garrison, attacked, sword in hand, the fort of St. Loup. After a conflict of four hours, the fort was tarried, and of the twelve hundred English who defended it, four hundred were killed on the spot. Two days after, she assaulted likewise the fort of St. John; but as it was almost abandoned by the English, she met with little

resistance. Presently after, without giving her troops any respite, she led them against the fort, called London, the most considerable of the six, built upon the ruins of the church of the Augustines. Notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the English, this was also taken, with great loss on their side. Joan's troops thought of resting themselves, after this hard duty, but immediately she marched them to the fort of the Tournelles. But as she could not attack it that evening; for want of light, she kept it invested all night.

On the morrow, at break of day, the assault began, and lasted fourteen hours without intermission. The French were repulsed several times, and as often renewed the charge; Joan animating them by her words and actions, though wounded with an arrow between the neck and shoulders. At length, about eight at night, the fort was carried, and six hundred English cut in pieces. In all these actions, Joan shewed a valour, a valour and very uncommon in persons of her sex[38].

It may easily be guessed, how great was the consternation of the English, after the ill success of that day. The loss of four of their largest forts not permitting them to continue the siege, they raised it the 12th of May, after having been before the place seven whole months.

The following fragment of a letter from the Duke of Bedford; to the King his nephew; after the raising of the siege of Orleans, shows how much the English, and the Duke of Bedford himself, were discouraged by this unexpected event.

"And alle thing there prospered for you, till the tyme of the siege of Orleans taken in hand; God knoweth by what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen to the persone of my Cousin of Salysbury, whom God assoille, there felle, by the hand of God as it seemeth, a greet strook upon your people that was assembled there in grete nombre, caused in grete partie, as y trowe, of lakke of sadde beleve, and of unlevesulle doubt, that thei hadde of a disciple and lyme of the feende, called the Pucelle, that used fall en-chauntements and sorcerie. The whiche strooke and discomfiture nought oonly lensed in grete partie the nombre of youre people there, but as well withdrowe the courage of the remenant in merveillous wyse, and couraiged your adverse pantie and enemys to assemble hem forthwith in grete nombre, &c."

The raising of the siege of Orleans ushered in the decline of the English affairs. From that time, the French and English seemed to have mutually changed tempers and characters. The English were seized with a spirit of fear and amazement, whilst the French were filled with a courage, almost entirely lost since the battles of Azincourt and Verneuil. Though, after the raising of the siege, the French exceeded not six thousand, they fearlessly and briskly pursued the English, who, though they were still superior in number, retreated in a strange disorder.

Their consternation was such, that they knew not what they did. Instead of keeping together, to withstand their enemies, they amused themselves with throwing numerous garrisons into the places, conquered before the siege, about the Loire. By that means they so weakened themselves, that they were no longer able to await their enemies, who were closely pursuing them. As they dreaded a battle as much as they had been wont to desire it, they retired at a distance, and gave the French time to retake these places one after another.

The Earl of Suffolk was made prisoner in Gergeau, where he had imprudently shut himself up, with four hundred men only, which must have proceeded from his consternation at the defeat of his troops. Of all the places in those parts, Baugenci held out the longest, but could not help undergoing the same fate with the rest. In short, disorder and confusion had so possessed the English, that Charles, by Joan's advice, resolved to be crowned at Rheims.

Meantime this city was still in the hands of the English. Besides, there was a necessity of traversing above one hundred and twenty miles of the enemy's country, and of taking several places, which at any other time he would not have ventured to approach. Strange effect of the

terror struck into the English by a woman, and of the confidence instilled into their enemies by the same!

The constable Richemont, seeing the prosperity of the King's affairs, began to abate of his haughtiness. Hitherto he imagined himself necessary, but the late events made him sensible, he might be entirely forgotten, and lose his share of the glory which the King was probably, about to acquire. In this belief, he assembled all his friends, and forming a body of twelve hundred horse, and twelve thousand foot; he marched to join the King, who was then before Baugenci. The Duke of Bretagne doubtless, connived at this levy in his country; the late revolution causing him to alter his measure.

Whilst the constable was upon his march, La Trimouille, who desired not his company at court, artfully persuaded the King, he was coming with a numerous army, to have his person in his power. This first impression, so affected the King, that he was going to raise the siege of Baugenci, and give the constable battle, but upon better information; was pleased to receive him with his succours; It was however upon very mortifying terms to a Prince of his character. It was required of him, that he should not pretend to govern the King, nor be present at the coronation, where a Trimouille was unwilling to be outshone.

Baugenci being taken, the King had intelligence, that the English were assembling in Beauce. Where upon Charles holding a council of war, it was unanimously resolved to give them battle. Indeed, there was no probability of going to Rheims, with the enemy in the rear Charles's army was then ten thousand strong[39], including the Bretons, brought by the constable. But of the twenty-two thousand English, lately before Orleans, there was left but six thousand with Talbot, who had taken the command of the army, after Suffolk was prisoner.

By an effect of the great amazement of the English, since the affair of Orleans, they suffered themselves to be surprised near Patay, by the French, who appeared in sight before they had heard anything of them. They had scarcely time to draw up, which was done in such confusion; that they made but a very faint resistance. Talbot alone maintained the fight, by his valour and conduct. But at last, the general being taken prisoner, the English army was routed, with the loss of two thousand five hundred men[40]. Fastolff ran away with the flying troops, seized by one of those sudden terrors, which for the time, deprive a man of the use of his reason, and may happen even to the most courageous[41].

If the raising of the siege of Orleans was a great check to the affairs of the English, the defeat of Patay was a no less grievous and fatal blow to them. The Regent saw himself forced to keep within the walls of Paris, being unable to appear in the field, to oppose the progress of his enemies. Meanwhile, Charles improved these advantages. Lewis III, Duke of Anjou, and King of Sicily, his brother-in-law, being returned from Naples, where he had made a long stay, brought him, immediately after the battle of Patay, a supply of several brave officers, who had attended him into Italy, and were come back with him into France.

King Charles's adherents increasing; as his affairs became more prosperous, he reviewed his troops at Gien, and found them augmented to fifteen thousand men. He gave a part to the constable, to make a diversion in Normandy, or rather, under that honourable pretence, to remove him, that he might not assist at the coronation, according to agreement. The Earl of Perdriac had another part, to carry the war into Guienne.

These two detachments were but five thousand men. With the remaining ten thousand, Charles took the road to Rheims, knowing there was no army in the field to oppose him. In passing through Burgundy, he summoned Auxerre, which promised to follow the example of the principal towns of Champagne, Troye and Chalon surrendered upon the first summons. A few days after, the inhabitants of Rheims, drove the English garrison out of the city, and sent deputies to the King, to present to him the keys of their gates. Thus every thing succeeded to his wish, Charles

entered Rheims[42] in triumph, and was crowned presently after[43]. The ceremony being ended, Joan would have retired, affirming, she had nothing more to do, after executing what God had commanded. But the King pressed her so earnestly, that at last he prevailed with her to stay.

It is now time to see what was transacting in England, during the late fatal revolution in France. The quarrel still subsisted between the Duke of Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester, who had returned to London. As the prelate's new dignity rendered him more haughty than ever, the Duke of Gloucester took occasion from this dignity to give him a sensible mortification. St. George's day, patron of the most noble Order of the Garter, being at hand, the cardinal was to officiate, as Bishop of Winchester. But the Duke of Gloucester, and his friends, opposed it, affirming, he could not hold the bishopric of Winchester, with the dignity of Cardinal, without the King's express licence.

The affair being brought before the council, it was resolved, that for this time the Cardinal should not officiate as Bishop of Winchester; and two Lords were sent to give him notice thereof. Next day, he came himself to the board, and demanded upon what foundation he was deprived of his right. He was told, it was for fear of prejudicing the prerogatives of the crown, and the council persisted in their resolution. Hence the Cardinal perceived, his adversary's interest to be still much greater than his.

Shortly after, the prelate received the Pope's bull, appointing him his legate in Germany, and General of the crusade against the Bohemian heretics. The Pope's view, was to draw powerful aid from England, against the Hussites[44]. Nay, it is not unlikely, that as he greatly favoured King Charles, his design was to weaken England, by draining the kingdom of men and money, under colour of the Crusade. However, the cardinal receiving the bull the beginning of June this year, though it was dated March the 18th, 1427-8, presented to the King and council a petition, desiring leave to publish the Crusade.

He prayed likewise, that he might have power to levy in England, five hundred lances, and five thousand archers, and to appoint the Generals and officers of this army. His petition having been examined in council, it was resolved to grant it in part, and under certain restrictions.

Meanwhile, the news of the battle of Patay flying into England, caused a great consternation, and made it easily judged, that the Regent wanted a sudden and powerful aid. And therefore, without losing a moment, the council ordered new levies, the command whereof was designed for Sir John Ratcliffe. But, as in the present posture of affairs in France, it would have been very imprudent to send troops into Bohemia, the council resolved, to make some alteration in what was granted to the Cardinal of Winchester.

Upon this urgent occasion, a new agreement was made with him, whereby he engaged to serve in France, under the Duke of Bedford, till the end of December, with the troops of the Crusade, provided they were not employed in any siege.

A few days after arrived from France, Garter King at Arms[45], with instructions from the Regent, to inform the council of the state of affairs in that kingdom. The substance of his instructions was as follows:—

I. That it was necessary to hasten the departure of Ratcliffe's and the cardinal's troops, and inform the Regent of the precise time of their embarkation.

II. The Dauphin, (for so the Regent called King Charles,) was master of Troye, Chalon and several other places, some of which had voluntarily surrendered.

III. That he was to enter, that very day, July the 16th the city of Rheims, where he would be crowned and afterwards intended to exert his utmost, to take Paris, but should find it more difficult

than he imagined, That the Duke of Burgundy had fully discharged his duty, and the city of Paris, had it not been for him, would have been lost before now. That he had departed, that very day, for Artois, to hasten his troops, and join them with the English army.

IV. That the Regent was to set out within two days, for Normandy and Picardy, where he would draw the garrisons together, and expect the troops that were to come from England.

V. Lastly, the council of France most humbly besought the King, to come and be crowned at Paris.

Upon this last article, it was resolved, that the young King, now but eight years old, should go into France, and be crowned, but should first be crowned in England[46].

In pursuance of this resolution, the ceremony of the coronation was performed on the 6th of November. Six days after, the Parliament, then assembled, ordered the dignity of protector and defender of the church to be suppressed, but that the Duke of Gloucester should keep that of the first councillor to the King.

This was a very great and unexpected mortification to that Prince. Indeed, as the King's coronation increased not his capacity, the kingdom seemed still to require a protector. But it was pretended, the protectorship was inconsistent with the dignity of a crowned head. Hereafter, this rule was not always observed. The Duke, however, handsomely submitted to the ordinance, as far as it concerned him, the rights of his brother the Duke of Bedford remaining entire.

Whilst preparations were making in England for the coronation, Charles had continued his conquests with great rapidity. However, his coronation had detained him eleven days at Rheims. If the Regent had then been provided with an army, he might easily have enclosed him in that corner of France, where he had but few places, surrounded with the enemies' garrisons. But the Duke was then in Picardy, with few troops, expecting those that were to come from England. Charles therefore improved the advantage, procured by that Prince's distance.

The inhabitants of the English towns being, for the most part, well inclined to him, nothing hindered them from shewing him marks of their affection, since the Duke of Bedford had been forced to weaken the garrisons extremely, to compose an army. This was the cause, that, in a short space, Charles became master of Soissons, Provins, Chateau-Thierry, Crepi, and some other places, even before they were attacked; the English garrisons not being strong enough, to prevent the burghers from following their inclination.

Meantime, the Duke of Bedford having at last received the expected supplies, began to march, with about 10,000 men, in order to stop the progress of his enemy. At Crepi Charles heard the Duke was advancing to give him battle. A few days after, the two armies were very near one another, on a large plain, where nothing hindered their engaging. The number of the troops on both sides was much the same, but as the King had more horse, the Regent was unwilling to attack him.

Besides, the posture of his affairs required, that he should not fight without advantage; and therefore, he ordered his camp to be strongly entrenched. He hoped, the impetuous humour of the French, would cause them to commit the same fault as at Verneuil, and on many other occasions; and that they would endeavour to force his entrenchments, in which case, he promised himself certain victory. But for once, he was deceived in his expectation. Charles, grown wise by so many former instances, was content with facing him for two days, and trying to draw him out of his lines, without venturing an attack, the success whereof appeared very doubtful.

At last, finding the English kept their station, he left his, in order to pursue his conquests, knowing that most of the towns were ready to receive him. The Regent followed him close; but as he

would run no hazard, without an apparent advantage, he had the mortification to see him enter Senlis, Beauvais, Compiègne, Creil, Pont St. Maxente, Lagny Bray, Gournay, Melun, and Sens. All these places opened their gates to the King, being no longer awed by the garrisons, which the Regent had been forced to draw out.

On the other hand, the constable Richemont, who was in Normandy, having found means to augment his troops to the number of eight thousand, had taken Evreux, and threatened the whole province. The Duke of Bedford, fearing he would make greater progress, hastened thither; not being able to bear the thoughts of losing a country, from whence flowed in a great measure his subsistence.

Whilst the Duke of Bedford was employed in Normandy, Charles, master of the field in the isle of France, approached Paris, and encamped at Montmartre. He immediately published a general pardon for the Parisians, imagining, that terrified at his conquests, they would take arms, and drive the English out of the city. But the Regent had so ordered matters there, that not a man stirred. At last, finding he could expect nothing from the citizens, he attacked the suburbs of St. Honorius; but his troops were repulsed with great loss. Joan, who had greatly exposed herself in this assault, was wounded, and thrown into the ditch. She was thought to be dead, but being drawn out in the night, recovered of her wounds.

The season not permitting the two armies to keep the field any longer, Charles retired, and passed the winter at Bourges. The Regent likewise, after driving the constable out of Normandy, returned to Paris. During the winter, he carried by escalade St. Dennis and Lagni, which very much annoyed the Parisians.

Before we close the occurrences of this year, it must not be forgotten to show, how the Duke of Burgundy stood affected, since the revolution in the English affairs. However prosperous Charles might be, he was sensible it was not sufficient, unless he could gain over so potent an enemy as the Duke of Burgundy. The truth is, if that Prince had thought fit to assist the English with all his forces, he would have doubtless, prevented this fatal revolution. Nay, if after raising the siege of Orleans, he had been willing to aid them in proportion to his power, he would still have turned the scale on their side. But he had been, for some time, taking other measures.

His policy suggested to him, that by too powerfully assisting the English, he should procure himself troublesome masters, as he had already experienced in the business of Hainault. He resolved therefore to continue to assist the English[47], but so as to give Charles some hopes, his resentment was abated. He rightly judged, that in taking this course, he should procure better terms, or at worst, might remain in his present situation, till what he desired, was offered.

Charles having some intimation of the Duke of Burgundy's disposition, dispatched secret agents to treat with him; but the Duke thought it not yet time to discover himself. He was apprehensive, that if the Duke of Bedford should know it, he would, without him, agree with King Charles whereas his intent, was to make his own peace at the expense of the English. The sequel manifestly shewed this to be his design.

A. D. 1430] It would be difficult to describe the concern, trouble, complaints, and murmurings in England, upon the turn of affairs in France. Some blamed the Generals for not discharging their duty. Others, perceiving no natural cause of so surprising a change, affirmed, it must have happened by the malice of the devil, who had made use of Joan for his instrument; and boldly asserted she was a witch. In short, some threw all the blame on the council, and the Duke of Gloucester. They justly taxed them, with unseasonably prosecuting the affair of Hainault, when, if all the forces of England had been united against France, they would infallibly have finished the conquest of that kingdom. In a word, nothing but complaints were heard from all parts, every one seeking in the faults of the ministry, for, a cause of this fatal revolution.

Among all the reflections cast on the government, the council took particular notice of their reasoning, who said, "it was a very great error to keep the French Princes; and particularly the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, so long prisoners in England. That none could be ignorant, what great advantages were reaped by the late King, from the dissensions of the French. That consequently, the prisoners should have been sent home, where, probably, they would have renewed their old quarrels: whereas detaining them captive, had procured France a tranquillity, destructive to England".

"That at least, if the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, had been in France with King Charles, the English would have had more considerable aids from the Duke of Burgundy, than what he had hitherto furnished. In short, it was not yet too late to release these two Princes, and as England was drained by the continuance of so tedious a war, their ransoms might serve to put things upon a better footing."

These reasons seemed very plausible. But, on the other hand, the late King's orders concerning the prisoners, were, to the Duke of Gloucester and the council, a law which they durst not pretend to violate.

There were however, as to the Duke of Bourbon in particular, reasons, which might have induced the council to overlook the late King's orders. In 1421, that Prince made a treaty with Henry V. promising to swear to the peace of Troye, to pay such a sum for his ransom, and deliver two of his sons, and his fortified towns in hostage till his engagements were fully performed. Henry V. dying before the treaty was executed, it was renewed with some alteration in 1428, and young Henry had received, as King of France, the Duke's homage.

There was nothing wanting but the ratification, which was deferred, only for fear the people would not approve of this proceeding. In short, this year 1430, all difficulties were surmounted, and the treaty was ratified. But some obstacles occurred in the execution, which hindered the Duke from being set at liberty. He died at last in England, in 1434, after an eighteen years captivity.

Another reason, inducing, the council to treat with the Duke of Bourbon, was, a hope, that his ransom would help to defray the charges of the King's journey, who was ready to depart for France. This means failing, there was a necessity of having recourse to borrowings, which plainly discovered the low condition of the treasury[48]; and with what difficulty sufficient funds, for carrying on the war were found. Henry departed at length, on the 24th of April, attended by great numbers of the nobility, and particularly the cardinal of Winchester, who was appointed chief councillor of the King, with a salary of £4000 a year.

This honourable pretence was used, to keep him out of the realm, lest in the King's absence, and under the Duke of Gloucester's Regency, who was made guardian, their dissensions might breed disturbances. Henry being arrived at Calais, made but a short stay there. He immediately proceeded to Rouen, where he spent almost all the rest of the year, whilst preparations were making at Paris for his coronation, which could not be finished till December. About the middle of the month, he reached that metropolis, where he was crowned[49] on the 17th, with all the solemnity, the circumstances of the time would permit.

Whilst the King was at Rouen, the Duke of Bedford used all his endeavours to restore his affairs. He had foreseen the Duke of Burgundy's, designs and, as he was sensible of the consequences, neglected nothing to prevent them. It cost him Champagne and la Brie, or at least the places he still had in those provinces, which he was forced to deliver to him, to secure him in the alliance of England. But withal, he was enabled, by this means, to stop the progress of Charles, who had carried on his conquests with a wonderful rapidity.

Another inducement to keep, for some time, the Duke of Burgundy in the interest of the English as, his third marriage with Isabella of Portugal[50] near relation to the King of England[51], and who had not the same affinity with King Charles, as Bona of Artois, his former wife. So, the Duke of Bedford, receiving an aid from the Duke of Burgundy[52], took the field, and became master, in the Isle of France, of several places; which though of little consequence in themselves, were of great importance, as they were incommodious to Paris[53].

Shortly after, the Duke of Burgundy himself entered France, at the head of a powerful army. He retook first Torsy and Soissons, and then besieged Compiègne. Flavy commanded in that place, with a numerous garrison, and six months' provisions. Upon the first news of this siege, the Maid of Orleans, and Xaintrailles, threw themselves into the town, not without the governor's secret indignation, who easily saw, they were come to rob him of the honour of the defence.

On the 25th of May, Joan made a sally, and fought with great conduct and resolution. At length being forced to retreat, she put herself in the rear, and now and then made a stand, to stop the enemies by whom she was pressed. In this manner, she secured all her men; but, when she would have entered the town, found the gate shut, and the draw-bridge up. It is said, this was done by the governor's order, who was glad, to destroy her, pretending he did not know she was still without.

But this circumstance is not well proved[54]. However it be, Joan finding no way to escape her pursuers, surrendered herself prisoner to the Bastard of Vendome, who immediately delivered her to the Earl of Ligny, the Duke of Burgundy's General. The Duke of Bedford, overjoyed that this prey was in the hands of his allies, demanded her so earnestly of the Earl of Ligny, that the General could not deny him. He required, however, a reward suitable to the importance of such a prisoner.

Some time after, the town :was relieved by the Earl of Vendome[55], who introduced troops and ammunition, when it was almost reduced to extremity. Whereupon; the Earl of Ligny, commander in chief, seeing no more likelihood of succeeding, raised the siege, anti the Duke of Burgundy, who had staid all the while at Noyon, retired into Artois.

We pass over in silence numberless attempts on both sides, and divers skirmishes, which contributed but little to the decision of the general affair. It will however be proper to observe, that Joan's pretending inspiration, had made so deep an impression on the minds of the French, that Marshal Boussac and. Xaintrailles, suffered themselves to be deceived by an artifice, which, doubtless, would not have produced its effects, had it not been supported by this prepossession.

A shepherd living near Rouen, came and told the Marshal, that Heaven had revealed to him a certain private way, by which he would lead him into the very city of Rouen. Boussac, imparting the secret to Xaintrailles, they were both of opinion, the opportunity should not be neglected. So, persuaded as they were, that they had God himself for their guide, they marched with a body of chosen troops after the shepherd, who led them into an ambush, where Talbot expected them. Their troops were cut in pieces, and Xaintrailles remained a prisoner, in the hands of the English. These are the most remarkable events in France, during the year 1430; with regard to the war. We must now see what passed in England.

During the Cardinal of Winchester's absence, the Duke of Gloucester created him troubles, which gave him no small uneasiness. The Duke told the council; that the cardinal intended to leave the King, and return to his place in the council, with design to raise troubles in the kingdom; that his intention was the more criminal, as he meant to make use of the Pope's authority, to free himself from the obligation to assist the King in France; which was visibly subjecting the orders and regulations of the council, to a foreign power. Upon these complaints, the council issued a proclamation, prohibiting all the King's subjects, of what rank soever, on pain of imprisonment, to attend the cardinal, if he left the King without leave.

On the 8th of November, a truce of one year was concluded at London with the King of Castile, to commence May the 1st, 1431. About the middle of December, the ambassadors of England signed, at Edinburgh; a five years truce with Scotland, to begin the same day, with that made with Castile.

A. D. 1431] Joan having been in the hands of the English, ever since the siege of Compiègne, the Duke Of Bedford had ordered her to be carried to Rouen, where he intended to sacrifice her to the vengeance, which he believed due to the English nation. There was great policy in this resolution. All France was possessed with the notion, that she was sent from God, and the English soldiers imagined, that in fighting against her, they had to deal with the devil.

Wherever she appeared, they deemed the French troops invincible. At least, the terror that had seized their souls, and the strange alteration thereby wrought in them, cannot be ascribed to any other cause, it was therefore of the utmost importance to undeceive them. The taking of Joan, had already begun to produce this effect. It was very naturally inferred, that had she acted by God's command, there was no probability of her falling into such a misfortune. But, to confirm this first impression, it was not improper to insinuate to the terrified English, that she had done nothing, but by way of witchcraft and sorcery.

It may be, the Duke of Bedford was himself of that opinion, as may be concluded from his expressions, in the fore-mentioned letter to the King. However this be, he so managed, that the King, by the advice of his council of France, ordered Joan to be tried for a witch. Pursuant to this order, she was delivered over to ecclesiastical Judges[56], who, after a long examination, condemned her as a heretic, to do penance upon bread and water, all the days of her life. Some time after, under colour of a relapse into her former errors, she was tried again by the same Judges, who delivered her over to the secular arm to be burnt alive. This sentence was executed in the old market place at Rouen, the 30th of May, 1431[57].

Thus far the French and English agree. It cannot be denied, that Joan performed great exploits, and inspired the French with courage, and the English with terror. But the French ascribe what appears wonderful in her, to the immediate power of God, and the English, to the artifices of the devil[58].

Notwithstanding his advantages, King Charles saw himself little able to continue the war. Most of the places he had taken, were ruined, and consequently incapable of giving him much assistance. Besides, as they had voluntarily surrendered, he was unwilling to press them, for fear they should return to the English. They might have done it with the same ease, since it was not in his power to place there, garrisons strong enough to keep them in awe. On the other hand, the English, humbled by so many losses, were no better able to keep armies in the field. So, during the rest of this year, the war was continued only by parties, and surprising of places, most of which were but weakly guarded.

In this manner, the French became-masters of Chartres, by means of a cart laden with wine, which they caused to be overturned just under the portcullis. On the other hand, the English took Montargis, by holding intelligence with a young woman, who persuaded a barber, her lover, to introduce them into the town.

Loré a French captain, made an inroad to the very gates of Caen, upon a fair day, and carried away two thousand persons, with a great booty. After that, he retired to Silley, a small town in Maine, where he was besieged by the Earl of Arundel. But the Duke of Alençon, suddenly coming to his relief, obliged the English to retire.

This year, Xaintrailles and Gaucour, who were ravaging Normandy, were defeated and made prisoners. A party of English took also, Villeneuve lez Sens from the French. This is all that passed worth noting in France, between the two parties. But a more important affair happened

in Lorraine, wherein King Charles and the Duke of Burgundy were concerned, and which therefore it will not be amiss briefly to mention Lewis, cardinal of Bar, and Marquis of Pont-a-Mousson, being the last male of the house of Bar, the children of Violante his sister, Queen of Aragon, were to be his heirs. Among these children, Violante of Aragon had married Lewis II. King of Sicily, and Duke of Anjou, and by him had three sons, Lewis, Rene, and Charles. Of these Princes, the cardinal Duke of Bar, chose Rene for his heir, and married-him to Isabella, third daughter of Charles Duke of Lorraine, who had no issue male.

It is said, Isabella's two eldest sisters, had renounced the succession of the Duke their father. Rene being Duke of Bar by the death of the cardinal his uncle, would likewise have taken possession of Lorraine, upon the decease of the Duke his father-in-law; but Anthony Earl of Vaudemont, son of Frederic, younger brother of Duke Charles, disputed the succession with him.

This occasioned a war between these two Princes, wherein King Charles supported Rene his brother-in-law, and the Duke of Burgundy, the Earl of Vaudemont. On the 2nd of July this year, the two competitors, -fought at Bulegneville a bloody battle, where Rene was vanquished, taken prisoner, and carried to Dijon. There were twelve hundred French slain in this action. This loss, no doubt, contributed to hinder King Charles from continuing his progress.

The affair concerning the see of Winchester, of which the Duke of Gloucester would have deprived the cardinal, was rather suspended, than determined in 1429, by an order of council to the prelate, to forbear, for that time, officiating as Bishop on St. George's day. The Duke, willing to take advantage of the cardinal's absence, who was with the King at Paris, caused, about the end of this year, the affair to be again brought upon the board.

On the 6th of November, the King's attorney general appearing before the council, required, that the cardinal should be deprived. of his see; affirming, that by the laws of the land, the same person could not be cardinal and Bishop in England. He supported his assertion with the examples of Simon Longhorn, and Robert Kilwarby, formerly Archbishops of Canterbury, who, upon their being made cardinals, resigned the Archbishopric. When he had done speaking, the Duke of Gloucester, addressing himself to the Bishop of Worcester, required him to say, upon his oath of allegiance to the King, whether it was not true, that the cardinal had obtained of the Pope, an exemption from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for himself, for the city, and for the whole diocese, of Winchester.

His aim was to show, how inconvenient it was, to suffer a cardinal, to hold a bishopric in England. The Bishop of Worcester replied, after some entreaty, that the Bishop of Lichfield being at Rome, had sued for, and obtained this exemption for the cardinal, who had reimbursed all the charges and that he had this from that prelate's own mouth. This affair having been long debated, by reason of the two parties in the council, it was at length resolved, that, before any decision, the cardinal should be heard, and the judges consulted. Thus it was not yet possible for the Duke of Gloucester to compass his ends.

Whilst Henry was in France, Pope Eugenius II successor of Martin V. sent thither the cardinal of Santa Cruz, to try to persuade the two Kings to a peace. This legate prevailed with them at last, to send their ambassadors to Auxerre, but this congress was fruitless. They did not so much as enter into a conference, because, if we may believe the French authors, the ambassadors of England refused to acknowledge King Charles's, for ambassadors of France. The 31st of March, the next year, was, however, appointed for their meeting; but it was in vain, since there was no place appointed for holding the congress. The court of England had named for plenipotentiaries, the Bishop of Rochester, and some others.

Henry returned into England, the beginning of the year 1432, being full ten years of age. As his journey into France produced no great effects, his return made no alteration in his affairs. They

were still managed by the Duke of Bedford in France, and by the Duke of Gloucester in England. The government of two kingdoms was no light burden for these Princes, at a time when the King's affairs were manifestly going to decay.

The Duke of Bedford was obliged to be always on his guard, to resist enemies, now grown very formidable. But this was nothing, in comparison of the trouble, occasioned by his perpetual distrust of his own friends, or those who pretended to be well affected to him. The Duke of Burgundy's ambiguous proceedings, justly made him uneasy. The Duke of Bretagne was no surer friend.

In short, since the decline of the affairs of the English, the towns which seemed to side with them, were faithful, only in proportion to the strength of their garrisons. The Regent, by sad experience, had been convinced of this truth. Paris herself, the metropolis, on which, as we may say, all depended, was not so well disposed, as that her fidelity could be relied on; or at least her attachment to the interest of England, wholly depended on the Duke of Burgundy's. Add to this, the inconsiderable aids of men and money, received by the Duke of Bedford from England, at a time when they were most wanted.

To complete his misfortune, the Regent found himself almost alone, burthened with the weight of the public affairs, as well military as civil those who had assisted him in the beginning of his Regency, being for the most part either dead, or prisoners in the hands of the enemy. In this perplexity, he resolved to propose to King Charles, the exchange of Talbot for Xaintrilles, and his offer was accepted. As he durst not leave Paris, and the war was carrying on in several parts of the kingdom, he could not be without such a general as Talbot; though to procure him, was forced to give his equal to the enemy[59]

If the affairs of the English were upon an ill footing in France, they were upon no better terms in England: Subsidies were granted by the Parliament with great reluctance, for continuing so destructive a war, which began to be tiresome, since it prospered not as formerly. On the other hand, the quarrel between the Duke of Gloucester and the cardinal still continued, with greater bitterness than ever, and began to turn to the Duke's disadvantage.

In the last Parliament, the cardinal had found means to gain the Commons to his interest, and give his adversary a grievous mortification. The house, willing to show him marks of their favour, presented a petition to the King, praying him, in consideration of the cardinal's great services to the state, to give him a full pardon for whatever he had done, contrary to the laws, particularly with regard to the Statute of Præmunire. This was a great advantage for the cardinal, since the Commons' petition being granted, he was screened from all prosecution.

However, the Duke of Gloucester did not desist. He pretended, that, notwithstanding the pardon, he had sufficient evidence to prove the cardinal guilty of high-treason, a crime which could not be supposed to be included in the letters of pardon. The cardinal, who was then in Flanders upon the King's affairs, speedily repaired to London, without asking leave, and thereby gave his enemy a pretence to seize his baggage[60].

The next day after his arrival, he went to the House of Lords, and said, he was come to clear himself of the crimes, pretended to be laid to his charge, and vindicate his innocence, against whoever should offer to be his accuser. The Duke of Gloucester not thinking proper to support what he had advanced, the prelate was answered, that as none appeared to accuse him, he was acknowledged for a loyal subject. He thanked the House for this declaration, and desired it might be drawn up in form, which was granted. Then he complained, that at his arrival at Sandwich, his baggage was seized, and petitioned the restitution. He maintained, that the seizure was made without cause, and he offered to lend the King six thousand pounds, for six years; on condition, that if, in that time, the seizure appeared to be lawful, the money lent should be forfeited to the King's use.

He offered moreover to lend him the like sum, and to defer the demand of the thirteen thousand marks, due to him on another account provided the payment of the whole should be assigned out of the next subsidy granted to the King. His aim was, to show his regard for the King's and the people's wants. His offers were accepted, and the seizure restored. Thus the Duke of Gloucester, instead of hurting his enemy, had the mortification, to see him receive the applauses of both Houses. Meanwhile, this discord produced very ill effects. As the Duke of Gloucester had friends, and adherents in the council, the opposition generally between the two parties, could not but be very prejudicial to the King's affairs. Whilst the Duke and the cardinal thought only of their own private concerns, the war in France was neglected, though it was more necessary than ever, to support it with the greatest efforts.

If England had known how to improve her advantages, she had a very favourable opportunity to repair some of her losses. King Charles languished in the arms of Agnes Sorrel, his mistress, and left to the care of his ministers and generals, his most important affairs. Nothing affected him but his pleasures. It was with extreme reluctance, that he bestowed a few moments upon the war, and the affairs of state.

So impatient was he to return to his pleasure, interrupted by these troublesome cares, that he only sought to intrust with others, whatever might embarrass him. La Trimouille, his favourite, was generally accused of soothing him in this supineness. But it was perceived by persons of penetration, that the King began to grow weary -of him, and was uneasy under a yoke he had imposed upon himself.

The constable, though absent, was soon informed of it. His spies at court were too watchful, for so important a circumstance to be long concealed from him. As he was of a proud and violent spirit, he could not bear, without indignation, to be surpassed by La Trimouille; and had formed a design to serve him, as he had done. Louvet, De Giac, and Beaulieu. When he knew, the King no longer looked upon La Trimouille with the same eye as before, he immediately resolved to set hand to the work: But as in ruining La Trimouille, he did not find himself so far in the King's favour, that he could hope for his place, he projected to introduce Charles of Anjou, the Queen's brother, into this post.

Strange project, haughtily to attempt to take from a Prince one favourite, and give him another against his will, or at least without consulting him! As soon as the constable had made all his cabals at court, and matters were ripe for execution, La Trimouille was seized in his bed, in the King's own house, who was then at Chinon, and carried to prison at Montresor. Charles was enraged at the news, and would immediately have taken vengeance, but when he saw all the Princes of the blood, and the great men at court, declare against La Trimouille, he durst not venture to proceed.

He remembered, with dread, the confederacy formed against him, when he would have screened Louvet. Besides, his disgust for the favourite, who was only so in name, being added to that political reason, he abandoned him without much concern. Charles of Anjou came to comfort him, and succeeded so well, that, according to the constable's project, he became the favourite, and La Trimouille was forgotten.

It is easy to judge, that a Prince of Charles's character, who had an aversion for war, would not have been very formidable to the Duke of Bedford, if the supplies from England had been sufficient, to enable him to make some considerable attempt. But he had not for some time been able to bring an army into the field, without disgarrisoning his towns, and exposing them either to be surprised, or tempted to follow the example of those, that had voluntarily surrendered to King Charles.

About the end of last year, Foucaut had conquered Lagni, a place often taken and retaken, and which the neighbourhood of Paris rendered extremely important. A little after, the Regent

unsuccessfully attempted to retake it. In the beginning of this year, the Marshal de l' Isle-Adam, and the Earl of Arundel attacked it in vain, being forced by a vigorous sally from the town, to abandon their enterprise. At last in the beginning of August, the Duke of Bedford besieged it himself with an army of six thousand men. But, on the 10th of the same month, the Bastard of Orleans, in spite of the Duke's precautions and vigilance, introduced a convoy, and then passed the Marne. The Duke, fearing by this march, that he held some intelligence in Paris, suddenly raised the siege, to prevent his designs. Thus Lagni was besieged three times in vain, within the space of seven or eight months.

On the other hand, a small body of French, drawn out of the garrisons near the Loire, surprised Montargis. But as the castle made a vigorous defence, the French not being able either to force it; or keep the town, were obliged to retire. In Normandy twelve hundred English invested la Hire in Louviers, and after a three months blockade, constrained the place to capitulate.

These were events of little importance. But, on the 13th of November, there happened one of much greater consequence, namely, the death of Ann of Burgundy, Duchess of Bedford[61]. This loss was not peculiar to the Duke her spouse, but common to all the English, since it broke the bond of union between the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy; and by the coldness which succeeded, proved very fatal to England.

The council of Basil had been assembled since the last year, but England had sent no ambassadors. About the end of this year, the Pope and council, who were disputing concerning preeminence, sending, each apart, legates to the King, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Rochester, the Earl of Huntingdon, and several others, were appointed to go to the council.

In the beginning of the year 1433, there was a dangerous insurrection in Normandy, which would have been no less fatal to the English, than the raising of the siege of Orleans, if by their diligence they had not timely prevented part of the mischief, which might have ensued. Sixty thousand peasants of that province having taken arms, divided themselves into two bodies, one whereof consisting of forty thousand men, marches into Vexin, and the other towards Caen. Had Charles's army been near enough to support them, he would doubtless have conquered all Normandy.

The rebels soon became masters of Caen, Harfleur, Dieppe, and Lillebonne. Probably they would have made a much greater progress, if the Earl of Arundel[62] had not, with the utmost expedition, marched against those that were assembled in Vexin. As these men had no eminent leader, they suffered themselves to be surprised in the night, and easily yielded him a victory, more advantageous to his master than glorious for him. Those of Caen, though not so numerous, would have given him more trouble, because the Marshal of Rieux was at their head. But terrified at the news of the defeat of their companions, they retired file after file to their homes.

The Marshal seeing himself thus deserted, took with him some of the most courageous, and threw himself into Dieppe. Meanwhile Arundel, taking advantage of their consternation, found means to recover Caen and Lillebonne. But Dieppe and Harfleur, places of very great importance, remained in the hands of the French.

This same year, another event contributed to disconcert the affairs of the English. The Duke of Bedford being a widower, married in March, Jaquelina of Luxemburgh[63], daughter of Peter of Luxembourg Earl of St. Pol. The Duke of Burgundy was extremely offended, that this marriage was made without his knowledge. He thought, the Duke of Bedford should have shewn him more respect, since, besides the consideration of the many ties by which they were-united, he married the daughter of one of his vassals. The Duke of Bedford, who was very prudent and circumspect, had doubtless his reasons for hastening his marriage, without imparting it to the Duke of Burgundy. However, as it greatly concerned him not to anger that Prince, he paid him some compliments by the cardinal of Winchester; who even procured an interview at St. Omer, where the two Princes met in April.

But an unhappy dispute about precedence hindered their reconciliation, and caused them to part extremely incensed with each other. These two Princes had frequently met, without any contest upon that account. But the Duke of Burgundy was obliged to start some dispute now, for a cloak to the steps he intended to make. He owed Henry for King of France, and the Duke of Bedford for Regent, and uncle of the reigning King, how therefore could he pretend to take place of him?

During this year, nothing of moment passed, with regard to the war. Charles seemed to have wholly relinquished all care of his affairs, the better to relish the pleasures of love and ease. The Duke of Bedford was weak, and as he received no farther supplies from England, thought more of keeping what he had, than of making new conquests. Meanwhile, though the Duke of Burgundy purposed to make a separate peace with Charles, he believed, it would be the more advantageous, if he could do it with full hands.

To that end, he became master of St. Valery, which Gaucour had taken by surprise. The town of Ham, defended by the Bastard of Orleans and Xaintrailles, with Laon and Provins, were also taken by him. On the other hand, the Earl of Arundel besieging Silley-le-Guillaume in Maine, the Constable Richemont obliged him to raise the siege, but the French were scarcely gone when the Earl returned and took the town.

Meantime, the council of England were more intent, how to procure a peace, than to recover what the King had lost in France. The Duke of Orleans; still a prisoner at London, had made the first overtures, and offered to use his utmost endeavours, to finish an affair, on which depended his freedom. To compass his ends, he had proposed to bring to Calais, or any other place the council should name, the Queen dowager of Sicily, Charles of Anjou her son, the Duke of Bretagne; with the Earl's of Richemont and St. Giles his brothers, the Duke of Alençon, the Earl of Armagnac, Foix, Perdrac, Clermont, and the Archbishop of Rheims, to treat with the ambassadors of England.

He desired likewise permission to be at the congress, to promote, to the utmost of his power, the conclusion of a peace. As his aim was, to engage the court of England to enter into negotiation, he demonstrated, that the English would reap great advantages, whether this treaty broke off, or succeeded. These are the two articles he proposed to the council concerning himself.

I. In case a peace was concluded between Henry and the Dauphin, (for so he called King Charles) he promised to do homage to Henry whenever required, and never to own any other King of France, than him, or his lawful successors.

II. He promised the same thing for all his vassals, for the Duke of Alençon, for the Earl of Armagnac, Perdrac, Angouleme, and the Dukes of Milan and Savoy.

In another article he supposed, that the Dauphin would be contented with an honourable and considerable appennage, which was the very thing that the English aimed at in this negotiation. But, as a peace might happen not to be concludes in that case, the Duke engaged, to acknowledge Henry for sole and true King of France. He promised more over, to deliver to him Blois, Orleans, and all his demesne towns, with Rochelle, Mont St. Michel, Limoges Bourges, Chinon, Poitiers, Tournay, Beziers, Saintes, and Loches, or what other places he pleased instead of these, except Rochelle and Mont St. Michel, which were not to be changed. That if the King should grant him any demesnes in England, he would own him, as King of England, for his liege lord, and as such swear fealty to him.

That he would do his utmost, to put the King in possession of the countries and cities of France, which did not yet acknowledge him, and would serve him at his own expense.

That in case the treaty did not succeed, he promised to return a prisoner to England, till all the articles were performed on his part, on condition he should afterwards be released without ransom.

These articles, which had been before concerted between the King's commissioners, and the Duke, being approved by the council, the Duke signed and sealed, them, and swore to observe them. Then passports were prepared for the Queen Dowager of Sicily, and the rest mentioned in the first article, that they might repair to Calais in October. The council appointed also plenipotentiaries, to treat with the French.

When the engagements here entered into by the Duke of Orleans are considered, they are a clear evidence of his joining with the court of France, to impose upon the court of England. This plainly appears, in the hopes he gave, that Charles would be satisfied with a bare appennage: a thing most certainly far enough from that Prince's thoughts, and which was insinuated, only to cause the English the more readily to fall into the snare. Moreover, in promising to bring to Calais the Queen of Sicily, and the other French Princes and Lords, he would have intimated, that it was their intention to conclude a peace upon that footing which was however, as afterwards appeared, directly contrary to their design.

In the next place, the Duke's servile expressions to the King of England, calling him, in the articles, his King and Sovereign Lord, manifestly shows, he flattered him only to deceive him. In short, he promised things that were beyond his power; for instance, to deliver places which belonged not to him. But, this was precisely wherein consisted the fraud, because his aim was to intimate, that he was empowered, though the court of France did not think proper to discover themselves openly.

These are not bare conjectures. The sequel of this negotiation will plainly show, the Duke did not act with sincerity. This however, is the same Duke of Orleans, whom the French would represent as a saint, and upon whose account Joan pretended to have several revelations.

A. D. 1434] It is, very easy to perceive, that the Duke of Orleans acted. in concert with the court of France, when it is considered, that Charles was now reconciled with the Duke of Burgundy, who only wanted a pretence to break with England. The constable Richemont had finished a separate treaty, in a conference with the Duke at Nevers. He repaired to that city, under colour of adjusting a. difference between the Duke of Burgundy and the Earl of Clermont.

Here all the articles of the separate peace were settled with the Duke. All he wanted, was to furnish an occasion to take this step; and to this the project of a conference for a general peace was made subservient; It was well known, the English would not agree to the terms that should be proposed to them, and their refusal was to be. the Duke of Burgundy's pretence to make a separate peace.

This was the real motive of the Duke of Orleans's large offers to the King of England, in case a peace was not concluded. The Duke of Bedford and the council of England, who knew nothing of what had passed between King Charles and the Duke of Burgundy, fell into the snare. As soon as they had consented to the proposed negotiation, the Duke of Burgundy pretending to be still strictly united with the English, so ordered it, that instead of Calais, the city of Arras was appointed for the place of congress, where all the parties concerned were to send their ambassadors.

Meanwhile, the war in France degenerated into real plundering and robbing. Both Kings being too weak to keep great armies on foot, only small bodies and parties acted on either side. The most remarkable occurrences of this year, were these. The French having surprised Rue in Picardy[64], the Earl of Arundel posted thither to retake the town. Whilst he was upon the march, he heard the French were fortifying Herberoy near Beauvais, and thought he should drive them from thence, before their works were finished.

Accordingly he appeared before the place, but upon notice that Vignoles and Xaintrailles were approaching with twelve hundred men, he raised the siege, to go and meet them. A bloody battle

ensued, where the Earl of Arundel was mortally wounded and made prisoner. He died within a few days, to the great grief of the Duke of Bedford.

About the same time the Earl of Clermont, now Duke of Bourbon by his father's death, became master of Corbeil and Brie Compté Robert, which were sold him by the governors. A Scotch officer found likewise means to take Vincennes, but could not keep it. Meantime, Talbot being arrived from England with three or four thousand men[65], to whom he joined some other troops, drawn out of the garrisons, was in such manner master of the field, that all the French vanished before him.

So, without much opposition; he retook Beaumont upon Oyse, Creil, Pont St. Maxence, and Clermont in Beauvoisis. He even began the siege of Beauvais, but the bad weather obliged him to desist.

During these little exploits, King Charles went into Languedoc and Dauphine. The frost, which was very severe about the end of this year, and the beginning of the next, hindered not the two parties from continuing the war all the winter, by sieges, and surprising of divers places. The French had a great advantage, in that most of the English towns thought of returning to the obedience, of King Charles, since the affairs of the English were gone to decay. But it was not from these progresses, so inconsiderable in themselves, that Charles expected the conclusion of the war. It must have been long, before he could have taken one by one all the places possessed by the English in France. The congress which was to be at Arras, promised him much more advantageous successes, since he was sure of making a peace with the Duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1435] The news having spread over Europe, that a peace between France and England was going to be negotiated at Arras, there was scarcely a sovereign Prince, but what was desirous to send his ambassadors. Pope Eugenius II and the council of Basil, who were still at variance, sent theirs also, but separately. From the Pope came the cardinal Santa Cruz, and from the council the cardinals of Cyprus and Arles.

King Charles sent seventeen plenipotentiaries, at the head of whom was the constable Richemont. Henry appointed twenty-seven for France and England, of whom the Duke of Burgundy was the first, with power to eight of them, viz. four English and four French (among whom were to be the Duke of Burgundy and the Archbishop of York) to sign the peace. Afterwards the same power was given to the cardinal of Winchester. Hitherto the Duke of Bedford and the council of England were persuaded of the Duke of Burgundy's sincerity.

This appears, in his being trusted with the secret of the embassy, since nothing could be treated, or concluded without him. Shortly after, private intelligence was received in England, that he had desired the Pope to absolve him from his oath to Henry V. Whereupon the King wrote to the Pope to know the truth. Eugenius answered, no French Prince had ever applied to him for any such thing; that he had never granted any such dispensation, and for the future, would behave in that respect, so as the King should have reason to be satisfied.

The congress of Arras was opened on the 6th of August. It began with King Charles's proposals. His ambassadors offered, in his name, to the King of England Normandy and Guienne, provided he would quit the title of King of France, and do homage for those two provinces: that is to say, he offered as a favour the two provinces which the King of England was entirely possessed of, which he was to purchase with the resignation of the title of King of France, and a great part of the kingdom still in his hands. The ambassadors of England, surprised at an offer so remote from what the Duke of Orleans had made them expect, suddenly broke off the conference, and withdrew (September 6,) extremely dissatisfied, without vouchsafing an answer.

The retreat of the English surprised neither the Duke of Burgundy, nor the French ambassadors, They must have foreseen, that such offers would be refused. This abrupt departure however, was

highly exaggerated and represented as a clear evidence, they never intended to make peace. It was this also that gave the Duke of Burgundy a pretence, to conclude a separate treaty with King Charles.

He pretended, he was not obliged to follow their humour, or render the war everlasting for their sake. Upon this foundation, the Pope's legate absolved him from all his oaths, as well to the late, as the present King of England, After that, as all the articles were before settled, his separate peace was soon concluded[66]. Never had King of France made so dishonourable a peace, Charles was bound by this treaty to disown the murder of Duke John, to deliver up the murderers, or if they were not in his power, to banish them the realm: he promised to found certain chapels, where the soul of the deceased was to be prayed for, day and night.

He agreed, that the Duke of Burgundy should nominate the priests that were to officiate, and a cross should be erected on Montereau bridge, for a standing monument of the reparation of the murder. He was obliged moreover, to pay fifty thousand crowns of gold for Duke John's equipage, which was pillaged, and resign to the Duke of Burgundy certain towns, to satisfy him for the charges of the war. Lastly, he freed him from all homage during life. The Duke consented on his part, that the King might redeem the towns of St. Quentin, Peronne, Amiens, Corbie, situated on the Somme, for four hundred thousand crowns.

By this article it appears, the Duke was not very scrupulous, since he sold to France places, held only by the bounty of the King of England, pursuant to his engagement with the Duke of Bedford. It may be proper farther to remark, that the service done by the Duke of Burgundy to France, in making a separate peace, greatly outweighed, in the opinion of the French historians, all his proceedings against her.

This has made them very cautious in their expressions, before the treaty of Arras, for fear their language should not agree with what they had to say afterwards. But after this happy peace; they have extolled to the skies, his goodness, wisdom, and probity. This was however the man, who for the sake of revenge, had ruined France; and found no other way to repair the fault, but by a notorious treachery to England.

As soon as the English had lost the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, their affairs began so visibly to decline, that it portended their sudden ruin. As they had not troops sufficient to defend all the places, they were obliged to rely on the loyalty of the inhabitants, who very often proved false. On the other hand, the towns upon the Somme, resigned to the Duke of Burgundy, being now against them, they were under the necessity of providing for that quarter, for fear they might be used to invade the neighbouring provinces. So, their whole attention was confined to the preservation of Normandy and Paris, it being impossible to take care of all, amidst the continual defection of the towns trusted to the inhabitants. Houdan, St. Denis, Pontoise, Melun, Pont St. Maxence, Meulant, voluntarily surrendered to the French, during the congress of Arras, or a little before.

The Duke of Bedford retaking St. Denis, razed' the walls. Then he ordered Meulant to be invested, but the Bastard of Orleans raised the siege. The Lord of Chatillon, Governor of Epernay for the English, going out of the town, found the gates shut against him at his return.; and the inhabitants called in the French.

Isabella, Queen dowager of France, seeing the prosperity of the King, her son, whom she mortally hated, and the desperate condition of the English, died at Paris with grief and vexation, twelve days after the conclusion of the treaty of Arras[67]. She was universally hated by the French, who considered her as the principal cause of the ruin of the kingdom. The English did not much esteem her, at least they shewed but little regard for her, since she was become unserviceable to them.

Her decease was of little consequence to either party. But the death of the Duke of Bedford, on the 14th of the same month, at Rouen, was of infinitely greater importance. Very probably, his indignation at being thus imposed upon by King Charles, and the Duke of Burgundy, helped to throw him into the sickness of which he died, four days before the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, the fatal news whereof, he expected every moment.

He foresaw with a mortal concern, that the affairs of the King his nephew, were going to be irretrievably reduced to a very wretched condition. During the whole course of his administration, he behaved with that wisdom and prudence, as justly ranked him with the greatest men of his time. His valour and other martial virtues, shone with no less lustre on all occasions, where he commanded in person. Had he been well assisted by England, he would have, probably, ended the war to his own glory, and the young King's advantage; since he wanted no qualification proper to accomplish the greatest undertakings. But unfortunately for him, he was abandoned, when he stood most in need of assistance.

The only thing he could be taxed with, was his suffering himself to be surprised, in the affair of the congress of Arras. Nothing better shows the esteem, due to this illustrious Prince, than the regard which Lewis XL son of Charles VII. expressed for him, when he could have no inducement to flatter him. Lewis being one day in the church of Rouen, and looking upon the Duke of Bedford's tomb[68], a certain Lord of his retinue, advised him to demolish that standing monument of the dishonour of the French; "NO." replied the King. "Let the ashes of a Prince rest in peace, who, were he alive; would make the boldest of us tremble. I rather wish, a more stately monument were erected to his honour."

Immediately after the Duke of Bedford's death, the Duke of York[69] was appointed Regent of France. But Edmund Beaufort[70], who aspired to that dignity; so managed it by his intrigues, that his rival's patent was long deferred. Probably, he was in hopes to obtain a change in his favour. This day proved extremely. prejudicial to the King's affairs[71].

A. D. 1430] All England was exceedingly moved at the news of the Duke of Burgundy's defection. Meanwhile, the Duke willing to show still some regard for Henry, sent two heralds to make his excuse, for concluding a separate peace, on pretence, his subjects were grievously oppressed by the continuance of the war. The Duke offered at the same time his mediation to Henry, if he desired to conclude a peace with King Charles. This offer was looked upon as a fresh insult; and no answer was vouchsafed to his letter. In May, this very year, he sent the constable Richemont five hundred lances, under the command of the Earl of Lalain, and thereby, openly declared himself an enemy to the King of England.

The constable joining this and to six or seven thousand men, drawn together from other places, approached Paris, where remained but fifteen hundred English, under the command of Sir Richard Woodville[72]. Besides, that this garrison was very weak, for the defence of so large a city, the constable held intelligence with the inhabitants, who being almost all friends of the Duke of Burgundy, sided with England, only out of regard to that Prince.

Whilst he adhered to the King of England, Paris wanted no other guard, but her own citizens; but upon his declaring for King Charles, they all changed with him. So, it was no wonder, if fifteen hundred English could not keep them in awe. The death of the Duke of Bedford, the absence of the new Regent, and the little care taken, to send succours from England, disabling the English to keep an army in the field, the constable met with no opposition in his march, He took several small places near Paris, and slew three hundred of a detachment, sent by the governor to throw themselves into St. Denis. After that, he encamped at the very gates of Paris, with his little army. Whilst he was in this camp, there were continual parleys between the burghers and besiegers, without the governors being able to help it. At length, April the 13th the whole city rose in arms, whilst the Marshal de Isle Adam scaled the walls[73].

The garrison advancing to repulse the assault, found themselves pelted with a shower of stones from the windows, whilst all the city resounded with Long live the King, and the Duke of Burgundy. The Governor, perceiving there was no resisting so many enemies, chose to retire into the Bastille, with all his people. Immediately all the streets were chained, for fear he should think of returning.

Meantime, Adam entered the city with ease, and opened the gates to the constable. Thus Paris was taken for King Charles by the same l' Isle Adam, who had surprised it in like manner, seventeen years before, for the Duke of Burgundy. The Bastille, which might have held a long siege, had it been well stored with provisions, was so destitute, that it could hold out but three days. It was very well, that the governor could obtain an honourable capitulation.

As the affairs of the English sensibly declined, the council of England were extremely desirous of a peace. The war in France no longer concerned the conquest of that kingdom, as in the reign of Henry V. and till the raising of the siege of Orleans, but only what part the King of England could possibly keep; and the little that could be expected to be preserved by a vigorous war, cost England immense sums. This was a very plausible reason, to persuade the public, it was necessary, seriously to think of a peace.

The cardinal of Winchester had for some time gained ground upon the Duke of Gloucester his rival. The council by degrees, was filled with his creatures, who, no more than himself, found their own private advantage in the continuation of the war; which, since it was unsuccessful, rendered them odious to the people. Coin was grown exceedingly scarce in England, and yet the council was forced to be continually devising means to raise money, which could not be done without causing great murmurings. On the other hand, the cardinal hoped to ruin his enemy, with more ease, during a peace, because the war, and the unexpected accidents thence arising, rendered the person and counsels of the Duke of Gloucester absolutely necessary.

In short, as the Duke was ever of opinion, that vigorous endeavours should be used to recover what was lost in France, this was an argument for the opposite party to insist, with the same earnestness, upon, the necessity of concluding a peace. This opinion prevailing in the council, the Duke of York, whose commission to be Regent of France, was at length signed, had instructions, and full power, to treat with King Charles, if he saw any appearance of success. Moreover, on supposition of a negotiation, the council empowered the cardinal of Winchester, and the Duke of Burgundy, jointly to treat of the King's marriage with one of his adversary's daughters.

Shortly after, the Duke of York departed for France, and in Normandy landed a body of troops, with which he retook many small places or castles seized by the French, since the death of the Duke of Bedford, Fescamp was among the places recovered by the Regent, but it was presently after retaken by escalade.

Though the Duke of York was master of the field in Normandy, and about Paris, he was concerned for Picardy. He heard from all parts, that the Duke of Burgundy was drawing all his forces together, and making great preparations for a siege. As these preparations could be designed only against Calais, he sent notice to the council of England, that they might provide in time, against the threatened siege. Indeed, a powerful fleet, a great train of artillery, and an army of fifty thousand men, assembled by the Duke of Burgundy, were clear evidences of his extreme desire to succeed. in his enterprise, and of his resolution not to be disappointed. This news flying to England, the whole nation was alarmed, and grew more incensed against the Duke of Burgundy. The council trembling for Calais, the first conquest of the English in France, resolved to use all possible endeavours to save it.

To that end, they ordered fifteen thousand men to be raised, and petitioned the Duke of Gloucester to take upon him the care of relieving that place. Fifteen thousand men were little enough for

such an undertaking. But, besides that it was reckoned, the Regent would join the Duke of Gloucester with all his forces, the enemy's army was known to consist almost entirely of the militia of Flanders, who were not much valued.

Whilst the troops were levying with the utmost diligence, the King, by the advice of his council, resolved to express his resentment: against the Duke of Burgundy, in granting, by letters under his great seal, the earldom of Boulogne, to the Lord Beaumont, and Flanders to the Duke of Gloucester. But it was easier to give them in parchment, than to wrest them out of the hands of the possessor.

Every thing being ready for the departure of the army, designed for the relief of Calais, the Duke of Gloucester set sail, and landed in Normandy: the beginning of October[74]. The Duke of Burgundy had. now been before Calais six weeks, with his numerous army. He carried on the siege vigorously, and the besieged made as brave a defence. Meantime, the Duke; who hoped to acquire immortal fame, by taking one of the strongest places in. Europe, was yet. very far from his. aim. He even began to perceive, the attempt. was beyond his power.

His fleet[75], by the un-skillfulness of the pilots, or some other accident, coming too near the town at low water, ran a ground, and was reduced to ashes before his eyes, by the besieged. This was a very mortifying accident, but a worse befell him quickly after. A rumour being spread in the army, that the Duke of Gloucester was approaching to relieve the town, the Flemings, discouraged: by the fatigues of the siege, and terrified at the approach of the English, suddenly un-pitched, their tents, and began to retire. In vain did the Duke endeavour to remove their fears.

The scouts of the English army beginning to appear, it was still less practicable for the Duke to stop his frightened troops, who sought only to avoid a battle. So, the Duke seeing he could not prevail, was forced to follow them in their retreat, which was made in great disorder, though timely enough to prevent the English from taking any advantage. He had the further mortification to receive a defiance from the Duke of Gloucester, offering him battle, and not to have it in his power to accept it, though his army was much superior to that of his enemy.

But this was not yet all. Hardly was he returned into his own country, when the towns of Flanders revolted against him. He was even in danger of losing his life at Bruges, in a seditious tumult of the citizens. He was himself wounded, after seeing, with grief, l' Isle Adam torn in pieces by the mutinous populace.

Meantime, the Duke of Gloucester improving this juncture, over-ran Artois, Flanders, and Hainault, and carried away twelve hundred wagon loads of booty. From thence forward the Duke of Burgundy had so much trouble at home, that he was but little serviceable to King Charles. In June this year, Lewis the Dauphin son a King Charles, married Margaret of Scotland, daughter of James I about twelve years of age.

The beginning of the year 1437, was remarkable for the death of Joan of Navarre[76], and Catherine of France[77], both Queen dowagers of England, one widow of Henry IV the other of Henry V. When Queen Catherine espoused Owen Tudor, the marriage appeared so unsuitable, that all England was offended at it; and the more so, as it was made unknown to the Duke of Gloucester, who was then protector. But that Prince's veneration for the memory of the King his brother, prevented him from giving the Queen his sister-in-law any trouble.

When she was dead, the council had not the same regard for her second husband. They thought it their duty to punish him for his rashness, in daring to espouse the King's mother, without the consent of those who governed the kingdom, and ordered him to, be sent to the Tower.

Some time after, Tudor made his escape, but was taken, and put under closer confinement. Some say, he found means to escape a second time, but being retaken, lost his head. Others affirm, he was not beheaded till 1460, upon being taken in battle, fighting for the House of Lancaster[78].

A. D. 1437] On the 19th of February, James I, of Scotland, was Murdered in his bed, by assassins suborned by the Earl of Athol his uncle, James II. his son, seven years old, succeeded him, under the guardianship of Joan of Somerset his mother, who was herself wounded, by endeavouring to save the King her husband.

After the arrival of the Duke of York from England, the affairs of the English began to be upon a better footing. King Charles, ever a slave to his pleasure, had no considerable body of troops in the field; and the revolt of the Flemings, hindered the Duke of Burgundy from sending him any assistance. It is true, the towns which had voluntarily surrendered to him, had strengthened his party considerably, but withal, his army was much weakened, on account of the garrisons he was obliged to keep there. As matters then stood in France, both Kings had almost equal reason to fear the disloyalty of their adherents; who, for the most part, were attached rather to the fortune of him they served, than to his person, or the justice of his cause. Thus, the preservation of the towns they were possessed of, entirely depended upon the strength of the garrisons.

The first months of this year, the cold was so excessive, that it seemed to leave the generals on both sides, no desire to form any enterprise, till it should be abated. Meanwhile, Talbot, who found nothing impossible, reaped a considerable advantage from the security of the French, caused by the sharpness of the season. On Shrove Tuesday at night, he scaled Pontoise, by help of the ditches being frozen[79]. and carried it, whilst the garrison and townsmen were wholly intent upon their diversions.

The taking of this important place, was a great blow to King Charles. Especially as it very much annoyed the Parisians, who were exposed to the continual incursion of the new English garrison, to the very gates of Paris.

The French made themselves some amends for this loss, by the acquisition of Dreux and Chevreuse, sold them by the governors.

The superiority which the English had recovered in France, made the Duke of Burgundy apprehensive of some fatal revolution. He was sensible that, without his aid, King Charles could never end the war; and as he had openly declared against the English, it was his interest that they should be entirely expelled the kingdom.

Meantime, it grieved him to act alone for the benefit of a Prince, whose indolence kept him from all the enterprises, where he ought to have been the chief actor. The Duke, designing therefore to rouse him out of this lethargy, represented to him, that his honour and interest called upon him to assemble all his forces, put himself at their head, and approach Paris, in order to drive his enemies out of the heart of the kingdom. At the same time, he offered to make a powerful diversion in Picardy, to favour his undertakings.

Never was Prince less inclined to war than Charles VII and yet never did King of France make greater conquests than he, since he may be said to have conquered his whole kingdom. But it was chiefly by means of his generals, who, for the most part, were men of eminent merit. The Duke of Burgundy's remonstrances and offers having raised him from his sloth, he drew all his forces together, to approach Paris. By the way he attacked Montereau-Faut-Yonne, whilst the Duke of Burgundy besieged Crotoy, a strong place in Picardy.

It was about the end of August, when the Duke of Burgundy invested Crotoy with a strong army, whilst four French ships blocked up the place by sea, The Duke of York being recalled, by the

intrigues of the Earl of Somerset his enemy, was about to depart, and only waited for the arrival of the Earl of Warwick, who was to succeed him in the Regency.

For this cause, not being able to take upon him to relieve Crotoy in person, he commissioned the brave Talbot for that purpose, whose name alone was sufficient to strike terror into the enemies of the English. Talbot at the head of five thousand men, boldly advanced towards Crotoy, in order to relieve it, though the river Somme parted him from the Duke of Burgundy's camp round the town, which was on the other side.

When the Duke was informed of his march, he left part of his troops at the siege, and with the rest posted himself on the riverside, to oppose his passage. The hatred conceived by the English against this Prince, was so violent, that they thought nothing impracticable, when an opportunity offered to be revenged. Talbot, improving this disposition, rushed first into the river, sword in hand, and by his intrepidity inspired his troops with such courage, that they instantly followed him.

The more bold, or rather rash this action was, the more it astonished the Burgundians, who imagining they had to deal with devils rather than men, took to flight, without waiting for their enemies. Their terror infecting those, that were left at the siege, the whole army ran away; and it was not in the Duke of Burgundy's power to rally them, At the same time, the Duke of York appeared with seven men of war in sight of four French ships, and chased them so briskly, that it was with great difficulty they escaped to St. Valery.

Talbot entered the town in triumph, and after levelling the trenches of the besiegers, marched back to Normandy. in his return he conquered five or six small places in Picardy, and retaking once more Tancarville in Normandy, entered Rouen covered with glory.

The success of the siege of Montereau was not so far favourable to the English; nevertheless it was not inglorious. Thomas Gerard, Governor of that poor place, long defended it, in spite of the vigorous efforts of the besiegers, though he had but four hundred men. Hitherto King Charles was not very eminent for his valour, but at this siege he performed such exploits, as began to raise a higher idea of his courage. After a pretty long siege, he carried the town by storm, having been himself one of the first to mount the breach, and fight hand to hand with those that defended it.

The intrepidity he shewed on this occasion, turned greatly to his advantage. Meanwhile, the garrisons retiring into the castle, a second siege was to be formed. Charles satisfied with the glory acquired in the first, and perhaps discouraged with the fatigues he had induced, left the management of this to the Dauphin his son, Gerard, who was no less brave than experienced, held out fifteen days longer, and then was forced to capitulate.

When he came before the Dauphin, he very politely told him, that against any other but him, he should have been able to-make a longer defence. This compliment was well received by the young Prince, who was pleased to see himself set in some measure above the King his father. But Charles, who was told of it, seemed extremely mortified. It is said, he began from thenceforward to entertain a jealousy of the Prince his son, which proved very fatal to him afterwards.

Whilst the war continued in France, the Duke of Orleans, prisoner in England, was thinking of means to obtain his liberty. Nothing but a peace between the two Kings could possibly procure it. And therefore, no one was more concerned than he, to endeavour to set on foot a fresh negotiation. For that purpose, he desired leave to go and talk in person, with the Duke of Bretagne at Calais, who was then thought to be the only Prince, that could be employed as mediator. The council, who were all inclined to peace, would have readily granted his desire, but it was judged necessary to see first how Charles was disposed. Besides, the Duke of Gloucester was of opinion, that a peace was not to be thought of; till it could be made with advantage.

Meanwhile, as the King advanced in age, the credit of the Duke his uncle sensibly lessened, and that of the cardinal of Winchester daily increased. The cardinal had a great advantage upon his adversary, in that his riches enabled him frequently to lend the King money. The kingdom was so exhausted, that aids of that kind were considered as the greatest service to the state. He artfully improved the King's disposition towards him to prevent any fresh attacks from the Duke of Gloucester. By letters under the Great Seal, the King granted him a general pardon for all offences whatever, from the beginning of the world to the 26th of June 1437[80]. By this means he disarmed his enemy of all pretence to attack him.

The year 1438, was distinguished by few remarkable events. A terrible famine, which raged at the same time in France and England, and was followed by a plague, prevented the generals, on both sides, from forming any great projects. Attempts there were however, some of which were unsuccessful, and others inconsiderable. Surienne, Governor of Montargis for the English, finding himself surrounded with the enemy's towns, and receiving no assistance from England, surrendered that place to the French, for ten thousand salutes of gold[81].

In the present posture of the affairs of the English, Montargis was of little importance, since they could not possibly carry the war from that quarter. Shortly after, Edmund Earl of Mortagne, brother of the Earl of Somerset; leading some troops from England, and joining Talbot, they made some inconsiderable conquests in Normandy.

The disgrace received by the Duke of Burgundy before Calais, grieving him extremely, he wished to repair it by taking that place. But, as it was difficult to accomplish this design by a siege in form, he took another method. He had been told, that by digging through a certain bank, the town would be infallibly overflowed; and that lying within distance, with a good body of troops, it would be easy to enter the place, amidst the consternation of the garrison and inhabitants.

The project was put in execution; but the sea being lower than the town, all the water ran out. The Duke being disappointed, resolved to attempt the siege of Guisnes; but the Earl of Huntingdon, who came very seasonably from England with a supply of troops, constrained him to retire. The troubles in Flanders, which were soon after rekindled, found him so much employment for some years, that he had no leisure to form any new designs against the English.

The Dauphin's marriage raised such a jealousy in the English, that, after several insults on both sides, England and Scotland came to an open rupture. Meanwhile, the minority of James and the favourable disposition of the Queen mother to the English her countrymen, procured a nine years truce, from the 1st of May this year.

John and Thomas Beaufort, brothers of the Earl of Somerset, having been long prisoners in France[82], it had been often attempted, to exchange them for others of the French, but there was always some obstacle in the way. By the agreement in 1430 with the Duke of Bourbon, that Prince had engaged, to procure their release without ransom; but as that agreement was never executed, they still remained prisoners.

What became of Thomas, who bore the title of Earl of Perth, is unknown; but it may be he died during his captivity. This year, John was exchanged for the Earl of Eu of the House of Artois, who had been prisoner in England, ever since the battle of Azincourt. He afterwards became Duke of Somerset, upon the death of Henry his elder brother. There was also a fourth brother named Edmund who succeeded them, and of whom; we shall have much to say in the sequel of this reign[83].

The famine and plague ceasing in England and France, both sides took arms again. In March 1439, the constable of Richemont putting himself at the head of a numerous army, laid siege to Meaux, one of the strongest places in France, which had formerly held out seven months against

Henry V. The Bastard of Han[84], an officer of distinguished valour, who was Governor made so brave a defence, as astonished the constable.

However, after a three weeks siege, the city was taken by storm; but the work Was but -half completed, since the garrison[85] retired into the market, (so that part of the city is called which is separated from the other by the Marne.) The English breaking down the bridge of communication, the constable was forced to begin, on the other side of the river, a second siege much more difficult than the first. The same thing happened to Henry V when he invested this place. Meantime, the constable having taken the Governor prisoner in assault,[86] cut off his head, because he was a Frenchman. This is what King Charles's generals had not yet ventured to practice, by reason of the great number of prisoners in the hands of the English. But as soon as they found themselves strongest, they overlooked that consideration.

The siege of the market of Meaux growing daily more difficult, the constable drew round his camp lines with redoubts to prevent all relief, and the King came himself to the army, to animate the troops by his presence. Meanwhile, Talbot, who did not doubt, that the besieged would make a long resistance, was now prepared to relieve them. How difficult soever this undertaking appeared, he failed not to attempt it. The obstacles which he foresaw, served only to animate him the more.

With a good body of chosen troops, he boldly advanced towards the besiegers lines, and assaulting, and taking one of the redoubts, which obstructed his passage, entered the place with a convoy. On the morrow, he sallied out, whilst the besiegers were still dismayed. at the action of the foregoing day, and went to prepare for a fresh effort. But the constable enraged at receiving such a disgrace from a handful of men, pressed the place so vigorously, that the garrison were forced to capitulate, before the succours could be ready.

The siege of Avranche, undertaken by the constable after that of Meaux, did not prove so successful. After being three weeks before that place, Talbot, with the troops prepared for the relief of Meaux, attacked and forced the lines of the besiegers, and supplied the town with provisions.

After this exploit, Talbot finding the French were dismayed, and their troops so weakened, that they could not withstand him, appeared before Harfleur. As his army was not strong enough to form a siege, he chose to block up the town. To that end, he so intrenched himself in an advantageous post, that an army of fifty thousand men was not capable of forcing him.

Meantime, the Earl of Somerset kept the place blocked up by sea. The Earl of Eu, lately arrived from England, where he had been long a prisoner, approached to attack the entrenchments of the English; but perceiving it impracticable, chose to retire, after a faint attempt, wherein Gaucour was made prisoner. At length, after a four months blockade; Talbot became master of this important place, the first conquest of Henry V. After that, he cleared Normandy of the garrisons, which the French still kept in several castles: so that nothing remained to them in that province, but the town of Dieppe.

The Duke of Burgundy was concerned, that the affairs of the English began to be restored, and dreaded the consequences. King Charles waged war very carelessly, and could hardly be prevailed with to head his army. Besides, France was so ruined, that he could draw but few succours from the provinces he possessed. On the other hand, the war in Flanders, which wholly employed the Duke of Burgundy, afforded no hopes of any great assistance from thence. If the English had then exerted themselves, probably, they would have recovered a great deal of ground. But, out of blindness, or inability, they made but faint efforts, contenting themselves with sending from time to time inconsiderable supplies, which could not enable them to recover what they had lost. Thus on both sides, it was easily seen, that the war would be eternal, if it were to last till one of the two Kings had lost, one after another, the places he possessed.

This consideration so affected the Duke of Burgundy, that he resolved, either to procure a peace, if possible, between the two Kings, or secure himself by a neutrality. Such a design. was to be managed with great prudence and caution, for fear both parties should agree, to his prejudice, or the English grow more reserved, if they knew his intention.

Whilst the Duke of Burgundy was occupied with these thoughts, the Pope exhorted the two Kings, by the cardinal of Santa Cruz, to put a stop to the effusion of Christian blood shed in their quarrel. At the same time, he wrote to the Duke of Bretagne, desiring him to be the mediator of peace. The Duke sending to both Kings, found them equally inclined to enter into treaty; and the Duke of Burgundy received the proposal with joy. The Duke of Orleans took this opportunity, to offer his mediation to the King of England, jointly with the Duke of Bretagne; and to that end, renewed his instances for leave to confer with the Duke at Calais. This was granted him, though the Duke of Gloucester opposed it with all his power, because he plainly saw, that Prince could not be an impartial mediator.

In the month of January, 1430, Isabella of Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy, and the cardinal of Winchester, conferred together between Calais and Gravelin. The result of their conference was, that the two Kings should appoint a proper place to treat of a peace, with the mediations of the Dukes of Bretagne and Orleans, and should send their plenipotentiaries thither. Pursuant to this agreement, the very place where the duchess and cardinal were, was chosen, and ambassadors were nominated on both sides.

I. The English ambassadors were in the first place ordered to demand, that the King's adversary should leave him in peaceable possession of the whole realm of France.

II. If the French should expostulate against this demand, and think it unreasonable, the ambassadors, after a previous protestation, were to offer Charles the provinces beyond the Loire, which were of the King's demesne, but on condition of homage.

III. If the adversaries refused this offer, the cardinal of Winchester, as a clergyman, was to enlarge on the considerations proper to persuade the two nations to peace. The first of these was, that the war undertaken for the title of King of France, claimed by each of the two Kings, had destroyed more men than were, at the present, in both kingdoms. The second was, that the two Princes ought seriously to consider, that God made not the people for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the people; that is, to govern them with. justice and peace, to the end the subjects may be the better able to serve him. The third was, that France had not always been governed by one single monarch, but, before and after Charlemagne, there were often two, sometimes three, nay, four Kings at the same time.

IV. This last consideration was in order to proceed, in the fourth place, to another offer, which the ambassadors had power to propose; namely, that Henry would. resign to Charles all the provinces beyond the Loire in full sovereignty. He expressly reserved however Guienne, Poictou, and whatever was possessed by his ancestors in France, before the crown of England devolved to them.

V. If this were rejected, the ambassadors had power, to offer from the King their master, that he would be satisfied with what his ancestors enjoyed in France by right of inheritance, provided Calais, Guisnes, and the adjacent marches were added; the whole in full sovereignty, without any dependence upon the crown of France, or any person whatever but God alone.

VI. If the French insisted, that Normandy should be restored to Charles, in the state it was in before the conquest thereof by Henry V that is, notwithstanding the grants

of several lordships to private persons, as well by the late as the present King, rather than break off the conference this article might be allowed.

VII. If Charles were brought to be satisfied with this offer, provided Henry would quit the title of King of France, in that case, the instructions furnished the plenipotentiaries with many reasons and arguments to be alleged against that condition. But in short, they had orders to leave this matter to the cardinal of Winchester, to whom the King had made known his pleasure.

The VIIIth article was concerning the King's marriage with one of Charles's daughters.

IX. If the French rejected all these offers, and made any proposals on their part, the ambassadors, without accepting or refusing them, were to reply, that they had no instructions to treat of a peace upon those grounds, but would signify them to their master.

X. Meanwhile, they were to propose, by the Duchess of Burgundy or the Duke of Orleans, a fifty years truce, with a free communication between the two nations. They had likewise power to reduce the truce to forty, thirty, or twenty years; and rather than fail, they might limit it from three years to eight, provided it was without communication.

XI. In case the truce was accepted, they were to represent, that for the better observance thereof, it would be proper to make an exchange of some places. To that end, they were ordered to offer Meaux, Creil, St. Germain in Laye, which were in the hands of the English when these instructions were drawn, for Dieppe, le Mont St. Michael, and Harfleur, which Talbot had not yet taken.

XII. Lastly, the King, willing to facilitate the exchange of these places, agreed to release the Duke of Orleans, for a ransom of a hundred thousand marks, and to abate fifty thousand, on account of the proposed exchange.

These instructions were drawn May the 21st 1439. If we had likewise those of Charles's plenipotentiaries, perhaps we should find, the two Kings were not at so great a distance from each other, as it seemed in the conference. But as, on these occasions, the chief care of the managers is to be upon their guard, for fear their secret instructions should be discovered, it often happens, that the negotiation is broken off, before there is occasion to show all their concessions; so apprehensive are they of giving their adversaries any advantage.

This was really the case in the present treaty. The English did not think proper, to go beyond the second article of their instructions, namely, that Charles should have the provinces beyond the Loire, on condition of homage to Henry. They expected, the French would give them room by their offers to make some further advances. For the same reason, the French kept to the proposals made at the congress of Arras, to wit, that their master remaining sole King of France, would resign Guienne and Normandy to Henry, on condition of homage.

They laid great stress upon this offer, and on Charles's condescension, in being pleased to stand to what he had offered at the congress of Arras, though he had since made great conquests, and was become master of Paris.

It was almost impossible, for a peace to be concluded on the terms proposed on both sides. Each Prince offered to resign only what was out of his power, and by virtue of this pretended cession, expected the other should divest himself of what he actually possessed. This was properly, to

desire to gain with the dash of a pen, what they could not hope to obtain, without many successful sieges and battles.

So, after the ambassadors of the two Kings had long tried to discover, how far their adversaries' instructions allowed them to advance, they parted without coming to any conclusion. Each was desirous to wait, till room was given to make More reasonable proposals.

The Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans were the only gainers by this congress. The first desired, at any rate, to ease his subjects in Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, who were great sufferers by the interruption of their commerce with England. To this end, he employed his Duchess, who being a near relation of Henry, was not suspected by the English. Under colour of doing the office of a mediatrix between the two Kings, she had frequent conferences with the cardinal of Winchester, and negotiated a trading truce between England and the Low-Countries[87].

A. D. 1440] But the Duke of Orleans reaped the most benefit from the late congress, since it procured him his liberty, after a twenty five years captivity.

This resolution being taken the Duke of Gloucester thought himself bound, both in duty, and for his own security, to make a formal protestation, to show the public, that he had opposed it to the utmost of his power. The 2nd of July, however, the agreement for the Duke of Orleans's release was signed by the King and the Duke, in two originals, extant in the *Collection of the Public Acts*.

The terms required of the Duke. were much easier, than those offered by himself before the congress of Arras. He was not bound to acknowledge Henry for King of France, or to swear to him, much less to give him any towns in hostage, as he had formerly offered. Only his word and oath were taken for the payment of his ransom, set at a hundred and twenty thousand crowns. It is true, by this agreement he engaged to give obligations from the Dauphin, the Duke of Bretagne, and some others, for the sum of sixty thousand crowns, which he was not to pay till after his liberty.

Moreover, he promised to procure the King's letters patent from King Charles, authorising the agreement, and promising not to hinder the execution, and to account the Duke of Orleans base and infamous,, if he violated the articles. Finally, the Duke protesting, that as for the half of his ransom, which he was to pay before he left England, it was impossible for him to perform -his engagement, without going to France, leave was granted him for a year.

The council consisted then of persons who blindly followed their passion, without regarding the interests of the King and state. The only thing that gave them any uneasiness, was, that the enlargement of the Duke of Orleans, seemed directly contrary to the late King's will. It was therefore judged expedient, that the King should declare, by a public act, that in releasing the Duke of Orleans, he meant not to contradict his father's will, but only to attain to a speedier conclusion of a peace.

To show more plainly, this was the King's intention, the Duke was bound by fresh articles, to use his utmost endeavours, to procure a peace between the two Kings; and in case he succeeded, his ransom was to be forgiven, and what he should have paid, to be restored. If, on the contrary, his endeavours proved fruitless, he was to return into England, and remain a prisoner as before, but the money advanced towards his ransom, to be repaid.

The Duke of Bretagne pretended all along to observe a neutrality, though the succours brought by the constable his brother, from time to time, to King Charles, could neither be levied in his country, nor led from thence without his leave or connivance. If the English had been in better circumstances, they would doubtless have shewn their resentment; but in the present situation

of their affairs, they thought it no small advantage, that the Duke of Bretagne did not openly declare for their enemies. Meanwhile, as the English and the Bretons annoyed each other at sea, contrary to the interest of both nations, the King and the Duke thought fit to conclude, a treaty, mutually promising, not to suffer any naval armaments to be made in their ports, to the detriment of each other's subjects.

Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Regent of France, dying in the beginning of the summer, the Duke of York was sent thither again in that quality, though he had been recalled, to give place to the Earl of Warwick[88].

If the English had been strong enough in France to improve the present opportunity, never had a fairer offer to repair their past losses. The Dauphin, and all the Princes of the blood, except the Duke of Burgundy, and the Earl of Eu, were joined in a league against the King. This league tended to no less than to dethrone him, and set the crown on the head of the Prince his son. But happily for him, the confederates had engaged La Trimouille in their party, and thereby entirely lost the constable. As he mortally hated that Lord, his hatred extended to the whole party, and induced them to bring the King a powerful aid, which enabled him to give law to the Princes. This civil war was called La Praguerie[89].

The league was so ill managed on the part of the confederates, that the King at length compelled them, to implore his mercy. Meantime; the English, who carried on the war very faintly, made some incursions about Paris. But the Bastard of Orleans, who after siding first with the Dauphin, had returned to the King, stopped their progress, which was not very considerable, by reason of their weakness.

After Charles had put an end to this dangerous war, he approached Paris, and in his way became master of La Charite, by bribing the governor.

Meanwhile, the Duchess of Burgundy never ceased her endeavours to renew the conferences for a peace. At length, after labouring the whole year to accomplish this project, she prevailed with the two Kings, to appoint plenipotentiaries to meet at St. Omer. The Duke of Orleans was chosen to be one of the mediators.

A. D. 1441] This new congress had no better success than the former. The ambassadors were now all at St. Omer; but the Earl of Vendome, head of the French embassy, refused to treat with those of England, on pretence of their inferior quality. They were however Peers of the realm, namely, the Bishop of Rochester, the Lord Fanhope, &c. Thus the congress broke off without being ever opened. The French blamed the English, pretending the court of England had designedly chosen persons of no birth or note, that they might not be treated with.

Whilst the ambassadors were repairing to St. Omer, Charles was assembling an army to make a powerful effort, and take advantage of the indolence of the English. As soon as he was ready, he ordered admiral de Coitivy to invest Creil upon Oyse, with a detachment of the army. The constable joining him, with the rest of his troops, the siege was regularly formed, and the King came about the end of April, to receive the town by capitulation.

This was only a preparative to a more considerable undertaking, namely, the siege of Pontoise, which Charles formed, the beginning of July, with an army of twelve thousand men. He had with him the Dauphin his son, and all the generals and officers of note in France. This siege was at first carried on very vigorously, but the besiegers showed no less bravery. Talbot, whom the most difficult enterprises could not discourage, being commissioned by the Duke of York to introduce a convoy into the town, attacked one of the enemy's quarters, and forming it, sent in his convoy. This seasonable relief inspired the garrison with fresh courage, who made so brave a defence, that the siege proceeded but slowly.

Though the besiegers were exceedingly watchful, having to deal with so experienced a warrior as Talbot, they could not hinder him from throwing succours into the town, three several times. However, Charles obstinately resolved to continue the siege, undertaken at the instance of the Parisians; who defrayed all the charges. At length, the Duke of York, receiving from England a reinforcement, which increased his army to twelve thousand men, approached the town, and sent a herald to the King to offer him battle.

Charles answered; he should see what was to be done, and meant not to regulate his time, by that of his enemies. He saw the English army on the other side the Oyse, which they could pass only by a bridge; guarded by a detachment of a thousand men. So, without any apprehension of a sudden attack; he leisurely continued the siege.

Meanwhile, the Duke of York, resolving at any rate to relieve the place, found means to pass in the night, five or six hundred. men; in boats of boiled skins. This detachment suddenly falling upon the guard of the bridge, and cutting them in pieces; opened a passage for the Duke, who immediately came on the other side with his whole army. Charles was so astonished at this unexpected action, that he suddenly raised the siege, and retired under the canon of Poissi. The Duke of York followed him, and offered him battle in vain. At last, after braving him for some time, and plundering before his face, the abbey and town of Poissi, he retired, not thinking proper to attack him in that, post.

The hasty retreat of King Charles, before an enemy much weaker than himself, was extremely injurious to his reputation. All the French loudly murmured; but the, Parisians more than all the rest. The King's best friends were all dismayed, and openly shewed their fear that so general a discontent would prove fatal to him. In short, those nearest his person, intimating to him, how he had exposed his reputation, by so inglorious an action, he resolved to retrieve his credit, let what would be the consequence.

So, when least expected, he returned before Pontoise,[90] and carried it by storm[91]. He so signalized himself in the assault, that all the ill impressions caused, by his former conduct, to his disadvantage, were effaced. He was seen on the breach, sword in hand, fighting with an undaunted courage, and exposing his person like a common soldier: By this vigorous action, he plainly discovered, if he delighted not in war, it was not so much for want of courage, as from a too great attachment to his pleasures. Some time after, the town of Evreux was taken from the English, by the assistance of a fisherman, who found means to introduce the French.

Whilst these things passed in France, a very strange spectacle attracted the eyes and attention of the people of England. It has been seen, that the Duke of Gloucester's credit sensibly declined, or rather, was entirely sunk. This Prince was unblameable in his conduct, with regard to the King. Whatever spies were. placed about him by his enemies, they could discover nothing that might serve for a pretence to the least charge against his person. But at length, by narrowly observing what passed in his family, they learnt, that his Duchess had frequent conferences with one Sir Roger Bolinbroke a priest; who was reckoned a necromancer, and a certain woman[92], who was counted witch.

This was sufficient to form a charge of high treason against her. She was accused of making, with these two persons, the King's image in wax and that placing it before a gentle fire, she intended, the King's strength should waste insensibly, as the wax melted, and his life be at an end, when the image was all dissolved. By this accusation, it was intended to show, the Duchess's design was to destroy the King, that the crown might fall to the Duke her husband.

At the same time, suspicions were instilled into the Duke himself. When the parties accused were examined, the priest denied all; but the Duchess confessed[93], she had desired the woman to make her a love potion for her spouse, who sometimes went astray. Though this confession did not make her guilty of the crime she was accused of, the Duke's enemies had taken such measures,

that the priest was condemned to be hanged, and the woman to be burnt. As for the Duchess; though she would have been the most guilty, had the thing been well proved, out of a pretended regard to the Duke, she was only condemned to do public penance in St. Paul's church, on three several days, and to be imprisoned for life[94]. This was a terrible mortification to the first Prince of the blood, who had been protector of the realm, and always shown an ardent zeal for the King's interest and honour. But his enemies were so powerful, that he was forced to be silent, for fear of giving them occasion to fall directly upon his person.

Charles had scarcely taken any repose, after the siege of Pontoise, before he saw himself extremely embarrassed. All the Princes of his house were in a fresh league against him, with the Duke of Orleans at their head. This Prince was highly offended at the King's cold reception, after a twenty-five years captivity suffered for the interest of France, and even during which he had done him very signal services. Probably, this league would have entirely ruined the King's affairs, if, by a fortunate advice, he had not gained the head by considerable favours. The Duke of Orleans's defection breaking all the confederates' measures, they were forced to throw themselves upon the King's mercy. Thus ended the league, and thus end generally all leagues of subjects against their sovereigns, when the sovereigns find means to content the leaders.

The rebellion of the Princes was not the only thing that made King Charles uneasy. His honour as well as interest called upon him to relieve Tartas, a town of Guienne besieged by the English. This place belonged to the house of Albret, which had long been serviceable to France by their diversions in Guienne.

It therefore greatly concerned the King to succour this house, which was in danger of losing their most considerable place. Otherwise it was to be feared, all the Lords of Guienne of his party, would leave him and turn to the King of England. Meantime, the league of the Princes having hindered him, from thinking sooner of relieving Tartas, he began not his march to Guienne till November.

The town still defended itself, and it was even January before the garrison capitulated, upon a condition which afforded the King more than sufficient time to prepare for their relief. The capitulation ran, that the town should be delivered to the Lords Cognac and Saint Par, for the English, if on the 24th of June next, there appeared not a French army strong enough to give battle. But if it was relieved on the day prefixed, it should be restored to the Lord d' Albret.

A. D. 1442] Charles having all the leisure necessary to prepare, spent the winter in Poictou, where he assembled a considerable army, consisting of four hundred lances, eight thousand cross-bow-men, and as many archers. All the Lords of the kingdom repairing to him, he counted one hundred and sixty banners in his army.

Meantime England made no effort to defend Guienne, or give the enemy a diversion elsewhere. The council, since it was no longer influenced by the Duke of Gloucester, seemed to be grown inconsiderate and thoughtless.

With the forces assembled by Charles in Poictou, he humbled some tyrannical Lords of that country, and from thence came to Limoges, where he made some stay. After that, he passed some time at Montauban. There he lost the brave La Hire of Vignoles, one of his best generals. The relief of Tartas was not the sole motive of his journey. There was another, which touched him more nearly, and that was, to become master of the earldom of Cominge, which he had claimed by virtue of a settlement in his favour. As this affair has some relation to those of England, it will be necessary to show the ground of his pretensions.

Margaret, heiress. of Cominge, had two daughters by her first husband John III. Earl of Armagnac, who died in 1391; and the two daughters died likewise, soon after. The Countess was married afterwards to John d' Armagnac Earl of Fezensaquet. But by an outrage unheard of in

France, she divorced her second husband, who died with grief in 1404. Then she espoused Matthew de Grailley brother of John Earl of Foix, and by him had a daughter, but of so weak a constitution, that Matthew her father was afraid, the death of the mother and daughter would deprive him of the earldom of Cominge, of which he was in possession.

For this reason, he pressed his Countess, who was much older than himself, to make a will, and settle it upon him after their daughter. But the Countess refused it. Margaret's obstinacy occasioned such a quarrel between her and her husband, that he resolved to dispossess her, with the help of the Earl of Armagnac, who was very ready to join in the project, on condition of going shares with him.

Whereupon the Earl of Armagnac attacked, vanquished, took the Countess prisoner, and with her husband's consent confined her in a castle, where she remained twenty-two years. This rigorous usage served only to exasperate the old Countess the more. At last in 1435, she found means in her confinement to make a will, where she nominated her daughter Jane for her heir, and after her settled the earldom upon King Charles VII. Jane dying some time after, Charles heard of this settlement, and as the Countess was still living, formed a design to free her from imprisonment, and cause her to confirm her will.

After he had made some stay at Montauban, he came to Toulouse, and ordered the Earls of Armagnac and Cominge to be summoned before the Parliament of that city. The two Earls made their appearance, not daring to resist a Prince so well armed, who was able to compel them. Besides, since the Earl of Armagnac's ancestors had voluntarily owned the Kings of France for their sovereigns, there was no room to decline the jurisdiction of their Parliaments.

He was forced therefore to bring the old captive Countess, now fourscore years of age, to Toulouse, where the Parliament decreed the settlement upon the King to be good and valid. Pursuant to this decree, the King took possession of the earldom of Cominge. But for the sake of Gascon Earl of Foix, who had succeeded his father John in 1437, he was pleased to consent, that Matthew his uncle should enjoy his part of the earldom during life. The Earl of Armagnac was treated more rigorously. The King not only dispossessed him of the part he had usurped, but stripped him of the privilege of the regale[95] in his territories, and forbade him to stile himself; John by the Grace of God, Earl of Armagnac, as he, and his ancestors before him, had done.

The Earl of Armagnac did not think he deserved such usage, after all the services his house had done the Kings of France. If, to espouse their interests, his ancestors had cast off the dominion of the Kings of England, he would not have been liable to appear before the Parliament of Toulouse, nor have lost the privileges, which the Kings of England, Dukes of Guienne, had never disputed with his predecessors.

So, he was extremely concerned to see the zeal of his ancestors for the interest of France, become the occasion of his oppression. He burned with desire to free himself from this yoke and be revenged: but as he was sensible, his forces alone were not capable to procure him that satisfaction, he resolved to cast himself into the arms of the King of England. Shortly after, he sent to desire his protection, with an offer of one of his daughters in marriage.

The proposal being considered in the council, it was judged, that in the present posture of the King's affairs in France, the alliance proposed by the Earl of Armagnac could not but be very advantageous. So, without loss of time, ambassadors were dispatched to the Earl of Armagnac, to settle the marriage articles, and affianced one of his daughters, in the King's name.

Meanwhile, Charles appearing before Tartas, on the 24th of June, and no enemy offering to give him battle, the place was restored to the Lord d' Albret, according to the capitulation. The preparations of the French were not unknown in England, and yet no measures were taken for

the defence of Guienne, which was about to be invaded. Charles taking advantage of this negligence, became master of St. Sever[96]. Then he laid siege to Acs, one of the strongest places in those parts, which held out seven weeks. La Reole was carried by storm, and Marmande fell likewise into the hands of the French. During the winter following, which was exceedingly sharp, Acs and St. Sever opened their gates to the English, but the Earl of Foix retook St. Sever. Charles passed the whole winter at Toulouse.

Whilst these things were transacting at one end of the kingdom, the English were thinking of making a diversion at the other. Orders having been given to raise five thousand men in England, the command was conferred on Talbot, whom the King had now created Earl of Shrewsbury. Talbot landing in Normandy, soon made the Bastard of Orleans quit the field, who had likewise a new title, having been made Earl of Dunois. He presently besieged the castle of Conches, and to make a diversion, the French general invested Galardon. Talbot having taken the castle in a few days, the Earl of Dunois did not think fit to await his enemy, who was marching directly to give him battle.

Then, the Earl of Shrewsbury advanced towards Dieppe, which the French still held in Normandy. He made such haste, that Estouteville, who was marching with the utmost diligence, to throw in a supply of troops, could not arrive in time. When he was before the place, he formed the siege, though with an army little proportionate to such an undertaking, and especially in November. Indeed, he did not expect to be master of the town during the winter, and without more forces.

But his design was to take the fort of Charles-Mesnil, situated on mount Polet, which defended the passage to Dieppe. After that he hoped to press it so closely, that it should be forced to surrender. Having thus taken his measures, he attacked and carried the fort, which he ordered to be made larger and stronger. Then mounting his batteries, left the management of the siege, or rather blockade, to his bastard son, and returned into England, to solicit a supply.

As matters then stood at court, it was no very proper season for the Earl of Shrewsbury to obtain the succours he desired, at least so soon as was necessary. The Duke of Gloucester perceiving the King's affairs daily declined, brought at this very time before the council, an accusation of high treason, against the cardinal of Winchester, consisting of fourteen articles, the substance whereof, was as follows:—

I. That the Bishop of Winchester had taken upon him the dignity of cardinal, contrary to the late King's orders, and in derogation to the metropolitan church of Canterbury.

II. That, by the statute of Provisors, having forfeited the bishopric of Winchester, he had procured the Pope's bull to secure it, contrary to the laws of the realm, and particularly to the statute of Præmunire.

III. That jointly with John Kemp Archbishop of York, he had assumed the government of the King's person, without being authorised.

IV. That he had defrauded the King of his jewels. This article was grounded upon the cardinal's lending the King money upon pawn.

V. That being chancellor of the kingdom, he had sealed an order for the release of the King of Scotland, and another to forgive that Prince part of his ransom, on condition of marrying his niece.

VI. That he had defrauded the King of his revenues, by applying to his own use, the customs of wools at the port of Southampton. Probably, the cardinal stopped by that means the money, he had lent the King.

VII. That he had the confidence to summon people before him, in derogation of the prerogatives of the crown, and the authority royal. He did this probably, as legate: but he could not do it according to law, without the King's licence.

VIII. That he had procured from Rome, an exemption for his diocese, from paying tenths to the King; and thereby, given a pernicious example to the rest of the Bishops.

IX. That he had been instrumental in reconciling the Duke of Burgundy, to King Charles and the Duke of Orleans, to the great prejudice of England.

X. That being the King's ambassador and plenipotentiary to treat of a peace, he had sent the Archbishop of York to the King, to persuade him to quit the title of King of France, to the dishonour of the King, and his illustrious ancestors.

XI. That the Duke of Orleans's release, had been procured by his, and the Duke of York's intrigues, contrary to the express order of the late King.

XII. That being chancellor, he had himself purchased crown lands, instead of preventing such alienation, according to the duty of his office.

XIII. That by commissioning such officers only in the army, as were his creatures, he had been the cause of all the losses sustained in France.

XIV. That he had sold captains' commissions, and thereby introduced into the King's service such as were incapable of doing their duty.

These accusations were read in council. But the council, for some time, had consisted only of the cardinal's creatures, and the Duke of Gloucester's enemies. So, under colour of being unwilling to meddle with the prerogative royal, the pardon granted to the cardinal, in 1437, was urged. The Duke of Gloucester, perceiving there was no possibility of causing his enemy to be condemned, dropped the prosecution, and the King gave the cardinal a fresh pardon.

In September this year, the Duchess of York was delivered of a Prince, whom we shall see hereafter mount the throne by the name of Edward IV[97].

John Duke of Bretagne, dying the 28th of August, Francis his eldest son, succeeded him in the sovereignty of that duchy[98].

The year 1443, began with a private negotiation between the King and the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke finding the affairs of the two Kings to be in such a way, as not likely to be decided, either by war or peace, thought it advisable to secure himself, by a separate truce with England. He was not pleased with King Charles upon several accounts.

On the contrary, he had reason to fear, Charles was reconciled to him only out of policy; and in case his affairs should once be restored, might resume his old enmity against him. For this cause chiefly, he judged it against his interest, to assist him any longer to finish a war, the prosperous issue whereof might render him too powerful. These considerations induced him to give his Duchess full power, to conclude with the King of England a general truce, for all their respective dominions.

The former concerned only the trade between England, and the Low Countries; but this, signed the 23rd of April, included Burgundy, and all the Duke's territories in general. It was to last till one of the parties should put an end to it; in which case, the other was to have three months' notice.

The blockade of Dieppe was still continued, in expectation of supplies from England, to press the town more vigorously. Charles perceiving, it would be in great danger, if not relieved before the arrival of the English troops, resolved at last to send the Dauphin his son, who pressed him to commit this expedition to his care. It was however with unwillingness, that he granted him this favour.

He was not only afraid to trust out of his sight this young Prince; who had several times given proofs of a turbulent spirit, but moreover, he did not care to afford him opportunities of acquiring glory. These considerations, however, gave place to the necessity of relieving Dieppe, which was reduced to extremity, by an eight months blockade.

The Dauphin departed from Guienne, with four thousand horse, and marched towards Normandy. When he came within sight of Dieppe, he easily saw, the fort of Charles Mesnil, where the English had fortified themselves, was impregnable on the side next the country; and therefore, without hesitation, he resolved to enter the town, and, in spite of the English, executed his design. Hardly was he entered, when without giving them time to come to themselves, he sallied out with all his troops, and stormed the fort on the side next the town.

He was thrice repulsed, but, the fourth time, carried it sword in hand. The English finding they were unable to continue the blockade, after the loss of their fort, raised it, and retired in good order. John Duke of Somerset, arrived five days after, with a reinforcement of five thousand men. Had he come sooner, the Dauphin would not perhaps have performed this enterprise with so much honour. As the Duke found the blockade raised, he could do nothing more than ravage part of the enemy's country, after retaking some castles in Normandy.

After the Dauphin's departure, Charles, at last, quitted Guienne, and came to Tours, where he diverted himself after the fatigues of the war. But his pleasures were somewhat disturbed, by the news of the Earl of Armagnac taking arms, and seizing that part of the earldom of Cominge, of which, he had been lately dispossessed. The voluptuous life which Charles led at Tours, was so alluring, that he could not resolve to interrupt his pleasures so soon. He waited till the Dauphin's return, and, as he had behaved gallantly in the affair of Dieppe, he sent him, immediately after his arrival, to chastise the Earl of Armagnac.

Upon the Dauphin's approach, the Earl saw himself deserted by all his friends, and unsupported by the English, though the King was affianced to his daughter. So, the Dauphin with ease became master of Roergne, and of all, in general, that belonged to the Earl, who had nothing left, but the little town of Lisle en Jourdain, about twelve miles from Toulouse.

The Dauphin held it long besieged in vain. At length; despairing of putting an honourable end to the siege, he artfully drew the Earl to a conference; upon the promise of a safe conduct, and when he had him in his power, sent him to the King his father, who made no scruple to detain him. Two years after, he restored him his territories, at the request of the Kings of Castile, and Navarre, who interceded in his behalf.

The Earl of Armagnac's misfortune, caused the King and council of England, to grow cold with respect to the marriage, of which, there was no further talk. It was not scrupled, to put that affront upon an unfortunate Prince, who was unable to be revenged[99].

A. D. 1444] Since the Duke of Burgundy's separate truce with Henry, the French were not so eager to continue the war. The truth is, they had no less need of repose than the English. France was utterly ruined, by this fatal war, which had lasted thirty years, without interruption, and by the intestine troubles, raised several, years before the breach of the truce; by the quarrel between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy. The Princes and great men, were disheartened at the fatigues and losses, they so long sustained. The country and towns were become desolate; France, though generally well peopled, could no longer find soldiers. Besides, the Duke of Orleans, who had

promised to use his utmost endeavours to procure a peace, being willing to keep his word, never ceased to solicit King Charles upon that head.

The Duke of Burgundy pressed him likewise on his part, and the whole kingdom in general, ardently wished to see a cessation of so many calamities. In England, a peace was no less earnestly desired. All the money levied there, was swallowed up in France, as in a bottomless gulf, whence it never returned.

These considerations, prevailed at length with the two Kings, to hearken to the instances of the Duke of Burgundy, who pressed them to consent to a truce, in order more calmly to endeavour a peace. It was agreed, the negotiation should be at Tours, where King Charles resided. At any other time, the bare proposal of treating at Tours, would have been sufficient for a rupture; but Henry's council were not so nice. They were for having a truce at any rate, and nothing appeared dishonourable to attain that end.

Almost everything was settled in private, before the ambassadors set out for Tours. This truce, which seemed to be founded on the public good; was properly designed only for the support of the ministers, who had nothing, less in view, than the kingdom's advantage. Henry understood nothing of it, but suffered himself to be guided, according to custom, by his counsellors, who made him believe, they had his interest at heart, when in reality they were working only for themselves.

William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was appointed head of this embassy. The Earl had more reasons than one to desire this office. Meanwhile, as he was not ignorant how delicate a step he was about to make, and how liable to be strictly inquired into, he presented to the King a petition, which probably, had been concerted with the principal members of the council. He showed in this petition, a great scruple with regard to his instructions, pretending they were beyond his capacity, though, it is likely, he was himself the author.

Then, he modestly begged to be eased of the burthen of the negotiation; or at least, if the King did not think proper to grant him that favour, he would be pleased to secure him against all imputation. Whereupon the King, by the advice of his council, caused to be drawn an authentic order, to execute fully, whatever was contained in his instructions. As, probably, this order was to be shewn, Only in case of necessity, and after the execution, the King said in it, that the instructions concerned not only the general good of the kingdom, but also his own person and marriage.

The ambassadors of England having come to Tours, entered immediately into negotiation with King Charles's commissioners, concerning a peace. But after some mutual and fruitless proposals; they were content with, a truce, which was signed the 28th of May. It was to commence the 7th of July[100] this year, and end the 1st of April 1446. At the same time, the truce between England and Scotland, was prolonged at Edinburgh for seven years, to begin the 1st of May 1447, which was the day, the former was to expire.

The affair of the truce with France being ended, the Earl of Suffolk proposed, or caused to be proposed, the King's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Rene of Anjou, who bore the title of King of Sicily, after the death of Lewis III. his elder brother. The English taxed the Earl of Suffolk, with making this proposal of himself, without any authority; but we have seen the contrary above. Not but that, probably, he was the first contriver, but he had taken the precaution to procure the King's approbation.

He was willing to keep in his present post, and nothing was more proper to support him, than this marriage. He knew, Henry was himself incapable of governing; and consequently, it could not be, but that his ministers would be liable to envy, and bear the blame of whatever was not agreeable to the people. In this belief, he considered the best way to support himself, was to give

the King a wife, and at the same time, the kingdom a governess. To that end, it was necessary, the Princess who was to mount the throne, should be of an understanding, proper to supply the defect of the King her spouse, and of a resolution, to protect the ministry.

It was necessary moreover, that she should be of a rank not to disparage the King, but withal, should have no ground naturally to aspire to such a marriage; that being entirely indebted for it to the managers, she might be always ready to support them. The Earl of Suffolk's aim was likewise to be strictly united with the Queen, in order to complete the ruin of the Duke of Gloucester, who was a perpetual obstacle to the designs of the ministry.

All these requisites were found in Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Rene King of Sicily, and niece of the Queen of France. She was a Princess of a lively, daring spirit, of great penetration, uncommon resolution, and not to be frightened by opposition or difficulties. On the other hand, the marriage proposed by the Earl of Suffolk was so advantageous, that she could not have expected it, without the concurrence of several circumstances in her favour. Her birth, certainly was illustrious enough to give her a pretension to this honour. But she was so destitute of the goods of fortune, that her parents could not give her any dowry.

To supply this defect, the English ministers extolled her noble qualities, which, they said, were more valuable than all the money in the world. But they chiefly insinuated to the people, that this Princess being niece to the Queen of France, and to King Charles's favourite, would be very instrumental in procuring a peace. This was plainly shewing how much this peace was wanting.

Accordingly, the court of France, who had perfect intelligence of what passed in England, made their advantage of it, by engaging the Earl of Suffolk to promise, in the King's name, to deliver Mans, and the whole province of Maine, to the King of Sicily; on condition, he should present them to Charles of Anjou his brother. Thus, instead of receiving Margaret's dower, Henry purchased her with the restitution of one of the strongest places in France, or rather, with the whole province of Maine.

The terms being thus settled, the Earl of Suffolk returned to England, to propose them to the King, and cause them to be approved. This was no difficult thing, since the principal councillors were in the secret, and had already given their consent. The Duke of Gloucester, who had never heard of it before, strongly opposed it, for two reasons, which seemed unanswerable. The first was, that the King being already engaged to the Earl of Armagnac's daughter, it would be very dishonourable to violate his faith, without alleging the least excuse.

The second was of no less force, namely, that Maine, being as it were the bulwark of Normandy, could not be abandoned, without putting Normandy in manifest danger, as soon as the truce should expire. But these reasons were not regarded. So, by the advice of his council, the King empowered the Earl of Suffolk, to espouse the Princess Margaret in his name.

For joy the marriage was concluded, the King created the Earl, his ambassador, Marquis of Suffolk, and upon John Holland Earl of Huntingdon, he conferred the title of Duke of Exeter[101]. At the same time he created Humphrey Earl of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and Henry de Beauchamp, son of the late Earl of Warwick, Duke of Warwick[102].

The King's marriage was solemnized by proxy at Tours, in the presence of King Charles and his whole court, in a splendid manner little suitable to the present circumstances of the two kings, and the indigence of the new Queen.

A. D. 1445] Though the nuptials were celebrated in November, the queen came not into England till the May following[102], and on the 30th of the same month, was solemnly crowned. She was no sooner with the King, but perceiving his weakness, she ruled him with an absolute sway. By that means the Marquis of Suffolk, the Cardinal of Winchester, and the archbishop of York, had the

same credit as before the King's marriage. They stood in need of the Queen, as she did of them, since she had yet no other creatures, but what they had procured her. For this reason, a very strict union was formed between the Queen and the ministers, which could not but end in the ruin of the Duke of Gloucester, whom they all looked upon as their common enemy.

The truce being made only in order to a peace, this whole year was spent in several negotiations, concerning the time and place of a new congress. It was thought likewise, that an interview of the two Kings might promote the conclusion of a peace. So the ministers of both courts agreed, that the two monarchs should meet somewhere in France; and for that purpose, Henry should repair to Calais, in order to be near the place to be chosen for the interview. But several difficulties occurring about the choice of the place, the truce was prolonged till November the 1st, 1446.

Henry Chicheley, who held the see of Canterbury-thirty years[103], died this year, and was succeeded by John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

A. D. 1446] The Duke of York having no farther business in France, came into England, where he was extremely well received, and thanked by the court, for his services to the state. The King, willing to shew his gratitude, granted him a patent to be Regent of France, another five years.

The Parliament which met the beginning of the year, 1446, granted the King a considerable subsidy, for a vigorous prosecution of the war in France, as soon as the truce was expired[104]. But this pretended design of continuing the war, was only a decoy to draw money from the Parliament. Instead of preparations for war negotiations for the interview of the two Kings, and for a congress of ambassadors to conclude a peace, were zealously continued. Meanwhile the truce was farther prolonged to April the 1st, 1447. This shews, the council intended not to carry on the war, though the Parliament was called on that pretence[105].

The Queen, the cardinal of Winchester, the Marquis of Suffolk, and the rest of that party, finding themselves sufficiently established, and having nothing to fear from a Parliament so much at their devotion, began to contrive the ruin of the Duke of Gloucester, who was ever formidable to them. The people for the most part, were in his interest. Besides, as hitherto he was presumptive heir of the crown, they had reason to fear, in case he should one day mount the throne, he would call them to an account.

Their first step was to remove him from the council. To give some colour to this injustice, persons were suborned to accuse him of divers crimes, the principal whereof was, that being protector of the realm, he had put several to death by his own authority, and aggravated the condemnation of many others. Upon these accusations, he was summoned before the council. But he cleared himself with such evidence, from all that was laid to his charge, that the council, though entirely composed of his enemies, thought not fit to prosecute him thereon.

This proceeding so moved the Londoners, that nothing was heard, but praises of the Duke of Gloucester, and curses against those who governed in the King's name. These murmurs, which were plain indications of the people's affection for the Duke, convinced his enemies, there was no medium. between his and their ruin. Accordingly, without further consideration, they resolved to dispatch him out of the way. The Queen, who was of a bold and enterprising genius, was the person that first encouraged this resolution. At least, historians insinuate as much, if they have not expressly said it. And indeed, the ministry would never have had courage to venture upon such an action, without having her at their head.

A. D. 1417] To execute their design with all possible secrecy, they devised a means, countenanced, if not contrived, by the Queen. This was, to accuse him of some crime, in order to have a pretence to imprison him, and then their plot might, with great privacy and ease, be accomplished. For this purpose, it was rumoured, that a very important affair required the speedy meeting of a Parliament. Accordingly, one was called for the February following[106].

In the mean time, the Queen and ministry affected to load the Duke of Gloucester with honours and caresses, not to inspire him with confidence, but with suspicion. They would have been glad at his absenting himself, or taking some other course, that would have given them an advantage against him.

To that end, they endeavoured, by secret emissaries, to terrify him, in warning him to take care of himself, and hinting a design to accuse him before the Parliament of sundry crimes and misdemeanours; and that every thing was prepared for his condemnation that St. Edmund's-bury was purposely chosen for holding the Parliament, as a place more proper for this design than London, where he was supported by the people.

All this was only to induce him to withdraw, and thereby give some appearance of truth to the calumnies, wherewith it was intended to blacken him. But as he knew his own innocence, he would not, by absenting himself, give occasion to the world, to believe him guilty.

The first day of the session, the Duke was apprehended[107], and put into close confinement, without being allowed to keep any of his domestics. To give colour to this severe usage, care was taken to publish, that he was accused of conspiring to kill the King; in order to seize the crown; and with an armed force, to deliver his duchess out of Kenelworth castle, where she was imprisoned.

The first of these accusations found no credit at all with the people. On the contrary, there was presently a commotion in the city in his favour, but which was soon appeased. As the people thought him innocent, they imagined he would clear himself from these, as he had from the former charges. But he was allowed neither time nor opportunity to make his defence. On the morrow, he was found dead in his bed, without any signs of violence on his body.

However, the people were convinced he was murdered. Some say he was smothered between two feather-beds and others, that he underwent the same fate with Edward II. To remove these suspicions, his body was shewn to both Houses of Parliament[108], and exposed, for some days, to public view.

Meanwhile, to make good, in some measure, the impeachment against the deceased; several of his domestics were apprehended, and accused of being in the plot to kill the King. Whereupon they were all sentenced to die, by Judges appointed by virtue of the King's commission, of whom the Marquis of Suffolk was chief. But, though the crime for which they were condemned was the most heinous, the King pardoned them all without exception[109].

This act of Grace was founded upon the consideration of Good-Friday, and the Assumption of the Virgin, with the like pious and religious motives. This gives occasion to presume; these people were bribed to confess themselves guilty, upon assurance of their pardon. However this be, there was no inquiry made after the sudden death of the Duke of Gloucester.

The outrage exercised upon a Prince of this character, so universally beloved and esteemed by the people, drew upon the Queen and the ministers an almost universal hatred, which time could never efface. The Queen especially was publicly charged with the murder, and the respect due to her was not capable of bridling the people's tongues.

We cannot leave this subject, without remarking; how short-sighted human policy is. The Queen and the rest of the Duke of Gloucester's enemies thought his death had secured them from all opposition. But by the just judgment of God, the Duke's death was the very cause of the ruin of the King, Queen, and all that were concerned. The Duke of York thereby saw himself at liberty to assert his claim to the crown, a claim which occasioned torrents of English blood to be shed, and of which doubtless he would never have thought; if there had been such a competitor as the Duke of Gloucester[110].

When this tragedy was acting in England, the negotiations for a peace were carrying on in France. But as great difficulties occurred concerning the projected interview of the two Kings, the truce was further prolonged to January the 1st, 1448.

Meantime, the Duchess of Burgundy, by virtue of the power received from the Duke her husband; prolonged the truce with England till 1459, on condition that, which ever of the two Princes should desire to break it, should give the other twelve months notice. After that, a new treaty was made, May the 4th, whereby both parties agreed, that the truce should not be broken within the first four years.

The cardinal of Winchester, one of the principal Authors of the Duke of Gloucester's death, enjoyed but one month the satisfaction of his enemy's fall[111]. He was a prelate much more proper for the world than the church. Accordingly he remained to his last breath; attached to the former. He is said to have died in a sort of frenzy, that his riches were not capable of exempting him from the common fate of all and to see himself thereby upon a level with the most miserable.

The people perceiving, that the time designed for procuring a peace was spent in vain, loudly murmured against the Marquis of Suffolk. It was openly said, he had betrayed the King and the state; that his treaty with the French tended only to a truce destructive to England, as it afforded the enemy time to fortify himself; that he had engaged to deliver Maine to the French, in order to marry the King to a Princess, who had given him sensible proofs of the calamities the English were to expect under her government.

These murmurs were so public, that the Marquis could not help taking notice of them; and in order to silence them, requested the King to hear his defence, that he might satisfy him of his innocence. Whereupon the King set him a day to clear himself, and heard him in his own apartment, in the presence of several Lords, none of whom were there with a design to refute him. He related all he had done in France, and could easily justify himself, since he had taken care, before his departure, to be fortified with the King's orders, and having finished his speech, the King declared himself satisfied, and gave him letters patent under the Great Seal, acquitting him from all imputation of misdemeanour, and forbidding all persons, on pain of his displeasure, to accuse or speak ill of him.

But this was not capable of putting a stop to the people's murmurs. Notwithstanding the Marquis's pretended defence, he was looked upon with horror, as he was believed to be the principal author of the Duke of Gloucester's murder. Besides, the King's marriage, procured by his means, was considered as one of the greatest calamities that could befall England.

It was impossible for the Queen, and the Marquis of Suffolk, to govern the kingdom alone, without raising jealousy. The Queen's haughty carriage, her partiality in disposing of places, and above all, the Duke of Gloucester's murder, had drawn upon her the hatred of the nation to such a degree, that she was every where spoken of with very little respect. Her intimate union with the Marquis of Suffolk, gave her enemies a fresh occasion to spread reports not much, to her honour. The King's name however was so revered, that besides those who were by interest attached to the court, many others were of the same party from a motive of duty. It was therefore no easy matter, to wrest from the Queen and the favourite the authority they enjoyed.

The disposition of most people with regard to the Queen and the ministers, inspired the Duke of York with hopes, he should one day be able to assert his title to the crown. He was, by his mother, the only heir of the House of Mortimer or Marche, descended from Lionel, third son of Edward III. and elder brother of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, whose posterity was in possession of the throne.

But probably, he would never have formed such a design, if the Duke of Gloucester had been alive, or the people not disaffected to the Queen and ministry. However, as it would have been

very dangerous to discover his intentions, before the people's inclinations were sounded, he took care so to proceed, that it should not be possible to convict him of the least step to that end. He contented himself with making use of secret emissaries, who industriously spread among the people, discourses proper to turn their thoughts to his title to the crown.

It was whispered about, that, the House of Lancaster had usurped the throne. That indeed the usurpation had been tolerable, whilst the Kings of that House were Princes of distinguished worth, and had acted for the welfare and honour of the nation; that even, during the nonage of the present King, there had been hopes of his treading in the steps of his ancestors, and his being a worthy follower of the King his father; but that since he became of age, nothing glorious was to be expected from him: that therefore the English could have no reason to support any longer the usurpation of the crown, for the sake of a Queen, who being sprung from the blood of their most mortal enemy, ruled the kingdom with an arbitrary power that, in viewing the posterity of Edward III it was evident, the House of Marche had been unjustly deprived of the crown.

That the Duke of York being the sole heir of that House, and descended from Edward III by his paternal ancestors, ought to have his due right In fine, that his noble qualities, his own virtue, and his signal services to the nation, very strongly supported the just title given him by his birth. These discourses, artfully spread among the people, began to gain the Duke of York a party. But he appeared not himself: all was done in private by his friends.

Meanwhile, the Queen, the favourite, and all the House of Lancaster, failed not to take notice of what was divulging concerning the pretensions of the Duke of York. He might indeed keep himself concealed from others, but it was not easy to deceive such quick sighted persons, who were so greatly concerned. in the affair. As they did not question, that all these discourses were. divulging with his approbation, they believed it requisite to lessen his credit, by giving him some mortification; John Duke of Somerset dying during these transactions[112], Edmund his brother, who succeeded him, seemed a very proper person to oppose to the Duke of York.

So, without any pretence, the Queen and the Marquis of Suffolk caused the King to remove the Duke of York from the Regency of France, before his term was expired, and conferred: it on the new Duke of Somerset. This last was of an exceedingly haughty temper, and as his brother had been engaged in great contests with the Duke of York, he behaved to him upon this occasion; so as to make him his implacable enemy.

On the other hand, the Duke of York highly resented this affront: but, at it was not in his power to be revenged, dissembled his resentment, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to shew it. In the beginning of the year 1448, the King, who acted only by the Queens' suggestions, created the Marquis of Suffolk, Duke of Suffolk[113].

The Queen seemed to intend to brave the people, by daily showering her favours upon a Lord so extremely odious to the whole nation. She thereby gave her own enemies a great advantage, who only wanted occasions to stir up the people against her[114].

In the negotiations concerning the King's marriage; it was agreed, that the city of Mans, and whatever the English held in Maine, should be delivered to Charles of Anjou, the future Queen's uncle. But the noise this article made in England, and the Duke of Gloucester's opposition, caused the restitution to be deferred till this year.

In February, Charles of Anjou, at the head of some troops, appeared before Mans, in order to take possession. The French say; he besieged the city; and that the Duke of Exeter the Governor, not daring to stand an assault, surrendered by capitulation[115]. But it is certain, the Duke of Exeter was not then in the place, neither was there any appearance of a siege.

The restitution was made by agreement between the two courts, and Henry sent to Mans two commissioners to deliver the city to the Prince of Anjou. As he was entering, the two commissioners met him upon the bridge, and before a public notary made a formal protestation, declaring that the King of England's sole intent in restoring that place, was to procure a final peace between him and Charles his uncle, and only during the truce. Moreover, he reserved to himself the Sovereignty of the city and province, and, in case of any attempt upon the right of this Sovereignty, claimed a power to revoke the cession without injuring his honour. Charles of Anjou heard the protestation without approving it, and took possession of the place.

After the surrender of Mans to the French, the negotiations for a peace, and the interview of the two Kings, were continued, but by reason of some difficulties, the truce was forced to be farther prolonged to April the 1st, 1449. It did not last however so long; an unforeseen accident putting an end to it sooner than was expected.

About the middle of this year, Surienne, an Aragonian, who had served the King of England twenty years, and was Knight of the Garter, and Governor of lower Normandy, scaled in the night, the town of Fougères, belonging to the Duke of Bretagne, and took a great booty. Whereupon, the Duke of Bretagne sent a herald to the Duke of Somerset, then at Rouen, and demanded the restitution of the place, with all the plunder. The Regent answered, he was extremely displeas'd with this action, and would give the Duke of Bretagne all the satisfaction he could reasonably expect.

However, as it would require some time to be informed more particularly of this affair, and to notify it to the court of England, the Duke of Bretagne, impatient of this delay, complain'd to the King of France of the breach of the truce, wherein Bretagne was expressly included. Charles considering, his affairs were in a good situation, and those of the English in great disorder, as well by reason of the King's inability as of the people's discontent, took fire at his news, as if the injury had been done to himself.

Yet, to look back on the Duke of Bretagne's proceedings, during the whole former war, Charles had no great cause to be satisfi'd with that House. However, perceiving it to be a favourable opportunity to renew the war, whilst the English thought of nothing less, he sent a gentleman to the Duke of Somerset, and two ambassadors to London, to demand reparation for this insult. But at the same time, to make this reparation impracticable, he insisted upon the payment of sixteen hundred thousand crowns to the Duke of Bretagne, for the damages sustained by the taking of Fougères.

This sum was so exorbitant, that it must not be thought strange, if the court of England refused to pay it down. Besides, it was almost impossible, that in so short a time a just calculation could be made of the damages done by the English. It was also very surpris'g, that Charles should so eagerly espouse the Duke of Bretagne's quarrel, who was not included in the truce as his ally[116], but rather as a neutral Prince who had frequently been mediator between the two Kings.

The ambassadors however were told, the King would take care to indemnify the Duke, as soon as it was known, what his loss might amount to; and if Charles would send ambassadors to Louviers, the King of England would do the like, in order to settle all things to the common satisfaction of the two Kings and the Duke of Bretagne[117].

At the congress held at Louviers upon this occasion, the English represented, that the taking of Fougères was without orders, and unknown to the Regent. They expostulated likewise against the sum demanded, as far exceeding what the Duke of Bretagne could justly require. But the French plainly told them, if the Duke received not the satisfaction their master demanded, he deem'd the truce violat'd. This haughty and peremptory way of negotiating on Charles's part, seem'd very strange to the English, but the French persisting in their first proposition, the conference broke up, without any effect.

So bent was Charles upon renewing the war, whilst the King of England was unprepared, that in case the English should resolve to give the satisfaction required, he had another pretence for a rupture. He pretended, they had violated the truce with Scotland, and he was obliged to undertake the cause of the Scots. Indeed, there had been a conflict between the English and Scots, wherein the English had been worsted.

Buchanan makes it a pitched battle, and says, the English lost three thousand men. However, this affair does not seem to have been of so great consequence, since it was presently suppressed. This year the two nations renewed their truce[118] agreeing, that, which of the two Kings should desire to break it, he should give the others notice so long beforehand. However, King James had not desired Charles to interpose in this quarrel, and consequently, it is evident, Charles sought an occasion of rupture, Whilst Charles was making his preparations, he amused the English with fruitless negotiations.

The court of England's imprudence at this juncture, is very astonishing. They knew neither how to preserve the truce, nor to prepare for war. If they had been willing to avoid a rupture, they should at least have restored Fougères to the Duke of Bretagne, with promise of amends for all damages. But they kept the place, without using any effectual endeavours to appease that incensed Prince.

The council, where greater care was taken to introduce the Queen's and the Duke of Suffolk's creatures, than persons qualified to manage the public affairs, seemed to be seized with a spirit of inconsideration. To see the Queen's indolence on this occasion, it must have been thought, that being without issue, she was in a plot with the King's enemies, to dispossess him of all he still held in France.

As soon as Charles was in condition to renew the war, he caused the castle of Conches, and Pont de l' Arche, in Normandy, and, about the same time, Gerberoy in Beauvoisis, Cognac, and St. Maigrin in Guienne to be surprised, in the Duke of Bretagne's name. The English complained in their turn of the violation of the truce, but were told, it was by way of the reprisals for Fougères. Thus the war was rekindled at a juncture very disadvantageous to the English. The Duke of Somerset, Regent of France, was destitute of forces, when he most needed them. Charles had therefore free scope to push his conquests.

Charles's chief aim was to recover Normandy, and for that purpose he had prepared four armies. The first of these armies he headed himself. The Earl of Dunois, lately made Earl of Longueville, and generalissimo of the King's forces under the constable, commanded the second. The Duke of Alençon, had the command of the third; and the Duke of Bretagne, of the fourth, wholly consisting of his own troops.

All the towns of Normandy were provided with men and ammunition. Most of the governors depending upon the truce, were gone to England. So, the French armies had only to appear before the French towns, in order to carry them. Several places did not stay to be attacked. Some taking arms expelled the English garrisons; others were sold by the commanding officers. Pont Auderner, and Chateau Galliard, were the only places, that made a tolerable defence. Thus, before the campaign was ended, Charles was able to besiege Rouen, where he had friends.

Having assembled all his forces, making a body of fifty thousand men, he ordered the capital of Normandy to be invested, the 8th of October. He would not form a regular siege, being well assured, that the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who were shut up there, with three thousand men only, would not be able to defend themselves against the inhabitants, who had promised to rise in his favour. Within a few days, the Earl of Dunois was about to be introduced at St. Hilary's gate, with three hundred men, if the Earl of Shrewsbury had not come very seasonably, and repulsed that detachment.

The inhabitants, notwithstanding this disappointment, persisted in their resolution. On the 19th of October, the whole city rising in arms with one consent, all that the Duke of Somerset could do, was to distribute his garrison in some of the most advantageous posts. But the French being introduced, quickly forced all these posts sword in hand.

There was only the palace left, where the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Shrewsbury were, with eight hundred men. As they, foresaw, they should soon be in want of provisions, the Duke desired to speak with the King in order to capitulate; which being granted, he offered to retire upon honourable terms. But the King insisted upon his surrendering at discretion, unless he would treat for the rest of Normandy.

As this point could not be adjusted, the Duke returned to the palace, and held out ten or twelve days longer. At last, he was forced to capitulate, on condition of leaving all his artillery, paying fifty thousand crowns of gold, and delivering to the King Candebec, Arques, Lillebonne. Tancarville, Montravilliers, and Harfleur. The Earl of Shrewsbury was left in hostage for the performance of this engagement, and the English garrison marched out of Rouen, where Charles Made his entry, on the 19th of November.

The Governor of Harfleur not thinking fit to comply with this capitulation, the Earl of Longueville, was detached by the King to besiege that place, which surrendered the beginning of January, Though Charles might justly have detained the Earl of Shrewsbury, since the capitulation of Rouen, was not fully observed by the English, he was pleased, as a mark of his esteem, to give him his liberty, without ransom. In the mean time, the Earl of Foix, who commanded in Guienne for King Charles, took the castle of Mauleon, standing upon an inaccessible rock. Thus ended the first campaign, which proved so fatal to the English.

Besides the court of England's concern, for the ill posture of affairs in France, a rebellion raised and, at the same time, gave them a fresh cause of uneasiness. However, the Queen, and the Duke of Suffolk, reaped some advantage by these commotions, they furnished them with a pretence to remove the Duke of York. This Prince beginning to be a trouble to them, he was sent into Ireland, under the colour of being the fittest person to suppress the rebellion, but withal, had but few troops allowed him for that purpose, it was hoped, he would either perish in the attempt, or forfeit his reputation.

The Duke perceived their design, and wisely turned against themselves the artifice they used for his ruin. He so managed, that, by his mild and gentle behaviour, he won the Irish, and restored them to their duty, without being obliged to use force. What is more, he so made them his friends that from thenceforward, they were always devoted to the service of himself and family, even in the midst of his greatest misfortunes.

The universal confusion of the affairs of France, the negligence of the court in that respect, the loss of almost all Normandy in one single campaign, the conquest whereof had cost so much blood, began at length openly to provoke the impatient temper of the English The whole kingdom rung with complaints against the Duke of Suffolk. The Queen was no less disliked.

In this disposition were the people, when the Parliament met, the beginning of the year 1450[119]. The court wanted aid to enable them to restore the affairs of France: otherwise, they saw themselves obliged entirely to abandon them, and thereby, give their enemies a farther advantage against them. The Queen soon perceived, that the general discontent had seized the very members of Parliament.

She believed; it would be of great advantage to remove the Parliament to Leicester, where she hoped to have greater sway, than at London, of whose inhabitants she was jealous: But she met with such strong opposition from the Lords, that she was forced to desist.

Upon the meeting of the Parliament, the Commons presented to the Lords, an indictment against the Earl of Suffolk, containing the following articles:—

I. That the Duke of Suffolk had treated with the Bastard of Orleans, and the their French ambassadors; to persuade King Charles to invade England; to the end, he might place his son on the throne, whom he intended to marry with Margaret, only daughter of John Duke of Somerset.

II. That being bribed by the French, he had released the Duke of Orleans, against the express orders of the late King.

III. That Normandy was invaded by his means, and advice.

IV. That being ambassador in France, he engaged to surrender Maine to the French, without the consent of the rest of the ambassadors, and drew the King and Council to ratify his engagement.

V. That he had informed the enemies, of the weakness of the English towns in France, and encouraged them to assault them.

VI. That he had betrayed the secrets of the council to the enemies of the state.

VII. That he had hindered the conclusion of a peace, by discovering the weakness of England.

VIII. That he had made his boasts, the hearing of several Lords, that his credit at the French court, was no less, than at the English.

IX. That he had obstructed the sending of succours to France, that the enemies might make the greater progress.

X. That he had included in the treaty of truce, neither the King of Aragon, nor the Duke of Bretagne, and by that affected neglect, England had lost those two allies.

The Duke of Suffolk answered these accusations, by a formal denial of the greatest part, and required the proofs. As to the articles which he owned, he produced the King's express orders. But that was not sufficient to justify him, since his chief crime, was the abuse of his credit with the King and his imposing upon the council. Historians remark; that he cleared himself from all but the last article relating to the Duke of Bretagne.

The Queen perceiving that matters were likely to go ill with the Duke, ordered it so, that the King sent him to the Tower, not so much with design to punish him but as to give some appearance of satisfaction to the Commons.

Meanwhile, for fear they should persist in their prosecution, she caused the Parliament to be adjourned to Leicester[120]. After a month's confinement, the Duke came out of the Tower and resumed his old post at court. The news of his release raised a sedition in Kent, headed by a Fuller[121]. But before the rebels could make any considerable attempt, the ring-leaders were apprehended and executed, and by that means the sedition was stifled in its birth.

The Parliament being reassembled at Leicester; the King and Queen appeared, attended by the Duke of Suffolk, as their prime minister. The Commons were extremely offended at this proceeding, which they considered as a bravado to them. To shew their resentment, they went in a body and petitioned the King, that the persons, who. had been instrumental in delivering Anjou and Maine to the French; might be punished according to their demerits. The Queen was

alarmed at this petition. She found, the Commons were bent upon the Duke of Suffolk's ruin, and that it was not possible to prevent it, without coming to an open rupture with the lower house.

Wherefore, to save the minister some part of the punishment which, probably, was designed for him, she resolved to prevent a formal sentence, which could not but have been very rigorous in the present juncture. A few days after this petition, the King banished the Duke for five years, and removed all his creatures. The Duke looking himself upon this exile as a proper means to secure him from the fury of the people, speedily embarked for France. But he could not escape his destiny.

He was met in his passage by an English ship, called the Nicholas, and the captain searching the Duke's vessel, and finding him there, ordered his head to be struck off, without any farther ceremony[122]. Thus fell William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who a few days before, was the greatest and most powerful person in the kingdom, the Duke of Suffolk's death, the Duke of York saw himself freed from a powerful enemy, who, being attached to the house of Lancaster, would doubtless, have strongly opposed the execution of his designs. Though this Prince was in Ireland, his friends effectually served him in England, by extolling his merit, and representing to the people, the King's incapacity, and the Queen's mal-administration.

These discourses joined to the entire loss of Normandy, which happened at the same time, made deep impressions on the minds of the people, and daily increased the number of the Duke's adherents. He had perfect information of what passed. But, not to hazard himself in vain, he devised an expedient, which he thought proper to sound the people's inclinations, in order to take his measures with more safety.

By his instigation, Jack Cade, an Irishman, assumed the name of John Mortimer, of the house of Marche, executed in the beginning of this reign. Under this borrowed name he repaired into Kent[123], where the Duke of York had many adherents, and drew together great numbers of malcontents, for pretence, the necessity of reforming the government, and easing the people. In the present disposition of the greatest part of the nation, with regard to the court, the rebels so increased, that, in a few days Cade saw himself in condition to encamp on Blackheath, near London.

The King having notice of the approach of the rebels, sent to know the reason of their appearing thus in arms. Cade answered for all, that they had no ill design upon the King's person: that their intention was, to petition the Parliament, that the evil ministers might be punished; and the people rendered more happy than of late years. A few days after, they presented to the Parliament two petitions, setting forth the grievances of the nation. Among other things, they prayed, that the Duke of Somerset might be punished, as being the principal author of the loss of Normandy.

That the King's council might be filled with the Princes of the blood, and other prudent and judicious persons, and not with vicious and profligate men, of ill principles and manners, and incapable of managing the affairs of the state. These petitions being communicated to the King, the council condemned them as seditious, and resolved to suppress the rebellion by force of arms.

Whereupon; the King assembling a body of fifteen thousand men, headed them himself, and marched against the rebels. Upon his approach, Cade, as if he was afraid, retired, and lay in ambush in a wood near Sevenoaks, not questioning but the King would follow him. But Henry, imagining the rebels were dispersed, returned to London, being contented with sending after them a detachment of his army, commanded by: Sir Humphrey Stafford.

This detachment falling into the ambush, were cut in pieces; and the commander himself lost his life in the fight. At the same time, Cade began his march towards London[124], whilst the King and the whole court hastily retired to Kenelworth castle, leaving a garrison in the Tower,

under the command of the Lord Scales. Cade's success against Stafford increased his army with multitudes, who flocked from all parts to join him. The city of London, either through fear, or some other motive, opened the gates to the rebels, and Cade entered as it were in triumph, at the head of his troops. But he prohibited, under severe penalties, the offering any injury to the inhabitants. Next day, being informed, that the Lord Say, high-treasurer, was in the city, he ordered him to be apprehended, and beheaded[125]. Towards the evening, he retired to Southwark, on the other side of the Thames, and continued thus for some days, to enter the city in the morning, and go out again at night, on purpose to take from the citizens all occasion of fear.

Cade's soldiers and the Londoners lived at first very friendly together. But at last, the soldiers committing some riot in the city, when they would have entered, according to custom, in the morning, they found the bridge gate shut against them. Whereupon a battle ensued between them and the citizens, which lasted all day, and ended at the approach of night; by a cessation of arms till the morrow.

Meanwhile, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Chancellor[126], who had taken refuge in the Tower, observing by their spies, and the proceedings of the rebels, that their hearts began to fail them, instantly drew up a general pardon, put the great seal to it, and caused it to be proclaimed in the night, in Southwark. The pardon produced so sudden and surprising an effect, that, before it was day, Cade found himself deserted by his followers, and forced to fly alone, and conceal himself in the county of Sussex. But the King promising, by proclamation, a thousand marks to any person that should bring him dead or alive, he was slain in his retreat[127], by Alexander Iden, a gentleman of Kent, who brought his body to London[128].

The pardon under the great seal did not prevent the execution of many of his accomplices. Thus ended this dangerous rebellion, which might have been attended with worse consequences, had it been conducted by a more experienced leader. Whilst these things passed in England, the war was continued in Normandy, but still to the disadvantage of the English.

The Queen perceiving, the people's discontent partly sprung from the ill success of the affairs of France, had sent fifteen hundred men to the Duke of Somerset, under the command of Sir Thomas Kiriel, who landed at Cherburg. His design was to lead his troops to Caen, where the Duke of Somerset then was. But as it was dangerous to march with so small a body, he was joined upon the road by several detachments of the English garrisons in those parts.

The French authors say, that by this junction the English army amounted to five thousand men, which however is not very likely. Be this as it will, the constable Richemont, hearing of Kiriel's design, speedily drew together a body of seven thousand men, and went and expected him at Fourmigni, through which he was to pass. The two armies engaging, the English, though inferior in number, long defended themselves with great bravery. But at length, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, they were put to rout, and their general taken prisoner.

Upon comparing this battle, with a certain prediction of the Maid of Orleans, that the English should be entirely driven out of the kingdom, by a defeat, much greater than those of Orleans and Patay, it is clear enough that she was not perfectly inspired. For in the battle of Fourmigni, the only one since Joan's death, the English even according to their enemies computation, were at most but five thousand, and lost but fifteen hundred. However, for the sake of the prophecy, the French writers talk of the battle of Fourmigni in very lofty terms, comparing it to the most famous battles.

Kiriel's reinforcement being defeated, the Duke of Somerset could no longer withstand the victorious arms of the French. It would be needless, to give a particular account of the sieges carried on by the French in this second campaign. It will suffice to say in a word, that about the middle of August, Charles saw himself master of all Normandy. The city of Caen was invested

the 4th of June, and the 21st of the same month, the Duke of Somerset capitulated[129], against the opinion of some of the officers, who maintained, it was not yet time. Falaise, Domfront, and Cherburg were besieged at once, and the campaign ended in Normandy with the taking of Cherburg, which surrendered the 12th of August. Thus; in two campaigns, Charles became master of the whole province, without one single town remaining in the hands of the English.

The Parliament met at Westminster the 6th of November, and about the same time, the Duke of Somerset having nothing more to do in France came into England. He was blamed for the loss of Normandy; and particularly of Caen, where he was accused of not having done his duty. These complaints were so publicly made, that the Commons could not help taking notice of them. They petitioned the King, to send the Duke of Somerset to the Tower, that his conduct might be examined. Henry not thinking proper to disoblige the Commons at such a juncture, granted their request.

The populace of London were so transported with joy, when they heard the Duke was in the Tower, that they immediately rose and plundered his palace. They would have proceeded farther, if the King had not speedily put out a proclamation to disperse them. Nevertheless, some of the most audacious continued the tumult, till one of the most insolent was beheaded. The Parliament was no sooner up, but the Duke of Somerset was released, and assumed at court, the post enjoyed by the Duke of Suffolk.

The English, not having been able to prevent the loss of Normandy, were still less able to defend Guienne, which was more remote. King Charles improving the present juncture, had now sent his troops into that province, where, this very year, his generals look Bergerac, Gensac, Montferrand, Chalais, and St. Poi., which made but a very faint resistance. The season being very far advanced, hindered them from pursuing their conquests.

During the winter, the Earl of the house of Albret, making inroads to the very gates of Bordeaux, the mayor sallied out with ten thousand men to attack him. How inferior soever Orval might be in number of troops, he stood his ground against this undisciplined militia, slew great part of them and took many prisoners.

In April 1451, the army of France, commanded by the Bastard of Orleans, Earl of Dunois and Longueville, was forty thousand strong. This general presently became master of Montguion, in Saintonge. Then, May the 16th, he besieged Blaye, and carried it the 21st. Not only, there was no English army in the field, but moreover, no manner of appearance, that the court of England effectually thought of defending Guienne.

The French general improving so favourable a juncture, divided his army into four bodies, the most considerable of which he commanded himself. He gave the command of the other three to the Earls of Foix, Pontievre, and Armagnac. All these generals made several conquests with ease. Libourn, Castillon, Dacs, Rioure, and Bourg, surrendered in as short time. Fronsac, the strongest place of the province, held out but three days; however, the castle made a brave defence.

The inhabitants of Guienne seeing themselves thus deserted by the King of England, thought it time to provide for their safety. The states of the province being assembled at Bordeaux in June, resolved voluntarily to submit to King Charles, and avoid the utter ruin they were threatened with. Pursuant to this resolution, they concluded, with the Earl of Dunois, a treaty, promising to submit to the dominion of the King of France, if before the 24th of the same month, they were not relieved by an army able to give battle.

The French general could grant that condition without apprehension, since he was well assured there was nothing ready in England, for the assistance of Guienne. The army not appearing, all the towns of the duchy opened their gates to the French, except Bayonne, which refused to be included in the treaty. This place; the only one the English had left; was invested the 6th of

August. The breach being large enough on the 19th of the same month, the besiegers were preparing to storm; but the inhabitants saved them the trouble, by rising in arms, and obliging the garrison to capitulate. The French historians pretend that a white cross was seen in the air, just over the town, an evident sign of God's protection to France.

Whilst the court of England carelessly suffered Guienne to be lost, they grew extremely uneasy with regard to the Duke of York. As in the Kentish rebellion, Jack Cade had assumed the name of Mortimer, it was easy to perceive, his aim had been to sound the people's inclination to the house of Marche. Consequently it might be inferred, that he had been encouraged by the Duke of York, sole heir of that family. Indeed the thing was palpable, but there was no evidence to convict the Duke, because Cade was slain.

Besides, in the people's disposition with regard to the court, they would infallibly have joined with the Duke of York, if, by being publicly attacked, he had been forced to stand upon his defence. Meanwhile, as he was suspected of forming some plot in Ireland, and of intending to bring an army of Irish into England, the King sent orders to the sheriffs of Wales, Shropshire, and Cheshire, to be in a readiness to hinder his landing.

This precaution produced several ill effects. In the first place, it showed, that the court was afraid of the Duke of York, which it would have been proper to conceal, for fear of giving the people occasion to inquire into the reason. In the next place, the Duke found it was his business to be upon his guard; whereas if the court had feigned not to know his designs, they might have drawn him into some snare, or given him room to make some false step, which would have given them an advantage. In fine; he was thereby furnished with a pretence to complain, since he was so far from being convicted of any project against the King, that he had not taken any apparent step, on which an accusation could be grounded.

Accordingly, he wrote to the complaining of this suspicion, which he feigned to look upon extremely injurious, and as a mere pretence intended for his ruin. The King sent him a very civil answer, giving him some sort of satisfaction, but re-tilted not his orders.

Though Cade's enterprise had miscarried, the Duke of York had reaped the benefit he proposed. The great number of people that embarked in it, discovered how much the nation was displeas'd with the Queen and the ministry, and that the memory of the rights of the House of March was not entirely abolished. So instead of being discouraged, he entertained fresh hopes. He judg'd, if the shadow only of one of his family was capable of causing so great a multitude to take arms, much more would the people be attached to a Prince of the blood royal, sole heir of this house.

Meanwhile, not to be too hasty in the execution of a project of such consequence, he resolv'd, before any thing was attempted, to consult his friends. The time of his government of Ireland being expired, he embark'd for England, but when he would have landed in Wales, he found at the port, the militia in arms ready to oppose him. He landed, notwithstanding, at another place, which was not so strongly guarded. He did this the more boldly, as he had only his own servants with him, and had yet given his enemies no hold. After that, he repair'd to London, whence the court had gone some time before in progress to the western counties.

The Duke of York was impatiently expected at London. His friends had frequently conferred together in his absence, but could not come to any resolution without him. His principal adherents were, John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury, son-in-law to the general of the same name, slain before Orleans, Richard Nevil his son, who was shortly after Earl of Warwick, by his marriage with Anne Beauchamp daughter of the Earl of Warwick who died in France, Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, though brother-in-law of the Duke of Somerset, and Edward Brook, Baron of Cobham[130]. With these Lords the Duke immediately after his arrival, concerted measures to accomplish his designs.

The result of their consultations was, that the Duke should retire into Wales, where the family of Marche had always had a great interest; that he should privately be assured of seasonably raising an army, by means of his friends; that he should then write to the King, to advise him of the people's dislike of the ministry, and particularly of the Duke of Somerset.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Duke repairing into Wales and taking all his measures, wrote to the King, "That all the kingdom was dissatisfied, because traitors were screened from justice, and that he took the freedom to advise him to prevent the ill consequences of this discontent. That the speediest means was to order the guilty to be brought to their trial, and particularly the Duke of Somerset, who, having been impeached by the Commons, was restored to favour without any examination.

In fine, that if he would give the nation this satisfaction, he offered to assist in the execution of so good a design. The ministry easily perceived, the Duke, of York sought an occasion of quarrel. But as in their present situation, they durst not act haughtily, it was judged proper, the King should send the Duke a civil answer, which would disappoint him of the pretence he wanted. Accordingly, the King in his letter told him, he had resolved some time since to reform whatever was amiss in the government; and for that purpose intended, to appoint a certain number of virtuous and able counsellors, of whom he was designed to be one.

That as for the traitors mentioned in his letter, he did not mean? to let them go unpunished, but the affair being of very great consequence, required mature deliberation that as for the Duke of Somerset in particular, he should not be excused from answering the accusations laid to his charge.

A. D. 1452] Though this answer deprived the Duke of York of all pretence to take arms, he imagined the King's bare refusal to remove or punish the ministers complained of, was a sufficient warrant. Meanwhile, as he had taken his measures to raise an army, he did not think proper to break them, or suffer himself to be decoyed by a moderation which might be as well feigned as real. So putting himself at the head of his army, he marched towards London. But he found, the Queen had not been so negligent as he. Expected.

Upon notice of the Duke's retiring into Wales, she had ordered troops to be levied in the King's name, without discovering however for what they were intended. The Duke therefore was no sooner upon the march, but he heard the King was advancing to give him battle. Though he wanted neither courage nor experience he thought he should not venture a battle with the King, without having a more plausible pretence than what he would have covered his designs with.

His aim was to gain the people, but to fight the King without a more specious reason, was not the way to compass his ends, though he could even have been sure of victory. Besides, looking upon the city of London as able to incline the balance to his side, he judged that before all things, he ought to secure that metropolis.

For this reason, when he heard the King was coming against him, he suddenly altered his route, and by speedy marches got before him, and appeared before London, where he expected to be received with open arms. But he had the mortification to find the gates shut, the inhabitants not thinking proper to declare for him whilst the King was so closely pursuing him with a stronger army than his. He was forced therefore to pass the Thames at Kingston, and encamp on Burnt Heath[131] twelve miles from London. The King following him, marched over London bridge, and encamped about four miles from him.

The two armies being so near each other, that nothing could prevent an engagement, the King sent the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, to know of the Duke what had induced him to appear in arms. The Duke answered, he had never intended to forsake his allegiance to the King, but only to remove from his person evil counsellors, of

whom the Duke of Somerset was the chief and if the King would put him into safe custody, till he should in Parliament answer to what was objected against him, he was ready to dismiss his troops. The King unexpectedly took him at his word, promised to send his enemy to the Tower, and even ordered him to be immediately arrested. The Duke of York, surprised at this condescension, would have been glad to recede from his engagement; but as he could not do it without laying himself too open, he thought he ought to run some risk, rather than hazard the loss of the people's good will, on which he built all his expectations.

So, without hesitation, he disbanded his troops[132] and came to court, not vouchsafing even to take any precaution for his safety. When he was in the King's presence, he accused the Duke of Somerset with great warmth, and endeavoured to persuade the King, that he was a traitor, and had sacrificed the interest of the kingdom to his ambition and avarice. Upon these words, the Duke of Somerset, who was concealed behind the hangings, suddenly stepped forth to answer him, and accused him of conspiring to dethrone the King.

The Duke of York seeing his enemy before him, and in the King's apartment, whom he thought in safe custody, found he was amused and perceived his danger. Nevertheless, without showing any concern, he modestly complained of the King's breach of promise, by the suggestions of the Duke of Somerset, on whom he cast the baseness of this fraud. Immediately after, the King dismissed the Duke of York, and ordered him to be apprehended as soon as he was out of his presence[133].

If the Duke of York's enemies had dared to gratify their resentment, he would never have freed himself from the snare he had imprudently fallen into. But the posture of affairs, and the disposition of the people, Affording just occasion of fear, they durst not proceed against him. Two other reasons helped likewise to save him. It was rumoured at court, that the young Earl of Marche his son, attended by all the friends of his family, was advancing with a strong body of troops to deliver his father.

So, for fear the Duke's army, which was lately disbanded, should join his son's troops, the court was obliged to take a more gentle course. On the other hand, the Gascons had sent deputies to the King, to offer to reduce Guienne to his obedience, if he would send them supplies. At such a juncture it was believed, as the Duke of York's blood could not be spilt without involving the kingdom in a civil war, there would be a necessity of detaining the troops intended for Guienne, and thereby a favourable opportunity lost of recovering that province.

These considerations induced the Queen and Duke of Somerset to give the Duke of York his liberty, though their own, the King's, and the whole house of Lancaster's interest, required he should be sacrificed to their safety. However, as the Queen and ministers were willing, as far as in them lay, to secure themselves against his designs, they obliged him to take an oath to the King, whereby he swore to remain his faithful subject till death, and never to take arms against him. This done the Duke of York retired to his castle of Wigmore, in Herefordshire, and the Duke of Somerset enjoyed, without a rival, the authority he had acquired at court.

Whilst Henry was employed at home, in opposing the attempts of the Duke of York, Charles had no less an enemy to encounter in his own kingdom. The Dauphin his son, a Prince of a turbulent temper, created him great uneasiness by his behaviour towards him. For some time past he had resided in Dauphine, where he acted as sovereign, regardless of the King his father's orders, executing them no farther than he pleased.

He had even the rashness, to demand of the Duke of Savoy his daughter Violante in marriage; and the Duke complied with his request, without vouchsafing to acquaint the King with the matter. Provoked at this proceeding, Charles put himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and marched towards Lyons, bent upon chastising his son, and punishing the Duke of Savoy's

presumption. But the revolution which happened at the same time in Guienne, caused him to take other measures.

The Gascons, who had been for three hundred years, without interruption, under the dominion of the Kings of England, had submitted to King Charles, only because they were neglected by the English. As soon as the French army had quitted Guienne, the Lords of the country, in concert with the inhabitants of Bordeaux, resolved to return to their ancient sovereigns. For that purpose, they deputed the Lords of Candale and l'Esparre, to contrive the means at London.

The troubles raised by the Duke of York, had for some time hindered the court from attending to this affair. But when they were appeased, the Queen and council, after mature deliberation, judged that nothing should be neglected to accomplish the enterprise. Talbot, the valiant Earl of Shrewsbury, who was returned from a voyage into Italy, was chosen for this expedition. Though he was fourscore years old, he readily accepted an employment, which gave him opportunity; once more, before his death, to do his King and country a considerable service.

As diligence was absolutely necessary, he embarked what troops were ready upon a promise that the rest designed for him should quickly follow. He sailed the 18th of October, and on the 21st landed near Bordeaux. Next day he appeared before the city, and as every thing was prepared to receive him, he was introduced at a gate of which the citizens had the guard. The French garrison, who had not heard of his arrival, surprised at this unexpected accident, would have retired at another gate, but were almost all taken.

The promised reinforcement being arrived from England a few days after, the Earl of Shrewsbury took the field at the head of seven thousand men. With this little army he re-conquered some of the towns of Guinness, among others Fronsac and Castillon, as rapidly as they were lost. If winter had not prevented him from pursuing his conquests, he would have made himself master of all Guienne.

A. D. 1453] Charles, who was then at Lyons, hearing this ill news, did not think proper to persist in the execution of the design he had formed. The affair of Guienne seemed to him of greater importance. So, suddenly altering his resolution, he permitted the Dauphin to marry the Princess of Savoy, and gave one of his daughters to the young Prince of Piedmont. At the same time, he resolved to send all his troops into Guienne the next spring.

Meanwhile, he dispatched before him a body of ten thousand men, under the command of Chabanes, and the Earl of Pontievre. These two generals being arrived in Saintonge, besieged Chalais and Castillon, whilst the Earl of Clermont followed them, with the rest of the army designed for Guienne. Chabanes was taken up with the siege of Chalais till June after which he joined. Pontievre before Castillon, which still made a vigorous defence. The dread inspired by the Earl of Shrewsbury's valour and experience, made them use the precaution seldom practised in those days, of making lines, and defending the avenues of their camp with palisadoes.

The Earl of Shrewsbury was at Bordeaux with six or seven thousand men, in suspense, what course he should take with regard to the siege. He was desirous to relieve the place, but was afraid of meeting many difficulties, -as well by reason of the entrenchments of the French, as of the superiority of their number. On the other hand, knowing the Earl of Clermont was advancing with all speed, he considered, it must be done, before the arrival of these fresh troops, after which, it would be too late, since he would have all the forces of France to oppose.

In fine, having taken this last resolution, he left Bordeaux with all his army, and approaching the French camp, attacked them with the same vigour, which the English had shown at the battle of Azincourt, and on several other occasions. He soon defeated four thousand men, commanded by Chabanes without the entrenchments, drove them into the camp, and in spite of the besiegers' cannon, which swept away his men by whole files, forced their lines, and entered with the flying

troops. Thus the English relate it. But the French only say, the lines were like to be forced, when the English were attacked in the rear by a body of French horse. This cooled their ardour, and obliged their general to discontinue the attack of the lines, and face those that pressed him behind. This motion gave the French an opportunity to draw all their troops out of the camp.

So, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had not above five thousand men left, was reduced to the necessity of making two fronts, and withstanding ten thousand. At length the English finding themselves overpowered by numbers, began to give ground. At the same time, the Earl of Shrewsbury was wounded in the thigh with a musket and his horse killed under him. In this condition, not being able, by reason of his wound, to remount, he bade Sir John Talbot his son to retire, and save himself for another occasion, where he might be still serviceable to his country. But Talbot rather than basely fly, chose to die by the Earl his father, who also, presently after, resigned his last, breath. The English. lost two thousand men, but their most considerable loss was their general[134].

After this defeat, Castillon surrendered the 16th of July. A few days after, the Earl of Clermont being arrived, and the King come to the camp, the army was divided into four bodies, which besieged at once Cadillac, Libourne, Fronsac, and Bordeaux. Fronsac and Libourne resisted only a few days; but the castle of Cadillac maintained a siege of two months. After the taking of that place, the whole army joined before Bordeaux, which capitulated the 17th of October, and the garrison had liberty to return into England.

Thus, of so many conquests made by the English in France, since Edward III. there remained only Calais and Guisnes; poor remains of so many provinces, several whereof had belonged to their Kings by hereditary right, and the rest were acquired by so many victories, and at the expense of so much blood!

Whilst the French were thus successfully carrying on the war in Guienne, Henry was seized at London, with a long and dangerous sickness, which often gave occasion to believe he would never recover. At the same tune, the Queen was delivered, on the 23rd of October, of a Prince christened Edward. His birth gave rise to several reports, injurious to the Queen's honour.

Cardinal Kemp, translated from the see of York to that of Canterbury, dying in December this year, Thomas Bouchier, brother of the Earl of Essex, was elected Archbishop. He was a prelate of eminent merit, and was afterwards made chancellor, and then honoured with the dignity of cardinal.

The war in France which had lasted thirty-eight years, being ended, the remaining events of this reign, consist only of the quarrels between the houses of Lancaster and York; the first of which, had for device, a red, and the other a white rose. These devices are famous for the vast torrents of English blood, shed upon their account. The troubles raised by the Duke of York, seemed entirely suppressed, since his reconciliation with the King; but they were quickly renewed with so much more fury, as the English were no longer diverted by a foreign war.

The Duke of York had renewed his oath to the King; but it was only to free himself from the danger, which his imprudence had thrown him into. He was no less resolved to maintain his pretensions, and take the advantage of the King's incapacity, and the people's disaffection for the Queen and her ministers. To consider only the laws and customs of the realm, his title was indisputable He was descended from the third son[135] of Edward III whereas, Henry came only from the fourth. Son[136] of the same Prince.

It is true, it was by a daughter, but there was no such thing in England as the Salk law, to exclude him upon that account. On the contrary, in the reign of Richard II Roger Earl of Marche, his grandfather by the mother's side, was declared by the Parliament, presumptive heir of the crown, in case Richard died without issue. And even since the house of Lancaster was on the throne,

the Parliament, as was related in the reign of Henry IV. had confirmed by a solemn act, the right of the daughters and their descendants. And yet, Henry VI. was no usurper. It was now above fifty years since the house of Lancaster had held the crown, by the authority of the Parliament, who settled it on the family of Henry IV. So, the Duke of York could pretend to the crown, only on supposition, that the Parliament had not power to alter the succession.

For this reason, he could not openly discover his intention, without directly attacking the privileges of the Parliament, of which the English nation has ever been jealous. Besides, he stood in need of the Parliament to succeed in his design. But how could he gain the Parliament to his side, if he offered to question the validity of their acts? On the other hand, he was to break through a fifty years possession, confirmed by the unanimous consent of the people, and become still more authentic by the glorious advantages, procured the nation by the late King Henry V.

These obstacles were sufficient to divert the Duke of York from his enterprise if, on the other hand, the present conjunctures had not encouraged him to pursue it. Henry was a Prince unable of himself, to oppose the Duke's efforts against him. Though he was not hated by the people, he was little esteemed. He was looked upon but as the shadow of a King, who only lent his name to the Queen and his ministers. Nevertheless, the sole name of King, would have been capable to keep the people in subjection to those that were at the helm, had they not made an ill use of their power, as is too commonly done by those who are in the like station.

But the authority usurped by the Queen, and the Duke of Somerset, was not the only cause of the discontent of the English. When they considered, that all the conquests of Henry V and Guienne itself, which had been for three hundred years, under the dominion of England, were lost in a few years, they could not forbear casting the blame upon those, that governed in the King's name.

Normandy had been taken from England, in two campaigns only, under the Duke of Somerset's regency, whilst he was actually on the spot to defend it. He was accused likewise, of having been too hasty in surrendering Caen. On the other hand, it was, considered, that during the regency of the Duke of Gloucester, the affairs of France were kept upon a tolerable footing; and yet, the Queen to gratify her passion, had dispatched that Prince out of the way, in a base and violent manner, and thereby, been the occasion of all the subsequent losses.

So, the King was looked upon as a Prince, incapable of retrieving the honour of the nation, and restoring the affairs of the kingdom to a flourishing state; the Queen as too well affected to France, and grasping at the whole, authority in England; and the Duke of Somerset as a greedy minister, who sought only to enrich himself at the expense of the public. It was farther, and loudly complained, that to preserve his authority, the Duke filled the highest posts with his creatures, without any regard to their merit and parts.

This last article made a deep impression on the minds of the people. They could not, without indignation, see the council filled with vicious persons, and all the places of the kingdom possessed by men of no principles. This gave occasion to suspect, that the Queen's and ministry's aim, was to hinder religion, honour, virtue, and love of one's country, from inducing those, that were in the public posts, to oppose the abuses and disorders, spread over the kingdom.

This disposition of the people gave the Duke of York such great advantages, that he thought, he should improve them, not by acting directly for himself, but under colour of procuring the good of the people, in obliging the King to make use of other ministers. He knew, if he could remove his enemies from the, council, and introduce his own creatures, it would not be difficult to pursue the execution of his designs.

An undertaking of this nature could not be accomplished, without the assistance of friends; and therefore, he engaged several Lords in his plot, some under colour of turning out the Duke of

Somerset, who was generally hated and envied; others, by discovering to them his most secret purposes. Among these last, the two Nevils, father and son, were the principal. The father, who bore the title of Earl of Salisbury, was eminent for his virtues and consummate prudence. The Earl of Warwick his son, was universally esteemed for his valour, and adored by the people for his engaging behaviour[137]. He knew how to carry himself so well, that he seemed to have solely in view, the welfare and glory, of the nation[138].

Hitherto, he had affected, between the two parties, a neutrality, which by rendering him agreeable to the people, had taken from the ministers, not only all of destroying him, but even all occasion of suspecting him. These two Lords, with some others, consulting with the Duke of York, concerning the means to accomplish his project, agreed, it was not yet time to discover his intention that, on the contrary, he should behave submissively to the King, in order to efface the ill impressions, which his former conduct might have made in the people. The frankness wherewith he had disbanded his troops, and his new oath to the King, were exceedingly proper to instil a belief, that he had no ill design.

The Parliament had been summoned to Reading, but by reason of the King's relapse, it was adjourned to Westminster, for February the 14th.[139] In this interval the Duke of York's private friends, who pretended to be of the court party, intimated to the Queen, and the Duke of Somerset, that in the present disposition of the people, it was to be feared, the Parliament would come to very disagreeable resolutions, that whilst the King was in health, they could act in his name, because all orders were supposed to issue from him; but that the case was not the same, during his sickness: that their authority being wholly grounded upon the King's will, there was reason to fear, that the royal will no longer appearing, the Parliament would nominate other governors: that therefore, it was proper to admit into the council the Duke of York, the two Nevils, and some other of the, most popular Lords, in order to show, that those who governed, did not seek to engross all the power.

This advice was built upon such plausible reasons, that the Queen and the favourite could not help falling into the snare. So, the Duke of York, the two Nevils, and some others of their cabal, were called to the council before the Parliament met. They were no sooner admitted, but they became superior, so that those, who before managed all, had no longer any credit.

The first notable step of these new counsellors, was to arrest the Duke of Somerset in the Queen's bedchamber, and send him to the Tower. Meanwhile, the Parliament was farther prorogued to the 15th of March, to give the Duke of York and his friends time to concert measures with the members[140].

Two days before the meeting of the Parliament, the council empowered the Duke of York to hold it in the King's name. In the beginning of the session, the Commons sent to the House of Lords an accusation against the Duke of Somerset, for suffering Normandy to be lost, during his regency, and by his fault. April the 2nd, the great seal was given to the Earl of Salisbury. Next day, the Parliament appointed the Duke of York Protector of the Realm, Defender of the Church, and first Counsellor of the King; with this limitation, till the young Prince Edward the King's son was of age, to exercise that high office.

Hence it appears, first, that it was believed, the King's indisposition would last as long as he lived, and that it affected his understanding more than his body. In the next place, by reserving this office for a child of six months, who was to exercise it when of age, the Parliament shewed their intention to preserve entire, the rights of the House of Lancaster, though the Duke of York was, declared protector.

Generally, on these occasions, there is too much or too little done, and from thence, spring civil wars: If the Parliament had openly declared against the House of Lancaster, very likely, at such a juncture, it would have found but few friends. On the other hand, if instead of placing the Duke

of York so near the throne, care had been taken to check his ambition; which was but too manifest, doubtless, he would have lost many of his adherents, and perhaps, the civil war; which laid waste the kingdom, being avoided.

The Duke of York having all the power in his own hands, removed the Duke of Somerset, who was still in the Tower, from the government of Calais, and by the King's letters patent, placed himself in his room. Every one imagined, the accusation against the imprisoned Duke would be vigorously prosecuted. But the affair was suffered to lie dormant, and seemingly un-regarded, all the rest of the year. Probably, the evidences against him appeared insufficient.

In the beginning of the year 1455, the King finding himself something recovered of his long illness, the authority conferred on the Duke of York ceased of course. The Duke of York's matters were not sufficiently ripe; to enable him to dispute with the King, the right of resuming his authority, though it was in effect, only to replace it in the hands of the Queen. The first effect of this change, was the Duke of Somerset's release.

On the 5th of February the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Wiltshire, and two Knights[141], offering to he his pledges, their offer was accepted, and the governor of the Tower was ordered to release the prisoner. A month after, these Lords were discharged from their sureties, without any sentence intervening. As the Duke was apprehended by order of council, it was supposed, he could be released by the same authority. But there was much to be said. against this supposition.

The impeachment of the House of Commons since intervening, it could not be pretended, that the King had power to release him before he was legally acquitted. However, the court had no regard to this reason. After the King had resumed the government, the Duke of York, and his party, had no longer any credit in the council, where the Queen, and the Duke of Somerset, bore an absolute sway. So prevalent was the King's bare name to give a new turn to affairs.

Meanwhile, some of the most prudent Lords, dreading the ill consequences of the quarrel between the two Dukes, endeavoured to reconcile them. It was the interest of both to show, that they acted not from ambitious motives; for their aim was to gain the people. Wherefore, they both consented to chuse arbitrators, and submit to their decision, under penalty, for him that refused, of paying to the other twenty thousand marks. But it was on condition, that the sentence of the arbitrators should be pronounced before the 20th of June.

Whilst people were in expectation of this sentence; the Duke of Somerset represented to the King, that he had been removed from the government of Calais, upon a bare accusation, that was never determined: and it was not just, that his adversary should remain clothed with his spoils, since their deference was not yet decided. Upon this remonstrance, the King took from the Duke of York, the government, which he had conferred on him for seven years. Then under colour of observing a perfect neutrality between the two rivals, he declared himself Governor of Calais.

In the act, whereby the Duke of York was removed, it was said to be done, at the Duke's own request. But the Duke taking it as a heinous affront, withdrew from court, where he found his affairs began to be in an ill situation. He retired into Wales, not only to screen himself from the attempts of his enemies, but with design to levy an army, and have it in his power to attack them. He was very sensible, that the Queen and the Duke of Somerset being absolute masters of the King's person, had an advantage, of which, nothing but force could deprive them. So, without farther consideration, he resolved to take arms.

The court's proceedings in releasing the Duke of Somerset, without giving the nation any satisfaction, made him imagine, he should be strongly supported, when he came to use that pretence. He was not deceived in his expectations. In a short time he saw himself at the head of a numerous army[142], and in condition to make head against the King, who had likewise

prepared himself, and was marching directly towards him to give him battle. The two armies met near St. Albans, on a level ground, where nothing hindered their engagement. The Duke of York, to show, he had taken arms solely for the good of the public, sent and offered the King to dismiss his troops, if the Duke of Somerset was delivered to justice, to be condemned if guilty, or acquitted if innocent, But the court knowing this to be only a vain pretence, and that one time or other, the quarrel must be decided by arms, rejected the offer, and the battle was fought the 23rd of May.

The Earl of Warwick, who commanded the Duke of York's vanguard, expecting this answer, attacked the King's army[143], whilst the court was waiting for new proposals from the malcontents. This attack, which was as vigorous as sudden, put the royal army into such a disorder, that it was not in the Duke of Somerset's power to repair it.

At the same time, the Duke of York improving this advantage, advanced likewise from his quarter, not to give the enemies time to recover themselves. He pressed them so briskly, that the royal army was defeated in a few moments, with the loss of five thousand men, without making any considerable resistance. The Duke of Somerset was killed on the spot, with the Earl of Northumberland[144], the Earl of Stafford, eldest son of the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Clifford, and several other Lords and officers of note[145], all firmly attached to the House of Lancaster. The Duke of Buckingham receiving a wound, retired out of the battle, and by his retreat, completed the disorder among the King's troops.

Meantime, the King, who was wounded in the neck with an arrow, seeing himself deserted in the rout of his army, retired into a little house, which was presently invested. The Duke of York having notice of it posted thither with the Earl of Salisbury, and presenting themselves before him on their knees, told him, since the public enemy was dead, he saw none there but persons ready to obey him in whatever he should please to command them.

The King, upon these words, recovering a little from his fright, caused by the Duke's approach, entreated him, for God's sake, to put a stop to the slaughter, assuring him, he was ready to give him all the satisfaction he could reasonably desire. Whereupon the Duke ordered a retreat to be sounded. and the army enjoined to shed no more blood. Then he conducted the King to St. Albans, whence they returned together to London.

Shortly after Henry called a Parliament, which met in July[146]. The King being then relapsed, the Duke of York was commissioned to hold it in his name. The Parliament, which, at such a juncture, could scarcely be composed of any but the Duke of York's adherents; made the following declaration:—

"That the government had been ill managed by the Queen, and the Duke of Somerset, who had abused the King's goodness and confidence: that the late Duke of Gloucester had been unjustly accused; that all the alienations of the crown lands made since the first year of the present reign, should be revoked: That the Duke of York, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, or any that had listed under their banners, were not guilty of rebellion in taking arms against the King, since it was necessary to free his person from captivity: that, on the contrary, the blame was to be laid on the Duke of Somerset and his adherents, who concealed from the King, the Duke of York's letter, which might have prevented these disorders."

Then, the Parliament petitioned the King to nominate a protector, because of his indisposition, which hindered him from attending to the affairs of the public. This petition was repeated several times, without the King's returning an answer. Not that he had resolved to reject it. He was no more at liberty to follow his own councils, than when he was under the guardianship of the Queen, and the Duke of Somerset. But the Duke of York had a mind this nomination should not appear forced. At length, the Parliament being prorogued to the 12th of November, on the very

day, the King signed a patent wherein he said, that having been frequently petitioned by his Parliament to nominate a protector, he appointed the Duke of York for that important employ, till he should be removed by the Parliament, or the young Prince of Wales be capable of exercising it[147]. Then, after a month's session; the Parliament was prorogued to the fourteenth of January.

A. D. 1456] Whilst the Duke of York thus enjoyed the advantage he had gained upon his enemies, they were not idle. The Queen, who knew his designs, was too much concerned, as well for her own, as the King's, and her son's sake, not to try to disappoint them. Henry Duke of Somerset, son of him slain at St. Albans, and the Duke of Buckingham, were equally desirous of revenging the one his son's, the other his father's death. In fine, all the Princes and Lords allied to the House of Lancaster, or attached to its interest, seeing the Duke of York taking large steps towards the throne, were prepared to use their utmost endeavours to stop his progress.

Meanwhile, the Duke of York lived in a security which astonished his very enemies. He perceived it would be very dangerous openly to aspire to a crown which had been fifty-six years in the House of Lancaster. Wherefore he chose to wait, till time should produce a favourable opportunity to prosecute his right. So, to demonstrate, he was not swayed by passion or interest, he left the King and Queen at full liberty.

He imagined, it was not in their power to deprive him of the protectorship, which, according to his patent, he was to enjoy till removed by the Parliament. But he had to deal with an able and enterprising Princess, who was not discouraged at the obstacles she met in her way.

The King being recovered, the Duke of York's enemies resolved to improve this juncture, to divest him of his dignity of protector, which gave him so great a power. It would have been easy for him to foresee, the pretence of the King's recovery might be used, as it was once before, if he had not been blinded by the clause in his patent. But this clause whereon he relied, was a weak defence against the attempts of his enemies.

The Parliament being re-assembled, the King went in person, and declared, that being, by God's Grace, in good health, and able to resume the reins of the government, he did not think the kingdom any longer wanted a protector. Then he desired the Parliament to consent, that the Duke of York might be dismissed from that office. Whether the Parliament thought the King's demand reasonable, or the members had been gained unknown to the Duke, it was immediately resolved, to grant the King's request. The same day (February 25,) the King sent the Duke an order to resign the office of protector.

The Duke of York and his party were amazed at this proceeding. They easily perceived, the combination was too strong to be broken. So, making, as it is said, a virtue of necessity, they feigned patiently to submit to the King's and the Parliament's orders. However, under colour of having no farther business at court, they retired into the country. But the Duke of York, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, kept within distance of each other in Yorkshire.

Shortly after, there was a sedition at London, occasioned by a sudden quarrel between two merchants, one an Englishman, and the other an Italian[148]. The mob rising in favour of the Englishman, the King empowered the Dukes of Exeter and Buckingham to bring the guilty to a trial; but the populace would not suffer them to execute their commission. The Queen suspecting this tumult to be raised by the Duke of York's adherents, and not thinking the King safe at London, carried him to Coventry, under colour of taking the air.

But besides this she had another motive of no less importance, and that was, to ensnare at once the Duke of York, and the two Earls his friends, who had retired into the north. She was informed, that though they were separated in appearance, they had, on divers pretences, frequent conferences together, at which several other Lords of their party were present. As she could not doubt, it was to concert measures against the King, she believed she should have them in her

power, if she could draw them to Coventry, where they would not find the same protection as at London. To that end, she sent them letters under the King's own hand, requiring their presence at court, where their advice was wanted, in an affair of the utmost importance.

The Duke of York had not yet done any thing openly, which shewed that he aspired to the crown. This was a secret between him and his principal friends. It is very true, the court was persuaded of it, but it was not possible to convict him. Hitherto he had varnished his actions with the good of the public, and for that very reason was formidable to the court. But though it was not easy to condemn him legally, he could not be ignorant, there were speedier and more certain ways to dispatch him, and that his enemies were not over scrupulous. Besides, though he had artfully concealed his designs from the people, he could not think of deceiving the Queen, who was too much concerned not to discover them.

Notwithstanding these considerations, which should have created a jealousy in the three Lords who had received the King's letters, they resolved to go to him. They flattered themselves, that Henry being at length sensible of the mismanagement of the Queen and the ministry, required their assistance, in making some alterations at court. But whilst they were on the road to Coventry, their private emissaries undeceived them, by warning them of their danger. This advice causing them to take other measures, they thought proper to separate.

The Duke of York withdrew to his castle of Wigmore, in the marches of Wales; and the Earl of Salisbury to his seat at Middleham in Yorkshire as for the Earl of Warwick, he went directly to Calais, of which he was made Governor after the battle of St. Albans, The Queen was extremely vexed at this disappointment, but her comfort was, she had separated the three Lords, and so rendered them less formidable.

The fears and jealousies of both parties were a little interrupted during the year 1457, by foreign affairs. As the English had formerly improved the dissension in France, to make conquests upon that kingdom, Charles VII. thought he should not neglect the advantages, which the quarrels of the English court seemed to offer him. For that purpose, he prepared two fleets which were to invade England in two different quarters. The first sailing to the Downs, plundered the town of Sandwich. The other served Foy a little town of Cornwall; in the same manner. But this is all they did worth remarking.

About the same time the Scots made likewise an inroad into the northern counties, and carried away some booty. Indeed, there was a truce concluded in 1433, between England and Scotland, till the 21st of May this year, on condition, that when this term was expired, which ever of the two Kings intended to renew the war, he should give the other one hundred and eight days notice. But so many outrages had been committed on both sides, that neither party thought themselves obliged to observe the treaty.

The very last year, the two Kings had sent each other abusive letters, full of haughtiness and contempt. However, whether the Scots intended only to revenge some particular injury, or for some other reason, the truce was renewed from the 6th of July this year, to that day twelve Month, 1459, and afterwards prolonged to the 6th of July 1463.

The affairs with the foreign enemies being ended, domestic quarrels were on the point of being renewed, if some peaceful persons had not used their endeavours, to prevent the fatal consequences of these divisions. It was easy to see; that the two parties, in deciding their quarrel by arms, could not but ruin the kingdom, and occasion in the end some sad revolution. Neither party was so superior, as to promise themselves certain victory.

Success depended on the events of the war, too doubtful for either to found any reasonable hopes upon. The Duke of York was sensible, it was no easy thing to dispossess by force, a King that had been on the throne thirty-five years. The truth is, Henry was little esteemed by his subjects,

on account of his incapacity; but he gained their affection by his innocent life, and good intentions. On the other hand, the Queen, the new Duke of Somerset, who held the late Duke his father's post, the rest of the ministry; and the whole House of Lancaster, were in a very tottering state.

The French and Scots took advantage of these quarrels to invade the kingdom, and all the miscarriages were laid upon those who governed in the King's name. The court saw plainly, the Duke of York used this pretence to stir up the people against them. Though hitherto he had not made all the progress he could have wished, he saw himself, able very soon to make one much more considerable.

These reasons, added to the King's instances to adjust these differences, moved the Queen and the Duke of Somerset, to send the Duke of York an offer of a sincere reconciliation. This first step being taken, the King desired the Duke of York and his friends to repair to London, a place by them unsuspected, in order to endeavour an agreement. He wrote them a letter with his own hand, promising upon his salvation, he would do them no injury, and that his intention was sincere.

Such an invitation could not be rejected, without openly declaring himself, which the Duke of York was willing to avoid. So, the Lords of his party resolved to accept it. They were jealous however of the Queen, who, on her part, had as little confidence in them. To remove all fears, it was agreed, that both parties might be attended with a certain number of armed followers. The King even gave the Earl of Warwick leave, who was to come from Calais, to bring with him four and twenty foreigners, besides English[149].

Every thing being thus settled, the Lords of both parties came to London in January; but the Earl of Warwick arrived not till February. They were lodged in two different quarters[150], to avoid the disorders which their being together might occasion. The mayor of London[151] rode every night round the city with his train-bands, to the number of ten thousand. The King and Queen entered the city the 27th of March, and lodged in the Bishop's palace, at an equal distance from both parties.

Mediators being chosen with unanimous consent, on the 3rd of April a reconciliation was made[152] to the common satisfaction of the King, the Queen, the Lords, and the whole kingdom, The substance of the agreement was, that all animosity being laid aside, the Lords. should live together in peace and concord, and in perfect obedience to the King's commands. But to avoid all occasion of complaint, it was agreed, that the Duke of York, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, with some others of that party, should be admitted into the council.

Then the 5th of April was appointed for a public thanksgiving day, for this reconciliation, by a solemn procession to St. Paul's church. The King and Queen, and all the Lords were present, and walked two and two, one of each party, in token of a perfect union[153]. The Duke of York led the Queen by the hand, who publicly gave him marks of confidence and esteem.

It appeared however soon after, that this confidence, of which so great shew was made on both sides, was far from being restored. The Duke of York and his two principal friends, always fearing some treachery from their reconciled enemies, withdrew from court on divers pretences. The Duke and the Earl of Salisbury went to York, and the Earl of Warwick to his government of Calais. This Earl, however, being admiral of the channel, was forced to return to England to answer some maritime complaint, and staid six or seven weeks.

One day whilst he was present at the council, one of his people quarrelled with a servant of the King's, and wounded him whereupon the rest of the King's domestics arming themselves, some with swords, others with clubs or other weapons, ran to revenge their comrade. As they could not find the aggressor, they fell upon the rest of the Earl of Warwick's retinue. In short, they even

assaulted his person, as he was coming out of the council to go to his barge, which waited for him on the Thames. The assault was so violent, that he hardly escaped to his barge, after seeing several of his people killed on the spot. He did not doubt this was a contrivance of the Queen to dispatch him. He was confirmed in his opinion, when he heard the King had ordered him to be arrested and sent to the Tower.

He had notice, timely enough to disappoint those who were sent to arrest him. With a mind full of resentment, he went to the Earl of Salisbury his father; and without delay, they repaired together to the Duke of York, to consult what was to be done in this juncture. From what had lately passed, they concluded, the reconciliation at London was only a snare to surprise them the more easily, and destroy them one after another. Perhaps they were not sorry for having this excuse to justify their resolution of acting openly, as not being able to rely any more on the promises of the court. Pursuant to this project, the Earl of Warwick speedily returned to Calais to secure that place, not questioning that there was a design to take it from him.

A. D. 1459] Meanwhile the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury took measures to execute their projects. They agreed, whilst the Duke was levying an army in Wales, the Earl should advance towards London at the head of five or six thousand men, and openly demand satisfaction for the injury done to his son. As this design could not be executed without the Queen's knowledge, the Lord Audley was commissioned to raise troops, and oppose the Earl of Salisbury.

Audley made such dispatch, that in a very short time he was at the head of ten thousand men, and in condition to march towards Lancashire, through which the Earl of Salisbury was to pass. But he found. the Earl was already advanced as far as Shropshire, where the two armies met.

The Earl of Salisbury, though but half as strong as the enemy, did not think proper to retreat, but resolved to. make use of stratagem to obtain a victory, which otherwise. he could not expect. Audley being encamped on Blore Heath near a little river, Salisbury posted himself on the other side, as if he meant to guard the pass, and hinder his being attacked. Then suddenly feigning a fear, he retired in the night, marching so, as at break of day his enemies could still see the rear of his army.

This retreat, which seemed to be with precipitation, inspiring the royalists with ardour, they began to pass the river in disorder, imagining they had nothing to do, but to pursue the flying enemy. But whilst they were in this confusion, some being over the river, others in the water, and others: ready to pass, the. Earl of Salisbury returned and fell upon the troops already over, who had scarcely time to draw up. The fight lasted however four or five hours, because the King's troops were supported by those that were continually passing. But as this could not be done without confusion, the royal army was at length put to rout with the loss of two thousand four hundred men. Audley himself was slain, with all the principal officers[154].

The Earl of Salisbury having thus opened a passage, joined the Duke of York, who was raising the troops in Wales. It would have been too dangerous to continue his march towards London, because the court had now assembled a great force at Coventry. The Queen, who still commanded in the King's name, used all possible endeavours to have a strong army. She saw plainly, there was nothing to be done without a great superiority.

On the other hand, the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury were no, less intent upon procuring all possible assistance, in order to withstand the forces that were preparing against them. They sent word to the Earl of Warwick, it would be very necessary to come and join them, and try to bring them some troops. Upon this advice, Warwick left Calais under the government of William Nevill Lord Falconbridge his uncle, and took with him part of the garrison, of which he gave the command to Sir Andrew Trollop, who had signalised himself in the wars of France. It was seven months after the battle of More-Meath, before the two parties had drawn all their forces together. October was come, and no motion was made on either side.

At length the King departed from Coventry, where he had assembled his troops, and marched towards Wales in quest of the malcontents, who were encamped about Ludlow. When he came to Gloucester, he made a halt, and sent an offer of pardon to the rebels, provided they would lay down their arms. They answered, they could no longer rely on such promises, which were intended only to surprise them; as was visible in what had happened at London to the Earl of Warwick; that nevertheless, they were ready to submit to the King, if some expedient could be found for their safety. Upon this answer the King ordered his army to advance. At the same time, he gave the Duke of Somerset a patent to be Governor of Calais, in the room of the Earl of Warwick.

The King having advanced with design to give battle, the Yorkist sent him a very submissive letter, praying him to consider, that they had taken arms only in their own defence, against the attempts of their enemies that this intention appeared, in their keeping themselves in a corner of the kingdom; Without undertaking any thing, being determined not to fight unless forced; that they desired only the redress of the grievances introduced into the government, to the great oppression of the people, by the fault of the ministry. Lastly, they besought the King to look upon them as loyal subjects; who had formed no design against his person, to restore them to favour.

This letter had a quite contrary effect to what they expected. Their enemies not questioning but fear had made them talk thus, advanced within half a mile of them, with a resolution to give them battle next day. At the same time, they found means to disperse in the enemy's camp the King's proclamation, offering pardon to all the adherents of the rebellious Lords; provided they would lay down their arms.

This proclamation had a most surprising effect. The Duke of York's troops imagining the King offered a pardon, by reason of the superiority of his forces; and that there was no time to lose to take the benefit of it; immediately began to disband themselves. Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the detachment of the garrison of Calais, put the whole army in disorder; by flying in the night to the King's camp, with the troops under his command.

This desertion, which increased every moment, threw the leaders into so terrible a consternation; that fearing to be delivered to the King as soon as day should appear, they chose to save themselves by flight. The Duke of York, taking with him the Earl of Rutland his second son, embarked for Ireland. The Earl of Warwick fled towards Calais, and the Earl of Salisbury speedily followed him, with the Earl of Marche eldest son of the Duke of York[155]. This young prince was then nineteen years Old. The Generals being retired, the rest of the officers and soldiers thus abandoned were reduced to the King's mercy, who was pleased to pardon all, except a few that were executed for an example.

The Parliament being assembled in December, declared the Duke of York and his adherent guilty of high-treason. Their estates were confiscated, and they and their posterity, pronounced incapable of inheriting, to the fourth generation.

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament, the Duke of Somerset embarked with a body of troops, in order to take possession of his government of Calais; but the garrison firing upon him he was obliged to land elsewhere and retire to Guisnes, whence he made frequent incursions about Calais. But those little sallies were not capable of rendering him master of so strong a place.

A. D. 1460] The Queen finding, the Earl of Warwick would not be deprived of his Government, equipped a fleet to transport succours to the Duke of Somerset. This fleet well provided with all things, lay at Sandwich in expectation of a fair wind. The Earl of Warwick having notice of it, sent a body of troops privately from Calais, under the command of Sir John Dinham, who arriving at Sandwich about break of day, surprised most of the officers in their beds. As soon as he had

them in his power, he found means to gain the soldiers and mariners, and carried the King's ships to Calais[156].

The Earl of Warwick made use of these ships to convey him into Ireland, where he went to concert measures with the Duke of York, for their common defence. After he had been about a month on this voyage, he met in his return the Duke of Exeter, admiral of England, who waited to take him in his passage. But the royal fleet were so little inclined to fight against them, the Duke of Exeter fearing to receive some grace, thought not proper to attack him.

The Queen and the ministers doubted not, that the interview of the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick would produce a fresh rebellion. For this reason, at a council held upon that occasion, it was resolved, that strict search should be made in all the counties and towns of the kingdom; for the adherents of the Duke of York, and that such should be suppressed as favoured him most, and were best able to serve him.

Pursuant to this resolution, James Butler Earl of Wiltshire, and the Lord Scales, were empowered to inquire out those that bore arms for the malcontents in the late rebellion, and to punish them according to law. These two Lords began to execute their commission; in some of the towns, which had most openly declared for the Duke of York; and condemned several persons to death. Of all the counties of the kingdom, none had more reason to dread the court's resentment than Kent.

Upon all occasions that county had shewn a very strong attachment to the Duke of York; and what was done there in favour of Cade was not yet forgotten. So, the inhabitants of Kent perceiving; by what was practised in other places, that their ruin was unavoidable began early to think of means to prevent it. To that end, they sent word to the Lords at Calais, if they would make a descent in their county, they should be received with open arms, and the inhabitants were ready to venture their lives and fortunes with them.

This overture was very agreeable to the Lords. However, not to embark rashly in this affair, they sent the Lord Falconbridge to be assured of their sincerity. Falconbridge meeting at sea with Sir Simon Montfort, who was appointed to guard the coasts, attacked him, and taking him prisoner with many other officers, sent them all to Calais. Upon their arrival, the Earl of Marche ordered Montfort with twelve of his captains to be beheaded, by way of retaliation for his father's adherents, who had been executed in England.

Falconbridge being come to Sandwich, found the inhabitants of that place and the whole county of Kent, so well affected to the Lords, that he wrote to Calais, there was no time to be lost; that the county of Kent would be ruined, if not speedily relieved; and that in the terror people were under, it was not to be doubted, that several other counties, as well as Kent, would rise against the court, if they could hope to be supported.

This juncture appearing very favourable, the Lords at Calais resolved to improve it, and took care to inform the Duke of York, who still kept in Ireland. Before they sailed; a manifesto was dispersed in Kent and in the neighbouring parts, declaring that the sole motive of their taking arms, was to free the poor people from the oppression they groaned under, and secure their liberties and privileges. It was added, that they did not question, but all honest Englishmen would assist in the execution of so good a design.

This manifesto had such an effect, that the Lords arriving at Sandwich with fifteen hundred men only, found there a body of four thousand armed men conducted by the Lord Cobham[158]. With this reinforcement they began their march towards London, knowing the citizens were ready to receive them. And indeed the gates being opened to them, they entered the city, at the head of forty thousand men, their army increasing to that number in so short a march. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Ely, and Exeter declared for them.

Meanwhile, the Queen, who was at Coventry, was not idle. She had endeavoured to hinder the entrance of the malcontents into London, by sending the Lord Scales with a good body of troops. But the mayor had refused him admittance, even before the arrival of the Lords. Scales being thus repulsed, had thrown himself into the Tower, when he threatened to demolish the city with his cannon, if the rebels were received. But his threats were not capable of frightening the citizens.

In the mean time, the King and Queen were assembling their forces at Coventry, with all possible diligence. As soon as their army was ready to march, they gave the command to the Duke of Somerset, lately returned from Guisnes, and the Duke of Buckingham. The young Earl of Marche, hearing the Queen was marching to London, departed thence with twenty-five thousand men, to give her battle before she should grow stronger.

He left at London the Earl of Salisbury, with good part of his troops, and took with him the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cobham, who served as his lieutenants. At his departure from London, the Lord Scales ordered the Tower cannon to fire upon the city, and did some damage. But by the Earl of Salisbury's care, to prevent his having any provisions, he was himself reduced to great straits.

The Queen advancing towards the malcontents, encamped on a plain near Northampton, with a little river[158] behind her, which she had hastily passed, lest the enemies should make use of it to avoid fighting. The Earls of Marche and Warwick, likewise advancing, encamped the 17th of July, between Torcester and Northampton. The same day, they sent the Bishop of Salisbury to the King, beseeching him to suspend his indignation, and consider with them of an agreement, without bloodshed. But the court perceiving it to be only a general proposal, intended merely to salve the appearances, would by no means give ear to it. So both sides prepared for battle.

On the 19th of July, the Yorkists advanced towards the King's army. The Earl of Warwick commanded the right wing, the Lord Cobham the left, and the Earl of Marche was in the centre. The Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham were at the head of the royalists, whilst the Queen kept at some distance, to observe what should pass, and give orders accordingly.

The King remained in his tent, waiting the issue of a battle, which, probably, was to secure, or deprive him of the crown, for ever. The fight began not till two in the afternoon, the Lords having first published in their army a strict charge, not to hurt the King's person, to spare the common soldiers, and to fall upon the officers only. The battle lasted two, some say five, hours, with great fierceness and obstinacy on both sides, till at length the Lord Grey, of Ruthin, who commanded a considerable body of the King's army, suddenly went over to the malcontents.

This unexpected defection quite disheartened the royalists. Apprehensive that other bodies would follow this example, they began by degrees to give ground, and at last, were routed, with the loss of ten thousand men. The river which was in their rear, caused the slaughter to be greater than it would have been, if the vanquished could have more easily taken to flight; besides, that many were drowned in endeavouring to re-pass the river.

The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, son of the renowned Talbot, the Lord Beaumont[159], and several other nobles and officers of distinction were slain on the spot. The Queen, the young Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Somerset fled without resting into the bishopric of Durham; so great was their fear of being delivered to their enemies. The unfortunate King, who continued in his tent, fell once more into the hands of the victorious Lords, who paid him however all the respect he could have required of them, had he been in his greatest prosperity.

Immediately after the battle, he was honourably conducted to Northampton, where he resided some time. After that, on the 16th of August, he came to London, surrounded with a crowd of Lords, who, a few days before, were in arms against him. Meanwhile, the Queen, not thinking herself safe in Durham, privately retired with eight persons only, into Wales[160], where she

would never have been sought. Shortly after, she left that retreat, and with the Prince her son fled into Scotland.

Upon the King's arrival at London, he called a Parliament for the 2nd of October. They who governed him wanted this delay, in order to send for the Duke of York, who was still in Ireland. They took care to acquaint him with what had passed, and desired him to repair to London with all possible speed, that he might be there at the opening of the Parliament, or sooner, if the wind would permit.

In this interval, they acted in the King's name, and made him sign all the orders which agreed with their interest. In the *Collection of the Public Acts*, there is a patent, confirming to the Earl of Warwick the government of Calais; and an order to the Duke of Somerset, to resign him that of Guisnes: and moreover, the King's declaration, acknowledging the Duke of York, and his adherents, for good and faithful subjects, as having given undoubted proofs of their loyalty, not only in words, but in deeds.

Whilst England was thus in combustion, James II. King of Scotland, prepared to make an irruption. It was the Duke of York, that after his retreat into Ireland, had, by some advantageous offers, engaged him to break with Henry, in expectation of reaping some benefit himself from this diversion. Though last year, James had concluded with England, a five years truce, he believed, he ought to improve this opportunity. Indeed, he alleged several reasons to colour his invasion, but the circumstances of England were the sole and real motive of his preparations.

A few days after the battle of Northampton, he entered England at the head of an army, and besieged Roxborough; but had not time to make any great progress. One of his own cannon happening to burst, he was killed with a splinter on the 4th of August. James III. his eldest son, then but three years old, was his successor. The Queen his widow, who was in the army, carried on the siege, till the town was surrendered.

The death of James II had been preceded some days, by that of Charles VIII King of France. It is pretended, he starved himself for fear of being poisoned by the Dauphin his son, who mounted the throne of France after him, by the name of Lewis XI.

The Duke of York could not reach London, till two days after the opening of the Parliament. He rode directly to Westminster, and alighting from his horse, went to the House of Lords, where he stood some time under the canopy of state, with his hand on the throne, expecting as it were, to be desired to seat himself thereon. But the silence of the House was a plain indication, his intention was not universally approved. At the same time, to increase his confusion caused by their silence, the Archbishop of Canterbury approaching him[161], asked him whether he would not go and pay his respects to the King.

With what caution soever the Duke had hitherto behaved, he could not forbear changing countenance at this question, and telling the Archbishop, he knew no person, to whom he owed that honour. Upon these words, he immediately withdrew to his own house. He was too discerning, not to perceive, he in vain expected to be entreated to accept of the crown. So, without concealing his sentiments any longer, he sent next morning[162], a writing to the Parliament, containing the reasons on which his pretensions were built; in particular, claiming the crown as heir of the House of Marche.

This affair was very warmly debated in Parliament, according to the knowledge and inclinations of the members. To relate all the arguments alleged pro and con, would be excessively tedious; but as this is a matter of great moment, it will not be improper to give the substance of the objections to the Duke of York's claim, and the replies of his friends. In the first place it was said, when Henry IV. grandfather of the present. King, took possession of the throne, no person offered to oppose him.

I. The Duke of York's friends replied, that as Edmund Earl of Marche, who was then alive, could not dispute it, without manifest danger, his silence could not be interpreted for consent.

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II. It was alleged on the King's behalf, that Henry IV. his grandfather, had received the crown by the Parliament's authority. To this it was answered, the Duke of York did not pretend to take possession, without the same authority, as appeared in his memorial directed to both Houses. But, as the Parliament had strong reasons to proceed contrary to custom; in favour of the House of Lancaster; so they had at present as strong, to do the Duke of York justice.

III. The resignation of Richard II. was pleaded in behalf of the House of Lancaster.

Answer was made, by denying that Richard's resignation concerned that House in particular, or even the person of Henry IV. But, supposing it so, it was not in the power of a captive King, just going to be deposed, to appoint a successor.

IV. It was objected against the Duke of York, that the Earl of Cambridge his father, having been executed for, high-treason, his posterity were rendered incapable of any inheritance.

The Duke's adherents answered, he had been restored to his honours, and all his birthrights, and acknowledged for Duke of York, and Earl of Marche, by the King himself, and the whole kingdom.

V. It was further urged, that the House of Lancaster had enjoyed the crown above sixty years.

To this it was replied, that the prescription was no plea against the right of succession to the crown, which was a natural right, and not to be destroyed by a positive law.

VI. Lastly, it was represented in the King's favour, that having now reigned thirty-eight years, and all along led an innocent life, without giving any person cause to complain, it would be a great cruelty to deprive him of the crown.

This argument seemed very strong: but the Duke of York's friends replied, that Henry being incapable of governing by himself, to leave him in possession of the crown, was acting rather for the Queen and the ministers, who abused his name and authority, than for him. Moreover, the whole kingdom was not to be ruined for his sake, or a wrong to be committed from a motive of charity.

It may easily be judged, that these and several other reasons, alleged by the two parties, were enlarged and displayed to the best advantage, especially in the Parliament, where there are generally many persons of great abilities. This was a very proper subject to exercise the ingenious, difficult in itself, and still more so, by the present situation of affairs. At length, after a debate of several days, it was resolved[163], that Henry should enjoy the crown during his life, and the Duke of York be declared his successor.

This resolve was passed into an act of Parliament, declaring, that notwithstanding the Duke of York's indisputable title to the crown, he had freely consented, that Henry should possess it for his life, and promised to swear allegiance to him as his lawful sovereign. But if the King should any way break this agreement, then the crown should immediately devolve to the Duke of York, or his lawful heirs[164]. The Duke of York behaved with a moderation very uncommon in such cases. In his present circumstances and according to the rule generally followed by Parliaments to declare for the strongest, nothing was more easy for the Duke, than to cause the crown to be

adjudged to him immediately. He had at his command a victorious, and at that time, irresistible army.

Besides, most of the members of Parliament were in his interest, and probably; after acknowledging his title to be indisputable, they would not have wanted much solicitation to proceed one step farther, and place him on the throne. It is therefore manifest, if the Parliament showed any regard for Henry, it was, because they thought themselves at liberty to use this equity, notwithstanding the victorious army which might have offered them violence, if the Duke would have made use of his advantages.

It must be farther observed, that the Duke of York was older than the King, and therefore naturally could not expect to out live him. And yet, those who have written the history of these troubles, have put an ill construction upon all they have said concerning this Prince. The reason may be easily guessed. The House of York enjoying the throne but twenty-four years, we have no historian in that interval; all we have being later, and written since the restoration of the House of Lancaster in the person of Henry VII.

The day after passing the aforementioned act, a procession was made to St. Paul's, where the King was present, with his crown on his head, attended by the Duke of York[165].

After this agreement, the King continued the same. Though it was easy for him to perceive, what prejudice the late settlement brought to his family, and particularly to the Prince of Wales his son, he lived quietly in his servitude, without thinking of means for his deliverance. Satisfied with whatever the Duke of York was pleased to suggest, he wholly gave himself up to devotion, and left the public affairs to those who managed them in his name: Thus the Duke finding himself absolute master of the government and person of the King, caused him to sign an order, requiring the Queen to repair to him.

The Duke was sensible, this order would be to no purpose. But his aim was, to render her criminal, by her refusing to obey the King, and thereby to justify his intended proceedings against her. He thought her without refuge, and in that belief imagined, he had only to find some pretence, to lay an insuperable obstacle to her return, in order to be freed from so dangerous an enemy. But he relied too far on his own good fortune, and the Queen's weakness.

Instead of being discouraged at the ill situation of the King's, and his family's affairs, she had now returned into England, with the Prince of Wales her son, and had drawn together in the north, an army of eighteen thousand men. The better to engage the people of those parts to her interest, she had caused to be reported, that they were allowed to plunder the country on the south of the Trent.

The Duke of York had been informed of the Queen's endeavours to levy an army, but did not know she had made so great a progress, and yet, thought he could not be too speedy to prevent the execution of her designs. He departed therefore from London[166] with four or five thousand men only, leaving orders with the Earl of Marche his son, to lead the rest of the army into Wales to refresh them, and then come and join him. As he advanced towards the north, he received the mortifying news of the Queen's great success, in the levying of troops.

At length, being arrived near Wakefield in the county of York, Dec. 24, he heard the Queen was advancing towards him, at the head of eighteen thousand men. Whereupon he resolved to retire to his castle of Sandal, till the arrival of the Earl of Marche. He knew, the Queen, who had no artillery, could not force him in that castle, which was well fortified, and did not question but the Earl his son would speedily come to his relief.

The Queen was extremely troubled to see the enemy thus secured from all attack. As she was then much superior in number of troops, if the Duke would have fought, she might have flattered

herself with undoubted success. But it was not certain, that after the Earl of Marche's arrival, she should be in the same situation. For this reason, she neglected nothing to provoke her enemy, and induce him to come out of his retreat. As she did not despair of accomplishing her design, she placed a body of troops in ambush, behind a hill[167]. Then she appeared before the walls of Sandal, provoking the Duke all manner of ways, one while threatening him, another while sending him defiance, and upbraiding him, that a man who aspired to the crown, should suffer himself to be thus shut up by a woman.

On this occasion, the Duke unfortunately suffered his courage to prevail, contrary to the opinion of his friends, who advised him to despise those vain reproaches. It is possible, too, that the want of provisions forced him to a battle, in order to avoid the danger, to which he was exposed. Be this as it will, he marched out of Sandal, and drew up his men on Wakefield green, calculating that his courage and experience would supply the defects of his army. He was no sooner drawn up, but he saw himself attacked by the Queen's troops, which being more numerous than his, had a great advantage over him.

Whilst he was pressed in the front by his enemies, stronger than himself, the ambushes rose, and attacked him in the rear. This unexpected assault, bred such confusion among his troops, that within half an hour they were routed, and himself slain, valiantly fighting. The young Earl of Rutland his second son, not above twelve years of age, flying with his governor, was overtaken by the Lord Clifford, who plunged his dagger into his breast, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the governor, to spare the young Prince's life[168].

Afterwards, the same Lord Clifford finding the Duke of York's body, cut off the head, and crowning it with a paper crown, fixed it on the end of his lance, and presented it to the Queen, who ordered it to be placed on the walls of York[169].

Thus fell the Duke of York, about fifty years old[170]. It may be said, never was Prince so near a throne, and not on it, and that it lay in his own breast to take possession, had he been willing to use the power he had in his hands. The Earl of Salisbury having the misfortune to be taken prisoner in the battle, was carried, notwithstanding his wounds, to Pontefract, where he lost his head on the Scaffold[171]. The Queen ordered it to be set on a pole, near the Duke of York.

Such was the success of this battle, fought on the last day of December, near Wakefield[172], whence it took its name. This battle seemed to have firmly restored the affairs of the King and Queen, and yet it served only to hasten their destruction, and sooner advance the House of York to the throne[173]. The Earl of Marche hearing of the defeat and death of the Duke his father, was not discouraged. On the contrary, he resolved to maintain the quarrel, let what would be the consequence, and lose his life, or execute his father's designs. After what had passed, there was no medium, one of the two houses must necessarily be established, upon the ruins of the other.

This Prince was then at Gloucester ready to march to the assistance of his father. His army was three and twenty thousand strong, besides what was left at London, under the command of the Earl of Warwick, for the defence of the metropolis. So, finding himself strong enough to go in quest of the Queen, he wished for nothing more ardently, than an opportunity to revenge his father's death.

Whilst the Earl of Marche was taking this resolution, the Queen advanced towards London, with design to secure that great city, which alone could influence the fortune of either party. But hearing upon the road, that the Earl of Marche began to move, she detached Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, to oppose this new enemy, whom she did not imagine to be so strong as he was.

The Earl of Marche being informed of the Queen's motion towards London, altered his course, and instead of going to meet her, took likewise the road to London, in order to prevent her. But having advice of the detachment sent against him, he did not think proper to come between the

two armies of his enemies, which must have happened, had he continued his route. So, coming to a sudden resolution, he returned to meet the Earl of Pembroke. He met him near Mortimer's cross in Herefordshire, and as he was much superior in number of troops, easily defeated him, and slew three thousand eight hundred of his men. The Earl of Pembroke had the good fortune to escape. But Owen Tudor his father, being taken prisoner, was beheaded, with several others, in revenge for the Earl of Salisbury.

The news of this defeat reaching the Queen on the road, prevented her not from continuing her march towards London. She believed, that appearing at the gates of the city with a victorious army, she should so astonish the inhabitants, that they would of themselves, expel the Earl of Warwick. Indeed, the Earl himself seems to have been of that mind, since he chose rather to go and fight the Queen, than remain in London; which doubtless, he would not have done, had he been secure of the city.

The Queen being arrived at St. Albans, received certain advice, that the Earl of Warwick was marching towards her with his army, reinforced with a body of Londoners, and bringing the King with him. The Queen's army consisted of northern troops[174], who committed such monstrous ravages, that it was one of the chief reasons, why the Londoners chose to join the Earl of Warwick. If these troops had entered the city, they would have had every thing to fear from such guests.

The two armies meeting near St. Albans, on Bernard's heath, began a fight, which at first was very fierce on both sides. But Lovelace, who commanded one of the wings of Warwick's army, either through treachery, or for some other reason, not engaging in time, victory declared for the Queen, and the vanquished lost two thousand eight hundred men. She had withal the satisfaction to free the King, whom the Earl of Warwick durst not venture to leave at London.

She used her victory with the barbarity too common in civil wars, beheading several persons of distinction, particularly the Lord Bonvile[175], and Sir Thomas Kiriell, though the King had granted them their lives. As her troops had voluntarily listed in her service, without her having wherewithal to pay them, she could not hinder them, after the victory, from plundering the town of St. Albans.

These northern soldiers declared, they had taken arms only upon the promise of having the plunder of the country lying south of the Trent. This pretension inspired the inhabitants of London, and the neighbouring country, with a terror very prejudicial to the Queen. Provisions being grown very scarce in her army, by reason of the great licentiousness of her troops, she sent to the Mayor of London for a supply, who not daring to deny her at such a juncture, ordered several carts to be loaded. But as they were going out of the gate, the mob stopped them, and told the Mayor they would not suffer provisions to be sent to an army, which was come on purpose to plunder the country. The Mayor not being able to help this disorder, made his excuse to the Queen, and gave her hopes of being received into the city, as soon as the people were appeased.

Whilst the Queen at St. Albans was treating with the Mayor of London, the Earl of Marche was advancing with all possible diligence, to inspire the Londoners with a resolution to keep their gates shut against the Queen, on account of the approaching assistance. And indeed, the news of his march did not a little contribute to prolong the negotiation between the Queen and the Mayor, which ruined her affairs.

When she heard, the Earl of Marche was approaching, and had strengthened his army, with the remains of the Earl of Warwick's, she chose to retire into the north. Besides that she was inferior to her enemy, she was justly apprehensive of not being received into London, in case she advanced that way, and of being obliged to join battle at the gates of the city, too well inclined to favour her enemy.

The Earl of Marche, overjoyed that the Queen voluntarily gave him up the metropolis, entered as it were in triumph, the beginning of March. He was received with the acclamations of the citizens, who, several years since, had very near declared against the court. The caution wherewith the late Duke of York had thought fit to proceed, had been so much to his prejudice, that his son's friends judged it absolutely necessary to place him at once on the throne.

After sundry consultations, they resolved not to be exposed to the delays of a Parliament, but to proceed to an extraordinary election, first by the people, and then by the nobles. They were of opinion, this method could be justified by the act of Parliament, confirming the agreement between the King and the Duke of York, and that it was unnecessary to stay for a fresh confirmation. Pursuant to this resolution, the Earl of Warwick drew up his army in St. John's fields, in the midst of throngs of people, whom ordering to be cast into a ring round him, he read aloud the agreement between the King and the Duke of York, with the act of Parliament, whereby it was confirmed.

That done, he told the people, Henry had notoriously violated this agreement, and so forfeited, according to the act of Parliament, his right to the crown. The Earl of Warwick raising his voice, asked the people, who stood round him, "whether they would have Henry of Lancaster for King?" The whole multitude crying out, "No, no:" he asked, "whether according to that settlement, they would have Edward, son of the late Duke of York, to reign over them?" To which, all the people answered with acclamations, expressing their consent.

This first step being made, and the people's mind being, as was pretended, sufficiently known, a great council was called of all the Bishops, Lords, Gentlemen, and Magistrates, in and about London. Edward being present in this assembly, set forth his title to the crown, as well by birth, as by the fore-mentioned agreement, and desired it might be adjudged to him. It would have been great boldness, to dispute his pretension at such a juncture. So, with one consent the assembly declared, that Henry of Lancaster having forfeited his right of enjoying the crown during life, by the breach of the solemn agreement made with the Duke of York, and ratified by the Parliament; it was devolved to Edward, eldest son of the Duke of York.

Upon this declaration, the crown was offered, the Duke, who accepted it, modestly confessing his insufficiency; and adding, that though his youth and inexperience made him apprehensive of taking upon him so weighty a charge, he would however, with God's assistance, use his utmost endeavours to render his people happy. On the morrow[176], he went in procession to St. Paul's, and from thence, was conducted in great state to Westminster-hall, where he sat in the King's seat, with the sceptre of St. Edward in his hand[177].

The Archbishop of Canterbury having asked the people, whether they would have Edward, Earl of Marche for King; the people answered with loud acclamations. Then, the King took the homage of the Lords that were present. The ceremony concluding with singing Te Deum, Edward was conducted with great solemnity to the Bishop's palace, where Henry used to lodge, when he was within the walls of the city. Next day, being the 5th of March, he was proclaimed in London, and the neighbouring towns, by the name of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI, which had lasted thirty-eight years and a half, without his ever intermeddling with the administration of the public affairs. It does not even appear, that he was, upon any occasion, much moved with events; which however were, for the most part, such as would affect a Prince of a different character. He was fitter for a private life, than a crown.

His great and only defect was a natural imbecility, which rendered him incapable to govern of himself. Ever ruled by those who managed the affairs in his name, his capacity reached not to see the consequences of the counsels given him, which to him seemed always good. Herein, he was different from the King his father, whose genius was always superior to that of his ministers. As to the rest, he was chaste, temperate, extremely religious, abhorring injustice, and cruelty. It was these virtues which have served for foundation to the praises bestowed on him by several

historians, and which have made some consider him as a true saint. Indeed, these virtues would have rendered him an accomplished Prince, had they been attended with the qualifications of a sovereign.

But being alone, they served only to make him an honest man, and withal, a very indifferent King not to say worse. His incapacity rendered him contemptible to his subjects. But the innocence of his life, never suffered their contempt to turn into hatred.

During the first years of his reign, his affairs were in a prosperous state, because they were managed by the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester his uncles, Princes of great abilities, and who had his interest at heart. And, if even in their life time, his affairs began to decline, it may be said to be owing, not so much to their fault, as to some unforeseen accidents, which all the prudence in the world could not have prevented. After the death of the Duke of Bedford, Henry suffered himself to be governed by the cardinal of Winchester, and the Duke of Suffolk; who, acting not by the same motives, and regarding only their own affairs, completed his ruin.

Afterwards, Queen Margaret, by her uncommon abilities, might have restored his affairs, but the King's glory, and the nation's interest, were least in her thoughts. Her sole view, was to grasp all the power, and use the King's name to authorize her passions. The ministers she employed, were all of the same character. It is not therefore strange, that the King's affairs should run so swiftly into confusion.

The death of the Duke of Gloucester, will be an indelible stain in Margaret's reputation, and unhappily, this crime reflected but too much upon the King himself, since he had not the resolution to oppose it, or punish the authors. Accordingly, it was manifest, that Heaven took public vengeance of this murder, by the civil wars which ensued, and which occasioned the ruin of the King, the Queen, the Prince their son, and the whole House of Lancaster.

Henry VI was thirty-nine years and about a quarter old, when he was dispossessed of a crown, which he had enjoyed almost from his birth[178]. He still lived long enough to be the sport of fortune, as will be seen in the following reign. Edward his son, Prince of Wales, was in his nineteenth year, at the time of this catastrophe[179].

In this and the two foregoing reigns, the Parliament was reformed in many particulars, as appears by the statutes. First, in point of elections, the Parliament, 7 Henry IV. and (25 Henry VI.) ordained, "That the election of Knights shall be at the next county court, after the writ delivered to the sheriff, and that the names of the persons elected shall be returned by indenture between the sheriff and the electors." This the sheriff was to do, under penalty of one hundred pounds, and a year's imprisonment, without bail or mainprise, besides damages for false returns, (11 Henry IV. 8 Henry VI. 23 Henry VI.)

Thus the election was reduced, but the persons were not as yet, for hitherto any Englishman had right to give or receive a vote, where soever he resided. But (1 Henry V.) (8 Henry VI.) the Parliament reduced these also to their proper counties, or else rendered them incapable to vote or serve for any county: and the like order was made for the boroughs, (23 Henry VI.) "That no person must serve for any city or borough, nor give vote in electing such as shall serve for that town, unless they be both free and residents within that city or borough."

This was a seasonable law, for the times of Henry IV. had taught men, that a King that hath soldiers dispersed over the kingdom, can easily sway the county courts, and make such Parliaments as they please. However, this was not enough: for all electors, though of the meanest sort, could do as much hurt with their vote, as those of the best sort could do good by theirs. This made elections much subject to confusions. and parties, and rendered the Parliament less considerable. Hence (in 8 Henry VI.) it was ordained, "That no man should give his vote in elections in the county, unless he had forty shillings yearly in free lands or tenements, and this

is to be testified upon oath of the party." And more plainly, two years after (10 Henry VI.) it was ordered, "That the said lands should be within the county," Thus the Freemen yielded up their liberty of election to the Freeholders, possibly not knowing what they did. But this change was no less good than great.

1st. It prevented parties, tumults, and bloodshed; for the preface of the statute shows, the meanest held himself as good a man, as the greatest in the county.

2nd. Where the multitude prevails, the meaner sort are superior; and these (generally ignorant,) cannot judge of persons, nor times; but being, for the most part, led by faction or affection, rather than by right understanding, make such elections as are either inconvenient, or injurious to the state.

3rd. There is no less equity in the change than policy. For what can be more reasonable, than that those men only should have their votes in election of the Common council of the kingdom, whose estates are chargeable with the public taxes and assessments, and with the wages of those persons that are chosen for the public service?

But above all, this advancing of the Free-holders was beneficial to the Freemen of England, though perhaps they considered it not.

1st. It abated the power of the Lords and great men, who held the inferior sort at their devotion, and much of their possessions by their will.

2nd. It raised the spirit of the meaner sort to public regards, and by a kind of ambition, to aspire to the degree of a free-holder, in order to be somewhat in the common wealth. And thus leaving the meanest rank, racked to the very dregs, they become less considerable, and more subject to the coercive power; whilst, in the meantime, the freeholder, now advanced to the degree of a yeoman, becomes no less careful to maintain correspondent with the laws, than he was industrious to attain his degree.

Lastly, to bind. all the rest, a negative law was made, (23 Henry VI.) That the persons elected in the county, must not be of the degree of a yeoman, but of the most noted Knights, Esquires, or Gentlemen of the county, which tacitly implies, it was too common to advance those of the meaner sort.

The person thus agreed upon, his entertainment must be accordingly; and therefore the manner of taxing in full county, and levying the rate of wages for their maintenance, is reformed and settled (23 Henry VI.) and lastly, their persons are put under the protection of the law in an especial manner; and a penal law is made (11 Henry VI.) against force upon their persons, either in going to, or attending the Parliament. Thus, even in these times of confusion, a foundation was laid of a more uniform government in future times, than England hitherto had seen.

In the first year of Henry VI. a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, was coined into forty-five rials of ten shillings, or a proportionate number of half rials, and quarter, or farthing rials, at five shillings, and two shillings, and six-pence. These rials give him crowned with an imperial crown, seated on the throne, with a sceptre and globe, inscribed, HENRICUS. DEL. GRA. REX. ANGL. ET. FRAN. DNS. HIB. Reverse, the arms of France and England, quarterly, IHESUS. AVTEM. TRANSIENS, &c., (see fig. 1.) By the same indenture, instead of nobles, and half nobles, were coined sixty-seven and a half to the pound, angels, at six shillings and eight-pence, or a proportionate number of angelets, at three shillings and four-pence. Consequently the pound troy, was coined into twenty-two pounds ten shillings, by tale. The angels were impressed with Michael and the Dragon, HENRIC. Dr. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRA. Reverse, a shield, with the arms of France and England quartered, in a ship, having a cross for

a mast, on one side the letter H. on the other the rose. PER. CRVCE. TVA. SALVA. NOS. XRE. RED. (see fig. 2.)

The Salut was a French coin, like his father's, and very much resembled the silver groat, which he likewise coined in that kingdom, saving that the groats wanted the angel and virgin over the shield, and instead of CHRISTVS. VINCIT. had SIT. NOMEN. DOMINI. BENEDICTVM.

By the indenture of the same first year of Henry VI. the silver money was of the old standard, one hundred and twelve groats to the pound, making in tale thirty-seven shillings and sixpence, or a proportionate number of half-groats, sterlings, half-pence, and farthings. These are distinguished from all his predecessors, by the crown, he being the first of our monarchs that bore the arched crown, with globe and cross upon it, (see fig. 3.)

These were mostly coined at London, but there were other mints at York, Bristol, and Dunwich, Dublin, Canterbury, and at York with the keys. The half-penny has likewise the King's head very fair. H. D. G. ROSA. SIE. SPA. By indenture, the fourth of this reign, the value of gold was brought down again to sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, and the silver to thirty shillings.

By another indenture of the last year of this reign, it was raised again to thirty-seven shillings and sixpence, and so continued for near fifty years. In the thirty seventh of this reign, brass money was first coined in Ireland, but there is no perfect account from any author that has ever seen it[180].



Notes to Chapter 1

1) The Earls of Foix (part of Gasconne) were in so high esteem in the court of France, that they took place of the Earl of Vendome, though a Prince of the blood, and lived in a state equal to most Kings in Christendom. Francis Phoebus, by marrying the heiress of Navarre, added that kingdom. to Foix in 1479. And by Anthony of Bourbon, Duke of Vendome, marrying Joan, heiress of this house, became King of Navarre, Earl of Foix, and sovereign of Beam, whose son Henry II. King of Navarre, &c. succeeded to the crown of France in 1589, being grandfather to Lewis XIV. late King of France.

- 2) A thousand men at arms, and a thousand archers. For the maintenance of which, he was allowed by Charles VI. seven hundred and fifty crowns of gold a month.
- 3) Those of Clermont, Bourbon, and Auvergne, de la March, and Vendome
- 4) Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, was also constituted Lord Chamberlain, and High Constable of England.
- 5) This Parliament granted the King the subsidy a staple-ware, viz. three and thirty shillings and four-pence, on every sack of wool exported, and also tonnage and poundage, for two years.
- 6) Rapin seems to have mistaken this Thomas Beaufort for his nephew of the same name, of whom indeed there is no mention but of his name. This Thomas Beaufort, third son of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swynford, was in the 5th of Henry IV. made Admiral of England, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. He was created 13 Henry IV. Earl of Dorset; and 4 Henry V. Duke of Exeter, for life. He was Earl of Harcourt in Normandy, and behaved with much Valour and conduct in the French wars, and particularly at the famous battle of Azincourt, where he commanded the rear ward. He bravely defended Harfleur in Normandy, (of which he was governor) and in a pitched battle, encountered and put to flight the Earl of Armagnac. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Nevil, and had a son by her, who died young. So that leaving no child, he departed this life at Greenwich, 1424, and was buried at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, leaving his nephew John, Earl of Somerset, his heir, who was twenty three years old.
- 7) Being accompanied with Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Scales, the Lord Poynings, Sir John Falstoff, master of the household &c., after the taking of the town, Sir Henry Mortimer and Sir Richard Vernon were appointed governors of it.
- 8) Several Lords, eighteen hundred Knights and Esquires, besides common soldiers; and three thousand Scots. Of the English were slain, Sir John Grey, Sir William Halle, Sir Gilbert Hajjel, and Richard ap Madocke.
- 9) With Sir John Basset, John Auford, Lieutenant of Falaise, John Cliston Henry Mortimer, and six hundred other persons.
- 10) Of twelve-pence in the pound of all merchandise exported or imported, and three shillings every tun of wine, for three years; that is, the same duties on the staple-ware, and tunnage and poundage, as before. In this Parliament it was enacted, that because money, was daily carried out of England to several parts of France, no gold nor silver should for the future, be carried out of the realm, unless for the charges of the war, and the payment of the King's soldiers, upon pain of forfeiting the sum of money so carried out; and the informer to have the fourth part. It was also enacted, that if any person, committed to prison for high or petty treason, shall break prison, and escape, it shall be deemed petty reason, and his goods shall be forfeited to the Lord of the manor, where they are found. Upon this statute, Sir John- Mortimer was accused, for attempting to break out of the Tower, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn.
- 11) About this time a reinforcement of ten thousand men was raised in England, and sent over to France to the Duke of Bedford.
- 12) He engaged to pay forty thousand-pounds in all; viz. ten thousand marks within six months, after his return into Scotland, and ten thousand marks every year afterwards, till the whole was paid. And he delivered twenty-eight hostages, and the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, as a security.

13) I James Stuart, Kyng of Scottes, shall be true and faithfull unto you, Lorde Henry, by the Grace of God, Kyng of Englande and Fraunce, the noble and superior Lorde of the kyngdome of Scotlande, and unto you I make my fidelitie for the same kyngdome of Scotlande, whiche I holde and claime to hold of you; and I shall beare you my faithe and fidelitie of life and lymme, and worldly honor against al men; and faithfully I shall knowledge, and shall do to you service due of the kyngdom of Scotlande aforesaid; so God help me and these holy Evangelistes."

14) The French told the garrison, that they had discomfited and slain all. the English army, and the Regent, with a small number, had saved himself by the swiftness of his horse. Whereupon the inhabitants of Verneuill giving (as Hall expresses it) too light credit to these French fblers, opened their gates to them.

15) By the report of Montjoy, French King at Arms, and the English heralds then present, there were slain, of French and Scots, nine thousand seven hundred, and of the English two thousand one hundred. Two hundred Gentlemen, beside many common soldiers, were taken prisoners. This battle, which Rapin places on the 16th of August, is said by, Hall to have been fought on the 27th of that month.

16) The Duke of Brabant was an infirm and weak Prince; whereas Jaquelina had a courage and genius uncommon to her sex.

17) Hall places it in the first year of Henry VI. and says, it was not only wondered at by the common people, but also detested by the. nobility, and abhorred by the clergy.

18) This year, on July 16 Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, was made High-Chancellor.

19) He also left two thousand Englishmen with her.

20) And at the same time, viz. October 7, concluded a treaty with him, whereby he engaged to assist him in driving the English out of France, upon the following conditions: 1. That Charles should be reconciled to the Princes of the blood, particularly to the Duke of Burgundy. 2. That he should not protect the Earl of Pontievre. 3. That the Duke of Burgundy should have the administration of the finances in the Languedoil, that is, the country between the Loire and Languedoc.

21) Before his going over, a Parliament was held at Westminster, which met on April 30, and granted the King the subsidy of wools, namely, forty-three shillings and four-pence on every sack; from strangers; and from denizens, thirty-three shillings and four-pence; as also three shillings of every ton of wine, and twelve-pence in the pound of all sorts of merchandize imported or exported. The young King rode in great triumph to this Parliament through the city of London upon a large courser. Several persons having made a trade of carrying from time to time great number of sheep with fleeces, out of the realm into Flanders, and other countries beyond sea, it was enacted in this Parliament, that no person whatsoever should be suffered to carry any sheep out of England, upon pain of forfeiting the same, or the value thereof, to the King. It being feared, that some quarrel should arise between the attendants of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Winchester, during the session of this Parliament, strict orders were given, that no person should come to it with swords, or other warlike weapons. This order was literally observed, yet the Lords came with bans, or great clubs, whence this Parliament was called the Parliament of Batts.

22) He was son of Philippa; eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. During his stay in England, he was made Knight of the Garter.

23) 1. To the first article, the Bishop answered, that, after the Duke of Gloucester's going to Hainault, seditious and odious bills, (or papers) and language, being cast and used in the city of

London, sounding of insurrection and rebellion against the King's peace, and destruction as well of the several estates of the land, as of strangers, who thereupon in great numbers fled out of the land; it was thought adviseable, to assign Richard Woodville, Esq. deputy governor of the Tower, a certain number of defensible persons, for the more sure keeping of the said Tower: and he was straightly charged by the council, that during the time of his said charge, he should not suffer any man to be in the Tower stronger than himself, without especial charge or commandment of the King, by the advice of his council. **2.** To the second he answered, that he never purposed to lay hands on the King, or remove him, without the advice of the council; for, the doing of it would have been no advantage to him, but rather great peril and charge. **3.** To the third he said, that what armed men he employed, it was only in his own defence, for he was often warned, that my Lord of Gloucester intended him bodily harm. **4.** To the fourth he returns but an indifferent answer, saying, only in general, that he was ever true to all those that were his sovereign Lords, and never purposed treason or untruth against any of them, especially King Henry V. by whom, he adds, he was set in a place of such great trust as that of chancellor. **5.** To the fifth he says, that it is a mere calumny. **6.** As to the words in his letter, which were "By my trouthe if you tarry, we shall put this land in adventure, with a felde, such a brother you have here:" He affirms, that he did not thereby mean, he would assemble people against the King's peace; but his meaning was, that there were like to be insurrections in London, upon occasion of some orders made by the mayor and aldermen, against the excessive wages of masons, carpenters, and other workmen; and the Duke of Gloucester did not use so much diligence, as he ought to have done, in suppressing those troubles. Therefore the Duke of Bedford's coming was the more necessary.

24) He was son of Lewis of France, Duke of Orleans, assassinated by order of the Duke of Burgundy, as is related before.

25) Who had three thousand men with him. Monstrelet. Hall says; six thousand.

26) During this siege, the Lord Scales, with Sir John Harpeley, Sir William Brearton, and three thousand men at arms, went to get a recruit of provisions and ammunition; but, in their return towards Pontorson, they were encountered by a body of six thousand of the enemies, whom they bravely engaged, and defeated; above eleven hundred of the French being slain and taken.

27) He also decreed, that if the Duke of Brabant died, it should not be lawful for the Duke of Gloucester to marry her.

28) The Princess, notwithstanding her involuntary engagement, married afterwards Borsel, a Zealander, which obliged the Duke of Burgundy to make war upon them. Borsel being made prisoner, Jaqueline was forced, in order to free him, to agree, that her children by her late marriage, should be incapable of inheriting her dominions, and to deliver all her towns to the Duke of Burgundy. She still lived ten years, and after her death, the Duke of Burgundy was acknowledged for Earl of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Lord of Friseland. Before Jaqueline's death he had taken possession of the earldoms of Zutphen and Namur, of which he had purchased the reversion, after the decease of the Earl of Namur, which happened in the year 1428. In 1430, he inherited the Duchies of Brabant, Lothier, Limbourg, and the Marquisate of Anvers; by the death of Philip Duke of Brabant his cousin, who left no issue. All these dominions, joined to Flanders, Artois, the two Burgundies, and the towns on the Somme held of the King of England, put him upon a level with the crowned heads.

29) In the meanwhile, a Parliament being summoned in England, met at Westminster, October 13, which granted the King, tonnage and poundage for two years; and of every parish within the realm, six shilling's and eight-pence for every twenty nobles in value; and six shillings and eight-pence of every person that held immediately by a Knight's fee, or according to the rate. In this Parliament it was enacted, that Knights of the shire, who, in case of an undue election, were, by the 11th of Henry IV. to lose their wages; and sheriffs, who, making a false return, were by

the same statutes to pay a hundred pounds; should be admitted to have their answer and traverse to inquests and offices before any justices of assize.

30) He, raised about six thousand; whereof he sent over three thousand in May, and came over himself with the rest about Midsummer.

31) He was to have always with him six hundred men at arms, six knights bannerets, thirty four knights bachelors, and seventeen hundred archers. And for their wages he was to have, himself six-pence eight farthings sterling a day for each knight banneret, four pence sterling: for each knight bachelor, two-pence a day for every man at arms, twelve-pence a day: and for each archer, six-pence a day.

32) They pulled down all the most considerable buildings in the suburbs, and, among the rest, twelve churches, and several monasteries; that the English might not make use of them in carrying on the siege.

33) The place where the Parliament sat to hear criminal cause.

34) Together with artillery, ammunition, &c. the whole between four and five hundred carts and carriages.

35) She was born in 1407, in the parish of Greux upon the Meuse, in Domremy.

36) After she had been about two months with the King at Chinon.

37) In the dead time of the night, and in a great storm of rain and thunder.

38) But Monstrelet observes, that though Joan was at the head of these several actions, and had the glory of them, yet they were chiefly performed by those noble Knights and Captains, who had so bravely defended Orleans. In these attacks, the English lost near eight thousand men, and the French not above a hundred.

39) There must be some mistake; since Rapin says above, the Bretons alone were thirteen thousand two hundred. P. Daniel says, the Bretons did not exceed twelve hundred. Stow and Hall say, the French army consisted of twenty, or twenty-three thousand men.

40) Monstrelet says, there were about eighteen hundred English killed, and between a hundred and six score taken prisoners; the chief of whom were the Lords, Scales, Talbot, Huugerford, Sir Thomas Rampston, &c. According to Hall, about twelve hundred were slain, and forty taken prisoners.

41) The English could not agree, about the place and manner of fighting, whether it should be on foot or on horseback; which way the chief cause of their defeat. Besides they had neglected to provide themselves with sharp stakes; which used to be their main defence against the enemy's cavalry.—Monstrelet. Sir John Falstolff had the Garter, of which he was a Knight, taken from him by the Regent, for running away, but it was restored to him again.—Hall.

42) July 6.

43) July 8th P. Daniel says, it was the 17th.

44) Some account of these people will be seen in the history of the state of the church, at the end of the reign of Henry VII.

45) There are three Kings at Arms in England; namely, Garter, Clarencieux, and Norroy. Garter is the principal, instituted by Henry V. as has been previously related. His business is to attend Knights of the Garter at their solemnity, and to Marshal the funerals of the greater nobility. Clarencieux was created by Henry IV. who, Ivon attaining the dukedom of Clarence by the death of his brother, made the herald belonging to the Duke of Clarence, a King at Arms, and called him Clarentius. His proper office is to marshal the funerals of the lesser nobility, or gentry, on the south side of the Trent. Norroy's office is the same on the north side of the Trent, as appears by his name, The Northern King. The business of the heralds is like wise to denounce war, to proclaim peace, or to be employed in the King's martial messages. They are judges also of gentlemen's arms, marshal all the solemnities at the coronation of Princes, &c. Verstegan derives the word Herald from Here, an army, and Healt, a champion, as much as to say, The champion of the army. Besides the three Kings, there are six other properly called heralds, as they were created to attend Dukes, viz. York, Lancaster, Somerset, Richmond, Chester and Windsor. There are four more called Marshals or Pursuivants at Arms, who commonly succeed in the place of heralds; namely, Blue-Mantle, Rouge-Cross, Rouge Dragon, and Port-Cullis.

46) Between these transactions and the King's coronation, a Parliament met at Westminster, on September 22, which granted the King a tenth and a fifteenth; and continued the subsidy of wools, and tonnage, and poundage as before. —In this Parliament it was enacted, that every city, borough, and town in the kingdom, should have at their own charge, a common balance, and weights sealed, according to the standard of the exchequer, in the keeping of the mayor or constable at which balance, all the inhabitants of the same city or town, were to weigh without paying any thing; but strangers were too, was also enacted, that whereas Knights of the shires had of late been chosen by outrageous and excessive numbers of people, and of small substance; for the Suture, the said Knights shall be elected in every county, by people, dwelling and resident in the same counties, whereof every one shall have land or tenement, to the value of forty shillings by the year at the least, above all charges and that they which shall be so chosen, shall be dwelling and resident within the same counties. Statute 8. cap. 5, 7. In the Parliament 10. Henry VI. Anno 1432. it was declared, that the said forty shillings per annum must be freehold.

47) The Duke of Bedford had then with him near eight hundred men belonging to the Duke of Burgundy.

48) Orders were also issued out, for all that were worth forty pounds per annum, to come and take upon them the Order of Knighthood.

49) By the Cardinal of Winchester.

50) In honour of this marriage, he instituted the Order of the Golden Fleece.

51) She was daughter of John I. King of Portugal, by Philippa, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt.

52) Fifteen hundred men, for which he was to receive fifty thousand salutes of gold.

53) About this time Sir Thomas Kiriel defeated a body of French near Clemont.

54) Monstrelet says, she was pulled off her horse by an archer.

55) Hall says, the Duke of Burgundy withdrew his troops, to go and take possession of Brabant, fallen to him by the death of the Duke; whereupon the English, deprived of his assistance, were forced to raise the siege.

56) She was tried by the Bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she was taken.

57) She and her whole family were ennobled in 1429: and she had a coat of arms given her, which was, azure, two fleur-de-lis, or, with a sword argent, erect, and going through a crown, Ibid. There are still in France several descendants from her family, which took the surname of Du Lis.

58) See Appendix

59) John Lord Talbot was not released till the beginning of the year 1433. See Rymer's Fœd

60) The Duke of Gloucester only seized, at Sandwich, some of the King's jewels, which were mortgaged to the cardinal, and which he intended to carry over, whereupon the cardinal came back in great haste and fury, for the recovery of them. But an order was made, that before they were restored to him, he should pay the King six thousand pounds more for them, and lend him ten thousand marks; which was accordingly done.

61) He buried her at the Celestine's in Paris, within the chapel of Orleans, where a noble tomb of black marble, with her effigies, as a Princess, placed thereon, is still to be seen. Her epitaph says, she died November the 14th, 1432.

62) And the Lord Willoughby; with six-thousand archers.

63) She was but about seventeen years old Monstrelet. She and the Duke her spouse came to London about midsummer, where they remained till the latter end of August, when they went to Paris

64) In the beginning of May.

65) Eight hundred men at arms. Monstrelet.

66) On September 21st.

67) She died September 30, and was buried in the church of St. Dennis. - Monstrelet.

68) He was buried in Notre Dame church, in Rouen, under a plain tomb of black marble, with an epitaph upon a copper plate, or tablet of brass, affixed to a pillar at the foot of his tomb above the epitaph stool his escutcheon of arms (of silver, and torn away) within the Garter, between two Ostrich-feathers; and underneath a root was represented, which the priests call, La Racine de Bedford.

69) Richard Plantagenet. His patent was deferred until July 16, 1437.

70) The person here meant, was Edmund, third son of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset. This Edmund bore the titles of Earl of Mortagne in Normandy, and Lord of Clerkland in the marches of Wales. He was created, August 28, 1442, Earl of Dorset; and June 24, 1443, Marquis of the same. And at last, March 31, 1448, upon his brother John's death, he succeeded him in the Dukedom of Somerset.

71) This year a Parliament met at Winchester, on October 10, which granted the King a tenth and a fifteenth, (deducting out of it four thousand pounds for the relief of decayed towns and villages,) also tunnage and poundage for two years; and a subsidy of thirty three shillings and four-pence of merchants, denizens, and of forty six shillings and eight-pence of aliens for every sack of wool. They also granted that every person having any freehold in lands, annuities, fees, offices, or hereditaments, above five pounds yearly, should pay for every pound six-pence, upon his oath. There was also a Parliament in the beginning of the year 1436, which met at Westminster, January 21, and granted a tenth and a fifteenth, and the like subsidy of wools for.

three years, as was granted in the former Parliament. In this last Parliament it was enacted, that no sheriff or bailiff should impanel any person upon juries, but such as inhabit within his bailiwick, and have estate to their own use, or they to whose use other persons have estate of fee simple, fee-tail, or free-hold, in lands and tenements, of the yearly value of twenty pounds, or more. But this not to extend to cities or boroughs.

72) Monstrelet, Hall, Dugdale, Stow, and Speed, all agree in saying, it was the Lord Robert Willoughby. Woodeville was captain of Calais.

73) And showed the citizens a charter, wherein Charles granted them their pardon, and confirmed all their ancient liberties and privileges.

74) Hall says, it was July 27, which is most probable. For the siege was begun in June. See Monstrelet. The Duke of Gloucester did not come till after the siege was raised.

75) It was only hulks loaded with great square stones, joined together with lead, &c. to be thrown into the harbour, in order to render it unfit for use, and hinder the English shipping from coming near to relieve the town.

76) Joan of Navarre, relict of King Henry IV. died at Havering in Essex, July 10, 1437, and was interred by the side of her husband in Canterbury Cathedral.

77) Queen Catherine died January 3, 1437, in the monastery of Bermondsey in Southwark; and on the 18th of February next following, her body was brought to St. Catherine's by the Tower, from thence to St. Paul's, and so to Westminster Abbey, where it was interred; but her corpse being taken up in the reign of Henry VII. when he laid the foundation of his new chapel there, she was never since buried; but remaineth still above ground, in a coffin of boards, near the sepulchre of Henry V. her first husband.

78) Tudor had by Queen Catherine three sons, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen. The eldest was created Earl of Richmond by Henry his half-brother, who gave him to wife, Margaret, only daughter of John Duke of Somerset. From this marriage sprung Henry Earl of Richmond, whom we shall see hereafter ascend the throne of land, by the name of Henry VII. all the male heirs of the House of Lancaster being extinct. Jasper the second son was made Earl of Pembroke. Owen the youngest, lost his head on the scaffold in 1460. Jaquelina of Luxemburg, widow of the Duke of Bedford, followed the example of Queen Catherine. After the death of the Prince her husband, she married Sir. Richard Woodville, who was only a Knight, and much her inferior. This match was almost as unsuitable as Queen Catherine's. Besides, it was made not only without the King's licence, but also contrary to Jaquelina's express oath, not to marry without his permission. So, both the bride and bridegroom, would have been liable to the rigour of the law; had not the King been pleased to forgive them.

79) And by causing his people to be cloathed in white; by which means they were not discovered, the ground being then covered with snow. Hall relates this as done by John Lord Clifford.

80) He also discharged him from the payment of tenths, and all other sums granted by the clergy; and gave him a yearly pension of forty pounds.

81) A piece of money worth about twenty-five pence Tournois.

82) Ever since The battle of Bauge, where Clarence was killed.

83) John was not brother of, but himself, Earl of Somerset, and had been so, ever since the death of Henry, his elder brother. 6. Hen. V. Edmund was not fourth but third son.

84) Monstrelet calls him, le Bastard de Thian.

85) It consisted of about five hundred men; the commanding officers were, Sir William Chamberlain, Sir John Ripplay, &c.

86) It was de Thian, who was thus served, at the taking of the town, and not of the market.

87) This year a Parliament met at Westminster, which granted the King one tenth, and one fifteenth, and half of a fifteenth, to be levied on the laity; and the subsidy of thirty-three shillings and four-pence from denizens, and forty-six shillings and eight-pence from aliens, for every sack of wool; as also tonnage and poundage, for which aliens were to pay seven shillings and eight-pence. The Commons also granted, that all aliens within the realm, who were not denizens, should pay to the King sixteen-pence, if they were householders; and if not, then but six-pence. In this Parliament it was enacted, that no person should be made a justice of peace, in any county, who had not lands or tenements, to the value of twenty pounds; but this not to extend to cities, towns, or boroughs. The ground assigned for this statute, is, that some persons had been of late appointed justices, who, on account of their low behaviour, could not govern or rule the people; and others, by reason of their necessity, committed great extortions and oppressions. It was also enacted, that no captain should abate of his soldiers' wages, upon pain of twenty pounds for every spear, and ten pounds for a bow, to be paid to the King.

88) He died at Rouen in Normandy, April 30, 1439, possessed of a vast estate; the yearly value (as appears from the account of his bailiffs in 12 Henry VI.) amounting to eight thousand three hundred and six marks, eleven shillings and eleven-pence half-penny: at a time when barley was but four shillings and two-pence a quarter; oats two shillings and three half-pence; capons three-pence a piece, and hens three half pence, as appears from the accounts of his household officers. He was buried first in the collegiate church of our lady, at Warwick, by his noble ancestors; and afterwards removed into a magnificent chapel, built by his executors, according to the direction of his last will; wherein his portraiture of copper gilt, hooped over with copper-staves, is still to be seen.

89) Comines says, it was called Praguerie, or Briguerie; so that the name was probably derived from the word Brigade, signifying faction.

90) Twelve days after his departure from thence.

91) Above five hundred of the English were slain, and four hundred taken prisoners; whereas not above forty of the French were killed.

92) Margery Gurdemain of Eye, who was burnt in Smithfield, on October 27. Thomas Southwell, and Sir John Hume, priests, were accused likewise of being concerned with the Duchess. Bolingbroke was hanged and quartered.

93) She was examined by Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Kemp, Archbishop of York, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, William Ascoth, Bishop of Salisbury, and others, in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster.

94) Her judges were the Earls of Huntingdon, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, with some other Lords. She was kept prisoner in Chester castle, under the custody of Sir Thomas Stanley; and afterwards removed to Kenelworth.

95) The right which the Kings of France had of disposing of benefices, during the vacancy of an episcopal see.

96) At the taking of which, above eight hundred English were slain.

97) Sandford says, he was born on April 29, 1441, at Rouen.

98) This year a Parliament met at Westminster on January 25, in which, among other things, it was enacted, that no customer or searcher, shall have a ship of his own, use merchandize, keep a wharf, or inn, or be a factor; and that, in order to avoid the many frauds which would naturally ensue from thence.

99) This year, on December 1, died the renowned Sir John Cornwall, Baron of Fanhope, and Lord of Milbroke; and was buried in a chapel, founded by himself in the church yard of the friars preachers near Ludgate, London.

100) It was to commence at land, June 1; and at sea, July 1.

101) The King granted him and his heirs male, a place and seat in Parliament, and in the great councils, next to the Duke of York.

102) He also granted him in reversion, from the death of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Erni, and Aurenay; as also the manor and hundred of Bristol; and what is more, he was crowned King of the Isle of Wight, by Henry's own hand. In consideration of his father's great descent, the King granted him a place in Parliament, and all other meetings next to the Duke of Norfolk, and before Humphrey de Stafford Duke of Buckingham; which occasioning great animosities between them, by a special ad made in Parliament, it was established, that they should have presidency by turns yearly, the Duke of Warwick to begin the first year: but his death, shortly after, put an end to this matter.

102) Hall says, she landed at Portsmouth in April. The marriage. solemnity was performed at Southwick in Hampshire, on April 22 after which she came to London, and was crowned.

103) He was archbishop but twenty-nine years, and died April 12, 1443. His successor John Stafford was a bastard, as were, in the next century, Tonstal, Gardiner, and Bonner. The said archbishop Chicheley founded All-Souls College in Oxford; as also Bernard College, now incorporated into St. John's in the same university.

104) This Parliament met at Westminster, on February 25, 1445, and was at several times prorogued to January 24, 1446. It granted the King a tenth and a half, and a fifteenth and a half, except five thousand pounds allowed to poor wasted towns. They also granted tonnage and poundage as before on denizens, but double on aliens: and gave a subsidy of thirty four shillings and four-pence on denizens, and fifty three shillings on aliens, for every sack of wool, for four years. In this Parliament it was enacted, that, to prevent oppression, and exactions, no man should be sheriff or under sheriff, above one year, upon pain of forfeiting two hundred pounds.

105) Also this year, on August 17, a twelve years truce was concluded between England and Flanders.

106) It was summoned first to meet at Cambridge, but afterwards ordered to be at St. Edmund's-bury; where it accordingly met on February 10.

107) By John Lord Viscount Beaumont, then High Constable, Humphrey Stafford Duke of Buckingham, &c.

108) As though he had died of the palsy or an *imposthume*.

109) Of thirty-two that were attached, five were drawn to Tyburn, hanged, let down alive, stripped naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a pardon was shown for their lives.

110) His body was carried to St. Albans, where a noble monument, afterwards erected to his memory, still remains in the Conventual church. The vault wherein his body was deposited, and the exact place of which was; it seems, then unknown, was discovered in Queen-Anne's reign. He was called, the Good Duke of Gloucester. Having had his education in Baliol College, he became a great proficient in learning, and was a great favourer of learned men. He laid the first foundation of the famous Library at Oxford, since known by the name of Bodleian, from Sir Thomas Bodley, by whom it was wonderfully increased. Sir Thomas More gives an instance of this Duke's sagacity. The King coming one time in progress to St. Albans, a beggar born blind, as he said, recovered his sight at the shrine of St. Alban. The miracle being noised about, the Duke being there with the King, desired to see him: the beggar being brought, he asked him whether he was born blind? He answered, Yes truly. And can you now see, says the Duke? Yes, I thank God and St. Alban, replies the beggar. Tell me then, says the Duke, what colour is my gown? the beggar readily told him the colour. And what colour, says the Duke, is such a one's gown? the beggar likewise told him and so of several others. You counterfeit knave, says the Duke, how came you that were born blind, and could not see till now, so suddenly to know the difference of colours? and thereupon, instead of an alms, ordered him to be set in the stocks.

111) He died April 11, after having been Bishop of Lincoln seven years, and of Winchester forty-three; in all fifty, from the time of his first consecration. He was also several times Chancellor of England; two years while Bishop of Lincoln, and when of Winchester, four years at one time, and two at another. Before he entered into Orders, he begat by Alice, daughter of Richard Fitz-Alan. Earl of Arundel, a natural daughter called Joan, married to Sir Edward Stradling. He founded St. Crosses Hospital near Winchester; and lies buried in Winchester Cathedral, where a noble monument is erected to his memory.

112) He died May 27, 22. Henry VI. 1444, leaving an only daughter, Margaret., married to Edmund Tudor Earl of Richmond, by whom she had Henry VII. John Duke of Somerset lies buried under a grey marble monument, with his wife Margaret Beauchamp, in Winborn minster in Dorsetshire. This year also, on August 5, died John Holland Duke of Exeter, and was buried in St. Catherine's, near the Tower of London.

113) His patent of creation bears date June 2.

114) This year, on February 1st a Parliament met at Westminster, which granted the, King a tenth, and .a fifteenth; tonnage and poundage for five years of all merchants, with three shillings tonnage more of Aliens; and the subsidy of wools for years, as before. They also granted the King sixteen-pence, to be taken of every householder within the realm, not born in the King's dominions; and sixpence of every other person not so born, and who was no householder; as also; six shillings and eight-pence of every merchant stranger, and twenty-pence of all and every of their clerks.

115) Monstrelet says, the English had put off the restitution of Mans for the space of three months, and had within that time, introduced fifteen hundred men therein: so that the Earl of Dunois was sent with an army of about seven thousand men, to reduce that city by force.

116) He seems to have been so, for he insisted chiefly upon that point, (as being his ally and vassal) in his complaints to the King of France. Indeed he is expressly mentioned in the truce.

117) They also disavowed the fact, saying, it was done without the consent either of the King their master, or of the Duke of Somerset his lieutenant.

118) July 8, 1449. The truce was to last from August 10, 1449, to September 20, 1450.

119) In this Parliament the Commons granted the King an unusual subsidy; viz. That every person having frank tenement by free deed, copy, grant of annuity, or office, to the clear yearly value

of twenty shillings, should pay sixpence and so from twenty shillings to twenty pounds from twenty pounds, to two hundred pounds yearly. Twelve-pence in the pound: from two hundred pounds, to pay two shillings For every twenty shillings, as well for the laity as the clergy, guardians of wards, men having fees, and all corporations to pay accordingly.—In this Parliament it was enacted, that whereas customers, searchers, &c. did daily wrongfully distress and arrest the ships, goods, and merchandises of the merchants of this of realm; all persons so aggrieved, should be authorized hereby to have, a general writ of trespass against the authors of such arrests, charges, and impositions; Whereby they might sue for, and recover forty pounds, upon conviction.

120) On March 30, to meet at Leicester, April 29.

121) A desperate fellow, called Thomas Thany, but nick-named, that Blue-Beard.

122) The ship belonged to the Duke of Exeter, then constable. of the Tower. The Duke being thus taken, was brought into Dover road, where his head was struck off on the side of a cock boat; and the head and body were left on Dover sands, where they were found by a chaplain of his, and taken up and buried in the collegiate church of Wingfield in Suffolk. Or, according to others, in the Charterhouse of Kingston upon Hull. He was beheaded, says Dugdale, May 2. He served twenty-four years in France, and seventeen without ever returning home. He was privy counsellor fifteen years, and a Knight of the Garter thirty. His Duchess Alice, daughter and heir of Chaucer, died in 14 Edward IV. and was buried at Ewelme, in the church of her own founding.

123) In May this year.

124) And came again and encamped on Blackheath; where the King deputed to him the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, to know what proposals he had to make.

125) James Fynes, who, by reason his mother was sister and coheir to William de Say, a descendant of the former Baron de Say, was created, 25 Henry VI. a Baron, by the title of Lord Say and Seale. He was accused with the Duke of Suffolk about the affair of Maine, and thereupon to appease the people, was turned out from being high treasurer; and upon the clamours of the rebels was sent to the. Tower, whence they fetched him, and arraigned him at Guildhall before the Mayor. He desired to be tried by his peers, in order to gain time; but Cade and his accomplices not admitting of this dilatory plea, took him by force from the officers, and hurrying him to the standard in Cheap, cut off his head, which they set on a pole, and caused to be carried before them along the streets. Not satisfied-with this, they also dragged his naked body at a horse's tail into Southwark, where it was hanged and quartered.

126) Who was then the Archbishop of York, viz. John Kempe.

127) At Hothfield in Sussex.

128) He was styled Captain Mend All. He was quartered, and his head set upon London-bridge.

129) Through the earnest entreaties of his wife, who had nearly been killed by a stone shot, that fell between her and her children. The Duke of Somerset was not governor of this town; for the Duke of York, the owner, had appointed Sir Davy Hall; captain-general, Sir Robert Vere, governor of the castle, and Sir Henry Radford of the dungeon.

130) Of these five, the two first were drawn to engage with the Duke of York, by reason of their affinity with him. For the said Duke had married Cecily, sister of the Earl of Salisbury. And John, Duke of Norfolk, took part with the Earl of Salisbury, as being the son of his sister Catherine, but more in the behalf of his father, who was banished, and of his uncle, who was

beheaded at York in the reign of Henry IV. The Earl of Warwick's discontent was occasioned by a quarrel between him and the Duke of Somerset. As for the Earl of Devonshire, and the Lord Cobham, it does not appear what induced them to declare against Henry VI.

131) A mile from Dartford in Kent.

132) On March 1, and came to the King's tent.

133) And soon after the King assembled a great council at Westminster, to hear the accusations of the two Dukes one against another. In this council, the Duke of Somerset, who foresaw what soon came to pass, exhorted the Lords and others there present, to cause the Duke of York, by force or otherwise, to confess his offence; that, being attainted of treason, he might be executed, and his children put under arrest, as enemies of the kingdom.

134) He was buried at Whitchurch in Shropshire, where a noble monument was erected for him in the south wall of the chancel. In his epitaph he is styled, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Talbot, Lord Furnival, Lord Verdon, Lord Strange, of Blackmore, and Marshal of France.

135) Lionel, Duke of Clarence.

136) John, Duke of Lancaster.

137) Hall says of him, that by reason of his engaging behaviour, and of his liberality and good house-keeping, He was in such favour and estimation, amongst the common people, that they judged him able to do all things, and without him, nothing to be well done.

138) This is he that was commonly called, The stout Earl of Warwick.

139) This Parliament first met at Reading on March 6, 1452; and on the 18th was prorogued to the 20th of April, at Westminster, where it assembled accordingly; whence, on July 2, it was prorogued to November 7, at Reading; and from thence to February 11, 1453, at Westminster: but notwithstanding, it appears that it then met at Reading, whence it was adjourned to Westminster for February 14. In the first session, the Commons granted the King one-tenth and a half, and one fifteenth and a half; tonnage and poundage during life; the subsidy of wools, viz. twenty-three shillings and four-pence for every sack, of denizens; and five pounds of aliens; and so of other staple ware in proportion. They also granted the King, of every merchant not born within the realm, who was no denizen, and kept house, forty shillings per annum: and of every such merchant as shall remain within the realm but six weeks, twenty shillings: and of every merchant alien, being no denizen, six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence yearly, during the King's life.

140) A. D. 1454.

141) Sir Thomas de Roos, and Sir William de Fitzwarren.

142) About two thousand men.

143) Among which were the following noblemen, Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset, Humfrey Stafford Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Stafford his eldest son, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, James Butler Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, John Beaufort Earl of Dorset, Jasper Tudor Earl of Pembroke, Thomas Lord Clifford, the Lords Sudley, Barns, Rosse, and others. They set out from Westminster, May 20 or 21, came to Watford that night, and the next day to St. Albans. The King set up his standard in a place called Goselow, or Sandiford, in St. Peter's-street. In the mean time, the Duke of York lay encamped in Keye-field, having with him John Nowbray Duke of Norfolk, Richard Nevil Earl of Salisbury, Richard Earl of Warwick,

William Lord Fauconbridge, Edward Lord Cobham, &c. and not above three thousand men. Before they came to an engagement, proposals for an accommodation passed between the King and the Duke, but to no purpose.

144) Henry Percy, son of Hotspur, by the eldest daughter of Edmund Mortimer Earl of Marche; he left issue nine sons, (of whom Henry, then thirty three years of age, succeeded him) and two daughters.

145) Of whom there were forty-eight who were buried in the abbey of St. Albans.

146) July 9, at Westminster this Parliament it was enacted, that whereas there were fourscore attorneys or more, in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of Norwich; most of whom had no other thing to live upon but their practice, and the major part were not of sufficient knowledge: that therefore from henceforth, there should be but six common attorneys in the county of Norfolk, the same number in the county of Suffolk, and two in the city of Norwich, upon pain of forfeiting twenty pounds.

147) A salary of four thousand marks was allowed the Duke, for his office of protector.

148) The ground and rise of this quarrel was thus: an English merchant's servant that had formerly been in Italy, and blamed, or punished for wearing a dagger at his girdle, meeting an Italian merchant's servant with one in Cheapside, questioned him about it; and words arising, the Englishman snatched the dagger from the Italian, and broke it about his head. Whereupon a great tumult ensuing, the mob rifled the houses of several Italian merchants; but three were executed for this riot.

149) He. brought with him six hundred men in red coats, embroidered with white ragged staves before and behind. The Earl of Salisbury brought five hundred. The Duke of York four hundred. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter eight hundred. The Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Egremont and Clifford, fifteen hundred.

150) The Duke of York' at Baynard's castle, which belonged to him the Earl of Salisbury at his own house, called the Herber; and the Earl of Warwick at his house near the Grey Friars. The Duke of Somerset and his friends were lodged without Temple-Bar; Holborn, and other places in the suburbs. The former party held their consultations at the Black-Friars; and the latter in the Chapter House at Westminster.

151) Sir Godfrey Bullen, ancestor of two famous Queens; Ann, second wife of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, their daughter.

152) Through the persuasions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates.

153) Before the King went, hand in hand, the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Salisbury; the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Warwick and behind the King came the Queen and Duke of York.

154) The Cheshire men were the greatest sufferers, who wore that day little silver swans, the Prince of Wales's badge, which the Queen had ordered to, be distributed to all the gentlemen of that county. This battle was fought on September 23, about a mile from Drayton in Shropshire, on Blore-Heath, which lies in Staffordshire, where, at the head of the river Sow, a stone is set up in memory of James Lord Audley there slain. The most eminent persons slain in this action, besides the Lord Audley, were, Sir Thomas Dutton, Sir John Dunne, Sir Hugh Venables, Sir Richard Molineux, Sir John Leigh, &c.

155) These three Lords came into Devonshire, where, by the means of John Dinham, Esq. who was High-treasurer in the reign of Henry VII. they bought a ship at Exmouth, and sailed to

Guernsey, and from thence to Calais. After this, the King committed, the custody of the northern parts to Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, and John Lord Clifford.

156) The Ships that had brought the Duke of Somerset to Flanders, revolted also, and went over to the Earl of Warwick at Calais

157) With whom were John Guildford, William Peche, Robert Horne, anti many other gentlemen.

158). The river Nyne.

159) Humphrey Stafford Duke of Buckingham, John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, John de Beaumont, the first Viscount in England, created 18 Henry VI. as also Thomas Lord Egremont, Sir William Lucy, &c. The King's cannon were rendered unserviceable in the battle, by reason of the great rains that fell that day.

160) To the castle of Hardlag, or Harden: she was plundered, in the way, of her goods and baggage; to the value of ten thousand marks.

161) This question was not put to him now, while he was standing under the canopy of state; but at another time. And though he and the King were both lodged in the palace at Westminster, yet for no prayer or intercession would he once visit and see him, till things were brought to a conclusion.

162) October 16.

163) October 31.

164) The Parliament settled also on the Duke of York ten thousand marks; viz. five thousand for himself, three thousand five hundred for his eldest son Edward, Earl of Marche, and fifteen hundred for his other son the Earl of Rutland. In this Parliament was the following statute made. That women being of the age of fourteen years, at the time of the death of their ancestors, shall, without question or difficulty, have livery of their lands and tenements descended to them: for so the. law of this land wills that they should have.

165) And on the Saturday following, Richard Duke of York was, by sound of trumpet, proclaimed heir apparent to the crown of England, and protector of the realm.

166) On December 2, leaving. the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick to take care of the King.

167) She is said to have placed an ambush on each side Wakefield Green, under the command of the Lord Clifford and the Earl of Wiltshire. Her main army was led by the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter.

168) He is said to have killed that day so many with his own hand, that he was thenceforward called the Butcher. His father, Thomas Lord Clifford, having been slain in the battle of St. Albans by the Duke of York, this Lord Chard (as Grafton says,) swore, he would not leave one branch of the York line standing.

169) Besides the Duke of York, there fell in this battle his two bastard uncles, Sir John, and Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir Davy Halle, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Thomas Nevil, &c. and two thousand eight hundred persons more.

170) His corpse was first interred at Pontefract, but afterwards in the collegiate church of Fotheringhay. The Duke of Somerset (his chief opponent) said of him, that if he had not learned

to play the King by his Regency in France, he had never forgotten to obey as a subject, when he returned to England. By Cecily, daughter of Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland, he had, as Some say, eight sons, (Henry, who died young; Edward, Earl of Marche, afterwards King Edward IV. Edmund, Earl of Rutland; John, William, and Thomas, who all died young; George, Duke of Clarence; and Richard, Duke of Gloucester; afterwards King Richard III.) and four daughters.

171) His body, with that of Alice his wife, sole daughter and heir to Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and his son Thomas (slain in the battle) were, in 2 Edward IV. February 16, buried at Bisham Abbey in Berkshire. He had issue four sons, (Richard, Earl of Warwick, John, Marquis of Montague, Sir Thomas, George, Bishop of Exeter, Chancellor of England, and then Archbishop of York,) and five daughters.

172) A town in the West-riding of Yorkshire, famous for its cloth trade, largeness, neat buildings, markets, and for the bridge upon which King Edward IV. built a very neat chapel, in memory of those, that were cut off in this battle. The carved work of stone upon the chapel, was very beautiful, but is now much defaced. On the right hand of the road from Wakefield to Sandal, there is a square plot of ground hedged in from a close, whereon (before the civil war between King Charles and the Parliament) stood a cross of stone, where the Duke of York was slain. The owners are obliged by tenure to keep up that hedge.

173) A. D. 1461.

174) Welsh, Scots, and Irish, besides English.

175) He was one of those who had the custody of the King after he was taken at St. Albans, and had stayed with him at his request, and upon promise of being safe.

176) March 4

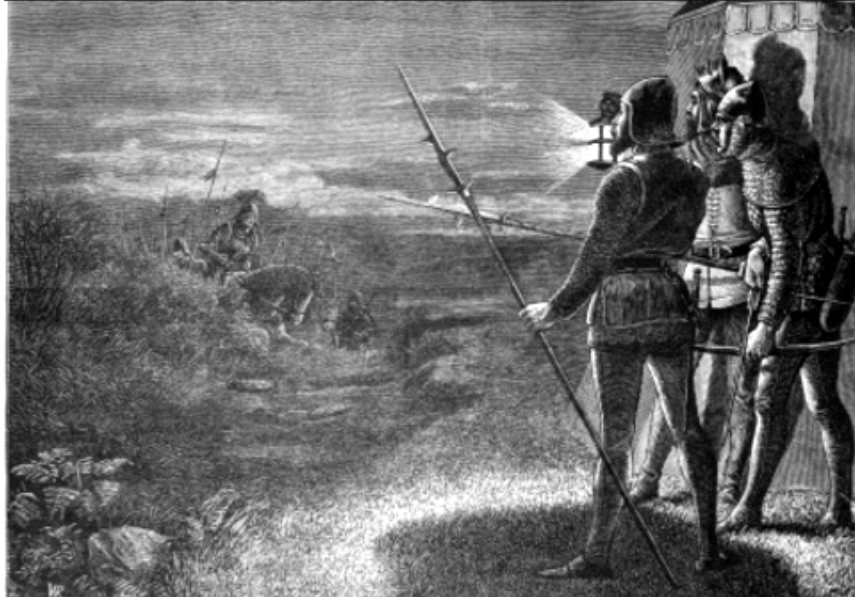
177) Then he went in procession, under a canopy, to the abbey, and was placed in the choir as King, whilst Te Deum was sung; after which he made the usual offerings. That done, he returned by water to St. Paul's, and lodged in the Bishop's palace,

178) In the first Parliament of his reign the Queen-mother came and sat among the Lords, with the young King in her lap.

179) The most remarkable things during this reign were these: the art of printing being found out at Mentz in Germany, by John Guttenbergen, was brought into England by William Caxton of London, mercer, who first practised the- same in the abbey of Westminster, in 1471. In the 23rd year of this reign it was enacted in Parliament, that when wheat was sold for six shillings and eight-pence the quarter; rye for four shillings; and barley for three shillings; it should be lawful to export the said kinds of corn into foreign parts without licence. In the year 1454, there was such plenty of corn, that a quarter of wheat was commonly sold for twelve or fourteen-pence; and a quarter of malt for sixteen or seventeen-pence at most. Queen Margaret began Queen's college in Cambridge, which was finished by Edward, Queen, her enemy. Archbishop Kemp built the Divinity school at Oxford, as it now stands, and St. Paul's cross. William Eastfield, Mayor of London, built at his own charge the water conduit in Fleet-street; and John Wells, Mayor of London, the conduit, commonly called the standard in Cheap. In the year 1446, Sir Simon Eye, Mayor of London, built Leadenhall, to be a common garner for the city. In 1455, Sir John Norman, Mayor of the same, went by water to Westminster to take his oath; being the first that went in that manner. For before that time they rode on horseback.

180) It is important to consider, that, without a competent knowledge of coins in every age, of their weight and fineness, and of their comparative value with respect to other commodities, and to the coins of our own times, we can form no just conceptions of the price of labour, the rate of

living, the prosperity and wealth of nations, and many other important facts in history. We are apt, for example, to be surprised to hear, that the wages of common labourers, in the fifteenth century, were only three half pence a day, and to imagine that these poor labourers must have lived in a very wretched manner; but when we are told, that those three half-pence contained as much silver as three-pence, and would purchase as many of the necessaries of life as half a crown or three shillings of our money will do at present, our surprise and pity are at an end.



The Earl of Warwick's Attack on The King's Tent



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