# Rapin's History of England


## Book 11

**The reigns of Henry IV. And Henry V comprising a period of twenty-two years and ten months**

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

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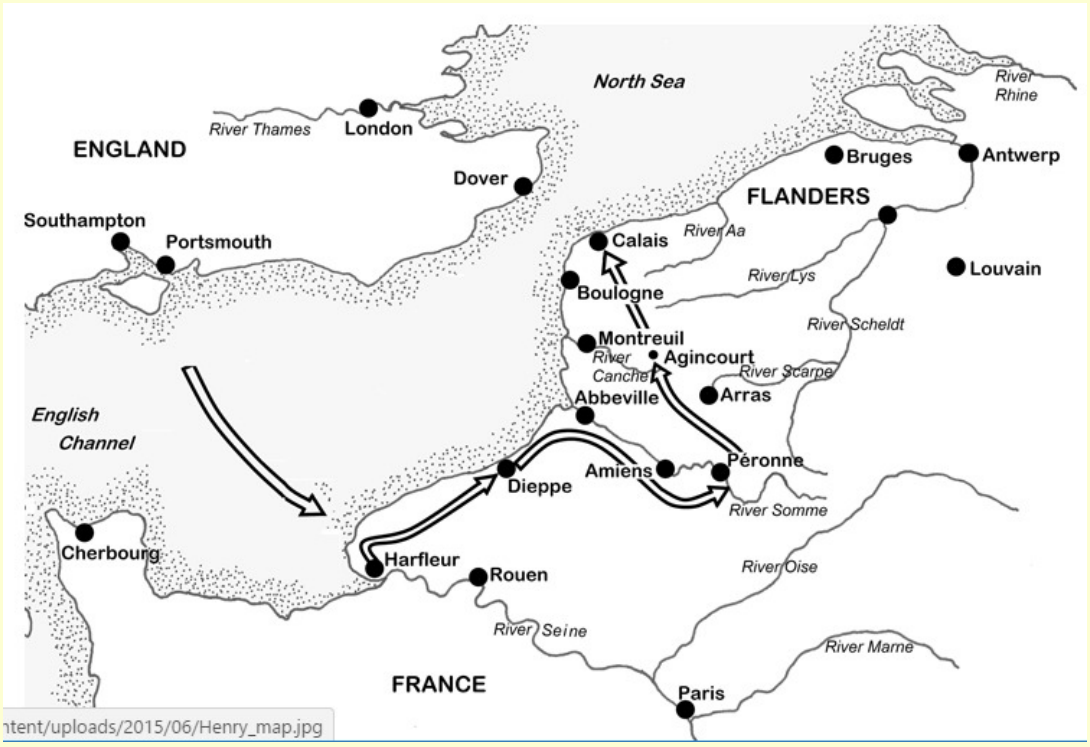
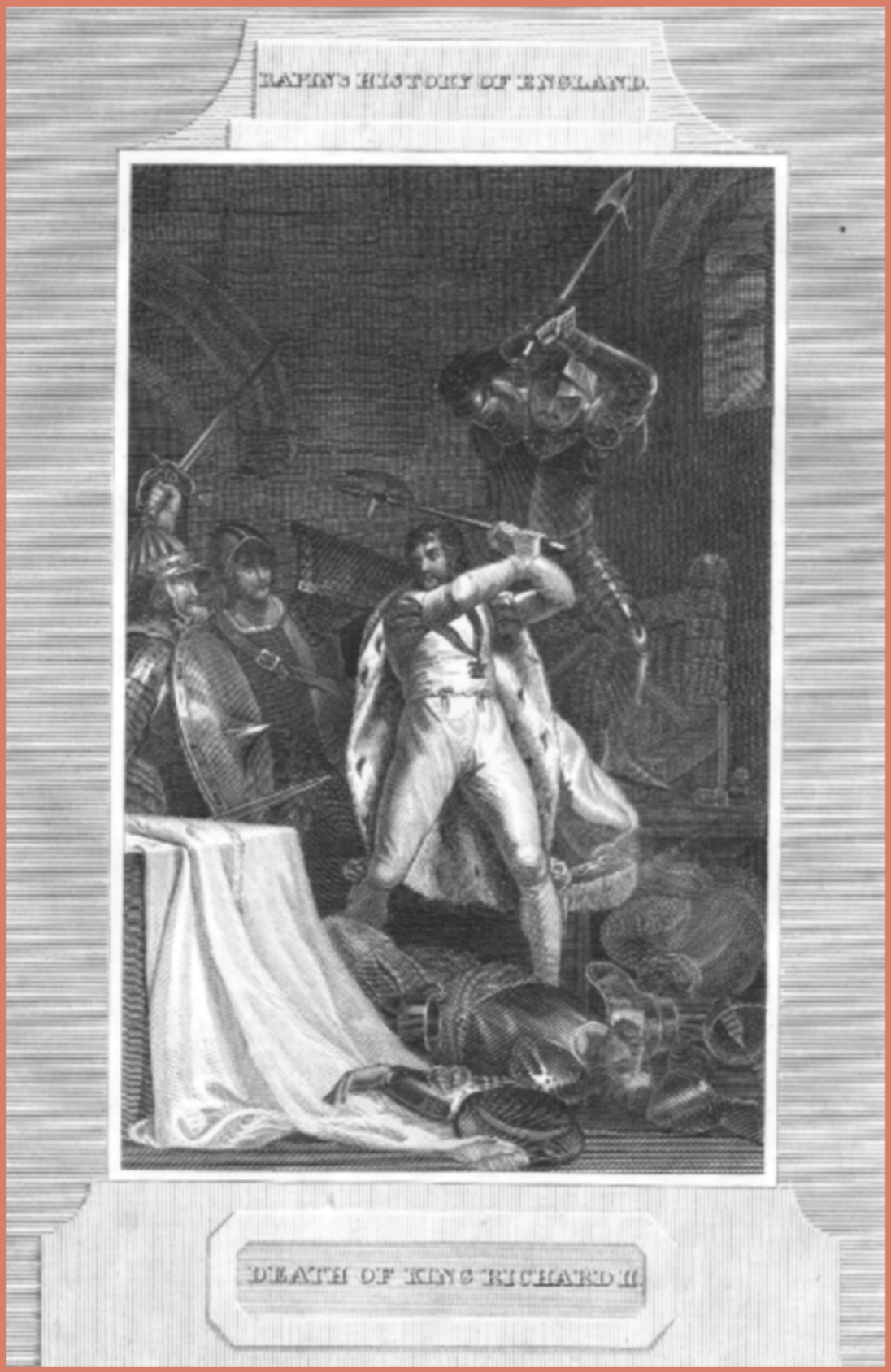
# Book Ten
# King Henry V




## Henry's itinerary

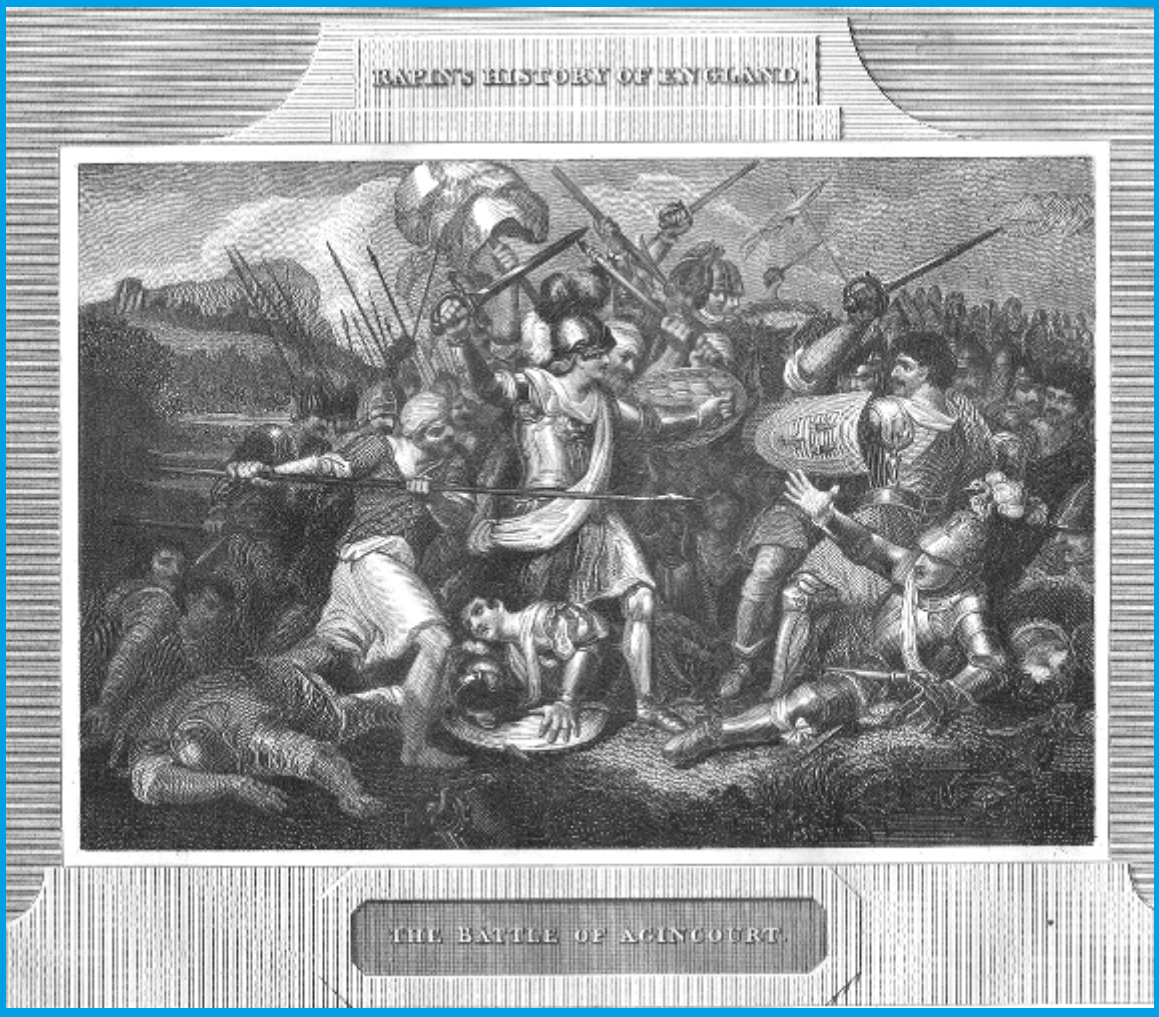
Beyond Harfleur some places on Henry's itinerary have grown in importance, while others are now little more than names on the map. Nevertheless, much of the countryside remains relatively sparsely populated, and it is easy to visualise the country as it would have been seen by the men in Henry's army, with villages marked by their churches visible from long distances across the open countryside.


# Henry The Fourth
# Born 1367 — Died 1413




# Death of Richard II


# Henry The Fifth
# Sirnamed Monmouth




# The Battle of Agincourt

# BOOK XI

# THE REIGNS OF HENRY IV AND HENRY V COMPRISING A PERIOD OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS AND TEN MONTHS.

## Chapter I
## HENRY IV SIRNAMED OF BOLINGBROKE

**ENRY DUKE OF LANCASTER, SIRNAMED OF BOLINGBROKE**, the place of his birth[1], having been proclaimed the 30th of September, took that very day the reins of the government. As the Parliament then assembled was called in Richard's name, and as their authority ceased upon his being deposed, Henry's first care was to call another. He was contented, however, with impowering the same representatives, to make, with the House of Lords, a new Parliament under his authority; and, after a few days interruption, the same Parliament met again on the 6th of October, as though it had been called by the new King.

Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, considering it would be no less dangerous than fruitless, at such a juncture, to assert his just right to the crown, retired to his Lordship of Wigmore[2], near the borders of Wales. The more incontestable his title was, the more reason he had to dread the new King's jealousy. So, giving way to the torrent which he could not stem, he resolved to live in retirement, without showing the least ambition, or the least uneasiness, at the injustice that was done him.

The Parliament being assembled, Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury made a long speech, tending to inspire a high opinion of the advantages procured to the kingdom by the late revolution. He enlarged chiefly on the disorders of the late reign, and assured them, that the new Sovereign proposed to govern after a very different manner, and to preserve to all their rights and liberties. This prelate had been banished the realm in the late reign, and Roger Walden, who was appointed in his room, had hitherto performed the Archiepiscopal functions. But as Arundel was not canonically deposed, the Parliament in their first session, ordered that he should resume his dignity, and the rather as the other had not yet obtained the Pope's confirmation. The Archbishop's speech, and some preliminary formalities, were the only things remarkable in the first session of the new Parliament, which was adjourned to the 14th of October. This adjournment was necessary in order to prepare for the coronation, which was to be on the 13th.

During this interval the King filled several posts, which were vacant, or possessed by persons he did not like. Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Nevill Earl of Westmorland, had shown too great a zeal for the King, by joining him at Ravenspur, presently after his landing,

not to have a share in his favours. Henry, willing to show his gratitude, made the first High-Constable, and the other, Earl-Marshal[3]

A few days, after he gave also to the Earl of Northumberland the Isle of Man, with the privilege of carrying at the coronation, the sword called Lancaster, on the King's left hand[4]. This was the sword which the King wore when he landed at Ravenspur.

After Henry had required these two Lords, whom he considered as most attached to his interest and person, he made Thomas of Lancaster his second son, High-Steward; but as the Prince was not above ten years old, the King gave him for deputy, Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester, brother to the Earl of Northumberland.

On the 13th of October, Edward the Confessor's day, Henry was crowned with all the usual formalities, being then thirty-three years of age[5]. He was anointed with a certain oil, pretended to be brought by the Blessed Virgin, to St. Thomas of Canterbury, whilst he was in France. The vial which held this precious oil, had fallen into the hands of a hermit, who presented it to Henry Duke of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III, with this Prophecy: "That the Kings which should. be anointed with that sacred oil, should become true champions for the church." The Duke of Lancaster gave it afterwards to the famous Prince of Wales, son of Edward III. who was resolved to be anointed with it when crowned.

After the death of that Prince, the vial, which was of stone, having on the top a gold eagle set with diamonds, was laid up among the jewels, without being minded. Richard II. his son, finding it, some time before his last voyage into Ireland, designed to be crowned again, on purpose to be anointed with this divine oil. But the Archbishop of Canterbury opposed it, by representing, that the unction of Kings ought not to be repeated. At length, the vial had fallen into Henry's hands, who, either out of devotion, or because it came from the Duke of Lancaster his grandfather by the mother's side, was pleased to be anointed with it at his coronation.

On his coronation day, Henry published a proclamation, declaring, that he ascended the throne, first, by right of conquest: Secondly, by virtue of Richard's resignation, and designation of him for his successor: lastly, as he was the next male heir of the late King. The same day, he created Henry his eldest son, aged thirteen years, Duke of Cornwall, Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester; adding to these titles, that, of Duke of Aquitaine.

The ceremony of the coronation being ended, the Parliament met the next day, being the 14th of October.

In the first place, was passed an act of indemnity, to screen those, who during the late troubles, had taken arms in favour of the King, then Duke of Lancaster. This act was absolutely necessary, since the laws condemned, without distinction, those who opposed the government established; which was precisely the case of the King's friends, and of the King himself.

After this act was passed, the Parliament examined whatever was done in the late reign, to stretch the prerogative royal beyond the usual bounds. They applied themselves chiefly to the proceedings of the Parliament begun at Westminster in 1397, and continued at Shrewsbury in 1398. All the acts, as well with regard to the three Lords unjustly condemned, as to the exorbitant privileges granted to the King, were so manifestly destructive of the nation's liberties, that they were unanimously repeated. At the same time were revived and confirmed, the statutes of the Parliament of 1388, annulled by that of Shrewsbury.

It was thought likewise absolutely necessary to pass a particular act against the Pope's bull, ratifying the statutes of Shrewsbury; this bull, whereby Richard II pretended to give more strength to acts of Parliament, was founded on a principle too opposite to the rights of the people to be suffered to subsist. For the Pope's power to confirm acts of Parliament could not be ac-

knowledged, without ascribing to him a right of sovereignty over England. Wherefore, the Parliament declared in this act, that the kingdom of England was independent of all foreign power, particularly of the Court of Rome, and that the Pope had no right to interpose in the civil government of the realm.

The Shrewsbury Parliament designing to extend the royal authority as much as possible, had so multiplied the cases of high-treason, that none, but such as acknowledged in the Sovereign. an unlimited power, could possibly avoid the penalty of it. To redress so dangerous a grievance, which tended to render the King absolute master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, the Parliament revived a statute, made in the reign of Edward III[6]. and enacted that nothing should be adjudged to be treason, but what. was contained therein.

After the rights and privileges of the people were, by these acts, restored to the same state as before the encroachments of Richard, the authors and advisers of the usurpations, were called to an account. When King Richard apprehended. the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, he was not invested with that absolute power, so liberally conferred upon him afterwards by the Shrewsbury Parliament; so that he was forced to proceed according to law, in the condemnation of these three Lords.

To that end, he so ordered it, that John Holland Earl of Huntingdon, his half-brother Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, his nephew, Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Albemarle, his cousin, son of the Duke of York, John Beaufort Earl of Somerset, son of the Duke of Lancaster by his third wife, and the Lord Thomas Spencer, were the accusers of the three imprisoned Lords. The Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Morley, were reported to be the chief contrivers of this plot. After condemnation, Richard distributed the estates of the three Lords among the accusers and evidences. Moreover, he made. the Earl of Albemarle a Duke, and conferred the title of Duke of Exeter on the Earl of Huntingdon, of Duke of Surrey on the Earl of Kent, of Duke of Somerset on the Earl of Somerset, and of Earl of Gloucester on Thomas Spencer.

As it was publicly known; that the three Lords were unjustly oppressed by the late King, the Parliament thought it necessary to punish the authors and instruments of this violence. For that purpose, after reversing the sentence against the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, as directly contrary to the pardon that was granted them, it was resolved, that the accusers should be deprived both of their new titles, and the estates distributed among them.

As to their own lands, it was left to the King, either to continue them in possession, or turn them out as he pleased. Henry, willing to show his clemency in the beginning of his reign, not only left them their estates, but likewise restored them to their honours. Moreover, he made the Duke of Exeter his brother-in-law, Governor of Calais. The Earl of Salisbury and the Lord Morley, Richard's detested ministers, and principal authors of the violence practised upon the Duke of Gloucester, and the other two Lords, were released after a short imprisonment, though the people loudly called for their death. As the friends of these Lords alleged in their excuse, that Richard compelled them to act, the Parliament took occasion, to pass an act declaring, that for the future, compulsion should be no legal excuse to justify actions contrary to law.

This affair being over, the Parliament prevailed with the King to grant a general pardon, in which however were excepted, the Duke of Gloucester's murderers. One of the villains[7] being apprehended and. convicted, was hanged at London, and his head sent to Calais, to be fixed on one of the gates.

Though the injustice done to the Earl of Marche was manifest, it might in some measure be coloured, with the pretence of rewarding Henry for the signal service he had done the state. If this reward had been limited to his person, perhaps it would not have seemed very strange, that in so extraordinary a case the laws should be superseded in favour of a Prince who had so freely exposed himself for the public. But at such junctures, it is very difficult to keep within the bounds

of equity. The Parliament, not content with adjudging to Henry the crown taken from Richard, would moreover secure it to his posterity. To that end, an act was passed, settling the succession on the House of Lancaster: first on the person of the Prince of Wales, the King's eldest son and his heirs, then on his three brothers and their issue.

A very important affair still remained, concerning which the King was desirous to have the advice of the Parliament before they broke up. The Commons, not satisfied with the bare deposing of Richard, after a very irregular manner, would have had him tried in form, and petitioned the King for that purpose. It was therefore to know how Richard was to be disposed of, that the King wanted the advice of the two Houses.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was charged with his orders, having exacted an oath of secrecy from all the members, made the first motion. It may well be thought, that Richard had not many friends in the House, and if any disapproved of the proceedings against him, they were too much awed to venture to speak in his behalf. There was, one however bold enough, to say publicly, what others only thought, namely, Thomas Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, who, without regarding the motives which might induce him, as well as the rest of Richard's friends, to keep silence, made a long speech, wherein he alleged every thing that could with any plausibleness be said for the King deposed, and against the King on the throne.

He undertook to prove three things. First, that there was no authority which could lawfully depose a King of England. Secondly, that the offences Richard was accused of, deserved no deposition, and besides were not proved. Thirdly, that the crown was unjustly adjudged to the Duke of Lancaster. This speech produced not the effect the Speaker expected. It was so unseasonable, that, supposing the majority had been of his mind, it was impossible to recede from what had been done. But most of the' members persisted in the same maxims they had followed when Richard was deposed. Accordingly, the Bishop reaped no other fruit from his harangue, than to be confined in the Abbey of St. Albans, whence however he was shortly after released without farther punishment[8].

The Bishop of Carlisle's opinion being unanimously rejected, the Parliament came, with regard to Richard, to a resolution, seemingly so extraordinary, that there is some reason to suspect, that history is defective in this place. However, all the historians agree, that it was resolved, Richard should be kept in confinement during life, with a princely allowance: but in case any person should attempt his deliverance, Richard should be the first man that should suffer death. If this be true, it cannot be denied that he was really condemned to die, since his life was only granted him, on a condition not in his power. Besides, such a condition cannot be annexed to the sentence of a criminal, but on supposition that he is already condemned.

Whilst the two houses acted in common and with equal ardour, for the interest of the Prince they had placed on the throne, the convocation was sitting in St. Paul's. As the King rightly judged, that in order to support himself on the throne, it was absolutely necessary to make the clergy his friends, he sent the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, to assure them of his protection.

The Earls being admitted into the assembly, said, they were come from the King, not to demand money, as was customary in the late reign, but to acquaint the clergy of the King's resolution to maintain their privileges and immunities. Adding, they had orders to assure the convocation, that the. King was ready to concur with them, in whatever means should be judged proper to extirpate heresy, and punish obstinate heretics.

They concluded, with desiring the clergy's prayers for the welfare of the King and kingdom. Nothing was more apt to gain the hearts of the ecclesiastics, than the King's promise with regard to heresy. The number of the Lollards, which daily increased, gave the clergy just occasion to fear, that in the end reformation might be set on foot, which could not be but very detrimental to their temporal interests. Accordingly, the assurances the King gave the convocation, were

received with great demonstrations of joy and thankfulness. Some days after, the Parliament having finished the principal affairs to the King's satisfaction, and in appearance, with the approbation of the whole kingdom, was dissolved according to custom.

During the whole session, Henry had little attended to foreign affairs. Those at home seemed to him of much greater moment, since the business was to settle a revolution that procured him the crown. As soon as be found himself free from these first concerns, he thought of means to justify to the other sovereigns, the late alterations in England. The deposing of a King being odious in itself, and seeming to affect all Princes, it was not easy to persuade them, that a nation had sufficient reason to use so violent a remedy, to free themselves from tyranny.

Upon this account, Henry dispatched ambassadors to all the principal courts of Europe, to endeavour to give a plausible colour to Richard's deposition, and his own promotion. He was chiefly concerned to pacify the court of France, as the only one whose resentment was dangerous. He was not ignorant, that Charles VI. had formed a design to revenge the injury done his son-in-law, and that his distemper, into which he had relapsed upon hearing the news had hindered him from instantly breaking the twenty-eight years truce, made with England.

Henry chose for ambassadors, the Bishop of Durham and Earl of Worcester, who had instructions, to propose a perpetual league and alliance between the two crowns. Moreover, he ordered them to make overtures for a double marriage. The first, which he had projected, was between Henry his eldest son, and a daughter of the French King, or one of his uncles: the second, between his own daughter and one of the same King's sons, or nearest relations. The ambassadors met with a cold reception in France; but, as they had orders not to obstruct their negotiation, by standing on ceremony, they patiently waited till the French were grown cooler.

As for the other courts of Europe, Henry had no occasion to proceed so cautiously. The Emperor Wenceslaus, who was still alive, was a Prince grown stupid with drinking, and withal, like the rest of the German Princes, regardless of what passed in England. As for the Kings of Castile and Portugal, they were rather gainers than losers by a revolution, which advanced their brother-in-law to the throne. so, they readily approved, or at least seemed to approve it.

But another affair of more importance created the new King great uneasiness. Guienne was about to revolt. Already the Gascons publicly talked, of putting themselves under the dominion of France. It was the city of Bordeaux, Richard's birth place, that stirred up the whole province, prompted by her affection for that unhappy Prince, whose misfortune she lamented. On the other hand, the court of France, watchful to improve these dispositions, had sent the Duke of Bourbon into Guienne, to inflame these discontents.

The famous Robert Knolles, governor of that province, who was no less commendable for his prudence than valour, could hardly curb the rebellious spirit of the Gascons. Nay, perhaps he would never have accomplished it, had he not been timely assisted by the Earl of Worcester, who being in embassy at Paris, speedily posted to Bordeaux. The moderation and prudent conduct of these two Lords, effected what could scarcely have been executed by force, and at length they had the satisfaction of seeing the commotions appeased.

Henry had moreover upon his hands another affair, which gave him no less, disturbance. As he was sensible, that amidst all the acclamations he was flattered with, it could not be, but that the late revolution had bred many malcontents, it was his interest to keep peace with his neighbours. Accordingly this was his purpose, lest a foreign war employing his forces abroad, he should be unprovided, in case of any sudden insurrection. Besides, a war would have obliged him to demand supplies of the Parliament, which he was willing to avoid, till his dominion was more firmly established. These considerations made him extremely uneasy, to hear that the Scots had broken the truce, and taken Werk castle. He thought best, however, to take no notice of this insult, till it was more in his power to revenge it. But lest this dissimulation should encourage the king of

Scotland, he sent ambassadors to demand satisfaction for this outrage. How:ever, as the Scots complained likewise, on their side of some breach on the part of the. English, he made use of that pretence to demand a confirmation of the truce, by a mutual reparation of the damages the two nations had done each other. When Robert broke the truce, he imagined France would take his part, and that the deposing of Richard would raise commotions in England, which he designed to improve, But finding France remained quiet, and England undisturbed, he did not think fit to push his enterprise further. So, without much solicitation; he agreed to put his affairs with Henry in negotiation.

Things being thus in a fair way abroad, Henry chiefly applied himself to what might contribute to support him. on the throne. Two things were absolutely necessary for that purpose. First, to preserve the affection the people had hitherto expressed for him. Secondly, to guard Richard so strictly, that it should be impossible for him to make his escape. As to the first, he affected to make himself popular, by shewing, upon all occasions, a detestation of his predecessor's tyrannical. government, and a greater concern for the people's interest than for his own.

To that end, he ordered all the subscribed blanks extorted by Richard from the inhabitants of London, and the seventeen condemned counties, to be brought into chancery and publicly burnt. These blank bonds, which were called Ragmans, had been filled, not only with the sums, Richard was pleased to exact from the subscribers, but moreover with an engagement to observe, under certain penalties the statutes of Shrewsbury and all the consequent acts.

In burning these bonds, Henry's intent was to insinuate to the people, that he designed not to make an advantage of these extorted engagements, much less to practise the like methods himself to fill his coffers,

As for the deposed King, he did not think proper to keep him any longer in the Tower of London, for fear he should move the compassion of the citizens, but ordered him to be conducted to the castle of Leeds in the county of Kent. Some time after, fearing still, that Richard's neighbourhood to London would give too frequent occasion to talk of him, he caused him to be removed to Pontefract castle in the north[9].

In this manner passed the three first months of Henry's reign, in a. deceitful calm, followed by violent storms.

The year 1400 began with a conspiracy against the King, from which he was as it were miraculously delivered. Historians somewhat differ concerning the first author of this plot, commonly ascribed to the abbot of Westminster. However, it is more likely, the abbot was only the agent of the Lords conspirators, and lent them his house for their meetings. Perhaps he was employed to sound the inclinations of several persons, according to the direction of men more powerful than he.

However. this be, it is agreed, that in his house the plot was formed, into which came as heads, the late Dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, the late Earls of Gloucester, and Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, and Sir Thomas Blunt. All these Lords had been in great favour with Richard. II. and were the same persons to whom the King had left their honours and estates, taken from them by the Parliament, Among these conspirators, John Holland Duke of Exeter was his brother-in-law, and Edward de Langley Duke of Albemarle his first cousin.

Notwithstanding these relations, and the favours they had all received from the King, they resolved to assassinate him and restore Richard to the throne. The affection shown them by that unfortunate Prince, the desire of revenging their late disgrace, of which they looked upon the King as the principal author, and perhaps the fear that the pardon granted them, was not sincere, concurred to inspire them with this furious resolution. They had drawn into the plot one Maudlin a domestic of Richard's[10], who resembled his master so perfectly, that many were deceived.

The result of their debates was, that the Duke of Exeter and John Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, should pretend to challenge each other at a tournament, to be held at Oxford, and desire the King to honour it with his presence; and, whilst he should be intent upon the sight, an opportunity should be taken to, murder him.

To the end each might know what part he was to act in this tragedy, they carefully set down all the particulars in writing. Then they transcribed six copies under their hands and seals, of which each of the principal parties took one. Pursuant to this plot, the Duke of Exeter waited upon the King at Windsor, and invited him, as was agreed. The King not mistrusting a brother-in-law to whom he had just given such signal marks of his favour, promised to be at Oxford on the day appointed. Thus the conspirators, pleased with this first success of their enterprise, went and prepared to put it in execution.

Under colour of the pomp and magnificence usual upon such occasions, the Lords' conspirators came to Oxford, with a numerous train of armed domestics, and many other attendants, who pretended to come only out of curiosity. The Duke, of Albemarle was the only person wanting at the rendezvous. He had a mind first to visit his father the Duke of York, then at his seat in Hertfordshire, not to communicate the plot, but upon some other business. Whilst they were at dinner, the Duke of York seeing a paper in his son's bosom, asked him what it was.

The son confounded at this unexpected question, replied, but with a visible concern, that the paper contained nothing of moment. But, whether the old Duke had received some dark intimations of the plot, or his son's confusion inspired him with the curiosity, he snatched it out of his bosom. This paper was one of the six copies signed by the conspirators. His surprise was extreme, at seeing all the particulars of the plot. He reproached his son the more justly, as, besides the blackness of the crime, he had not scrupled to expose his own father's life who was bound for his allegiance. But his reproaches being incapable of remedying the evil, he resolved to prevent it, by acquainting the King with what had come to his knowledge.

To that end, he ordered his horses to be saddled immediately, in order to go himself to Windsor, and carry the paper to the King. The young Duke seeing himself infallibly ruined, if the King was informed of the conspiracy by any but himself, resolved to be before hand with his father. As he, was better able than the old Duke to take this journey, he rode another way, and came full speed to Windsor. Upon his arrival he cast himself at the King's feet, and discovered the whole plot.

Henry was so far from imagining, that the Duke of Exeter and the rest of the conspirators, had plotted against his life, that he believed at first, the Duke of Albemarle had invented this accusation, on purpose to ruin them. He told him, if the thing was true, he would pardon him upon his repentance; but if it was a malicious accusation, he should find no favour. The Duke of York arriving soon after, put him out of all doubt, by delivering him the paper taken from his son. After so convincing a proof, the King no longer questioning the truth, broke off his journey to Oxford, where he was to be the next day. However, he resolved to stay at Windsor, to see what course the conspirators would take, when they saw themselves disappointed.

Mean while, the Lords were extremely uneasy at Oxford, because the Duke of Albemarle was not yet arrived. They had already sent to his house to know the reason of this delay, and were told that he had set out for Oxford, but by the way of Langley, to visit the Duke his father. This visit giving them some suspicion their trouble increased, upon hearing that the King designed not to come to Oxford, and had seen the Dukes of York and Albemarle. Then, no longer doubting that they were discovered, they resolved to accomplish by force, what they could not effect by other means. Accordingly they dressed up Maudlin in royal robes, and gave out he was Richard, who having escaped out of prison, was come to implore the assistance of his good subjects.

The readiness wherewith people enlisted under the banner of the pretended King plainly shewed, that all had not approved the deposing of Richard. In a very short time, the Lords' conspirators saw themselves at the head of so formidable an army, that they thought themselves able to seize the King at Windsor. It is said, that in two or three days, their army consisted of forty thousand men.

With these numerous troops they began their march to Windsor, and arrived at break of day, (January 4) in great expectation of surprising the King. And indeed, Henry not imagining they could possibly be so soon in condition to execute such an enterprise, staid at Windsor till that very night, and had gone but a few hours before their arrival. His retreat blasting their design, they were in great perplexity. Some were for marching directly to London, before the King had time to secure the city. Others affirmed, their business was to go to Pontefract, to free Richard and set him at their head.

This diversity of opinion made them lose in debate, the time they should have spent in action. So the King had leisure to provide for his defence, and assemble an army of twenty thousand men. As he did not question but the malcontents would take the road to London, he went and expected them on Hounslow Heath, in hopes his army would daily increase. However, he was resolved, though much inferior, to hazard a battle. This resolution inspired his troops with courage, and made them imagine the malcontents were not so formidable as reported. It was likewise the cause, that many, seeing the King march unconcerned towards his enemies, came and joined him, in order to shew their diligence; which probably they would not have done, had he shewn, on this occasion, the least signs of fear or diffidence.

The conspirators, seeing the King able to withstand them, durst not cope with him. Instead of marching to London to meet the King, they took the road to Reading, and encamped near Colebrook, where the young Queen Isabella resided. Here they resolved to put an end to Maudlin's acting the part he had hitherto played, thinking it more proper to spread a report, that Richard was in Yorkshire, at the head of a hundred thousand men.

Their design was not only to avoid the King, but, in all appearance, to approach Wales, whence they expected assistance, as Richard was well beloved in that country. Be that as it will, encamping near Cirencester, the generals took up their quarters in the town, whilst the army lay without. The Duke of Surrey, and the Earl of Salisbury lodged at one inn, and the Duke of Exeter, and the Earl of Gloucester, at another.

Their little experience causing them to neglect to set guards at the gates, the mayor of the town, a man of sense and courage, took advantage of their negligence, to do the King a signal service. He privately drew together in the night, four hundred townsmen, and ordering the gates to be shut, divided his followers into two companies, and attacked at once the two inns where the four generals were lodged. Though these Lords had only their domestics with them, they defended themselves the best part of the night.

During the conflict, one of their people bethought himself of setting fire to a neighbouring house, imagining the townsmen would run to extinguish the flames, and thereby give the Lords opportunity to escape. But this stratagem had a quite Contrary effect. The townsmen, still more incensed by this action, redoubled their efforts, and at length broke open the inn, defended by the Duke of Surrey, and the Earl of Salisbury. These two Lords being much wounded, were, by the mayor's order, immediately beheaded.

On the other hand, the Duke of Exeter, and the Earl of Gloucester, perceiving they were no longer able to resist with so few attendants, found means to escape over the houses, and get out of the town by the help of some of the inhabitants. They intended to march the army into the town, but upon coming to the camp, found it deserted. The report the soldiers had heard, and the fire they had seen in the town, making them believe the King's army was there, they had all taken to

sudden flight, seized with a panic which made them see danger where there was really none. So the two Lords, perceiving it out of their power to execute their design, parted, the better to make their escape. But they had the misfortune to be taken, and shortly after lost their heads on the scaffold. Maudlin was also apprehended as he was flying into Scotland, and condemned to be hanged.

The abbot of Westminster likewise withdrawing, was seized with so violent a fright, that he fell into a fit of the apoplexy, and died. As for the Bishop of Carlisle, he was taken also, and sentenced to death. But though, out of regard to his character, the King pardoned him, he was not in a capacity to enjoy the benefit, when the views was brought him. The terror of his punishment made such an impression upon him, that it occasioned his death, when mercy was influencing the King to spare his life.

In all likelihood, the ill success of this enterprise hastened Richard's end. There is some diversity among the historians concerning the manner of his death, though all agree, it was unnatural. Some affirm, he was starved to death. Others, pretending to be better informed, relate his death with these circumstances.

After the troubles were appeased, by the death of the principal conspirators, one Sir Pyers Exton came to Pontefract, with eight attendants. On the day of his arrival, Richard perceived at dinner, that the victuals were not tasted as usual. He asked the reason of the taster, and upon his telling him that Pyers had brought an order from the King, took up a carving knife, and struck him on the face. Pyers coming in, with his eight attendants, at the noise.

Richard found he was a lost man, and resolving to sell his life dearly, wrung a pole-axe out of one of their hands, and defended himself so bravely, that he slew four of them. But at length, standing accidentally near Pyers, who had got upon a chair, the villain discharged such a blow on his head, as laid him dead at his feet[11]. Thus died this unfortunate Prince, thirty-three years old, of which he had reigned twenty-two[12].

A melancholy reward for the many signal services his father had done England! He was carried to London in a coffin, with his face uncovered, to be seen of all persons. His funeral was solemnized at St. Paul's, the King himself being present. After that, he was carried to Langley abbey, and buried without any ceremony. Henry V. ordered his body to be removed to Westminster abbey, and laid among his ancestors[13].

Though it was reported all over the kingdom, that he was murdered, no inquiry was made. This neglect confirmed the people in their belief, that the King was not innocent. And indeed, if Richard died a natural death, it would have been necessary to undeceive the public. But if his life was taken away by violence, it was difficult to do it without the King's knowledge[14].

Though Richard was not beloved whilst he sat on the throne, his misfortunes failed not to raise the compassion of the very people that were so ready to desert him.

Some writers allege, that Charles VI. made great preparations to restore Richard to the throne. However that might be, the truce of twenty-eight years between the two crowns, was confirmed in May this. very year, and all the pretended motions of France ended only in a negotiation, to draw from England Queen Isabella, with whom Richard had not consummated his marriage. It was not without reason, that Henry endeavoured to preserve the truce with France. He had a quarrel with the King of Scotland, which would not suffer him to carry his forces out of the kingdom.

Robert Stuart, King of Scotland, the third of that name, was desirous to marry Prince David his eldest son, to a daughter of George Dunbar, the Scotch Earl of March. The Earl thinking himself honoured by this alliance, joyfully received the proposal, and even paid before hand part of the

portion. However, shortly after, by certain intrigues, Prince David married a daughter of Archibald, Earl of Douglas. Dunbar was extremely mortified at this affront, to which the King added another cause of discontent, by refusing, or delaying to re-pay the money he had received.

The desire of being revenged, and making the King sensible that he deserved a better treatment, inspired the Earl with a resolution to throw himself into the arms of the King of England, and do his enemies all possible mischief. To that end, he imparted his design to the Earl of Northumberland, governor of the northern counties, who, presently after, sent him a safe conduct from the King his master. Upon receiving this assurance, he repaired to Henry, and had several conferences with him. The King of Scotland being sensible, that the Earl of March was contriving some plot against him in England, sent ambassadors to Henry to demand the fugitive, and upon his refusal, proclaimed war against him.

Henry not thinking fit to expect his enemy in England, prepared to carry the war into Scotland. As soon as his enemy was ready to march, he came to Newcastle, and sent Robert a summons to appear in person, and do homage for the kingdom of Scotland. In the summons, he revived the pretensions of Edward I. to the sovereignty of that kingdom, from the time of Locrinus son of Brutus, first pretended King of the whole island of Albion.

Upon Robert's refusal to do any such homage, Henry entered Scotland, and made some progress. Towards the end of September, he besieged the castle of Edinburgh, defended by Prince David. and the Earl of Douglas his brother-in-law. But the season being too far advanced to continue the siege, he suddenly raised it, and retired into his own dominions. As soon as he was gone, the Scots under the conduct of Sir Patrick Hepburn, and Sir Thomas Haliburton, made an inroad into England, and cruelly revenged the ravages committed by the English in Scotland.

But in their return, they were met by the Earl of Northumberland, who defeated and stript them of their booty. Hepburn, one of the Scotch generals, was slain in the action. This victory procured between the two nations a six weeks truce, which was afterwards prolonged, by reason of the posture of Henry's affairs. Hardly had he begun the war with Scotland, when he received certain advice, that the Welsh were about to revolt, and intended to raise commotions in their country, which could not but be attended with fatal consequences. This was the reason, that notwithstanding his success against the Scots, he would not improve his advantages, for fear of exasperating them too much.

The Welsh, who, since the reign of Edward I. were subject, or rather united to England, believed they could improve the present juncture, to recover their former state. Owen Glendour, or Glendourdy, was the person that inspired them with this design. This man, though a private gentleman only, had all the qualities proper for such an undertakings if forces so little considerable as those of the Welsh could have promised him a happy success. Nevertheless, he so managed this project, that for several years he freed his countrymen from the servitude, wherein they thought themselves kept by the English. A law suit he had lost at London with the Lord Grey of Ruthin, his neighbour, was the first occasion of the disgust he conceived against the whole English nation[15].

The conspiracy before spoken of, breaking out in England at this very time, Glendour, not that it would cause great disturbances, thought at a favourable juncture, to deliver his country from the English dominion. He privately sounded the Welshmen, and finding them very inclinable to receive his impressions, he easily persuaded them to resolve to throw off the English yoke. He would have immediately discovered his designs if the ill success of the English conspiracy had not restrained him.

The moment he saw the King engaged in the war with Scotland, he prepared to execute his project; and so ordered it, that the Welsh unanimously renouncing their allegiance to the crown of England, acknowledged him for sovereign. Thenceforward he always stiled himself Prince

of Wales. His first exploit was against the Lord Grey his adversary, whom he took prisoner in a battle, and then made him marry his daughter, without giving him his liberty, contrary to his word.

Emboldened with this first success he made an incursion into Herefordshire. Edward Mortimer Earl of Marche, who was retired to his Lordship of Wigmore, finding the King was employed in Scotland, thought to do him a signal service, by drawing together the gentry of the country, in order to stop the progress of the rebel. But he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner in a battle, and though he offered a large ransom, could not obtain his liberty.

Glendour imagined, a prisoner of that consequence might be of use hereafter, or at least that the King would spare nothing for his deliverance; and, therefore, it would be more advantageous to treat with the King, than with the prisoner himself. But he was mistaken in his conjecture. Henry was too well pleased, to see the Earl of Marche a prisoner, and unable to hurt him, to contribute towards his release. Glendour, however, still kept his prisoner, in expectation that, by his means, he should one day be able to give the King some disturbance.

The Earl was not afterwards sorry for being in the hands of the Welsh. Henry's jealousy of every thing relating to his crown, and his severity to those that would dispute it with him, made the captive Earl sensible, that his life was safer in prison than at his own house. Meanwhile, the King being busied in a Scotch war, Glendour had sufficient time to ravage the country on the west of the Severn, and carry away a great booty.

About the end of this year, Manuel Palæologus Emperor of Constantinople, arrived in England, to desire assistance against Bajazet Emperor of the Turks, The King received, and presented him honourably, but as for assistance, put him off till his affairs were better settled in his own kingdom. The Emperor went from England into France, whence he departed not till two years after, upon news that Bajazet his enemy was vanquished and taken prisoner by Tamerlane.

On the 20th of January 1401, Henry assembled a Parliament, which passed several acts, with relation to the church. The first confirmed the statutes made in the reigns of Edward III: and Richard II. against such as solicited for papal provisions, or carried to the ecclesiastical courts, causes belonging to the cognizance of the judges of the realm. This was the old subject of quarrel with the court of Rome.

Whatever rigour was used to stop the course of these abuses, it was, not possible, because it was the interest of too many to countenance the pretended prerogatives of the Pope. But however, this Parliament considering the Pope still continued to engross the collations of all the church preferments of the kingdom, and that the ecclesiastical courts were perpetually encroaching upon the civil, resolved at last to oppose it effectually. For that purpose was revived the old statute of Provisors in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. commonly known by the name of Præmunire[16].

The clergy were always so intent upon favouring the pretensions of the court of Rome, that the endeavours of the former Parliaments had been incapable to stop the course of this abuse. The statute just mentioned, was but little more effectual. The attempt, last year, to dethrone the King, giving him occasion to fear the like conspiracies for the future, he had resolved to shew great regard for the clergy, in order to attach them to his interest.

Accordingly, though he did not think proper to refuse his assent to the new statute, he connived at the breach of it, as much, or more, than any of his predecessors. But this was not the only thing he did to gain the affection of the clergy. His condescension for them in another article, of no less importance, drew on him the blessings of the ecclesiastics, and caused him to be considered by the whole body, as A Prince exceedingly zealous for the church.

Since Wickliff first published his opinions, about the end of the reign of Edward III his doctrine had so spread, that the clergy were in continual apprehensions of its prevailing: As already related, in the reign of Richard II the Bishops obtained a general license to imprison heretics, without being obliged to have a particular order from the court; but that the House of Commons caused it to be revoked. From that time there was no alteration, except that the King more frequently granted such orders.

However, as the penalty of imprisonment was not competent to check the pretended evil, dreaded by the Bishops, Henry, ever proposing to gain the affection of the ecclesiastics, earnestly recommended to the Parliament the care of the church's concerns. How reluctant soever the House of Commons might be to prosecute the Lollards, the credit of the court and cabals of the clergy, obtained at length an act for the burning of obstinate heretics[17].

This statute was no sooner passed, but the ecclesiastical court immediately condemned one William Sawtre[18] a Lollard, who being delivered over to the secular arm, was burnt alive by virtue of the King's writ directed to the mayor and sheriffs of London. This man was the first who suffered death in England, for the sake of religion. During this session several acts were likewise passed[19] concerning the disputes between the English and the court of Rome, which we shall have occasion to speak of elsewhere.

Since the truce with France had been confirmed, Charles VI. or rather the Duke of Orleans his brother, and the Dukes of Berri, and Burgundy his uncles, who governed in his name, had often demanded the young Queen Isabella widow of Richard II. Henry deferred giving a positive answer, not that the .demand was unjust; but two reasons made him desirous of keeping that Princess. First, as he could not help dreading a war with France, he wanted to make a firm and lasting peace with Charles VI. to which he believed the marriage of Isabella with the Prince his son would greatly contribute.

To that end, before he returned a positive answer to the court of France, he frequently proposed that marriage. But neither Charles's brother nor uncles would ever consent to it, not being able to think of marrying the young Queen to a Prince, whose father was generally reckoned the murderer of her first husband. They alleged, however, another reason for declining it, namely, that her father not being in condition to manage his affairs, they durst not treat of his daughter's marriage without his consent.

A second reason why Henry deferred Isabella's restitution was, became he knew the money, Richard received with her; would be demanded. However, as he had no plausible pretence to detain her, he consented at last to restore her with part of her jewels. He managed so artfully, that in the conventions made at Lelingham, there was no mention of restoring her treasure. That was the subject of another negotiation, spoken of hereafter.

Whilst this affair was transacting, Henry had in Germany another negotiation on foot, about a marriage between Blanch his eldest daughter, and Lewis of Bavaria, grandson of Robert Earl Palatine of the Rhine, who was lately advanced to the imperial throne, vacant by the death of Henry of Brunswick successor of Wenceslaus. This affair was concluded in May, to the King's great satisfaction. The Princess's portion was forty thousand pounds sterling. At the same time, a treaty of perpetual alliance was made between the Emperor and Henry.

Since the revolt of the Welsh, Henry had made no preparations to reduce them to obedience. Meanwhile Glendour, taking advantage of this negligence, continued to ravage the counties bordering upon Wales. Far from dreading the King's just indignation, he studied to provoke him by continual insults. Henry's indolence appeared strange to many people, because they were ignorant of the reason. Before he took up arms against the Welsh, he was desirous of finishing his affairs with France, and even intended to make a strict alliance with that crown. As he knew the rebels could have no assistance but from thence, he believed, if he could deprive them of that

protection, they would not be able to support themselves long, Meantime, the negotiation with France, proceeding more slowly than he wished, and Glendour still continuing to infest his borders, he could no longer delay taking up arms.

Before he put himself at the head of his army, in October, he published a general pardon for the Welsh, provided they submitted within a certain time. But finding his clemency ineffectual, he marched to chastise them. Upon his approach, Glendour withdrew to the mountains, where it was impossible to attack him. All the King could do, was to ravage the country, and then return to London.

The King's return to his metropolis was immediately followed by the discovery of a plot against his life, by the means of an iron instrument, with three sharp spikes placed in his bed. Had he chanced to lie down, he must inevitably have been run through the body, but by good fortune, he perceived it just as he was going into bed. What inquiry soever was made, there was no possibility of discovering the author of this attempt.

This year[20], Edmund, Duke of York, the King's uncle died. He left two sons, Edmund, Duke of Albemarle, who took the title of Duke of York, and Richard Earl of Cambridge. We shall have frequent occasion hereafter, to speak of the posterity of the younger, who by his marriage with a sister of the Earl of March, acquired to his issue, rights which caused terrible commotions in the kingdom.

**A. D. 1402]** In the beginning of the next year, the King by his sole authority, and without the intervention of the Parliament[21], laid a tax for the marriage of his daughter. Though he had acted by virtue of an ancient privilege of the Kings on the like occasions, the people seemed dissatisfied. About the middle of the year he had reason to perceive, there was still a dangerous ferment among his subjects, and if the malcontents remained quiet, it was only in expectation of a favourable opportunity to rise.

On a sudden, an unexpected rumour was spread over England, that Richard was alive, and had levied an army in Scotland, in order to expel the usurper. The people must needs have wished the news true, since it every where met with such credit. At the same time on church doors, and in other public places, papers. were posted up, containing outrageous invectives against the King. The authors of these papers asserted, among other things, that the crimes for which Richard was deposed, were nothing in comparison of the tyrannical proceedings of Henry, since his accession to the throne.

The King was so provoked at this audaciousness, that he swore never to pardon the offenders. Sir Roger Clarendon; natural son of Edward the renowned Prince of Wales, fell the first sacrifice to his vengeance, being condemned to the ignominious death of a traitor. Eight, monks guilty of the same crime, were also hanged with him. Walter Baldock prior of Laund, in Leicestershire; underwent the same fate, with a Franciscan doctor in divinity, who was hanged in his friar's habit, to the great mortification of his. Fraternity[22].

Many more were apprehended, upon finding among the papers of a certain priest, a list of the names of those, that declared Richard was alive. But upon strict examination, it appeared he had made that list, on purpose to make the news the more probable, or upon groundless conjectures. So, he suffered alone the punishment of his rashness. The King's great severity upon this occasion, contributed very much to efface the good opinion conceived of his clemency and humanity.

Whilst these things passed in England, Henry was negotiating in foreign courts, three marriages at once. The first was between Philippa his second daughter, and Eric, King of Denmark, who was yet a minor, under the guardianship of Queen Margaret his mother. The second was between the Prince of Wales and a sister of Eric's. And the third was his own, with Joanna of Navarre, widow of the Duke of Bretagne. Of these three marriages, the first and last were concluded this

same year, but the Prince of Wales's did not succeed in resolving to espouse the Duchess Dowager of Bretagne, had probably an eye, by virtue of this marriage, to the guardianship of the three Princes, which the late Duke of Bretagne had left under age. At least the court of France, taking it for granted, appeared much alarmed at this alliance Which might be very prejudicial to them. This was the reason that the Duke of Burgundy, guardian of The young Princes, took them from the duchess their mother, and carried them to Paris, where they were educated.

By this means, the court of France had the direction of the affairs of Bretagne; during the young Duke's minority. If it be true, that Henry had an eye to Bretagne, he not only was disappointed, but drew upon himself fresh enemies. During the whole time the new Duke was in France, the Bretons scarcely ever ceased infesting the coasts of England, though there was no war between their sovereign and Henry. The King's marriage was not consummated till the year following.

These negotiations being ended, Henry prepared in reality to chastise the Welsh. To that end, he drew together a numerous army, and heading them in person, advanced towards Wales. Upon his approach, Glendour retired to the mountains of Snowdon, where he knew there was no possibility of attacking him. Meantime, the King was preparing to ravage the country; but the weather became on a sudden so tempestuous, that he was forced to retire. The storms were so uncommon for the season, that the English fancied Glendour had made a contract with the devil, to prevent the destruction of his country.

Whilst the King was employed in those parts, the Scots under the command of Hepburne, son of him slain two years before, made an irruption into England, and advanced as far as Newcastle. The Earl of Northumberland, general of the north, was unprepared to repulse the invasion. But afterwards assembling a great body of troops, whilst they continued their ravages, he went and expected them at Nisbet, where he attacked and defeated them, seizing all their booty. The Scotch general lost his life in the action.

These troops were properly but the vanguard of an army, with which the Earl of Douglas was advancing to make a more considerable effort. Upon news of Hepburne's defeat, he hastened his march into England, to fight the Earl of Northumberland, who being too weak to venture a battle; was forced to retire; and leave the borders exposed to his ravages. Meanwhile, he laboured without ceasing to augment his army, and as soon as he was able to withstand him, marched in quest of him, attended by Henry Hotspur his son, who was reckoned the bravest man in England.

The two armies meeting at Halidown Hill[23] a bloody battle ensued, wherein the English were entirely victorious. The Scotch general lost an eye, and fell into the hands of the conquerors, with the Earl of Fife; nephew of the King of Scotland, the Earls of Angus, Athol, Monteith; and a great number of other officers of distinction. During the whole summer, the ambassadors of France and England continued at Lelingham, on account of the truce which had been violated, particularly in Guienne.

The French historians cast the blame upon England, and the English upon France. Be this as it will, the circumstances of the two Kings had for some time past been such, that it could be to neither's advantage to renew the war. Henry believed that the Welsh, and the malcontents in England, could procure no assistance but from France alone, which he thought to prevent by means of the truce, but was mistaken. On the other hand, King Charles's distemper, and the divisions in his court and council, promised the French no hopes of any great success of their arms. So, the truce was again confirmed, without examining too strictly, by which side it had been first violated.

This affair being settled, the French ambassadors demanded the restitution of what King Richard had received with his Queen. Henry, who foresaw this demand, had instructed his ambassadors what answer to make. They pretended to be surprised at this proposal, and said, they had no orders about it. However, they added, as of themselves; that they did not question, that for the

preservation of a good understanding between the two crowns, their master would agree to deduct that sum out of the million and half of crowns, still due to England, for the ransom of King John. This pretension did not a little surprise the French plenipotentiaries, who having no instructions upon that head, deferred their answer, till they knew their master's pleasure.

The Parliament that met in October, granted the King a subsidy, and then confirmed divers statutes, made in the reign of Edward III in favour of the clergy. The session ended with a petition to the King, recommending to him the concerns of the Scotch Earl of March, who had done the state considerable services, since his putting himself under the protection of England[24].

The new Queen being arrived in England, in February 1403, the King received her at Winchester, where the marriage was consummated. After which, she was solemnly crowned at London, on the 26th of the same month.

Whilst the court was wholly taken up with entertainments and diversions, the King received intelligence, that the French were about to make a descent in the Isle of Wight, under the conduct of Valeran, Earl of St. Pol, of the house of Luxemburg. This Earl having married a half sister of Richard II pretended to act in his own name; to revenge the death of the King his brother-in-law. The court of France connived at the undertaking, and even furnished the Earl with troops. Mean time, this bravado was unsuccessful to the Earl of St. Pol. After plundering some villages, he was dishonourably forced to re-embark, though the inhabitants of the Isle had received no assistance.

Henry complained to the court of France of this invasion, but could get no other answer, than that it was the King of France's intention to keep the truce. Had he not been resolved to avoid a rupture; the Earl of St. Pol's attempt would have afforded him a very just reason to renew the war. But as he was sensible, the kingdom abounded with mal-contents, he would not give occasion to France openly to support them. On the contrary, by preserving the truce with that crown, he meant to deprive them of the hopes of being assisted. So, taking no, further notice of the insult, he was contented with obtaining of the court of France a fresh confirmation of the truce.

They who governed for King Charles were not ignorant of Henry's resolution, which induced them to have the less regard for him. This very year the Duke of Orleans sent him a challenge to fight, either in single combat, or with a hundred Knights on each side. The reason of this challenge is not mentioned by the English historians, and the French allege no other, than the Duke of Orleans's desire to revenge the death of Richard II.

Henry intimated, in his answer, that there was a great distance between a King, and any subject whatever, and therefore he could not accept his challenge; but they might happen to meet in a place, where being both attended with a more numerous train than what he proposed, they might measure swords with each other. This answer drew from the Duke of Orleans a very reproachful reply, wherein he called him traitor, usurper, and murderer of his King. Henry sent him a no less an abusive answer, giving him the lie in form, charging him with using sorcery, to throw his father into his present distemper.

Mean while, he sent to know of the French ambassadors, who were still with his at Lelingham, whether this challenge was approved by the King their master; if so, he considered it as an, open rupture. But though the ambassadors were frequently called upon to return a positive answer, it was not possible to oblige them to speak plainly. They only affirmed, their master had not broken the truce, nor intended to break it for the future. In fine, as the English pressed for a declaration, from those that governed in Charles's name during his illness, they plainly told them, whether the King continued out of order, or recovered his health, no other answer was to be expected. During the congress; the French ambassadors moved again the restitution of Isabella's portion. On the other hand, the English plenipotentiaries demanded the residue of King John's ransom,

and endeavoured to evade the demand of the French, by alleging, that their master not receiving Isabella's dowry, was not obliged to repay it, But they thereby furnished their adversaries with as just a pretence, to say in their turn, that neither was their master under any engagement to Henry, concerning King John's ransom. However, as Henry demanded the arrears of the, ransom, only to be excused paying the dowry, he attained his object, and there the affair rested.

Whilst the ambassadors of the two crowns were employed in these mutual cavils, matters of much greater moment to, Henry passed in England. Nothing less than his crown was at stake. From the beginning of his reign, to the victory over the Scots at Halidown-hill, no Lord was in greater favour with the King, than the Earl of Northumberland. As it was properly by the speedy junction of that Earl with Henry, at his landing in England, that his affairs were so successful, the King had all along retained a very grateful sense of it.

The government of the northern counties, the office of high-constable; the grant of the Isle of Man, and several other favours, were plain indications of his esteem for the Earl, who, on his part, had always appeared very zealous for his service. The last year he had gained over the Scots two victories, the latter of which had disabled them from giving his master any fresh disturbance. This was a signal service, but, besides the fore-mentioned favours, the King had rewarded him with the grants of certain lands. Nothing therefore seemed capable of breaking the correspondence between the Earl's services, and the King's favours. Yet an affair of interest bred such a quarrel, that these happy dispositions were suddenly altered.

It has been-before observed, that the Earl of Northumberland had in the battle of Halidown taken several prisoners of great quality. The King believing these prisoners belonged to him, did not think fit to leave them in the Earl's disposal. Perhaps his design was to raise a large ransom, or else, by their means to procure an advantageous peace with Scotland. Be that as it will, immediately after the battle, he sent an express order to the Earl, to release none of his prisoners.

This order was quickly followed by another, enjoining him to deliver them into his hands. The Earl, who expected the benefit of their ransom, forthwith repaired to court, and prayed the King to leave the prisoners at his disposal; but he had the mortification to be denied. He exclaimed against the injustice that was done him, and spoke to the King a little too haughtily. The reproaches he let fall on this occasion, so displeased Henry, that he no longer looked upon him with the same eye as formerly.

This coolness was carried so far, that when the Earl would have spoken with the King, he-was denied admittance. This alteration could not but exasperate the Earl, who thought his services deserved a different treatment. As he was naturally haughty, he could not bear this contempt, without seeking occasion to be revenged. He had, as it may be said, placed the King on the throne, and thought himself powerful enough to pull him down. This was the result of several conferences with Henry Hotspur his son, the Earl of Worcester his brother, and some other Lords.

Their aim was, to set the crown on the head of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, (still a prisoner in Wales,) not out of affection for that Prince, but because there was not a plausible pretence to gain the people to their interest. Pursuant to this resolution, they dispatched secret agents to Glendour and Mortimer, to persuade them to come into their plot. Glendour promised to employ all his forces to accomplish it. As for the Earl of March, he very readily lent his name for the execution of a project tending to place him on the throne. But that all three might find their advantage in it, it was agreed, that the Earl of March should take possession of the kingdom, the Earl of Northumberland hold all the country lying north of the Trent, on condition of homage to the crown, and Glendour enjoy all the counties west of the Severn.

The project formed, the Earl of Northumberland feigned for some time, to forget the occasion of disgust given him by the King. He even came to court, where he took occasion to represent to the King, that, the Earl of March having lost his liberty in his service, it was but reasonable

he should pay his ransom to Glendour. This remonstrance was taken very ill. Henry was too well pleased with the Earl's being in the hands of the Welsh, and unable, as he imagined, to hurt him; to contribute to his deliverance.

He replied therefore, with some signs of anger, that the Earl having marched against the rebels, of his own accord, and with the sole view of saving his lands from plunder, it was his business to get out of Captivity as well as he could: that for his part, he did not think himself obliged to procure his liberty, much less to pay his ransom. The Earl was not surprised at this expected refusal. His intent was only to render remarkable the King's cruelty to the Earl of March, and thereby insinuate, he must needs be convinced of the justice of the prisoner's title to the crown, since he dreaded to see him at liberty.

This denial making no alteration in the project of the confederates, the Earl of Northumberland retired into the north, where he privately secured some troops, who were to be in arms upon the first notice. Then he settled a correspondence with some Scotch Lords, who engaged to assist him. He likewise released several Scotch prisoners, that were yet in his power, upon their promising to levy troops for his service. At the same time Glendour was making extraordinary preparations, which coming to the King's ears, obliged him to be upon his guard, though he knew not for what they were intended.

As soon as the confederates were ready, the three Percies suddenly appeared in arms in the north. Shortly after, the Earl of Northumberland falling ill, his brother and son marched with his troops to join the Welsh, who were advanced as far as Shropshire. When the two armies were joined, the mal-contents published a manifesto, setting forth, that the King treated his subjects with intolerable tyranny: that none but the clergy had access to him, and the greatest Lords could not be admitted into his presence, unless introduced by some Bishop. That moreover, he converted to his own use the subsidies granted by the Parliament for the public occasions. They likewise spread a report that Richard II was alive, and at Chester with a body of troops, ready to join them.

Henry, who had received no intelligence of their designs, was extremely surprised at the news of this rebellion. But as he had fortunately an army quite ready, designed against the Welsh, he shewed no concern. However, as he was apprehensive, the rebels' manifesto might poison the people, he believed he ought before all things to efface these impressions, by an answer published by way of proclamation. He cleared himself from the two principal articles of the manifesto, first by denying he had ever refused to admit into his presence the very meanest of his subjects, much less any of the nobility; and called his whole court to witness. As for the subsidies granted by Parliament, he affirmed, most part of the money was paid on account of the Scotch war, to the Earl of Northumberland himself, as he could prove by his own receipts.

After publishing his answer, he marched[25] towards the rebels, who were encamped at Shrewsbury. When the two armies were in sight, and ready to engage, he seemed to dread the issue. His uneasiness caused him to offer such advantageous terms to the malcontents that Henry Percy being moved by them, desired the Earl of Worcester his uncle to wait on the King, and endeavour to procure an agreement. It is said, that in the conference with this Earl, the King made such concessions in favour of the malcontents, that they would have had reason to be satisfied, had not the Earl of Worcester falsely intimated there was nothing to be expected.

However this be, the negotiation proving ineffectual, the battle began. The King had at first so great a disadvantage, that he had nearly been defeated. He had even his horse killed under him, and the Prince of Wales his son was wounded in the face. But he so seasonably called in his body of reserve, that by their help he recovered his ground, and inspired his troops with fresh courage. From that moment, the face of the battle was entirely changed, to the disadvantage of the mal-contents. The King's last charge putting their army in disorder, they were so briskly pushed, that Henry obtained in the end a complete victory. Young Percy was slain, and buried after the battle with the King's leave. But afterwards, altering his mind, the King ordered his body to be

taken up, quartered, and fixed on Poles in the high-ways. The Earl of Worcester being taken prisoner was beheaded, and his head set up over London Bridge[26].

Meantime the Earl of Northumberland being recovered, was advancing with a body of troops to reinforce the army of the malcontents, and take upon him the command. But hearing by the way of his son's and brother's misfortune, he dismissed his troops, not daring to keep the field with so few forces, before a victorious army. The King, on the other hand, was marching towards the north, well knowing the centre of rebellion was there. When he came to York, he took all imaginable care to secure the fidelity of the northern counties, as well by the oath of the inhabitants, as by other ways which he judged proper[27].

When he thought he had taken just measures to prevent an insurrection, he summoned the Earl of Northumberland to appear before him. He promised him an absolute pardon, in case he obeyed without delay, but threatened him with utter ruin, if he refused the proffered favour.

The Earl, having no way to free himself from his present condition, chose rather to cast himself upon the King's mercy than live in perpetual exile. So, without farther consideration, he repaired to York, and threw himself at the King's feet, who. punctually kept his word with him. He even left him all his estate, except the Isle of Man; which he had given him in the beginning of his reign.

Whilst the King was employed in the north, the Court of France, having been informed of the Earl of Northumberland's rebellion, was resolved to take advantage of these troubles. It appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that Henry received advice of a descent, which the Duke of Orleans was to make in England, whilst John Duke of Burgundy, who lost his father this year, was to besiege Calais. It is observable, that notwithstanding the truce, confirmed almost every year by the two crowns, France never failed to shew her readiness, to improve the advantages procured by the troubles in England during this reign.

They who were at the helm during King Charles's illness, and particularly the Duke of Orleans, that monarch's brother, never thought themselves bound by any treaties made with Henry. But as Henry always got clear of the troubles raised in his kingdom, the Court of France could only discover very frequently their ill intentions, without reaping any advantage. In all appearance, Henry's late victory over the rebels, frustrated the projects formed against him by that court.

However, not to leave him in perfect tranquillity, as they directed the affairs of Bretagne during the Duke's minority, they engaged the Bretons to make a descent on the western coasts of England, where they committed great ravages, amongst others burning the town of Plymouth. This invasion, for which the Bretons could not allege the least reason, exceedingly troubled the King.

Nevertheless, as he was willing to avoid an entire rupture with Bretagne, in hopes of gaining one day the young Duke to his interests, he thought it most advisable to hide his resentment. At the same time, he privately gave leave to the inhabitants of Plymouth and other places in those parts, to fit out a fleet under the command of William Wilford. This admiral, though without the King's commission, set sail for Bretagne, and revenged the damages sustained by his countrymen[28].

**A. D. 1404]** The Parliament, called last year and afterwards prolonged, met again on January the 15th 1404. The King found means to obtain a subsidy. The severities exercised upon the authors and accomplices of the two late rebellions, induced the Parliament to petition the King for general pardon. Henry very willingly complied with their request, but with such exceptions as rendered the pardon of little effect, since he forgave only those whom he designed not to punish. Henry's severity to those who were infatuated with the false notion of Richard's being still alive, was not capable of undeceiving every body.

A rumour being once more spread that Richard was in Scotland, one Serle, who had been gentleman of his bed chamber, went to see his old master. He met with people, who shewed him a man something like Richard, but not enough for a domestic, who had long served him, to be deceived. Nevertheless Serle feigning to take him for Richard himself, wrote to several persons in England, that he was actually with him. The testimony of a man who could not, as was thought, be mistaken, produced so great an effect, that many suffered themselves to be seduced with this imposture.

The Countess of Oxford, mother of the late Duke of Ireland, Richard's favourite, believed, or pretended to believe it, and took care to spread the report. She even sent to several persons in Richard's name, little silver hearts, such as that Prince used to give his favourites. Meanwhile the King's diligence prevented the ill effects, which the imposture might have caused. He ordered the Countess to be taken into custody[29], with her secretary who was in the secret. Some time after Serle was seized on the borders of the north, and hanged at Berwick. As he confessed the cheat, and that he was concerned in the Duke of Gloucester's murder, the report died away by degrees.

This year the Bretons made a descent near Portland[30], and plundered some houses on the coast. But advancing farther into the country, they met a body of militia ready to receive them, who drove them back to their ships, and took several prisoners of distinction. Hitherto there was no declaration of war between England and Bretagne the two nations however continued to infest each other. France, which then managed the Bretons, was very glad to sow discord between them and the English, lest Henry should strengthen himself with the alliance of Bretagne; when the Duke was of age. For the same reason Henry connived at these insults, for depriving himself of that advantage. Besides, he seemed resolved to avoid, as much as possible, engaging in any war, being apprehensive, that the malcontents would raise troubles in the kingdom, in case he was obliged to send his forces abroad.

It was probably with the same view; that he concluded with Scotland a truce, from the 20th of July this year to the Easter next ensuing However, he plainly saw that France only sought an occasion of rupture, and he considered that the affairs of Wales were in a very ill way. Glendour not only persisted in his rebellion, but had even seized some places on the west of the Severn. Moreover the truce with Scotland being to expire in the spring, there would be a necessity of sending an army into the north. These considerations determined him to summon a Parliament in order to obtain an aid to enable him to carry on these wars.

The Parliament met October the 6th. It is said, the King in the writs of summons commanded the sheriffs to return none but such as were unlearned, and that from hence, this assembly was called the illiterate or lack learning Parliament[31] It is a question however, whether the King's command was so express as is affirmed[32]. Be this as it will, the King representing to the Parliament thus composed, his great want of an extraordinary aid, the Commons went in a body, and addressed him, remonstrating, that without burdening his people he might supply his occasions, by seizing the revenues of the clergy.

They set forth, that the clergy possessed a third part of the lands of the kingdom, and not doing the King any personal service, it was but just, they should contribute out of their revenues towards the pressing necessities of the state. That it was evident, the riches of the ecclesiastics made them negligent in their duty; and the lessening of their excessive incomes, would be a double advantage to the state and church.

The King so received this address as plainly shewed it was not disagreeable to him, and in all likelihood, it was he that by his emissaries had chalked out this way of raising the money he wanted. The Archbishop of Canterbury being present; thought it his duty to speak on an occasion, where the interest of the whole clergy was concerned. He represented to the King, that though the ecclesiastics served him not in person; it could not be inferred, that they were unserviceable,

since they Sent into the field their vassals and tenants whenever there was occasion: that the stripping the clergy of their estates, would put a stop to their prayers night and day for the welfare of the state, and there was no expecting God's protection of the kingdom, if the prayers of the church were so little valued. He added, with a menacing tone, that if these considerations were not capable of suppressing the plots against the clergy, it would be found difficult to deprive them of their estates, without exposing the kingdom to great danger and so long as he was Archbishop of Canterbury, he would oppose this injustice to the utmost of his power.

Then suddenly falling on his knees to the King, he strongly pressed him in point of conscience, endeavouring to make him sensible, that of all the crimes a Prince could commit none was so heinous the invasion of the clergy's revenues. Whether Henry was moved with the Archbishop's speech, or the strong opposition he foresaw from the clergy, convinced him of the difficulty of accomplishing his design, he suddenly resolved to desist. He answered the Archbishop, that though he blamed not his zeal, he could not help saying, his fears were groundless for when he mounted the throne, he made a firm resolution to favour the church with all his power, and hoped by God's grace to leave her in a better state than he found her.

The Archbishop encouraged: by this answer, turned to the Commons, and spoke to them in a manner not very proper to gain their good will, telling them, their demand was built wholly on irreligion amid avarice[33]. The Commons made no reply to this offensive speech; but when they came back to their house, resolved to persist in their demand, and brought in a bill to seize the clergy's revenues, But there was no possibility of succeeding in their project. The solicitations of the Archbishop and the rest of the clergy, were so prevalent with the Lords, that they threw out the bill. The Commons were therefore forced to find other means to supply the King's wants[34].

Towards the latter end of this year, Innocent notified to the King, his promotion to the Papal throne.

It is not strange, that to the great number of his enemies, both at home and abroad, Henry was unwilling to add likewise the clergy; who, as the Archbishop had, threatened, would have had it in their power to create him great trouble. Though all was seemingly quiet in the kingdom, he discovered about the beginning of the year 1405, that some ill design was contriving against him; but he could not find the authors.

The Earl of Marche had very well concealed his disgust; when Henry was placed upon the throne; but his league afterwards with Glendour, and the Earl of Northumberland, was sufficient to open the King's eyes. He was too jealous of his crown, to believe the Earl was unmindful, of his just rights. For this reason, he had always refused to promote the recovery of his liberty. Upon the same account, he kept his children in safe custody at Windsor, as pledges of their father's allegiance.

Notwithstanding all care, means were found to convey away the prisoners, and keep them concealed for some time. But the King caused such diligent search to be made, that they were at length found, and brought back to their confinement at Windsor. He would have severely punished this attempt, if he could have discovered the authors, but all his endeavours were fruitless. There was only a poor lock smith, hanged for being concerned in it, but he would not discover by whom he was employed. The Duke of York being suspected, was taken up, and sent to thee castle of Pevensey, where he remained a prisoner above three months. But at last he was released, for want of sufficient evidence against him.

This attempt made the King apprehensive his enemies would form some new plot in favour of the Earl of Marche; and he imagined, before it broke out they would secure these young Princes. As Glendour was always ready to countenance the malcontents, Henry resolved to free himself from these fears, by exerting his utmost to destroy that rebel. To, that end, he gave the command

of an army to Henry his eldest son; who, in the beginning of the campaign came to an engagement with the Welsh, and put their army to flight. Two months after, this victory was followed by another still more important, wherein Glendour's son was made prisoner. These two defeats were not, however, capable of disheartening the Welsh. On the contrary, they made fresh efforts in defence of their liberty. The situation of their country, the assurances given them by France of a powerful diversion, and probably, Glendour's knowledge of a conspiracy forming in England, put them in hopes of better success for the future.

It was not without ground, that the Welsh relied upon the assistance of France. That crown; or rather the Duke of Orleans, who then governed the kingdom, made no account of the truce, whenever he thought he could break it with advantage. This very year, he openly besieged Bourg and Blaye, though in vain, and the Duke of Burgundy was preparing to lay siege to Calais. To facilitate this undertaking, the Earl of St. Pol attempted to seize the castle of Merck; but the garrison of Calais, posting to its relief, forced him to retreat in disorder, though he was now master of the inner court.

These continual breaches of the truce, taught Henry what he was to expect from France, in case his affairs were not prosperous in England. For this reason, he was desirous to end the Welsh war, before he shewed his resentment to the French, preferring rather to let them act privately, than give occasion for an open rupture. With this view, he had sent against the Welsh the Prince his son, who was crowned with the before mentioned success. Before he entered upon this expedition, he assembled the Lords[35], to desire an aid of money, being ashamed to ask the Parliament, who had lately granted him a considerable subsidy.

But the Lords refused to comply with the King's request, without the authority of the Parliament. The clergy, whom the King likewise sounded, answered with the same resolution, not being willing to establish a precedent of that nature. Henry, extremely mortified with these denials, dismissed both the nobles and clergy, with signs of displeasure; which shewed he would not miss an opportunity of making them feel the effects of his indignation. He furnished thereby certain Lords with an occasion and pretence to hasten the execution of a design, which, probably, had some time been formed.

Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, being dissatisfied, and wishing to revenge Richard, by whom he had been promoted to that dignity, engaged several Lords in a confederacy to dethrone Henry. The Earl of Northumberland entered into the plot, though the King had already forgiven him the like fault, and by his interest in the north, drew the people of those parts into the same confederacy.

Thomas Mowbray Earl Marshal, the Lords Baldorf, Hastings, Falconbridge, and several other Lords and Gentlemen came into the plot, and levied a great number of troops, which they led to York, where the rendezvous was. When these forces, which made a considerable army, were drawn together, the leaders published a manifesto against the King, and caused it to be fixed upon the doors of the churches in York, for public view. The substance of the articles, contained in the manifesto, was as follows:–

> **I.** That Henry, at his return into England, had protested and sworn, that he was only come to recover his private inheritance, without any design upon the crown, and yet, had caused himself to be proclaimed King.
>
> **II.** That as an arch traitor, he had imprisoned his sovereign, and forced him to resign his crown, and then barbarously murdered him.
>
> **III.** That ever since the death of Richard, he had unjustly detained the crown from Edmund Mortimer, Earl of Marche, to whom it lawfully belonged.

**IV.** That he had unjustly put to death several persons of quality, who were guilty of no other crime, than endeavouring to redress the abuses of the government, and contrary to the law, imprisoned the bishops by his sole authority.

**V.** That he had oppressed the people with needless taxes, and by his threats, hindered them from complaining.

**VI.** That he had violated the privileges of the nation, and his oath to maintain them, by hindering the free election of Parliaments.

**VII.** That in a Parliament held at Winchester, he had given his assent to a very pernicious statute against the church of Rome, and the authority conferred upon St. Peter and his successors; and thereby, been the cause of the simony, perjury, and other disorders among the clergy and gentry, who sold the vacant benefices to persons unqualified to serve the cure.

**VIII**. That notwithstanding the frequent instances of several Lords of the council, he had refused to ransom the Earl of Marche, and evaded his just petition, by falsely charging that Prince with voluntarily making himself a prisoner to the Welsh.

**IX.** That, for all these reasons, they had taken arms, with design to free the nation from the oppressions of this tyrant, and place the lawful heir on the throne.

Some time before the King had intelligence of this rebellion, he had ordered a body of troops to march into the north, under the command of Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland, to make head against the Scots, who seemed inclined to renew the war. The Earl was near York, when he heard the news of the insurrection. The superiority of the rebels' troops, not permitting him to advance any farther, for fear of being engaged in an unequal fight, he thought it advisable to use policy.

To that end, he dispatched a trusty messenger to the Archbishop of York, and the Earl Marshal, to tell them from him, that considering. their great prudence and zeal for the public good, he did not question but weighty reasons had induced them to take arms, and desired them to acquaint him with the same. The confederates thinking him already shaken, sent him:word, they had no other intention, than to procure the good of the kingdom, and entreated him to come and join with them in defence of the public.

This answer made him judge, it would not be impossible to over reach persons, who thought him capable of so readily taking their part. To keep them in this belief, he told them by the same messenger, he was not so blind but he could see the injuries done to the nation. However, he was afraid, they had been too hasty in their proceedings: that, before all things, care should have been taken to secure the concurrence of all the principal Lords, or at least the majority that as for himself, be could not communicate all his thoughts by a third person; but, if they would agree to an interview, he would more freely open his mind.

The Archbishop of York no longer doubting, that the Earl was privately of the same sentiments with the confederates, pressed. the Earl-Marshal to go with him to the interview, and, notwithstanding his unwillingness, prevailed with him. The place assigned for the conference being in an open plain, and the guards advancing at an equal distance or both sides, the three Lords began to confer together. The Earl of Westmoreland protested, he had no less at heart than themselves, the welfare and prosperity of the state, and approved of the articles of the manifesto, except a few things which he wished they would alter.

Then he proposed certain means to execute their design, which appeared very judicious, and fully convinced them of his sincerity. When he found he had gained their confidence, he ordered some wine to be brought, and they all three drank together. Meanwhile, he affected to shake

them by the hand, and give them marks of a hearty correspondence. In short, to show an entire confidence, he commanded his guards to withdraw, who immediately obeyed. This frankness obliged the Archbishop and Earl Marshal, to send away theirs likewise, being unwilling to appear more distrustful than he. But hardly were their guards out of sight, when the others returned upon the gallop, and, before the Archbishop of Mowbray, could be relieved, they were both taken and conducted to the royal army.

The seizure of their leaders threw their confederates into such consternation, that it was not possible for the Earl of Northumberland, who staid at York, to keep their troops any longer together. So, every one shifting for himself, the Earl was also forced to retire to Berwick, of which he was governor. Some time after, the King having come to Pontefract, the Earl of Westmoreland brought his two prisoners to him, who were both condemned to lose their heads.

The Archbishop suffered death with great constancy, and was honoured by the people for a martyr, till the King, by his authority, put a stop to their superstition. From Pontefract the King went to York, and severely punished the inhabitants. Then advancing towards the north, in order to besiege the castle of Berwick, he took in his way the Lords Hastings and Falconbridge, who met with the same fate as the Archbishop and Earl Marshal.

Upon the King's approach, the Earl of Northumberland and the Lord Bardolf, despairing of being able to defend themselves, and dreading to fall into the hands of a justly incensed Prince, withdrew into Scotland at the Lord Fleming's, by whom they were received. Meanwhile, Henry became master of Berwick, and several castles belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, after which he returned to London.

Though most historians ascribe the rise of this conspiracy to the King's threatening the clergy and nobility, upon their refusal of the aid he demanded, it appears to have been formed before. For, whilst Henry was still in the north, the Marshal de Montmorency arrived in Wales, with a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, and twelve thousand men. As soon as he was landed he joined Glendour, and they marched together, and took Carmarthen, Worcester, and several other places of the neighbourhood, where they met with a great booty.

Henry had no sooner finished his affairs in the north, than he marched towards Wales, to defend the borders against the French. But he was so retarded by the weather, that they had sufficient time to re-embark, leaving Glendour to shift for himself. However, the King could do nothing against the Welsh, though deprived of the assistance of their friends, as well because the season was too far advanced, as because in his march, he had lost great part of his baggage.

As the conspiracy in England had not succeeded as they wished, the French did not think proper to carry the rupture any farther. The court of France was so well acquainted with the temper, character, and politics of Henry, that they were not afraid to insult him upon all occasions, during almost the whole course of his reign.

Towards the end of this year, Philippa the King's daughter was sent to the King of Denmark her husband. All being quiet in England after the retreat of the French, the King called a Parliament, which met March 1, 1406[36]. As his design was to demand money he readily gave his assent to an act to secure the freedom of elections[37]. This act shows, that in the elections for the late Parliament, the King had done something tending to abridge the liberty of voting. As soon as this act was passed, Henry demanded an aid of money, but was plainly told, there was no visible occasion for it.

He was extremely offended at this denial, but durst not openly show his resentment. He therefore devised an expedient which procured him what he wanted. This was, to keep the Parliament assembled, till they should, of their own accord, be brought, to grant his demand. So, without any fresh application, he continued the session till the end of August. This was very inconvenient

to the members, who had business at home, and withal, very expensive to the people, who were to bear their charges. At length, the Commons, impatient of returning to their homes, voted him a subsidy, not without loud murmurs, at the constraint laid upon them.

During this session, the Parliament passed an act, limiting the succession of the crown to the King's male issue, exclusive of the female. As this act was repealed this same year, and, probably, razed out of the Parliament-rolls, it would be difficult to ascertain upon what foundation it was built. The next Parliament, which met in December[38], made such strong remonstrances to the King, that he consented to the repeal.

This Parliament, not satisfied with leaving the right of the daughters in its former doubtful state, passed a new act, whereby the females, and their posterity were established in their natural rights. The succession was settled upon the King's eldest son, and his heirs, without exception, then Upon his brothers, and their issue, without excluding the women. This act was signed by the King, the House of Lords, and the Speaker, in the name of all the Commons, the 22nd of December 1406, as appears in the Collection of the Public Acts.

The precaution taken by the King to secure his right by the first of these acts, was extremely prejudicial to his posterity. He thereby gave occasion for the second, which strengthened the title of the Earl of Marche, and consequently of the house of York, which became heir to that Prince. Whilst the Parliament, which passed the first of these acts, continued the session, till the King was pleased to dismiss them, Henry carried on in Scotland a secret negotiation, to get into his hands, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Bardolf, who had taken refuge there. He could not be easy on account of the former, whose valour, abilities, and revengeful temper, were no less known to him, than his great interest in the North.

As it was to be feared, that being so near those parts, he would contrive some dangerous plot, Henry believed he ought to spare no pains to make himself easy, by securing his person. To that end, he sent an offer to certain Scotch Lords, whose relations and friends were prisoners in England, to release them without ransom, provided they would deliver up the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Bardolf. This offer was gladly received. But as there was no concealing this design from the Lord Flemming, who had entertained these two Lords at his house, he acquainted them with it, and they retired into Wales, under the protection of Glendour.

Some time after, the Scotch Lords, vexed at their disappointment, killed the Lord Flemming, who was the cause that their friends still remained in captivity. Afterwards, his son, revenging his death upon some of the murderers, this quarrel, joined to several other occasions of discord, which reigned among the great men, under the government of a very weak Prince, raised many commotions in Scotland[28].

This year the French came upon the coast of Wales with thirty-eight ships, in order to assist Glendour. But a violent storm, destroying most of their fleet, hindered the execution of their design.

Very likely the court of France had received some intelligence of a conspiracy forming in England against the King, and in order to countenance it, would have had an army ready in Wales. But the dispersion of the fleet probably blasted their ill-concerted project. There were some indications of it in the beginning of the year 1407, by certain persons daring to post up in several places in London, that Richard was living, and preparing to enter the kingdom with a powerful army. What inquiries soever the King made, the authors could never be discovered. Only a poor wretch, employed in posting up the papers, was hanged, without being able or willing to tell who set him to work.

This year a terrible plague raged at London, which swept away above thirty thousand inhabitants. The King not daring to stay at London, whilst the plague made such ravages, retired to the castle

of Leeds in the county of Kent. After spending there part of the summer, he had a mind to remove to another of his seats in Norfolk, and resolving to go by sea, went on board a vessel which was followed by four more with his baggage and attendants. Whilst he was sailing in sight of land, without any precaution, and believing there was no danger, he saw himself of sudden attacked by French pirates, who took four of his ships; that, where he was himself, very narrowly escaping. It was not doubted that some treachery lurked under this accident, but it was impossible to be proved.[40]

Henry being sensible how ill affected his subjects were to him, stood so in awe of them, that ever since his accession to the crown, he had not dared to send any troops into Guienne for fear of weakening himself at home. Meanwhile the French taking advantage of his negligence, became masters from time to time of several places in that province, by bribing the governors. They herein followed the maxim introduced during the war between Edward III and Philip de Valois, that buying and selling was no breach of a truce.

This year the Duke of Orleans endeavoured, notwithstanding the truce, to take Bourg and Blaye, but could not succeed. On the other hand, the Duke of Burgundy had again formed the design of besieging Calais, but for want of due measures, durst not pursue it. He complained, the Duke of Orleans had privately obstructed it. This occasion of complaint, with several others, breeding in him a mortal hatred to that Prince, he caused him to be assassinated this year in November. He was so hardy as to avow his being author of the murder, and so powerful as to procure a pardon, though the deceased was the King's own brother.

Though war was not proclaimed between England and Bretagne, the continual outrages on both sides, could not fail at length to produce an open rupture. The Duke of Bretagne was son of a father who had an English heart. But the young Duke had imbibed at the court of France other inclinations and maxims. However, the death of the Duke of Orleans, and the troubles in France, convincing the Bretons, they might be abandoned, in case of a rupture with England, they thought proper to accept of a truce offered by Henry. The truce was only to be for a year, the Bretons imagining, they should see by that time how matters would go in France, where disorder began to reign.

**A. D. 1408]** Henry was not ignorant of the Bretons' design, but thought it his interest to dissemble, He lived in perpetual apprehensions. He had still in the Earl of Northumberland an enemy, who, humbled as he was, continued to be very formidable. Since that Earl and the Lord Bardolf were retired into Wales, they had never ceased contriving means with Glendour to dethrone the King. The Welsh who were in open war with Henry, concealed not their preparations.

They strengthened their army with great numbers of French and Flemish adventurers, drawn thither by the prospect of the booty promised them in England. On the other hand, the Earl of Northumberland privately secured the assistance of the people of the North, with whom he had all along great interest, in spite of his past disgraces. When matters were ripe, the Earl of Bardolf returned to Scotland, whence they entered England by the northern counties, at the head of some Scotch troops, levied by the connivance of the Duke of Albany, Regent of the kingdom.

As soon as they appeared in the north, those that were gained beforehand, speedily joined them, and their army became in a few days, very considerable.

As the King did not expect this insurrection, the Earl had time to re-take the castles he had lost in the first rebellion. This success encouraged him to enter Yorkshire. He hoped, when once he was master of that county, nothing would hinder him from joining the Welsh, who only waited his orders to put themselves in motion. Upon his entering Yorkshire, he published manifesto, containing the motives of his taking up arms. This manifesto was much the same with those published in the former rebellions. Meanwhile, as the King lost a great deal of time in preparations, Sir Thomas Rokeby, Sheriff of York, thought it his duty to levy some troops in

readiness against the King's coming, and at the same time to obstruct the progress of the rebels. The Earl of Northumberland judging it of the last importance, to disperse the Sheriff's forces before they increased, marched towards him, in expectation that his approach would put him to flight. But he found he had to deal with an enemy that was not so easily frightened. Rokeby, though far inferior to the Earl, stood his ground, and fought with such bravery and good fortune, that the rebels were entirely routed[41].

The Earl of Northumberland was slain on the spot, and the Lord Bardolf taken prisoner, but so mortally wounded, that he died in a few days. Their heads being sent to the King, were ordered to be set on a pole on London bridge. Thus died the Earl of Northumberland, who, from being the King's great friend, became his bitterest enemy: It was he that contributed most to place Henry on the throne, by his readiness to join him at Ravenspur, an example followed by all the rest of the kingdom.

Henry being on his march, when he received the news of the defeat, and death of the Earl of Northumberland, proceeded to York. He made some stay in that city, to try the rebels, of whom some were executed; others redeemed their lives with large sums of money.

Before the King departed from London; he had ordered a fleet to be equipped against the French rovers, who for some time had infested the coast of England, and done much damage to the merchants. Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, who commanded the fleet, was long in quest of these rovers to no purpose. At length, hearing they were retired on the coast of Bretagne, to the little Isle of Brehac, which was expressly excepted in the truce with the Britons, he went and attacked them in the town of the same name, where they had shut themselves up. In the first assault, he received a wound, of which he died in five days. This prevented not his troops from continuing the siege, and taking the town, where they put all to the sword.

The frequent ratifications of the truce, not hindering the French from making continual attempts upon England, Henry was forced at last to be content to conclude a new separate truce for Picardy and Guienne, for three years. Poictou was expressly included, because the French denied that province to be held of Guienne[42]

**A. D. 1409.**] This year the truce with Bretagne, was prolonged to the 1st of July 1411.

Henry could not be secure of any tranquillity, so long as France was undisturbed. From thence, proceeded the rise of all the motions, as well of his own subjects, as of the Welsh and Scots. The war, which was kindled in that kingdom between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy, was very beneficial to England. In the first place, Castile and Scotland were more ready to conclude a truce with Henry. In the next place, the Welsh, receiving no further assistance from thence, found at length, their pretended Prince was very far from being able to perform what he had promised, and began by degrees to desert him.

Lastly, Henry reaped moreover this private advantage, that he became more absolute at home, since he had nothing to fear from his enemies abroad. The Parliament which met in January 1410, considering the consequences of the King's proceedings to overrule the elections, believed the redress of that abuse, was the most pressing affair. Accordingly, in the beginning of the session they presented a bill to the King, by which the sheriffs, who should be guilty of making false returns, were to be fined a hundred pounds sterling, for every offence. The King would have been glad to evade this act, but as he could not do it, without laying himself too open, and besides intended to demand a subsidy, he gave it the royal assent.

Upon passing this act, the King demanded an aid of money of the commons, who took occasion from thence to renew their former instances, with regard to the clergy. Wickliffe's doctrine had gained so much ground, that the majority of the House of Commons leaned that way. Thus biased,

the Commons presented to the King two petitions, one against the clergy, the other in behalf of the Lollards. In the first, they set forth:–

> "That the clergy made an ill use of their riches, and consumed their incomes, in a very different manner from the donor's intent that their revenues were excessive, and consequently it was necessary to lessen them: that so many estates might easily be seized, as would serve to provide for a hundred and fifty Earls, at the rate of three thousand marks a year each; fifteen hundred Barons, at a hundred marks each; six thousand two hundred Knights, at forty marks; and a hundred hospitals, at a hundred marks; that by this means the kingdom's safety would be better provided for, the poor better maintained, and the clergy more attached to their duty."

In the second petition the Commons prayed, that the statute passed against the Lollards in the second year of this reign, might either be repealed; or at least qualified with some restrictions.

If the Parliament, that first moved the lessening of the clergy's revenues, was stiled the unlearned, it may well be supposed, this met with no better treatment. The name of Lollard and heretic was plentifully bestowed, and the clergy considered the petition, as tending to undermine all religion. This was industriously insinuated to the King, with all the aggravations, which parties concerned are capable of displaying on such an occasion. It is hard to know, whether the King himself was of this mind; however, he declared, he had the interest of the church no less at heart, than the clergy themselves.

After the death of the Earl of Northumberland, there was not a Lord in the kingdom, that could give him any uneasiness, and though the people were dissatisfied, Henry was very sensible, that of themselves, they would never be induced to rebel, unless encouraged thereto. It was, therefore, his interest to please the clergy, who alone were able to stir up the people, if they had so plausible a pretence as the loss of their revenues. For this reason, he answered the Commons very sharply, that he neither could, nor would, consent to their petitions, and expressly forbade them to meddle any more with the church's concerns.

As for the Lollards, he replied, that far from permitting the statute against them to be repealed, he wished it more rigorous, for the utter extirpation of heresy out of the land.

The Commons missing their aim, were contented with moving, that at least clerks convicted, should not be delivered to the bishops' prisons, alleging for reason, that daily experience shewed, clerks by that means always escaped the punishment they deserved. What the Commons demanded was no less reasonable now, than in the reign of Henry II when that Prince, and all the Peers of the realm, maintained that point so stoutly against Becket, and Pope Alexander III. But Henry fearing to be exposed to such troubles as Henry II. was liable to, refused also to give his assent to this bill.

On the contrary, he affected to shew an extraordinary zeal for the interest of the church, and to take such steps as he thought most agreeable to the clergy. Though it cannot be doubted, that Wickliffe's doctrine was the real cause of the motions made by the House of Commons, the King was pleased to let them see how far he was from giving them any countenance, by signing a warrant for burning one Thomas Badby. The Prince of Wales had a mind to be present at the execution, and, as the poor wretch gave sensible signs of the torture he endured, he ordered the fire to be removed, and promised him a pension for life, provided he would recant.

But Badby recovering his spirits, refused to comply with the offer, and suffered death with heroic courage.

The Commons considered this execution as an insult, and great aggravation of the refusal they had lately endured. Accordingly when the King demanded a power to levy every year a certain

subsidy[43], though the Parliament should not sit, the demand was boldly rejected. The Commons would have even refused a supply for his necessary occasions, if to force them to it, the same method that had formerly succeeded, had not been employed: that is, he prolonged the session till he obtained his desire. It plainly appeared, that the Earl of Northumberland was dead; that the troubles in Wales were almost at an end; and that France was no longer formidable; otherwise he would never have ventured to treat the Commons so haughtily.

Notwithstanding the ill posture of affairs in France, the Duke of Burgundy resumed his design of sieging Calais, but with his former success. All his preparations at St. Omer for the carrying on the siege, being burnt to ashes, either by accident, or by means of an incendiary, sent on purpose by the governor of Calais, this project, like the foregoing, vanished into air.

This year Robert de Humphreville, Vice-Admiral of England, entered the gulf of Edinburgh, and daily landing his men, now in one place, then in another, carried away a great booty[44]. The whole year 1411, was spent in negotiations, Which ended in prolonging the truce with France for five years, with Castile till February 1413, and with Bretagne for ten years.

We have seen, how John Duke of Burgundy assassinated the Duke of Orleans, brother of King Charles VI. and avowing the fact, had credit enough to procure a pardon. He, afterwards, went into his dominions in Flanders, with design to restore to the bishopric of Liege, his duchess's brother, expelled by his people. Whilst he was preparing for this war, the Duchess of Orleans, in company with her three sons, of whom Charles, the eldest, was but fifteen. years old, came and casting herself at the feet of the King her brother-in-law, demanded justice for the death of her husband.

Though the Duke of Burgundy had obtained a pardon, his adversaries taking advantage of his absence, had interest enough to have it revoked, and to cause him to be pronounced an enemy of the state. He was then marching to the relief of Maestricht, where the men of Liege held their Bishop besieged. At his approach, they raised the siege; but, being afterwards informed, the Duke had only sixteen thousand men, they resolved to attack him. Though their army was three times as strong as the Duke's, they were routed with the loss of thirty thousand men.

The Duke's victory so alarmed his enemies in France that not thinking themselves safe at Paris, where the French, had many adherents, they retired to Tours, and took the King with them. The victorious Duke preferring his affairs in France, to the war against the men of Liege, who were sufficiently humbled, put himself immediately at the head of four thousand horse, and came to Paris, where he was received in triumph. At his arrival, he so managed, that the Parisians sent deputies to the King, praying him to return to their city.

Charles who was then in one of his lucid intervals, thought it not advisable in the present juncture, to protect the enemies of the Duke of Burgundy. He repaired to Paris as desired, and immediately appointed considerable persons, to mediate an agreement between the Duke of Burgundy, and the sons of the Duke of Orleans, which was accomplished, though with great difficulty. The Duchess of Orleans died with grief, to see her husband's murderer triumphant; and the young Duke of Orleans, then but in his sixteenth year, found himself obliged to be reconciled to his mortal enemy. From thenceforward, the Duke of Burgundy seized the government, the King, who frequently relapsed, being too weak to hold the reins himself.

Meanwhile, Henry, who had always an eye to a peace with France, formed a design to marry the Prince of Wales, with one of the daughters of the Duke of Burgundy, whom he saw so firmly established. But whilst he was meditating how to accomplish his project, such alterations happened in France, as made him sensible, this alliance was not so certain a means, as he had imagined, to attain his ends. The Dukes of Berri, Orleans, Alenson, and Bretagne, and the Earls of Clermont, and Armagnac, meeting at Gien in August 1410, entered into a league against the Duke of Burgundy, and shortly after approached Paris.

The Duke, having the King in his power, opposed them with equal forces: which convinced them, that the execution of their designs depended on a battle, the success whereof could not but be doubtful. In all appearance, France itself would be ruined by a battle, which would have been destructive to the kingdom, on which side soever victory inclined, had not means been found to make an agreement between these Princes. It was agreed, that the Duke of Burgundy should depart from Paris, the confederate Princes should not enter there, and none of the heads of the two parties ever come to court, unless sent for by letters under the Great-Seal.

The Duke of Burgundy punctually observing this agreement, retired into the Low-Countries; but the Duke of Orleans, and the rest of his party were not so scrupulous. After disbanding their troops, they levied others, and approached Paris in expectation of enriching themselves with the plunder of the metropolis, which remained firm to the Burgundian party. The Duke finding himself thus deceived, made an alliance with the King of England, who believing it his interest to support him, sent him a considerable body of troops.

With this assistance, the Duke marching into France, and passing through the enemies' quarters, who were blocking up Paris, entered the city, amidst the acclamations of the people, on the 30th of October 1411. From this time began the two powerful factions of Orleans and Burgundy, the first of which received afterwards the name of the Armagnacs, from the Earl of Armagnac, who became their head.

Whilst France was in trouble and confusion, the Parliament of England meeting about the end of this year, petitioned the King for a general pardon for his subjects. Henry readily complied with their request, excepting only Glendour and his adherents.

**A. D. 1412]** The affairs of France were embroiled more and more by the mutual hatred of the two factions, who made no scruple of sacrificing the good of the public to their animosity. When he saw the animosity of the two factions carried to the highest degree, Henry's fears entirely vanished. He even began to think of means, to reap some benefit from the troubles in France, as the French had frequently attempted to take advantage of the insurrections in England.

Henry soon found as favourable an opportunity, offered by the French themselves, as he could desire. The Dukes of Berri, Orleans, Bourbon, Alenson, the Earl of Armagnac and the Lord d' Albert, heads of one of the factions, seeing themselves unable to withstand the Duke of Burgundy, who had the King and all the royal family in his power, came to a resolution to strengthen themselves with the assistance of the king of England. But as they were not ignorant, that the Duke of Burgundy had prevented them, by making alliance with Henry, they thought it necessary to break that union, by offering such terms, as were capable of taking off Henry from his engagements with their enemy. To that end they met at Bourges, where they agreed upon the conditions to be offered him, and then sent deputies to treat with him.

Hitherto, the Duke of Burgundy had evaded Henry's proposal, of marrying the Prince of Wales with one of his daughters. Probably, he had entertained other views. But, upon information of what was contriving in England, he thought proper to press in his turn; the conclusion of the marriage. Henry pretended to hear with pleasure the proposition, but it was only to procure better terms from the Orleans faction, with whom he designed to make an alliance. And indeed, the deputies of the Princes hearing of this negotiation, insisted no farther upon any article, but concluded the treaty just as Henry desired, on the 18th of May 1412. By this treaty the confederate Princes were bound:–

**I.** To give up to the King of England about fifteen hundred towns, castles, and bayliwicks, which they held in Cuienne, or in Poictou.

**II.** To conquer for him what remained of these two provinces in the hands of the French, and restore to him Guienne, with all its dependencies, in the same state and extent, as enjoyed by his predecessors.

**III**. The King allowed that the Duke of Berry should hold Poictou for life, on condition he did him homage, and delivered up Poitiers, Niort, and Lusignan; as for the rest of the fortified towns in that province, he should place such governors in them, as would bind themselves by oath to resign them after his death to the King of England. The Duke of Orleans was to have the duchy of Anogouleme, upon the same terms, and the Earl of Armagnac certain castle wards in Guienne.

**IV.** The King was bound on his part, to lend the Princes an aid of a thousand men at arms, and three thousand archers, who were to go to Blois, where they should be received by the Princes, and paid before hand according to the stipulated pay.

The treaty being ratified, Henry gave the command of this aid to Thomas his second son, created, a few days after, Duke of Clarence. He sent with him in this expedition the Duke of York, and Thomas Beaufort High-Admiral of England. These troops departed in July, and it appears by several pieces in the ***Collection of the Public Acts***, that the King was preparing to go in person to Guienne, to take possession of what had been promised him.

But whilst these forces had been busily raising in England, the face of affairs was altered in France. The Duke of Burgundy improving his advantages over his enemies, closely besieged them in Bourges, and had brought the King with him. Though the besieged made a vigorous defence, in hopes of the supplies that were coming from England, they would have found it perhaps very difficult to hold out, if the Duke of Burgundy had not thought proper to offer them peace. He was afraid of the arrival of the English troops, and the confederates had reason to apprehend, they would not come timely enough.

These different fears rendering both sides more tractable, the peace offered by the duke of Burgundy was accepted without hesitation, at the same time that it was proclaimed. Meantime the Duke of Clarence landing in Normandy, advanced towards Blois with all possible diligence, without committing hostilities by the way. But when he was informed, that the confederates had accepted a peace[45], he considered France as an enemy's country, and made great ravages in his march. It was the Duke of Orleans' business, head of the faction, who had drawn him into France, to content him. But as he had no money to pay what was already due to the English[46], he was forced to give him the Earl of Angouleme his brother in hostage.

On the other hand, the Duke of Clarence finding himself in the heart of an enemy's country, with a few troops, and not without apprehension, that the two parties would join against him, did not think fit to stand upon terms. He only stipulated for leave to lead his troops into Guienne, where they served to recover some places, by the help of the Earl of Armagnac, and the Lord d' Albert, who were not pleased with the peace.

This affair being ended, Henry enjoyed a profound tranquillity. He had nothing more to fear from France, which, by intestine divisions; was become unable to hurt him. The Welsh sought only to make their peace, and the regent of Scotland, content to see the King his nephew in the hands of the British, minded only his private concerns. In fact, the malcontents in England, being no longer supported by foreign Princes, remained quiet. Henry, made use of this calm to efface the ill impressions, which his severity and proceedings with respect to the Parliament, had made in the minds of his subjects. He affected popularity, and endeavoured by all sorts of means to show, he thought of nothing less than stretching the prerogative royal.

His endeavours were crowned with such success, that, notwithstanding his severity to his enemies, and refusals to the House of Commons, he was deemed a generous, mild, and moderate Prince. What was before considered, as an effect of his cruel and revengeful temper, was now readily ascribed to necessity, and the circumstances of his affairs.

Whilst Henry was endeavouring to recover his reputation, which had suffered since his accession to the throne, the Prince of Wales was entirely destroying his own, by his daily excesses. Though

he had naturally a great and generous heart, he suffered himself to be corrupted by persons, who, to serve their own ends, flattered his vicious passions, and diverted him from the paths of virtue. His court was the receptacle of libertines and debauchees, buffoons, parasites, and the like.

Nothing was talked of, but the riotous and extravagant pranks of the Prince, or his companions. Such a conduct in a Prince, who was one day to sit on the throne, was amazing to the considerate, who could not help dreading the consequences. However, amidst these apprehensions, a ray of hope was seen to shine, in a very unexpected mark of moderation given by the Prince. One of his favourites being arraigned for felony before the Chief Justice[47], he resolved to be present at the trial, with design to over awe the judge.

But his presence not preventing the criminal's condemnation, he was so transported with passion, that he struck the judge on the face. The chief justice thus affronted, considering the consequences of such an action, without regarding the quality of the offender, commanded him to be arrested on the spot, and committed to prison[48].Then was seen, what would never have been. expected, the Prince, quiet as a lamb, submitting without murmuring, to the Judge's orders; and suffering himself to be led to prison without resistance, like a private person. The Judge's courage, and the Prince's moderation,were equally pleasing to the King[49].

Nevertheless; Henry, who was excessively jealous of his crown; could not help giving ear to some people's insinuations, that his son had ill designs against him. This belief troubling him extremely, he would, perhaps, have proceeded to extremities, in order to prevent the imagined danger, had not the Prince taken timely care to remove his suspicions. As soon as he was informed of the King his father's thoughts of him, he desired a private audience, and obtaining it, cast himself at his feet, and said:–

> “Sir, I am told you have entertained a suspicion of me, injurious to my honour, and to the reverence and veneration. I have for your person. It is true, I freely confess, I have been guilty of some intemperate sallies, which deserve your indignation. But I never had the least thought of any attempt upon your person or government. They that dare charge me with so monstrous a crime, seek only to disturb your quiet and mine. To clear myself of this imputation, I have taken the liberty to come and throw myself at your feet, humbly entreating you, to cause all my actions to be as rigorously examined, as those of your meanest subjects. I am ready to undergo this strict scrutiny, knowing you will be fully convinced of my innocence."

The King, seeing with what frankness the Prince offered to vindicate himself, grew perfectly easy, and restored him to favour.

In the beginning of the year 1413, Henry was seized with a distemper, which, in three months, laid him in his grave. Mezerai says, it was the leprosy. Others affirm, it was a sort of apoplexy, which had frequent returns, and threw him into fits that took away his senses. However this be, his distemper, which seized him at several times, lasted near three months, and then brought him to his end[50].

A certain person having formerly told him, he should die at Jerusalem, he remembered the prediction, and verily believed, God would make him his instrument to rescue that city out of the hands of the infidels. Thus persuaded, he fancied his death was not so near, and thought it his duty to dedicate the remainder of his days to that glorious expedition. Accordingly he took the cross, and calling a great Council, communicated his design, and ordered all things to be speedily prepared for his voyage. But presently after, the returns of his distemper being more frequent than usual, he found, instead of undertaking such an expedition, he ought to employ all his thoughts in preparations for death. His continual fear of losing his crown, by reason of the many attempts to wrest it from him, increased with his years. Every time he went to bed, he ordered it to be laid on his pillow, lest it should be seized before he was dead.

One day having fallen into so strong a fit, that he was thought to have resigned his last breath, the Prince of Wales took up the crown and carried it away. Soon after, the King recovering his senses, and missing the crown, asked what was become of it. Being told the Prince had taken it, he sent for him, and asked him, whether be would rob him of his royalty even before his death.

The Prince replied, "He never had any such thoughts, but believing him dead, he had taken the crown as his lawful heir, and the only person that had a right to pretend to it. Nevertheless, he thanked God he saw him again recovered, and heartily wished he might long live to wear it himself. At the same time he went for the crown, and laid it in its place."

Henry's last fit seized him in St. Edward's chapel, as he was worshipping at that saint's shrine. He was carried to the abbot of Westminster's lodgings, which were nearer than his own. Some time after, recovering his speech, and finding himself in a strange place, he asked where he was: he was told at the Abbot of Westminster's, in a chamber called Jerusalem. These words putting him in mind of the aforementioned prediction, he thought only of dying. Before he expired; he sent for the Prince his eldest son, and gave him many excellent instructions, among which he could not forbear showing some doubts concerning his right to the crown.

He told him also, he was afraid his brother, the Duke of Clarence, would disturb him in the possession of the throne. It is not known, whether these fears were occasioned by his second son's restless temper; or by some engagement with him, when he conceived a suspicion of his eldest. Be this as it will, the Prince answered, that being his lawful heir, he would endeavour to keep the crown by the same methods he had himself preserved it during his life.

As for the Duke of Clarence, if he behaved as he ought; he should always find in him a kind brother.; but if he- pretended to be otherwise, he knew how to make him return to his duty. The King said nothing more, except that he recommended him to the protection of heaven. A few moments after; he resigned his last breath, on the 20th of March 1413, in the forty-sixth year of his age, having reigned thirteen years, five months, and one and twenty days[51].

Most historians have endeavoured to give a very unsuitable idea of this Prince, They speak with praise of his mildness, clemency, generosity, valour, and many other virtues, which appear more in their writings than in his actions. If he had some reputation, whilst a private person, he does not seem to have increased or maintained it, after his accession to the throne. His distinguishing character was an extreme jealousy of a crown, acquired by means not universally approved, and preserved by shedding a torrent of noble blood.

The death of Richard II will be an indelible stain to his memory, though his usurpation of the throne should be justified. In short, he performed nothing remarkable to afford matter for panegyric. His expeditions into Scotland and Wales, have nothing to distinguish him with honour. If he happily freed himself from all the conspiracies against him, he was chiefly indebted to the mayor of Cirencester, the sheriff of Yorkshire, and the Earl of Westmoreland.

The battle of Shrewsbury, wherein he vanquished young Percy, is the only notable action in his whole reign. His continual fear of insurrections, caused him to neglect several opportunities of humbling France, and recovering the provinces lost by his predecessors. He even suffered many insults from the French, Scots, Welsh, and Bretons, without showing much resentment. In fine, he employed all his thoughts in preserving his crown, and avoiding all occasions by which he might be endangered.

This prudent policy ought to be the chief, if not the sole subject of his encomium, as it was the sole motive of his actions, wherein nothing appears to render him eminent. Though he had caused Richard II to be deposed, for usurping an absolute power, he did not seem, by his conduct, to have, so great an aversion for that crime as he pretended when it was his interest to expose it. It is true, towards the end of his life, he seemed to have formed a design, to follow maxims more

conformable to the nation's liberties. But God was not pleased to allow him time to show the effects of this resolution[52].

When we consider the excessive commendations bestowed on this Prince, by the monkish writers, we cannot help suspecting, that the glory of being the first burner of heretics, and of protecting the clergy against the attempts of the House of Commons, were the main springs of all these encomiums. It is well known, the ecclesiastics are as zealous in praising their benefactors, as in blackening their opposers.

During this reign, the famous Robert Knolles, William Wickham[53] Bishop of Winchester, and Richard Wittington, Mayor[54] of London, were eminent for works of charity and useful foundations.

Henry had by Mary Bohun[55] daughter of the Earl of Hereford, four sons and two daughters, namely, Henry his successor, Thomas Duke of Clarence, Johan Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, created Duke of Gloucester by Henry V. his brother. Blanch, the eldest of the daughters, was married to Lewis Barbatus elector Palatine, and Philippa his second, was wife of Eric King of Denmark and Norway.


1.


2.

Henry IV by the indenture of his third year, contracted, that a pound weight of gold of the old standard was to make by tale forty five nobles, amounting to fifteen pounds or a proportionable number of half or quarter nobles and a pound weight of silver of the old sterling, to make by tale. seventy five grosses (i. e, groats) amounting to twenty five shillings; or a hundred and fifty half grosses, going for two-pence apiece; or three hundred sterlings, going for pence apiece; or six hundred half sterlings, or half-pence, called here Mailes. His groats and half groats, have his head crowned within a rose, which the lesser pieces have not. **HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC.** Reverse, **POSUI DEUM. ADIVTORE. MEUM. CALISIE.** (see fig. 1.) The half-penny, **HENRICUS. REX. ANGL.** Reverse, **VILLA CALISIE.**, (see fig. 2.) In the fourth year of his reign, it was enacted, that foreign money be sent out of the kingdom, or re-coined; that a third of the bullion be coined in half-pence and farthings; and that Galley half-pence be not payable as formerly, in great deceit of the people. Of these farthings, the author of Num. Brit. Historia, says, he has one inscribed **H. D. G. ROSA. SIE. SPI**. Reverse, **CIVITAS. LONDON.**

## Notes to Chapter 1

**1)** A town in Lincolnshire.

**2)** In Herefordshire.

**3)** There was given him by the King, as a badge of that office, a golden stall; enamelled with black at both ends; having the King's arms at the upper end, and his own at the lower. All the Marshals before him bore a wooden staff. He was also created Earl of Richmond.

**4)** He was to hold the Isle of Man by that office.

**5)** He lodged the night before in the Tower of London, where be made his three sons, with several of the sons of the nobility and others, to the number of forty six, Knights of the Bath.

**6)** In the 25th of Edward III., the offences declared to be treason by that statute are these: compassing or imagining the death of the King, the Queen; or of their eldest son and heir: violating the King's companion, or the King's eldest daughter unmarried, or the wife of the King's eldest son and heir: levying war against the King in his realm, or being an adherent to the King's enemies in his realm, giving them aid or comfort in the realm, or elsewhere: counterfeiting the King's Great, or Privy-Seal, or his money, or bringing counterfeit money into the kingdom: killing the Chancellor, Treasurer, or any of the King's Justices, in their places, and in the execution of their office.

**7)** John Hall. He was executed November 28.

**8)** He was deprived of his bishopric, and had the titular See of Samos conferred on him by the Pope. There is a writ for the restitution of the temporalities of the See of Carlisle, to William Styrkland, or Strickland his successor, dated November 15, this year, 1399.

**9)** This year in November, John the Valiant, Duke of Bretagne, departed this life in his capital city. His first wife was daughter of Edward II by whom he had no issue. By his second, Joan of Navarre, he left two sons, of whom John the eldest succeeded him,under the guardianship of the Duke of Burgundy, and Oliver de Clisson.

**10)** A priest and one of his chaplains.

**11)** This is Fabian's account: Walsingham says, he fasted himself to death for grief, at the miscarriage of the plot, and died on Feb. 14. Stow says, he was kept fifteen days together in hunger, thirst, and cold, till he died. Polydore Virgil says, he was not suffered to touch or taste the victuals which lay before him. Hector Boethius will have it, that Richard fled in disguise into Scotland, where giving himself up wholly to contemplation, he lived and died, and was buried at Sterling. Perhaps this was true of some counterfeit Richard.

**12)** The beautiful picture of a King sighing, crowned in a chair of state, at the upper end of the choir in St. Peter's Westminster, is said to be his.

**13)** Henry V. erected for him and his first Queen Ann a glorious tomb of grey marble, on the south side the chapel of the Kings, at the head of Edward III. upon which lie their portraitures of gilt copper, with a preposterous epitaph in Latin.

**14)** Sir Pyers Exton, instead of being rewarded for this piece of service, was quite put out of favour, and forced to fly to avoid the punishment he deserved.

**15)** He was brought up at the inns of court in London, and was, it seems, King Richard's esquire: but in Henry's time he retired to his manor of Glendour, where he had a dispute with Reginald Lord Grey, for having entered upon part of a common lying between Ruthin and Glendourdy.

**16)** As this term often occurs in the English history, it will not be improper to explain it. By Præmunire then is meant, either the statute itself, or the penalty. Former Parliaments, led by the same motive as this, had ordained punishments against the Provisors, that is, against such as sued for bulls, called Provisiones or Gratiæ Expectative to the court of Rome, for benefices that were, or should be vacant. The same punishments were ordained against those, that carried to the ecclesiastical courts what belonged to the civil. When any person was guilty of this sort of crime, a writ or order was issued against him, beginning with these words, Præmunire facial,

whereby he was commanded to appear in the King's court. Hence the statute, as well as the penalty, were called Præmunire. This penalty consisted in forfeiture of lands, and goods, and imprisonment during the' King's pleasure. In process of time, several other offences of a like nature, with those that were the first cause of the statute, were made liable to the same penalty. So all the statutes of Præmunire, are only enlargements of those made in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. In general, the Præmunire chiefly concerns offences committed in matters ecclesiastical, belonging to the civil jurisdiction.

**17)** this act it was ordained, that no person should presume to preach, hold, teach, or instruct, openly or privily, or make or write any book contrary to the Catholic faith, or determination of the holy church; or of any sect make conventicles, or hold and exercise schools. And if any person, of whatsoever kind or estate, do any thing against this statute, or is evidently suspected thereof, his diocesan may cause him to be arrested, and under safe custody in his prisons to be detained, till he purges himself, and abjures. And if any person or persons refuse to abjure, or after legal conviction and abjuration, do relapse, then the sheriff of the county, or the mayor, or bailiffs of the place to which the party belongs, shall be present in preferring sentence, when required by their diocesan, or his commissaries: and, after promulgation of the sentence, receive, and do, (or cause) them to be burnt before the people in an high place." This bloody statute stood un-repealed till the year 1677.

**18)** Parish priest of St. Osith in London.

**19)** Particularly one forbidding people's carrying gold or silver out of the realm, except for their reasonable expenses, upon pain of forfeiture.

**20)** He was buried in Langley abbey in Hertfordshire.

**21)** Here Rapin is mistaken. King Henry levied this aid, not by his sole authority, but by virtue, and in consequence, of time act made. in 25 Edward III. which empowers the King to levy a reasonable subsidy, to marry his eldest daughter; and he raised it according to the rate set down in that act; i e. he took of every Knight's fee, immediately holden of the King, twenty shillings; and the same sum of every twenty pounds in land, immediately holden of the King in socage.

**22)** He being asked what he would have done, if King Richard had been living, and in the field boldly replied, He would, have ventured his life for him against any person whatever.

**23)** In Northumberland, on May 7. About ten thousand Scots were slain.

**24)** The Earl petitioned, that such of his lands in Scotland as were conquered by the English, might be restored to him.

**25)** With a choice body of fourteen thousand men.

**26)** It is said, that Earl Douglas (who was in the battle, and taken prisoner, but released for his valour) slew three; Boethius says four, armed in all points like the King. Henry is reported to have slain that day thirty six with his own hand. Of the rebels were killed about ten thousand; of the King's side about sixteen hundred.

**27)** Particularly by offering the rebels a pardon; and strictly forbidding all plundering and devastation of the country.

**28)** He took forty merchant ships, burnt several more; and making a descent, burnt and plundered the villages and country for near twenty miles round.

**29)** But she was soon after pardoned and released; as appears by her pardon, dated December 5, 1404.

**30)** At Dartmouth, and places adjacent. The Lord De Castel, their leader, was slain and three Lords, with twenty Knights, taken prisoners. The Women of those parts signalised themselves upon, this occasion, and fought bravely.

**31)** It is most probable, that it was so called afterwards, upon account of its designs against learned men, or the clergy.

**32)** Most of the historians say, such were to be chosen as had no skill in the laws.

**33)** Adding, he would sooner lose his head, than that the church should be deprived of the least of her rights.

**34)** The Lords and Commons granted the King two tenths, and two fifthteenths; besides the subsidy of wool, wool-fells, and skins viz of denizens, for every' sack of wool, forty-three shillings and four-pence of every two hundred and forty wool-fells, the same sum and for every last of skins, five pounds ten shillings and of aliens, more in every particular, for two years three shillings on every ton of wine, and one shilling on every pound's worth of merchandise but he recalled the pensions and annuities granted by the two late kings The clergy granted a tenth and a half.

**35)** At London, about the beginning of February.

**36)** At Westminster. This Parliament gave the merchants of England a remarkable commission; namely, that they should guard the seas from May 1, till Michaelmass 1406, and in consideration thereof, have three shillings from every ton of wine, imported or exported; twelve-pence in the pound; and the fourth part of the subsidy of wool, leather, and wool-fells.

**37)** By which it was enacted, that at the next county holden after the delivery of the writ of Parliament, all there present, as well suitors summoned for the same cause, as others, shall attend to the election of the Knights for the Parliament, and in the full county they shall proceed to the election, freely and indifferently, notwithstanding any request or commandment to the contrary. And after they are chosen, their names shall be written in an indenture, under the seals of all them that did chuse them, and tacked to the writ of Parliament; which indenture shall be holden for the sheriff's return of the said writ.

**38)** It was not a new Parliament, but the same as assembled this year on March 1; and which met again October 15, to which they had been adjourned, and broke up December 22.

**39)** Robert III of the house of Stewart, who sat then on the throne of Scotland, was a Prince more free from vices, than endowed with good qualities. His easy nature, or incapacity, had given opportunity to Robert his brother, Duke of Albany, to seize by degrees, the government of the kingdom, whilst he left the King his brother little more than the external badges of royalty. His ambition not being satisfied with a borrowed authority, he formed a design to seize the crown, or at least took measures to secure it to himself after Robert's decease. To compass his ends, it was necessary to prevent the obstacles, he would infallibly meet with in execution of his designs, from the Princes David and James his nephews, the King's sons. An opportunity very quickly offered to make away with the eldest. The young Prince committing some outrage, for which he was complained of to the King, the Duke of Albany procured an order from his brother, to keep David confined, till the heat of his passion was somewhat abated. He executed this order with such rigour, that closely confining the Prince, he caused him to be starved to death. How careful soever he might be to conceal this barbarous action, Robert was informed of it, but being too weak, and his brother too potent, durst not attempt to be revenged. The only remedy he could

apply to his grief, was to put James his second, now become his eldest son, out of the reach of the snares of his treacherous brother. For that purpose, he resolved to educate him at the court of France, in order to send him out of Scotland, where he was in such imminent danger, and accordingly put him on board a vessel to go by sea. The young Prince sailing near the coast of Norfolk, and finding himself sea-sick, went on shore for refreshment. But he was no sooner landed, than seized by some mariners, and brought to the King, who was so cruel as to confine him in the Tower. In vain did the Scotch Prince deliver him a letter from the King his father, recommending his son to him, in case any accident should oblige him to land in his dominions. Henry only answered with a poor jest, telling him, there was no occasion to go to Paris to learn French, he should be taught it at London. The King of Scotland died three days after receiving this bad news, and the Duke of Albany took upon him the regency, during the imprisonment of the young Prince, to whom the crown was devolved.

**40)** The famous Robert Knolles, who had abundantly signalised himself in the wars with France in the reign of Edward III. died this year in a very advanced age. Though of mean birth, he had raised himself by his merit to the highest posts, and gained a reputation equal to that of the most illustrious warriors. In the beginning of this reign, he was seneschal of Guienne, but afterwards being weary of a life of too much hurry and action, retired to his estate in Kent. There he ended his days, after acquiring a still more solid glory by many acts of piety, charity, and munificence, some of which subsist to this day.

**41)** Near Horselwood, on February 19. For this good service, King Henry granted Sir Thomas Rokeby the manor of Spofford, with its appurtenances for life.

**42)** The schism, which commenced in 1378, by the double election of. Urban VI and Clement VII still continued, to the great scandal of Christendom. Urban dying in 1390, the cardinals of his party chose in his room Boniface IX. who at first seemed very much inclined to put an end to the schism, whereupon the court of France laboured heartily to inspire Clement with the same resolution. But as he proved inflexible, the university of Paris was ordered to meet, where it was decided, that, to put an end to the schism, one of these three ways was absolutely necessary. The first was, that the two Popes should resign. The second, that they should agree upon umpires to decide their difference. The third, that the determination should be referred to a general council. This resolution being communicated to Clement, troubled him so, that he died quickly after in 1394. When the King of France had notice of his death, he wrote to the Cardinals, desiring them not to proceed to a new election. But as they suspected the contents of his letter, they chose, before they opened it, the Cardinal Luna, an Aragonian, who took the name of Benedict XIII. Before the election, they all took a solemn oath, that whoever was chosen, should renounce the Papacy, in case it was deemed necessary for the good of Christendom. But Benedict being elected, dispensed with the oath he had taken, when Cardinal. On the other hand, Boniface IX. dying 1404, his Cardinals chose Innocent VII. and he likewise dying the next year, they elected Angelo Corario a Venetian, who assumed the name of Gregory XII.would be tedious to relate all the evasions used by Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII to decline the resignation sworn by each. They were both willing to be thought well affected, and yet continually started fresh obstacles to the agreement desired by all Christendom. In short, the Christian Princes, tired with the delays of the two Popes, found means to gain the Cardinals of both sides, who in their own name; summoned a general council at Pisa, for the 25th of March 1409, The council being assembled, the two Popes were cited, and as they did not think fit to appear, were declared perjured heretics, and deprived of their dignity. At the same time, the Cardinals were empowered to elect a new Pope. They chose Peter de Candia, who stiled himself Alexander V. Before the meeting of the council, Henry wrote to Gregory, to admonish hint to comply with the method of resignation. But his letter being fruitless, when he heard of Alexander's election, he issued a proclamation, enjoining all his subjects to acknowledge the new Pope. It was believed, the scandalous schism, which had now lasted thirty years, was at length closed, but by Benedict's obstinacy, it was some years farther prolonged. How scandalous soever this schism might be, it did not create in the clergy of England, so great uneasiness as Wickliffe’s doctrine. Though, during this reign, the

Lollards were used with great severity, their number continually increased. There were even at Oxford, doctors, that publicly defended the novel opinions, as well in their disputations, as writings. The Bishops being extremely alarmed at it, obtained of the King an order to the university to meet in convocation, and examine the books of Wickliffe. As the majority were still attached to the old doctrine, his books were condemned, and the university published a decree, forbidding all her members, upon pain of degradation, to preach, or teach, the doctrine therein contained.

**43)** A tenth on the clergy, and a fifteenth on the laity.

**44)** He brought away so much corn, &c. that he brought down the prices of provisions, and thence was called Mend-Market.

**45)** This peace was concluded' at Bourges, July 15, and from thence called the Peace of Bourges.

**46)** Which was three hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold.

**47)** William Gascoigne.

**48)** To the King's Bench.

**49)** Some historians tells us, that when the King heard of the behaviour of the Prince and the Chief Justice, he exclaimed, "Happy is the Sovereign who has a magistrate endued with such firmness of character as to venture on the punishment of an offender of princely rank, and still more happy in having a son who will quietly submit to the enforcement of the laws on his own person."

**50)** He had called a Parliament to meet at Westminster, on Feb. 2, but being ill, nothing could be done.

**51)** His body was conveyed by water to Feversham, and from thence by land, to Canterbury, and there solemnly interred. His tomb is of Alabaster, parcel gilt, and seems to have been erected by Queen Joan of Navarre, his second wife, whose effigies lies upon his right hand, and is placed between two pillars on the north side the chapel of St. Thomas Becket, opposite to the monument of Edward, the Black Prince.

**52)** There is no mention of any works of magnificence or charity done by this King, except his contributing towards the foundation of Fotheringay College in Northamptonshire, which was begun in 1412, by Edward Plantagenet Duke of York.

**53)** So-called from Wickham in Hampshire, where he was born in 1324. His father's name was John Perrot. After he had been bred of Winchester and Oxford, he returned to his patron Nicholas Wedal, who had been at the charge of his education. He afterwards became known to Edward III. and having a genius for architecture, was made surveyor of the King's buildings. His direction for rebuilding Windsor Castle gave great satisfaction, and occasioned his promotion at court, where he passed through the offices of Secretary of State, Privy-Seal, &c. He was preferred to the See of Winchester in 1367, and .soon after made Lord Chancellor of England. It is said being represented to the King as a man of no learning, and not fit for a bishopric; he told the King, that what he wanted in learning himself, he would supply with being the founder of learning. Accordingly be began the building of New College in Oxford, and laid the first stone himself, March 1, 1379. It was finished in seven years. In 1387, on the 26th of March, he likewise laid in person the first stone of his College at Winchester, which he designed as a nursery for that at Oxford. Upon this foundation he settled an estate for a warden, ten fellows, two schoolmasters, and seventy scholars. He died in the fourth year of Henry IV. aged eighty years, and lies buried in St Swithin's church in Winchester, in a stately monument of his own erecting in his lifetime.

**54)** Among other things he built Newgate in 1420 above half of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in West Smithfield, and the library in Grey-Friars now called Christ's Hospital King Fleury IV. instituted the duchy court, in honour of the house of Lancaster, to the end the lands belonging to the duchy might, in all following times, be distinguished from the lands of the crown. In the year 1411, the Guildhall in London began to be rebuilt, as it now stands.

**55)** Who died in 1394. She was the second daughter, and one of the coheiresses of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton. Walf. p. 350. King Henry had no children, by Joanna of Navarre, his second wife,

**Engraving depicting King Henry IV on his death-bed**

# Chapter II
# HENRY V SIRNAMED OF MONMOUTH

**HENRY IV.** not having the happiness to be beloved by the English, his death was not much regarded. The clergy alone lamented, his loss, because his reign they had met with great favour and protection. The very peace enjoyed by the English during his reign, as not grateful to them. War would have been thought more beneficial, since a fairer opportunity to recover what was lost in France had never offered. So, in expectation that the Prince his son would revive the glory of the English name, they joyfully beheld him succeeding a father, from whom nothing very advantageous to the kingdom could be expected, though his reign had been longer. In the present juncture, England wanted an active and warlike King, who knew how to take advantage of the commotions in France. On the other hand, war was become necessary to dispel the ill humours spread over the kingdom in the late reign.

Henry of Monmouth, so called from the place of his birth[1], was exactly of the temper desired by the English. He was naturally of an elevated and enterprising genius. He had been a student in Queen's College in Oxford, under the tuition of the Bishop of Winchester his uncle[2], Chancellor of that University. Here, in his tender years, the principles of honour and virtue were so carefully imprinted in his mind, that they could never after be effaced. In his very childhood, he showed a strong inclination for war, which increasing with his years, the King his father thought proper to indulge it.

At eighteen years of age, he commanded an army against the Welsh, and defeated them in two battles. But his victories did him an unspeakable prejudice. The King his father, excessively jealous of his authority, and dreading the consequences of so noble a beginning, considered his son's reputation, as likely one day to prove destructive of his quiet. Disturbed at this thought, he removed him from all warlike, as he had done from all civil offices; for fear it should be out of his power to check his flight, when once he should take wing. Reduced to a state of idleness the Prince, naturally active, sought employment. Unhappily, by the instigation of some about him, he ran into, dishonourable courses, and abandoned himself to excesses, unbecoming his birth, and injurious to his reputation[3].

Notwithstanding all this, his good disposition failed not to show itself upon certain occasions: His moderation, in suffering himself to be led to prison, by order of the Judge he had affronted, was a clear evidence, that the seeds of virtue were not entirely destroyed in his mind by sensuality. Accordingly; the King his father, who was not ignorant of his talents, was afraid of him; though a young Prince, drowned as it were in pleasures, did not seem likely to give him disturbance.

Immediately after the death of the King his father, the Prince was proclaimed, by the name of Henry the Fifth. Instead of disputing the crown, those who had been most averse to the advancement of the House of Lancaster, were the first to pay him their duty. The Earl of Marche himself, relying on his generosity, came and voluntarily put himself into his hands, to give him a convincing proof of his sincere intention to leave him in peaceable possession of the throne.

In fine, such confidence did the English place in him, that, contrary to custom, they offered to take the oath of allegiance, even before he was crowned. But he declined, in a modest and obliging manner, the receiving that testimony of their esteem.

The ceremony of his coronation being performed on the 9th of April, he granted that very day a general pardon of all crimes, except murders and rapes. His first proceedings plainly showed the uprightness of his intentions, and his resolutions, worthily to fill the throne to which he was raised.

Before he applied himself to the affairs of the State, he called before him the companions of his former riots, and, exhorting them to leave off their lewd life, dismissed them. with liberal presents; but withal, strictly charged them, upon pain of incurring his displeasure, not to presume to come near the court. The astonishment of these men, who expected quite other things, was as great, as the admiration of the witnesses to a reformation, which afforded so pleasing a prospect.

After this first proof of his wisdom, the King continued, without ceasing to give many others, which could admit of no doubt. In the first place, he chose for his council, persons of the greatest gravity, abilities, and repute among his subjects. Then he removed some of the Judges, and advanced such in their room, as to the knowledge of the law, joined a perfect integrity. He did the same with regard. to inferior magistrates, and took particular care to fill the vacant benefices; with persons of sound principles and known merit.

Nothing remained to confirm the good opinion already conceived of him, but to display his martial virtues, and give proofs of his piety. As to the first, he showed, during the whole course of his reign, that he was second to none of his predecessors. As for his piety, he soon became famous by two signal instances. The first might be very ambiguous; but it was considered then, as the most certain sign, and best proof of the sincere intentions of a Prince, to promote the glory of God: we mean his condescension for the clergy, in promising to persecute the Wickliffeites or Lollards.

The other mark of his piety, was his care to repair, as far as lay in his power, the injury done to Richard II. He ordered the body of that Prince to be removed from the Abbey of Langley, where it had been indecently buried, to Westminster Abbey, and laid by Ann of Luxemburgh his Queen. After performing this duty, he founded three religious houses near Shene[4], where. Richard's soul was to be prayed for night and day.

The Parliament having met on the 15th of May, several statutes were enacted, tending to the preservation of the public peace, and of the people's rights and privileges. Henry freely gave his assent to all these statutes, and particularly to an act to prevent frauds, in the elections of members of Parliament. The conduct of Richard II. and some attempts of the late King, rendered this act absolutely necessary.

Whilst the Parliament was employed in the public affairs, the convocation of the clergy was sitting, under the direction of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate, being extremely incensed against the Lollards, had obtained of the late King an order, to send commissions to Oxford, to take information concerning the doctrine of the Wickliffites. The business of these commissioners, was to discover the chief abettors of this heresy, and how it came to be spread in the kingdom, and particularly to the dioceses of London, Hereford, and Rochester.

At their return, they presented their information to the Archbishop, who laid them before the convocation. After several debates, it was resolved, there was no possibility of extirpating the Lollard heresy, unless care was taken to inflict exemplary punishments on the principal favourers thereof that among these, Sir John Oldcastle, Baron of Cohhair, was to be deemed the most considerable and dangerous: that therefore, as a terror to the whole sect, their principal protector

should be first attacked, and a process formed against him for heresy. But as Oldcastle was the King's domestic, and in his favour, it was thought that method might give offence, unless the King was acquainted with it beforehand, and his leave desired to prosecute the heretic.

The Archbishop undertaking this affair, waited on the King with complaints against Oldcastle. He tried to persuade him, that fire and faggot were the only means of extirpating heresy, and that it was absolutely necessary for the interest of religion, to proceed against Oldcastle, according to the utmost rigour of the law. The King having calmly heard him, replied, “He could never approve of force in reclaiming heretics, and the rather as experience had but too frequent shown, that rigorous methods were as ineffectual against truth, as against error: that he would talk himself with Oldcastle, and try to restore him to the right way, and if he could not succeed, would then give leave for a process against him.”

Meanwhile, to give the clergy some satisfaction, he issued a proclamation, forbidding the Lollards to hold any meetings, and charging his subjects not to be present at their preachings[5]. A few days after he was pleased to talk with Oldcastle, and finding him immoveable, no longer opposed the clergy's request.

The Archbishop having obtained the King's leave, sent a summons to Oldcastle, who, refusing to own the jurisdiction of the Bishops, slighted the citation. He would not even suffer it to be served upon him; so it was fixed upon the great gates of the cathedral in Rochester. Henry, provoked at so haughty a proceeding, ordered him to be apprehended and committed to the Tower. On the 28th of September, the prisoner was brought before the Archbishop, assisted by two other Bishops and several ecclesiastics.

As they could get no answers from him, but, what were directly repugnant to the established opinions of those days, they pronounced him heretic, and delivered him over to the secular power. His death would have immediately followed his condemnation, if, by the help of his friends, or carelessness of his guards, he had not found means to escape out of prison. He went and concealed himself in Wales, where his persecutors left him not undisturbed, as will hereafter be seen.

We are now going to enter upon the relation of the war, renewed by Henry against France: a war which had lasted ever since the breath of the treaty of Bretigny, though often interrupted by truces in the late reigns. In order to give a just idea of this Prince's motives to carry his arms into France, it will be necessary to represent the then state of that kingdom.

Charles VI afflicted with a distemper, which rendered him, most part of his time, incapable of governing, had three sons, Lewis, John, and Charles. The eldest, who bore the title of Dauphin and Duke of Guienne, was a Prince, of an indifferent character. At sixteen years of age, he had taken to a debauched life; and moreover, was strongly possessed with principles, that led him to arbitrary power, and carried him into many excesses. His favourites indulged him in this course of life, and could not bear, that he should be told of a reformation, by which, they would have been so great losers.

On the contrary, to prevent the execution of a certain project, formed for the better governing the kingdom, and approved by an assembly of the chief men they inspired their young master with a desire to hold the reins of the government himself, during his father's distemper. They intimated to him, that the Duke of Burgundy had seized it without any right, and that none could claim it to the prejudice of the King's eldest son, since he exceeded the age fixed by the ordnance of Charles V. for the King's majority.

Upon this foundation, they advised him to endeavour to supplant the Duke of Burgundy, by seizing the Bastile, in order to hinder the Parisians from assisting him. This project was executed shortly after, by means of the Governor of that fortress, whom the Dauphin had gained to his interest. But he had not long reason to rejoice at the success of his enterprise. Upon the first

rumour of it in Paris, the citizens, privately encouraged by the Duke of Burgundy, took arms, to the number of ten or twelve thousand men. One part invested the Bastile, the other, under the conduct of a surgeon, one John de Troye, came before the Dauphin's palace, who, not expecting this insurrection, found no other remedy but to appear at the window, to try to appease them; but nothing was able to stop them.

After breaking open the doors of the palace, they rushed into the apartments, and carried away above twenty persons, whom they accused of corrupting the Prince, and threw them into prison. On the other hand, the governor of the Bastile, being seized with fear, delivered up the fortress to the Duke of Burgundy, who, in spite of the Dauphin's efforts, continued master of the government. It was during these troubles, which happened in March 1413, that Henry IV. died in England, and Henry V. his son, ascended the throne.

Whilst the new King was employed in settling his affairs at home, the troubles were renewed in France. At the end of April, the seditious thought proper to wear white hoods, as a badge of distinction. John de Troye, at the head of an armed mob, brought one to the Dauphin, who durst not refuse it. The King himself happening to be in the street, as he was going to the church of Notre-Dame, was obliged to take a white hood. But their insolence did not stop here. Two days after, their leader came to the palace of St. Pol, where the King lodged: there, in presence of the whole court, he undertook to justify the imprisonment of the Dauphin's officers; and added, there were still at court many more, that equally deserved to be punished.

At the same time, without regarding the entreaties of the Dauphin, or the King himself, he seized a great number of lords and ladies, and carried them to prison. Lewis of Bavaria himself, the Queen's brother, was not spared. The King, unable to withstand the torrent, was forced to consent, that some of the prisoners should be prosecuted, and go to Paris in a white hood, to enrol certain edicts, demanded by the seditious.

The Dauphin finding himself thus checked by the factious, or rather by the Duke of Burgundy his father-in-law, their private director, could not bear to remain in a situation so contrary to his temper, without endeavouring to free himself. The heads of the Orleans faction, who had been forced to sign a treaty, which removed them from Paris and the court, were the only persons, from whom he could expect any aid. He contrived therefore a secret negotiation with them, and, the better to hide his design, went and conferred with them in person, under colour of procuring an agreement between the two parties, concerning some breaches of the peace of Bourges. After forming a combination, he so managed, that a peace was confirmed; and by the new treaty, signed at Pontoise, the Orleans party were allowed to come and pay their respects to the King at Paris.

The Duke of Burgundy judging, by the Dauphin's former attempt, what he was to expect from him, had resolved to secure assistance, in case of need. To that end, in June he had sent, as Earl of Flanders, an embassy to England; whereof Ralph, provost of St. Donas of Bruges was chief, under pretence of renewing the treaty of commerce, between the English and Flemings, but in reality, to propose an alliance with Henry. This design was not however so speedily executed, Probably, the Duke had no other intent, than to secure the assistance of the English, in case he should be pressed as he was in the reign of Henry IV.

Whatever his design was, Henry thought, he should not neglect so favourable an opportunity, to foment the troubles in France, of which he might make an advantage. For that purpose, he sent shortly after Ambassadors to Paris. Their public instructions were, to press the court of France to observe, better than hitherto, the twenty-eight years truce. Secondly, to confirm the same, or make a new, truce: Lastly, they had power to adjust all the differences between England and France. Very likely, one of the King's motives, in sending this embassy, was to be perfectly informed of the posture of affairs in that kingdom. But his chief aim, was to conclude with the Duke of Burgundy, the alliance proposed by that Prince. The next month produced a great change in the affairs of France, much to Henry's advantage.

The Orleans party, at the head of which, were the Duke of Orleans the King's nephew, the Duke of Berry his uncle, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Alenson, the Earls of Eu and Vendome, had approached Paris, pursuant to the liberty given them. At the same time, the Dauphin, by his intrigues, had gained great numbers of the citizens, who promised to assist him. Whereupon he ordered his friends to take arms, and marched about the streets of Paris, at the head of thirty thousand men. The consternation of the opposite party was so great, that they quitted the Louvre, the Town House, and the Bastile, of which they were in possession, without offering to make the least resistance. The Duke of Burgundy perceiving, it was not in his power to resist the torrent, and dreading, moreover, the arrival of the Orleans party, who were not far off chose to retire into Flanders.

No sooner was he gone, but the Orleans faction became uppermost at court, without the Dauphin's reaping any advantage. The King, being then in one of his intervals, assumed the government, and entertained so strong an affection for the Duke of Orleans his nephew, that he suffered himself to be wholly guided, by his counsels. The young Duke improving this advantage, caused divers edicts to be published against the Duke of Burgundy, and the authors of the former sedition to be prosecuted, several of whom were put to death.

Shortly after, the ambassadors of France and England, meeting at Lelingham in Picardy, to negotiate a peace, agreed, that the truce should be inviolably kept till the 1st of June next ensuing. During the negotiation, the English ambassadors intimated, that the King their master expected, France should restore whatever was taken from England, since the treaty of Bretigny. This was in effect the cause of the war, which had subsisted, ever since the violation of that treaty, and this demand contained nothing extraordinary. However, the court of France having flattered themselves, that after the death of Edward III. the Kings of England would think no more of prosecuting their pretensions, were extremely alarmed at this declaration.

The posture of their affairs made them justly apprehensive of the renewal of the war. So, without loss of time, were dispatched to London, the Archbishop of Bourges, the constable d' Albert, and Col, one of the King's Secretaries, under pretence of endeavouring to make peace, but in reality to discover Henry's intentions. These ambassadors arrived at London in October, mid could only obtain a prolongation of the truce, till February 2, 1415.

Whilst they were in England, the court of France continued their proceedings against the Duke of Burgundy and his adherents, many of whom suffered by the hand of the executioner. Lewis d' Anjou, King of Sicily, who had with him a daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, affianced to his eldest son, reproachfully sent her hack to her father. Shortly after, he gave one of his daughters in marriage, to Charles Earl of Ponthieu, the King's third son, who was not yet full thirteen years old.

Nothing could prove More fatal to France, than this marriage. The young Prince, espousing the interest and passion of the King his father-in-law, became sworn enemy to the Duke of Burgundy. At the same time, he incurred the hatred of that Duke; who, though in exile, had still a powerful party in the kingdom. This mutual animosity, which continually increased, was the occasion of many calamities to France.

Meanwhile, the Dauphin receiving no benefit from the late revolution at court, could not behold, without extreme concern, the Duke of Orleans at the head of affairs, whilst himself was without credit, and like a prisoner in the Louvre, where he was narrowly watched. This constraint being insupportable to a Prince of his character, he readily listened to the Duke of Burgundy's offer of assistance, to place him in the post to which he was entitled by his birth. They entered therefore into a sort of league to expel the Duke of Orleans from court.

The Duke of Burgundy having thus secured the Dauphin, approached Paris at the head of an army, pretending his design was to free the Dauphin his son-in-law from captivity. He imagined,

Paris would declare in his favour, but such good order was taken, that nothing stirred. During these transactions, the King, who for some time had been in one of his usual fits, recovering his senses, published against the Duke of Burgundy a thundering edict, stiling him traitor and enemy of the state. This edict, joined to the small hopes that Paris would declare for him, caused the Duke to return into Flanders. Let us leave for a moment the affairs of France, to which we shall soon have occasion to return, in order to see what passed in England in the beginning of the year 1414[6].

Mention was made in the late reign of the two attempts of the Commons, to strip the clergy of good part of their revenues, though without success. The clergy could not doubt that these attempts were the fruit of the doctrine of the Lollards. Probably, this was one of the principal causes of their hatred to these pretended heretics. For the same reason, in the late convocation they had resolved to use the most violent means, to extirpate a heresy, to them so detestable.

Oldcastle, a man of a good family, and extraordinary merit[7], was destined to be the first victim, for a terror to the whole sect. But by good fortune he had escaped out of the hands of his enemies. It was with great concern, that the Archbishop hear the King say, he did not approve of rigorous methods. He even plainly enough shewed it to be his real opinion, since, after Oldcastle's escape, he took no care to have him pursued and apprehended. It was evident, so long as the King was in these moderate sentiments, the clergy would hardly be able to have their desire upon the heretics.

It was, therefore, their interest, that the King should have others, more agreeable to the barbarous zeal, wherewith ecclesiastics are generally animated. Nothing was more conducive to that end, than to make him believe, the Lollards had a design upon his person, and were forming conspiracies to overturn the state. Accordingly, to this the clergy applied themselves without loss of time. The late proclamation against their assembling, quickly furnished them with a fair opportunity. The Lollards continued their meetings, notwithstanding the proclamation, though with all possible secrecy.

As they durst not assemble in houses, for fear of being discovered, they commonly chose some unfrequented place in the country, to worship God after their manner. Some of them resolving to assemble, without one of the gates of London, in a place called St. Giles's fields, which was then covered with bushes, were, as it often happens on such occasions, betrayed by false brethren.

This discovery afforded their enemies the opportunity they were eagerly seeking: The King was then at Eltham, about seven miles from London; where he designed to keep his Christmas. He little expected a conspiracy against his person, when suddenly, towards night, he was told, that Oldcastle was in St. Giles's, with twenty thousand Lollards. It was further said, that their design was to kill the King, the Princes his brothers, and all the Lords spiritual and temporal who were not their friends. Certainly it was very unlikely, that twenty thousand men should be able to assemble at the very gates of London, without being observed.

It was still more improbable, that Oldcastle, an experienced warrior, should chuse St. Giles's fields, overgrown as they were with bushes and shrubs, for the rendezvous of his troops. Nevertheless, the news was confirmed by so many circumstances that the King could not help crediting the report. He immediately drew together as many armed men as was possible, and ordered the gates of London to be shut, lest the populace should go and assist the rebels[8].

As he was naturally very bold, he resolved to attack them before they had taken all their measures. He arrived upon the place about midnight, and finding about a hundred persons, fell upon them. There were about twenty killed, and sixty taken. Unhappily, they had brought arms with them for their defence, in case they were attacked by their persecutors. It was this, probably, that helped to convince the King of their ill design. This alone, however, would not have been capable of persuading him, they had really conspired against him, if among those that were taken, there had

not been some that, gained by promises, or awed by threats, confessed whatever their enemies desired. They said, their intent was to kill the King, and the Princes his brothers, with most of the Lords spiritual and temporal; in the expectation that the confusion, which after such a massacre, would ensue in the kingdom, would prove favourable to their religion.

Some deposed, that, after the murder of the King and Princes, they intended to make Oldcastle Regent of the kingdom, and that the conspiracy was formed by the direction of that Lord. In truth, it is hardly conceivable, how a Prince so judicious as Henry, could suffer himself to be imposed upon by so gross a fiction. Indeed, had he found twenty thousand men in arms in St. Giles's, as he was made to believe, it would have been very suspicious. But that fourscore or a hundred men, among whom there was not a single person of rank, should have formed such a project, is extremely improbable.

Besides, he himself knew Sir John Oldcastle to be a man of sense, and yet nothing was more wild than the project fathered upon him; a project which it was supposed, he was to execute with a handful of men, without being present himself, and without it being known where he was, or that there was any other leader in his room. However, the King thought him guilty, and in that belief, set a thousand marks upon his head, with a promise of perpetual exemption from taxes. to any town that should secure him[9].

It is very likely however, that in time the King perceived the falsehood of this imputation, for he afterwards granted both general and particular pardons for all the Lollards, very few of them having been executed.[10]

In February 1414, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, went to give an account to God, for all the innocent blood he had caused to be shed. He was succeeded by Henry Chicheley Bishop of St. David's; But the Lollards got nothing by this change, he being no less their enemy than his predecessor.

We left the Archbishop of Bourges and the Constable d' Albret at London, where they quickly discovered the King's intentions. The commissioners who treated with them, demanded in Henry's name, whatever had been taken from England since the treaty of Bretagne. The French replied, they had no instructions upon that head. They proposed, however, as of themselves, a proper means, in their opinion, to procure a peace between the two Kings. This was a marriage between the King of England, and Catharine the youngest of Charles IV's daughters. This Princess had four sisters, of whom one was a nun, and the other three married. So it was she alone that could be offered to Henry.

This proposal was not wholly rejected. Though Henry should insist upon the restitution he demanded, as being the speediest and most effectual way to a lasting peace, what the French ambassadors offered, not being inconsistent with the restitution, he thought he might accept it, without any prejudice to himself. But as the ambassadors had not sufficient powers to treat upon this affair, it was only agreed, that the truce should he prolonged.

Presently after the departure of the French ambassadors, Henry sent five into France, to continue the negotiation begun at London, concerning. the restitution and marriage. The ambassadors were empowered to promise, in the King's name, that he would not engage in any other marriage treaty till the 15th of May. They might even prolong that term, if it was thought proper.

The court of France not thinking the powers of these ambassadors sufficient, Charles wrote to Henry; that if he would send ambassadors with fuller powers, he would readily hear them. Henry accordingly. dispatched five more, all eminent for their birth and high posts; namely, the Bishop of Norwich, the Earls of Dorset, Warwick, Salisbury and the Lord Grey: These ambassadors entered immediately into conference with King Charles's commissioners, the chief of whom was the Duke of Berry his uncle. They demanded at first the whole kingdom of France for their

master, by virtue of his right, as heir of Edward III. But after a short pause, they added, that being very sensible their demand might cause some disgust, they would make another, with a protestation however that it should not be prejudicial to the rights of their Sovereign. Then they limited their demands to the following articles:—

**1**. Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, in full sovereignty.

**II.** The right of sovereignty over the Earldom of Flanders, and duchy of Bretagne.

I**II.** Whatever France held in Guienne.

**IV.** All in general that was given up to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretagne.

**V.** The whole country possessed by France between the Somme and Gravelin.

**VI.** Lastly, that all those countries should be resigned to the King of England in full sovereignty, to hold them as neighbour, and not as vassal of the crown of France.

Before an answer was returned to these demands, the Duke of Berry earnestly pressed the ambassadors to begin with the negotiation of the marriage, affirming it to be the proper means to settle a solid and lasting peace between the two kingdoms. He even offered a very considerable dowry for the Princess Catharine, but the English would consider the marriage only as a consequence, and not as the foundation of the peace.

For this reason, they insisted upon settling first the terms of the peace, before any mention of the marriage. In fine, after many disputes on both sides, the English ambassadors confined themselves to the three following articles, to which-they required a positive answer, before any other affairs should be taken in hand.

**I.** They demanded whatever was given up to England by the great peace, that is, by the treaty of Bretagne.

**II.** One half of Provence, with the Earldoms of Beaufort and Nogent,

**III.** The six hundred thousand crowns, which remained unpaid of King John's ransom.

As for the marriage, they said plainly, the King their master would never espouse the Princess Catharine, unless he was secure of a firm and lasting peace with King Charles. That besides; as the offers hitherto made, were very inconsiderable, they had no power to treat upon that affair. That therefore it would not only be fruitless to talk of the marriage, but moreover they durst not meddle with that article, before the rest were settled; They added however, that no less could be offered with the Princess, than two millions of gold crowns.

Some days after, the Duke of Berry delivered them a writing, containing the offers of France, in order to a peace, with the answers to their demands namely,

**I.** That the King of France offered Angetois, Basadois, Auch, in part, Perigord, Escarre, Oleron, Bigorre, Saintonge beyond the Charente; Quercy, (Montauban excepted, with all the country between the Tarn and the Aveiron,) Angoumois, and Rovergne.

**II.** That the King could. not dispose of Provence, since he was not the possessor, nor had contributed to the putting it in the hands of the present possessors.

**III.** That, since for the sake of peace, he was willing to resign so many fine and rich provinces, which he lawfully possessed, the King of England ought to desist from any farther demands.

**IV.** As for the marriage, though the dowry of a daughter of France was fixed to much less, than was already offered, he would for the sake of peace, give six hundred thousand crowns.

These demands and answers were the subject of several conferences, which lasted many days. The ambassadors of England reduced at length all their demands to the treaty of Bretigny, and a million of crowns for the Princess's portion[11]. But as the French still thought this sum exorbitant, the English intimated, it might be lessened, on the condition, that if two sons should come of this marriage, the youngest should have Montrevil and Ponthieu, in full sovereignty.

But the French returned no answer to this, and the conferences. ended March 13th, 1414. Whilst this affair was negotiating at Paris, the Duke of Burgundy's enemies continued to stir up King Charles against him, so that considering him as an enemy to his person and government, he resolved to make war upon him. To that end, being determined to command his army in person, he went and took the Oriflamme at St. Dennis[12], after which he became master of Soissons and Compiegne, seized by the Duke.

Burgundy was then unable to withstand him, because the Flemings refused to serve him against France, which gave the Duke of Bourbon opportunity of taking Bapaume also. It was not intended to stop there, but happily for him, the King was seized with a fresh fit of lunacy. This accident gave the Duke time to put a strong garrison into Arras.

King Charles being unable to act, the Dauphin his son took possession of the Regency, as having an indisputable right. Whether that Prince had some reason to be displeased with the Duke of Burgundy, or did not regard him, since he had no farther need of him, he carried the King his father before Arras, which he meant to besiege, but was too late. The place had been so well provided, that it was not easy to take it. The difficulties of the siege, the solicitations of the Countess of Hainault the Duke of Burgundy's sister, and perhaps the Dauphin's private interests, caused a peace to be granted to the Duke about the end of September, though upon hard terms.

By the peace the King granted the Duke a pardon, but excepted five hundred of his adherents. It was also agreed, that all his friends should remove from court, and himself not come there, unless sent for, with the consent of the council, and by letters under the Great Seal. Finally, that the King's banners should be placed on the walls of Arras.

During the preparations in France for the war are about to speak of the Duke of Burgundy being greatly embarrassed, by reason of the obstinacy of the Flemings, sent into England the provost of St: Donas to renew the treaty begun with Henry. This envoy had power not only to conclude an alliance between the King and Duke, but also to treat about the King's marriage with the Princess Catharine. In all appearance, the Duke desired the King's assistance to put him in possession of the government of France, and then undertook to accomplish the projected marriage to his benefactor's satisfaction. The peace of Arras put a stop for some time to this negotiation.

Meanwhile, Henry continued his resolution to improve the advantages, promised by the situation of the affairs of France. He perceived he should, at most, have to deal but with half the forces of the kingdom, and the other half would make a diversion in his favour. Therefore, without further delay, he had called a parliament at Leicester for the 30th of April, to have their approbation of his designs.

The Parliament being met, the clergy, ever incensed against the Lollards, moved by their emissaries to revive, and even increase, the statutes against heretics. It was accordingly enacted,

that all the magistrates of the kingdom, from the Lord Chancellor, down to the meanest officer, should take an oath to employ their power to extirpate heretics, and assist the Bishops, in the execution of so good a design[13], This act was no sooner passed, but a violent persecution was raised against the Lollards. Several were burnt alive. Some left the kingdom, and others abjured their religion, to escape the torments prepared for them.

But shortly after, the scene was changed, with respect to the clergy. They did not dream that the very persons, who lately appeared so zealous for religion, should think of destroying it: for that was the idea they gave, of the project of depriving the ecclesiastics of the riches they enjoyed. And yet; the same Commons, who in so authentic a way had just secured themselves from all suspicion of heresy, willing to comply with the King's demand of a subsidy, presented to him an address, praying him to seize the clergy's revenues.

This address was founded upon the same considerations, as that presented to the late King for the same purpose. It was maintained,' that the revenues of the church would be much better employed in providing for such a number of nobles, colleges, and hospitals[14]. This was a stunning blow to the clergy, and the more, because after the late act now in actual execution, there was not the least colour to represent the Commons as heretical or favourers of heresy.

The King himself, who was about to begin a great war, believed, or feigned to believe, there was a necessity to do what the Commons desired. As his revenues would of course be greatly increased, that consideration did not a little induce him to hearken to so advantageous a motion. The clergy perceiving their ruin inevitable, unless, some remedy was found against the gathering storm, met to consult about means to avert, or at least to weaken it as much as possible. After divers debates upon so important a matter, they came to these two resolutions.

The first was, resign part of their riches to the King, in order to save the rest. The second, to divert the King's thoughts from domestic affairs, by engaging him in a foreign war, which might wholly engross him. The frequent embassies from Paris to London, and from London to Paris, making them conclude, the King was meditating some enterprise against France, they resolved to excite him to the utmost of their power to carry war into that kingdom.

Pursuant to these projects, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who undertook to be spokesman, told him, that the motion of the House of Commons, which seemed advantageous to the crown, was not so in reality that, in case their project was executed, the church's revenues would be put to uses, unprofitable to the King in particular, and which in time might be extremely prejudicial to the sovereign: that by augmenting the number and riches of the nobility, as was intended, at the same time would be increased a power which, ever since the foundation of the monarchy, had all along opposed the sovereigns, and even, brought some to destruction: that the founding of hospitals would serve only to encourage people in idleness, when they should see so many houses ready to receive them, without being obliged to work: but that the clergy, more sincerely well affected to the King than the Commons, were very willing to give him, upon this occasion, a sensible proof of their zeal and attachment for his person, by delivering up the Alien Priories, which being in number one hundred and ten were possessed of lands that would considerably increase the revenue of the crown: that the estates of these houses would be all his own, whereas, if the project of the Commons took effect, he would reap no advantage.

Whether the King suffered himself to be persuaded by these arguments, or thought it always advisable to take what the clergy voluntarily offered, he accepted of the proposal. Whereupon the lands of these priories were giving him by act of Parliament, without the clergy's opposing it.

Meanwhile, the clergy being apprehensive, that, sooner or later, the King would have what the Commons offered him, seriously thought of executing the other part of their project. For that purpose, the Archbishop took upon him to endeavour to persuade the King to make war upon

France. The King's character, his late motions with regard to the affairs of France, and the universal desire of the whole kingdom, put him in hopes, that his design would be crowned with success. Having, therefore, prepared a proper speech, urging the right of the King's title to the crown of France, he took occasion to deliver it in Parliament, before the King himself.

This speech, it is pretended, made such a sudden and wonderful impression, that Henry immediately resolved to prosecute his title to the crown of France. The before mentioned negotiations upon this subject, however, plainly shew this resolution was already taken, and that the business at present was, only to obtain the Parliament's approbation. To this the Archbishop's speech perhaps greatly conduced.

At least, it is certain the Commons before they broke up, approved the design, and granted the King a subsidy of three hundred thousand marks to begin the execution thereof. It is even probable that the Archbishop, on this occasion, acted in concert with the King, either to sound the inclination of the Commons, or to excite them to a war. Be this as it will, this resolution perfectly corresponding with the clergy's project, it is no wonder the Archbishop so strongly urged the necessity of a war. And indeed, this affair was no sooner resolved in Parliament, but the bill intended against the clergy fell of itself, people's minds being otherwise employed[15].

All the rest of this year was spent in continual embassies to London or Paris. The French would fain have had Henry's marriage with the Princess Catharine, to be an equivalent for the greatest part of. the demands of England. This was the project they had formed, imagining Henry might be decoyed by the hopes of the marriage. Henry, on his part, did not reject the proposal, provided the marriage was considered only as a consequence of the peace, or at least, such conditions were annexed to it, as should procure him the restitution of the provinces lost since the treaty of Bretagne.

He feigned to suffer himself to be amused to a certain degree. He sent power upon power to his ambassadors, to prolong the time of his engagement. But when the match was proposed, the same ambassadors refused to treat, till the terms of the peace should be agreed upon. This was the subject of all the negotiations. Meanwhile, it is certain, both sides had no other view than to gain time. henry was too wise, not to perceive that France would never comply with his demands, before she had received some considerable loss.

On the other hand, as there had not been a good while, any great alteration in England, besides the accession of a new King to the crown, the court of France could not believe, the English were able to support the threatened war. So their sole view was to amuse Henry, till time should cause some, revolution in the affairs of either kingdom. Henry proceeded gradually, without being diverted, as there was nothing in his kingdom capable of giving him any disturbance. France, on the contrary, was full of dissensions. Those at the helm, were more careful to support themselves against the opposite party, than to prevent the King of England's designs.

It was almost impossible for them even to take just measures at such a juncture. The Dauphin, who had the management of affairs, was a Prince more hot than able. But though his capacity had been greater, what could he have done, engaged as he was between two factions, which divided the kingdom, and whereof neither was really attached to his interest? Besides, neither the Dauphin, nor the Orleans faction, could imagine, that, after an intermission for two whole reigns, the King of England would seriously think of asserting his right to the crown of France.

After Henry had sent the first time to demand the crown of France, the Dauphin, in derision of his youth, is said to have sent him for a present a ton of tennis balls, intimating no doubt, that he thought him fitter for play, than for war[16] but he was soon of another opinion.

The resolution taken by the Parliament of Leicester opened the eyes of those who governed France. They were sensible at length, that Henry was in earnest, and perceived, not without

confusion, that he had made use, to over reach them, of the same means practised by themselves to amuse him. The negotiations concerning the marriage, and the frequent prolongation of his voluntary engagement, were only a decoy, to hinder France from preparing for her defence.

This plainly enough appeared in the Parliament's resolution. Then it was that Charles's, or the Dauphin's council, thought it time to think seriously of giving Henry some satisfaction. To that end, Secretary Col was dispatched with fresh offers, but which were very short of his pretensions. Before the Parliament of Leicester, Henry had, as it may be said, demanded the whole kingdom of France, but slightly, and to serve as a foundation for his other demands, But when he found himself supported by his Parliament, he assumed a higher tone, and seemed unwilling to be satisfied with what he had demanded at first. However, to amuse France, he still pretended to desire the affair might be determined by a negotiation.

To that end, he readily consented, the marriage should be treated of and the term of his engagement prolonged to the 15th of August, empowering his ambassadors, to extend it as much farther as they should judge proper. But all this made him not delay or interrupt his preparations for war.

Meanwhile, the negotiation with the Duke of Burgundy continued, whilst that Prince was most pressed by his enemies. In the month of June, Henry sent to him Philip Morgan, a person of great abilities, whom he always employed in the most important negotiations. Morgan's public instructions were, only to renew the truce with the Flemings. But the choice of this ambassador and the mission of Copin de la Vieuville into England, from the Duke, with the circumstances of the time, are plain evidences, these goings and comings, were not to prolong only a truce of commerce, where there was no great difficulty. Besides, the discovery hereafter, will shew, what the Duke of Burgundy was then meditating.

The gaining of that Prince to his interest was very material to Henry. A fairer opportunity could not offer, since it was at a time when the court of France shewed no regard for him. But he demurred, it seems, upon making so extraordinary a step, and was unwilling to have recourse to Henry, without an absolute necessity. In all these negotiations the year 1414 was fruitlessly spent.

**A. D. 1415]** In the beginning of the next year, Henry consented to a prolongation of the truce, to the 1st of May. Meanwhile, the court of France, alarmed at the great preparations in England, sent again the Archbishop of Bourges, with eleven more ambassadors. Probably the Archbishop made some new offer to Henry, which was not considerable enough to content him. All he could obtain was, a farther prolongation of the truce, to the 8th of June.

Whilst these ambassadors were at London, the King assembled the Lords spiritual and temporal, at least as many as were within distance. When they were met, he acquainted them, by the Bishop of Winchester his uncle, and Lord Chancellor, with his resolution, of going in person, and carrying war into France, in order to recover the inheritance of his ancestors. This declaration seemed needless, since the great men were sufficiently informed of his design. But probably, his intent was, to oblige the French ambassadors to discover at once what they had to propose, he imagining they still kept back part of their instructions.

The present posture of affairs in France made him hope, they would offer to put things upon the footing of the treaty of Bretagne. If so, he would doubtless have been satisfied with so considerable an advantage, though he had, for some time laid claim to the whole kingdom of France. The Archbishop of Bourges no longer questioning the King's designs, told him he wished to go to France for fresh instructions; upon which Henry consented the truce should be again prolonged to the 15th of July.

The same prelate being returned to England; a few days before the expiration of the truce, added something more to the former offers, but it was to no purpose. Nothing was capable of satisfying

Henry, but the treaty of Bretigny. The Archbishop demanded his answer in writing, and the King ordered it to be given him immediately.

Everything being ready for the departure, Henry ordered all his troops to repair immediately to Southampton, where they were to embark, and went thither himself to give orders, as the troops and transports arrived. Whilst he was thus employed, he gave fresh powers to Philip Morgan, to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Duke of Burgundy. Their treaty however was not concluded till two years after.

Henry was preparing to depart about the end of July, or beginning of August[17]. Most part of his troops were now embarked, when he had notice of the conspiracy against his person, formed by those, whom he thought to have had least reason to suspect. The court of France dreading the success of the war, is said to have employed the sum of a million of livres, to bribe men to kill the King. This sum is no wonder, considering the quality of the persons concerned in the plot; namely, Richard Earl of Cambridge, brother of the Duke of York, Henry Scrope Lord Treasurer, who commonly lay in the same room with the King, and Thomas Grey a Knight of: Northumberland, and Privy-Counsellor.

It is not very certain however, that they had a design upon the King's life; at least the Earl of Cambridge's confession, extant in the collection of the public acts, contains nothing like it. It only appears, that they had conspired to set the Earl of Marche at their head, and conduct him where they hoped to raise an army, by making use of the name of Richard II. as if he were still alive. That, if they could not deceive the people by a means so frequently practised, their intent was to publish a manifesto in the name of the Earl of Marche, inviting the people to restore that Prince to his rights, usurped by the house of Lancaster.

As they could not make use of the Earl of Marche's name, without having him in their power, or at least in their party, they could not help informing him of the plot. The Earl was greatly embarrassed, when the secret was told him. A crown, which he believed to be his lawful right, was worth the pains of running some risk to obtain it. But on the other hand; he was satisfied, the conspirators acted not from a motive of justice or affection for his person. Besides, the uncertainty of the issue could not but discourage him.

Meanwhile, he was pressed very earnestly to enter into the conspiracy. In short, not being able to resolve immediately, he desired time to consider of so important an affair; and it was with great difficulty, that he obtained the rest of that day. During this interval, he made such reflections, as induced him to acquaint the King with the whole.

Henry, surprised at the news, immediately ordered the conspirators to be seized, who, confessing their guilt, were condemned and executed. The Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey were beheaded; but the Lord Scrope suffered the usual punishment of traitors. This was as it were the first spark of that flame, which consumed in process of time, the two houses of Lancaster and York. As the Earl of Cambridge had married a sister of the Earl of Marche, very likely, he had engaged in the plot, with a view to procure the crown for Richard his son, presumptive heir of that Earl, who had no children.

This affair detaining Henry at Southampton longer than he imagined, he could not sail till the 18th, or 19$^{th}$ of August. His fleet consisted of fifteen hundred transport ships, in which were embarked six thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand archers, making in all, an army of about fifty thousand men. He was attended by the Earls of Dorset, Kent, Cornwall, Salisbury, and Huntingdon, with many other nobles. On the 21st of August, he landed his troops at Havre de Grace in Normandy, and without loss of time, marched to Harfleur, about nine miles distant. That place was strong and well stored. A little before four hundred men at arms had gone thither, besides a great number of neighbouring nobles, volunteers. The garrison made a vigorous defence, but in a short time were forced to capitulate, and promised to surrender the place, unless

relieved within three days: The term being expired, and no relief come, Henry took. possession of the town[18]; and expelling the inhabitants planted an English Colony, in their room, as Edward III. had formerly done at Calais[19].

This place being of the utmost importance, Henry would not depart; till it was entirely repaired, and put in a good state of defence. In the meanwhile, he sent a written challenge to the Dauphin; offering to decide all their differences by a single combat between their two persons. These differences; according to the King's notion, concerned no less than the whole kingdom of France. If he directed himself to the Dauphin, it was because of his father's distemper, which rendered him incapable of accepting such a challenge.

But as it was not in the Dauphin's power, to hazard, in a single combat, the crown of France, which did not belong to him, Henry offered, in case he was conqueror, to let King Charles enjoy it during his life. Moreover, he protested, this proposal came wholly from himself; without any suggestion from his council, or family; and therefore, he pretended, it could not be prejudicial to his rights, or those of his successors.

This challenge was dated at his town of Harfleur, September 16, 1415. It does not appear, that the Dauphin sent any answer. The truth is, the offer was too disadvantageous to him, since he would have ventured a crown, of which his father was in actual possession; and which he was of course to inherit; whereas Henry would have hazarded only bare pretensions.

The conquest of Harfleur might have rendered Henry satisfied with the success of his first campaign, begun a little too late, if, on the other hand, the ill state of his army had not exceedingly troubled him. The flux, which had got amongst his troops, had made, and still did make, such ravage, that not above the fourth part of his army were able to bear arms. This distemper had not seized the common soldiers only, but even the most considerable persons were not free from it.

The Bishop of Norwich, and the Earl of Suffolk, were already dead of it. The Duke of Clarence the King's brother, the Earl of Arundel[20], and several other officers of distinction, were so dangerously ill, that they were obliged to return to England, in hopes of a cure.

At the same time, Henry learned from all parts, that the French were assembling their forces with great diligence, to give him battle. Till the taking of Harfleur, the King of France seems not to have believed, the King of England seriously intended to wage war. But after the loss of so important a place, King Charles's council easily perceived, it was necessary to assemble all the forces of the kingdom, to stop the progress of an enemy, who began to be very formidable.

The great armament France was preparing, the ill state of the English army, and the approach of winter, obliged Henry to think of retreating. He might, it seems, have re-embarked at Harfleur; but, whether he thought it would look too much like a flight, or foresaw not all the obstacles he afterwards encountered, or for some other unknown reason, he resolved to retire by land to Calais. The march he undertook was difficult, at a season when the rains began to spoil the roads. But it became much more so by unexpected accidents.

The French having foreseen, or heard of his design, speedily broke down the bridges, and causeways in his route, and destroyed, or removed into the fortified towns, the provisions and forage that he might have found in the country. On the other hand, the constable d' Albret, with a body of troops drawn together, whilst the rest were preparing, continually harassed the English, and constrained them to march very close, and to be always upon the guard.

All these difficulties hindered their advancing so speedily as was necessary, to free themselves from their ill situation. Amidst all these obstacles; Henry proceeded along the Somme, in expectation of passing that river at the ford of Blanchetaque, as Edward III had done the day

before the battle of Cressy. But when he came there, he found that pass rendered impracticable by sharp stakes fixed in the river, and defended moreover by a body of troops, posted on the opposite bank. He was extremely concerned to find his project could not be executed.

It was necessary, however, either to pass the Somme, or resolve to return to Harfleur, through the same difficulties he had already been exposed to, and even without knowing, when he came there, how to subsist his army. In this extremity, he determined to march higher up the river, even to it source, though it was much out of his way. As he advanced, he every where found the bridges broken down, and the fords guarded by troops, entrenched on the other side.

As in so ill a situation, there was no other remedy but patience, Henry took all possible care to instil it into his troops, by taking his share of the wants and hardships they laboured under. These hardships were not likely to stop the course of their distemper; on the contrary, great numbers fell sick in the march. At last, to complete his misfortune, Henry heard, that the King of France was come to Rouen, and had sent to to the constable fourteen thousand men at arms, with all the Princes and great Lords of the kingdom, except the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy.

The dauphin was desirous of commanding the army, but the King would not give him leave. The constable, who bad also drawn together many other troops, receiving so strong a reinforcement, called a council of war, at which it was unanimously resolved to give the English battle. But as the French Generals thought themselves sure of victory, considering the superiority of their forces, they judged it proper, instead of continuing to guard the Somme, to let the English army pass; and to post themselves on the road to Calais. This resolution being taken, they went and expected their enemies in the earldom of St. Pol, in order to draw them over the Somme, into a place where they should not be able to turn back.

It is certain, that by passing the river, Henry ran into manifest danger, since there was no mean between conquering and perishing. It is true, he might have returned to Harfleur; but it is a question, hard to be decided, whether a battle was more dangerous than a retreat. As the passages of the Somme were no longer defended, Henry soon found one between St. Quintin and Peronne, where, on the 19th of October, he caused his army to pass. But though this obstacle, which had hitherto seemed the greatest, was removed, the English army found themselves in no better condition.

That of their enemies, six times more numerous, expected them upon their passage; whom there was a necessity of vanquishing, in order to open a way to Calais. The French historians affirm, that Henry seeing himself in this sad situation, offered to restore Harfleur, and repair all the damages he had caused in France since his landing, if he might be suffered to proceed unmolested; but that his offer was rejected. On the contrary, the constable and Princes that were in the French army, sent three heralds to offer him battle, leaving him to chose the time and place.

Henry replied, "As he had long been upon his march to Calais, they might have fought him when they pleased, and if they intended it, there was no occasion to appoint the time, or place; for he was resolved to pursue his march, and they should always find him ready to receive them."

The French army being posted on his route, it was not possible to pass without fighting. He resolved therefore to prepare for battle. On the 22nd of October, the French Generals sent him word by a herald, that on Friday following, they would give him battle. Henry, who had already taken his resolution, accepted the challenge, and presented the herald with, a rich robe and two hundred crowns.

During the three days before the battle, Henry never ceased to inspire his troops with courage, by the promise of rewards and honours, and by all other means most conducive to that end. He represented to them the glory of their ancestors, who obtained the famous victories of Cressy and Poictiers, and demonstrated to them the necessity of conquering, in order to free themselves

from their present, and avoid still greater miseries. His exhortations wrought so wonderful an effect, that the officers and soldiers, far from dreading the great number of their enemies, were extremely eager to engage.

The day before the battle, Henry having sent David Gam, a Welsh Captain, to view the strength of the enemy, this brave officer gallantly reported, "There are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away." This assurance pleased the King, as being a sign, that his troops were firmly resolved to do their duty. Meanwhile, the French presuming on their numbers, and confident of victory, were making rejoicings in their camp. Mezerai owns, that they were four times superior to the English. Monstrelet says, six times[21].

This diversity may partly proceed from Mezerai's reckoning all the soldiers, sick and well, of the English army, and from Monstrelet's meaning only such as were able to fight. The English historians make the difference between the two armies much greater, affirming, the French amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand, and the English but to nine thousand. Be this as it will, it is certain the superiority of the French was very great. But what inequality soever there was between the two armies, as to number; there was another, which was no less considerable, with regard to the different state they were in.

The English sick, for the most part, of a flux, with which they had been troubled, ever since their departure from Harfleur, were moreover harassed with a tedious march of a month, in a very bad weather, and through an enemy's country. They had all along been in want of provisions, and would doubtless have been all starved, if the exact discipline, the King caused to be observed, had not engaged the country people to supply them with victuals, for the sake of selling them at an extravagant rate.

The French, on the contrary, were fresh and healthy, abounding with provisions, and labouring under no inconvenience. If we may believe the English historians, so confident of success were the French leaders, that they sent to the King to know what he would give for his ransom. Henry despising this bravado, replied, according to the same authors, that a few hours would shew whose care it would be to provide ransom.

On the 25th of October, the day appointed for the battle, the two armies were drawn up, as soon as it was light. The constable d' Albret committed on this occasion an unpardonable fault, in chusing for the field of battle a narrow ground, flanked on one side by a rivulet, and on the other by a large wood. He thereby lost all the advantage, which the superiority of number, and especially in horse, could give him. It is most certain, this general ought to have posted himself in a large and open place, where he might have had it in his power to surround the English, who were but a handful of men, in comparison of his army.

But by drawing up on so narrow a ground, he was forced to make a front no larger than that of the enemies', and thereby deprived himself of a very manifest advantage. Neither can it be said, that the choice of the field of battle was not entirely in his breast. As the English were marching for Calais, it was his business to. expect them on a spacious plain, capable of containing his whole army, and where they might have all fought. at once. His blindness therefore is astonishing, and can be ascribed only to his presumption.

He seems to have intended to stop up that narrow passage, that the English might not proceed, without considering such a precaution can be only advantageous to the weakest. This error was, probably, the principal cause of the unfortunate success of the French in this action. The constable, blinded by the number of his troops, drew them up on this narrow ground, but so close, that it was easy to foresee, confusion would ensue during the battle. He divided his army into three bodies, the first of which he commanded himself, with the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earls of Eu, Vendome, Richemont, the famous Marshal Boucicaut grand master of the crossbow men, the Lord Dampier Admiral of France, the Dauphin of Auvergne, and several

other officers of the greatest distinction. All these Princes and Lords thought themselves happy in being in the first line, persuaded as they were, that the other two would have nothing to do. The Duke of Alenson commanded the second body, with the Duke of Bar, the Earls of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, Roussi, and Grand-Pre. At the head of the third line, were the Earls of Mark, Dampmartin, Fauquenbergh, and the Lord de Lauroi.

Whilst the French were drawing up, Henry detached a body of four hundred lances, to go and post themselves out of sight of the enemy, behind the wood, on the left of the field of battle. He lodged, moreover, two hundred archers in a low meadow, fenced with bushes on the right. In drawing up his army, he could make but two lines, by reason of the small number of his troops. Edward Duke of York commanded the first, assisted by the Lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope. The King put himself at the head of the second,[22] with a gold crown[23] on his helmet for a crest, and near him was the standard of England[24].

In this posture he expected the French would advance to attack him[25]. Meantime, riding along the front of his battalions, he exhorted his troops not to fear a multitude of raw and undisciplined soldiers. He represented to them, that victories depended not on numbers, but on bravery, and above all, on the assistance of God, in whom he admonished them to place their whole trust. In fine, perceiving the French did not move; he sent for some of his principal officers, and said to them with a cheerful countenance, "Since our enemies have intercepted our way, let us proceed, and break through them in the name of the Holy Trinity."

Upon these word, he gave the signal of battle[26]. Immediately the soldiers of the foremost ranks, removing the stakes, which had been set in the front, to resist the fury of the cavalry[27] the whole army, with a mighty shout, moved forward. After advancing a little, they made a halt, expecting their enemies, but finding they did not stir, continued their march in good order. When they came within bow shot, the foremost ranks fixed the stakes; interweaving, and bending them a little towards their enemy. At the same time, a body of chosen archers advancing some pace's, began, very near to let fly upon the enemy a shower of' arrows yard long, which being shot by men of dexterity and strength, did the greater execution among the French, as they stood extremely close, and had scarcely room to move.

The French cavalry advancing at length to repulse the archers, these last nimbly retreated behind the stakes with a wonderful discipline, in which the. King had exercised them himself for some days. Meanwhile, while, the two hundred bowmen, concealed in the meadow, rising up on a sudden, plied the horse with their arrows, who were put in the greater disorder, as the horses sunk up to their knees in the ground softened with the rains.

The English seeing this confusion, threw away their bows, and fell upon their enemies sword in hand, The English, it is said, were, for the most part, forced to fight naked from the waste downwards, by reason of their distemper. However, as the first line of the French consisted of all the best troops in their army, this charge, though very vigorous, was repulsed with some loss on the side of the English. But, that was not capable of disheartening men, determined to conquer or die. After breathing awhile, they charged again with such resolution, that it was not possible for their enemies to stand the shock.

This second attack was the more difficult to be repulsed, as at the same time the French felt themselves set upon in the flank by the English horse, ambushed behind the wood. Then it was, that the utmost disorder ensued among the troops, so vigorously pressed by their enemies, who slew without mercy, whoever came in their way.

The first line of the French at length taking to flight, (after seeing the constable killed, with a great number of other officers, and most of the Princes and Generals made prisoners,) the English found themselves stopped by the second line, which came to repair the disorder. Henry, advancing with his second line, as the first gained ground, stood ready to. support his men, who would have

been in danger of being routed, if he had been farther off. Whilst the first body, after so gallant a fight, were retiring to the right and left, to make way for the King, and to rally in his rear, Henry, alighting from his horse, presented himself to the enemy with an undaunted countenance.

The Duke of Alenson, Prince of the blood-royal of France, advanced at the head of his body with *great* intrepidity, hoping by his conduct and valour to repair the disgrace received by his countrymen. He had detached eighteen stout gentlemen, with orders to keep close to the King of England, and not to leave him till slain or taken prisoner, Henry, marching with a fierceness heightened by the success of his first troops; charged the second line, with a valour equal to that of the most renowned heroes in History. He fought on foot at the head of his men, rushing among the thickest of the enemies, as forgetting that upon his fate, depended that of his army.

Meantime the eighteen cavaliers, who had undertaken to kill him. charged up so close to him, that one of him so struck him with a battle-axe on the head, that he was stunned for awhile, though the goodness of his helmet resisted the violence of the blow, At the same time, the rest were striving to approach him. Probably, he would hardly have escaped these desperate men, had not the valiant David Gam, the Welsh captain, with two other officers of the same nation, saved him, at the expense of their lives. The King, who was a little recovered, seeing them extended at his feet, and still breathing, knighted them all three, being unable in their present condition, to reward their loyalty any other way, At the same time the eighteen Frenchmen, who still made prodigious efforts to execute their design, were all killed upon the spot.

The heat of the battle increasing, Henry still more animated by his past danger, give signal proofs of his valour; and drew upon him the bravest of the enemies. The Duke of Gloucester, his brother, who fought by his side, being knocked down, he long covered him with his own body, to prevent his being killed. By this bold action he was so exposed, that at length he received so great a blow on the head, that he fell on his knees. But his guard, immediately advancing, repulsed the enemy, and gave him time to rise. The King's danger, and the wonders he performed, inspired his troops with a sort of fury.

On a sudden, as it were by consent, the English soldiers encouraging each other, rushed upon their enemies, and by this violent and unexpected attack, put them in such disorder, that their leaders could never repair it. Henry improving this advantage, pressed them vigorously, to hinder them from recovering of their surprise; knowing this was the moment by which the victory was to be decided. Their disorder increasing, by reason of their great numbers, and want of room, they began at length to fight only in retreat, in such a manner, as shewed they would quickly take to flight.

The Duke of Alenson, enraged to see the battle lost by the defeat of the second line, and despairing that the third would be able to restore the fight, generously resolved to die honourably, rather than turn his back, and survive his country's disgrace. So, regardless of a life, which he was determined to lose, with a small number of brave and resolute persons, he furiously made way with his sword through the English troops, and every where sought the King of England, in expectation of revenging, by one single blow, the loss which France had that day sustained. It was not difficult to find Henry, who thought of nothing less than concealing himself. The moment the Duke saw him, he ran at him, and crying out that he was the Duke of Alenson, discharged such a violent blow on his head, that it cleaved off one half of the gold crown on his helmet. Henry not being able to parry this blow, was not slow to revenge. In return, he struck the Duke to the ground, and with repeated blows slew two of his brave attendants. In an instant, the Duke was surrounded by a crowd of enemies, who put an end to his life, notwithstanding the King's endeavours to save him.

The death of the Duke of Alenson, entirely discouraging his troops, they openly took to flight. The third line of the French, being still fresh and in good order, might have renewed the battle. But their hearts failing at the sight of the present and past slaughter[28], it was not in the power

of the leaders to make them advance. So, finding themselves reduced to a necessity of retreating without fighting, they left the flying troops of the second line, exposed to the fury of their enemies who closely pursued them.

Then it was that the English, having nothing to do, but to kill, and take prisoners, exercised pity or cruelty, according as every one was naturally inclined. As it was impossible for the French, in their present disorder, to rally, and as their numbers were an obstacle to their flight, they voluntarily offered themselves to death or captivity, as their victorious enemies pleased.

Meanwhile, the troops, that retired without fighting, still appeared at some distance, and seemed resolved to stand against enemies harassed with so long a battle. But the King perceiving they were still more numerous than his army, commanded them by a herald to leave the field, or he would give them no quarter. This menace succeeded according to expectation. Whether these troops were not fully resolved of their course, or were apprehensive of falling into the hands of an implacable enemy, in case they should prove unsuccessful, they retired, and left Henry master of the field of battle.

Finding himself thus secure of the victory, Henry thought he had nothing more to do, when suddenly word was brought him, that the enemies were in his rear, and had already plundered his camp. Surprised at this unexpected accident, he hastily ran to the tor of a hillock, between the army and the camp, to review these new enemies. He really saw great disorder among his baggage, and saw the troops left to guard the camp, dispersed about the field, and endeavouring to save themselves by flight.

Imagining, by this sight, that the enemies had rallied to renew the fight, he proclaimed, that the prisoners should be slain, except the most eminent. This order being immediately executed, he speedily rallied his troops, and marched directly to the enemies, who took care not to wait for him. They were only a company of runaways, headed by Roberi de Bournoville, who, retiring betimes out of the battle and knowing the English camp was but weakly guarded, pillaged it, whilst the two armies were engaged.

The Duke of Burgundy afterwards would have severely punished the captain of these plunderers, who was his subject, for being the occasion of so great a disaster, but the Earl of Charolois his son found means to save life. It is said, the Earl was presented with a sword set with diamonds, found among the King's baggage. It is pity so glorious a victory was sullied by this rash massacre. It may however be excused, by the impossibility of the English being able to guard their prisoners[29], and by the King's just fears, that these same prisoners would turn against him, during the fight, which he saw himself upon the point of renewing.

Nothing more opposing the King's victorious arms[39], his first care, was to return God thanks for so signal and unexpected a victory, and publicly to acknowledge, it was entirely owing to him. After the discharge of this just duty, he sent for a French herald, who was in the army[31], and required him to declare to whom the victory was to be ascribed. The herald answered, the victory was undoubtedly his. Then the King asked him the name of a castle in sight, near the field of battle, and being told it was called Azincourt, he said, "Let this battle be hereafter called the battle of Azincourt." As the fight began not till ten in the morning, and lasted till almost five in the afternoon, Henry not thinking proper to continue his march, for fear of fatiguing his army too much, returned to Masconcelles, where he had encamped the foregoing night.

In this memorable battle, so fatal to France, the French lost the constable d' Albret, the Duke of Alenson Prince of the blood, the Duke of Brabant, and the Earl of Nevers, brothers of the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Bar, the Earls of Vaudemont, Marie, Roussi, Fauquenbergh, and many more officers of note, besides ten thousand private soldiers[32]. An English historian says, that among the slain were one Archbishop[33], three Dukes, six Earls, ninety Barons, fifteen hundred Knights, and seven thousand Esquires or Gentlemen, Among the prisoners, who would have

been very numerous, without the massacre after the battle, the most eminent were, the Dukes of Orleans[34] and Bourbon, the Earl of Eu, Vendome, Richmont, Etouteville, and Marshal Boucicaut[35].

On the side of the English, there were slain only the Duke of York, the young Earl of Suffolk, and not above four Knights, one Esquire, and twenty-eight common soldiers. Some however with more probability affirm, that the English lost four hundred men[36]. Mezerai mounts the number to sixteen hundred, and lowers the loss of the French to six thousand.

On the morrow, the King pursued his march towards Calais. In passing over the field of battle, he took occasion to commend the valour of his troops; but withal exhorted those near him, not to be vainly proud of a victory, gained purely by the miraculous assistance of the Lord of Hosts. During his March, he behaved very handsomely to the French Princes his prisoners: "He told them he had not obtained the victory by the superiority of his merit, but because God was pleased to make him his instrument, to punish the sins of the French nation: that the advantages he might expect from his victory, was so far from making him averse to a peace, that he was even more inclined to it than the day before the battle."

Some days after the Duke of Burgundy sent him a cartel of defiance, and told him by a herald, that he intended to revenge the death of his brothers. Probably, the Duke of Brabant, and the Earl of Nevers were killed in the massacre of the prisoners after the battles. Henry, willing to keep fair with that Prince, whom he still hoped: to gain to his interest, answered with great moderation. He told the Herald, in delivering the gauntlet, received from his hand, that the French themselves could witness he was not guilty of the death of the Duke's brothers, but his own subjects were answerable for their blood. This he said; because Bournonville, who occasioned the slaughter of the prisoners, was a Burgundian.

About the middle of November, Henry embarked for England, taking with him the principal prisoners. He met in his passage with a violent storm, which put him in extreme danger, and even sunk some of his ships. At last, after great fatigue, he arrived on the 16th of November. He was received in England with the usual acclamations on such occasions. The people were never tired with praising a Prince, that had rendered the English name so formidable and glorious[37].

His first care was to appoint a day of public thanksgiving for the happy success of his arms. Then he caused the bodies of the Duke of York, and the Earl of Suffolk, who lost their lives in the battle, to be honourably interred[38]. The Duke of York leaving no issue, Richard his nephew, son of the Earl of Cambridge beheaded at Southampton, was his heir.

The wound which France had received, was not so great, on account of the advantages reaped by the King of England from his victory, which gained him not a single foot of land, as for being the occasion of the civil wars rekindled with more fury than ever. The Duke of Burgundy, resolving to improve the present juncture, claimed the administration of affairs, from which he had been long excluded, and particularly, by the peace of Arras.

He alleged, that when the kingdom was threatened with utter ruin, a Prince of the blood, first Peer, and doubly Peer of the realm, was indispensably bound to aid the King and his counsels, and could not be debarred the court, without injustice and danger. But as he well knew his reasons would be ineffectual, unless supported by force, he approached Paris with an army, and seized some posts about the city.

The Dauphin, not being able to bear the thoughts of admitting to court the Duke of Burgundy, though his father-in-law, sent for the Earl of Armagnac, and gave him the constable's sword. This Earl, sworn enemy so the Duke of Burgundy, did not spare the Duke's adherents, commonly called the Burgundians. He ordered some to be hanged, and great numbers to be imprisoned, and thereby so heightened the animosity of the two factions; that from thenceforward nothing was

capable of uniting them against the common enemy. The Dauphin seconded the constable's revenge, and never thought of restoring the ruinous affairs of the kingdom, the government whereof was in his hands. Shortly after, namely, on the 4th of December, this Prince was poisoned.

By the death of Lewis, the new constable remained sole master of the King's person, and of the government of the kingdom, till the return of John Duke of Tourain, to whom the title of Dauphin had devolved, and who was then in Hainault with the Earl his father-in-law. This young Prince resolving to espouse neither side, sent orders to both factions to lay down their arms. The Duke of Burgundy, who was losing his time before Lagny, obeyed out of deference, as he pretended, to the Dauphin's orders, and retired into his dominions. But the constable was not so tractable. As he had the King's person in his power, he did not think the Dauphin had any right to command him, till he actually possessed the regency, which he was bent to oppose, unless he would declare against the Burgundians. It was this that hindered the Dauphin's return to court.

All this while, it was next to impossible for France, to take just measures for her defence against the attacks threatened from England. The Duke of Burgundy was privately treating with Henry. The Earl of Hainault was likewise courting that monarch, to put the Dauphin, his son-in-law, in possession of the Regency.

On the other hand, Lewis of Anjou, King of Sicily, then head of the Orleans faction, was projecting to deprive the Dauphin of his birthright, by procuring the crown for Charles Earl of Ponthieu his son-in-law. To compass his ends, he thought he could take no surer method, than to secure the assistance of England. Thus all France, as it were, with one consent; though with different views, earnestly sought the alliance of the English against whom the whole nation should have firmly united, if private interest had not prevailed above the good of the public. In this manner passed the year 1415, which the battle of Azincourt has rendered memorable for ever.

**A. D. 1416]** The consternation France was under, and the discord between the Duke of Burgundy and the constable, seemed to promise Henry fresh laurels, if he had continued the war. Nevertheless, that Prince, whose wisdom equalled his valour, very prudently steered a quite different course. He judged, that by fomenting the troubles of France, and inspiring the two factions with jealousy, he should procure more certain and lasting advantages, than by means of his arms,

The truth is, by pushing the French too vigorously, he ran the risk of uniting them all against him. In which case, his advantages, probably, would have been inconsiderable. But by granting them some respite, he gave them opportunity to destroy one another. Wherefore, contrary to every one's expectation, he laid aside his military affairs for near eighteen months, and betook himself entirely to negotiation, which afforded him the prospect of less doubtful advantages. He continued not however in a state of idleness.

Henry's chief aim was to gain the Duke of Burgundy, who had now shown an inclination to make an alliance with him. The succeeding in this design, he perceived would be more advantageous, than another Azincourt victory. To this therefore all his endeavours tended, as to his principal affair. To attain his ends, it was necessary, that the affairs of France should remain in their present situation. It was requisite, that the constable, and the other heads of that faction, should still have it in their power to prosecute the Duke of Burgundy.

This alone was capable of throwing that Prince into a desperate resolution, which he beheld not without dread; and which the sole desire of revenge could induce him to take. If by the continuance of the war, France had lost towns and battles, the constable, who held the reins of the government, would, doubtless, have forfeited all his credit. By that means, the Duke of Burgundy would have infallibly obtained the regency again, and no longer stood in need of the

English. This is the true reason of Henry's consenting to all the proposals for concluding a truce, or for renewing the negotiations of peace. Meanwhile his, and the Duke of Burgundy's envoys, passed from London to Flanders, and from Flanders to London, ever under colour of a treaty of commerce, in which fresh difficulties were continually started, the better to hide their principal design[39].

It was not without reason, that this negotiation was kept secret by both sides. The Duke, whom nothing but necessity would have forced to an alliance with the King, was afraid, the discovery of this project would alienate the affections of the French, and especially of the Parisians. Henry had reason to fear, on his part, that if the court of France came to know of this negotiation, they would find means to break his measures.

However, his desisting entirely from war, since the battle of Azincourt, might well cause his designs to be suspected. But the arrival of the Emperor Sigismond freed him from this trouble, as it gave him occasion to pretend, that he discontinued the war, at the instance of that Prince. In the beginning of the year, Sigismond came to Paris. He gave out himself, that the sole end of his journey was, to mediate peace between the two crowns of France and England[40].

This design was noble and charitable, and worthy a Christian monarch, supposing it to have been entirely disinterested. But several circumstances gave occasion to believe, he undertook this voyage to favour Henry rather than France, and in hopes of some advantage for himself. At his arrival in France, he proposed a four years truce between the two Kings, but the court rejected this proposal.

The French historians charge the constable with refusing this truce, for his own private interest, but without shewing wherein the war could be for his, advantage. Probably he was then projecting the siege of Harfleur, which he began the next June. It may be, he perceived, the Emperor was not an impartial mediator. However this be, Sigismond, finding he could not prevail at Paris, came into England[41] in the spring.

The English historians take notice, that being about to land, he was met by the Duke of Gloucester, and some other Lords, who stepping into the water with their drawn swords, stopped the boat. Surprised at this reception, he asked the reason: the Duke told him, if he was come to challenge any authority in England, they had orders to forbid his landing; but if he came only as a mediator of peace, he should meet with all the respect due to his imperial dignity. This was to warn him not to take the liberty of exercising authority in England, as he had done in France during his stay[42].

The arrival of Sigismond at London, was preceded by that of William of Bavaria, Earl of Holland and Zealand, who was come upon the same errand. These two Princes quickly saw, they should find it difficult to procure a peace. Henry added to his former demands, the town of Harfleur, with part of the adjacent territory for the maintenance of the garrison.

On the other hand, France, persisting in her first offers, would not hear of peace, unless Henry restored Harfleur. So the two mediators perceiving a peace almost impossible, were satisfied with obtaining the two Kings' consent to a truce for three years, during which Harfleur should remain in trust in their hands, for certain securities, promised by the French prisoners in England. But just as the treaty was going to be signed, the prisoners fell from their word, The constable, who was resolved to besiege Harfleur, had agreed to this negotiation only to amuse Henry, and hinder him from discovering his design.

Shortly after, under some pretence, he carried King Charles to Rouen. His aim was, to be ready against the arrival of some Genoese ships, which were to join the French fleet, in order to invest Harfleur by sea. He managed matters so privately, that Henry, not having the least suspicion of his design, neglected to reinforce the garrison. During the French court's stay at Rouen, the Earl

of Dorset, Governor of Harfleur, made an incursion even to the gates of that city, and carried away a great booty. In his return, he was pursued and overtaken by the constable, who gained some advantage over him. On the morrow, the constable still pressing the English, who were hastily retreating, forced them to halt and stand upon their defence. In this second skirmish, the Earl of Dorset, though inferior in number of troops, had his revenge, and compelled his enemy to retire with precipitation to Rouen.

This ill success prevented not the constable from continuing his preparations for the siege of Harfleur. Immediately after the arrival of the Genoese ships, he ordered his troops, whom he had purposely dispersed, to rejoin at a certain place, where he came and headed them in person[43]. Then he marched directly to Harfleur, where he was not expected, so unable were the French thought by the English to make any attempt.

Whilst the constable besieged the town by land, this Viscount of Narbonne blocked it up by sea, so that nothing could go in or out. Henry was extremely mortified to be thus over reached by the constable. He was sensible then, that the negotiation had been intended only to amuse him, and therefore, was the more provoked to use his utmost endeavours to break his enemies' measures. He determined in his turn, to use stratagem, and circumvent the constable.

To that end, he feigned a strong inclination to peace, and desired an interview with his cousin, for so he then called the King of France, whereas before he stiled him his adversary. He was in hopes, that if an interview was granted, a truce would ensue, which would give him time to relieve Harfleur; but his proposal was rejected. After this, he commissioned Morgan directly to demand a truce. But the court of France took care, not to give him such an advantage in the present juncture.

In fine, perceiving the constable was not to be amused, he commanded a fleet[44] to be equipped, resolving to go himself, and relieve the place. He depended upon the valour and experience of the Earl of Dorset, the Governor, knowing he would do his utmost to give him time to prepare for his relief. In this he was not mistaken, for though the siege was begun about the middle of June, it was not much advanced at the end of July. So, Henry having had leisure to prepare his fleet, was ready to embark. But the Emperor dissuaded from venturing his person in an expedition of this nature, where, notwithstanding all his prudence, he might receive some disgrace, by the accidents of the sea.

The King yielding to the Emperor's advice gave the command to the Duke of Bedford his brother, who sailed about the end of July[45]. It soon met with the enemy's fleet lying before Harfleur. The Viscount de Narbonne preparing for his defence, withstood for some time the efforts of the English, but at length was forced to yield the victory, after seeing five Genoese caracks taken, and several of his own ships sunk. Nothing more preventing the Duke of Bedford from throwing the succours into the town, the constable raised the siege and retired.

Whilst these things passed, the Duke of Burgundy continued, under divers pretences, his secret negotiations with Henry. One while, it was to renew the truce between England and Flanders, another while, for affairs concerning the church, depending before the council of Constance. In May, the truce just mentioned, which was to expire the 15th of June, was renewed for a year, and yet the. Duke of Burgundy sent four ambassadors more to England.

In the beginning of August, the King appointed commissioners to treat with them concerning some ecclesiastical affairs. This public commission served for pretence to the private conferences. But by another of the same date, these commissioners were empowered to agree with the ambassadors upon an interview between the King and the Duke of Burgundy. This negotiation must have been now very forward, since, two days after, the King dispatched orders to several officers, to be ready to attend him beyond sea, where he was to have an interview with some of his enemies.

This plainly shews, the Duke's frequent embassies were not wholly designed for treating about trade, or church affairs. That Prince had now long demurred upon concluding his treaty with Henry. As he was of the Blood-Royal of France, and first peer of the realm, he was sensible, an alliance of that nature was directly contrary to his honour and duty.

Besides, such a step could not but be prejudicial to him in France, among his own party. For these reasons, he had hitherto been satisfied with keeping the negotiation on foot, in order to conclude it, only in case of necessity. The Earl of Armagnac's revenge, at length threw the Duke upon this action, which doubtless, he would have longer delayed, or, it may be, never done, had he not been as it were forced to it by the persecutions of his enemies.

We have already observed that the constable d' Armagnac, had, under divers pretences, prevented John the Dauphin, then in Hainault, from returning to court. The young Prince, impatient of being thus controlled by that proud minister, longed to be at the head of affairs, and to observe a neutrality between the two factions, which would gain him the esteem and regard of both parties. But this was not possible, since he had no forces at his disposal, but the Earl of Hainault's his father-in-law, which were not sufficient to enable him to execute such a project against the constable's will.

Meantime, the Duke of Burgundy, perceiving there was no likelihood of his acquiring the government, so long as the constable had the King's person in his power, thought it advisable, to strengthen himself with the new Dauphin's assistance. For that purpose, he had conferred, in the beginning of the year, at Valenciennes, with him and the Earl of Hainault; and it was agreed; that the Dauphin should once more try by fair means to be admitted to court, in order to take the place due to his birth: that in case he succeeded, he should carry the Duke with him: but if he could not prevail, they should take other measures to dispossess the constable, and free the King.

Pursuant to this resolution, the Dauphin and the Earl of Hainault, repaired to Compiegne, whence the Earl proceeded alone to Paris, to mediate the return of his son-in-law. Upon the first mention of recalling the Duke of Burgundy, the constable interrupting him, said plainly, the Dauphin should never be admitted to the King his father's court, unless he openly declared himself an enemy of the Burgundian faction.

The Earl of Hainault seeing this obstinacy, could not forbear uttering some threats, which discovered to the constable and his party, that the Dauphin intended to rely on the assistance of the Duke. This was the reason, that, in order to prevent the mischief this union might do them, they resolved to dispatch him. A few days after, the Dauphin was poisoned at Compiegne, the 16th of April, 1416. The King of Sicily was suspected of this deed, to make way for Prince Charles his son-in-law. If he were guilty, his death, which happened presently after, hindered him from reaping any advantage.

By the death of John the Dauphin, Charles his brother, Earl of Ponthieu, became Dauphin, and heir apparent to the crown. This young Prince immediately espoused the party of the Armagnacs, for so the Orleans faction was now called. By that means, the Duke of Burgundy was more out of hopes than ever, and the Earl of Armagnac maintained himself in the government, where nothing was done without his orders. His hatred to the Duke of Burgundy, caused him to lose no opportunity of persecuting the Burgundians, who were very numerous at Paris.

His severe and tyrannical behaviour, joined to an extreme avarice, induced at length the Parisians of the Burgundian party, to lay a plot to introduce their head into the city. The conspiracy being discovered, the constable took occasion, so to exercise his rage upon the whole party, that the Duke of Burgundy did not think himself any longer obliged to regard the court. He immediately concluded with the King of England a truce for all their respective dominions, not excepting his possessions in France. But his revenge did not stop here. His ambassadors agreed, that the King

and he should meet at Calais, and the Duke acknowledge Henry for the true King of France, and do him liege-homage. This interview was fixed for the beginning of October.

The Emperor Sigismund having no farther business in England, departed about the middle of August. In his way to Canterbury, he signed a treaty of perpetual alliance with Henry, and, at the same time, a league against France. He promised to assist the King in the recovery of the kingdom of France, and Henry engaged to aid him in constraining King Charles, and some other Princes, to do him homage, for certain territories not specified in the treaty.

The Emperor being arrived at Calais, staid there for Henry, who could not come till about the end of September. Meanwhile, the court of France, alarmed at the report of the Duke of Burgundy's interview with Henry at Calais, and wanting to know what should pass at the conference, sent thither the Archbishop of Rheims, with some other ambassadors. The pretence was, to treat of a peace with the King, but, in all appearance, the chief aim of this embassy, was to discover what should pass at the interview.

Henry was not sorry, that the ambassadors of France would be witnesses of the Duke of Burgundy's arrival at Calais, and therefore readily dispatched their safe conducts, and presently after their coming, appointed commissioners to treat with them. But he took such precautions, that the French could never discover the real motive of his journey to Calais. Before Henry left Calais, he concluded a truce with France, till the 2nd of February; and then he returned into England about the middle of October, in order to hold a Parliament, called for the 19th of the same month.

During this session, the Parliament granted a subsidy for carrying on the war. But this aid was so little proportioned to his wants and projects, that **he was obliged to pawn his crown to the Bishop of Winchester his uncle, for a hundred thousand marks, and part of his jewels to the city of London, for ten thousand pounds sterling.** This is a clear evidence, how many difficulties he would have met with, in the conquest of France with his own forces, if the intestine troubles of that kingdom had not paved the way for him.

Meanwhile, notwithstanding his pressing necessities; he assigned the Earl of Dorset, who defended Harfleur, a life pension of a thousand pounds a year, upon creating him Duke of Exeter. Henry having secured the Duke of Burgundy; by their late private treaty, thought it time to renew the war. He knew, not only that one half of France would not oppose him, but moreover the Burgundian party would make a diversion in his favour, which could not but procure him great advantages.

In this resolution, he made all the necessary preparations to accomplish his enterprise. Meanwhile, as the supply granted him by Parliament, was not sufficient for his purpose, and as the money came slowly into the Exchequer, he was quickly in great want. To remedy this inconvenience, he made use of the following means.

After he had settled the pay of each soldier, horse and foot, and of each officer, according to every one's rank and character, he made private contracts with several Lords and Gentlemen, whereby they were obliged to provide a certain number of horsemen or footmen, for such a yearly sum to be paid quarterly. The first quarterage was advanced, but when the second came to be. paid, the King had, no money. To supply the present occasion, he pawned to them the rest of the jewels, with letters under the Great Seal, empowering them to sell them, if the money were not paid within a certain time. The term allowed, was twelve or eighteen months, according as the creditors were more or less tractable. The preparations carrying on in England, very justly alarmed the court of France.

**A. D. 1417.]** Though the constable had already been the cause of much mischief to France, by persecuting the Duke of Burgundy, and forcing him as it were, to throw himself into the arms

of the King of England, he did not think it sufficient to secure his quiet. Isabella of Bavaria: wife of Charles VI. appeared so displeased to be ruled by a subject, that he could not help fearing, she would in the end find means to deprive him of his authority. This was not impossible.

The King being of an easy temper, it would not have been difficult to gain him, in one of his lucid intervals either was it impracticable, to persuade the Dauphin to rid himself of a troublesome governor, in order to rule as he pleased, without fear of being controlled. Thus. the constable's destiny hanging by so weak a thread, whilst he had such an enemy at court, he believed, that, to secure himself, it was absolutely necessary to remove her.

The Queen gave him a sufficient handle by her behaviour, which was not altogether conformable to the rules of decency. The constable taking this advantage, inspired the King and Dauphin, with such strong suspicions of her, that she was sent away to Tours, where she remained as a prisoner, not knowing on whom to rely, to free herself out of captivity. This fatal policy of the constable was a fresh source of calamities to France. The injured mother could never forgive her son, the affront she had received, and unfortunately for the kingdom, it was but too much in her power, to get her revenge.

The constable's violent conduct, the death of the two Dauphins laid to his charge, the Queen's banishment, with numberless other occasions, furnished the Duke of Burgundy with a pretence to make a diversion, in favour of the King of England. He published a manifesto against the constable, aggravating, his faults and oppressions, with all the resentment of an injured enemy. Then he wrote to the King, that, as first peer of France, it was incumbent upon him, to endeavour to prevent the utter ruin of the kingdom, which was infallibly going to destruction, unless timely relieved.

By the same reasons, he tried to stir up the cities of the kingdom, and win them to his interest. In fine, perceiving that some of the towns had already declared for him, he approached Paris at the head of an army, when the King of England was ready to sail for France. His aim was to have the Dauphin and constable under a necessity, either of quitting Paris, in order to oppose the King of England, or of suffering the English to act without opposition, if they intended to save Paris. They thought fit to take this last course, chusing rather, that part of the kingdom should fall into the hands of the English, than to see themselves dispossessed of the government, by their private enemies.

Henry, willing to improve so favourable a juncture, sailed about the end of July, and landed at Tongue in Normandy. His army consisted but of twenty-five thousand five hundred effective men, too inconsiderable a number for the conquest of France, had he not been secure of meeting little opposition. Upon his arrival, he besieged the castle of Tongue, and became master of it the 9th of August. Then, after the conquest of some other small places, he laid siege to Caen, which surrendered the 9th of September.

The court of France was then in great perplexity: The Duke of Burgundy, at the gates of Paris, hindered their regulating the affairs of the kingdom: They should have had two armies in the field, one to oppose the Burgundian, and another to defend Normandy against the English. But they had scarcely troops enough to defend Paris, where the King, Dauphin, and Constable, were shut up. Their only resource was to renew the negotiations with Henry.

To that end, they demanded a conference between ambassadors of the two crowns, to consult about means to conclude a peace. Henry agreed to the proposal, but without discontinuing the war. The court of France chusing the Archbishop of Rheims for first plenipotentiary, he appointed, on his part, the Earl of Warwick and some others, who were to meet the French, at Bernonville, in Normandy. This congress, however was deferred to the end of November. Meanwhile, Henry became master of Bayeux, Argentan, Chateau de l' Aigle, and some other places.

Whilst the King was continuing his conquests, the Duke of Burgundy did him great service, not only by the diversion he made about Paris, but by increasing the troubles in France. Queen Isabella, banished to Tours, had been hitherto an enemy to the Duke of Burgundy, but the desire of being revenged on the Dauphin and constable, made her overlook all the causes of disgust at the Duke.

As she had no other resource she dispatched trusty messengers to tell him, she was ready to join with him against their common enemies. The Duke immediately accepted the offer, and privately concerted measures with her, to free her from confinement. Then, he suddenly departed from Corbeil, where he was encamped, with only a small body of chosen horsemen. He made such speed, that before his design could be known, he was at the abbey of Marmoütier near Tours, where he found the Queen, who was come thither under colour of devotion. As she was not suspected of attempting to escape, he easily carried her away, and conducted her to Troye in Champagne.

When she saw herself in safety, she assumed the title of Regent, pretending, the King her husband was captive in the hands of the Dauphin and Earl of Armagnac. In the meantime, Henry made several conquests in Normandy, without any opposition.

The conference between the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns, was held at Bernonville, on the 28th of November. As Henry suspected, the court of France sought only to make him lose time; he therefore resolved to deprive them of that expectation. Immediately upon the opening of the conference, his ambassadors set forth his pretensions.

The substance of his offers was, that he would marry the Princess Catharine: that King Charles should enjoy the crown for his life, but after his death, it should come to the King of England: that during Charles's life,. Henry should be Regent of France, by reason of the King's infirmity. Moreover he demanded such securities, as should render the performance of these articles unquestionable. But as the French ambassadors were not sufficiently empowered to treat upon these articles, and it was not Henry's interest vainly to prolong this negotiation, the congress immediately broke up.

He was justly apprehensive, the court of France would have made use of this occasion, to raise a jealousy in his allies, and particularly in the Duke of Burgundy. Meanwhile Henry, intent upon the siege of Falaise, took the town on the 20th of December, but the castle held out till February. Sometime before the congress of Bernonville, the Duke of Bretagne came and made a truce with Henry for a year, and another in the name of the Queen of Sicily, as guardian of Lewis her son, for Anjou and Maine. Thus by degrees, Henry greatly weakened France, by depriving her of the assistance she might have received from her vassals.

Whilst the King was employed in France, Sir John Oldcastle, of whom we have already spoken, was seized in Wales, and brought to London, to the great satisfaction of the clergy, who were extremely incensed against him. They were determined to sacrifice him, for a terror to all the rest of the Lollards. Notwithstanding his birth and merit, he was sentenced to be hanged up by the middle with a chain, and burnt alive; a sentence which was executed amidst the curses and imprecations of the priests and monks, who even laboured to prevent the people from praying for him.

Thus died Sir John Oldcastle, Baron of Cobham, with wonderful constancy, perfectly answerable to the firmness, wherewith he had all along maintained the doctrine of Wickliffe. He was the first nobleman, who suffered on the account of religion. After the execution, the Parliament enacted fresh statutes, in order to the utter extirpation of the Lollards; the clergy never ceasing to require their blood, with all the eagerness imaginable.

Some historians assert, that, this year, Queen Joanna of Navarre, widow of Henry IV and mother-in-law of the reigning King, was accused of conspiring, with her confessor, against the King. It is added, that she was condemned to a ten years' imprisonment, and that her confessor was killed by the chaplain of the Tower, in a dispute upon that occasion.

**A. D. 1418]** The situation of affairs in France was extremely advantageous to Henry. Accordingly, he did not fail to improve it. The campaign, begun in August, lasted all the winter, without any interruption, so that his troops had no time to rest. The castle of Falaise having surrendered on the 16th of February, Henry divided his army into several bodies, of which he gave the command to the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brothers, to the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Salisbury, with orders to attack several places at once.

In the months of March, and April, he became master of St. Lo, Carentan, St. Sauyeur le Vicomte, and many other places in Normandy; so that of all the strong towns, he only wanted Cherbourg' and Rouen, to complete the conquest of that province. Evreux surrendered in May, and presently after, he laid siege to Cherbourg, Which cost him three months. During the siege, the court of France suffered a new revolution, which was not favourable to Henry, though at first, it seemed to procure him great advantages.

The council of Constance, which had been opened ever since the year 1414, having deposed the three Popes[46], who contended for the papacy, had elected on the 10th of November 1417, Cardinal Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V. The new Pope, upon his mounting the papal throne, sent two legates into France, to try to appease the troubles, and unite the two factions. The solicitations of these legates were so powerful, that the two parties sent their deputies to Montereau-Faut-Yonne, where it was agreed, that the Dauphin and Duke of Burgundy should jointly govern the kingdom, during the King's infirmity.

If this agreement had taken place, and the two parties been sincerely reconciled, probably, Henry's affairs would have sustained great injury. But the constable, and the chancellor his creature, could never bear to see the Duke of Burgundy in the administration again. So, preferring their own private interest to the good of public, they so managed, that the agreement remained ineffectual.

This proceeding drew the public hatred on the constable, and strengthened the Burgundian faction in Paris, which, from thenceforth, became much more powerful. At length, May the 18th at night, they found means to introduce into Paris, Lisle-Adam governor of Pontoise, and a zealous adherent for the Duke of Burgundy. He entered only with eight hundred horse, but at his arrival, the Burgundians being under arms, made a terrible slaughter of the Armagnacs. Tanneguy du Chatel, governor of the Bastile, not being able to remedy the disorder, ran to the Louvre, and carried away the Dauphin in his shirt, in order to secure him in his fortress. Next morning, the Dauphin fled to Melun, not thinking himself safe in the Bastile, but the King remained in the power of the Burgundians. The same day the constable being hid in a mason's house, was discovered, and thrown into prison.

But this was only a prelude to a much greater commotion, in the same city, some days after. Upon news of what had passed, the exiles being returned to Paris, from all quarters, the massacre was renewed June the 12th. The constable was taken out of prison, murdered, and shamefully dragged through the streets. The Chancellor, several Bishops, and other persons, to the number of two thousand, underwent the same barbarous treatment.

The massacre being ended, the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy came to Paris, and entered the city in triumph, on the 14th of July. The plague, which afterwards broke out at Paris, and which in three months, swept away above forty thousand persons, added fresh calamities to those here mentioned. Meanwhile, the Queen and Duke having the King in their power, issued, in his name, what orders they judged most conducive to their own interests. On the other hand, the Dauphin,

assuming the title of Regent, threatened all that should obey the Duke of Burgundy. Thus which ever side the French espoused, they could not avoid being called rebels by one or other of the factions. Neutrality itself was accounted a crime.

Notwithstanding the animosity of the two parties, the troubles seemed for some time likely to subside. As there was not yet any cause of personal enmity between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Bretagne had so managed, that each of these Princes had consented to an agreement. Every thing was settled; but some persons about the Dauphin, persuaded him not to sign. This was attended with fatal consequences. Thus the dissension which prevailed between the two factions, caused each to have two enemies to oppose, the contrary party, on one hand, and the English, on the other.

Henry had now begun to reap some advantage from the late revolution in the court of France. The new Earl of Armagnac, the Lord d' Albret, and the other Gascon Lords of the same party, who were waging in Guienne fierce war with the English, thought proper to conclude a truce with him, which freed him from a troublesome diversion.

These Lords considering, that, since the death of the Constable, the government of France was in the Duke of Burgundy's hands, believed it repugnant to their interest, to continue a war, of which their enemy would reap all the benefit. By this truce, instead of being obliged to send succours into Guienne, Henry drew from thence some troops, with which he reinforced his army in Normandy.

Cherbourg having at length capitulated, after a three months' siege, France had nothing left in Normandy but Rouen, the loss whereof would deprive her of all hopes of recovering that province. And therefore, without delay, Henry laid siege to that city, about the latter end of August, or the beginning of September. The besieged held out five months, and endured the greatest miseries, before they capitulated. They applied to the Duke of Burgundy for succours, but it was to no purpose.

The Duke of Burgundy not relieving the besieged, they applied to the Dauphin, who was as little able to raise the siege by force. The way of negotiation seemed to him more proper to produce that effect. He accordingly sent Henry word, that he desired to treat with him upon three articles. First, concerning the means of restoring a peace to France. Secondly, about the marriage already projected. Lastly, about an alliance between them, against the Duke of Burgundy. (Henry rejected not these proposals). He appointed for his ambassadors, at the congress desired by the Dauphin, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, Philip Morgan, and some others.

The congress between the King's and the Dauphin's ambassadors, was accordingly held at Alenson, the 10th of November. The English ambassadors, pursuant to their instructions, absolutely refused to treat about the alliance, before the terms of the peace were agreed upon. At length, after evading all the captious proposals made by the French, they obliged them to come to their last offers; namely, the towns and provinces contained in the treaty of Bretagne, on condition of homage to the crown of France. But the English rejected these offers, unless the sovereignty of the provinces was added, according to the tenor of the treaty of Bretagne.

They demanded moreover, Normandy; raised difficulties about the Dauphin's inability to perform these conditions; and required, in what manner .he intended to Accomplish them, supposing their master should be satisfied therewith. The French answered it was needless to talk of the manner of performance, since the offers themselves did not please; whereupon they broke up the conference.

Hardly was this congress ended, before another was held at Pont de l' Arche, between the plenipotentiaries of the two Kings, or rather the ambassadors of the two crowns met to confer

together, in presence of the Pope's legates. But in the first meeting, King Charles's ambassadors insisted, that the conference should be managed in French, to which the English refused to agree. In short, at the instance of the legates, who were very urgent, Henry was willing there should be two Protocols, one in French; and another in Latin, of which the last only should be accounted authentic. But the French rejecting this expedient, the conference about the peace was not so much as opened.

**AD. 1419]** This conference however alarmed the Dauphin, who, doubtless, was ignorant of what passed. He was afraid of being prevented by the Duke of Burgundy, well knowing, if a peace was made between the two Kings, it must end to his prejudice. In this belief, he sent to Henry, entreating him to appoint the place where the negotiation, begun at Alenson, might be renewed. Henry readily consented to his request, as he could desire nothing more advantageous, than the mutual jealousy of the two factions. It Was agreed, therefore, that the ambassadors should meet again at Louviers, the beginning of February.

During all these negotiations, Henry had not discontinued one moment the siege of Rouen, though his army suffered much by the sharpness of the season. But the besieged were in no better condition. Reduced to eat horse flesh, and all kinds of animals, and even this sort of food failing them, they could hold out no longer. They therefore capitulated on the 13th of January, to surrender on the 19th, in case they were not relieved by that time.

Henry continued to them all their privileges, for the sum of three hundred thousand crowns. By the surrender of Rouen, all Normandy, a few castles excepted, fell again under the dominion of the Kings of England, two hundred and fifteen years after it had been taken from them by Philip Augustus, in the reign of John Lack-land. After the taking of Rouen, Henry sent part of his army into Picardy, under the command of the Duke of Exeter, who became master of Dieppe and Montrevil.

Affairs were then at a crisis, which could not fail of producing some great change. As the Duke of Burgundy had sought the King of England's alliance, only to dispossess the Dauphin and Earl of Armagnac, he no longer stood in need of his protection, since he was master of Paris, and the King's person. On the contrary, his station should have induced him to wish, that Henry might not grow too powerful in France, and consequently it was his interest to oppose the progress of the English arms. After continuing some time in this state of perplexity, he determined at length to do all that lay in his power to be reconciled with his enemy, in order to break safely with the King of England.

At the time that the Duke of Burgundy came to his last resolution, the conference between the ambassadors of Henry and the Dauphin was held at Louviers. The same difficulties which occurred at the congress of Alenson, rendered this fruitless. It :was only agreed, that the King and the Dauphin should meet and confer together. But this interview, the time whereof was twice prolonged, did not take effect, because the Dauphin took other measures. However, to continue the Duke of Burgundy's jealousy, Henry granted the Dauphin a truce, from the 12th of February till Easter, for all the country between the Loire and the Seine, Normandy excepted.

Pursuant to the Duke of Burgundy's project, he sent and sued for the Dauphin's friendship, offering, on his part, to deserve and cultivate it to the utmost of his power; intimating withal, that it would be proper to have a conference together, as well mutually to confirm their reconciliation, as to concert measures for the welfare of the kingdom, but the Dauphin scornfully rejected this proposal. He was too apprehensive of sharing the authority with the Queen his mother, and the Duke of Burgundy, or rather of seeing himself subject to them.

So, the Duke of Burgundy saw himself reduced to a necessity, of seriously endeavouring to make a peace with England, in case the Dauphin persisted in his obstinacy. The congress at Louviers having alarmed him, he was afraid of being prevented, and of not being afterwards strong enough

to resist the King of England and the Dauphin, if they should join in a league against him. He resolved therefore, in order to free himself from this fear, to unravel affairs some way or other. To that end, he sent Henry word, that King Charles was inclined to a peace, and, to succeed the more easily, he proposed an interview, where the two Kings, assisted by their councils, might settle the terms, and conclude the intended marriage. Henry readily closed with the proposal, and even granted a three months truce; that during the interval, the time, place, and manner of the conference might be agreed upon.

All France was justly alarmed at this resolution. It was easily perceived, that the peace and marriage could not be made in such a juncture, without the kingdom's being delivered to the King of England. Matters standing thus, some Lords, who had the welfare and interest of their country at heart, used all possible endeavours to procure a peace, or at least a truce between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy. The Dauphin would have consented to a three years truce, but the Duke would have it only for two months.

His aim was to conclude a peace with England, if by that time he could not agree with the Dauphin. The pains taken to persuade them to so necessary an union proving fruitless, the project of the interview between the two Kings was at length settled the 30th of May. It was agreed, it should be near Meulant, in a field chosen for that purpose, where a magnificent pavilion was ordered to be erected. As King Charles's infirmity hindered him from being present in person, it was agreed, that his Queen and the Duke of Burgundy should act as his procurators, and that the Duke of Bretagne should be there. Meantime, to avoid the heats, which might arise from the discussion of affairs, commissioners were appointed on both sides to settle the particulars.

Henry was pleased to give the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester the honour of being heads of this commission. The court of France being at Pontoise, Henry came to Mante, in order to be near the place of conference.

From these two towns it was that the two courts repaired every day to the place appointed. The first day the Queen of' France brought the Princess Catharine her daughter, with whom Henry was charmed. The effect of this first sight being very visible, the Queen believed, she should inflame the desires of that Prince, by not letting her daughter appear any more. Henry soon perceived her design. He found the Princess was to serve for a decoy to ensnare him. But, to frustrate the Queen's expectation, he told the Duke of Burgundy, it might be depended upon, he would never quit his arms, till he had the King and the Princess his daughter in his power, or had expelled him the kingdom, in case he opposed it.

After many negotiations, Henry offered the' Queen and the Duke of Burgundy to make peace with them, to espouse the Princess Catharine, and to accept all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire sovereignty. These terms were submitted to: there remained only some circumstances to adjust, in order to the entire completion of the treaty: but in this interval the Duke of Burgundy secretly finished his treaty with the Dauphin; and these two Princes agreed to share the royal authority, during King Charles's life time, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies.

This alliance, which seemed to cut off from Henry all hopes of farther success, proved in the issue, the most favourable event that could have happened for his pretensions. Whether the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy were ever sincere in their mutual engagements, is uncertain: but very fatal effects resulted from their momentary and seeming union.

The two Princes agreed to an interview, in order to concert the means of rendering effectual their common attack on the English; but how both or either of them could with safety venture upon this conference, it seemed somewhat difficult to conceive. The assassination perpetrated by the Duke of Burgundy, and still more, his open avowal of the deed, and defence of the doctrine,

tended to dissolve all the bands of civil society. and even men of honour, who detested the example, might deem it just, on a favourable opportunity, to retaliate upon the author. The Duke, therefore, who neither dared to give nor could pretend to expect any trust, agreed to all the contrivances for mutual security which were proposed by the ministers of the Dauphin.

The two Princes came to Montereau: the Duke lodged in the castle: the Dauphin in the town, which was divided from the castle by the river Yonne: the bridge between them was chosen for the place of interview. Two high rails were drawn across the bridge: the gates on each side were guarded, one by the officers of the Dauphin, the other by those of the Duke. The Princes were to enter into the immediate space by the opposite gates, accompanied each by ten persons; and with all these marks of diffidence, to conciliate their mutual friendship. But it appeared that no precautions are sufficient where laws have no place, and where all principles of honour are utterly abandoned.

Tannegui de Chatel, and others of the Dauphin's retainers, had been zealous partisans of the late Duke of Orleans; and they determined to seize the opportunity of revenging on the assassin the murder of that Prince: They no sooner entered the rails, than they drew their swords and attacked the Duke of Burgundy: his friends were astonished, and thought not of making any defence; and all of them either shared his fate, or were taken prisoners by the retinue of the Dauphin.

This accident suddenly changed the face of affairs. Probably the Duke of Burgundy, at the time of his death, was well affected to France. But Philip his son and successor, suffering himself to be transported with the desire of revenging his fathers' death, did not hesitate to ruin the kingdom, in order to gratify his passion.

The speediest and most effectual means to attain his ends, were to make a league with the King of England, and Queen Isabella, the mortal enemy of the Dauphin her son. Accordingly, all the rest of the year was spent in secret negotiations, which ended at last in putting the kingdom into the hands of the English. Meanwhile, the new Duke of Burgundy held the post enjoyed by the Duke his father. That is, being master of the King's person, he was considered as Regent, by those who were not in obedience to the Dauphin.

Henry having taken Pontoise, the court of France was removed, by reason of the continual inroads of the English, to the very gates of Paris. Meanwhile, the Parisians saw themselves in manifest danger: The Duke of Burgundy, wholly engrossed by revenge, provided not for the defence of Paris. Whereupon, the inhabitants, justly alarmed at so dangerous a neighbourhood, thought it their duty to try to prevent their ruin, by an agreement with Henry.

There were several negotiations, which ended in a separate truce for Paris, from the 20th, to the 25th, of November. This was but a small comfort to the Parisians, but as the treaty between the King and the Duke of Burgundy, was on the point of being concluded, they had no occasion for a longer truce, since they were to be included in the treaty. Besides, Henry did not mean to deprive himself of the advantage, which the neighbourhood of Pontoise gave him upon the Parisians, in case the treaty he was negotiating with the Duke of Burgundy, should be broken by some unforeseen accident.

After the Duke of Burgundy's death, couriers and envoys continually passed between the King and the new Duke. Henry refused not to make the same alliance with him, as with the deceased. But having been deceived by the father, he would not run the hazard of being deceived by the son. So, before he joined with him against the Dauphin, he resolved to secure a peace with King Charles.

At the congress of Meulant, Henry had limited his pretensions to the articles of the treaty of Bretigny, with the addition of Normandy. But though, after the breaking up of the conferences, he had made a show of keeping to these terms without relaxation, it is to be supposed, if the

Duke of Burgundy's murder had not very seasonably happened, he would have considerably lowered his demands. At least, the posture of affairs would have left him no room, to expect to compel France ever to grant him so great advantages.

After the death of that Duke, the scene was changed in his favour. So, finding he was earnestly courted by Queen Isabella, and the new Duke of Burgundy, he did not question but it was in his power, to impose upon France what terms he pleased. He forgot therefore his offers at Meulant, and resumed his former pretensions to the crown of France, with the condition that Charles VI. should be King during life.

The Duke of Burgundy having assented, a general truce was published from the 24th of December to the 1st of March next. As soon as the affair concerning the peace was ended; the plenipotentiaries of the King and the Duke of Burgundy signed a private treaty of alliance, which was ratified by the two Princes in the beginning of January 1420. Though the peace was not yet signed, it was looked upon as concluded, since the terms were agreed. Henry was so sure of it, that January the 24th that is, four months before the signing of the treaty, he promised by his letters patent, to maintain the Parisians in their privileges when King of France.

Meanwhile, as it was necessary to draw the articles agreed in the most exact form, and to avoid all obscure and ambiguous expressions, it required some time; this occasioned the truce to be frequently prolonged. During that time, Henry had ambassadors at Troye, to draw up the treaty of peace jointly with the Duke of Burgundy. For the greater precaution, it was first digested like preliminary articles, that every one might examine what was to be added, retrenched, or explained. This done, Charles confirmed all the articles by his letters patent, dated April the 9th.

It is remarkable, that by the XXI. Henry was to swear, that upon. no occasion whatever, during the life of King Charles, he would take upon him the title of King of France. And yet we find in the ***Collection of The Public Acts,*** one of his ordinances, dated April 18, for coining new money in Normandy, with an H on one side, and these words round it: *Sit. Women Domini Benedietum*; and on the other, *Henricus Francorum Rex.*

After the preliminaries were approved, an interview between the two Kings was agreed for swearing and signing the treaty. This interview was to be somewhere near Troye: but afterwards Henry consented it should be in Troye itself. As King Charles was not fit to appear in public, the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy were empowered to swear the peace in his name. Henry having come to Troye, May the 20th, found there the King of France, the Queen and the Princess Catherine, to whom he presented a ring of great value. On the morrow, the treaty was signed and sworn with the usual formalities, and the same day Henry was affianced to the Princess, but the marriage was not consummated till the 2nd of June[51].

The marriage having been consummated June the 2nd, the two courts set out together next morning for Sens, which was now invested. This place holding out but ten or twelve days, the army marched to Montereau, where the Duke of Burgundy was murdered, and took the town in a short time. The Duke of Burgundy found there the body of his father, very indecently buried in his doublet, and ordered it to be removed to Dijon.

About the middle of July, the army laid siege to Melun, which was defended by the Lord De Barbazan, the Governor, four months. The King of England with his army, was lodged near the town, towards Gatinois, and the Duke of Burgundy with his troops, on the side next La Brie. This siege became famous by the stout defence of the besieged[**52**], who repulsed several assaults, and whom famine compelled at last to capitulate, about the middle of November. A French historian says, the capitulation was not observed, by which the garrison were to have their lives without ransom, except such as were concerned in the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, as instead of being suffered to depart, they were thrown into prison at Paris, and starved to death. It is more probable, that those that were carried to Paris, were such as were expressly excepted,

in the article of capitulation. After the surrender of Melun, the two courts returned to Paris, where the two Kings made their entry together on the first Sunday in Advent, and the Queens, the next Day.

In the beginning of December, the States General met at Paris. King Charles going to the assembly on the 6th told them, that of his own free will, he had made a peace with the King of England, was persuaded it would be beneficial to France, and desired them to confirm it by their authority. The King's declaration in his present condition, was not a sufficient reason to induce the states to ratify a peace, which according to their principles, violated the most sacred rights of the kingdom, in order to set the crown on the head of a foreign Prince. But in the state they themselves were in, it was scarcely in their power to examine the consequences, or freely to speak their minds.

So it was unanimously resolved, that the peace of Troye should be observed, and held as a public law, and that all the French should be obliged to take the oaths mentioned in the treaty. On the 23rd of the same month, King Charles's council being summoned for the purpose, the Duke of Burgundy appeared in a mourning habit, and demanded justice against the murderers of the Duke his father. Mezerai says, the Dauphin was solemnly called to the marble table, and not appearing, was attainted and convicted of causing the Duke of Burgundy to be killed; pronounced unworthy of all inheritance, particularly of the succession to the crown; and banished the realm for ever.

The Dauphin appealed to God and his sword, from whatever had been hitherto, or should be for the future, transacted against him, in the panic of the King his father, and continued still to assume the title of Regent. As such, he removed the Parliament and University of Paris, to Poictiers, where some of the members of these two bodies repaired. Thus were seen at the same time in France, two Kings, two Queens, two Regents, all the officers of the crown double, seven or eight Marshals of France on each side, two Parliaments, and two Universities of Paris.

**A. D. 1421]** Though Henry was declared Regent, and heir of France, it was however only by the Burgundian party, who having the King in their power, thought they had a right to dispose of the affairs of the kingdom. The Dauphin had still a strong party, who, far from submitting to the peace of Troye, maintained, that though the King had been free, and in perfect health, he could not dispose of the crown as he had done, much less, being distempered, and a captive.

The provinces distant from Paris, not being awed by the English arms, adhered for the most part to the Dauphin. Even the country about the metropolis was divided. In the same province, there were some places for the English, and others for the lawful heir of the King. So, notwithstanding the peace, the war was not yet ended, since the two Kings were under a necessity of driving the Dauphin out of all the towns and provinces, he possessed. This was no easy task, though the union of the English forces, with the Burgundian party, gave them a great superiority.

Guienne, part of which was subject to Henry, was moreover a very considerable advantage, as it served to keep in awe the provinces beyond the Loire. Till the death of Armagnac the constable, this province had rather been a charge, than a benefit to the English. There was a constant occasion for a standing army, to defend it against the continual attempts of the party, which had declared for France, about the end of the reign of Edward III.

The Houses of Armagnac and Albert, who were at the head of this party, had created the King of England great trouble, particularly after the Earl of Armagnac came to have the management of the public affairs. But after the death of that Earl, the heads of the party made a truce with Henry, in order not to favour the Duke of Burgundy by their diversion; and, after the treaty of Troye, they sued for peace, as believing they could no longer resist: Henry hoping to reap great advantages by the quiet possession of Guienne, readily received them into favour, and ordered letters of pardon to be given them, upon their renouncing, by a public instrument, the appeal of their ancestors, to the court of the Peers of France, in the time of Edward III.

Henry having settled his of in France, in so glorious a manner, for himself and his nation, resolved to return into England, where three things required his presence. First, his Queen's coronation Secondly, the confirmation of the peace of Troye by the Parliament, and the demand of a supply of money, to enable him vigorously to carry on the war against the Dauphin. Lastly, the necessity of taking some measures against the Scots, who had sent succours to his enemy, under the command of the Earl of Buchan, the regent's son. Upon leaving France, Henry gave the command of his troops to the Duke of Clarence his brother.

Then he set sail with his Queen, and safely arrived in England about the end of February. A few days after, the Queen was crowned, and a Parliament summoned to meet at Leicester the 2nd of May.

Whilst the people were busy in chusing their representatives, the King took a progress into several counties, and staid some weeks at York. His aim was, under colour of showing the Queen the country, to procure by his presence, elections of members that should be favourable to him. He was sensible of the nation's discontent, at being obliged to bear the expenses of the conquest of France. Some say, it was during this progress, that the King issued a proclamation, prohibiting the admission of ecclesiastics into benefices, by the Pope's provisions, contrary to the rights of the patrons. But it is more likely, this proclamation was not issued till after the Parliament of Leicester, pursuant to an act made for that purpose.

Before the meeting of the Parliament, Henry received the sad news, that the Duke of Clarence his brother was slain, April the 3rd, in a battle in Anjou. The Duke had led ten thousand men into that province, to reduce it to the obedience of the King. Whilst he was employed in this expedition, he heard, that the Earl of Buchan, with seven thousand Scots, had entered the province, and was encamped at Baugé. At the same time, he had false intelligence, that the vanguard of the Scotch army was so far from the main body, that it would be easy to put them to rout, provided they were speedily attacked.

Upon this information, he hastily headed his horse, leaving the Earl of Salisbury orders to follow him, with the rest of the army. When he came to Baugé, he found indeed some Scotch troops entrenched in the church-yard. He charged them immediately, and dismounted in order to head his troops. But he was so long in forcing the Scots from this post, that the Earl of Buchan had time to come to their relief. Then the Duke remounting his horse, furiously attacked the newcomers, notwithstanding the inequality of his forces. He gave, on this occasion, proofs of an uncommon valour; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, and unable to bear the thoughts of flying, he was wounded in the face by Sir John Swinton, a Scotch Knight, and killed by the Earl of Buchan himself.

His death caused an entire defeat of the English horse, whereof fifteen hundred were slain, and many taken prisoners. Among the slain were; the Earl of Kent, the Lords Grey and Ross, and several other officers of distinction. The Earl of Salisbury, not being able to advance in time to assist the Duke of Clarence, had however the satisfaction to recover from the enemy, the body of that Prince, which he sent to the King his brother[53].

The advantage gained by the Scots, rendered the King's presence necessary in France. But he had still in England affairs, which were no less urgent. The Parliament meeting the 2nd of May, readily confirmed the peace of Troye so glorious to England. A subsidy was also granted for prosecuting the war against the Dauphin; but at the same time was presented to him a petition, wherein he was told, it was but too true, that the conquest of France proved the ruin of England. To obtain this subsidy, the King had laid before the Parliament, a state of the revenues and expenses of the crown. By this account, it appears, that the King's revenue, amounted but to fifty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds sterling; and that the ordinary expenses ran away with fifty-two thousand two hundred and thirty-five pounds; so there remained but

three thousand five hundred and eight pounds, to provide for a dozen extraordinary articles, mentioned in the account.

The Parliament's petition could not be very displeasing to the King. One half of France was still unconquered, and the provinces subject to the King were so drained, that there was no prospect of drawing from thence, the necessary supplies for continuing the war. Wherefore, the burden was still to fall upon England. But the Parliament grew weary of furnishing money, at a time, when it was more necessary than ever, by reason of the diversion, which the kingdom was threatened with from the Scots.

Respecting the affairs of Scotland it was seen in the late reign, that in 1406, James Stuart, then Prince of Scotland, was detained in England, and shortly after became King of Scotland, by the death of his father. This new dignity was so far from turning to his advantage, that it rather served to cause him to be more strictly guarded.

The Duke of Albany his uncle, who had assumed the regency, liked it too well, to endeavour effectually to procure his liberty. Not a year passed; but he sent ambassadors into England, under colour of soliciting the freedom of the King his nephew; but his real intention was far from what he seemed to desire. The chief motive of these frequent embassies, was to negotiate the exchange of the Earl of Fife, his son, for young Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland.

The Earl had been prisoner in England; ever since the battle of Halidon: Percy was seized in Scotland by way of reprisal for the King. This exchange was effected, and yet the embassies were no less frequent. Meanwhile, as to induce the Scots to remain quiet, contrary to their interest, it was necessary to give them some seeming satisfaction, the Regent publicly and earnestly demanded the liberty of the King his nephew.

In 1415, whilst Henry was preparing to pass into France, he received advice from the northern frontiers, that the Scots were resolved to besiege Berwick, with sixty-thousand men; whereupon the Duke of Bedford had orders to levy an army. But it does not appear, either that the Scots did then besiege Berwick, or the Duke of Bedford marched against them. The affairs of Scotland continued in this posture till 1419, when the Dauphin sent thither the Duke of Vendome to desire assistance. The states being met upon this occasion, the regent could not hinder the decreeing a levy of seven thousand men, which were sent into France under the command of the Earl of Buchan.

The victory that General gained over the Duke of Clarence at Baugé, procured him the sword. of constable of France. Henry could not without concern see the Scots declare so openly for the Dauphin. He perceived, either that the Duke of Albany had not the same credit as formerly, or had altered his maxims. Wherefore, to break the measures of the Dauphin's adherents in Scotland, he believed it necessary to gain the King of Scotland to his interest, and make him his instrument. This was partly his design in returning to England.

Upon his arrival, he intimated to that Prince, that it was his own fault if he was not at liberty, on condition he would use his authority to recall his subjects, who were in the service of France, and join with him against the Dauphin. James passionately longing to be free, after a fifteen years captivity, very readily complied with Henry's desires. A private agreement therefore was made between these two Princes, the articles whereof are unknown, except one, which was, that James should go into France, and stay with Henry, until the end of the war. Henry's aim was to interpose the King of Scotland's authority to oblige the seven thousand Scots in the Dauphin's service to return home.

Accordingly, James attended him into France for that purpose. But when he commanded the Earl of Buchan to return into Scotland, the Earl replied, he did not think himself bound to obey him, so long as he was in the power of others. For that reason, Henry from thenceforward treated as

rebels, all the Scots that fell into his hands. Henry having finished the affairs which called him into England, left his Queen there, appointing the Duke of Bedford, his brother, Regent in his absence, and returned into France, where his presence was necessary.

He sailed the 10th of June with a new raised army[54], amounting, as some say, to four thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers. When he arrived at Calais, he sent several detachments to take some castles, which the Dauphin still held in Picardy. At the same time, he ordered a considerable body to march to the Duke of Exeter's relief, who was almost blocked up in Paris. Then marching himself with the rest of the army, he came to Bois de Vincennes, whence he went and joined his father-in-law at Paris.

A few days after, he heard the Dauphin was before Chartres, and had begun to batter the town. As he desired nothing so earnestly as to decide the quarrel by a battle, he immediately assembled his troops, and marched directly to Chartres. But his forces were so superior, that the Dauphin did not think fit to expect him. Henry pursued him with all possible speed, but finding he could not overtake him, attacked Dreux, which surrendered upon terms.

After the siege of Dreux, the army being seized with the flux, Henry sent his troops into summer quarters, and refreshed himself at Paris. He re-assembled them in October, in order to besiege Meaux though the season was not very proper for such an undertaking.

Whilst the King was employed in the siege of Meaux, he received the agreeable news of his Queen's being safely delivered at Windsor (December 6,) of a Prince, who was named Henry. The Duke of Bedford, and the Bishop of Winchester, stood godfathers, and Jaquelina Countess of Hainault, godmother. This Princess, who had united under her dominion, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friseland, was married first to John Duke of Touraine, second son of the King of France.

This Prince dying in 1416, she espoused John Duke of Brabant, cousin German to the Duke of Burgundy. She soon grew weary of her second husband, and under colour of their being too nearly related, formed a design to have the marriage annulled. For that purpose, she procured some Knights to carry her away, and convey her into England, in order to act more freely. This pretended rape was no secret to the King. On her arrival in England, the King assigned her a monthly pension of a hundred pounds sterling.

His intent, was to marry her to the Duke of Gloucester, and by that means, put his brother in possession of four of the noblest provinces of the Low-Countries. The Duke of Burgundy, was extremely offended at the King's disregard for the Duke of Brabant his cousin, in giving Jaquelina a refuge in his dominions. This affront, in his opinion, reflected upon himself. Besides, it was his interest, that Jaquelina's marriage with the Duke of Brabant, should not be annulled. Meanwhile, Henry preferring the Duke of Gloucester's interest, to the Duke of Burgundy's, did not seem much to mind the occasion of complaint given that Prince.

Henry was exceedingly desirous of advancing his two brothers, who were both Princes of great merit, and with whom he was well pleased. In 1419, there was a secret negotiation between him, and Joan Queen of Naples, who being oppressed by her enemies, promised to adopt the Duke of Bedford, and declare him her sole heir. This project failing, upon Queen Joan's affairs taking a new turn, Henry would have obtained for the Duke of Bedford, the only daughter of Frederic Burgrave of Nuremberg, and afterwards, a daughter of the Duke of Lorrain.

At the same time, he treated of a marriage between the Duke of Gloucester, and Blanch of Navarre, Queen Dowager of Sicily, who had pretensions to that kingdom. In fine, an opportunity offering to procure for this Prince, Jaquelina Countess of Hainault, he readily embraced it, as this marriage could not but be advantageous to England. But, as her marriage with the Duke of Brabant, was first to be annulled, this affair could not be accomplished before the King's death.

It was not till the beginning of May, 1422, that the besieged of the marketplace of Meaux, desired to capitulate, but they could obtain no other capitulation, than to be prisoners of war.

The King even excepted all the English, Irish, and Scots, who were in the place, and all that were concerned in the death of the Duke of Burgundy; and moreover, all those who had any towns or castles in their power, till they were surrendered. In fine, he reserved four officers of the garrison, namely, Lewis du Guast, Dennis de Vaurus, the Bastard of Vaurus, and another, to be proceeded against according to the justice of the laws.

They were all four executed. Du Guast was beheaded, and the other three suffered a more ignominious death. The Bastard of Vaurus, was hanged on a certain tree, from him called the Tree of Vaurus, because he had hanged on it many Burgundians, in revenge for the death of the Earl of Armagnac. This was a severe capitulation, which gave the besieged cause to repent of their obstinacy, when probably, they had no prospect of being relieved[55].

About the time of the surrender of Meaux, Queen Catherine arrived from England, attended by the Duke of Bedford, who had left the Regency to the Duke of Gloucester his brother. The two courts joining at Bois de Vincennes, went from thence soon after, to keep the Whitsun holidays at Paris. Henry lodged in the Louvre, and Charles in the palace of St. Pol, where he had but a small court, whilst the Regent King's was numerous and splendid. On Whitsunday, they dined together in public, the two Kings and the two Queens, with crowns on their heads.

Those of the French, who had any regard left for their country, could not without grief behold the King of England, though paying an outward deference to the King his father-in-law, ruling France with an absolute power. Their discontent was still increased by a tax[56], imposed by Henry, for coining a new sort of money. The Parisians loudly murmured, but to no purpose.

Whilst Henry was preparing to renew the campaign, interrupted by the Queen's arrival, news came, that the Dauphin had taken la Charite, which opened him a passage over the Loire. Shortly after, advice was brought, that he was besieging Cosne upon the same river, and the besieged had capitulated to surrender, unless relieved by the Duke of Burgundy before the 18th of August. The Duke finding his honour engaged to relieve that place, desired the King to send him a reinforcement; to which the King answered, he would come himself, and accordingly began immediately to march at the head of his army. But whilst. he was pleasing himself with the hopes of a victory, that would render him master of all France, he was seized with a flux[57], which obliged him to stay at Senlis.

However, for fear his illness should hinder Cosne from being relieved, he ordered the Duke of Bedford, with the best part of his troops, to join the Duke of Burgundy. The Dauphin hearing of their junction, and being too weak to give battle, retired, and the two Dukes, having nothing more to do there, marched towards Troye. Meantime Henry, hoping his distemper would wear off, after resting a little at Senlis, had taken litter in order to go and head the army. But his illness still increasing, he returned to Vincennes.

The Duke of Bedford, hearing of the state the King was in, departed immediately from Troye, to come to him. He found him at the point of death, but expecting his approaching dissolution with great firmness. Before he resigned his last breath, he sent for the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter, the Earl of Warwick, with seven or eight English Lords, to give them his last instructions. He told them, his reign had been short, but glorious; though his pretensions to France, had caused a great effusion of blood, it could not be laid to his charge, since nothing but force could have induced the French to a reasonable peace. For his part, he beheld the approach of death without concern; but could not help lamenting the fate of the Prince his son, who, by reason of his age, was incapable of finishing a work so happily begun: wherefore he conjured them, for God's sake, to remain in strict union, for the service of the infant Prince, who was going to be their King; to

take care of his education, and to give the Queen all the consolation that lay in their power, and for which she had so great an occasion.

He added, his last advice to them was, to cultivate diligently the Duke of Burgundy's friendship, and to take care not to release the prisoners of Azincourt, till his son was of age to hold the reins of the government himself. In case they thought proper to conclude a peace, it should not be without securing the sovereignty of Normandy to the crown of England. He concluded with saying, it was his desire, the Duke of Bedford should take upon him the administration of the affairs of France, and the Duke of Gloucester be protector of England, during his son's minority.

Having spoken these words, he asked his physicians how long they thought he had to live. Upon which, one of them said, kneeling, with tears in his eyes, that without a miracle, he could not live above two hours. This terrible sentence giving him no manner of concern, he sent for his Confessor, and having made his confession, ordered his chaplains to read the seven penitential Psalms. When they came to these words of the 51st "build thou the walls of Jerusalem," he interrupted them, and declared, "upon the truth of a dying Prince, that, after having settled a firm peace in France, he really intended to wage war upon the infidels, for the recovery of Jerusalem out of their hand."

The moment they had finished their devotion, this great Prince expired on the 31st of August, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after a triumphant reign of nine years, five months, and eleven days. His body was brought into England, and buried at Westminster among his ancestors, with a funeral pomp suitable to the grandeur he enjoyed whilst alive, and to the esteem conceived of him by his subjects. His Queen, to honour, in a particular manner, the memory of so illustrious a spouse, caused to be laid on his tomb, a statue of silver gilt, as large as the life, and extremely like him[58].

If, to know this monarch's character, we follow, without examination, the praises bestowed on him by the authors of his nation, we must imagine him the most accomplished Prince, that ever appeared in the world before him. Not an English historian ascribes to him the least defect, but all unanimously speak of him as a perfect hero. On the other hand, the French have endeavoured to shade his portraiture with certain strokes, that sully the lustre. It will be necessary therefore, in order to form a just idea of him, to consider his actions with their circumstances, independently of the admiration of the one, and the envy of the other.

In the first place, with respect to the government of his own kingdom, he ought not to be denied his due praise, for, avoiding to tread in the steps of Richard II. and even of his own father, he constantly forbore to encroach on the liberties and privileges of the people. His readiness at all times to give the royal assent to such acts, as the Parliament judged necessary for the welfare of the kingdom, was a clear evidence of his regard for the good and happiness of the people.

Nevertheless, in this very thing, he was guilty of excess, since, contrary to his own inclination, and the dictates of his reason, he consented to the persecution of the Lollards, out of pure condescension to the clergy. Indeed, it was almost impossible, that, being endued with an excellent judgment, he should not perceive the groundlessness of the accusations against them, in the beginning of his reign. And yet, rather than publicly retract, he still feigned to believe it true, at the very time when he pardoned some condemned persons, who persisted in a denial of the pretended crime.

But it is not chiefly for what he acted in England, that historians have been so lavish of their praises; his warlike exploits are the principal subject of his panegyric. And yet, to speak without aggravation, he was, perhaps, in no respect less remarkable, notwithstanding the glorious success that attended his arms. The conquest of France, considered in itself, has something grand and marvellous But the description of the affairs of that kingdom, renders it, doubtless, not so wonderful, as it appears, when abstracted from all its circumstances. Lewis VIII. father of St.

Lewis, conquered England in a like juncture, and yet no one ever thought solely to ascribe the conquest to his wisdom or valour.

Henry projected his enterprise, at a time when the civil dissensions of the French, rendered them unable to defend themselves. The towns he took, were defended only by the besieged themselves, without any army ever appearing to relieve them. However, some of these places stopped him several months, and were surrendered only by famine.

The battle of Azincourt, is then the great, and almost sole warlike exploit, which can justly afford matter for panegyric. In this famous action, he gave proofs of an uncommon conduct, resolution, and bravery. But this very battle, the success whereof was so glorious, gives likewise occasion to tax him with prudence. It may be said, that if he was victorious, it was, because he had reduced himself to an absolute necessity, of vanquishing or dying, to which a general never exposes himself, whatever the event may be, without causing his conduct to be severely censured.

His undertaking to retire to Calais, without foreseeing the difficulties of the march, and without being secure of a passage over the Somme; his wilfulness in resolving to pass that river, in order to force his way through an army, so superior in number to his own, seem excusable, only by the success of the battle of Azincourt, which was a sort of miracle. Had he been vanquished, as he should naturally have been, he would have been infallibly charged with indiscretion or rashness.

The necessity he was reduced to, during his march, if we may believe the French historians, of offering to restore Harfleur, and repair the damages he had caused to France, shows, how much he himself was convinced of his error. This battle therefore was more glorious for him, on account of his personal valour, than with regard to his military capacity. It must be confessed, never did Prince expose himself more in a battle, and give more signal proofs of true valour, than did Henry in that action.

As for his other conquests in France, I do not know, whether his greatest admirers have reason to wish he had met with more opposition. What might have happened in that case, is beyond human knowledge. It cannot however be denied, that the victory of Azincourt prepossesses us in his favour. But what may be extolled in him, without danger of being deceived, is the excellency of his genius, and the solidity of his judgment.

He knew how to manage the great undertaking he had formed, with wonderful address, wisely improving the several revolutions in France, and making them all turn to his advantage. Few Princes would have stopped like him, after so glorious a victory as that of Azincourt, and preferred a repose, which, though seemingly less glorious than the continuation of the war, was in reality to him more advantageous. This policy constitutes one of the brightest passages of his life, and best shows the soundness of his judgment. His negotiations with the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy at the same time, and his instructions to his ambassadors, are plain indications of his abilities, and how difficult it was to deceive him.

It is not strange, that the prosperous success of his undertakings, should gain him extraordinary praises from the nation, especially, as it cannot be denied, that this success was no less owing to his prudent conduct, than to favourable junctures. In general, he forced the French to own him for Regent and heir of their kingdom.

And this is one of those actions, which seldom. fail of being praised beyond measure. Accordingly, historians have not been satisfied with comparing him to David, Alexander, and Cæsar, but have ranked him above these great men. But however, without going so far for comparisons, which, after all, seem not very just, he perhaps might, with more reason, be put in parallel with Edward his great grandfather. Edward however, had to deal with all France united against him, and the difficulties he encountered in his conquests, were incomparably, greater,

and required an abler head to surmount them, than those which opposed the progress of Henry V.

What has been here said of this Prince, properly relates only to his principal action, namely, his war with France. His other qualifications, though not so glaring, are no less worthy of admiration, than the glorious successes, which have almost wholly engrossed the attention of the public. It is certain, he had all the endowments of body and mind requisite to form a great man. His stature was tall and majestic, though a little too slender, and long necked. His hair was black, and his eyes of the same colour, were exceedingly lively. He was strong and robust, very expert in all bodily exercises, chaste, temperate, at least after he came to the crown, inured to hardships, and patient of hunger and thirst, heat and cold.

In all this he was a standing example to his troops, of moderation and constancy. He was a great lover of justice, following it himself, and causing it to be punctually observed. Religious without disguise, persevering in piety, and constant in his private, as well as public devotions; a great protector of the church and clergy, he won by these qualities, the esteem and affection of the ecclesiastics, who did not a little contribute to heighten the lustre of his glory.

He was prudent in council, bold in undertaking, and resolute in executing. As for his valour, he gave continual proofs of it through the whole course of his life. There is another thing likewise, for which he ought to be praised. He caused military discipline to re-flourish, which was almost entirely neglected in England, since the reign of Edward III. Never did the English nation shine with such lustre, as under this renowned Prince. To this may be added, he was so fortunate, as to end his days in the midst of his prosperity, and not see, with Edward III. the fruits of all his labours destroyed.

Some failings, cast upon him by the French, and aggravated perhaps by malice and envy, are not to be passed over in silence. In the first place, they tax him with cruelty, and making war in a barbarous manner. They ground this charge, not only upon the slaughter of the prisoners at the battle of Azincourt, but also upon his putting to death several officers, after the taking of Caen, Melun, and Meaux. But as to the prisoners of Azincourt, there is no doubt, but the maxims of war, and the necessity of providing for his own safety, will justify his orders upon that account, supposing they were not too hasty.

As for his treatment of the burghers and garrisons of the conquered places, it is not impossible, but he might be something swayed by revenge, by reason of the time these brave men made him lose; but this can only be said by conjecture. That he used severity towards some is certain, but his motives are unknown. To discuss such facts, more circumstances are required, than have come to our knowledge. However, with regard to those of Meaux, they are known to have incurred the guilt of several murders, for which, doubtless, they deserved to be punished.

It was neither unjust nor barbarous, to hang the Bastard of Vaurus, on the same tree, whereon he himself hanged all the Duke of Burgundy's adherents, that fell into his hands. For the other three, executed at the same time, we know not the reason; but it is to be presumed, they were not capriciously chosen from all the rest of the garrison, to be instances of the severity of the conquerors.

As for the English and Irish, who were in the service of his enemies, their being excepted in the capitulation, needs no apology; It were to be wished, for Henry's reputation, that he could be as easily justified, in refusing to give quarter to the Scots, on pretence, they would not obey their King, who was actually his prisoner. The French accuse moreover this Prince of excessive pride, even to the causing, as they assure us, the Marshat de l'Isle-Adam to be committed to the Bastile, for daring to look in his face when speaking to him[59].

It is true, if he had no other reason, this was a high strain of haughtiness and rigour. But can it be denied, that a look, a bare gesture, may be sometimes very offensive, and who knows but the Marshal, as he spoke, used some aggravating circumstance, or rash expression, which rendered him worthy of chastisement, and which has been industriously concealed, to make the King's action appear the more odious?

Avarice is another failing, wherewith he is confidently reproached. It is pretended, that after he was declared Regent and heir of France, he was never bountiful, either to any of the Burgundian party, who had served him, or to those of the Dauphin's, who voluntarily submitted to him. We shall not undertake to clear him from this charge, as it does not appear, that he was very liberal to the English themselves; who served him. Whether by reason of his great expense, or, because he was otherwise inclined, though he had many good officers, and excellent generals, we do not find, that he rewarded them according to their merit and services.

We must however, except the Earl of Dorset, to whom he assigned a pension of a thousand pounds a year, when he created him Earl of Exeter; Falstaff, to whom he gave a considerable estate near Harfleur; the capital of Bach, of the house of Foix, who had the lordship of Longueville; and the Earl of Salisbury, to whom he gave the earldom of Perche. But after all, very possibly, Henry's want of liberality, was the effect of his prudence, or even of necessity, resulting from his poverty.

We have observed that the revenue of the crown, amounted but to fifty-six thousand pounds, and that he was forced to pawn his jewels, to supply what the sums, granted him by Parliament, wanted to defray the charges of the war. Was it proper to appear liberal in such circumstances? Upon many occasions, it were to be wished, sovereigns would moderate their bounties, which are but too often, at the expense of the poor.

Lastly, an unbounded ambition is a failing, which the French think may justly be laid to his charge. To know whether this accusation be well grounded, it should he examined, whether he were in the right to renew, or rather to continue, a war against France, occasioned by her breach of the treaty of Bretigny, and begun by herself. But this inquiry would be needless, after what has been said upon this subject in the reign of Edward III.

However it cannot be denied, that Henry was very ambitious. His first project was only to restore the peace of Bretigny. But when he saw a possibility of mounting the throne of France, his ambition carried him beyond the bounds prescribed by himself in the beginning of the war. We have taken notice of his intent, to make one of his brothers King of Naples, and the other, of Sicily, and of his using, certainly, no very honourable means to procure the Duke of Gloucester's four provinces of the Low-Countries.

We find in the ***Collection of The Public Acts***, he had a design to purchase the duchy of Luxemburgh of the Emperor Sigismund, and to treat with him concerning his pretended claim to the Dauphin. In fine, it farther appears, he would have paid the ransom of a Lord of the House of Blois[**60**], prisoner to the Marquis of Baden, probably, to assert one day the pretensions of that House to the duchy of Bretagne.

By Catharine of France his Queen, Henry left but one son of his own name, about eight or nine months old. The Queen his widow, forgetting she had been wife of so great a Prince, and was descended from the most illustrious House of Europe, married some time after, Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, not without giving great offence both to the English and French. It is pretended, this gentleman was descended from the ancient Kings of Wales[**61**].

Owen Tudor had by the Queen three sons, namely, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen, and a daughter that died an infant. The eldest married Margaret, only daughter of John Beaufort Duke of Somerset, grandson of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and Catherine Roet his third wife. He

was father of Henry VII. whom we shall see hereafter mount the throne, and leave it to his posterity.

Charles VI. King of France, survived Henry but two months. The death of these, two monarchs will open a scene very different from the past[**62**].

In the ninth of Henry V a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, was to make by tale fifty nobles, or a hundred half nobles, or two hundred quarter nobles, amounting to sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and four-pence in tale. And a pound weight of the same old standard, was to make by tale, ninety grosses or groats, or a hundred and eighty half groats, or three hundred and sixty sterlings, or seven hundred and twenty mailes, or fourteen hundred and forty farthings, amounting to thirty shillings.

Bartholomew Goldbeater was master and worker. This King's rose-noble is inscribed, **HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. ET. FRANC. DNS. HIB**. the King standing in a ship holding in his right hand a sword, in the left a shield, with the arms of France and England, the Fleur-de-lis being strictly three; he being the first that bore them so. Reverse, **IHC. AVTEM. TRANSIENS. PER. MEDIVM. ILLORV. IBAT.** a cross *Fleuri,* with four *Fleurs-de-lis,* and as many lions passant; each under a crown above, and three pellets below; within the centre of the cross, in a rose the letter H, the whole within a large rose. Evelin's description of his rose-noble, belongs to his son's Angel.


There was also gold-money stamped at Paris, and in Normandy, by Henry V. called Saints, bearing the angel's salutation of the Blessed Virgin, (the one holding the arms of England, the other of France) with the King's title; and, on the reverse **CHRISTVS VINCIT. CHRTSTVS SIGNAT. CHRISTVS. IMPERAT**. which we find, very little altered, upon some of the earliest pistoles of Lewis XIV.

The Legend indeed belongs to France, and Du Fresne reckons the Salut amongst the proper coins of that country; The King's gold coins were so debased, that it was necessary to order, that they should be re-coined at the Tower, gratis. His silver money was mostly (as the statute directed) coined at Paris, though some of the pieces have CIVITAS LONDON, in the inner circle of the reverse.

His silver coins are supposed to be distinguished (chiefly) from those of Henry IV. by two little circles, or eyelet holes, deeply impressed below the face, on each side the neck, which are answered by two more, in the middle of two triangles or globules in the quarters of the cross, on the reverse. There was also white money coined by this King in France, after the victory of Azincourt; his style being then **REX ANGLÆ ET HÆRES FRANCIÆ.** These blanks, says Sir Edward Coke, were valued at eight-pence, and because of their baseness, were deemed Gally-half-pence, Suskin and Dotkyn, and prohibited by Act of Parliament.

# Notes to Chapter II

**1)** He was born there in 1388

**2)** Henry Beaufort, second son of John of Gaunt, by Cathari Swinford, consecrated June 23, 1406.

**3)** He is said, among other pranks, to have been accustomed to disguise himself, and he in wait for the receivers of his father's rents; and in the person of a highway man, to set upon and rob them. In such encounters he sometimes happened to be soundly beaten, but he always rewarded such of his father's officers, as made the stoutest resistance.

**4)** One of the Carthusians, called the House of Jesus of Bethlehem; another Of Celestine monks, who observed the rule of St. Benedict; and the third of Bridgetin nuns. These two last monasteries had one church in common; the nuns above under the roof, the brothers below on the ground; both monasteries were separately inclosed.

**5)** Under pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture of goods.

**6)** This year the greatest part of Norwich was burnt. January 3, 1414, a truce for ten years was concluded between England and Bretagne.

**7)** He was made sheriff of Herefordshire in 8 Henry IV. and had summons to Parliament among the Barons of the realm, in 11, 12, and 14, of that King's reign. He was sent beyond sea with the Earl-of Arundel to aid the Duke of Burgundy against the French. He married the niece and heir of Henry Lord Cobham, and for that reason took the title of Lord Cobham.

**8)** Walsingham observes, that if the King had not made use of this precaution, no less that fifty thousand persons of all sorts, would have been ready to come to the assistance of the Lollards.

**9)** And besides, any person, by whose means or advice he could be seized or arrested, was to have five hundred marks.

**10)** Sir Roger Acton, with twenty-eight more, were hanged, and burnt in St. Giles's fields.

**11)** Each of these crowns was to amount to half an English noble; about nine shillings of our present money. The French offered eight hundred thousand. See Rymer's Foed. A standard so called from being made of a silk stuff, of a gold and flame colour. It was kept in the abbey of St. Dennis, and was used to be put by the abbot into the hands of the defender of that monastery, The Earls of Pontuise or Vexin had the honour of carrying it, as protectors of this monastery.

**12)** Lewis VI. was the first, who as Earl of Vexin, caused the Oriflamme to be carried in his armies, which was continued by his successors, till the English made themselves masters of Paris under Charles VII. who after freeing himself of them, brought in the use of the White Coronet, which, since that time, till the late revolution, has been the chief banner of France.

**13)** Among other things, it was enacted, that whoever read the scriptures in English, should forfeit land, chattels, goods; and life, and be condemned as heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and traitors to the kingdom; that they should not have the benefit of any sanctuary; and that if they continued obstinate, or relapsed after pardon, they should first be hanged for treason against the King, and then burned for heresy against God. All persons convicted of heresy, and left to the secular power, were to forfeit all their lands and goods to the King.

**14)** They remonstrated, that the temporalities of the religious and spiritual persons in England, amounted to three hundred and twenty two thousand marks yearly, and would suffice to maintain

fifteen Earls; fifteen hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and a hundred hospitals, and twenty thousand pounds be brought. yearly into the King's treasure; and, that besides the aforesaid sum, divers religious houses possessed as many temporalities as would maintain fifteen thousand priests, and clerks, allowing to each seven marks a year.

**15)** In this Parliament, Henry Percy, grandson of the late Earl of Northumberland, who had been left by his grandfather as an hostage in Scotland, being now of age, petitioned the Parliament, that he might be restored to the honour and estates of his father and grandfather; which was granted accordingly. At the same time, the King confirmed to his brother John, Duke of Bedford, the earldom and honour of Richmond, and created his brother Humphrey, Earl of Gloucester.

**16)** Henry sent him back word, he would repay him with balls of greater force, whose strokes the strongest gates of Paris should not be rackets sufficient to rebound. "This story," says Hume, "is by no means credible; the great offers made by the court of France show that they bad already entertained a just idea of Henry's character, as well, as their own situation." Caxton's authority, however, is not a mean one; and it is corroborated by a ballad of that age, descriptive of Henry's first campaign against the French. It should be considered that the incident occurred when Henry first made his claim, and before he had attempted, any warlike demonstrations.

**17)** Besides the ships which he built in his own ports, he hired of the Hollanders. and Zealanders many transport vessels. And, on May 28, he issued out orders to the Bishops, to put all the clergy within their dioceses, a condition of array, suitable to their estates and incomes. John, Duke of Bedford, was left Regent, and Lord Lieutenant of England.

**18)** The siege lasted five weeks.

**19)** He put forth a proclamation throughout England, that all persons who would come over and settle at Harfleur, should have houses secured to them and their heirs, upon which great numbers transplanted themselves and families thither. The King made his uncle, Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, governor, with whom he joined Sir John Fastolif.

**20)** John Fitz-Alan; and also Edmund Mortimer, Earl of Marche, John Mowbray, Earl. Marshal, &c.

**21)** He and Paradin make the number of the horse in the French army to be a hundred and fifty thousand. Walsingham says, their whole army consisted of one hundred and forty thousand men. And, according to Meierus, of a hundred and fifty thousand; the third part whereof was horse, and ten thousand of them nobles and gentlemen. In a letter from Sir William Bardolf, deputy Governor of Calais, to John Duke of Bedford, it is said, that the Duke of Lorrain had gathered about fifty thousand men together, and, that all the French forces, put together, would amount to above a hundred thousand men.

**22)** Attended by his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester John Lord Mowbray, Earl Marshal, Richard de Vere, Earl of Gloucester; and Michael de la Pole, the young Earl of Suffolk. The rear consisting of archers, and such as were armed with spears, halberds, and bills, was led by Thomas Beaufort Earl of Dorset, created the next year Duke of Exeter.

**23)** Framed after the imperial fashion.

**24)** He had four standards; one of the Trinity, another of St. George, The third of St. Edward, and in the fourth were displayed the arms of England.

**25)** P. Daniel says, that, before the battle began, King Henry sent to the French Generals a second offer of an accommodation. The terms they insisted upon, were, that Henry should renounce all pretensions to the crown of France, and restore Harfleur. Henry replied, he would do it, provided

Guienne, with its appurtenances, and the earldom of Ponthieu, were restored to him; and the Princess Catherine was given him in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thousand crowns.

**26)** He ordered Sir Thomas Erpingham to give the signal, which he did by throwing up his truncheon into the air.

**27)** The King considering the enemy was more powerful in horse, and that his foot, the strength of his army; would be exposed to the danger of being broken by the fury of the first charge, commanded the archers, (a battalion of whom was placed in the van, commanded by the Duke of York) to fix into the ground piles or stakes, pointed at both ends, and six or seven feet long; with these set in the front, and on the flanks, there being intervals left between the horse and foot, these last were secured by them as within a little fortification. A company of pioneers was appointed for removing the piles, as the soldiers advanced or retreated.

**28)** Or rather, when they observed that the English horse, by King Henry's order, wheeled off to charge them in the rear.

**29)** According to J. des Ursine, they amounted to fourteen thousand; and consequently did equal, or rather exceed in number all King Henry's forces. It is understood, however, that the massacre ceased, as soon as the real state of the case was discovered.

**30)** The Marshal de Louvigny, at the head of six hundred men. at arms; and the Duke of Bretagne, with forces almost equal to those of the English, were come very near the field of battle, when they received the news of the French defeat. If the latter had led on his fresh troops against the wearied and wounded English, he might probably have recovered the victory; but he retired immediately into Bretagne.

**31)** Montjoy, the French King's herald, who, with four more, was sent to ask leave to bury the dead.

**32)** The curious reader may see an account of all the remarkable persons, slain, or taken prisoners in this battle, in Jean le Fevre who, as he says himself,. was in the English army, c. 64. p. 97, 98; and, out of him, in Goodwin's life of Henry V. p. 91, 92. Le Fevre says, there were ten thousand men in all killed, of whom seven or eight thousand were noble; and above a hundred of them Princes, who had banners carried before them into the field.

**33)** Montaign, Archbishop of Sens, who behaved with extraordinary courage.

**34)** He was found under a heap of dead bodies, by the archers, who came to rifle the field; they perceiving some signs of life in him carried him to the King, who took care of him, and treated him like a noble enemy.

**35)** Sixteen hundred of the prisoners were men of quality.

**36)** P. de Fenin says, they lost but four or five hundred men, p. 460. But Monstrelet affirms, there were seventeen hundred killed, c. 147.

**37)** He made his entry into London, November 23. The mayor and aldermen, and two hundred of the citizens, waited on him the next day, with a present of a thousand pounds in gold, in two gold basons, worth five hundred pounds.

**38)** Edward, Duke of York, son of Edmund de Langley, fifth son of Edward III was buried in his collegiate church at Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire. And Michael de la Pole, Lord of Suffolk, son of him that died of the flux before Harfleur, was interred at Ewelthe in Oxfordshire.

**39)** In the meantime, a Parliament met at Westminster; on March 16, which ordered the two-tenths, and the two-fifteenths, granted in the last Parliament, to be sooner paid than the time appointed. In this Parliament, the clipping, washing, and filing of the current money of the land was made treason.

**40)** That the Christian Princes might unite against the Turk, the common enemy.

**41)** At Calais, his Imperial Majesty was treated by Richard de Beauchamp. Governor of the town, with so much civility and gallantry, that he was charmed with it: and afterwards told King Henry, that no Christian Prince had a Knight equal to him for wisdom, good breeding, and courage and that if all courtesy were lost, it might be found in the Earl of Warwick; who, from thence, was afterwards called the Father of Courtesy.

**42)** Commissioners also from Theodoric, Archbishop of .Cologne, came to London, about the end of January, to renew the alliances concluded between the Archbishops his predecessors, and King Henry's ancestors. Accordingly a treaty was signed by the Ambassadors of those two Princes on May 15.

**43)** Some of the French ships came and blocked up the English fleet at Portsmouth and Southampton, and made an attempt on the Isle of Wight, but were repulsed.

**44)** Of Four hundred sail, having on board the Earl Marshal, the Earls of Oxford, Huntingdon, Warwick, Arundel, Salisbury, and Devonshire, with twenty thousand men.

**45)** He landed August

**46)** John XXIII at Rome; Gregory XII. at Rimini; and Benedict XIII. at Avignon.

**47-50** - No notes

**51)** The principal articles of this memorable treaty were, that Henry should espouse the Princess Catherine: that King Charles, during his life-time, should enjoy the title and dignity of King of France : that .Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entrusted with the present administration of the government: that that kingdom should pass to his heirs general : that France and England should for ever be united under one King; but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges that all the Princes, Peers, Vassals, and communities of France should swear, that they, would both adhere to the future succession of Henry, and pay him present obedience as Regent: that this Prince should unite his arms to those of King Charles, and the Duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of Charles, the pretended Dauphin, and that these three Princes should make no peace or truce with him, unless by common consent and agreement.

**52)** This siege lasted fourteen weeks and four days.

**53)** He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

**54)** For the payment of which, he borrowed money of the most considerable persons in England.

**55)** In this siege were killed. Richard Beauchamp Earl of Worcester, and the Lord Clifford. The last was brought over and buried in the church of the canons of Bolton in Craven

**56)** Called in Rymer's Foed. marks of silver. But what the number of them was, or what they were laid on, is not mentioned.

**57)** J. des Ursins, and other French historians, say, that he died of a flux accompanied with the piles. Monstrelet says, it was a St. Anthony's Fire. According to Walsingham, through the hardships and fatigue he underwent, he contracted an acute fever, attended with a dysentery. But Peter Basset, who was his Chamberlain at the time of his death, affirms he died of a pleurisy. According to others his death was occasioned by a fistula.

**58**) He was interred at the feet of Edward the Confessor, in a little chapel, since enlarged and beautified with several statues, and fenced with two iron grates, by Henry VII. On his tomb of grey marble, erected by his Queen, was placed a royal image of silver gilt; but about the latter end of Henry VIII. the head (being of massy silver) was broken off and conveyed away with the plates of silver that covered his trunk, which now only remains of heart of oak.

**59)** King Henry, who had little esteem for him, did not treat him with such favour as he showed to the other officers, as appeared upon occasion of the Marshal's coming to him one day for instructions: his Majesty seeing him in a very plain coat, said to him in raillery. "How, l'Isle-Adam, is this the garb of a Marshal of France?" to which be replied with an air of confidence, " That he had it made to wear in the boat which brought him down the Seine." The answer was displeasing, from the manner of delivering it, and King Henry was provoked to say, "You are too rude in your behaviour, Sir, how dare you look on a King in that bold manner?" "Sir," replied the Marshal, "It is the fashion of my country, where, if one man speak to another, though the greatest on earth, with a downcast look, we think him conscious of some baseness or guilt." "Your customs," said the King, "are very different from ours." The next year, the Marshat was displaced from his office, and committed close prisoner by the King's order, for some miscarriages.

**60)** The Lord Oliver de Bloys, Count of Poictiers.

**61)** It is likewise said, he was the son of a Brewer : but the meanness of his extraction was made up by the fineness of his person, being reckoned the handsomest man of his time

**62)** King Henry, among other works of magnificence and charity, rebuilt the royal palace of Shene, now called Richmond; and the castle of Kenelworth. He also founded the fraternity of St. Giles without Cripplegate, London, besides other monasteries. It was also this King that first instituted Garter King at Arms, and made several regulations about the honourable Order of the Garter, which the curious reader may see in Ashmole's Institut, &c. of the Garter, P. 252, &c. He also appointed a new herald, by the title of Azincourt King at Arms. It may be remarked, that Henry V. was the first of our Kings who was sensible of the importance of regular movements and united efforts; and was at much pains to teach his troops to march in strait lines, at proper distances, with a steady measured pace to advance, attack, halt, and even fall back, at the word of command, without breaking their ranks. This discipline, imperfect as it was, gave him great advantages over the French, who in those times were almost as tumultuous in advancing to an attack, as in flying from a defeat. To this superior discipline of his troops that Prince was indebted for his success in general, and particularly for his great victory at Azincourt, as appears from all the accounts given of that famous battle.—Though the men at arms, covered with polished armour from head to foot, and mounted on great horses, were the most splendid and most expensive, they were not the most useful troops. The archers formed the chief strength of the English armies, and were the great instrument of all their victories in this period! The archers sometimes gained great victories without the least assistance from the men at arms, as, particularly, the decisive victory over the Scots, at Hamilton, A. D. 1402. In that bloody battle, the men at arms did not strike a stroke, but were mere spectators of the valour and victory of the archers. The Earl of Douglas, who commanded the Scotch army in that action, enraged to see his men falling thick around him, by showers of arrows, and trusting to the goodness of his armour (which had been three years in making,) accompanied by about eighty lords, knights, and gentlemen, in complete armour, rushed forward, and attacked the English archers, sword in hand. But he soon had reason to repent his rashness. The English arrows were so sharp and strong, and discharged with so

much force that no armour could repel them. The Earl of Douglas, after receiving five wounds, was made prisoner; and all his brave companions were either killed or taken. Philip de Comines acknowledges what. our own writers assert, that the English archers excelled those of every other nation; and -Sir John Fortescue says again and again—- “that the might of the realm of England standy the upon archers.” The superior dexterity of their archers gave the English a great advantage over their capital enemies, the French and Scots. The French depended chiefly on their men at arms, and the Scots on their pikemen; but the ranks of both were often thinned and thrown into disorder by flights of arrows before they could reach their enemies.

# Book 11


# The Battle of Agincourt

**John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, was assassinated on the bridge at Montereau on 10 September 1419 during a parley with the French dauphin (the future Charles VII of France), by Tanneguy du Chastel and Jean Louvet, the dauphin's close counsellors**.

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