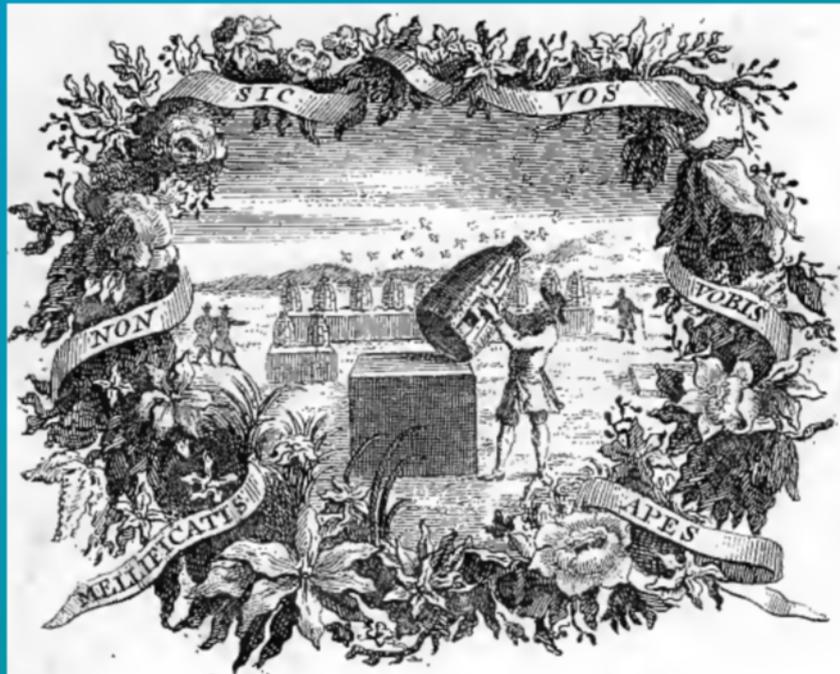


Rapin's History of England



Book 10

The Reigns Of Edward III And
Richard II Comprising
A Period Of Seventy-Three Years

**The History
of
England
Written in French
By
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Translated from French

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Book Ten



Piers Gaveston, the favourite
of King Edward III, is taken
prisoner by the barons and
beheaded near Warwick Date:
19 June 1312





**King Edward The Third
Surnamed Windsor**



King Edward The Black Prince



**King Richard The Second
Sirnamed Bordeaux**



**John of Gaunt
Duke of Lancaster**



BOOK X
THE REIGNS OF EDWARD III AND RICHARD II
COMPRISING A PERIOD OF SEVENTY-THREE
WITH THE STATE OF THE CHURCH FROM 1272
TO 1399

Chapter I
EDWARD III SURNAMED OF WINDSOR

A. D. 1327



THE deposing of Edward II. procured not the English all the happiness they were made to expect. The government of a weak and imprudent King was not more dangerous. than that of a minor Prince, under the direction of a passionate mother, and a young inexperienced minister, more presumptuous and less able than the Spencers.

Accordingly the people quickly found, that they had not gained much by the change. Happily for them, Edward's minority was of no long continuance. As soon as the young Prince had taken the government upon himself, he converted the misfortunes of the late reign into blessings, and the injuries received from France and Scotland, into glory and triumphs.

When the commissioners sent to Kenelworth, had returned with Edward II's. resignation, the Prince his son was again proclaimed, under the name of Edward III and crowned a few days after.[1] The Queen and Mortimer, whose interest it was to make the whole nation accomplices of their violent proceedings, affected on that occasion, to cause a coronation medal to be struck, importing the universal consent of the people to the present revolution. On one side was, the young King crowned, laying his sceptre on a heap of hearts, with this motto, **POPULO DAT JURA VOLENTI**. On the reverse, a hand held forth, as it were saving a crown falling from on high, with these words, **NON RAPIT SED RECIPIT**[2].

Though Edward was but in his fourteenth year, he had a mature judgment, and a penetration uncommon to that age. However, in compliance to the laws of the land, the King must have governors, and the state regents. The Parliament chose twelve from among the Bishops, Earls, and Barons, of whom Henry of Lancaster was declared the chief. The Queen opposed not this nomination; but, as she had the power in her own hands, she seized the government, and shared it only with her creatures.

Roger Mortimer, who had a great an influence over her, as Spencer the son had over the late King, executed the office of Prime Minister, and managed the affairs of the kingdom according

to his pleasure. As the Parliament was at the Queen's devotion, she procured the grant of a Dower, exceeding two thirds of the revenues of the crown. At the same time, a hundred marks a month were assigned for the maintenance of the deposed King. A sum more than sufficient for the expenses of that unfortunate Prince, who was treated in his confinement after a very unbecoming manner.

The animosity shewn by the Parliament in their proceedings against Edward II. encouraged such as were sufferers whilst the Spencers were in power, to petition to be restored to their estates and honours. Their petitions met with a favourable reception. The Parliament, willing to justify their late conduct, reversed all the judgments passed in the foregoing reign, as well against the late Earl of Lancaster and his adherents, as against those who favoured the designs of the Queen.

The tranquillity which England hoped to enjoy under the new King, who was in peace or in truce with all his neighbours, was disturbed by an incursion of the Scots on the borders. Robert their King, though in an ill state of health, and of a great age, believed he ought not to suffer the nonage of the King of England to pass without reaping some advantage. He was afraid likewise that a too long repose might enervate his subjects. He put the Earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglas at the head of twenty thousand men and ordered them to ravage the borders of England.

Edward could not hear the news of this irruption, without an eager desire of signalling himself in the defence of his kingdom; and, the opinion of the council being agreeable to the King's desires, an army of sixty thousand men was raised, including the troops brought by John de Hainault into England. The whole army having come to York, Edward was just, going to head them, when a sudden quarrel arose between the English and the Hainaulters, wherein many were slain. As the English were the aggressors, justice could not be done to the foreigners, without displeasing the army.

Consequently the court was forced to stay longer at York than was at first designed, in order to find means to compose this difference, before they took the field. This delay gave the Scots time to pass the Tyne between Carlisle and Newcastle, and to ravage in a barbarous manner the country on this side the river. They had four thousand men at arms. The rest of the troops were mounted on little swift horses, in order the more easily to make incursions and retreat. This news hastened the King's departure.

Though he did not know exactly where the enemies were, he marched in quest of them, guided only by the fire and smoke of the houses still burning in the road. What speed soever he made, he could not possibly overtake them. As they had no infantry, nor were encumbered with much baggage, they made such extraordinary marches, that not only they were out of the reach of the English army, but even at such a distance, that there was no tracing them.

Much time was spent in marches and counter marches; and Edward, at length, ordered it to be proclaimed in the army, that whoever should bring him certain news of the Scots, should be made a Knight, with a pension of a hundred pounds sterling. The hopes of so good a reward, set so many people to work, that it was not long before he had the desired information[3]. But it was not without some confusion that he heard that the enemies, of whom he was so eagerly in quest, were not above two leagues off.

He marched immediately towards them, in expectation of fighting that very day. But he did not long enjoy the pleasure of that expectation: The Scotch generals, who were not ignorant of his approach, had encamped over against Stanhope Park, on a hill, at the foot of which ran the river Wear, shallow indeed, but full of rocks which rendered the passage very difficult. How desirous soever Edward was of fighting, he found that he could not attack them without exposing his arms to manifest danger. He did not however quite despair of succeeding. As he judged of their courage by his own, he sent them word, if they would come over the river to him, he would retire at a convenient distance, and give them time to pass, and choose what ground they should think

proper, or else on the same terms he would come over to them. The Scotch Generals answered, that the English army being three times stronger than theirs, it would be great rashness to accept the proposals: that they were bent upon keeping their post, and it was the King's business to dislodge them if he thought it for his advantage to attempt it.

However, as they were apprehensive, that Edward, in amusing them with his offers, intended to pass the river at some other place, they retired for the night; and encamped in a still more advantageous post. Besides, that they had still the Wear in their front, their flanks were defended by inaccessible mountains and bogs, which removed their fear of being attacked, though the English had passed the river elsewhere. Edward having notice of their motion, followed them, with the Wear between him and the enemy, and having found them posted in that manner, made them the same offer as before, to which they returned the same answer.

Whilst the two armies lay in sight without being able to engage, the Lord Douglas, one of the Scotch Generals, passed the river at some distance from the two camps, with only two hundred horse. With this little troop, he stole into the English camp, and penetrated even to the royal tent, where he occasioned a terrible alarm. Probably, his design was to carry off the King, but not succeeding, he retired without much loss.

At length, after, both armies had kept their posts a fortnight, the Scots decamped in the night, and by speedy marches, which prevented the English from pursuing them, retired in their own country. They were so far -off, when Edward was told of their retreat, that he did not think fit to follow them, but returned to York, extremely chagrined at his disappointment. He there disbanded his army, and after magnificent presents, sent back John de Hainault to his own country.

Whilst the young King was employed in this expedition, his father, still closely confined in Kenelworth castle, led a melancholy life, not being suffered to take the least diversion. He wrote from time to time to his Queen, entreating her to render his imprisonment more easy; but nothing was capable of moving that inexorable princess, in favour of a husband, whom she herself had reduced to that wretched condition.

At length the rigorous usage of that unfortunate Prince, began to excite compassion in the breasts of the people; and Henry of Lancaster himself, who had the custody of him, gave him some hopes of recovering his liberty. The irregular conduct of the Queen, and the great credit of Mortimer, whose arrogance rendered him odious to all, was probably one of his motives. As he took no care to hide his sentiments, the Queen and Mortimer suspected him of a design to restore the old King. This suspicion, whether well or ill grounded, produced a fatal effect, by determining them to prevent the imagined danger.

They resolved to take the captive King out of the hands of his keeper, whom they suspected, and entrust him with such as they could depend upon. Sir John Maltravers, and Sir Thomas Guerne, both of so brutish a temper, as was requisite for the designs of those that employed them, had orders to move Edward from Kenelworth to Berkley Castle. It was hardly possible for the unfortunate Prince to fall into worse hands. At first they carried him to Corfe, then to Bristol[4], and afterwards to Berkley[5] castle, which was to be his last prison. In the journey they made him suffer a thousand indignities, even to the causing him to be shaved in the open field with cold water taken from a stinking ditch[6].

What firmness soever he had hitherto shewn, he could not, on this occasion, help lamenting his misfortune, and discovering his grief. Amidst his complaints and reproaches against those who used him so barbarously; he shed a torrent of tears; exclaiming, with a smile of grief, "See, have provided clean and warm water, whether you will or not."

His enemies hoped, the vexation and fatigue he was made to endure, would put an end to his days. But though they were served with a barbarous zeal by these merciless guards, who, for that

purpose, used the most cruel, as well as insolent means, yet the goodness of his constitution prevented them from succeeding. These wretches, finding their cruelties had not so speedy an effect, sent for fresh instructions, for which they were not made to wait long.

They received precise orders to put that Prince to death, who, though overwhelmed with misery, caused continual fears in the authors of his calamity. These orders were no sooner come, but the two keepers entered Edward's room to put them in execution. He being then in his bed, they laid a pillow on his face, to prevent his being heard; and then, with a cruelty not to be paralleled, thrust a horn pipe up his body, through which they ran a red hot iron, and burn this bowels.

In this horrible manner did that miserable Prince expire (September 22,) amidst such violent pains, that in spite of the precaution of his murderers, his cries were heard at a distance. To conceal his execrable deed, the two executioners sent for some of the inhabitants of Bristol and Gloucester; who examining the body, and finding no signs of a violent death, concluded, he died a natural death. This account, which was carefully attested by witnesses, was immediately dispersed over the kingdom.

The misfortunes of this Prince, whom his enemies so cruelly persecuted, began to raise the pity of the English. The compassion for his sufferings, which could not always be concealed, rose to that height, that after his death he was revered as a saint. His body was immediately buried without any funeral pomp, in the abbey church at Gloucester. However, some time after, the King his son ordered a stately tomb to be erected for him in that church. So far were his murderers from receiving for their parricide the reward they expected, that they were forced to fly beyond sea to avoid punishment.

The very persons who employed them, affected to cause diligent search to be made after them, to cover the share they had in the crime. Three years after, Guernsey was seized at Burgos, and by order of the King of Castile carried to Bayonne, whence Edward commanded him to be conveyed to England. But by some practices not fully cleared in history, he was beheaded at sea. Maltravers spent his days in exile, in some place in Germany whither he had retired. But Divine vengeance stopped not at the punishment of these two villains. The Queen, Mortimer, and their accomplices felt also its effects.

A. D. 1328] The death. of Edward II suppressed all the motions which began to be observed in the kingdom. The King his son finding himself more easy since by the death. of his father, which he believed natural, he was cured of all scruples upon his account, took this opportunity to solemnize, with Philippa of Hainault, his marriage concluded by the queen his mother at Valenciennes. The ceremony was performed at York (January 21) where the King came in his return from his campaign. Shortly after the new queen was crowned with the usual solemnities. After the rejoicings for the King's marriage and the Queen's coronation were over, Edward called a Parliament at Northampton, to consult about two very momentous affairs.

The first concerned the regency of France, which he claimed after the death of Charles the Fair his uncle, who died in the beginning of this year. The second was the peace with Scotland proposed by King Robert. Queen. Isabella and Mortimer, who held the reigns of the government, believing a war was against their interests, were very eager for a peace. On the other hand, the King of Scotland perceiving he was no longer able to bear the hardships of war, desired to spend the residue of his days in peace.

The Parliament being entirely in the Queen's interest, it was not difficult to obtain their consent, to enter upon a treaty, which, both parties were equally desirous of concluding. The Queen-mother, and Mortimer in behalf of the English, and Douglas in the name of the King of Scotland, were the managers of this affair. A peace was quickly made and confirmed by the marriage of David, Prince of Scotland, with Joanna sister of Edward, though they were both children.

The English, for the most part, were very uneasy to see treaty. begun, which in all appearance, could bring them no advantage. However, their uneasiness would have been removed, by the hopes of the repose it was to procure them, if to hasten the conclusion, Isabella and Mortimer had not given up to the King of Scotland such advantages, as he could not have expected, even after the gaining of many battles. By their advice, Edward renounced all his pretensions to Scotland, both with regard to the sovereignty and the propriety[7].

At the same time he restored to Robert, all the charters and instruments, which might prove the Sovereignty of the Kings of England over that kingdom. This was followed by the restitution of the crown, sceptre, and jewels[8], which Edward I had carried away from Edinburgh, and of every thing in general which might any way testify the Sovereignty of England over Scotland. Notwithstanding the murmurs of the English, the Queen and Mortimer had credit enough, with the Parliament, to cause the peace to be confirmed, and the sum of thirty thousand marks, which Robert promised to pay within three years, to be considered as a sufficient compensation for whatever was restored to Scotland.

In consequence of the treaty, the nuptials of Joanna the King's sister, were solemnized (July 22,) at Berwick. Shortly after Mortimer, as a reward for his late pretended service to his master, was made Earl of March in full Parliament. John of Eltham, the King's brother, was created Earl of Cornwall, and James Butler, Earl of Ormond. Henry of Lancaster, and some other Lords, came not to this Parliament. They were dissatisfied that the Queen mother and Mortimer usurped all authority, contrary to the intent of the Parliament, which nominated twelve Barons to manage the public affairs.

The tragical death of Edward II and the late treaty with Scotland, furnishing them with a plausible pretence to complain, they had now begun to hold private conferences, and project a reformation of the government. As secrecy was very difficult, in a confederacy where they designed to engage a number of persons, the Queen and Mortimer had soon notice of it. The Earl of Lancaster, whom they considered as author of the plot, and head of the malcontents, was the first victim they resolved to sacrifice. An accident which happened shortly after, afforded them an opportunity, which they believed they ought to embrace, to accomplish their design. The Earl had a private quarrel with the Lord Holland, whom he looked upon as a mortal enemy to his family, and one of the principal authors of the death of Earl Thomas his brother.

Some threats he let fall against his enemy, induced Sir Thomas Wythers, one of his domestics, to revenge his master. An opportunity offering presently after the breaking up of the Parliament, Wythers killed the Lord Holland, and took refuge in the Earl's palace at Lancaster, from whence repeated orders from court were not able to force him. The Queen and the Earl of March were not sorry, that their enemy gave them so plausible a pretence to exasperate the King against him. They represented to the young Prince, of what importance it was, not to suffer a subject, of what quality soever, to take upon him to protect criminals, and stop the course of justice: that it was acting the Sovereign, and there was danger that those who assumed such a power intended to enlarge it at the expense of the royal authority, and were contriving to disturb the peace of the kingdom.

When the Earl of Lancaster knew they designed to attack him, he prepared for his defence, and formed an association, which was entered into by Edmund Earl of Kent, and Thomas Earl of Norfolk the King's uncles, the Lord Beaumont, Judge Trussel, and some other Lords; who unanimously resolved to stand upon their defence, in case they were attacked. At the same time they published a manifesto, containing the motives of their armament.

They said, they had taken arms:-

- I. To oblige the Queen-mother to refund into the public treasury, the revenues she had caused to be assigned her, far exceeding the usual dowry of the Queens.

II. To put a stop- to the exactions and encroachments of those who governed in the King's name.

III. To bring to condign punishment the betrayers of their country, in the late war with Scotland.

IV. To make inquiry, by what means the ordinance of Parliament establishing twelve Barons to govern the state, during - the King's minority, was not. Executed.

V. To cause strict inquisition to be made concerning the death of Edward the King's father, after he Was, by private orders, taken out of the custody of those to whom he was committed by the Parliament.

VI. To bring those to an account who had seized the treasures of the late King.

VII. To cause the public to be informed by whose advice, the King, during his minority, had renounced all his pretensions to Scotland, and given up all the charters and instruments thereof.

VIII. Lastly, to call those to an account, who advised the King to marry the Princess his sister to David Bruce, mortal enemy to the English nation.

These articles, copies whereof were, carefully dispersed all over the kingdom sensibly touched the Queen and the Earl of March. But instead of vindicating their conduct, they took another course, and intimated to the King, that they who had taken arms, sought to wrest the crown from him. They maliciously insinuated, that his two uncles, and Henry of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III had formed the project of excluding the issue of Edward II. from the throne, of which that Prince was declared unworthy.

The young King who had no suspicion of the Queen his mother, giving ear to this accusation, resolved by force of arms to bring persons to their duty, whom he now considered as rebels. In all probability this affair would have been attended with fatal consequences; if the archbishop of Canterbury had not zealously interposed. The archbishop artfully hinted to the Queen, that the manifesto of the malcontents was so plausible, and such the grievances complained of, that it was to be feared the whole nation would join with them. The Queen readily apprehending the Archbishop's hints, and believing the attempt to reduce them by force, would be as dangerous for her; as the malcontents; she was prevailed with to end the affair by an agreement, to which the mal-contents were not very averse.

As their party was not yet strong enough to carry things to the point they desired, their intent in publishing a manifesto, was only to convince the Queen of her great danger; in endeavouring to crush them. So, without insisting any further on their grievances, they accepted the pardon procured them by the Archbishop, for certain fines, and the banishment of Beaumont, Trussel and the murderer of Lord Holland, who were excepted in the pardon. On this occasion the Earl of March pretended to be a friend to the Princes, but harboured in his breast a lively resentment against them, to which the Earl of Kent fell a sacrifice.

A. D. 1329] Robert, the brave King of Scotland, enjoyed not long his late glorious peace with England. He died sedate and easy, with the comfort of having freed Scotland from the dominion of the English, and of seeing his own family settled on the throne. The Scots very justly rank among their most illustrious Kings; as the restorer of their monarchy. This Prince, on his death-bed, recommended three things especially, to the persons he had appointed Regents, during the minority of his son David, then but eight years old. The first, never to hazard a battle in the kingdom. The second, to make no long truces with the English, in case the two nations should

come to a rupture. The third, to have always an eye upon what passed in England, for fear of being surprised.

The Earl of March, still supported by the Queen-mother, saw himself, raised so high, that he acted more like a sovereign than minister. He disposed of all the offices, as well as of the public revenues, with an authority, joined to an arrogance very common to favourites, and which contributes no less than their advancement to render them odious.

The extraordinary credit of this Earl roused the jealousy of the English, who were the same, since the deposing of Edward II and who had no greater esteem for this new favourite, than they had formerly for Gaveston and Spencer. Among those who discovered their sentiments the most freely, Edmund Earl of Kent, the King's uncle, was the principal. This Prince, as well as Edward II his brother, had no great genius for public affairs, but was naturally sincere and generous.

He had, however, suffered himself to be deceived by the artifices of Isabella, when he joined with her against his own brother, never imagining she would have carried things so far. When once he was engaged in that party, the suddenness of the revolution which happened immediately after, would not permit him to recede. The government was changed before he had time to reflect on the consequences of the Queen's undertaking. The disorderly behaviour of that Princess, the arrogance of the favourite, the sudden death of the King, and the ill management of the public affairs, at length opened his eyes.

He perceived with grief the injustice of the plot he had unhappily engaged in. A generous man cannot, without pain, conceal his sentiments. The Earl, little versed in politics, was not careful enough to hide his uneasiness at past transactions, and at what he saw every day. He had joined with Henry of Lancaster during the late commotions, thereby claiming, it was not his fault that the present scene of affairs was not altered. This was sufficient to induce Isabella and the Earl of March to hasten his ruin. As his conduct was un-blamable, it was necessary, in order to destroy him, so to manage, that he should render himself criminal, that his ruin might be thought the less strange.

For that purpose, his two adversaries, by some who feigned to be his friends, insinuated to him, that Edward II his brother, was still alive, and reported to be dead, only to prevent the troubles which his friends might excite: that he was strictly guarded in Corfe Castle, and suffered to be seen by none but his domestics, who were confined with him. This pretended secret was supported with divers circumstances, and confirmed by the testimony of several persons of distinction; among whom were two Bishops, who were deceived as well as Edmund, or helped to deceive him.

He had himself assisted at the funeral of the King his brother. But what he had now heard, joined to a like report, spread at court by the artifice of his enemies, and to his desire that the thing might be true, easily induced him to believe, he might possibly have been deceived by counterfeit obsequies. In this belief, he resolved to try all ways to free the pretended prisoner from his captivity. In this determination he is said to have had the sanction of the Pope. He accordingly sent a trusty Friar to Corfe, to be assured of the truth.

The Monk, upon his coming into those parts for private information, found the inhabitants of the neighbourhood believed it. Prepossessed by these rumours, the Friar, pretending business with the governor of Corfe, asked him, whether there was really any foundation for what was reported of Edward? The governor returned such an answer, as confirmed him in his opinion. It is even said, that he shewed him, at a little distance, a person sitting at a table, who was served with great respect; and by that means entirely convinced him, that he was not deceived.

Edmund being confirmed in his belief by the Friar's report, came himself to Corfe, and without shewing the least doubt, demanded to be conducted to his brother's apartment. The treacherous

Governor pretended to be surprised at his knowing the secret, did not deny that Edward was in the castle; but told him, he had positive orders to let no person see him. This confession, made Edmund repeat his solicitations, but finding the Governor inflexible, he gave him a letter for the prisoner, wherein he assured him, he would do his utmost to procure his liberty. This letter was immediately carried to the Queen, who shewed it to the King her son, magnifying his danger from his uncle's practices. It was not difficult for her to obtain the King's leave to secure the Prince's person.

He was very far from suspecting his mother to be herself the author of this plot. As soon as the King had given his consent to what was proposed, measures were taken to apprehend Edmund at Winchester, where the Parliament was assembled. His impeachment being brought before the Peers, his own letter was produced, which he could not disown: he even confessed that several Lords, and particularly the Archbishop of York, and Bishop of London, were concerned in the plot, or at least had advised him to hasten the execution.

Upon this confession, which shewed a settled design to change the government, he was condemned to lose his head. The execution soon followed the sentence. All that day the King was so beset by the Queen his mother, and the Earl of March, that none could approach him to sue for the pardon of a Prince so nearly related to him. It is even affirmed, that he knew nothing of the sentence passed upon his uncle, or of his execution till it was too late. Be this as it will, Edmund was brought upon the scaffold, to suffer the punishment to which he was condemned. But the executioner stealing away, he staid from noon till evening, before any could be found to perform his office. At last, towards night, one out of the Marshalsea, severed his head from his body[9].

Thus died that Prince, in the 28th year of his age. He left two sons, who died young; and two daughters, the youngest of whom was the greatest beauty of her time. Her second husband was the famous Prince of Wales, her cousin, eldest son of Edward III. Edmund was the only person prosecuted for the imaginary crime for which he suffered death; though according to his depositions, several others ought to have undergone the, same punishment.

Before we proceed, will be necessary to speak of Edward's affairs with France during his minority.—The last treaty made at Paris, by the mediation of Isabella, did not fully end all the differences between Edward II and Charles the Fair. The Queen, who had only in view the project formed against the King her husband, did not think it her interest to discuss all the articles included in these disputes. She was too apprehensive of raising some obstacle to her principal design.

On the other hand, King Charles, who was in possession of Agenois, did not think proper to urge himself, any farther discussion of matters. So. the sentence passed at Paris, in the business of St. Sardos, which condemned the Gascon Lords to banishment, and decreed the demolishing of their castles, was still in force: but the treaty concluded by the Queen, preserved Edward's pretensions entire, and left him free to prosecute his right in the court of Peers. The resignation of Guienne, occasioned fresh difficulties. Edward II pretended, that Charles in receiving the homage of the Prince his nephew, obliged himself to restore that whole province; which the King of France denied.

Edward III was no sooner on the throne, but by advice of his Parliament, he sent ambassadors to France, to make an agreement between the two crowns. Shortly after a new treaty was concluded[10], containing these six articles:—

- I. That both sides should restore whatever was conquered during the war.
- II. That Edward should pay the King of France fifty thousand marks sterling, to satisfy him for his charges on occasion of the rupture.

III. That a general pardon should be granted by both parties.

IV. That the King of France should pardon the felony of the Gascon Lords, as to life and limbs, on condition they submitted to banishment.

V. That Edward should undertake to demolish their castles.

VI. That this treaty should be of no effect, unless ratified by the King of England before Easter.

The court of England was too desirous of peace, to neglect the performance of the last article. So there was a good intelligence between the two crowns, during the rest of that year; both Kings taking care to avoid all occasions of a fresh rupture.

Hardly was this affair ended, when a new and more important occasion of quarrel engaged the two kingdoms in a war, which caused torrents of blood to be spilt, and brought France in the end to the very brink of destruction. Charles the Fair dying on the first of February 1328, without male-issue, and leaving Joanna his Queen pregnant, there arose a great dispute concerning the regency of the kingdom. Edward^[11] laid claim to it, as nephew and nearest relation of the deceased King: but Philip son of Charles de Valois, and Cousin-German of the same King, maintained, he had an incontestable right to the regency.

He founded his claim upon the Salic Laws, which, in his opinion debarred the females and their descendants from the succession to the crown; whence he inferred that neither had they any right to the Regency, in prejudice of the male-line. This controversy was decided in favour of Philip by the Peers of France, who adjudged him the Regency till the Queen was delivered. It was partly on this occasion that Edward called the Parliament at Northampton, on account, as was said, of the peace with Scotland.

He laid before them his reasons for claiming the Regency of France; the injury he pretended was done him in the preference of Philip de Valois; and the disadvantageous inference that might be drawn from his exclusion, with respect to the crown of France, in case the child, the Queen was pregnant with, should not live, or be a daughter. Historians do not positively say, what the Parliament's opinion was in this so nice an affair. But as the members were at the devotion of the Queen-mother and the Earl of March, very probably they were no more scrupulous with respect to the affairs of France, than they had been concerning those of Scotland.

There were much more plausible reasons to dissuade Edward from making war with France. The difficulty of the undertaking; the strength of the kingdom; the King's age, were objections not easily to be answered. Besides, it might so happen, that the preparations to support the King's claim, would be fruitless; if the Queen-widow should be delivered of a son: In spite of these reasons, it was not possible to persuade the young King, to relinquish a right which he thought very justly belonged to him.

However, as he was still a minor, he perceived it would be very difficult effectually to oppose the advice of the Queen his mother, his Council, and the Parliament. But if he tacitly desisted from his pretensions to a Regency which was about to expire, it was otherwise with regard to the crown itself, in case the point in question was not decided by the birth of a Prince: This appears in several of his letters to certain Lords of Guienne, dated the 28th of March, about a month before Queen Joanna's delivery. On supposition she was brought to bed of a daughter, he told these Lords, his intent was to use all possible means to recover the right and inheritance of the Queen his mother.

In April, Joanna was delivered of a Princess, whose birth would from that moment have occasioned a bloody war, if Edward had been in condition to prosecute his pretensions. He

demanded however. the crown of France by his ambassadors: but Philip causing himself to be crowned, by virtue of the judgment that gave him the Regency, the English ambassadors were not so much as heard.

Philip de Valois being engaged, in the beginning of his reign, in a war with the Flemings, was in no haste to demand Edward's homage for Guienne and Ponthieu. It was not till April 1329, that he caused him to be summoned to[12] appear and do homage in person. In Edward's present disposition, he would have gladly been excused from paying homage to a Prince, whom he considered as an usurper of his right. But his Council reflected on his youth, and the state of the kingdom full of malcontents, could not think of approving a refusal which probably would throw him into great difficulties.

On the other hand, the Queen his mother and the Earl of March, did all that lay in their power to prevent a quarrel with Philip. They represented to him, that he would infallibly lose all his dominions in France, if he unadvisedly discovered his pretensions to that kingdom, before he was ready to support them. But these remonstrances would perhaps have had little weight with him, if, for his satisfaction, there had not been devised an expedient, unbecoming indeed the sincerity King's ought to profess, but which his youth and passion permitted him not to examine too nicely.

It was suggested to him, that by protesting before hand against the homage, it would be no detriment to his claim. Pursuant to this advice, he made by a procurator, the following protestation before his Council: That for any homage whatever to be made to the Lord Philip de Valois, (now bearing himself as King of France) by King Edward of England, for the Dukedom of Guienne, and Earldom of Ponthieu, he did not thereby intend to renounce his hereditary right to the realm of France, or any ways derogate from the same; even though letters thereupon should be signed with either of his seals. And he did farther protest, that he would not do any homage to the Lord Philip, of his own free will, but only for the just fear he had of losing the said dutchy and earldom, and because he was afraid that he could not avoid other great dangers and irreparable losses.

This declaration was signed by the King and Council, but was not communicated to Philip's Envoy. He only received this general answer, that the King would perform as soon as possible what he owed the crown of France.

To make himself amends, in some measure, for the mortifying step he was forced to, Edward ordered a great number of Lords to attend him, and with a very splendid equipage, and a retinue of a thousand horse, came to Amiens, where Philip expected him. On the day appointed for doing his homage, he appeared before the King of France, in a robe of crimson-velvet, embroidered with leopards of gold, his crown on his head, his sword by his side, and gold spurs on his heels. The King of France received him sitting on his throne, his crown on his head, his sceptre in his hand, and a robe of blue velvet; powdered of Fleurs-de-lis of gold. By him were the Kings of Navarre, Bohemia, and Majorca, all the Peers and principal Lords of France, whom he had expressly sent for, to be witnesses of this authentic homage. Before Edward's arrival, Philip pretended this should be a liege homage[13], as indeed it ought to have been.

But in the conferences held on this account, before the ceremony, matters were otherwise settled. Edward protesting he was not perfectly informed of the Manner of the homage, offered to do it in general terms. However, he promised upon his honour, that if, upon consulting his record, he found the homage to be full, he would give letters-patent of it, under his Great seal. Upon that condition, Philip consented to receive the homage in general terms.

A. D. 1330] As Edward stood disposed, with regard to the King of France, he was not very forward to send the promised declaration. On the contrary, he tried to gain time, by proposals of a double marriage of his brother and sister with the son and daughter of Philip. He even kept at London almost a year, on divers pretences; ambassadors sent to press him to perform his promise.

During that time, Edward was very urgent in his turn with the King of France, to end their differences about Guienne, as was agreed at their late interview. It was easy to see Edward sought only to delay. Accordingly Philip, who impatiently bore all these delays sent him word, that he would not be his dupe. He dispatched into Guienne the Earl of Alen.

These hostilities, which Edward did not expect, produced a new treaty between the two monarchs. Edward positively promised to send the declaration of homage, to pay the fifty thousand Marks sterling owing to France, and sixty thousand Parisian livres for the assignment, made by the King his father, of Guienne. Moreover he promised to see the castles demolished, belonging to the Gascon Lords condemned in the reign of Charles the Fair. Shortly after the conclusion of this treaty, he sent the King of France letters patent under his Great Seal, to confirm and specify the homage he had done at Amiens.

He expressly declared the homage was to be deemed full; and that the homages which he himself or successors Dukes of Guienne and Earls Ponthien, performed hereafter, should be done in the same manner, and with the same formalities, as the King of France had expected. In these letters there was a pattern how the homage was to be performed. After he had sent this authentic declaration, he took a journey to France, under colour of performing a vow. He saw Philip, and obtained of him an abatement of thirty thousand livres tournois, for the damage done to the town and castle of Xaintes, and an absolute pardon for the condemned Gascon Lords.

Edward at length, began to be suspicious of his mother and the favourite; and, when it was perceived at Court, their enemies failed not to do all that lay in their power, to make him jealous of them. He accordingly resolved to have perfect information of his affairs. Those to whom he applied, caused him to observe, that the Earl of March affected to out shine his Sovereign, by a magnificence too splendid for a subject, that he disposed of all the offices of the kingdom to his creatures: that he was absolute master of the fortune of the English, casting down some and raising others as they appeared for or against his interest: that by his private orders Edward II was murdered that the Earl of Kent lost his life by his secret practices: finally, that very probably the Queen and her minister, had formed the design of securing the royal authority, by keeping him always a minor.

Some add, that it was intimated to him, that the Queen his mother was pregnant by Mortimer. What they say is not unlikely. This information entirely convinced the King, of what he had hitherto only suspected; and, abhorring the wickedness of those who made the public good a pretence to gratify their passions, he resolved to punish them. To execute his design, he chose the time the Parliament was to meet at Nottingham[14]. The court having come to that town, Queen Isabella and the Earl of March lodged in the castle, with a guard of one hundred and eighty Knights[15], whilst the King, with a small retinue, was lodged in the town.

In spite of these precautions, which seemed to shew that the Queen and the favourite were not without their uneasiness, Edward, having gained the Governor, entered the castle, through a subterraneous passage, and came into his mother's apartment, accompanied with Montacute, and some other officers, all bent to lose their lives in his service. There was at first some noise made, and two Knights of the guard were killed, who having less respect for the King than their companions, offered to resist. The Earl of March was apprehended, and notwithstanding the Queen's cries, and entreaties to spare the gallant Mortimer, he was carried out the same way the King came in, and conducted under a strong guard to the Tower of London.

This masterpiece of policy succeeding so well, the King dissolved the Parliament, and summoned another[16]. As the late Parliament had not regarded so much the public good, as the interests of the Queen and the Earl of March, the King bitterly complained, in his summons, of the members, and took occasion to exhort the people, to chose representatives who had the good of the state more at heart. The Parliament met at London, with dispositions very different from those of the former. Most of the members, overjoyed to see the kingdom freed from the tyranny

of the Earl of March, aimed only at the reformation of what was amiss in the government, and the punishment of the favourite, according to his crimes.

In his speech to the Parliament, the King complained in general of the Queen and Mortimer. After which, he said, that with the consent of his subjects, he designed to assume himself the reins of the government, though he was not yet arrived at the age prescribed by the law. The Parliament gladly consented; all the members being equally ready to second his designs.

Edward being thus freed from his governors, his first care was to seize the exorbitant dower of the Queen his mother, and reduce it to a pension of three thousand pounds a year. At the same time she was confined to her house at Risings, near London, lest by her intrigues she should excite new troubles.

The Earl of March was treated with the utmost rigour. His impeachment, brought before the Parliament, contained divers articles, of which these were the principal: that he had seized the government of the kingdom without authority, and contrary to the express regulation of the Parliament: that he had placed, about the King, spies upon all his actions, that he might not be able to free himself from the subjection he was kept under: that he had procured the death of Edward II. by his express orders: that he had contrived a treacherous plot to take away the life of the late Earl of Kent, the King's uncle: that he had appropriated to his own use, the twenty thousand marks paid by the King of Scotland: lastly, that he had lived in a too familiar manner with the Queen mother. For all these crimes, which were affirmed to be notorious, And for proof whereof, no evidences were so much as heard, he was condemned to die[17].

His sentence, which ran, that he should, as a traitor, be drawn and hanged on the common gallows at Tyburn, was executed (November 29,) without the least favour. There was this remarkable in his sentence, that he was condemned without being heard, as he himself had served the Spencers.

Thus Edward began to wipe out the blemishes which had sullied his minority, and in taking upon him the government, gave happy presages of the glory and prosperity of his reign. For a farther addition to the public happiness, heaven blessed the young monarch with a son, whom the Queen brought this year into the world[18], He was called Edward after his father, and became in his time the most illustrious and most accomplished Prince, England had ever produced[19].

After Edward had taken upon him the administration of affairs, people were impatient to see which way the young Prince would turn. His courage, his abilities, and his active spirit, made them believe he would not, like the King his father, chuse an indolent life. It was much more likely he would imitate his grandfather Edward I. France and Scotland who were equally concerned to observe his first proceedings. France might he apprehensive; he would renew his pretensions to the crown, obtained by Philip de Valois to his prejudice. Scotland had no less reason to fear, he would break through the dishonourable treaty, wherein he was engaged by the Queen his mother and Mortimer, during his non-age.

Though the King of Scotland was his brother-in-law, it was known in those days, as well as at present, that the bond of affinity is not always a sufficient bar to the ambition of Princes. And indeed, Edward had in view these two grand designs. But it was not possible for him to engage at once in two so considerable undertakings. He resolved therefore to begin with Scotland, that he might, after subduing that kingdom, attack France with the united forces of the two nations which divided Great Britain.

The peace concluded two years before with Robert Bruce, seemed to lay an insuperable obstacle in his way. But Edward had a pretence, which to him appeared just, or at least sufficient to authorize his attempt upon Scotland; namely, that he was betrayed by his mother and ministers. in the late treaty with Robert Bruce. To compass his ends, he made use of the ministry of Edward Baliol, son of that John Baliol, placed on the throne of Scotland by Edward I. and afterwards

deposed as a punishment for his pretended rebellion. It was now thirty-eight years, since his father was dethroned.

After so long an interval, the son, who, since the death of his father, led an obscure life in France, little expected to see the King of England press him to prosecute his right to the crown of Scotland. This however, was by Edward's order insinuated to him by the Lord Beaumont, who since his banishment resided in France. Beaumont represented to him, that he had a fair opportunity to mount the throne of Scotland, usurped by the Bruces: that David's minority afforded him a juncture which would not easily be met with again.

In fine, that the King of England was inclined to second his endeavours. Baliol lent a ready ear to so flattering a proposal, and to be certain himself, how far he might rely on the King, came into England, where he kept himself concealed. During that time, he treated with Edward, by the mediation of Beaumont, concerning the terms on which he was to engage in this enterprise. The two parties came to an agreement without much difficulty; Baliol thinking he could not purchase too dearly a crown, to which he would never have dared to aspire, without being assured of a powerful assistance: The articles of their agreement were no sooner settled, but the English nobles, were privately told, that in serving Baliol they would please the King.

This was sufficient to engage in his party those, who, having received lands in Scotland by the bounty of Edward had afterwards lost them by the revolutions in that kingdom. Besides this aid, Baliol could also depend, in Scotland itself, upon the assistance of the old friends of his family, who found it their interest to support him. And indeed, the placing this Prince on the throne, was the only way to recover the offices and posts they were removed from, after Robert Bruce's advancement.

Whilst Baliol was making his preparations, Edward pretended punctually to observe the peace with Scotland, and issued upon that account several orders, which were not well executed. He even published a proclamation against such as were engaged in the service of Baliol. But this step was taken when they were just going, and it was too late to prevent them.

As soon as Baliol was ready, he embarked his little army, consisting but of two thousand five hundred men and landed, early in March, at Kinghorn near Perth, whence he sent back his ships. He was willing by that to shew his troops, they had nothing to trust to but their valour. Meanwhile, his preparations could not be so privately made, but the Scots had intelligence thereof. Hardly were his men landed, when he heard, that Alexander Seaton was coming to give him battle, at the head of ten thousand men.

All means of retreat being taken from the English, they had no hopes of safety but in victory. Accordingly, expecting their enemies with a noble resolution, they fought with such uncommon bravery, that the Scotch General, with an army much superior, was shamefully routed[20]. The Earl of Fife, who followed Seaton with a still more numerous army, willing to revenge this disgrace, had no better success. After these two victories, Baliol advancing farther into the country, met with another body of Scotch troops, whom he likewise defeated. Five days after, he fought Nigel Bruce, who came to attack him with ten thousand men. In this last action he gave no quarter, because he would not be encumbered with prisoners.

Four battles lost in so short a space, throwing the Scots into the utmost consternation, Baliol had time to besiege Perth, called also St. John's Town, of which he easily became master. He found there a great quantity of warlike stores and provisions, which he wanted extremely, in order to make farther progress. His affairs obliging him to remove from Perth, Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, took advantage of his absence, and besieged the same town. But upon the first news of Baliol's marching to relieve it, he hastily raised the siege, though his army was superior in number. Such terror had their former losses struck into the Scots.

Baliol's good fortune failed not to produce the usual effects. Great numbers of lords and gentlemen of the country came and swore fealty to him. This defection, which threatened King David with a greater, obliged the young Prince to fly with his Queen into France, it being unsafe to remain any longer in their kingdom. Meantime, to influence the affairs of Scotland, Edward so managed it, that several private persons fitted out a fleet in their own name, to give chase to that which the Scots had sent to sea, and which was their last refuge.

The loss of this fleet, which was destroyed by the English, quite confounded David's adherents. The Earl of Fife, who was one of the principal, submitted to the conqueror, and his example was followed by many others. These successes determined Baliol to cause himself to be crowned. The ceremony was performed (September 17,) at Scone, the usual place of the inauguration of the Kings.

The new King was no sooner on the throne, but, in order to perform his treaty with the King of England, he did him homage for the kingdom of Scotland, in the same manner as his father had done it to Edward I that is, with all the circumstances denoting an entire subjection. Moreover, he resigned to the King of England, in payment of the supplies received from him, the town and castle of Berwick, which were still in the hands of King David. He offered likewise to marry Joanna, sister of David, if that Princess's marriage with David Bruce could be annulled. Lastly, he promised to furnish the King his Sovereign with aids of men and money, whenever required.

Whilst Baliol was employed in pushing his conquests in Scotland, Edward called a Parliament (Dec. 2,) to demand a subsidy. His pretence was, certain troubles in Ireland, which he represented as so dangerous, that there was a necessity of sending an army thither. The subsidy was readily granted. But whilst the troops designed for this expedition were marching to embark, they received orders to advance towards the borders of Scotland. Edward representing to the Parliament, that it was dangerous to leave the northern counties defenceless, whilst their neighbours were in arms; and affirming, his presence was necessary in those parts, it was resolved, that the Irish expedition should be deferred to some other time.

A. D. 1333] Edward finding, that by the rapidity of Baliol's conquest, his project succeeded to his wish, immediately pulled off the mask. He began, upon frivolous pretences to complain, that the Scots had violated the treaty of peace. The Regent left by King David in Scotland, spared neither excuses, nor entreaties, nor submissions to divert the impending storm, but all to no purpose. Edward, who had formed the design of taking Berwick; soon after besieged that place. He pressed it so briskly, that he obliged the Governor to sign a capitulation, promising to surrender the town, unless relieved by a certain day.

During that time, the Regent, seeing Berwick could not be saved without exerting his utmost, levied an army, and was advancing with all speed to give the English battle. Edward, who was informed of it, expected him at Halvdon Hill, where was fought a bloody battle, which ended in the entire rout of the army of Scotland. Seven Scotch Earls were slain on the spot; with nine hundred Knights, and four thousand gentlemen, besides thirty-two thousand common soldiers, according to the English historians. The Scots, however, own but ten thousand. This victory was followed by the surrender of Berwick, which the King annexed for ever to the crown of England.

The success of this campaign answering Edward's expectation, he returned into his own dominions, leaving with Baliol a body of troops to complete the reduction of all Scotland. Strengthened with this aid, Baliol took several towns, after which he held his first Parliament at Edinburgh in February 10. 1334. He caused whatever had been done in favour of the King of England, to be confirmed and ratified. Moreover, all the English Lords who had served him, recovered the lands they had lost in Scotland, or acquired others. All the acts of Parliament passed in the reign of Robert Bruce were annulled, as wanting a lawful authority. Baliol, not satisfied with showing his gratitude to Edward, by the cession of Berwick, and doing him homage, resigned

to him likewise Roxburgh, Jedburg, Selkirk, Dumfries, and the Castle of Edinburgh, in reward, as he said himself in his letters, for the assistance received from him to recover his dominions.

A. D. 1334] This voluntary homage, and these extraordinary alienations, made him forfeit the esteem and affection of his new subjects. It was easy for them to see, that Babel was but Edward's instrument, to render himself master of Scotland. In this belief, they resolved to shake off the yoke of their new Kings who so visibly betrayed the interests of the nation. Some of the great men, improving this general disposition, headed a body. of malcontents, and went in quest of Baliol, who expected nothing less than to be attacked. They surprised and defeated him, forcing him to fly on a horse without a saddle to Carlisle, whence he sent his protector word of the misfortune befallen him.

About the same time Edward summoned a Parliament, and communicated his design, as he said, of going to the Holy-Land with the King of France, and several other Christian Princes. But the news of the revolution in Scotland, made him alter his pretended project. Having obtained the aid of money he demanded, he marched towards that kingdom, at the head of a numerous army, and penetrated without opposition: to the northern counties, whilst the Scotch army kept in posts, where it was not possible to attack them.

So for want of enemies to engage with, he left Scotland, and returned into England. Hardly had he reached the borders, when Dunbar, who commanded the Scotch army, sallying out of his retreats, retook some places from the English. As the season would not permit the King to go in quest of his enemies, he sent his troops into winter quarters, and that he might be at hand, resolved to pass the winter at Roxburgh.

A. D. 1335.] In the spring he attacked Scotland by sea and land. He even advanced as far as the northern ocean. But he reaped no great advantages from this incursion, as the north parts of Scotland could not be kept without an army always there, superior to that of the Scots. So, finding he could not allure them to a battle, he staid some time at Perth, whilst the Earl of Cornwall his brother, ravaged the western counties of that unfortunate kingdom. It is true, the Scots gained some advantage over five hundred English archers, who suffered themselves to be surprised.

They took likewise the Earl of Namur, and the Prince his brother, who served in Edward's army. But this last advantage proved fatal to them, as it occasioned the loss of the Earl of Murray, Regent of the kingdom. This Earl, who was so generous as to give his two prisoners their liberty, carrying his civilities a little too far in waiting upon them himself to the frontiers, had the misfortune to be taken by a party of the garrison of Roxburgh. This accident, added to the losses already sustained by the Scots, that of a good General, and a very able Regent.

Meantime, the Pope and the King of France were strongly using their interest, though indirectly, for King David, by endeavouring to turn the English arms another way. Whilst Edward was at Perth, he received ambassadors from France, who, jointly with the Pope's Nuncio, pressed him to perform his engagement to carry his arms into Palestine. He easily perceived, their sole intent was to divert him from the war with Scotland. So, to avoid all farther solicitations, he plainly told Philip's ambassadors, that by God's Grace he was in a condition to make war against the infidels, without their master's aid, as soon as he had finished the conquest of Scotland. This answer convincing the Scots that he was fully resolved not to end the war till he was absolute master of the kingdom, the greatest part voluntarily submitted; plainly perceiving, it was not possible for them to resist any longer.

They who took this course obtained very favourable terms, but there were others who chose rather to be exposed to the last extremities, than submit to the yoke of the English. After the campaign was over, Edward returned in triumph to England, having ordered Perth, Edinburgh, and Stirling, to be re-fortified, and left the government of Scotland to the Earl of Athol.

The new general who, though a Scotchman, had joined with Edward, in order to revenge some affronts received from his countrymen, had no sooner the command of the English army but he went and laid siege to Kildrumny. Dunbar and Douglas, who commanded the scotch forces, hastened to its relief, and though their army was not near so numerous, they defeated and slew the Earl of Athol and relieved the town. This success reviving the courage of the Scots, they came together from all parts under the conduct of these two generals, who made a very considerable progress.

A. D. 1336] Edward, who thought he had sufficiently tamed the Scots, fell into a fury upon the news of this fresh revolt. As soon as the season would permit he marched a fourth time into the heart of Scotland[21], and ravaged in a merciless manner the counties that had declared against him. In his return, he burnt the town of Aberdeen, and some other places of less note; and leaving a small army with Baliol, marched back to his dominions[22], where he was called by more important affairs. This was Edward's last expedition into Scotland.

Henceforth, neglecting that country, which he believed sufficiently subdued, and which afforded him no more laurels, he resolved to attack France, the most powerful state of all Europe, and to use his utmost endeavours to wrest the crown from Philip de Valois. Edward pretended, the salic law, in excluding females from the succession to the crown, did not exclude their male issue; whence he inferred, that the next male heir ought to succeed[23].

A.D. 1337] So important a war could not be undertaken, without extraordinary preparations, and the support of divers alliances, which might balance the superiority, France had then over England; Edward had now gained the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, the Duke of Brabant, the Earls of Guelder and Hainault, his brothers-in-law the Archbishop of Cologne, and several other German Princes. He even neglected not the private assistance of divers Lords of Germany, Flanders, Holland, Brabant, and Gascogne, who were to supply him with a number of horse, in proportion to the sums he gave them.

All these troops drawn together, and joined to the English, would have made a very numerous army. But these alliances were not near so advantageous to him as that procured him by Robert d'Artois, with James d'Arteville, a brewer of Ghent: The credit of that burgher was so great in Flanders, that he had caused the principal cities to revolt against the Earl[24]. This Prince was even reduced to the necessity of flying for refuge into France till Philip, who had engaged to restore him, was able to accomplish his promise. Edward, taking advantage of this juncture, offered his protection to the Flemings, who gladly accepted it apprehensive as they were, of being oppressed by Philip.

This alliance was the more advantageous; as besides the supplies he expected from the Flemings, it afforded him the convenience of assembling his army in Flanders, and a means to open a way into the enemy's country from that quarter. The Parliament, who approved of his design, having granted him large subsidies to carry it on, he raised one of the finest armies that had ever been levied in England.

Till all his allies were ready to act, he sent part of his troops to the relief of the Flemings, whom their Earl was vigorously attacking, with the assistance of the French. Upon the arrival of these troops, Guy, brother of the Earl of Flanders, who was posted in the Isle of Cadsant, was defeated and taken prisoner. This successful beginning of the English arms, so broke the measures of the Earl of Flanders, that the cities, which till then had been for him, declared against him.

Whilst Edward was making his preparations for this important war, he summoned a Parliament; the principal business of which was to settle the woollen trade, which was of very great consequence to the kingdom[25]. In this Parliament, he created Prince Edward his eldest son Duke of Cornwall, being the first in England that bore the title of Duke[26]. When the King was almost ready to begin the war, he wrote to the Pope and Cardinals, to Justify his enterprise against

France. He complained in his letters, that though, after the death of Charles the Fair his uncle, the crown was devolved to him as next heir, he was deprived of it by a rash and unjust sentence: that the ambassadors sent to Paris to demand the crown, not only were not heard, but were treated with that violence even to be threatened, and put in danger of their lives: that by taking from a minor the crown, which of right belonged to him, the Peers of France acted like robbers rather than judges and that he protested against whatever was done during his nonage.

Then he said, that Philip de Valois, not content with usurping the kingdom of France, had before any declaration of war, unjustly seized Guienne and the earldom of Ponthieu, and without cause, united these two provinces to the crown: that he had countenanced the Scotch rebellion, instead of assisting him, as he was obliged by bond of affinity. Lastly, that by his whole conduct he had shewn himself to be his mortal enemy, and extremely uneasy at every thing tending to the honour of England.

These letters being communicated to Philip, he answered, that by the Salic law, and the judgment of the Peers, Edward was excluded from the succession to the crown of France, to which otherwise he could pretend no manner of right, since he was born out of the kingdom that for his part, not only all the French had received him for King, but Edward himself had submitted to their judgment: that the homage he had done in person, and confirmed by his letters-patent, was a clear evidence, that he was himself convinced of the groundlessness of his pretensions.

Edward replied, that his protestation in the presence of his council before he went and did homage, prevented its being any prejudice to him: that the fear of losing his lands in France, was the sole motive of it which, added to the consideration of his minority, was more than sufficient to invalidate, whatever had been hitherto done.

Edward, willing to shew his allies, he was too far engaged in the contest to recede, ordered the Duke of Brabant to demand the crown of France in his name. At the same time he made him his lieutenant general for that whole kingdom, with orders to the French, whom he called his subjects, to pay him obedience. To prevent the evils, which a quarrel of this nature might bring upon Christendom, Benedict XII. who then filled the papal throne, used all his interest with the two Kings. But his were unavailing.

A. D. 1338] When he had taken all the precautions suggested to him by prudence, Edward departed from England, with a fleet of five hundred sail[27], and steered his course towards Antwerp. It was necessary he should be near his allies, that he might take with them all proper measures for the execution of his designs. Although his ambassadors had concluded alliances in his name with several Princes, there were still many things to be settled with them, before they could assemble their forces. This was properly what retarded several months the opening of the campaign. But this delay was not entirely fruitless. During that time, Edward went and conferred at Cologne, with the Emperor[28], who ordered a patent to be drawn up appointing him Vicar of the Empire.

This favour was attended with the promise of a powerful assistance, a promise which was afterwards very lamely performed. The city of Flanders having entered into the league by means of James d'Arteville, were grown apprehensive of being one day abandoned to the vengeance of their Earl, and the King of France. It was therefore necessary for Edward to show himself to the Flemings, in order to encourage them by his presence.

To that end he took a journey to Ghent and granted the principal cities several privileges, in order to encourage their trade with England. During this interval, (A. D. 1324) he promised the Marquis of Juliers to make him a Peer of England, which he did afterwards, by creating him Earl of Cambridge. His power as Vicar of the Empire, enabled him to erect the Earldom of Guelder, into a dutchy, and to grant the city of Cologne divers privileges, by which means he strengthened his alliance with the Archbishop. Among all his allies, the Duke of Brabant gave him the most

trouble. That Prince was anxious to secure himself, before he engaged in the league. The more diffident he was, the more Edward laboured to be assured of his assistance. Besides the money with which he profusely supplied him, he gave him hopes of the honour of having, one day, for his son-in-law the Duke of Cornwall, presumptive heir of the crown of England. Moreover, to make him perfectly easy, he was pleased to give it under his hand, not to quit the Low-Countries till the war was ended.

But these affairs, though of great moment, were not the sole cause of Edward's long stay in Brabant. As his expense was excessive[29], he endeavoured, during that time, to borrow money of all the foreign Princes. He did not scruple even to apply to private persons, and take up such sums as they were willing to lend: he even pawned his crown to the Archbishop of Triers, for fifty thousand florins.

During Edward's stay at Antwerp, (November 29) his Queen was delivered there of a Prince called Lionel. Every thing being ready to open the campaign, which had been retarded till September, Edward put himself at the head of forty thousand men, and encamped between Marchienne and Doway. Then he marched towards Le Cambresis, and halted some time before the walls of Cambrai. Here he was informed that Philip was advancing with a formidable army, to give him battle. As this war was immensely expensive, and it was his interest to end it at once; as soon as he received this intelligence, he passed the Scheldt, in order to meet his enemy.

A few days after, the two armies being encamped pretty near each other, about Vironfosse, Philip sent a herald to offer him battle, on condition it should be on a plain where there was no encumbrance. Edward accepted the challenge and left him to appoint the time and place; The 22nd of October was fixed for the decision of this famous quarrel. But whilst both sides were preparing with equal ardour for battle, Philip was discouraged by a letter from Robert King of Naples. This Prince, who passed for a great astrologer, foretold him ill success, wherever he fought the English; and, upon the credit of this prediction, Philip retired, not daring to venture a battle.

Some, however, maintain, that this letter would, not have induced him to take such a step, if the great men, who attended him, had not checked his ardour by more prudent councils. They are said to have represented to him, that in the battle which was going to be fought, he hazarded no less than his crown; whereas Edward ventured only soldiers, most of whom were not his own; and, upon this remonstrance, he resolved, though with great reluctance, to give his enemy this small advantage. When Edward saw there was no likelihood of bringing Philip to a battle, he marched into Hainault. Thus the first campaign ended without any bloodshed, except in Guienne, where the two parties made war upon one another.

A. D. 1346] It was not possible for Edward to return to England so soon as he desired, being detained in the Low Countries by a troublesome affair, created by underhand practices. The King of France, vexed to see the advantages his enemy reaped by his alliance with the Flemings, found means, by the help of his emissaries, to raise in the cities of Flanders a scruple for taking up arms against their sovereign Lord. This scruple, inflamed by the Ecclesiastics, most of whom were in the interests of France, had already made a deep impression on the minds of the people. Perhaps it would have caused in Flanders some revolution prejudicial to England, had not James d'Arteville found a speedy remedy, by advising Edward to assume the title of King of France.

This proposal being debated in the King's council, it was approved as a proper means to keep the Flemings in the league. And indeed, Edward reaped from it the advantage, he was made to expect; Pursuant to this advice, he stiled himself King of France, and quartered with his own arms the *Fleurs de lis* of France. He added this motto, **DIEU ET MON DROIT**;^[30] declaring thereby, that he put his whole confidence in God; and the justice of his cause. Some time after, he refused Philip the title of King, and forbade all his ministers to give him any other but that of Earl of Valois.

He made no scruple to use the title of King of France in all public acts, and to mark this year as the first of his new reign. At the same time he published a declaration, notifying to the French, that the kingdom of France being devolved to him by the death of Charles the Fair, according to God's will, which he would not oppose, he was resolved to assume the government. He gave his new subjects all the usual promises on the like occasions, and offered his protection to such as, after the example of the Flemings, would own him for their Sovereign; The same day he published a manifesto, containing a particular account of the pretended injuries received from Philip de Valois, and the offers made by himself in order to a peace, that they might unite their forces against the infidels.

Though Edward had entered into engagements with the Duke of Brabant, to stay in the Low Countries till the war was ended, it was not possible for him to keep his promise. His affairs necessarily called him into England. But to satisfy the Duke, he left him in hostage four English Lords of the first quality, besides his Queen and the new born Prince, who continued at Antwerp for pledges his return. After this affair was thus settled, he passed into England; where he arrived in February. Presently after he summoned a Parliament, which, upon granting him a considerable subsidy; obtained from him the confirmation of Magna Charta.

Before they broke up the Lords. and Commons presented an address, praying that the title of King of France, used in the public acts, might have no influence on the affairs relating to England. This request was too reasonable not to be immediately granted. Though he had not yet acquired One foot of land in France; this new title was not displeasing to the English, who fancied their King was become the greater for it

Though the first campaign had produced no considerable event, Edward's preparations were a plain indication, that he expected much from the second; He had increased his fleet to two hundred and sixty sail of ships fit for war, and his army was much more numerous than the former. Every thing being ready about Midsummer, he embarked, from the Orwell for Flanders, though he had intelligence, that the French fleet; consisting of four hundred sail, waited for him in the way to his eager desire of acquiring fame, causing him to receive the news with more joy than surprise, he resolved to open a passage through the enemy, notwithstanding their superiority.

He met them on the coast of Flanders, as he expected, and without hesitation began the engagement. This was the greatest and most memorable that had been yet seen in those seas, and the first wherein the King of England commanded in person. The ships. for the most part, grappling each other, both sides fought without stirring, as if they had been at land; from eight in the morning, till seven at night. If Edward's valour filled the soldiers with admiration, his conduct raised no less wonder in the mariners, who were amazed to see him give orders with such prudence and foresight that it might have been thought he had commanded at sea all his life.

The presence and resolution of the King, who appeared where-ever was most danger, so encouraged his men, that they fought with an astonishing bravery. The French behaved on their part, with great courage; but, after sustaining several hours the efforts of the English, they were forced at last to leap into the sea, to avoid the sword of their enemies.

Of the whole French fleet, but thirty ships escaped, the rest being either taken or sunk. So Edward's victory could not be more complete. The English say, the French lost thirty thousand men. This grievous fortune was long unknown to Philip, no one daring to carry him the news, till his buffoon, by an unlucky jest, gave him occasion to discover it[31].

Edward's good success in this engagement, afforded him an opportunity, of peaceably landing his troops in Flanders, where he assembled the finest army ever commanded by a King of England. It consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand men, English, Germans, Flemings, and Gascons. With these numerous forces he besieged Tournay, after detaching fifty thousand men,

under the conduct of Robert d'Artois, who posted himself near St. Omer, to favour the siege; These last troops were chiefly composed of the Militia of Flanders, who knowing nothing of military discipline, went one day, without order, to the number of eighteen thousand, to attack the suburbs of St. Omer, with design to plunder. The Duke of Burgundy, who had thrown himself into that place, not being able to bear this bravado, sallied out upon them, and slew above three thousand.

This loss would have been inconsiderable, had it not produced a fatal effect the same night, the Flemish troops; seized with a panic, quitted their Camp in great disorder, and shamefully retired; some to their own homes, others into Edward's camp.

Mean time, Philip, at the head of an army much stronger than Edward's, was advancing to the relief of Tournay. He was accompanied by the Kings of Navarre and Bohemia, with all the nobility of his kingdom. His design was not however to engage, but only to harass the besiegers, in order to oblige them to raise the siege. Edward quickly perceiving Philip's intent, was very sensible how, difficult it would be to take the town, whilst the French army was so near. Accordingly, to oblige his enemy to alter his purpose, he sent a herald with a letter, challenging him to single combat, or offering to decide their quarrel by a hundred on each side, or else by a general battle. The letter was directed, to Philip de Valois, without any other title. Philip answered, "He had seen a letter addressed to one Philip de Valois, but as it was not for him, he returned no answer to the contents; nevertheless he took this occasion to acquaint him, that with God's help, he hoped to drive him in a short time out of his territories."

It was difficult to forward the siege of Tournay, by reason of the French army, which never ceased night and day to harass the besiegers. Edward was three months before the town, without making any great progress; and yet could not resolve to raise the siege, though there was little likelihood of success. He was in great perplexity, but freed from it by Joanna de Valois his mother-in-law, sister of the King of France, and widow of the late Earl of Hainault. This Princess, who had retired to the abbey of Fontenelle after the death of her husband, came from her retreat on this occasion, to try to reconcile the two monarchs, one her brother, the other her son-in-law.

She so managed it, that at length she prevailed with them to consent to a truce, which was to last from the 20th of September, to the 25th of June the next year. It was afterwards prolonged for two years by the Pope's mediation. As soon as the truce was signed, Edward departed for England with his Queen, who had lived three years in the Low Countries. She had been delivered there of two Princes, namely, Lionel at Antwerp, and John at Ghent, known afterwards by the name of the duke of Lancaster.

It was a great mortification to Edward to be obliged, to make a truce, which in effect broke all his measures. Three very urgent reasons compelled him to take this step. First, the defection of the Emperor and the Duke of Brabant, who had both receded from the league. Secondly, the excessive charge of maintaining so numerous an army, for which the money that came from England in less sums than he expected, could not suffice.

Lastly, it was only a truce, which might in some measure save him the shame of raising the siege he had undertaken. The Duke of Brabant, he allured some time with the hopes of the fore-mentioned marriage. He even demanded the Pope's dispensation for it. But this affair, whether obstructed by the King himself, or the court of Rome, came to nothing. The Duke of Brabant therefore finding himself amused, withdrew his troops, without openly breaking however with the King. As to the Emperor, the assistance Edward received from him, was so inconsiderable, that he would not have been much weakened by that loss.

But the Emperor, in making a private peace with France, on pretence that Edward had concluded a truce without him, had at the same time revoked his patent of Vicar General of the Empire. This unexpected accident, which caused some of the German Princes to go from the league,

obliged Edward to take other measures. But Edward's chief business was to consider how to pay his debts, which were very considerable. Moreover it was necessary to find means to continue the war when the truce should be expired, without being liable to the like inconveniences.

When he left England he settled his affairs in such a manner, that he did not question to receive punctually the money he wanted to pay his numerous army, But he was no sooner engaged in the siege of Tournay, but, contrary to his expectation, he was in want of money, and found himself thereby in very great straits[32]. Upon his arrival at London, he highly complained of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had left Prime Minister in his absence. He accused him of maliciously obstructing the levying of the subsidy granted by the Parliament, though it was by his advice that he had engaged in the undertaking.

Moreover he complained, that having begun the siege of Tournay upon the Archbishop's assurances that nothing should be wanting, he saw himself abandoned when he had most need of assistance. That the Archbishop had not only broken his word, but likewise opposed all the expedients offered to raise money. In short, that he was the sole cause of the length and ill success of the siege of Tournay. (A. D. 1341) The Archbishop, in his turn, complained of an extraordinary levy of money made since the King's return, contrary to the liberties of Magna Charta, and threatened the collectors with excommunication.

His aim was to raise a commotion among the people. Probably, he would have carried his revenge farther, if he had not perceived his proceedings disapproved by the Parliament. As he was afraid of being abandoned, he chose, though somewhat of the latest, to cast himself upon the King's mercy. Edward very willingly received his submissions, for fear of engaging in a quarrel, which must have been prejudicial to him, by reason of his frequent occasion for the clergy's assistance. Some, have imagined the Archbishop suffered himself to be gained by the Pope, who was displeased with the war, and very much biased in favour of France.

There appeared quickly after a sensible proof of, the Pope's partiality in his putting all Flanders under an interdict, because the Flemings had been against the King of France their sovereign Lord. The Flemish clergy observed the interdict so strictly, that people were obliged to send into England for less scrupulous priests to celebrate Divine service. The Flemings received these Ecclesiastics without any difficulty, and pretended to evade the Pope's censures, by affirming they were built upon a wrong foundation, since Edward was the real King of France, and Philip an usurper.

The war undertaken by Edward against France, had succeeded so ill, that all his expenses had not acquired him one foot of land in the kingdom, which he had taken upon him to conquer. The prospect of fresh advantages, however, from the posture of affairs in the dutchy of Bretagne, soon made him resolve to improve so favourable a juncture. The share England had in the quarrel concerning the succession of that dukedom, obliges us to give some account of the case.

Arthur II. Duke of Bretagne, left three sons by his first wife; namely, John II who succeeded him. Guy Earl of Pontievre, and Peter. By a second wife he left a fourth son called John, who was Earl of Montfort by his mother. John II and Peter had no issue. Guy, who died. in 1330, left a daughter named Joanna, who was given by her uncle John in marriage to Charles de, Chatillon, brother of Lewis Earl of Blois. He was generally called Charles de Blois.

John II. dying in 1341, there remained two of the family, John Earl of Montfort, and Joanna his niece, wife of Charles de Blois. They both laid claim to the dukedom. Joanna by right of representation, as daughter of Guy elder brother of John de Montfort, and this last as brother of the late Duke, and consequently one degree nearer than his niece. He pleaded likewise the advantage of his sex; a reason of little weight, since Bretagne owned not the authority of the Salic-Law. But Charles had a great a great advantage over his competitor t namely, his being nephew to Philip de Valois, who was to decide the affair. On the other hand, the Earl of Montfort

had so managed, that immediately after the death of the Duke his brother, he got possession of Bretagne, and caused the greatest part of his subjects to swear fealty to him; nay, he was now gone to England, where he had privately done homage to Edward, acknowledging him for King of France, and made an alliance with him. By this proceeding of which Philip was informed, he entirely forfeited that monarch's favour, who had no great kindness for him before. However, Philip, willing to observe the customary formalities, ordered the two competitors to be summoned before the court of Peers, to defend their rights, and receive Judgment.

Montfort very imprudently repaired to Paris, imagining, what he had done in England was still a secret. But at his first audience, he found what he was to expect from the King; who plainly told him, he had no pretensions to Bretagne, and reproached him for his homage to the King of England. Montfort confessed he had been in England to see his friends; but denied the homage. But Philip being better informed than he imagined, commanded him not to stir from Paris, and appointed a day for the judgment of the process.

It was easy for Montfort to see, what danger both his cause and person were in. So, taking a sudden resolution, he made his escape from Paris, disguised like a merchant, and repaired to Bretagne. This did not hinder in his absence the decision of the affair, in favour of Charles de Blois, who was declared Duke of Bretagne, and forthwith admitted to homage. It is pretended, that in this judgment the Peers observed riot all the formalities requisite in causes of this nature, and that their proceedings were not altogether regular.

Though this decision was directly contrary to that in the case of the Earl of Artois, they pretended, the diversity of the customs of the two countries was the reason; for in Bretagne, representation took place, but was not received in Artois. Philip confiscated the lands of Montfort; but to make up this loss, Edward gave him in England the Earldom of Richmond. Shortly after, John, eldest son of Philip de Valois, being commissioned to execute the decree given in favour of Charles de Blois, entered Bretagne, at the head of a powerful army, and Montfort retired to Nantes, where he was immediately besieged. Quickly after, the city being taken, and Montfort made prisoner, he was conducted to Paris, and committed to the great Tower of the Louvre.

This event would doubtless have ended the quarrel between the two candidates; but Margaret of Flanders, wife of John de Montfort, undertook to support her husband's interests, in spite of the ill situation of his affairs. She came to London with her son, a child of four, year old, and renewed the Earl her husband's alliance with Edward. By this new treaty, she positively engaged, to put into the hands of the English all the places, still in her power and, to be better assured of the assistance of England, concluded a marriage between her son, and one of Edward's daughters, and left the young Prince at the English court, to be educated, or rather to be a hostage. (A. D. 1342)

This treaty procuring Edward an entrance into Bretagne, and by that means, an opportunity of attacking Philip. from that quarter, he dispatched Robert d'Artois thither. Robert quickly became master of Vannes, and then ordered Rennes to be besieged. Whilst his troops, were employed in the siege, the heads of the contrary party, knowing he staid at Vannes with a few troops, invaded the town, and carried it by storm. Robert being mortally wounded, with great difficulty escaped to Hennebont, where he died of his wounds. Edward received the news of his death with grief. He swore to revenge it; and kept his oath but too punctually.

Robert d'Artois's expedition into Bretagne, gave Philip occasion to complain, that Edward had violated the truce, and he therefore caused hostilities to be renewed in Guienne. Thus the two monarchs prepared again for war, by mutually accusing each other of breaking the truce: The Earl of Northampton, who had taken the command of the English troop in Bretagne, after the death of Robert d'Artois, was unable to make any progress with so small an army. It was of great moment to Edward, to become waster of that duchy; therefore he resolved to go thither in person with more forces. Upon his arrival, he besieged at once Nantes, Rennes, Vannes, and Guingamp.

Philip knowing how prejudicial to him the settlement of the English in Bretagne might be resolved to drive them thence.

To that end he raised an army of fifty thousand men, under the command of the Duke of Normandy, his eldest son. The young Prince Marching with the utmost expedition, had the good fortune to enter Bretagne, before any of the places besieged were taken. His approach obliged the King of England to raise these four sieges and draw all his troops together, which were still inferior to the French.

The two armies remained the best part of the winter, encamped near each other but so well entrenched, that neither of the leaders shewed any inclination to engage. The Duke of Normandy was unwilling to run any hazard, because having done what he wished he was in hopes of starving his enemies. Edward cared as little to venture a battle, unless forced, against an army much stronger than his own. Whilst these two Princes lay thus encamped, (A. D. 1343) two legates from Clement VI the new Pope, had time to arrive, and negotiate between the two crowns a truce for three years, wherein all the allies on both sides were included. They made the two Kings likewise promise to send ambassadors to Avignon, to treat of a peace by the Pope's mediation[33].

Whilst Edward was employed in his wars with France, the Scots improved that diversion to try to recover their liberty. Since Edward quitted Scotland, King David's adherents had gained great advantages over Baliol, who commanded the English army; but had not sufficient forces to stop their progress. Robert Stewart, Regent of Scotland for King David, maintained by his valour and conduct, the interests of the young exiled Prince. He was bravely seconded by William Douglas, and some other Lords, who still retained an inviolable fidelity for their lawful Sovereign. Though a body, commanded by Douglas, received a sad loss, Robert continued to keep his ground. He even saw himself, shortly after, in a condition to besiege Perth, or St. John's Town, the strongest place the English had in Scotland.

The siege lasted three months, the besiegers being greatly in want of ammunition. But a seasonable supply from France enabled them at length to take the place. This loss obliged Baliol to quit the centre of the kingdom, and retire to the borders, where he sheltered himself, by means of the places he had resigned to the English. The truce concluded before Tournay, wherein Scotland was included, obliged Stewart for some time to lay down his arms. But no sooner was the truce broken, on account of the affairs of Bretagne, than the Scots reassembled and besieged Stirling, of which they became masters, after numberless assaults without any intermission.

This progress convincing Edward of his mistake, in imagining that kingdom was disabled from giving him any trouble, he resolved to invade it once more by sea and land. To that purpose, he repaired to the frontiers, where he waited for his fleet, which was to join him at Newcastle. But a violent storm, which lasted several days, rendered his ships unserviceable for the rest of that year.

This accident hindered his entering Scotland, as it deprived him of the provisions and ammunition, on board his fleet. He could not expect to find any in the enemy's country, because the Scots themselves destroyed them, to deprive his army of the means of subsisting. However, their ignorance of his state, freed him from his present difficulties.

As they saw themselves much inferior to that Prince, who threatened their country with utter desolation; they humbly sued for a truce, which they thought themselves very happy in obtaining. Edward took care not to refuse it; but taking advantage of their terror, would grant it only upon this condition: that they should own him for Sovereign of Scotland, and renounce their allegiance to King David, in case that Prince came not in person into that kingdom before May next ensuing, with an army strong enough to give battle. This condition put the King of France under a necessity of assisting his ally, better than he had hitherto done, for fear of being deprived of the advantages, procured by the frequent diversions of the Scots. Wherefore, he furnished King David with men

and money, and sent him into Scotland[34], where he levied a very considerable army, consisting, as it is said, of sixty thousand men, Scots, French, Danes, and Norwegians. With these troops he marched towards the frontiers of England, and penetrated as far as Durham, which he besieged.

In a few days, he took the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. He would have proceeded, but, upon advice, that Edward was hastening to give him battle, he resolved to retire; his generals, representing to him, that he could not stay any longer in England, without exposing himself to the hazard of a battle, which might a second time endanger his kingdom. Whilst he was marching back to Scotland, the garrison of Werk Castle, belonging to the Countess of Salisbury, falling upon some of his troops that stayed behind, he was so incensed, that he resolved to take the castle.

He stormed it several times, but was bravely repulsed by the Countess's people, who was herself in the place. This resistance, and the news of Edward's approach, made him desist. He could not retire more seasonably, since Edward came that very day to the castle. He paid a visit to the Countess of Salisbury[35], which has given occasion to some historians to say, he fell violently in love with her. Next day, Edward continued his march in quest of the enemy, but being informed, the Scots were retired to Gedeour's forest, he ceased his pursuit.

As his affairs were not yet in a good posture in Scotland, and this war was very unseasonable, with regard to the measures he was to take with France, he sent David an offer of a two years' truce, which was accepted with Philip's consent. This truce helped the King of Scotland to fix himself more firmly on his throne, and gave the King of England time to think of other affairs. Edward's thoughts for many years had been so wholly engrossed by military affairs, that he had not been able to find time to redress several grievances complained of by the people.

When the truce with France and Scotland afforded him so the respite, he called a Parliament to consult of means, to secure the welfare and tranquillity of the nation, during the session, which lasted great part of the winter; the Parliament made it their chief business to enact divers regulations, very beneficial to the people, and not opposed by the King. On the contrary, Edward very solemnly confirmed all the liberties contained in the Magna Charta; showing thereby, that he had no less at heart the good of his people, than his own or that of his successors.

Among the several acts passed in this Parliament, one of the most important was the Statute of Provisors, that is an act against those who brought provisions from the Court of Rome for benefices. Though this Statute extremely displeased the Pope, he thought fit to be silent, being informed that the King and Parliament were resolved to support it, and contemn his censures, in case he had recourse to them.

He afterwards granted, from time to time, several provisions, but it was with such caution, that the abuse was considerably lessened during this whole reign. In process of time, however, under Edward's successors, the Popes returning to their former courses, there was a necessity frequently to renew this Statute, which was called the Statute of Præmunire, containing, besides the prohibition of provisions, several other cases concerning the disputes with the Pope.

In this Parliament the King created Edward his eldest son, Prince of Wales, and invested him with a coronet, and a ring of gold.

Whilst Edward seemed wholly employed with domestic, he neglected not foreign affairs. His mind was continually on the rack, to find means to renew the war with France, the moment the truce was explained. He appeared however inclinable to peace, and continued, at the Court of Rome, negotiations, which daily met with fresh obstacles. But, whether his view was only to amuse his enemy by these negotiations, or he expected them to be unsuccessful, he neglected not his preparations for war. He had found so little advantage in his alliances with the Princes

of Germany, and the Low-countries, who had caused him to consume such immense sums to no purpose, that he resolved to take another course.

To that end, he dispatched into the Low-countries and Germany, agents, with power to treat with all sorts of persons, who were willing to supply him with men or money. Besides, that all these aids, when drawn together, would produce the same effects with much less expense, he hoped to be able to dispose of his troops more absolutely, than he had done those of the Prince.

Moreover, his aim was to render Philip's intrigues more difficult, whereby he was perpetually endeavouring to corrupt his allies. For the better accomplishing his design, and to draw into his kingdom multitudes of foreign Lords, with whom he might in person negotiate, he thought of an expedient, which could not fail of success, because it was entirely agreeable to the taste of that age. He ordered tournaments to be published, and gave an honourable reception to all persons of distinction, who were pleased to be present, caressing them so that they could never sufficiently admire his politeness, magnificence, and liberality.

To render these entertainments the more solemn, and withal to free himself from the ceremonies, to which the difference of rank and condition would have obliged him he caused a circular hall, of boards to be run up at Windsor, two hundred feet in diameter. There it was that he feasted[36] all the Knights at one table, which was called the Round Table, in memory of the great Arthur, who, as it is pretended, instituted an Order of Knighthood by that name. Next year he caused a more solid building to be erected, that he might continue yearly the same diversions.

During that time, he treated with these several Lords about the aids wherewith each could furnish him, in proportion to his forces. The collection of the public acts, is full of the treaties with private persons, managed either by himself, or his agents. Philip could not see without jealousy, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Flemings, and Frenchmen themselves, flock to England to assist at the tournaments. He suspected some hidden design in these entertainments, and to break Edward's measures, cause, the like to be published in his dominions[37].

This way of opposing his enemy was in itself just and honourable; but soon after he used another means that was not so generally approved, and was attended with great consequences. It is affirmed, that having drawn to Paris, under a colour of a tournament, Oliver de Clisson, and ten or twelve other Lords of Bretagne, who attended Charles de Blois, he commanded their heads to be cut off, without any formality of justice. But it appears by a letter from Edward to the Pope upon this occasion, that Philip did not allure these Lords to Paris, but apprehended them in Bretagne.

As this action was the cause of breaking the truce, it will be necessary to explain it. Oliver de Clisson a Lord of Bretagne, having served Charles de Blois during the war, was taken prisoner by Edward, who having probably gained him,; consented he should be exchanged for an Englishman[38]. Whether Philip had proof of his having changed sides, or only suspected it, he ordered him to be apprehended in Bretagne, with ten or twelve Lords and gentlemen, and conducted to Paris; where their heads were struck off. According to Froissart, Argentré, and all the French historians, these Lords had all along espoused the quarrel of Charles de Blois, and yet Edward in his letter to the Pope, calls them his adherents. They must therefore have changed sides, publicly or privately, after the truce.

A. D. 1344] Edward, however, was so enraged at the tragical death of the Lords of Bretagne, that he was going to behead the Bretagne prisoners of Philip's party, which were in his power. But upon the remonstrances of Henry of Lancaster, he altered his resolution. However, he sent for Henry de Leon, one of the prisoners, and told him with great emotion, that though the death of his countrymen, beheaded at Paris, was a sufficient reason to serve him in the same kind, he was unwilling to follow so bad an example, or to revenge himself on the innocent, but intended to punish the author of that barbarity himself. Then he said, though he might demand of him a

ransom of thirty or forty thousand crowns, he would release him for ten thousand on condition he would go in his name and defy Philip, and declare to him, that having violated the truce by this base action, he must prepare for war.

These were not fruitless menaces. Edward, in his resolution to push, the war with more vigour than ever, ordered a commission to be drawn up, constituting the Earl of Northampton his Lieutenant-General in France; commanding him at the same time to defy Philip, and declare war against him by sea and land. Shortly after, he sent into Guienne, Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby, to commence hostilities, till he should be able to go thither himself, designing to exert himself most in that province.

Mean time, he sent for John de Montfort into England, who had made his escape from Paris, and received his homage for Bretagne. He received likewise the homage of Geoffrey de Harcourt, for his lands in Normandy confiscated by Philip; and promising by letters patent, either to recover his estate, or give him an equivalent in France or England. Shortly after, he published a manifesto concerning all the injuries received from Philip de Valois. He exhorted the French to own him for Sovereign, promising to exempt them from taxes, and govern them according to the laws and customs observed in France, under St. Lewis, his predecessor.

He forgot not to write to the Pope, to inform him of his reasons for renewing the war. But the Pope's answer plainly shewed him to be a partial mediator. He not only excused Philip's proceedings against the Lords of Bretagne; and charged Edward with being the first violator of the truce, but threatened to exert his apostolic authority against him. This was sufficient to convince Edward, he could expect no favour from the Pope. Accordingly he addressed himself to him no more, but as matter of form.

A. D. 1345] Whilst these things were transacting, Philip was trying to disengage the Flemings from the interest of England. Edward, hearing of these practices, suddenly passed into Flanders[39], where he staid three weeks. At his return, he pretended to have prevented the mischief, he had reason to fear from the inconstancy of the Flemings. But the sequel showed, he had flattered himself too much, or the Flemings had deceived him; since it is certain they never more gave him any assistance.

Meantime the Earl of Derby made a considerable progress in Guienne, where he carried by storm the town of Bergerac, which was given up to be plundered[40]. History ought not to omit making honourable mention of the generosity of that General. Whilst the English were busy in plundering the town; a Welsh Knight chanced to alight upon the receiver's office. He found there such a quantity of money, that he thought himself obliged to acquaint his general with it; imagining so great a booty naturally belonged to him. But he was agreeably surprised, when the Earl told him with a pleasant countenance, that he wished him joy of his good fortune, and did not make his ward to depend upon the greatness or smallness of the thing promised.

This year the Scots, at the instigation of the King of France made an inroad upon the borders England, but were repulsed by Edward's troops in the northern counties. John de Montfort, who took the title of Duke of Bretagne, died in September, leaving to the King of England the guardianship of his son; and to Margaret his duchess, the management, of a very important, war[41].

A. D. 1346] Whilst these things passed, Edward lost the assistance of a powerful ally, by the death of James d'Arteville, who was torn in pieces by the Flemings[42]. His death entirely changing the face of affairs in the Low-countries, it was by no means proper to attack France from that quarter. For this reason Edward resolved to carry the war into Guienne. The Duke of Normandy had now entered that province, at the head of sixty thousand men, to stop the progress of the Earl of Derby, and complete the conquest thereof. Upon the approach of this formidable army, the Earl left the field, and retired to Bordeaux. His retreat giving the Duke of Normandy

an opportunity of retaking several places, he was at length engaged in the siege of the Castle of Aiguillon, seated upon the confluence of the Gironne and Lot.

This siege was very remarkable, as well for the vigorous assaults of the besiegers, who for a whole week, stormed the town three times a day, as for the brave defence of the siege, who were not to be discouraged by those frequent assaults. To relieve these brave men, Edward hastened his preparations, determined to go in person, and oppose the Duke of Normandy's progress[43].

Every thing being ready for his departure, he came to Southampton, bringing with him the Prince of Wales his eldest son, about thirteen years old, who was to make his first campaign. Before the embarkation of the troops, he assembled the principal officers, and exhorted them so to behave, as should render them worthy of his esteem, and the rewards he designed for those that discharged their duty. He declared his intention was to send back his ships the moment he arrived in Guienne, and therefore it would be vain to hope to see their own country again, unless they returned victorious.

He added, if any man's heart failed him, he need only speak freely, and he should instantly have his leave to stay behind. This speech being spread in the army, the soldiers cried out with one voice, they were ready to follow their King wherever he was pleased to lead them. So sudden and universal a resolution, inspiring him with great hopes, he embarked his troops with design to sail for Guienne: but the wind proving contrary, he was forced to put back twice. Geoffrey de Harcourt, who attended him, made use of this juncture to persuade him to land in Normandy, a very plentiful country, which had been long exempted from the calamities of war.

Edward followed his advice, and landed at La Hogue, where he was by no means expected.

The moment he set foot on shore, he knighted the Prince of Wales his son, and several other young Lords, after which, he headed his army, consisting of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred men at arms. He divided his troops into three bodies, who marched separately in the day, but commonly rejoined in the evening, in order to encamp together. In their first marches, they revenged in a terrible manner, the death of the Lords beheaded at Paris. Valogne, St. Lo. Carentan, Harfleur, were the first towns that felt the fury of the English arms.

Ralph, Earl of Eu, constable of France, then at Caen, offering to oppose the English with the militia of the country, served only, by his being defeated and made prisoner, for a happy presage of their future victories. After the defeat of the constable, Edward continued his march through the Bishoprics of Lisieux and Evreux, burning and plundering: whatever came in his way. He halted not till he arrived at Poissi; where he staid some days; to provoke Philip to engage, by sending a herald to him with a defiance, which was not accepted. Philip had another design, and that was to enclose him between the Seine and the Oyse.

Had the project succeeded, the English army would have been unavoidably ruined. But Edward, perceiving his intent, though somewhat late, decamped from Poissi, in order to pass the Somme, and take shelter in Ponthieu; knowing his enemy was advancing with an army of a hundred thousand men. He marched a good way down the Somme, without finding any passage. At last, he discovered the ford of Blanchetaque, by means of a prisoner, who was perfectly acquainted with the country. Though this discovery seemed at first a great advantage, he quickly found the difficulties of his retreat were not much lessened.

Philip foreseeing, the enemy might take that route to retire, detached Gondemar du Fay with a body of twelve thousand men to guard that ford, on which depended the success of his designs. Edward saw himself therefore under a necessity, either of forcing the passage, or of fighting with great disadvantage his enemy, who was closely pursuing him. Being come to a resolution, he ordered his troops to advance, who, being animated by the presence of their King, cast themselves into the river with such intrepidity, that they began to vanquish their enemies before they came

to the charge. But all this was not capable of stopping the English, who, in the sight of their King, witness of all their actions, marched through all these obstacles; as to a certain victory. It was not possible for the French to sustain so furious an attack. After some endeavours to repulse the English, they were forced to abandon that important passage, through which Edward immediately marched his whole army.

The same evening (August 24), he encamped at Cressy, whilst Philip passed the Somine at Abbeville, but three leagues from thence. Edward seeing himself so closely pursued, and perceiving it would be impossible to avoid fighting, stopped short to expect his enemies, and chose an advantageous piece of ground, where he drew up his army. Philip being persuaded; that Edward's retreat was the effect of his fear, did not question, if he could but come up with him, he should quickly vanquish him.

Accordingly, not to afford him time to retire any further, he marched next day from Abbeville with design to attack him. The English army was divided into three bodies, of which the Prince of Wales[44] commanded the first. The second was led by the Earls of Northampton and Arundel[45] and the Lord Ross. The King kept at some distance with the third[46] to assist those that should want it.

Philip could not come in sight of the enemy till three in the afternoon, having marched that day three leagues, so that it was almost four o'clock when the battle began. He had likewise. divided his army[47] into three bodies, the first whereof consisted of Genoese, under the command of Antonio Doria, and Carolo Grimaldi. As the chief strength of his infantry lay in these troops, he would have them charge first. Just as the battle was going to begin, a great and sudden rain slackening the strings of the Genoese cross-bows, they became unserviceable.

However, as they were now too far advanced, they saw themselves exposed to a shower of English arrows, which made them give ground. Charles Earl of Aleçon, the King's brother, who supported them with a great body of horse, seeing them give way, without knowing the cause, imagined there was treachery, and immediately ordered the horse to fall upon them, by which rash action, he began to put the French army in disorder. Mean time, the Earl never troubling himself about the Genoese, nor minding what passed behind him, attacked the first body of the English, commanded by the Prince of Wales, and was received with a firmness he little expected. He continued however his endeavours, which only caused him to lose his life, valiantly fighting, By his death the body he commanded began by degrees to stagger, and as they could not be speedily supported, by reason of the disorder caused by themselves among the Genoese troops, were at length put to flight.

The Prince of Wales having so great an advantage in this first onset, Philip ordered a numerous body of horse to advance, to repair the disorder caused by the defeat of the first, Thus the French had always the superiority in number, though the English still kept their ground. In all appearance, the young Prince, who fought with an heroic courage, determined to conquer or die, would have been overpowered by numbers, if the Earls of Northampton and Arundel had not come to his relief. Their approach drew thither more French troops, the small extent of the field not permitting the two armies to engage all at once. So the fight was very obstinate.

The valour of the Prince of Wales, which filled the English Generals with admiration, made them at the same time. extremely uneasy with regard to his person, because of the superior number of the enemies. Apprehensive that some misfortune might happen to him in the end, they speedily sent. the King word, that it was time to come to the Prince's relief, who was likely to be oppressed by numbers. Far from being moved at this message, Edward asked, whether his son. was still alive, and being told, he was not only alive, but fighting with an astonishing valour; replied to the messenger, Tell my Generals, that as long as my son is alive, let them send no more to me, for the honour of this day, shall be his; and he must now merit his spurs.

This answer inspiring the Prince with fresh courage, he broke through his enemies, who were ready to surround him. His troops imitating his heroic bravery, seconded him so well, that the French began to give ground, and at length to disperse in confusion.

Philip had one body left which had not yet engaged, at the head whereof he was himself. Towards this body the Prince of Wales directed his steps; after routing the other two; and in this last action, it was that he acquired the greatest honour Philip, enraged to see his two bodies routed and dispersed, performed wonders, to snatch the victory from the young hero before it was complete.

The King of Bohemia, who, though blind, would be present at the battle, causing his horse's bridle to be tied to those of two brave Knights, was slain according to his wish; in fighting for France. His standard, on which were embroidered in gold, three Ostrich feathers, with these words, **ICH DIEN**, that is, **I SERVE**, was taken. and brought to the Prince of Wales, who, in memory of that day, bore three Ostrich feathers, for his crest, with the same motto. Mean time Edward, who stood with his troops on a rising ground, watched the proper time to charge, being unwilling however to make too much haste, for fear of robbing the Prince his son of part of his glory. But in this state of inaction, he failed not to strike terror into the French, who saw him ready to fall upon them with advantage.

Philip, after many fruitless attempts to repulse the English, rallied some of his nobles and men at arms, and threw himself into the midst of the battle, in order to animate his troops by his example. On this occasion he gave signal proofs of an undaunted valour. It was not till after being twice dismounted, and wounded in his back and thigh, that he suffered himself to be led, though with extreme pain, out of the field of battle. His retreat quite discouraging to those of his men that still maintained the fight, they were entirely routed with the rest of the army. Then it was that a dreadful slaughter ensued of the flying troops, who were pursued till the night was far advanced.

It is affirmed, that in this memorable battle, the English began for the first time to use cannon, a thing yet unheard of in France. Four pieces, planted on a little hill, did great execution among the French troops, and struck them with such terror, that the success of the day is partly ascribed to the surprise of the French at this novelty. France lost in this battle, the King of Bohemia, the Earl of Alençon brother of the King, the Duke of Lorraine, the Earl of Flanders, the Earl of Blois, fifteen other great Lords of the kingdom, twelve hundred Knights, and above fourscore standards.

When Edward found, by the hasty flight of the enemies, that his victory was certain, he advanced to shew his son marks of his extreme satisfaction. "Dear son," said he, embracing him in his arms, "You have acquitted yourself nobly this day, and truly deserve the crown for which you have fought." The young Prince, out of countenance at the King's commendations, with a modest silence, fell on his knees, and asked his father's blessing, according to the custom practised in England.

The night of this glorious day was spent by the English in rejoicings. But the King published in the camp express orders, not to insult over the misfortunes of the vanquished, exhorting his army to return God thanks for the victory he was pleased to give them. On the morrow, some troops, sent to pursue the flying enemy, meeting a body of militia, who, without knowing what had happened, were marching to Philip's camp, slew seven thousand.

It is said, the loss France sustained on the second day, was greater than that of the battle, as well by the defeat of the militia, as by the slaughter, or taking of the soldiers, who in flying, were dispersed in the country[48].

Edward continued some days near the field of battle, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded, as well those of the enemy as his own. Then marching through Le Boulonnois, he approached Calais, in order to besiege it. This place was exceedingly strong.

In becoming master of it, he not only freed himself from a very troublesome neighbourhood, but also opened a way into France. He invested it on the 8th of September, and summoned the Governor to surrender, threatening, in case of a refusal, to put the garrison and inhabitants all to the sword. John de Vienne, the Governor, answered, He owned no other King of France but the person that committed to the custody of the town, in whose service he was resolved to live and die.

The King having taken an exact view of the fortifications of Calais, found it would be very difficult to accomplish the siege by force; so from the first, he resolved to reduce the place by famine. For that purpose, he drew round the town four lines of circumvallation, with regular fortifications, resolved not to relinquish his enterprise till accomplished. The Governor, who saw the preparations, foreseeing the length of the siege, took care to send away all useless mouths, that he might not be exposed to the danger of wanting provisions. Though, according to the maxims of war, Edward was not obliged to take pity of these wretches, who were to the number of seventeen hundred, he received them into the camp, gave them a good dinner, and two sterlings a piece and leave afterwards to go where they pleased.

Mean time, Philip, who was very concerning this siege, sought all possible means to raise it. He saw but two. The first, which was to attack the lines of the besiegers, could not be soon enough put in practice, to hope the town would hold out till he should be able to relieve it. The second was, to make a diversion in England by the arms of the Scots. This being deemed the speediest, he engaged the King of Scotland to make an inroad into England: He did not question its success, because all the English forces were employed in France.

It was to be presumed, the alarm, caused by this invasion, would raise such commotions, in England, that Edward would be forced to raise the siege he had undertaken. David, looking upon the interest of France as his own, readily followed the suggestions of Philip, and put himself at the head of fifty thousand men, and, in the beginning of October, advanced as far as Durham.

This unexpected invasion, alarmed the English, but however was not capable of disheartening them. Young Lionel, left by the King his father guardian of the realm, not being yet of age to command an army, Queen Philippa took upon her to repulse the enemy. To that end, heading the troops, drawn together from all parts with wonderful expedition, she marched directly to the Scots, and offered them battle. David was no less impatient to engage. He imagined nothing more easy, than to put to flight undisciplined troops, commanded by a woman. But the success did not answer his expectations. He not only had the mortification to lose the day, but also to see himself a prisoner in the hands of the English[49].

Fortune was never weary of favouring Edward. As his arms were victorious in France and England, so were they likewise in Bretagne. Sir Thomas Dagworth, who commanded the English troops in that country, twice defeated Charles de Blois, and took him prisoner in the last battle, fought near La Roche de Rien.

Meantime, the siege, or rather blockade of Calais, was continued by sea and land. Edward had sent for seven hundred ships to guard the sea. As therefore nothing could be brought into the town, it was at last reduced to extremity. The sad condition of the besieged being discovered to the King by an intercepted letter, he sent it immediately to Philip, and withal bade the messenger tell him, he had no time to lose, if he intended to relieve the place. Philip improving this intelligence, speedily took the field, and approached the English camp with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. He hoped to draw the enemy out of his entrenchments, by offering him battle several times. But Edward was too wise to run any hazard, well knowing the

impossibility of forcing his lines: besides, he had good reason to expect, the town would quickly be at his mercy. So, without being moved with all these, defiances, he constantly answered, his business there was to take Calais, and if Philip thought fit to hinder him, he had only to take the most proper measures. Philip seeing he could not without manifest danger attack him in his entrenchments, nor draw him into the open field, sent two Cardinals with proposals of peace.

He offered him Guienne, the Earldom of Ponthieu, and a marriage between their children. Edward made a jest of these offers. He replied, Guienne and Ponthieu belonged to him; that he should quickly be master of Calais, and so had no need of his bounties.. This project not succeeding, Philip proposed to him by a herald; to decide their quarrel by a combat of six on each side. The herald adding, the King of France would appoint the time and place; the Earl of Derby made answer, that must be Edward then, since he is the true King of France.

This pretension alone, was sufficient to cause the proposal to fall to the ground, to which it is certain Edward, in his present circumstances, had no inclination. His sole aim was to take Calais, without putting that event to arbitration. A few days after he received a recruit of seventeen thousand men, brought him by his Queen from England: this supply came very seasonably, to enable him to have his revenge of Philip. It is affirmed, he offered to fight him in open field; to fill up his trenches himself, and demolish his works, provided he might have sufficient security that nothing should be conveyed into Calais till after the battle. It is added, that Philip refusing this offer, chose to retire.

Thus this much is certain, he did not think proper to attack Edward in his entrenchments. So, the besieged despairing of being relieved, desired at length to capitulate. A capitulation, deferred till the last extremity, could not be of any great advantage. Accordingly, Edward refused the besieged all terms but that of life, which he was willing to grant both to the soldiers and the inhabitants. However, he excepted out of the last, six of the principal burghers, to sacrifice them to his vengeance, leaving the inhabitants to chuse the victims themselves.

This severity caused a great consternation in the town. It was very difficult to chuse these six persons, and yet there was no time to lose. History ought not to pass over in silence the generous action of Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the chief inhabitants. This brave burgher seeing fear and despair painted on the faces of his countrymen, voluntarily offered himself to be one of the six. So uncommon a magnanimity affected the rest to such a degree, that five more were quickly found, who, after his example, devoted themselves for the preservation of their townsmen.

These six illustrious burghers, sent to appease the conqueror's rage, by the sacrifice of their lives, went out bare footed, in their shirts, with halters about their neck's, and presented to him, the keys of the: town. They found him so highly incensed, that notwithstanding the intercession of the Prince of Wales, and of the great men about him, he commanded them to be led to execution. But if he had resolution enough to refuse that favour to the pressing solicitations of his son, he could not find in his heart the same insensibility for the Queen. This good Princess, moved with the misfortune of these miserable men, casting herself at his feet, entreated him with tears in her eyes, to pardon them for Christ's sake.

How resolved soever he might be, he could not behold at his feet a Queen, whom he so tenderly loved, without feeling his heart relent, and in spite of the resolution he had. armed himself with; was overcome with her entreaties. The Queen, not content with saving the lives of these unfortunate. men, ordered clothes to be brought them; and after giving them an entertainment in her own tent, dismissed them with a present to each of six pieces of gold. An action which did then, and ever will, redound to the honour of that generous Princess[50].

Thus the important town of Calais, after nearly a year's siege, became subject to the dominion of the English. A few days after Edward had made his entry into Calais, he turned out all the inhabitants, in order to people it with English. Probably, this precaution was the means of

England's keeping that place two hundred years. The siege had been so long and fatiguing, that Edward thought himself obliged to give his troops some repose, by consenting to a truce proposed to him for one year. Which done, he left a strong garrison in Calais, and returned in triumph to England[51].

Never had the English name been more glorious than at this time; and never had England enjoyed more complete happiness. .If the valour, wisdom, and good fortune of the King, gave an extraordinary lustre to the realm, the rare qualities of the brave Prince of Wales, heir-apparent to the crown, afforded no less hopes for the future. The prodigious plenty which immediately followed Edward's victories, seemed also to demonstrate that heaven took peculiar care of the English[52].

To add fresh lustre to Edward's glory, ambassadors from Germany arrived the next year; with offers of the imperial dignity. The election of Charles IV who was now crowned at Bonn, not being agreeable to all the electoral Princes, some were resolved to make a new choice. To that end, they cast their eyes on the King of England, whom the battle of Cressy, and taking of Calais; had rendered very famous. But Edward, who was not ignorant how much the acceptance of this dignity, at a like juncture, had cost Richard, brother of Henry III was too wise to throw himself into the same difficulties. Besides, he had need of all his forces, and endeavours to acquire the crown of France, which to him seemed a more substantial good. On these accounts, he refused the honour intended him by the German Princes, and declined taking so great a burden upon him.

A. D. 1349] During the prosperity enjoyed by the English, it is no wonder that ease and plenty threw them into the excesses, that are the usual attendants thereof. All the historians unanimously affirm that an unbridled debauchery at this time prevailed throughout the kingdom; and the women lying aside their modesty, the great ornament of their sex, seemed to glory in the loss of their virtue. Nothing was more common than to see them riding in troops to the tournaments, dressed like cavaliers, with swords by their sides, and mounting their steeds. adorned with rich trappings, without any regard to their honour or reputation.

The men's excesses were no less scandalous. God permitted not these disorders to go long unpunished. A terrible plague, after raging in Asia, and part of Europe, spread itself into France, and from thence into England[53], where it made such desolation, that one half of the nation was swept away. London especially felt the effects of its fury, where, it is observed, in one year above fifty thousand. persons were buried in a church-yard belonging to the Cistercians[54].

Though this terrible scourge had been no more favourable to France, Philip was making great preparations to renew the war, with a resolution to use all possible endeavours to recover Calais. However, as he rightly judged, it would be very difficult to retake the town by force of arms, he resolved to use a surer way. The Lords of Montmorency and Charny; to please their master, very readily took upon themselves to hold private intelligence with Aymeri de Pavia the governor, who promised to deliver up the place for twenty thousand crowns. This sum being sent him, he found means to introduce by degrees into the town, a hundred men at arms, and twelve French Knights, whom he concealed in the castle.

On the day appointed for the performance of his promise, the Lords of Charny and Ribaumont lay in ambush near the two gates of the town, in order to rush in, as soon as they were opened. So just were their measures, that they thought themselves sure of success. But they did not know all that had passed. A little before, Edward receiving some intelligence of the plot, sent for the Governor of London, and promised him pardon, on condition he would betray the French. The villain, perceiving himself inevitably ruined if he refused to comply, fully informed the King the circumstances of the plot, and the day agreed upon to let the enemy into the town. By this means Edward ordered it so, that he came the evening before to Calais, attended by the Prince of Wales, and a force of eight hundred men. On the morrow by break of day, he sallied out at one gate,

and the Prince of Wales at the other, to attack the French, who little expected such an adventure. The King, who fought on foot, under the banner of the Lord Walter de Manny, engaged in single combat with Eustace de Ribault, a Knight of Picardy, by whose fierce blows he was twice struck down on his knees. The speedy relief he received from his own men, freed him from this danger, and even enabled him to defeat Ribault's troop, and take him prisoner.

Whilst the King was thus employed, the Prince of Wales vigorously charged the Lord Charny, who, after a long resistance, was at length defeated, and taken prisoner by the Prince; The French lost in this action, six hundred men, besides a number of prisoners, who, with their two leaders; were brought into the town, of which a few hours before they hoped to be masters. Though the way they had used was far from being honourable, Edward; considering it was in obedience to their Sovereign, treated them very civilly.

That very evening he entertained the principal prisoners with a splendid supper, and was even pleased to come and see them whilst at table. He could not forbear upbraiding Charny with the infamous means he had used, to take from him by treachery, and during the truce, a place that cost him so dear, and was fairly won. But he openly bestowed the highest encomiums on Ribault; called him the best Knight that he had ever been acquainted with; and confessed that he himself had at no time been in such great danger as when engaged in combat with him.

He then took a string of pearls, which he wore about his own head, and throwing it over the head of Ribault, he said to him, Sir Eustace, I bestow this present upon you as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery: and I desire you to wear it a year for my sake: I know you to be gay and amorous, to take delight in the company of ladies and damsels: let them all know from what hand you had the presents. You are no longer a prisoner; I acquaint you of your ransom; and you are at liberty to morrow to dispose of yourself as you think proper. Before he left Calais, he made John de Beauchamp Governor, not thinking it prudent to trust any longer the custody of that important place in the hands of a Lombard, who had suffered himself to be bribed. But this was not all the punishment the traitor received for his double treachery. The next year, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the French, who caused him to be torn in pieces with four horses.

The attempt upon Calais failing, contrary to the expectation of the French, Philip disowned the authors; and, as Edward was not ready to renew the war, he was contented with that slight satisfaction.

Edward having nothing more to do at Calais, returned to England, where soon after he instituted the famous Order of the Garter[55]. According to the common opinion, this order owes its origin to an accident in itself of little importance, but in regard to its consequences very remarkable, if it be true, that it gave birth to the institution of this Order of Knighthood.

It is said, that Edward being at a ball, where the Countess of Salisbury in dancing, dropped her garter, stooped to take it up that the lady imagining he had some other design, and shelving her surprise, he said to her, to clear himself, "*Boni suit qui Mal y Pense,*" Evil to him that evil thinks. It is added, that in memory of this accident, he instituted the Order of the Garter, to which he gave for motto, the words spoken to the Countess[56].

Some, however, affirm, that the reason of Edward's instituting this Order, was because on the day of the battle of Cressy, he had given Garter for the word. Others say, Edward only revived and regulated an order of Knighthood, begun by King Richard I at the siege of Acre in Palestine. King Richard resolving to storm the town, distributed to some of his principal officers certain leather strings to be tied round the leg, to distinguish them during the assault, and in memory of that event, Edward instituted the Order of the Garter. But this is certain, that of all the like Orders, this of the Garter has best adhered to the rules of its institution. More ancient than those of the Golden Fleece[57], and Holy Ghost[58], it has never degenerated as to the number, which has

all along been twenty six, including the Sovereign of the Order, who is always the person that wears the crown of England. The Kings and other Sovereign Princes, who have been; and still are desirous of being admitted into this most noble Order, are a clear evidence of its great repute throughout all Europe[59].

The English merchants complaining, at this time of certain Spanish ships infesting the coasts of England, and doing, them much damage, Edward promised to clear the seas of them. To that end, assembling such of his ships as were soonest ready, he went himself and gave choice to the Corsairs; fought, and defeated them[60]; took twenty-six of their ships, sunk many more and dispersed the rest. This action, though in itself of little importance, seemed to him so glorious, that he caused a gold coin to be struck, whereon he was represented in a ship with his cutlass in his hand, in order to perpetuate the memory thereof[61].

Philip de Valois lived not to see the end of the truce made with Edward. He died the 22nd of August 1350, leaving for successor his son John, who renewed the truce till Whitsuntide 1354. But it was ill observed on both sides. In Bretagne, Gascogne, and Picardy, frequent hostilities were committed, which occasioned mutual complaints and even reprisals, each party throwing the blame on his enemy.(A. D. 1351)

The Earl of Derby, honoured with the. title of Duke of Lancaster, was sent to Calais with an army, as if it had been open war. He made inroads into the French territories, and ravaged the country from Calais to Terouenne. The greatest advantage Edward reaped by the non-observance of the truce, was the acquisition of the town of Guisnei sold him by the governor. When King John complained of it, Edward replied, that his father Philip, by attempting to purchase Calais, had taught the English commanders that buying and selling was no breach of a truce.

This advantage however did not balance the loss sustained by Edward in Flanders, by the entire defection of the Flemings. Hitherto they had been his friends, but for some time past, the face of affairs was entirely changed in that country. After the death of the Earl of Flanders, slain at the battle of Cressy, the Flemings sent deputies to Philip de Valois, to demand the son of their deceased Sovereign, under colour of putting him in possession of his father's inheritance. Philip consenting to their request, when they had the young Prince in their power, they contracted him to one of Edward's daughters.

A. D. 1352] This accident would doubtless have been very prejudicial to Philip, if the Earl himself had not freed him from this. The young Prince, who by education was wholly -attached to the interests of France, not bearing the thought of marrying into the family of his Sovereign's enemy, privately withdrew from his subjects,. and cast himself again into his arms. Thenceforward the Flemings. began by degrees to he disengaged from the interests of England.

A. D. 1353] They even approved of the marriage concluded by Philip between their Earl and the Duke of Brabant's daughter, who had entirely forsaken Edward: Their levity was the cause that the staple of the English wool, set up in their country, was removed into England; to their -great damage, but to the benefit of the English.[62]

The new King of France seemed to be extremely desirous that the truce might be changed into a firm and lasting peace, to which Edward was -not averse. In the negotiations on this occasion, John offered to resign to the King of England, Guienne, with the Earldoms of Artois and Guisnes, to hold them in full sovereignty, without homage to the crown of France[63]. But presently after, he abruptly broke off the negotiation, which ended only in prolonging the truce till April the next year.

It was not difficult to perceive that the King of France sought only to gain time, to enable himself the better to maintain the war. Edward also had need of some respite, in order to settle some domestic affairs of importance. The obstinacy of the Scots in support of their King, though a

prisoner, fully convinced him, it would not be easy to reduce Scotland, as long as he was at war with France. This consideration inclined him to patch up a peace with the Scots, in expectation of this favourable opportunity to renew the war. But this peace could not be made without their King's release, so firmly did they insist upon that article. To settle this affair, Edward appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots, concerning King David's liberty.

This negotiation ended at length in a treaty concluded at Newcastle, July the 13th 1354, whereby Edward promised to free David for a ransom of ninety thousand marks of silver. This treaty was ratified a little after by the Prince of Wales his son, but was not executed for reasons mentioned hereafter. So David continued a prisoner till 1357.

Edward now applied himself chiefly to the affairs of France. The truce being about to expire, he invested the Prince of Wales his son with the duchy of Guienne; and sending him thither, commanded him to renew hostilities[64]. Whilst the Prince of Wales was preparing to renew the war in Guienne, the King his father landing at Calais[65] ravaged Boulonnois and Artois without opposition. Upon this news, the King of France speedily assembled his forces. Edward, however, found himself obliged to return.

The Scots having taken Berwick by surprise, it was very dangerous to leave in their hands a place of that importance, which gave them at all times an inlet into England. In November, therefore, immediately after his arrival, Edward called a Parliament, complaining of the treachery of the Scots, who, after a treaty concluded and ratified, abused his good faith, by the seducements of the King of France.

The Parliament knowing the necessity of recovering Berwick, and the King's want of money to continue the war with France, granted him fifty shillings upon every sack of wool sold in the kingdom, for six years. It is said, this subsidy amounted to more than three hundred and fifty thousand marks a year, so considerable was the woollen trade in those days. With this aid the King quickly raised an army, at the head of which he advanced to the borders of Scotland. Upon his approach, the Scots quitted Berwick, after demolishing the fortifications, which he revenged by ravaging their country.

A. D. 1355] After Baliol's expulsion, he still kept the title of King, but without any real power, and in so servile a dependence on the King of England, that he was looked upon only as a subject. Edward, indeed, left him the command of his troops, but they were so very few, that he was never able to make any progress. So he spent his days in a melancholy manner, with a pension of five marks a day, allowed him by Edward, and some presents for his extraordinary expenses. Throwing off the cloak under which he had concealed his intentions, Edward at length caused that Prince to resign all his right to Scotland for the yearly pension of two thousand pounds sterling; a poor recompense for a crown, had it not been an imaginary crown, which Baliol was very willing to part with. This resignation proved fatal to King David. He had thereby the mortification to see himself more closely confined, and to lose withal the hopes he had conceived of recovering his liberty.

Charles de Blois prisoner in England, since the battle of La Roche de Rien, was more fortunate than the King of Scotland, at least with regard to his liberty, though it was purchased at a very dear rate. He artiled with Edward to pay seven hundred thousand crowns for his ransom, and left his two sons in hostage for security of payment[66].

A. D. 1356] Whilst Edward was employed at home, the Prince of Wales ravaged the southern provinces of France, and particularly Languedoc. He made into that province a sudden irruption, which rendered him master of Carcassone and Narbonne, where he met with a very great booty, and then returned to Bourdeaux. By his retreat, the measures to oppose his invasion being neglected, he thought he might safely venture upon a second. As soon as his troops were a little refreshed, he marched again at the head of twelve thousand men, of whom not above three

thousand were natives of England. He traversed le Perigord and le Limousin, entered Berry, and appeared before the gates of Bourges. But the news of the King of France's approach, with sixty thousand men, prevented his besieging that place, and even obliged him to take a circuitous route, in order to retire to Bourdeaux.

But John foreseeing his design, marched with such expedition, that he overtook him near Poitiers. It being impossible for the Prince to retreat, he resolved to entrench himself at Maupertuis, in a post encumbered with vines and hedges, and of very difficult access. Two legates sent by the Pope to the two Princes, to persuade them to peace, used their utmost endeavours to prevent an engagement.

They even induced the Prince of Wales to promise to repair all the damages done in his incursion, and engage not to bear arms against France for seven years. John's superiority causing him to reject these offers, he expected that the Prince, with his whole army, should surrender at discretion[67]. This condition not being relished by the Prince, he generously replied, he had rather die sword in hand, than be guilty of a thing contrary to his honour, and the glory of the English name.

All hopes of agreement vanishing, the Prince of Wales made a short speech to his troops, telling them, That victory depended not on numbers, but on bravery: that for his own part, he was resolved to conquer or die, and would not expose his country to the disgrace of paying his ransom. All King John's Generals unanimously advised him to starve this little army, cooped up in the middle of an enemy's country, where they would quickly be in want of all things. This advice appeared to him too tedious and inconsistent with his impatience. He fancied they would rob him of the transcendent glory, which he hoped to acquire by the defeat of so renowned a Prince, to feed him with the imaginary honour of conquering without fighting.

So, full of the pleasing expectation of obtaining an easy victory, and revenging his subjects, he resolved without delay to attack the enemy. He committed at first a great error, in causing his horse to dismount and begin the fight. The horse, unaccustomed to charge on foot, were not able to break through the English, who had the advantage of the ground, in a country full of hedges, through which there was a necessity to pass, in order to force their entrenchments. The dismounted cavalry being repulsed with great loss, the infantry supplied their place, and met the same resistance; notwithstanding the King's efforts, who maintained the fight four hours, encouraging his troops by his voice and example, without fearing to expose his person to the greatest dangers.

What efforts soever he made, it was not possible for him to rout this handful of English, whom the necessity of conquering, caused to fight desperately; being moreover animated by the example of the Prince, who performed that day acts of wisdom and valour, comparable to those of the most renowned Generals. Of four sons the King of France had with him, the three eldest retiring betimes, with eight hundred lances, their retreat did not a little contribute to discourage the rest of the army.

Mean time, King John, actuated by despair, signalised himself in all the most dangerous places, and drew upon him the bravest of his enemies. Though he saw himself forsaken, he inspired the boldest with terror. But, in all appearance, he would at length have sunk under the multitude of the enemies that surrounded him, and left him no hopes of saving his life, if Denis de Morbeck, a Knight of Artois, dispersing those who pressed him the most vigorously, had not earnestly persuaded him to yield himself prisoner.

He would have been glad to deliver his sword to the Prince; repeatedly crying, "Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales?"; but, as the Prince was too remote, he was forced to surrender himself to Morbeck with Philip his fourth son, about thirteen years old, who had all along fought by his side. In this unfortunate day, so fatal to France, there were not above six thousand men

slain, but among that number were eight hundred nobles, the Duke of Bourbon a Prince of the blood, the Duke of Athenes constable of France, the Marshal de Nesle, and above fifty other great Lords of the kingdom.

If the victorious Prince distinguished himself by his conduct and bravery in this glorious day, he was no less admired after his victory, for his modest and generous behaviour to his prisoner. The evening after the battle, the King supping in the Prince of Wales's tent, pressed him to sit at table with him; but he politely declining it, stood and talked with him all the while. So great a modesty in a young victorious Prince, little more than five and twenty years of age, melted the King into tears.

As soon as John had recovered himself, he turned to the Prince, and said to him, with an air of satisfaction, "That since it was his destiny to be vanquished and taken, it was a great comfort in his misfortune, that he had not behaved himself unworthily; and was fallen into the hands of so valiant and generous a Prince." On the morrow, solemn thanks were returned to God, in the English camp, for this great victory. The Prince thanked his victorious troops, with such expressions, as ascribed to them the honour of the day, without the least mention of himself.

Then he marched for Bourdeaux, laden with an inestimable booty, and so great a number of prisoners, that it would have been difficult for noblemen at his mercy, and that the Prince and all the rest of the army should yield themselves prisoners, the English to defend themselves, in case they had been attacked[68].

A. D. 1357] it is easy to conceive, the joy this news spread overall England, and how great Edward's satisfaction was in particular. He ordered public thanks for this signal victory, to be returned to God for eight days together, in all the churches of the kingdom.

The Prince of Wales spent the winter at Bordeaux, where two legates from the Pope came, and pressed him so earnestly, that he consented, with the approbation of the King his father, to a truce for two years, wherein all the allies of both crowns were included. In April following he came into England, bringing his prisoner with him. He was received there with excessive joy, but constantly refused all the honours that were offered him, being satisfied with those paid to the captive King.

When they made their entry into London, the Prince of Wales rode on a little black nag, by the King of France's side, who was mounted on a stately white courser; adorned with costly trappings. It might have been thought that all the pomp[69] displayed on this was intended purely to do honour to the captive King; so great care was taken to avoid all signs of his disgrace, and every thing that might be offensive to his eyes. Though Edwards disputed with him the title of King of France, he treated him like a King.

The sight of the captive Prince putting him in mind of the instability of human grandeur, he received him with as cordial embraces, as if he had been his own brother, or was come on purpose to pay him a visit. In this noble and generous manner, the father and son strove with emulation to comfort the unfortunate King, by all the marks of respect due to a great Prince, in whatever state fortune may have placed him. King John and Prince Philip his son were lodged together in the palace of the Savoy[70], with all the honourable freedom they could desire. The other captive Lords met with the same treatment and Edward, who had reduced Scotland to an irretrievable state, was moved by the pressing instances of the Queen his sister, and agreed to renew the treaty of 1354.

To that end he granted safe conducts to ambassadors from Scotland, who, during a short truce, obtained their King's liberty, upon much the same terms as in the first treaty. They engaged to pay for his ransom a hundred thousand marks sterling; namely ten thousand every year, till the whole was paid; and security the King of Scotland gave twenty hostages. At the same time, a

ten years truce was concluded between England and Scotland. David was released upon these conditions, which he took care to ratify as soon as he came into his kingdom, after an eleven years' captivity.

Edward's late truces with France and Scotland, having freed him from the trouble of foreign affairs, he confined his thoughts to the government of his kingdom. But as nothing extraordinary passed, he spent part of his time in diversions, of which the King of France and the other chief prisoners always partook. The tournament he held at Windsor on the 23rd of April 1358 to solemnise the feast of St. George, patron of the Order of the Garter was the most sumptuous and magnificent that had ever been seen in England.

The Duke of Brabant with several other Sovereign Princes, and an infinite number of Knights of all nations were present and were splendidly entertained. This diversion was followed by the funeral of Queen Isabella, the King's mother. She died at the castle of Risings, aged sixty three years, after a twenty eight years' confinement[71].

Whilst England enjoyed a profound tranquility, France was in extreme desolation, by the intestine troubles caused by the King's imprisonment. Charles the Dauphin, John's eldest son, held the reins of the government, by the title of Lieutenant-General, afterwards changed into that of Regent. His Regency was so disturbed by the cabals of some restless men, who found their advantage in the confusion of affairs; that it was not possible to think effectually of freeing their King. The affairs of France were then in a deplorable situation. Charles the Bald King of Navarre, though sprung from the royal family of France, raised daily commotions and tumults in where. he had a powerful party.

The authority of the Dauphin was thereby so restrained, that, though a Prince of great abilities, he knew not in what manner to govern so divided a state. Amidst: this confusion, the French lived in a state of anarchy. The nobles and officers of the army oppressed the meaner sort of people, especially the peasants, to whom they gave the nick-name of Jaques Bon homme. Raillery joined with oppression, driving these poor wretches to despair; they assembled in great troops, in le Beauvoisin, bent upon extirpating all the nobles.

In a short time, their number being considerably increased, they became so formidable, that there was a necessity of drawing together all the forces of the kingdom, to disperse this army of rustics, which daily grew stronger: This war, which was called the Jaquery, created the Regent great trouble. It was one of the principal causes that prevented his taking measures to oppose the invasion threatened by the English as soon as the truce was expired.

During all these disorders, King John, heartily tired of his confinement in England, treated with Edward concerning his liberty. He could not obtain it without yielding to the conqueror's terms. But, as he was fully informed of the disturbances in France, he believed he could not purchase too dearly a freedom, which might enable him to restore peace in his kingdom. Wherefore, he agreed with Edward upon a treaty very disadvantageous to France, whereby he resigned several provinces to the crown of England.

The general assembly of the states being met upon this occasion in 1359, found the conditions so hard, that they would not ratify the treaty. By this refusal; the captive King saw all his hopes vanish. The states plainly perceiving, they had given occasion to renew the war, offered the Regent all necessary assistance to procure better terms, by arms. But they promised more than they performed. Edward loudly complained of being deceived, and suddenly altering his carriage to King John, confined him in the castle of Sommerton, whence he afterwards removed him to the Tower of London. He of course did not think it prudent to leave that Prince at London upon his parole; as before, whilst he himself should be in the heart of France, where he resolved to carry the war.

A. D. 1360] The preparations for this fresh expedition were prodigious. An army of a hundred thousand transported to Calais[72], was a plain indication of his design, to make a powerful effort to subdue France, whilst the troubles of that kingdom offered him so fair an opportunity. When his forces were landed at Calais[73], he divided them into three bodies. The first was commanded by the Duke of Lancaster, who had lately given his only daughter in marriage to John of Gaunt the King's fourth son.

The Prince of Wales headed the second, and the King himself, commanded the last. With these troops, conducted by the three most famous Generals then in Europe; Edward marched into France without opposition. The Dauphin not being strong enough to venture to appear in the field, was contented with providing his principal towns with ammunition, without hazarding a battle with forces so unequal to those of the enemy.

Mean time Edward traversing Artois, entered Champagne, and approached Rheims in order to surprise the city, where some groundlessly affirm, he designed to be crowned. But missing his aim, he fell upon Sens, which he easily took. The Duke of Burgundy perceiving himself unable to save his country from plunder, obtained a separate truce for three years, upon promise of paying two hundred thousand florins[74], and supplying the English army with provisions. Le Nivernois followed the example of Burgundy, but la Brie and le Gatinois were ravaged[75].

Edward's aim being to draw the French to a battle, he neglected nothing to provoke them. For that purpose, he went, about the end of Lent, and encamped within seven leagues of Paris, between Chartres and Mont le Henry. His approach not being capable to draw the Dauphin out of Paris, he advanced to the very gates of the city, without succeeding in his design. Though the smoke of the villages set on fire by the English, might be seen from the walls, the Dauphin, to whom was afterwards given the surname of the Wise, was too prudent to run any hazard on this occasion.

Taught by the fatal examples of the Kings his father and grandfather, he took care not to venture the crown upon the decision of a battle, where he could have little hopes of success. As he knew Paris was able to maintain a long siege, he kept himself shut up in the city, and all Edward's insults could not oblige him to alter his resolution. He tried however, to deliver France from the impending danger, by offering certain proposals to his enemy, but which were scornfully rejected. Edward thought he was in condition to give law, and prescribe what terms he pleased.

He seemed at first to have formed the design of besieging Paris, but afterwards finding it too difficult an undertaking, turned back towards la Beauce. Cardinal de Langres the Pope's Legate, attended him everywhere, and continually pressed him to bound his ambition, but his remonstrances were ineffectual. Edward staid some time in la Beauce, whence he designed to lead his troops to the Loire. Meanwhile, though his army still marched through very plentiful countries, it was daily diminished by sickness.

It was doubtless a great mortification to that monarch, to see the little progress he had made with so numerous an army. Though he was in the heart of France, he could not flatter himself with any one certain conquest. This perhaps was one reason of his hearkening at last to the Legate's solicitations, though his change is ascribed to another cause. One day, as he lay encamped in the country about Chartres, a sudden and dreadful storm arose, accompanied with thunder and hail of a prodigious size, which killed six thousand horses and a thousand men[76].

So extraordinary an accident was deemed by the troops a sign of God's wrath. The King himself seemed to be possessed with the same opinion. It may be he was very glad, that this event furnished him with an opportunity, to shew his willingness to grant a peace to France from a pure motive of generosity, and thereby hide the shame of not being able, with so fine an army, to do any thing more than destroy the open country. Be this as it will, in the midst of the storm, he turned his face towards the church of Chartres, which he saw at a distance, and falling on his

knees made a vow to consent to a peace upon equitable terms. The Legate improving this disposition, earnestly pressed him to execute his generous design, and prevailed with him to send Plenipotentiaries to Bretigny, a village near Chartres, to treat for a peace. Here it was that the Dauphin and his chief counsellors appeared for France; and for England, the Prince of Wales, with such assistants as the King his father appointed.

In a few days, a treaty was concluded, which gave some intermission to the calamities of France, upon the following terms. That King John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay as his ransom three millions of crowns of gold, about 1,500,000 pounds of our present money; which was to be discharged at different payments: that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, l'Age-nois, Perigort, the Limousin, Quercy, Provergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter; together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France.

That the full Sovereignty of all these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England, and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them: that the King of Navarre should be restored to all his honours and possessions: that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, John his connections with the Scots: that the disputes concerning the succession of Brittany between the families of Blois and Mountfort should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two Kings; and if the competitors refused to submit to the award, the disputes should no longer be a ground of war between the kingdoms: and that forty hostages, such as should be agreed on, should be sent to England as a security for the execution of all these conditions.

This famous treaty, negotiated in eight days, was approved by both Kings. John was conducted to Calais in July[77], and staid there four months, according to agreement. At his first meal he was waited upon by Edward's four sons, who shewed him all possible respect, pursuant to the King their father's orders. These months were spent in drawing up all the necessary acts, as well for explaining as confirming and executing the treaty, that they might all be signed the same day. It was not till the 24th of October that the two Kings signed and swore the treaty at Calais, where Edward came some days before.

All matters concerning the treaty being finished, King John was released on the 26th of the same month. Just before his departure, Edward gave him a sensible mark of friendship in permitting him to carry with him Prince Philip his son, taken at the battle of Poitiers. Of all his children this was his greatest favourite. And though of all the hostages in Edward's hands, this was the chief, by reason of his father's affection for him, he very readily consented, he should be one of the ten that were to be freed by the XXII article of the peace of Bretigny. The two monarchs upon parting gave mutual tokens of cordial love and esteem[78].

As soon as John arrived at St. Omer, he ratified by his letters patent, and voluntarily swore to, all the articles of the treaty of Bretigny. By that he shewed, no violence had been used to oblige him to swear at Calais. The rest of his behaviour was agreeable to this first step. He shewed upon all occasions that his intention was to perform his engagement, and at last gave the most sensible proof it, by putting Edward in possession of the countries resigned to him. There was only some difficulty concerning the Earldom of Gaure in Gasscogne, and the territory of Belville in Poictou, about which the two Kings could not agree.

A. D. 1361] The peace between the two crowns appearing thus firmly established, Edward sent Sir John Chandos into France, to command in his name, in the countries belonging to him, with the title of Lieutenant-General. He could not have made a better choice. Chandos was one of the most accomplished Lords then in England; which was no small commendation, considering the time. Moreover, the King settled upon him a considerable salary, which enabled him to keep a

splendid court at Niort in Poitou, where he resided; and invested him with power to pardon all sorts of crimes; that both by his outward lustre, and the distribution of his favours, he might procure for his master the love of the newly conquered people.

When Edward saw he was like to enjoy a lasting peace, he restored to the Alien-Priors the lands taken from them twenty years before, towards the charges of the war.

The plague still raged in England this year. Among the rest, it deprived the kingdom of the Duke of Lancaster, the most esteemed of all the English Lords; He was commonly called the good Duke. His death. was extremely lamented. He founded the Collegiate Church of Leicester, and in the same place an hospital for three hundred poor men.

The Prince of Wales, who never thought of marrying during the war, took this peaceable time to espouse Joanna of Kent, his cousin, Countess Dowager of Holland. This Princess was daughter of Edmund Earl of Kent, beheaded in the beginning of this reign, by the intrigues of Queen Isabella and Mortimer. She Was commonly called Joanna the Fair, by reason of her great beauty.

A. D. 1362] The next year, the King being pleased to give public marks of his esteem and affection for the Prince his eldest son, who had raised to so great a height the glory of the English name, erected for him the Duchy of Guienne into a principality, under the name of the Principality of Aquitaine. Then he solemnly invested the Prince with it, obliging him only to pay yearly, in lieu of all service, an ounce of gold to the crown of England[79].

Edward spent the rest of this year in making several wise regulations with his Parliament, concerning domestic affairs[80]. Such, for example, was the decreeing that for the future, in the Courts of Justice, and in all public acts[81], the English language should be used instead of the French or Norman, introduced by William the Conqueror.

In this Parliament the King declared, that being arrived to his fiftieth year, he would have it solemnized as a sort of Jubilee. To that end, he granted a general pardon for all offences whatever, treason itself not excepted[82]; he confirmed also Magna Charta, which was confirmed ten several times in this reign.

After Edward had performed what he thought necessary for the public, he was pleased likewise to do some thing for his family, by creating Lionel, his third son, Duke of Clarence: John of Gaunt, his fourth son, Duke of Lancaster: and the fifth, called Edmund, Earl of Cambridge. In fine, after establishing the staple of wool at Calais, he spent the rest of the winter in entertainments and diversions. He took a progress into several counties, attended by the principal nobility, and the French hostages, who partook of all the recreations which the people strove to divert their Sovereign with.

In the beginning of the year 1363, the Prince of Wales departed for his government of Aquitaine: He resided at Bourdeaux, where he kept a royal court, beloved and respected by all his subjects, who were very happy in being governed by so great a Prince.

By an article of the late treaty of peace, as it was finally settled at Calais, it was agreed that the format deeds of renunciation of the several countries, towns, and other things, given up by the one King to the other, should not be exchanged till after these countries, towns, &c. were actually given up. It was expected, that the doing this might require about twelve or thirteen, months; and therefore the 30th November, 1361, was appointed for exchanging these mutual renunciations, and finishing this great work of peace. But the difficulties which had arisen in delivering some places to the English, and disputes about others, had still prevented the exchange of these renunciations, and left this great transaction in some measure incomplete.

The Dukes of Anjou and Berry, two of King John's sons, and the Duke of Orleans, his brother, with the Duke of Bourbon, who remained in England as hostages for the payment of that Prince's ransom, pretended that if they were carried to Calais, and indulged in a little more liberty, they could contrive greatly to remove all difficulties. They were accordingly removed to that city, and allowed to go where they pleased for four days together at any one time. The Duke of Anjou abused this indulgence, and made his escape into France.

King John, greatly offended at his son's dishonourable conduct, resolved to come into England to finish every thing relative to the peace, by a personal treaty with Edward. His Ministers endeavoured to dissuade him from taking this step; but to all their remonstrances he replied, that though honour and good faith should forsake every other part of the world, they ought still to be found in the breast of Princes. He accordingly arrived in England about Christmas 1363, and was again lodged in the palace of the Savoy.

It does not appear that this voyage of King John's contributed much to remove the difficulties in the execution of the late treaty of peace. For he fell sick of a fever at the Savoy, about the middle of March, and died there April 8, 1364.

Edward's good fortune not only shed its influence on himself and his subjects, but also on his allies. This same year, John de Montfort his son-in-law, won the famous Battle of Avray, against Charles de Blois his competitor, who was slain. The victory decided the quarrel between the two houses, who were contending for the duchy of Bretagne; and produced the treaty of Guerande, whereby Bretagne was assigned to John de Montfort, who did homage for it to the King of France[84].

Bertrand du Guesclin, who served Charles de Blois, and became afterwards very famous, was taken in this battle by Sir John Chandos, General of the English troops in Montfort's service.

A. D. 1365] The English name was then famous in all parts of the world. Some gallant Englishmen who had attended Guy de Lusignan, King of Cyprus into the east, performed wonders, and returned loaded with honours and riches taken from the infidels. At the same time, Thomas Hackwood an Englishman, who departed from England a journeyman tailor, taking afterwards to arms, signalised himself in the Italian wars, by his valour and conduct, which raised him to the highest posts. He gained such honour and reputation for restoring in those parts military discipline, which was almost entirely lost, that after his death the Florentines erected in their city, a black marble statues in memory of the services he had done them. John Chandos and Robert Knolles distinguished themselves in a very singular manner, in all Edward's wars with France. The fame of the English not only reached beyond the Alps, but flew also over the Pyrenean mountains.

A. D. 1366] Edward's great acquisitions in France, made Pope Urban VI. think the present juncture very proper, to demand the tribute promised by King John Lackland, to the Roman church, and of which there were thirty years arrears due. In this belief, he was pleased to require the payment, but with so much haughtiness, that he nominated, even beforehand, commissioners to summon Edward before him in case of refusal.

The King's great spirit not brooking such haughty proceedings he caused the Pope's demand to be laid before the Parliament, where it was declared, that the King of England, had not power to bring his realm in such servitude, without the consent of the Parliament: that, if necessity forced King John to such a proceeding, his engagement was null, as being contrary to his coronation oath. This august assembly, not content with so particular a decision, came also to this vigorous resolution: that, if the Pope should attempt by any means whatever, to prosecute his unjust pretensions the nation should withal their power oppose him.

The firmness of the, Parliament caused their Pope to desist, and had not only a present effect, but prevented the Kings of England from being ever after troubled, upon that subject.

The Prince of Wales lived three years in Guienne without exercising his valour, and even without any prospect of doing it. Suddenly, however, he was drawn out of this state of tranquillity, by the solicitations of Peter King of Castille, surnamed the Cruel, who had been lately expelled his dominions. Never did Prince give his people greater cause of discontent. Cruel to excess, and of an unbounded avarice, he illegally put to death his great men, with the sole view of confiscating their estates. He minded only the gratifying his passions, without any regard to honour or conscience. His barbarity was grown to that height, that he poisoned Blanche de Bourbon his wife, sister of the Queen of France, to marry Maria de Padilla, whom he had long kept as his mistress.

Of his five bastard-brothers, the eldest had lately been sacrificed to his suspicions, and the other four were in danger. Henry Earl of Trestamare, one of these brothers, seeing himself every moment threatened with the same fate, rebelled against Peter, and engaged in his quarrel the King of Aragon, with the principal Castilian Lords, who could no longer bear the tyranny of their Sovereign. His enterprise being at first unsuccessful, he was repulsed by the tyrant, and forced to fly to the King of France, who promised him aid.

Besides King Charles's desire to revenge the death of the Queen his sister-in-law, he was very glad to find employment for a great number of idle soldiers, who, since the late peace, swarmed in France, and committed great disorders. With this view, he raised for Henry's assistance an army, the command whereof, he gave to John de Bourbon Earl of Marche, the Queen's Cousin-German, and was pleased that du Guesclin, whose ransom he paid to Chandos, should be of this expedition.

With these troops, and the assistance of the Castilians, Henry marched through Aragon into Castille, where the tyrant saw himself immediately forsaken by all his nobles, except one single Knight. This defection putting it out of his power to withstand his brother, he would have retired into Portugal, but was denied entrance. In this distress, he chose to go out of Spain, by way of Bayonne, whence he repaired to Bourdeaux, to implore the aid and protection of the Prince of Wales.

If the young hero had reflected on the unworthiness of the Prince, who desired his assistance, he would doubtless have refused his request. But considering, on this occasion, only the honour of restoring a deposed King, and perhaps weary of an inactive life, he undertook to replace him on the throne: To that end, he levied an army of thirty thousand men; and marched at their head towards Spain, loaded with promises[85] from the Castilians, and big with expectation of gathering fresh laurels. As he had no other way to enter Castille but through Navarre, he had taken care to secure a passage, by a treaty with the King of that country.

A. D. 1367] So he marched without opposition to the frontiers of Castille. Henry, who was now crowned at Burgos, receiving advice of the march of the English Prince, advanced towards Navarre with a powerful army, to oppose his passage. He might very possibly have executed his design, considering the superiority of his forces, had he been so wise as to avoid a battle. This the Prince of Wales was most apprehensive of, and therefore to provoke him, sent him a very insulting defiance, which Henry could not forbear to except.

The two armies approaching each other, the battle was fought near Nejava, a little town on the frontiers of Castillo. As the fields of Cressy and Poitiers had seen the Prince of Wales perform wonders, that of Nejava was likewise witness of his heroic actions, which after a long struggle, made victory incline to his side. The Spanish army, reinforced with a strong body of French troops, was entirely routed. Bertrand du Guesclin, with the Marshal D'Endreghen were taken prisoners. Henry having no refuge left in Castille, after the loss of his army, retired into Aragon,

whence he repaired to Languedoc, to implore the aid of the Duke of Anjou the Governor. Peter was at first so grateful, that presently after the battle, he threw himself at the Prince of Wales's feet, to thank him for restoring him to his kingdom. The Prince of Wales lifting him up immediately, and holding him in his arms, said, "It was to God alone he was indebted for the victory, and not to a Prince who was only a weak instrument in his hand."

The consequence of this good success, was the restoration of Peter to the throne whence he had been driven. It was now time for that Prince to think of performing his promises, and rewarding the brave soldiers, who had ventured their lives in his service. But as he was no less perfidious than cruel, after long feeding them with hopes of provisions and money, he repaid them with ingratitude. Want soon bred among the soldiers a mortality, which swept away great numbers, and the fear of losing the rest obliged the Prince, who saw himself basely amused, to retire extremely dissatisfied. He was even forced to sell his plate, to provide for the more pressing occasions of his army, till he could entirely satisfy them. But this was not all the mischief caused by this fatal expedition. During the Prince's stay in Spain, he contracted a distemper of which he never recovered.

Thus ended the enterprise of the Prince of Wales, an enterprise glorious indeed, if the success only be considered, but not very honourable as to the cause he espoused, since it was solely to restore to the throne the basest of Princes. Heaven afterwards took care to revenge the English and Castilians. Du Guesclin paying his ransom, went and joined Henry again, and both together laboured, with the assistance of France, to bring a fresh army into the field. As soon as they were ready they reentered Castille, and made so great a progress, that they were soon in a condition to besiege Toledo.

Peter flying to the relief of that city, was defeated and forced to retire to the Castle of Montiel, where he was immediately invested. As he saw his case to be desperate, he resolved to go to Du Guesclin in his tent, imagining he would procure him tolerable conditions, or help him to make his escape. Unhappily for him, he found Henry his brother there. The two Princes falling first to reproaches and then to blows; Henry threw his brother to the ground; and stabbed him with his dagger. After that he caused himself to be once more acknowledged King of Castille, without any opposition.

Edward III. has appeared hitherto on the theatre of the world as one of the most glorious Princes that ever swayed sceptre. If he had finished his course before the revolution, which we are about to mention, perhaps it would have been difficult to find an instance of a reign more constantly fortunate. But his latter years will present us with a very different scene from those we have seen. Fortune grew weary of favouring this monarch, She robbed him before his death of all his glorious conquests, which were purchased so dearly, and these losses were attended with many other vexations.

Lionel Duke of Clarence, Edward's third son, being contracted to Violanta daughter of John Galeazzo Duke of Milan[86], went to consummate his marriage, with a splendid retinue, and many young noblemen who attended him to do him honour. For some time there was nothing but entertainments and diversions, which were daily renewed in favour of a Prince whose alliance was honourable to the Duke of Milan. These diversions, so lavishly procured him, hastened his end. Five months after his marriage, he died in Montserrat in the thirty-second year of his age. By his first marriage with the sole heiress of the Earl of Ulster in Ireland, he left a daughter called Philippa, of whose posterity we shall have occasion to speak hereafter[87].

A. D. 1369] Edward's trouble for the loss of his son was quickly followed by another, of which he was no less sensible. The treaty of Bretigny was so disadvantageous to France, that Charles V. who had himself made it, probably consented to it only with intention to break it, the first opportunity. The French were no better disposed. This quickly appeared in all the difficulties caused by them when the resigned provinces came to be delivered to the King of England. King

John was the only person that acted with sincerity, and it was he, that by his own authority, prevented these obstacles from being carried too far.

Charles his son and successor, whom the French surname the Wise, was not of so scrupulous a temper. He was no sooner on the throne, but he tried to evade what remained unexecuted of the treaty. He even neglected to do Edward justice upon the Duke of Anjou's escape, nor delivered up the Earldom of Gaure. The judgment upon the affair of Belville, referred to arbitrators, was delayed on several pretences. King John's ransom was not paid, or if Charles paid any thing after his accession to the crown, it was but a small part in respect of what was yet due.

Meantime Edward, who had still in his hands the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, and several other hostages, could not imagine, that Charles thought of renewing the war, and believed his inability to be the only cause of all these delays. Affairs proceeded thus slowly from the death of John, till his successor was able to take measures, to accomplish his designs. He ever pretended a willingness to complete the execution of the treaty, and, under colour of paying his father's ransom, to which he was bound, he heaped up money very liberally supplied by the states. With this aid, however, he engaged several German Princes in his interest, and when he thought matters ripe, sought a pretence to break with England.

When Edward was meditating a war with France, he believed it proper to attach to his service the principal Lords of Guienne, by several grants which he revoked immediately after a peace. This proceeding so exasperated these Lords, that they wanted only a favourable opportunity to show their resentment. In all appearance, they would have long waited in vain, if Charles had not given them private intimation that they should be supported. As soon as they were sure of his protection, nothing was wanted but a pretence to complain; and they were not long without having one as they thought, sufficiently plausible, to authorise them to throw off the Mask.

The Prince of Wales having laid upon Guienne a tax called feuage, or chimney-money, in order to pay the arrears due to the troops levied for the Spanish war, inadvertently furnished his enemies with the desired opportunity to declare themselves. The Lord d'Albret, the Earls of Armagnac, Cominges, Perigord, and Carmaing, encouraging their vassals to complain of this new tax, received their complaints, brought them to the Prince, and addressed him upon that occasion. Their remonstrances were ill received, both because the Prince was in want of money, and by reason of the haughtiness wherewith they were made.

The Lords, on pretence they could not have justice from their Prince, then applied to the King of France, whom they supposed to be still Sovereign Lord of Guienne, and prayed him to grant them letters of appeal to his Parliament. Charles not thinking proper to declare himself yet, cherished this disposition, and in the meantime, kept them at Paris. The journey of these Lords, and their long stay at the court of France, gave the Prince of Wales some suspicion. He wrote letter after letter to the King his father, to warn him that something was contriving at Paris against him, but these warnings were to no purpose.

Whilst Edward relied on the sincerity of the French, his son's distemper daily growing more dangerous, turned at last to a dropsy. The Prince's ill state, of health, and the King his father's infirmness hastened the resolutions of the King of France, as he saw there could not be a more favourable juncture to execute his designs, he granted the Gascon Lords, the letters of appeal they required; pretending, notwithstanding his oaths, and all his father's resignations and renunciations, that he was still Sovereign of Guienne.

He built his pretensions upon Edward's not having sent his renunciation to the crown of France, pursuant to the treaty of Bretigny. But that renunciation being only a consequence of the full performance of the treaty. Edward did not think himself, as indeed he was not, bound to make it, till the whole was executed. However he had absolutely quitted the title of King of France, a clear evidence that he had no ill intentions. Besides, Charles himself had not been more punctual

to renounce the provinces yielded to England by the treaty of Bretigny. These reciprocal renunciations were considered as the seal of the treaty, after the two Kings should be satisfied concerning the execution.

However that be, Charles used this pretence to summon the Prince of Wales to appear before the Court of Peers, to answer for his pretended tyranny upon the people of those provinces. The Prince's high spirit not suffering him to bear this affront without showing his resentment, he replied, he would not fail to appear, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men.

Meanwhile Charles was amusing Edward, by expostulating with him, as if he were desirous the affair should be put in negotiation. Edward answered by giving words for words, not imagining they really designed to dispute his Sovereignty of Guienne, so clearly settled in the treaty of Bretigny, and much less that France was able to renew the war. But it was not the Sovereignty of Guienne only that Charles designed to dispute; he pretended moreover that the treaty of Bretigny was void, because Edward had not prevented certain plunderers, that came out of his dominions, from entering France, and because he had not evacuated all the towns that were to be restored.

On these pretences he ordered war to be proclaimed by a footman, because the Prince of Wales had seized those that brought him the summons. Shortly after, he published an edict, confiscating all the lands held by the English in France, and annexed them to the crown.

Upon the whole; it appears that Edward was the only person wronged, and yet Charles pretended, that the treaty of Bretigny was void, by the non-performance of some articles on the part of England; articles which no historian has distinctly mentioned. Upon this foundation he asserted, that France, restored to her ancient right, might justly confiscate the provinces resigned to England. Edward was extremely surprised to find that Charles, who passed not for a warrior, durst not attempt to enter into competition with a Prince that had gained so many battles.

He was still more astonished, shortly after, when he heard that the Earldom of Ponthieu was seized, and the principal cities of Guienne were in arms against him. He summoned a Parliament, which granted him a great aid to maintain so necessary a war, wherein he was unwillingly engaged. By the advice of this Parliament, he re-assumed the title of King of France, which he had relinquished since the peace[88].

After obtaining this aid from his subjects, and a positive promise to support him as long as the war should last, his first care was to send troops to the Prince of Wales, to recover the cities of Guienne. Then he dispatched the Duke of Lancaster, his fourth son, to Calais, with a powerful army. But the Duke's progress ended only in ravaging the open country, without making any conquest.

The renewal of the war was not the only thing that disturbed Edward's repose this year. The loss of his Queen was to him a very great increase of affliction. He had lived with her forty-two years in perfect union, and had by her twelve children. This good Queen was likewise extremely lamented by the people, who had always found her ready to relieve them in their necessities. The poor especially were great losers by her death[89].

A. D. 1370] The war was continued in France to the advantage of England, under the conduct of Chandos, who commanded in Saintonge and Poictou, and maintained his master's affairs in those parts in a flourishing condition. But this brave General being slain at length in a battle, they began to decline in these two provinces.

Guienne was in no better state. The Prince of Wales, who, because of his illness, could do little more than give directions, saw himself extremely weakened by the revolt of the chief towns depending on his principality of Aquitain. Limoges, a city of great importance, was surprised

by the French, or rather desired to change masters. The disloyalty of the inhabitants so incensed the Prince, that he resolved to make them an example. To that end, having received, a supply of troops, brought him by the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge, he besieged the town, took it by storm, and put all the inhabitants to the sword.

This was the last warlike exploit of that great Prince, whose distemper obliged him to be carried in a litter. At last, finding himself utterly unable to act, he resolved to return into England[90]. He had still some small hopes, that his native air would restore him to his health. After resigning to the King his principality of Aquitain, which he could no longer govern, he departed, leaving the command of the army to the Duke of Lancaster. Before his departure, he had the distress to see Edward his eldest son die, in the seventh year of his age. He was a Prince of great hopes, and seemed much more like his father and grandfather, than his younger brother Richard, who succeeded them.

The Prince of Wales took his son Richard with him, in order to have him educated in England: David King of Scotland died the last year; leaving his crown to Robert Stuart his nephew, son of his eldest sister. Robert was no sooner on the throne, but he made an alliance offensive and defensive with France against England. But this league was kept secret, Charles not having then occasion for this aid, which doubtless he reserved for a more urgent occasion.

The departure of the Prince of Wales entirely ruined the affairs of the English in Guienne. The Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Cambridge, perceiving that with so few troops they could not hope to reduce the revolted towns, or effectually withstand the French, resolved to return into England to solicit fresh supplies. Before they departed, they married the two daughters of Peter the Cruel, King of Castille expelled and slain by Henry his bastard brother. The Duke of Lancaster espousing Constantia the eldest, immediately assumed the title of King of Castille and Leon, thereby shewing, he designed to prosecute his wife's right[91].

This proceeding obliged Henry to unite more closely with France. As it was his interest to help as much as possible to humble England, he resolved to assist Charles with all his forces.

About this time the Flemings, who had declared for France, were defeated at sea by the Earl of Hereford, who took six and twenty of their ships. But this advantage could not balance those gained by du Guesclin upon England in Guienne, and the neighbouring provinces. This brave General, whom Charles had drawn from the King of Castille's service, to make him Constable of France, beat the English everywhere. After driving them out of Limosin, Perigord, and Rovergne, he carried his progress so far, that he found himself able to march into Saintonge, and at length to lay siege to Rochelle, with the assistance of a fleet sent by the King of Castille, to block up the town by sea.

When Edward received this news, he speedily sent the Earl of Pembroke with forty ships to throw succours into the town. This precaution seemed, sufficient to save Rochelle ; but for some time nothing had prospered with the English. The Earl of Pembroke being about to sail into the Port, met the Spanish fleet, commanded by Admiral Boccanegra a Genoese, who fiercely attacked him.

The fight lasted two days, and ended at length in the entire defeat of the English fleet, the Admiral and many officers being taken and sent bound into Spain. This loss completed the ruin of the English affairs. Rochelle however might have still held out, had it not been for the treachery of the Mayor. This magistrate, who held intelligence with the besiegers, found means to cause the garrison to be drawn out of the citadel, under colour of a muster, and by means of a forged order of the King, which the Governor, not being able to read, took for real. When the garrison was come out, the Mayor shut the gates, and would not suffer them to re-enter. Whereupon the town capitulated, and obtained such advantageous terms, that she rather became free than changed Sovereign.

The loss of Rochelle alarming Edward's adherents in those parts, du Guesclin improved his advantages

He marched into Poitou, where he took several towns, and at length formed the siege of Thouars, where the principal Lords of the country were retired. The siege was so vigorously carried on, that the besieged were at last forced to capitulate, and promise to return to the obedience of France, if the King of England or one of his sons did not come before Michaelmas, with an army strong enough to give battle.

Such capitulations were very common in those days. The loss of Thouars was of too great consequence to leave that place unrelieved, especially, as the King's honour was concerned. Edward's extreme desire to save that town, and with it the rest of Poitou, caused him to use his utmost endeavours. In a very short time he assembled a fleet of four hundred sail, with which he would have gone in person to raise the siege.

But the winds constantly refusing to assist him on this occasion, all his endeavours proved fruitless. He was six weeks at sea, without being able to reach Poitou. At last he was forced to return to England after great fatigues and a vast expense, which almost drained his treasury. He had scarcely come to London when he heard the French were masters of all Poitou.

A. D. 1373] Edward's affairs prospered little better in Bretagne, though the Duke his son-in-law did his utmost to promote them. The people were weary of war, and were troubled to see, that solely for the interest of the English they were going to be plunged again into their late calamities. On the other hand, the Lords of Bretagne, bribed by French pensions, opposed with all their power their Prince's designs, and treated as enemies, the troops sent thither by Edward to support the war.

In this situation, the Duke, whose heart was entirely English, had it not in his power to serve the King his father-in-law as he wished, or to perform his late treaty. Thus embarrassed, he resolved to go himself into England, and solicit a supply capable of procuring him greater authority in his own dominions. Edward was very sensible of the importance of this demand, but could not do every thing[92]. He was obliged therefore to send back the Duke of Bretagne with fair promises only, whilst he turned all his thoughts to restore the affairs of Guienne, which touched him more nearly.

A. D. 1374] Pursuant to his resolution to make a powerful effort in Gascogne, he assembled an army of thirty thousand men, the command whereof was given to the Duke of Lancaster his son, stiled in England, King of Castille. The Duke landing at Calais, traversed all France without opposition, and came to Bordeaux. From thence he advanced into Upper Guienne, with design to expel the Duke of Anjou, who had taken several towns. He offered him battle, which the French Prince accepted. The time and place were now appointed, but the two Generals receiving advice of a truce concluded between the two crowns, both retired.

A. D. 1375] Some time since, at the pressing instances of the Pope, the two Kings sent Plenipotentiaries, to Bruges, where the aforementioned truce was concluded, in order to negotiate a peace more sedately. But the pretensions of the two monarchs being too opposite, for a peace to be so easily made, their negotiation ended only in a prolongation of the truce to April 1377. As soon as the truce was signed in July (A. D. 1376.) the Duke of Lancaster led back his troops into England.

Though the consequences of this last war were no less considerable than those of the former, since France recovered in this, whatever she lost in the other, yet the particulars are far from being so interesting. In the first, Edward's conquests were rendered illustrious by a naval engagement, where the King commanded in person. The battle of Cressy, where all the nobles of both kingdoms fought in the presence of the two Kings, and gained by a Prince of sixteen

years old, is one of the most moving scenes in history. The conquest of Calais, in the sight of an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, is no less capable of affecting the reader. The victory of Poitiers, obtained by an army of twelve thousand against sixty thousand, and the taking of King John, are events which command our admiration, and quicken our attention.

In a word, the first war was ended by the most important and solemn treaty, ever made between the two crowns. In the second, there was, not one general action. The two Kings, contenting themselves with directing their affairs in the cabinet, never appeared at the head of their armies. As for the sieges, excepting those of Limoges and Rochelle, there was scarcely one worth mentioning. The towns lost by the English, were taken or surprised with a wonderful rapidity. Some even surrendered before the enemy's approach. The losses therefore of the English may be truly called a defeat, which affords but few particulars to satisfy curiosity.

It suffices to observe, that at the time of the last treaty, England had lost whatever was acquired by the treaty of Bretigny, except Calais alone. If we inquire into the natural causes of this revolution, they will appear to be very obvious. The revolt of the Gascons, the Prince of Wales's distemper, Edward's old age, his too credulous reliance on the King of France's sincerity, the prudence of Charles the Wise, who, without stirring from the Cabinet, managed the whole war, the conduct and bravery of Bertrand du Guesclin, were the instruments in the hand of providence, to produce this revolution.

The English were in some measure comforted for all their losses, by the tranquillity enjoyed by the truce. The King himself appeared to lay aside his martial inclinations for others, which somewhat endangered his reputation. In his old age he fell in love with one Alice Pierce[92]. His passion had such an ascendant over him, that it made him guilty of weaknesses unbecoming so great a Prince. The money raised for the war, was quickly consumed by this greedy she favourite.

From thence followed an universal discontent throughout the kingdom. Wholly employed with pleasing his mistress, the King thought only of procuring her diversions. Entertainments were daily made with immense expense. Taxes were the more grievous, as the nation was entirely drained by continual wars. They were extremely troubled, to see the money designed for the payment of the public debts, squandered away in vanities. Above all a tournament held in Smithfield gave great offence, where Alice Pierce, to whom her old lover had given the name of Lady of the Sun, appeared by his side in a triumphant chariot, and attended by many ladies of quality, each leading a Knight by his horse's bridle.

When the King's coffers were empty, he called a Parliament to demand a subsidy. But he had the mortification to see that his people, who so powerfully assisted him in his glorious undertakings, had not the same zeal, to provide for useless expenses. Before the subsidy was granted, the Parliament bitterly complained of the ill-management of his ministers, particularly of the Duke of Lancaster, whom the King his father had chiefly entrusted with the administration of affairs. They even petitioned the King to remove from his person the Duke of Lancaster his son, Alice Pierce, Latimer Lord Chamberlain, and others that were most in his favour.

This petition was made with such warmth, that the King perceiving he could not reject it without danger, granted their request, lest in their turn the Parliament should refuse him the money he wanted. It was not questioned, but the Prince of Wales had privately induced the Parliament to take this step, in order to remove the Duke of Lancaster, who was in too great credit with the King. As the Prince found he must die, he could not reflect without uneasiness, that he was going to leave his young son Richard to the mercy of an ambitious uncle, who might use his credit to take the crown from him. And indeed, Richard, by reason of his youth, was incapable of opposing the Duke's designs, in case they should tend, as it was suspected, to the procuring himself to be declared the King's presumptive heir, after the death of his elder brother. This obliged the Prince of Wales to seek, for his son, the protection of the Parliament, as the only means to support him

in his just rights. For the same reason, probably, the Parliament petitioned the removal of the Duke of Lancaster.

During this session, Edward, now in the fiftieth year of his reign, caused a general pardon to be published, which pleased the whole nation exceedingly. A sorrow no less universal quickly followed this joy. It was caused by the death of the Prince of Wales, the most excellent Prince, England had ever produced. He was possessed of all the virtues in an eminent degree. A good soldier, and a great general, brave without fierceness, bold in battle, but very affable in conversation, and of a modesty which could never be sufficiently admired.

Ever submissive and respectful to the King his father, whom he never once disobliged. Generous, liberal, pleased with rewarding merit wherever he found it, he wanted no qualification requisite to form a perfect hero. The English commonly called him, The Black Prince, not for his warlike exploits, as some have imagined, but because he wore Black Armour. The news of his death was received with inconceivable grief, though it had been long expected. The Parliament was willing, on this occasion, to express their just sorrow for the loss of so great a Prince, who had gained the affection and esteem of the whole nation, by attending his corpse to Canterbury, where he chose to be interred[94].

This renowned Prince died in the forty-sixth year of his age, lamented by the King his father, who shewed upon this occasion less firmness, than he had done in all his other misfortunes[95]. The King of France himself, though he had little reason to be sorry, gave him marks of his esteem, by ordering a solemn service to be celebrated at Paris, at which he was pleased to be present in person. Prince Edward left but one legitimate son, about ten years old, and two natural sons, who made no great figure in history[96].

A. D. 1377] The English were the more sensible of their late loss, as it was soon followed by a fresh occasion of sorrow. The King recalled to court those that were removed from his person. Peter de la Mare, speaker of the House of Commons[97], who, in presenting the abovementioned petition to the King, had spoken a little too freely against Alice Pierce, was, at her solicitation, confined in Nottingham castle. The Duke of Lancaster resumed his old post, and all the other ministers were restored to their former offices. However, though he gave the Duke of Lancaster this express testimony of his affection and confidence, Edward would not give him occasion to expect, he designed him for his successor.

On the contrary, to prevent all disputes after his death about the succession, he created Richard his grandson Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, and presently after, conferred on him the title of Prince of Wales[98]. But not content with discovering his intention, he caused all the nobility to take their oath to him, as to the heir apparent of the crown. Finally, for fear his uncles might entertain hopes of ascending the throne to his prejudice, he was pleased to put him as it were in possession of the rank he designed him for, by causing him to take place of them in all public solemnities. Thus did that wise Prince take measures to prevent the dissensions, which might arise after his death in his family, concerning the succession; pleasing himself withal in honouring the memory of a son he had tenderly loved, and perfectly esteemed, by doing justice to young Richard.

Whilst these things were transacting at court, John Wickliff, Doctor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, began to publish his belief upon several articles of religion, wherein he differed from the common doctrine. Pope Gregory XI. being informed of it, condemned some of his tenets, and commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London, to oblige him to subscribe the condemnation, and in case of refusal, to summon him to Rome. It was not easy to execute this commission. Wickliff had now many followers in the kingdom, and for protector, the Duke of Lancaster, whose authority was very little inferior to the King's. Nevertheless, to obey the Pope's order, the Archbishop held a synod at St. Paul's at London, and cited Wickliff to appear. Accordingly, he appeared, accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster, and the Lord Percy, Marshal

of England, who believed their presence necessary to protect him. After he had taken his place, according to his rank, and been interrogated by the Bishop of London, he would have answered sitting, and thereby gave occasion for a great dispute. The Bishop insisted upon his standing and being uncovered; but the Duke of Lancaster pretended, Wickliff was there only as doctor, to give his vote and opinion, and not as a party accused.

The contest grew so high, that the Duke of Lancaster proceeded to threats, and gave the Bishop very hard words. Whereupon the people that were present, thinking the Bishop in danger, took his part with such heat and noise, that the Duke and Earl Marshal thought fit to withdraw, and take Wickliff with them. **Their withdrawing appeased not the tumult. Some incendiaries spread a report, that at the instance of the Duke of Lancaster, it was moved that day to the King in council, to put down the office of Lord Mayor, take away the city privileges, and reduce London under the jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal.**

This was sufficient to enrage the people. They ran immediately to the Marshalsea, and freed all the prisoners. But they did not stop there. The mutineers, whose number continually increased, posted to the Duke of Lancaster's palace in the Savoy, and missing his person, plundered the house, and dragged his arms along the streets. The Duke was so provoked at this affront, that he could not be pacified but by the removal of the Mayor and Aldermen, whom he accused of not using their authority to restrain the seditious.

The Bishops being met a second time, Wickliff declared before them his sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist, explaining the eating of the body of Christ, much in the same manner as Berengerius had done before him. Though his opinion was contrary to the doctrine of the church in those days, the Bishops not daring to proceed rigorously against him, were contented with enjoining him silence. It is said, he promised to obey, but however, the dispute was revived in the following reign.

We shall conclude this reign with Edward's last public action, who, in an assembly of the Knights-Companions of the Garter at Windsor, conferred that Order on Richard his grandson. This was the only honour he could yet give him, after declaring him his successor. Shortly after, this great Prince, who was now indisposed, fell so dangerously ill, that his death was believed to approach. Before he left the world, he had the mortification to see the world leave him. Alice his favourite who managed him in his sickness, suffered very few to come into his room.

When she saw he was dying, she seized every thing of value she could find, even to the rings on his finger, and withdrew. His courtiers and chaplains shewed no less ingratitude. They all deserted him, without vouchsafing to warn him of the little time he had to live, and of the account he was shortly to give of his actions to God. There was only one single priest, who accidentally seeing him forsaken in his last agonies, came near the bed to comfort him. He addressed to him some exhortations, to which the dying King endeavoured to reply; but his words were not articulate enough to be understood. The only word distinctly pronounced, was the name of Christ, just as he fetched his last breath. Thus died this illustrious Prince at Sheen, (now Richmond,) in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign[99].

Edward III. was very tall, but well-shaped, and of so noble and majestic an aspect, that his very looks commanded respect and veneration. Affable and obliging to the good, but inexorable to the bad; there are few Princes to be met with in history, in whom were so well, mixed the duties of a Sovereign with those of an honest man, and a good Christian; though in this last respect, his conduct was not altogether blameless. His conversation was easy, and always accompanied with gravity and discretion. Friend of the poor, the fatherless, the widow, and all who were unhappily fallen into misfortune; he made it his business to procure them comfort in their affliction.

Never had King before him bestowed honours and rewards with more judgment, and greater regard to true merit. Though his valour was acknowledged and admired by all the world, it never

made him proud. Never did he show greater signs of humility, than in the course of his victories, which he constantly ascribed to the sole protection of Heaven. He knew how to maintain the prerogatives of the crown, without encroaching on the privileges of the people. In all the former reigns, there had not been enacted so many advantageous statutes to the nation, as in this.

Edward always agreeing with the august body of the nation's representatives, made that harmony instrumental to curb the designs of the court of Rome, which never dared to quarrel with him. The glory of the Prince of Wales his son, added a new lustre to his own; and his constant union with his Queen, increased his happiness. As he was never too much elated in prosperity, so in adversity he was never too much dejected. His moderation appeared no less in his loss of the provinces, that had cost him so much toil and treasure, than in his victories, which had gained him the possession.

In a word, he might be reckoned an accomplished Prince, if his ambition had not caused him to break, in a dishonourable manner, the Peace made with Scotland, in order to dispossess a minor King, who besides was his brother-in-law. Some add likewise the rupture with France, and his pretensions to the crown of that kingdom, which they term extravagant, and wholly ascribe to an ambitious motive. As to his weakness in falling in love in his old age, with Alice Pierce, that blemish is much lessened by the many noble qualities which rendered him so praiseworthy. We might in some measure excuse him, by saying, he considered this passion, at first, as an amusement only, to divert him in his troubles; and knowing little of love in his youthful days, took not sufficient care to keep himself from it in his old age[100].

Philippa of Hainault, his Queen, brought him twelve children, some of whom died before him. Edward Prince of Wales, his eldest son, left but one son, who ascended the throne after his grandfather. William, his second son, died an infant[101] Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who ended his days in Italy, left only a daughter called Philippa, by his first wife, an Irish lady[102]. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was twice married in his father's lifetime, and had children, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the following reigns. Edward's fifth son was Edmund, surnamed of Langley, the place of his birth. He was created Earl of Cambridge by the King his father, and afterwards Duke of York, in the reign of Richard II his nephew. William, surnamed of Windsor, died young[103] Thomas of Woodstock, the seventh son, was made Duke of Buckingham by Richard II. and afterwards Duke of Gloucester.

Isabella, eldest daughter of Edward, was married. to Ingelram de Coucy Earl of Soissons[104] Joanna was first contracted to the Duke of Austria, and afterwards to Pedro[105] the Cruel, King of Castille, before he was King; and died at Bourdeaux as she was going to Spain to consummate her marriage. Blanch lived but a few years[106]. Mary was married to John de. Montfort, Duke of Bretagne, and died in 1363. Margaret was wife to John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke[107].

By a charter-mint to the Abbot of Reading, it seems that there was not any greater piece coined, till after the twelfth year of Edward III. than a penny. But in the eighteenth of his reign, we find the standard of gold coins, was the old standard or sterling of twenty three carats, three grains and a half fine, and half a grain alloy. And for the silver coins, the old sterling of eleven ounces, two-penny weight fine, and eighteen-penny weight alloy. The same in 20th, 23rd, 27th, 30th, and 46th, of his reign.

In the eighteenth year, every pound weight of gold of this standard, was to be coined into fifty florences, at six shillings apiece, which made in tale fifteen pounds, or into a proportional number of half and quarter florences. This was by indenture between the King, and Walter de Dunflower, master and worker. These florences were so called from the Florentines, who (in the year 1252) first minted such pieces; so that florences were generally used all over Europe, for the chief gold coin, as it is now for the best silver.

Fabian calls the floren, a penny the half floren, a half-penny; and the quarter, a farthing of gold. And these words are often met with in old histories and accompts, applied to several coins, as reals, and angels, where is to be understood by Denarius, the whole; by Obolus the half; and by Quadrans the fourth part or farthing.

In the same eighteenth year, a pound weight of gold of old standard, was to contain thirty-nine Nobles and a half; at six shillings and eight-pence a-piece, amounting in the whole to thirteen pounds, three shillings and four-pence in tale, or a proportional number of half and quarter nobles. Which was by indenture between the King and Percival de Perche. By this indenture the trial of the Pix was established. These were indisputably the first gold coins, and are so beautiful and rare, that they merit the esteem of medals, being inscribed, **EDWARD. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL.**

The arms of France and England quarterly within a rose, (whence called rose nobles;) the arms Seme-de-lis, and not stinted to three, (as in Edward IV.) reverse, a cross Fleuri Lioneux, the four lions are passant, with the words, **EXALTABITUR IN GLORIA.** (Fig. 1) The rose-noble described by Mr. Evelyn is of Edward IV. For the French Fleurs-de-lis were not stinted till Henry V's time, nor had they a sun, but only a cross on the reverse.

The author of Num. Brit. Hist. saw a half noble of this Prince, which answers the description. The King standing in a ship crowned, holding a sword upright in his right hand, and a shield on his left, with the arms of France and England quarterly, the arms of France Seme-de-lis, three lions passant, and three Fleurs-de-lis upon the side of the ship. **EDWAR. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. DNS. H.** Reverse, in a large rose, a cross fleuri, with a Fleur-de-lis at each point, and a lion passant under a crown in each quarter, the letter E in a rose in the centre. **DOMINE. IN FURORE. TVO. ARGVAS. ME.** (fig. 5.)

It is to be observed from these famous rose nobles, every imaginary half mark, was afterwards called a noble, the most early use of the word in that sense being in the French King's parole of ransom, in the 34th year of this reign. The florens did not differ much from the rose nobles in weight, and whether they differed at all in the impression is uncertain. In 20 Edward III. a pound weight of gold of the old standard, was to make by tale forty-two nobles, at six shillings and eight-pence a piece, amounting to fourteen pounds and a pound of silver of the old sterling, was to make twenty-two shillings and six-pence; and Percival de Perche was master.

Edward III. a pound weight of gold, of the same sterling, was to make by tale forty-five nobles, amounting to fifteen pounds : 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 at two-pence a piece; or three hundred sterlings at a penny apiece: Henry Brissel was master and worker. These groats (so called because they were the greatest monies then used) exhibit the King full faced, crowned like the preceding, and inscribed, **EDWARD. D. G. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. D. HYB.** which last title is never wanting on this King's groats.

On the reverse, in a large circle, **POSVI. DEVM. ADIVTGREM. MEVM.** (a motto continued by all his successors to the union of the two kingdoms) in the lesser circle the place of mintage, viz. London, York, or Calais. (fig. 2,) one has **CIVITAS DVNELMIE.** There are some coins before he assumed the title of France, **EDWARD. DEI. G. REX. ANGL. DNS. HYB. Z. AQVIT.** Thoresby describes one of the pieces, called Lushbury, cried down by act of Parliament, inscribed, **EIWANNES DNS. Z. REVB.**

Reverse, the cross and pellets, as the English money, **LVCEBGENSIS.** Likewise another piece inscribed, **EDWARD. REX. ANGL.** Under the King's head a lion passant; reverse, **DVX. AQVITANIE.** A crown in each quarter of the cross ; a most rare piece, and to be ascribed to this Edward, who was not only created Duke of Aquitain in his father's life-time, but also crowned King of England. (fig. 3.) His penny, and half-penny, (called sometimes Mailes) and farthings,

were like those of his predecessors, but distinguished by the name **EDWARDVS**. (fig. 4.) Those of Ireland in a triangle.



It is remarkable, what Bishop Tonsal observed of the gold of this reign, that it came nearest to that of the ancient Romans, or, that four rose nobles weighed an ounce, and were equivalent to the Roman Aurei both in weight and fineness; and six noble angels made an ounce, which were answerable in all points to the old Roman Solidus Aureus. Likewise in silver coins, that an old sterling groat was equivalent to the Roman Denarius, the half groat to the Quinarius, and the old sterling penny to the Sestertius Nummus; Sestertium (in the neuter gender) a thousand Sestertii, to five pounds sterling, when three shillings and four-pence went to the ounce; and to seven pounds ten shillings, when five shillings go to the ounce.

Notes to Chapter I

1.) He began his reign January 20, was crowned the 26th at Westminster, by Walter Archbishop of Canterbury; made on Candlemass day he received the order of knighthood from the hands of the Earl of Lancaster.

2.) This is Joshua Barnes's account in his life of Edward III who tells us he saw one of these medals at a friend's chambers in Gray's Inn. But Bishop Nicolson thinks they were very widely mistaken that first ascribed these medals to that Prince. For (as he says) there is nothing in the legend that looks that way, and the inscribed fancies are too bright for those times, and savour of a much more polite age.

3.) It was brought by Sir Thomas Rokeby.

- 4.) Where he remained till it was found out, that some of the citizens had formed a resolution to assist him. in making his escape beyond sea.
- 5.) Thomas Berkley, Lord of the castle, treated the king with abundance of respect, which Maltravers and Guerne observing, they would no longer suffer him to have access to the King's person.
- 6.) That he might be thereby the more disguised, and not known to any they should meet with. They made him likewise ride in the night, with very thin clothes, and without any covering on his head would never suffer him to sleep; crowned him with hay, and offered him a thousand indignities: they also attempted more than once to poison him, but the goodness of his constitution rendered all their wicked purposes ineffectual.
- 7.) The charter is dated at York, March 1, and said to have been made by the assent and consent of the Prelates, and great men, Earls, and Barons, and Commons of the Kingdom in Parliament.
- 8.) Particularly one of great value, called the Black Cross of Scotland. By this treaty also, no Englishman was permitted to hold lands in Scotland, unless he would live there; and the King of Scotland renounced all claim to Northumberland and Cumberland.
- 9.) Rapin by mistake says, one of the Guards of the Marshalsea, but Knighton says, it was one of the prisoners, who did it to save his own life, on the Eve of St. Cuthbert, or March 19.
- 10.) It was concluded at Paris, March 31, 1326-7.
- 11.) King Charles desired, that if his Queen were brought to bed of a son, Philip de Valois should be his tutor, and Regent of the kingdom, till the young Prince should come of age.
- 12.) P. Daniel says, he caused King Edward to be summoned twice; first, by Peter Roger, Abbot of Fescamp, who was afterwards Pope, by the name of Clement VI. but he had no audience from the King, only from the Queen-mother, with whom nothing could be agreed on. So that, after the ambassador's return, Philip de Valois seized the revenues of Guienne and Ponthieu. Soon after that, he sent four other ambassadors, to renew the summons. These King Edward received very civilly, and promised to come over to France in a short time. Which he accordingly did, about six or seven months after.
- 13.) Full or liege homage was done bare-headed, and sword ungirt.
- 14.) Fifteen. days after Michaelmas.
- 15.) The Queen had the keys of the castle brought to her every night, and hid them under her pillow.
- 16.) To meet at Westminster, November 25.
- 17.) The Earl of March left four sons, of whom Edmund his eldest died in the flower of his age, and left his son Roger, who was restored to his grandfather's estates and honours. The Earl had also seven daughters, Katharine wife of Thomas (le Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; Joan married to James Lord Audley; Agnes to Lawrence de Hastings Earl of Pembroke; Margaret to Thomas, son and heir to Maurice Lord Berkley; Maud to John son and heir of John de Charleton Lord Powis; Blanch to Peter de Grandison; and Beatrix first to Edmund, son and heir to Thomas of Brotherton Earl Marshal, son of Edward II and afterwards to Sir Thomas de Broose.
- 18.) He was born at Woodstock, June 15.

19.) This year the art of weaving woollen cloth was brought from Flanders into England, by John Kempe, to whom the King granted his protection ; and at the same time invited over fullers, dyers, &c.

20.) This battle was fought at Gledesmore, near St. John's Town, on the 11th of August.

21.) His General: in this expedition, was Henry Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster.

22.) About the end of Autumn.

23.) It has long been a prevailing opinion; says Hume, that the crown as France could never descend to a female; and, in order to give more authority to this maxim, and assign it a determined origin, it had been usual to derive it from a clause in the Salian Code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that clause, when strictly examined, carries only the appearance of favouring this principle, and does not really, by the confession of the best Antiquaries, bear the sense commonly imposed upon it. But though positive law seems wanting among the French for the exclusion of females, the practice had taken place and the rule was established beyond controversy on some ancient, as well as some modern precedent. During the first race of the Monarchy, the Franks were so rude and barbarous a people, that they were incapable of submitting to a female reign; and in that period of their history there were frequent instances of Kings advanced to royalty in prejudice of females, who were related to the crown by nearer degrees of consanguinity. These precedents, joined to like causes, had also established the male, succession in the second race, and though the instances were neither so frequent nor so certain during that period, the principle of excluding the female line seems still to have prevailed, and to have directed the conduct of the nation. During the third race, the crown had descended from father to son for eleven generations, from Hugh Capet to Lewis Rutin; and thus, in fact, during the course of nine hundred years, the French Monarchy had always been governed by males, and no females; and none who founded his title on a female had ever mounted the throne. Philip the Fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three sons, this Lewis, Philip the Lung, anti Charles, the Fair, and one daughter Isabella, Queen of England. Lewis Hutin, the eldest, left at his death one daughter; by Margaret sister to Endes Duke of Burgundy; and as his Queen was then pregnant, Philip his younger brother was appointed Regent, till it should appear whether the child proved a son or a daughter. The Queen bore a male, who lived only a few days; Philip was proclaimed King and as the Duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the rights of his niece, the states of the kingdom, by a solemn and deliberate decree; gave her an exclusion, and declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. Philip died after a short reign, leaving three daughters and his brother Charles without dispute, or controversy, then succeeded to the crown. The reign of Charles was also short he left one daughter; but as his Queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed Regent, with a declared right of succession, the issue should prove female. This Prince was Philip de Valois, Cousin-German to the deceased King; being the son of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. The Queen of France was delivered of a daughter; the Regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimously placed on the throne of France. The King of England, who was at that time a youth of fifteen years of age, embraced a notion that he was entitled, in right or his mother, to the succession of the kingdom, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the Cousin German. There could not well be a notion weaker or worse grounded. The principle of excluding females was of old an established opinion in France, and had acquired equal authority with the most express and positive law: it was supported by ancient precedents; it was confirmed by recent instances, solemnly and deliberately decided: and what placed it still farther beyond Controversy, if Edward was disposed to question its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretensions; since the three last Kings had all left daughters, who were still alive, and who stood before him in the order of succession. He was therefore reduced to assert, that, though his mother Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, he himself, who inherited through her, was liable to no such objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity. But, besides that this pretension was more favourable to Charles King of Navarre, descended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin,

it was so contrary to the established principles of succession in every country of Europe, was so repugnant to the practice both in public and private inheritances, that nobody in France thought of Edward's claim Philip's title was universally recognized and he never imagined that he had a competitor much less so formidable a one as the King of England.

24.) This man by undertaking to be a patron to the people, had all things at his command. He never walked the streets without sixty or eighty lusty yeomen at his heels, who upon a sign given them, killed every man they met, who was not a friend to this James. He collected and spent as he pleased the Earl's rents and profits; he banished all the Lords, whom he suspected to be the Earl's friends: and in every town he had soldiers in pay, to spy and give him notice of any person, who had a design against him, whom he never left till he had banished or destroyed. He was murdered at length in 1345, by the populace, for endeavouring to make King Edward's son Earl of Flanders.

25.) This Parliament was held about the middle of March; and in it was enacted, that no wool of English growth should be transported beyond sea; and that all cloth workers should be received from whatever foreign parts they came, and encouraged. It was also ordained, that none should wear any cloths made beyond sea, except the King, Queen, and their children; also, that none should wear foreign furs or silks, unless he was worth one hundred pounds of yearly rents.

26.) He was invested: with this Dukedom, by a wreath on his head, a ring on his finger and silver verge. Since which time, the eldest son of the King of England is born Duke of Cornwall. At the same solemnity were created, six Earls, viz. Henry de Lancaster Earl of Derby, William de Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Hugh de Audley of Gloucester, William de Clinton of Huntingdon, William de Buhun of Northampton, and Robert de Ufford of Suffolk.

27.) He sailed from Orwell in Suffolk, July 15.

28.) At, this interview, two thrones being erected in the open market place, one for the Emperor, the other for the King; the Emperor took his place first, and King Edward sat down by him. There were present four great Dukes, three Archbishops, and six Bishops, thirty seven Earls; and according to the heralds, seventeen thousand Barons. Bannerets, Knights, and Squires. The Emperor having his sceptre in his right hand, and the globe in his left, and a Knight of Almain, holding over his heed a naked sword; his Imperial Majesty did then and there declare the disloyalty, falsehood, and villainy of the King of France; and thereupon defied him, and pronounced that he and his adherents, had forfeited the protection and favour of the Empire. And then he constituted King Edward Vicar General of the Empire, granting unto him full and absolute power over all on this side as far as Cologn; whereof he gave him his Imperial Charter, in sight of all that were present.

29.) The reader may judge of it by the following account taken from Dr. Brady:—

The Prince by the day, twenty shillings, The Bishop of Durham, six shillings and eight-pence. Thirteen Earls, each by the day, six shillings and eight-pence. Forty-four Barons and Banneretts, each by the day, four shillings. One thousand forty-six Knights, each by the day, two shillings. Esquires, Constables, Captains, and Leaders, four thousand and twenty-two, each by the day, one-shilling. Vintenars that had the command of twenty men, or as our Serjeants, and Archers on horse back, five thousand one hundred and four, each by the day, six-pence. Pauncenars, they were most strangers, but what otherwise, is not known] three hundred and fifty-five, each by the day, sixpence. Hobelars five hundred, each by the day, six-pence. Archers on foot, fifteen thousand four hundred and eighty, each by the day, three-pence. Masons, Carpenters, Smiths, Engineers, Tent-makers, Miners, and Gunners armed, and those that had the care of the artillery, three hundred and fourteen, some at a shilling, others at ten-pence, six-pence, and three-pence, by the day. Welshmen, foot four thousand four hundred and seventy-four, whereof two hundred Vintenars, each by the day, four-pence, The residue, each by the day, two-pence. The whole

number of the men of the army, was besides the Lords, thirty-one thousand two hundred and ninety-four; masters, captains, mariners, and boys, for seven hundred. ships, barges, balingers, and victuallers, sixteen thousand. The sum total of the war, with the wages of the mariners, from the 4th of June, in the 20th year of Edward the third, to the 12th of October, in the 21st year of his reign, one year and hundred thirty one days. One hundred twenty seven thousand one hundred and one pounds, two and nine pence.

30.) i.e. God and my right.—It having been enacted in the Parliament, that the English wool should not be exported out of the kingdom, but be made into cloths within the King's dominions; one Thomas Blauket, and some other inhabitants of Bristol, set up looms in their own houses about this time.

31.) He came into the King's presence, in a searing passion, and cried out several times, cowardly Englishmen, dastardly Englishmen, faint hearted Englishmen: The King asked him, why he called them so? The jester answered, because they durst not leap out of their ships into the sea, as our brave Frenchmen did.

32.) The King upon his return, ordered the following persons to be imprisoned, the Lord Nicolas de la Beche, Constable of the Tower; Andrew Aubrey, Mayor of London; the Lord Thomas Wake; Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the Great Seal ; the Bishop of Chichester, Chancellor; the Bishop of Lichfield, and Coventry, Lord treasurer; Sir John Stonore, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Michael Wath, Henry Stratford, and Robert Chickwel, clerks of the Chancery, and Philip Thorp, clerk of the Exchequer; who had been concerned in levying the late subsidies, and had not acted. Honestly.

33.) King Edward returned to England, March 2, and landed at Weymouth.

34.) He landed on June 3, at Innerbervey in Scotland.

35.) Her name was Joan. She was sister to Jelin Plantagent, Earl of Kent, and daughter of Edmund late Earl of Kent, King Edward's uncle.

36.) These feastings began on January 1.

37.) And also gave his subjects free leave to cut down timber in his forests, and build ships,- that he might be able to beat the English at sea.

38.) He was exchanged for the Lord Stafford.

39.) He sailed from Sandwich, July 3, and came back the 26th,

40.) After this they took the towns of Beaumont, Le Lac, and Managaret; and attacked the Castle of Peligren, but before it could be taken; the garrison sallying out, took the Earl of Oxford away prisoner. Soon after, on August 10, the English defeated the Count de Lailie, who was besieging Auheroche, in which action seven thousand of the French were slain.

41.) This year, in July, died the famous Adam de Orleton Bishop of Winchester.

42.) He had formed a project, in order to raise his family, utterly to disinherit Lewis Earl of Flanders, and to put the government of it into the hands of the King of England on condition. he would bestow it upon Prince Edward his son, with the title of Duke. Accordingly, King Edward went over about Midsummer, to Sluys, for that purpose. But the populace disliking Arteville's proposal, one of them slew him.

43.) But first held a great council at Westminster, where, by their advice, he took into his hands all the revenues in England enjoyed by alien ecclesiastics, and the cardinals of the French faction.

44.) And with him were joined Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; John Vere, Earl of Oxford; Geoffrey Harcourt; and the following Lords, Ralph Stafford, John de la Ware, Thomas Holland, Reginald Cobham, Bartholomew, Burwash, John Mohun, Robert Bourchrer, John Chandos, Thomas Clifford, and Sir Robert Neville this body consisted of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and one thousand, or, according to others, six thousand Welshmen.

45.) Richard Fitz: Alan, Earl of Arundel; and William. Bohun, Earl of Northampton. Together with the Lord John Willoughby, the Lord Ralph Basset of Sapeote, the Lord Multon, Sir Lewis Tufton of Töketon. This body consisted of eight hundred men at arms, two thousand four hundred archers, and four thousand bill-men.

46.) who had with him, John-Lord Mowbray, Roger Lord-Mortimer, Thomas Lord Dagworth, Sir Richard Goldesborough, Sir Richard Damory, Sir Nele Loring, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir John Butterell. This body consisted of seven hundred men at arms, six thousand archers, and five thousand three hundred bill-men, in all twelve thousand men and the whole army amounted to thirty thousand complete.

47.) It consisted of near one hundred thousand men. The French army began the attack, it seems, against the King's orders; and engaged in a very confused and disorderly manner; and besides had the sun in their faces.

48.) This memorable battle was fought on Saturday, August 24; in the fields between Abbeville and Cressy in Picardy. There were slain, on the venue side, eleven Princes, fourscore Bannerette, twelve hundred Knights, and about thirty thousand common soldiers. How many of the English were slain, is not mentioned in history.

49.) This battle was fought not far from Nevil's Cross, near Durham on October 17. There were no less than fifteen or according to others twenty thousand Scots slain. The Scotch King, though he had two spears hanging in his body, his leg almost incurably wounded, and his sword beaten out of his hand, disdaining captivity, provoked the English by opprobrious language to kill him; and when John Copland Governor of Roxborough castle advised him to yield, he struck him on the face with his gauntlet so fiercely, that he knocked out two of his teeth. But however Copland conveyed him away out of the field a prisoner. Upon his refusing to deliver him up to the Queen (who staid at Newcastle during the battle) the King sent for him to Calais, where he excused his refusal so handsomely, that the King sent him back with the reward of five hundred pounds a year in land, where he himself should chose it near his own dwelling, and made him a Knight Banneret.

50.) This story of the six burgesses of Calais, like most other extraordinary stories, is somewhat to be suspected; and so much the more, as Avesbury, of Calais, says nothing of it and on the contrary, extols in general the king's generosity and lenity to the inhabitants. It is not a slight testimony that should make us give credit to a story so dishonourable to Edward, especially after that proof of his humanity, in allowing a free passage to all the women, children, and infirm people, at the beginning of the siege; at least, it is scarcely to be believed, that if the story has any foundation, he seriously meant to execute his menaces against the six townsmen of Calais.

51.) Where he arrived October 12.

52.) This year was finished St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, formerly belonging to the King's palace, but now where the House of Commons meets.

53.) This plague first began in China in 1346, whence it spread into other parts of Asia, and passed into Greece, Africa and afterwards into Europe, and so into France and England: in which last it broke out first in Dorsetshire, about the beginning of August, and. spread itself all over the nation, continuing till Michaelmass twelvemonth after; it was so great in both years, that there hardly remained the tenth part of people alive in most places.

54.) The Charter House. The Lord Walter Manny, considering the great danger of burying in the church-yards, during this great plague, purchased a piece of ground called Spittle-Croft, then belonging to the master and brethren of St. Bartholomew-Spittle, containing thirteen acres and a rod, without the bars of Smithfield, and caused it to be inclosed and consecrated. In this place were buried above fifty thousand persons that died of the plague. In memory whereof, the said Lord, in 1171, built a chapel on the same ground, and founded a house for Charter House, or Carthusian monks.

55.) Mr. Ashmole fixes the institution of this noble and honourable Order, on the 23rd of April 1349. But Dr. Brady justly doubts, whether it was instituted this year, because the plague at that time raged terribly at London, and other parts adjacent.

56.) The Countess of Salisbury, according to some the mistress of the King, was, for shape and beauty, the wonder of her time.

57.) An Order of Knighthood, instituted by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, at his marriage with Isabella of Portugal in 1429. The Order was at first composed of four-and-twenty Knights, who were gentlemen of birth, and unblemished reputation.

58.) An Order of Knight hood in France, instituted by King Henry III who celebrated its first festival on the 31st of December, 1578. The number of Knights was limited to a hundred, without including those of the clergy, viz. four cardinals, and four bishops, together with the great almoner, and the officers of the Order, viz. a Chancellor, treasurer, Register, and King at Arms, and ordered the Knights to wear a cross of Malta, having a dove in the centre of it. To which King. Henry IV in 1598, added a collar made of trophies, whence proceed flames, intermixed with crowned heads. This Order, with every other honorary distinction, was abolished at the revolution.

59.) Camden reckons in his time twenty two Kings, besides the King of England, and as many foreign Dukes and Princes. He has likewise giving us a list of the first six and twenty Knights, who are called the founders of the Order; namely Edward III, King of England; Edward his son Prince of Wales; Henry Duke of Lancaster; Thomas Earl of Warwick; Ralph Earl of Stafford ; William Montacute Earl of Salisbury; Roger Mortimer Earl of March; Capdall de Buche; John Pisle; Bartholomew Burghwash; John Beauchamp; John de Mohon; Hugh Courtney; Thomas Holland; John Grey; Richard Fitz-Simon; Miles Stapleton; Thomas Walk; Hugh Wriothesley; Niel Loring; John Chandos; James de Audley; Otho Holland; Henry Erne; Zanchet Dabridgecourt; and William Paynel. Whilst speaking of this Order, it may not be irrelevant to mention, that the Emperor Alexander of Russia was invested with it, at Toplitz, on the 27th of September, 1813. The ceremony was exceedingly grand and interesting, as appears from the following official statement, copied from the London Gazette. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, Sovereign of the Most Noble Order, of the Garter, to constitute and appoint the Right Hon. R. William Viscount Cathcart, His Majesty's Ambassador to the Emperor of all the Russias; Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter Principal King of Arms, or his deputy *pro hac vice*; and Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Knight, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, to be His Majesty's Plenipotentiaries for investing His Imperial Majesty with the ensigns of the Most Noble Order: Francis Townsend, Esq. Deputy Garter. Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt joined His Excellency Lord Cathcart at the head-quarters on Monday the 27th instant, being the anniversary of His Imperial Majesty's coronation. The Emperor having signified his pleasure to receive the investiture in the evening of that day, and the requisite

arrangements having been made for observing the customary ceremonies as fully as circumstances would permit, the Plenipotentiaries repaired to the residence of his Imperial Majesty, where they were received by Count Gullowkin, Grand Master of the ceremonies, and by Count Tolstoy, Grand Marshal of the Court and, soon after nine o'clock, a procession was formed to His Imperial Majesty's apartment. "It consisted of all His Imperial Majesty's principal officers of his court ; and the attendants of the British Ambassador, with the officers of the Order, &c. sent on the part of his Britannic Majesty. At the entrance of the Emperor's apartment, the officers of his Imperial Majesty's guard arranged themselves on either side; and the procession advanced into the presence of his Imperial Majesty with the usual reverences. The hoods, stars, surcoat, and sword, cap and feathers, collar and mantle, were deposited on a table by the persons who had severally carried them. Then Deputy Garter delivering the letter of credence to Lord Cathcart, the same was by his Excellency presented to the Emperor, and received from His Imperial Majesty's hand by Count Charles de Nepelrode, Secretary of State. The Commission was in like manner, presented; and the Emperor delivered the same to Count George Golowkin, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, who having read it aloud, returned 40 Deputy Garter. The Plenipotentiaries thereupon invested His Imperial Majesty With the Garter, and then with the Ribband and George; Deputy Garter delivering the usual admonitions. Lord Cathcart then presented the book of the statutes to the Emperor; and his Imperial Majesty delivered to his Excellency a certificate of his acceptance of the Order, and his nomination of a proxy for his installation in the Royal Chapel of St. George, at Windsor. After the investiture, His Imperial Majesty received the ambassadors, ministers, and great officers; and next day he gave a grand dinner to the Plenipotentiaries, and to the English ministers resident at the head quarters of the allied Sovereigns, the members of their respective embassies, several Russian and English persons of distinction, and the gentlemen who had attended the mission. Upon this occasion His Imperial Majesty appeared in the ensigns of the Most Noble Order.

60.) This engagement happened August 29, near Winchelsea.

61.) See the coins at the end of this reign.

62.) This was done by the- authority of the Parliament, which met this year on September 23, and continued, for some time longer, the subsidy of wool, leather, and wool-fells, granted to the King in some of the late Parliaments.

63.) Provided he would quit his claim to the crown of France.

64.) He sailed from Plymouth, September 8, attended by the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford; with one thousand men at arms, and the like number of archers.

65.) November 2, attended by his sons Lionel and John, Henry Duke of Lancaster; the Earls of Northampton, March, and Stafford, &c. and about two thousand men at arms.

66.) Edward forgave him half the sum, on condition he would pay the other half punctually at the days agreed on.

67.) He insisted at first, upon having four of the principal English noblemen at his mercy, and that the Prince and all the rest of the army should yield themselves prisoners.

68.) This battle was fought on the 19th of September, 1356. There were about six Frenchmen to one Englishman. Walsingham says, Prince Edward had only one thousand nine hundred men at arms, and the same number of archers. But J. Barnes says, his army consisted of about eight thousand men. The prisoners are said to be more in number than the English army. And among them were, besides the King and his son, seventeen Earls, and of Barons, Knights, and Esquires, to the number of one thousand five hundred.

69.) He was received by Henry Picard the Lord Mayor, (the same that afterwards magnificently entertained at one time the four Kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus) with the Aldermen, &c. in all their formalities, with the city pageants; and in the streets, as he passed to Westminster, the citizens hung out all their plate, tapestry, and armour, so that the like had never been seen before in the memory of man.

70.) So called from Peter Earl of Savoy, who lived in it. Eleanor, wife of Henry III bought it of the fraternity of Mountjoy and gave it to her son Edmund Earl of Lancaster, and it was then in the possession of Henry Duke of Lancaster.

71.) She died in November and was buried in the choir of the Grey Friars, now called Christ Church, in London. A little after died also her daughter Joan Queen of Scots, and was buried in the same church with the Queen her mother.

72.) Walsingham relates, he had then no less than one thousand one hundred ships.

73.) The King sailed from Sandwich, October 28.

74.) It is in the treaty itself two hundred thousand moutons, or deniers of gold, which was equal to about thirty five thousand pounds sterling.

75.) While King Edward was thus employed beyond sea, some Normans landed at Winchelsea, March 15, 1359, and plundered that town but the Londoners and some other towns, sent out, the next year, a fleet of eighty ships, having on board fourteen thousand men; and therewith scoured the seas. At last, landing in France, they made themselves masters of the Isle of Sans.

76.) The Lord Morley was killed outright, and the Lord Guy de Beauchamp, eldest son of the Earl of Warwick, being mortally wounded by one of the hail-stones, died thereof on the 28th day of April following.

77.) A sufficient fleet was equipped for that purpose, under the command of Sir John Beauchamp. King John was attended to Calais by Prince Edward, the Duke of Lancaster, and many other noblemen; they arrived there on July 19.

78.) All things being thus brought to a conclusion, King Edward embarked at Calais, October 31, and landed at Dover the next morning.

79.) So that he was Prince of Wales, and of Aquitaine, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester and Kent; this last in right of his wife.

80.) This Parliament met at London, October 13, and granted the King twenty-six shillings and eight-pence on every sack of wool for three years, besides the former subsidy of wool-fells, and skins.

81.) This statute ordained only, that all pleadings and judgments in the Courts of Westminster, should for the future be in English, whereas before they were wont to be in French.

83.) It is likewise said that the custom of our Kings, who upon Maunday Thursday wash, feed, and clothe as many poor as they are years old, had its rise from this jubilee of King Edward.

84.) This battle was fought on September 29. King Edward made the Pursuivant at Arms, who brought him the news of this victory an Herald by the name of Windsor, which title continues to this day.

85.) He engaged to pay sixty thousand florins for the wages of his army, and left his two daughters pledges for the money; he transferred also by his Charter the Castles of Vermejo, Lequutio, Bilboa and Ordiales, with the province of Biscay, to Prince Edward and his heirs for ever, wholly discharged of all Sovereignty and resort.

86.) He had with her one hundred thousand florins of gold, and the cities of Mondovi, Alba, Pompeia, Claraschi, and Cunci, with their territories, and appendances.

87.) He was buried at Pavia, and afterwards brought over into England by Thomas Newborn, Esc.; and ethers, and interred at Clare in Suffolk, in the Covent-Church of the Augustin Friars, near his first wife, Elizabeth de Burgh. His doting widow Violanta was married to Otho Paleologus, Marquis of Montserrat, stabbed afterwards. by an hostler.

88.) This year the King sent forth an order for the arming of all clergymen. Part of it runs thus: The King commands and requires all the Prelates assembled in Parliament, that in regard of the great danger and damage; which may happen to the realm and church of England by reason of this war, in case the enemy should invade the kingdom, that they will appear themselves in the defence of the realm, and cause their tenants, dependants, monks, parsons, vicars, &c. to be prepared for the field in a military manner, and be ready to encounter the force, and disappoint the malice of his enemies. All which the Prelates in Parliament engaged to perform.

89.) She died on the 15th of August 1369, and was buried in the Chapel of the King's in Westminster Abbey, under a fair tomb of black touchstone, with her portraiture of alabaster. About her monument were placed the figures, and shields of arms carved and painted of thirty illustrious persons. Among other works of charity she contributed largely towards the building and endowing of Queen's College in Oxford, founded in 1340, by Robert Eglesfield, her Chaplain and Confessor.

90.) A. D. 1371.

91.) Pedro. King of Castille, when he came to implore the assistance, of Prince Edward, brought two young daughters with him, who were left as pledges for their father's performance of the conditions agreed on between him and that Prince, which their father taking no care to perform, and being killed not long after, the young ladies were left upon Prince Edward's hands. When they came to women's estate, the Duke of Lancaster was advised to marry the eldest, being deemed the true heiress to the crown of Castille, and the Earl of Cambridge married Isabella the youngest.

92.) In the year 1375, having obtained an aid from King Edward, he sailed in the beginning of the spring, from England, with three thousand archers, and two thousand men at arms, and recovered several of his towns and castles.

93.) She was one of the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber to Queen Philippa. In a grant to her of some jewels belonging to Queen Philippa deceased, dated at Woodstock, August the 8th, 1373, she is called Perrers. Rymer's Foed. Tom. VII. p. 28. This is the only Record in the Foedera, which proves Edward's affection for this Lady; a thing Barnes will by no means allow, for two reasons, because Edward was so chaste in the flower of his age, and because so noble a Baron as the Lord William Windsor married her afterwards.

94.) He died of a fever, June 8, 1376, and by his will disposed of his body to be buried in the cathedral of the Trinity at Canterbury. Over his grave is erected a stately monument of grey marble, with his portraiture thereon of copper gilt; the ends and sides are garnished with escutcheons also of copper, enamelled with his arms and devices, and superscribed with the words Houmout and Ich Dien. On an iron bar over the tomb, are placed the helmet and crest, coat of mail and gauntlets, and (on a pillar near thereto) his shield of arms richly diapered with

gold, all which he is said to have used in battle. On a fillet of brass round the monument is circumscribed this French epitaph, *Cy gist le noble Prince Monsieur Edward, aisnez filz du tres noble Roy Edward tiers Jadis Prince. d'Aquitaine & de Gales, Due de Cornwaille & Comte de Cestre, qi morust, en la feste di la Trinite questoit le VIII jour de Juyn, Van de grace mil trois cent Sep, tante sisine, L'alme de qui Dieu ait mercy amen.*" On the south side at the foot, and at the north side of the tomb, are French verses.

95.) Walsingham says, with him died the hopes of the English, during whose life they dreaded no invasion, nor feared to encounter any enemy. He never undertook an expedition without conquest, never formed a siege without carrying the place, &c.

96.) His natural issue were: **1.** Sir John Sounder, of whom there is no other mention than of his name. **2.** Sir Roger de Clarendon, so named probably from the place of his birth. He was made one of the Knights of the chamber to Richard II who granted him one hundred pounds per annum, during life. He was attainted in the reign of Henry IV. and is thought to be the ancestor of a family of the Smiths in Essex. Besides Prince Richard, and the two natural children here mentioned, it is certain that Prince Edward had a daughter, who was married to Waleran de Luxembourg, Count de Ligny, and de St. Pol.

97.) He was not speaker, but a considerable Knight, of Herefordshire, both for prudence and eloquence. He was confined till the beginning of the next reign.

98.) November 20, 1376.

99.) He died of the shingles, on June 21, 1377, and lies buried in Westminster.

100.) Among other public acts of magnificence and charity, King Edward rebuilt Windsor castle, of which structure, the famous William of Wickham was surveyor: he also founded King's hall in Cambridge, now part of Trinity college; and the collegiate chapel of St. Stephen's at Westminster, for a dean, and twelve secular canons.

101.) William of Hatfield (the place of his birth) born 1336, dying in his childhood, was interred in the cathedral of York.

102.) Elizabeth de Burgh, in whose right he was created Earl of Ulster in Ireland. William de Burgh, her father, married Maud, daughter of Henry, son of Edmund, second son of Henry III.

103.) And was buried at Westminster. Where in the chapel of St. Edmund is to be seen a tomb of grey marble, on which lie the figures of this William and his sister Blanch de la Tour, carved in alabaster, in the habit of the time, each about a foot and a half long. The fillet of brass, containing their epitaph, is torn away.

104.) Who was by Edward III. created Earl of Bedford, 1366. This Isabella was buried in the church of the Fryars Minors without Aldgate, leaving issue Mary de Coucy, wife of Robert de Barr, and Philippa de Coucy, wife of Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, Marquis of Dublin, (a title before unknown in England) and Earl of Oxford, who forsaking her, married one Lancerona, a joiner's daughter. (as is reported) who came with King Richard II's wife out of Bohemia. He died at last in great want at Louvain, 1352; and his corpse was brought home, and interred at Earl's Colne in Essex.

105.) She was married by proxy, and entitled Queen of Spain, but died of the plague as soon as she came into Spain; so that the King her spouse coming to meet her, to solemnise the nuptials, accompanied her to church, only at her funeral, in 1348. She was born in the Tower, 1335. All our historians unanimously affirm, she was contracted to Alphonso XI. King of Castille; but that it was to his son Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, is undeniably manifest from Rymer's, Foed.

106.) She was called de la Tour, because born in the Tower of London. She was buried in Westminster-abbey; 1340, and her figure of alabaster lies as abovementioned in noted(103)

107.) This John Hastings being sent to raise the siege of Rochelle, fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and after two years captivity, - was sold to a nobleman of France, with whom agreeing for his ransom, he was at his departure poisoned at a banquet, 1375, without issue by this wife. he was the first subject who followed. the example of King Edward III. in quartering arms.



Siege of Calais (1346)





Chapter II

RICHARD II. SURNAMED OF BOURDEAX

A. D. 1377



EDWARD III. HAVING FINISHED HIS GLORIOUS LIFE, Richard his grandson, as representing the late Prince of Wales his father, was crowned without opposition, on the 16th of July, four and twenty days after the death of Edward[1].

At this coronation it is, that we meet with the first mention in history of a champion, who appeared completely armed in Westminster-Hall, where the King dined, and throwing his gauntlet on the ground, challenged all persons, who should dispute the King's title to the crown, The original of this custom which is still preserved, is unknown, but it is certainly of an older date than the coronation of Richard II. since Sir John Dimmock, who performed then the office of champion, was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to a manor, held by him in Lincolnshire[2].

Immediately after the solemnity, the young King created Thomas of Woodstock his uncle, Earl of Buckingham, and Guischart d'Angouleme, his governor, Earl of Huntington, and the same time conferring the title of Earl of Nottingham, upon John de Mowbray, and that of Earl of Northumberland upon Henry Percy, who was also Earl Marshal.

Edward's truce with France had expired since April the 1st without the least preparation by the English to renew the war. Whether the late King's illness occasioned this negligence, or it was imagined, that France, satisfied with the great advantages she had gained, would remain in quiet; there was in England a surprising security in that respect. It was quite otherwise in France, where Charles V. was diligently preparing to take advantage of the indolence of the English. When that monarch was informed that Edward was no longer able to act, he gave orders to levy troops on all sides. So that when he heard of his death, he was ready to bring five armies into the field. He sent the first into Guienne, to complete the expulsion of the English out of that province.

The second into Auvergne, the third into Bretagne, the fourth into Artois, and the fifth he kept with him, in order to assist the rest in case of necessity. Besides these armies, he had likewise equipped a strong fleet, which was ordered to infest the coast of England. As the English were wholly unprepared, the French landed in several places, burnt Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and defeated some troops assembled by the prior of Lewis, to try to put a stop to their ravages. They were repulsed at Winchester, but landed in the Isle of Wight, where they plundered all the inhabitants, and after a fruitless attempt to take Carisbrook castle, retired with their booty.

As the King was not of age to govern the state himself, the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge his uncles took the administration of affairs, till the meeting of the Parliament in October, but used with great caution, the authority they had assumed, for fear of breeding prejudices against them, that might be detrimental to them in the approaching Parliament. The Duke of Lancaster was not beloved he was accused of abusing his power in the end of the late

reign, and treating his subjects too haughtily. He had especially incurred the ill-will of the Londoners, by causing them to be punished for the tumult raised on Wickliff's account. Though since the death of the King his father, he had been reconciled to the city, that proceeding was considered only as the effect of his policy, and it was feared, he would assume his former haughtiness, if entrusted with the administration.

As he knew very well what people thought of him, he behaved very circumspectly, apprehensive as he was of being excluded from the Regency to which he aspired. But all his precautions were not capable to prevent the murmurs of the people, already prejudiced against him. The little care which the two Princes took to guard the coasts, was openly complained of, without considering they had neither fleet, nor troops, nor money, nor even any lawful authority to raise extraordinary forces. The Scots having taken by surprise the castle of Roxborough, the loss was also ascribed to the negligence of those, who governed the realm[4].

The Parliament's first care, which met in October, was to settle the administration of the government during the King's minority. For that purpose, they appointed several governors to the King, to take care of his education, and ordered that his three uncles should be Regents of the kingdom; but joined with them some Bishops and Lay-Lords.

This affair being finished, the Parliament granted the King a subsidy, for the maintenance of the war; but it was clogged with this condition, (which plainly shewed, they were resolved to be upon their guard during the minority,) that the money should be lodged in the hands of Philpot and Walworth, two eminent Aldermen of London, who were ordered to take care it should be expended only in repulsing the French and Castilians in league against England.

Moreover, it was declared, that the subsidy granted the King, should not be drawn into a precedent, but for the future, what should be necessary for maintaining his household, and defraying the charges of the war, should be supplied out of his ordinary revenues. After this the Parliament admitted an accusation against Alice Pierce, favourite of the late King, who being convicted of several misdemeanours, received a sentence, whereby all her estate was confiscated to the King's use, and herself condemned to banishment. But this woman, who had an able and intriguing head, quickly found means to be recalled by the King, and restored to her estate[5].

Before the Parliament broke up, Richard confirmed King John's two charters, and gave his assent to several acts, relating to the contests England had with the court of Rome.

A. D. 1378] it was not without reason, that the Duke of Lancaster was hindered from having the sole management of affairs. This Prince was of a proud and haughty temper, which suffered him not to have much regard for his inferiors, particularly in affairs where his interest was concerned. Presently after the breaking up of the Parliament, he gave a proof of his violent temper by an action, which shewed what he was capable of, if the whole power had been lodged in his hands. As he had a claim to the kingdom of Castille, he thought it might be of some advantage to gain to his interest the young Earl of Denia, a Castilian Lord, then at London.

The father of this young Earl, being taken at the battle of Najara by two English Knights, was brought into England, where he had remained several years in the custody of those who took him prisoner. At length, by leaving his son in hostage, he obtained leave to return home, where he died before his ransom was paid.

The Duke of Lancaster hoping to make friends in Castille by means of the young captive Earl, so managed it, that the King ordered the two Knights to release him. But as there was no mention of the ransom, they concealed their prisoner, and made him promise he would not discover himself. This disobedience exasperating the Duke of Lancaster, he sent the two Knights to the Tower, whence however they made their escape, and took refuge in the church of Westminster. This sanctuary was not capable of saving them. The Duke of Lancaster sending soldiers into the

church to bring them away, one of the Knights was retaken, but the other defending himself, was slain with a monk, who too warmly took his part.

The Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated all that were concerned in the breach of the church's privileges; but the Duke's authority prevented any farther prosecution of the affair. Sometime after, the King taking upon him to pay the Spanish Earl's ransom, it was discovered, to the people's great admiration, that the young Lord, not to be forced to break his promise, had all along attended in a footman's habit, the person to whom he had given his word.

Mean time, the Duke of Lancaster, who was vexed to see the money granted the King by the Parliament, **in the hands of two citizens of London**, promoted not the equipment of the ships, for the defence of the coasts. This affected negligence occasioned many complaints. But he pretended, he could not form any project, lest it should not be approved by those, who had the management of the money. In fine, he so importuned the other Regents, that the two Aldermen were ordered to put into his hands the sums they were charged with. He promised for his part, that the coasts should be better guarded, and the merchant men protected. However he still delayed a considerable time sending out a fleet, because he expected from Bayonne some ships which were to join those he equipped.

Whilst the fleet was preparing, the Earls of Arundel and Salisbury had orders to go to Normandy, and take possession of Cherbourg, which the King of Navarre had promised to deliver to the English. They had scarcely left the coasts of England, when they were met by some Spanish men of war, who fiercely attacked them^[6], and did them some damage. Notwithstanding this obstacle, they put a garrison into Cherbourg, which afforded the English an inlet into Normandy, as Calais did into Picardy.

Before the fleet, designed for the guard of the coasts, was quite ready, one Mercer, a Scotch pirate, seeing the English neglected the northern seas, entered the port of Scarborough, and carried away the merchant men that lay there. This success inspiring him with greater hopes, he long cruised in those seas, and took considerable prizes. The damage sustained by the merchants on this occasion, caused fresh complaints against the Duke of Lancaster.

Philpot before mentioned, full of indignation to see the English merchants exposed to the ravages of this pirate, undertook, at his own expense, what the Duke neglected to do with the public money. He fitted out some ships, and with a thousand soldiers, went in quest of the Scotch pirate, whom he defeated, and taking him prisoner, returned in triumph to London. This action, which gained him the applause of the people, offended the Regents, who thought it of dangerous consequence, to suffer a private person to undertake a thing of that nature, without the government's permission. But he made so good a defence, and with so much modesty, that he was dismissed without farther trouble.

The late schism formed in the church by the double election of Urban VI. and Clement VII. employed the Parliament some time; which met in October 1378. The rise of the schism was this.

Gregory XI. leaving Avignon, upon certain pretended revelations, in order to reside at Rome, died March the 7th, 1378. Of the three and twenty cardinals then in being, six remained at Avignon, one was a legate, and the sixteen others, of whom twelve were Frenchmen, and four Italians, were at Rome when Gregory died. These last having entered the conclave, to proceed to the election of a Pope, were greatly embarrassed.

Their intent was to chuse a Frenchman; but as they foresaw the people of Rome would oppose it, they resolved to give them a seeming satisfaction; by pretending to elect an Italian. But they agreed first among themselves, that as soon as they were at full liberty, they would chuse another, who should be true Pope; a project which could hardly fail of begetting a schism. According to

this agreement, they elected the Archbishop of Barry, a Neapolitan, who assumed the name of Urban VI.

The election was notified to all Christian Princes as canonical, even by the cardinals the electors, and for some time they themselves acknowledged Urban for head of the church. And yet, whether in consequence of their agreement, or, as some affirm, because Urban treated them too haughtily, these same cardinals leaving Rome on pretence of great heat, met at Anagnia, and elected one of the cardinals of Avignon, who stiled himself Clement VII.

These two elections by the same persons, long employed the most noted Divines in Europe, and occasioned a schism, which lasted above thirty years, to decide which of the Popes was head of the church: it would have been much easier to find good reasons to reject them both: However, the schism divided all Christendom, each state declaring for one or other of the two Popes, not so much on account of the right of the parties, as for political reasons. France, whose interest it was that the Pope should reside at Avignon joined with Clement, and for a contrary reason, England thought it more advantageous to adhere to the Pope of Rome.

Whilst the two pontiffs were darting their spiritual thunders against one another, the Duke of Lancaster equipped his fleet, which had been so long preparing: His design was not only to guard the coasts as he had engaged: he had in view a more important expedition, namely, to restore the Duke of Bretagne, dispossessed by the King of France, with the connivance of the Lords of Bretagne, whom he had gained to his interests.

This unhappy Prince, seeing himself abandoned by most of his subjects, came into England towards the end of Edward's reign, to demand his assistance; but losing that refuge by the death of his father-in-law, he retired to the Earl of Flanders, his relation and ally. During his stay in that country, a French envoy who was going to Scotland, being stopped on the way, by the Earl's order, Charles pretended it was done by the Duke of Bretagne's instigation, and insisted upon the Earl's dismissing him from his court.

The Earl, not believing, his being vassal obliged him to that condescension, furnished the King by his refusal, with the pretence he was apparently seeking, to be revenged of the Duke another way. He sent into Bretagne an army, to complete the ruin of that unfortunate Prince, who was unable to resist him. England was too much concerned to support him, not to make some effort in his favour. The Duke of Lancaster finding his fleet ready for sea, went on board himself, and set sail for Bretagne, where he laid siege to St. Malo. But he met with so many obstacles from Du Guesclin, who commanded the French army in those parts, that he was forced to desist from his enterprise[7].

This ill success would have perhaps discouraged the English had not the Duke of Bretagne repaired to England, and offered to deliver to the King the town of Brest, during the war, provided he would lend him an aid proportioned to his wants. So advantageous an offer inspired the King's council with fresh hopes, since it would enable them to make from that side a powerful diversion, which could not but be very troublesome to France. And indeed, if the English had wisely improved their advantages, it would have been in their power to invade France from four several quarters, namely, Guienne, Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne, by means of Bourdeaux, Calais, Cherbourg, and Brest, which gave the English so many inlets into that kingdom.

Richard's council resolving to embrace so favourable a juncture, accepted the Duke of Bretagne's offers and made, with him a treaty, upon the basis proposed by himself. The Parliament, approving the council's designs, granted a very considerable subsidy, to execute the project. Besides the party, the Duke of Bretagne had still in his own country, several of his adversaries began to wish for his restoration, not being able to bear, without extreme uneasiness, the insolence of the French. But as the strong holds were in the hands of the friends of France, the faithful

subjects could undertake nothing, unless supported by the English, who were, with all possible diligence, preparing the promised supplies.

The King of France, who saw the gathering storm, took measures to divert it, by procuring from the side of Scotland, a diversion, to hinder the English from carrying their arms abroad. The King of Scotland, gained by the presents and promises of the French monarch, suddenly broke the truce, and took Berwick Castle, by surprise, the town having been dismantled in the former wars. The Earl of Northumberland, (Henry de Percy) governor of the northern counties, surprised at the loss of that place, which was imputed to his negligence, drew together a body of troops[8] with such speed, that he was at Berwick before the Scots had notice of his design.

Immediately after, he invested the castle, and seizing a bridge, the only pass by which succours could be thrown into the place, pushed the siege so vigorously, that in nine days he took it by storm. Douglas, who was advancing to raise the siege, finding himself disappointed, hastily retired into the country, to avoid a battle. He was pursued by the Earl of Northumberland, who to retard the enemies' retreat, detached a body of six hundred men, under the conduct of Sir Thomas Musgrave, with orders to amuse them, without engaging too far. But whilst he was himself advancing with the rest of his army, he had intelligence, that his detachment was fallen into an ambush, and entirely defeated[9].

Henry Percy his son, signalised himself, both at the siege of Berwick, and in the late action, and gave extraordinary proofs of his great courage, which gained him the surname of Hotspur. The plague, beginning to rage in the northern counties, obliged the two nations to a better observance of the truce, without a new treaty.

A. D. 1379] Mean time, the preparations for the assistance of the Duke of Bretagne were vigorously carrying on. But as the expense rose higher than was imagined, the Parliament granted the King another subsidy, the burden whereof was entirely borne by the nobility and clergy. Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Earls, and mitred Abbots, were taxed at ten marks each, besides forty-pence to be paid by the Abbots for every one of their monks. The rest of the clergy and nobility, and all that had places, being rated according to their incomes, the subsidy produced very considerable sums.

The King of France was much enraged with the Duke of Bretagne, for attempting to recall the English into his country. He summoned him before the Court of Peers, but the Duke took care not to appear. The widow of Charles de Blois, however, sent agents &c., to the King, to represent to him, that he had no right to confiscate Bretagne, which was not originally a fief of the crown of France: She maintained, if any of the former Dukes had thought proper to submit to any personal services to the Kings of France, it was not in their power to subject the dukedom, without the consent of their people.

But the court, regardless of these remonstrances, decreed the confiscation of Bretagne to the King's use. This proceeding convincing the Bretons, that Charles's quarrel was not so much with the Duke as the duchy, they were afraid of falling under the dominion of France, and seeing their country a province of that kingdom. This apprehension occasioned an association of the great men, which ended at length in recalling their lawful Sovereign.

The Duke receiving the agreeable news, hastened his return into his dominions, in expectation of the succours preparing for him in England. He was received by his subjects with great demonstrations of joy. Mean while, as the principal places were in the hands of his enemies, he earnestly entreated the court of England to send him some troops to support him, till a more powerful supply should be ready. The council accordingly dispatched some ships with troops. But they were for the most part lost in a violent storm. All this while, the French and English continued the war in several places, but without coming to a decisive battle. The Governor of

Cherbourg gained some advantage over the French, who had quickly their revenge, by taking several merchant men.

The Parliament which met in October 1380, granted the King a new aid to continue the war with France and Scotland, as well as to assist the Duke of Bretagne. This Parliament is famous for a statute against the foreign ecclesiastics, who were by it rendered incapable of holding any benefice in England. Another statute was also made, to render the Pope's favours, in this respect, fruitless to foreigners. By this act, all the King's subjects were forbidden, on severe penalties, to farm benefices conferred on strangers by the Court of Rome.

This was properly attaining the same end another way. For the Pope usually giving English benefices to his domestics, to Italian Bishops and Cardinals, these men could neither reside on their benefices, nor find any farmers in the kingdom. At the same time the Parliament petitioned the King to expel all foreign monks, for fear they should give the English impressions destructive of the good of the state.

After the Parliament's care of the ecclesiastical affairs, all the King's governors were removed, as well to retrench the great expense, as because their number was prejudicial to his education. Instead of these Lords, Thomas de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was chosen to have the sole care of educating the King.

Since Richard's accession to the throne, his revenues had been so ill managed, that the House of Commons desired to know on whom the blame was to be laid. To that end, fourteen commissioners were appointed to examine to what uses the revenues of the crown had been put, and to lay their report before the next Parliament, which was not to meet under a twelvemonth. Shortly after, the succours designed for the Duke of Bretagne being ready, the command was given to the Duke of Buckingham the King's uncle.

This Prince landed at Calais, in order to go to Bretagne by land. Perhaps he would have found it difficult to perform his enterprise, with an army consisting only of eight thousand men, had not the Duke of Burgundy, who kept close to him all the way, with much more numerous forces, received express orders from the King of France his brother, not to attack the English. That monarch had a surer way to be rid of his enemies, namely, by a reconciliation with the Duke of Bretagne, who desired peaceably to enjoy his duchy, of which he saw no likelihood, as long as France was his enemy.

For this reason, the Duke of Buckingham meeting with little opposition, committed great ravages upon his route. Whilst he was marching, the King of France died, leaving for successor Charles VI. his eldest son, about twelve years of age. His death might have been very advantageous to the English, if the Duke of Bretagne had firmly adhered to their interests. But the Duke thinking it his wisest course to take advantage of the confusion of the Court of France, in the beginning of a minority, speedily concluded his treaty with the new King; who granted him whatever he could desire.

The posture of affairs being changed by this agreement, the English were very coldly received in Bretagne. The Duke did not openly declare himself at first, because the English were in possession of Brest. However, it was easy to see he had no design to make use of them, since all the towns denied them admittance. At length, the Duke opened his mind to the Duke of Buckingham, and making the best excuse he could, provided him with ships to return into England.

The plague, which continued to rage in England and Scotland, caused the truce to be renewed between the two kingdoms till the next Easter. Though it was agreed that the Parliament should not meet under a twelve-month, some unexpected affairs obliged the King to assemble it in November, in order to demand a fresh supply of money, which was accordingly granted. But

whereas the nobility and clergy had supplied the former subsidy, this from which no person was exempted, not even the monks and nuns. All above fifteen years old were to pay twelve pence a head.

We cannot but wonder, that whilst the kingdom was actually engaged in a war with France and Scotland, the King's Council should think of leaving it unprovided, by sending troops to the King of Portugal: who was in war with Castille. But private interest prevailed above that of the public, as is usual in the Councils of the Kings, especially during minorities. The motive of this resolution, seemingly so little agreeable to the state of the kingdom, was this: Ferdinand King of Portugal, had undertaken against John King Castille, son of Henry the Bastard, a war beyond his strength.

He had been so unsuccessful, that instead of making conquests upon his enemy, he had drawn him into his dominions: The ill success of this war made him court the alliance of the English, in order to obtain succours against the Castilians, their common enemies. Though it was by no means proper to send troops so far, when England could hardly defend her own coasts, the Duke of Lancaster's credit was so great in the Council, that it was resolved, Ferdinand should be assisted.

This resolution was coloured with the pretence of hindering the growth of the King of Castille, mortal enemy of the English; but the Duke of Lancaster's private interest was the sole motive. This Prince, who had assumed the title of King of Castille on account of his marriage with Constantia eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel, hoped that by sending troops into Portugal, they might be serviceable in promoting his own affairs. And therefore, after the Parliament's approbation of the intended expedition, and grant of a supply to carry it on, he caused the command of the troops to be given to the Duke of Cambridge his brother, deigning speedily to follow him in person with greater forces.

Meanwhile, as the truce with Scotland was about to expire, the Council, by his direction, resolved to propose to the King of Scotland the prolongation thereof; otherwise the sending of the troops into Portugal might be obstructed. That this negotiation might not fail of success, he undertook it himself, and without delay repaired to the frontiers of the two kingdoms, where the Scotch Ambassadors were likewise to be. But whilst he was treating with them, there happened in England affairs of much more consequence than the truce with Scotland, or the war with Castille[10].

A. D. 1381] The poll-tax imposed by the Parliament was levied with great gentleness, insomuch that the collection excused many persons. But as there are but too many who make it their business to enrich themselves at the expense of the public, there were some that persuaded the King and Council, if the tax was levied with inure strictness, it would bring in much greater sums, and even offered money to have the management of it.

Very probably, they were Flemings who farmed the tax, and obliged themselves to give the King a certain sum for the produce thereof. The new collectors appointed by these farmers, levied the tax with extreme rigour. One who collected in Kent, demanding of a blacksmith at Deptford, twelve-pence for one of his daughters, the farmer affirmed she was under the age set down in the act of Parliament.

Whereupon the insolent collector, indecently attempted to ascertain the truth, when the father with, his hammer knocked out his brains. All the spectators applauded the action; and promised the murderer, commonly called Wat Tyler, to protect him. At the same time, the spirit of rebellion seized not the inhabitants of Deptford alone, but likewise all the meaner sort of the county of Kent, who were soon followed by those of Essex. The poll-tax was not their sole grievance.

The people of those parts had long been in a ferment, which being inflamed by this accident, broke out into open rebellion. They complained of the little care to hinder the frequent descents of the French, who had committed great ravages in these two counties. To this was added a general

discontent against the Judges, and all the agents of the law, who ruined families by their extortions. The nobles and gentry were no less hated by the peasants, on account of the right of villainage, which was extremely abused.

The populace were Moreover extremely incensed against the Duke of Lancaster, who was charged with causing by his negligence, all the calamities, the two counties had endured. All these complaints being spread in those parts, and countenanced by the seditious, or as some affirm, by the Monks, who thought themselves injured by the poll-tax, to which they were liable, produced a wonderful effect. In a short time, Wat Tyler, chosen by the seditious, chief and Protector of the poor people, saw himself at the head of above a hundred thousand men, breathing revenge on the nobility, and professors of the law.

Thus attended, he marched directly to London, freeing in his route, all the prisoners detained in the public gaols. Amongst these was a priest of Maidstone, one John Ball[11], who by his seditious sermons, raised the people's fury to the utmost height. He persuaded them, that all men being sons of Adam, there ought to be no distinction, and consequently it was their duty to reduce the world to a perfect equality. Pursuant to this maxim, they resolved to dispatch all the nobility, and those that were distinguished by their posts.

So, without further consideration, they cut off the heads of all the Lords, Gentlemen, Judges, Counsellors, and Lawyers, that fell into their hands. After this, they bound themselves by oath, never to acknowledge for King, any man whose name should be John. This resolution sprang from their hatred to the Duke of Lancaster, who bore that name, and was suspected of aspiring to the crown.

Richard hearing the seditious were come as far as Black-Heath, where Wat Tyler reviewed his army, sent to know what they wanted. They replied, they had affairs of great moment to communicate to the King, and desired him to come and talk with them in person. This insolent request being debated in Council, some were of opinion, the King should comply with the rebels, alleging that as he was not in condition to oppose force to force, gentleness was the only way to gain them. But Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert de Hales Prior of St. John's, and his treasurer of England, strenuously opposed it, maintaining it was not safe for the King to trust his person with this rabble.

Accordingly the rebels' request was rejected with threats, little agreeable to the present situation of the court. Upon this news, the seditious fell into such a fury, that immediately they marched towards London, and possessed themselves of Southwark. The plunder of the suburbs having given them no great interruption, they endeavoured to enter the city. London Bridge had then gates, which being shut at their approach, might have stopped for some time their impetuosity, if the mob, who presently sided with them, had not opened them in spite of the magistrates. Nothing more opposing their march, they entered the city, where they committed all the ravages that could be expected from so numerous a body, guided solely by their fury.

The Duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, was reduced to ashes, and the houses of such as they deemed their enemies, were given up to be plundered. However, their leaders pretending not to be swayed by avarice, hindered their people from appropriating to themselves any part of the booty. They ever threw into the fire, which consumed all the plundered riches, a man that would have retained a piece of plate. In this universal confusion, wherein London was like a town taken by storm, the archbishop's palace, the temple with all the writings kept there, and the hospital of St. John's Clerkenwell, were devoured by the flames.

The houses of the Judges, Lords and principal citizens shared the same fate. This unruly mob took care to accomplish their oath, to extirpate all appearances of grandeur or distinction. The Flemings, against whom they there extremely incensed, were above all others exposed to their fury. They dragged them from the churches where they had taken sanctuary, and upon their not

being able to pronounce certain words, very difficult for foreigners, they were immediately massacred.

After the rebels had thus given these first marks of their fury, they approached the Tower, which might have been easily defended[12], if the terror spread in the garrison had not caused them to open the gates. There they found the Archbishop of Canterbury and the treasurer, who thought themselves safe in that place, and without any process, cut off their heads. This done, they divided themselves into three bodies. Wat Tyler remained about the Tower with thirty thousand men. Jack Straw, another of their captains, advanced into the city with the rebels of Essex, to the number of sixty thousand. The rest under the conduct of another leader, lodged themselves upon Mile End Green.

The King and Council were in the utmost perplexity. After long debates how to stop these furious proceedings, no better way was found than to offer the rebels a Charter and a general pardon for all crimes committed since the insurrection[13]. The Essex men readily accepted these offers, though they were now in the heart of the city. Accordingly leaving some of their leaders to hasten the charters and pardon, they returned to their homes.

But Wat Tyler was not so tractable, though he pretended his sole aim was to obtain equitable terms.

However as he appeared willing to enter into negotiations with the King himself, Richard with a few attendants went to Smithfield, whence he sent a Knight to desire him to come and confer with him. Wat insolently replied, he would come when he thought proper. Nevertheless he moved forward immediately, at the head of his troops, but so slowly that the King, beginning to be out of patience, and willing to press him to make more haste, sent the same Knight to him, which had like to have cost him his life. Wat Tyler had just entered Smithfield, when the Knight delivered the King's Message, without alighting, not imagining he would stand upon that ceremony. But the proud leader was so offended at this want of respect, that he was on point of killing him, if the King who was himself advancing, had not cried out to the Knight to dismount.

In Wat Tyler's conference with the King, being both on horseback, he made such extravagant proposals, that Richard knew not what to say. He demanded in short, that all the ancient laws should be abolished, and the government modelled according to certain fantastical notions framed by himself[14].

Whilst he made these demands, he now and then lifted up his sword, as if it were to threaten the King[15] in case he granted not immediately what the rebels would have. This brutish insolence so raised the indignation of William Walworth, Mayor of London, who attended the King, that without considering to what danger he exposed his master, he discharged such a blow on the rebel's head with his sword, as laid him dead at his feet[16].

When the rebels saw their leader on the ground, they encouraged each other to revenge his death; their bows were even bent to shoot at the King and his retinue; but Richard prevented the danger, by a bolder and more prudent action than could be expected from a young Prince of fifteen years. Instead of flying, he turned to the rebels, and cried with a resolute and courageous voice: "What my lieges! Will you then kill your King? be not concerned for the loss of your leader, I myself will now be your General; follow me into the fields, and you shall have whatever you desire."

Upon saying these words, he gently turned his horse, and putting himself at their head, rode towards St. George's Fields. The young King's resolution made such an impression on the minds of the rebels, that imagining he really declared for them, they altered their first: purpose, and followed him without delay.

They were no sooner come into the fields, but they saw marching towards them a troop of a thousand armed citizens, raised by the Mayor, under the conduct of Sir Robert Knoiles, an officer of great reputation. This sight struck them with such terror, that falsely imagining the whole city was in arms to attack them, the foremost ranks threw down their arms and begged quarter. This proceeding terrifying the rest who knew not the cause, every one pressed to follow their example. Thus in a few moments the whole multitude was dispersed without the effusion of any blood but the leader's.

It was not only in the counties of Kent and Essex, that the spirit of rebellion possessed the people. Whilst Wat Tyler and Jack Straw were marching to London, John Ball and John Raw[17], two seditious priests, stirred up the populace of Suffolk, where they quickly assembled fifty thousand men. They committed in those parts numberless barbarities, as if they were afraid of being out done in cruelty, by those who exercised their fury in London. Sir John Cavendish, Chief Justice, fell a sacrifice to their rage. After that, they burnt all the ancient charters in the Abbey of St. Edmund's-Bury, and the University of Cambridge.

On the other hand, Littester, a dyer, at Norwich, headed another body of rebels in the county of Norfolk, and cruelly put to death all the Judges and Lawyers that fell into his hands. As for the Lords and Gentlemen, he had the insolence to oblige them to serve him on the knee, and if any one scrupled to submit to that indignity, immediately ordered his head to be cut off. In this manner he would have treated the Earl of Suffolk[18], who would not feign to approve of their rebellion.

As it was impossible for the King's Council to take measures speedy enough to remedy these disorders, it was necessary that private persons should of themselves use their endeavours, without staying for orders from Court, to free themselves from the impending danger. Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, a prelate of great courage, though educated in an un-warlike profession, thought it his duty to do something more than barely offer up prayers on so pressing an occasion, which equally threatened clergy and laity. He headed a few loyal subjects, and attacking the rebels made a terrible slaughter[19]. The two leaders Raw and Littester being taken in the flight, the first was beheaded upon the spot, and the other sent to London, to receive the just reward of his crimes.

These troubles being appeased sooner, and more happily, than could be expected, the King, by advice of his Council, resolved to chastise the guilty. To that end, the Lords had orders to raise in every county, troops of known loyalty, and lead them to London. In a short time was drawn together an army of forty thousand men, which being divided into two bodies, one marched into the county of Kent. At the head of the other the King went himself to punish the people of Essex, who began to stir again, upon the revocation of the charter and general pardon, with which they had been allured[20].

As these people had not had time to take just measures, and found themselves prevented by the King's diligence, they were easily defeated: Great numbers were slain, and many others reserved for public examples. Among the lost, was Jack Straw, companion of Wat Tyler, and head of the Essex rebels. He confessed, if they had succeeded in their projects, as they had reason to expect, their design was to murder the King, root out the nobility and clergy, excepting the Mendicant Friars, part England into several kingdoms, make Wat Tyler King of Kent, abolish all the ancient, and make new laws. Probably these projects were framed only in general, and it may be, over their bowls, whilst they were on the march to London.

Be that as it will, such a design, managed by heads little capable of executing it, could hardly fail of ending in the ruin of the authors. It is affirmed, that besides those that fell with their arms in their hands, above fifteen hundred died by the hangman. Judge Tresilian was commissioned to go into the revolted counties, and try the guilty. As the number was very great, he had an opportunity to gratify his cruel and barbarous temper, in punishing the unfortunate wretches, to whom he shewed no favour. The cruelties he exercised during his commission, may well be

compared to those practised of later years by Judge Jeffreys, in the reign of James II. There are historians who would farther this rebellion upon the Wickliffities, commonly called Lollards, but without any foundation. It is certain, religion had no share in these commotions, since the Duke of Lancaster, open protector of Wickliff, was the principal object of the rebels' malice. Besides, Wickliff, who then resided on his living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, was never questioned on that account.

All that can be alleged to give the least colour to this accusation, is, that John Hall, a Franciscan Friar, one of the ring leaders of the rebels, was a little before thrown into prison, by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for preaching the new doctrine. But it cannot be inferred from thence, that Wickliff's followers excited the insurrection. Moreover, insurrections caused by a religious zeal, are seldom appeased in so short a time as this; which lasted but 4 month, from the beginning to the end.

The Duke of Lancaster was on the northern borders when the rebellion broke out in Kent, which lies in the other end of the kingdom. Upon the, first news, he speedily concluded a three years' truce with the Scots. Mean while, as he was apprehensive of exposing himself to the rage of his enemies, if he returned to court, and also of giving the northern counties a pretence to imitate the southern, if he staid in the kingdom, he chose to retire into Scotland, where he remained till the sedition was appeased.

The King of Scotland offered him twenty thousand men, to suppress the rebels, but he refused them, lest by introducing foreigners, he should cause a general revolt in the kingdom. Not withstanding these precautions, he could not prevent his enemies from spreading a report, that he designed to march to London, at the head of a Scotch army, and seize the crown. But he easily cleared himself. from this groundless accusation.

Whilst, by this unexpected insurrection, Richard saw himself in danger of losing his crown and life, his Ambassadors were negotiating his marriage in Germany. From the year 1379, he had been desirous of espousing the daughter of Barnabas Duke of Milan. This project not succeeding, he demanded in 1380, a Princess of Bavaria, daughter of the late Emperor Lewis. But this negotiation had no better success than the former. At last on May 2nd, 1381, his marriage with Ann of Luxemburg, sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus was concluded at Nuremberg. This Princess arriving in England[21] a little after the troubles were appeased, was received with great pomp.

A. D. 1482] Edmund Earl of Marche, grandson of Roger Mortimer beheaded in the beginning of the reign of Edward III. died in February 1382, in his government of Ireland. He had married Philippa only daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. and by her had a son called Roger, who succeeded him in his honour of Earl of Marche.

The Parliament which met about the end of the year 1381[22], and was prorogued on account of the Queen's arrival, sat again in May the next year. Some historians affirm, in this Parliament an act was passed empowering the Bishops to imprison heretics, without the King's License. But others, upon better grounds, maintain, the Commons refused to pass the bill, and that the Bishops obtained that power of the King alone.

Richard being now in his seventeenth year, began more plainly to discover his inclinations, which hitherto had been restrained by the authority of his governors. He had a high conceit of his own merit, and thought. himself as well qualified to govern the state as Edward III. was at his age. But there was a great difference between these two Princes. Edward, when very young, with a great penetration, had none but noble and generous inclinations, tending to his own glory, and his people's happiness. Richard on the contrary, minded only trifles, and thought of nothing but his pleasures. He loved pomp and magnificence more than any of his predecessors, and thereby ran into superfluous expenses, which idly consumed his revenues. Flatterers had a great sway

over him. He expressed as great affection for those that applauded his passions, as aversion for such as advised him to lead a life worthy of a great Prince.

Not being of a warlike disposition, he was observed in Council, to be always inclined to negotiation, rather than to vigorous resolutions. As soon as he was out of his childhood, he was seen to chuse favourites, whose inclinations suited with his own, or at least who artfully feigned to approve of whatever he did. Among these was, Alexander Nevil, Archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, a young man full of vivacity, whose youthful sallies were very pleasing to his master, Michael de la Pole, a merchant's son[23], and Judge Tresilian, who never wanted reasons to countenance whatever was reasonable to the King.

These favourites, who missed no opportunity to flatter him, were amply rewarded for the least petty services, whilst those who managed the public affairs, and took all the pains, were very little regarded. This behaviour began to be displeasing to the people, when an accident, towards the end of this year, quite put them out of concert with their Sovereign. One of the before mentioned courtiers, obtaining of the King a considerable grant, Richard Scrope the Chancellor, refused to annexe the Great Seal to the patent. He even plainly told the person that solicited him, that the duty of his office would not suffer him to set the seal, committed to his keeping by the Parliament, to all the King's indiscreet grants, till he had acquired a little more experience.

Richard, provoked at this refusal, sent for the Great Seal, but he refused to deliver it, as holding it not of the King, but the Parliament. This resolution still farther incensing the young Prince, he went himself to the Chancellor's to require his obedience. Whereupon the Chancellor delivered him the Seal, declaring he would serve him no more in any public post, but content himself with keeping in all other things the allegiance due from a subject to his Sovereign.

Richard kept the Great Seal some days in his hands, and for fear another Chancellor should obstruct in like manner his inconsiderate grants, he put the Seal himself to several patents; and then delivered it to Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London, who probably was not so scrupulous as his predecessor. This action, extolled by the favourites, with great commendations of the King's steadiness, displeased the rest of the nation. The King began from thenceforward to be considered as a Prince capable of falling into great excesses, unless timely care was taken to bridle his passions.

For that purpose, in the next meeting of the Parliament, the House of Commons resolved to remedy this inconvenience, arising from the too great authority, the King began to assume. The power given to the Bishops to imprison Heretics, was considered as very destructive to liberty, since the clergy thereby became in a manner absolute masters of the honour and fortune of private persons. The complaints from all parts, obliged the Commons to present a petition to the King, to revoke a concession to which they had not given their consent. Richard who wanted money, durst not reject the Parliament's request. But some pretend, that by the artifices of the clergy, this revocation was razed out of the Parliament Rolls, where it is not to be found.

The schism still continued in the church, to the great scandal of the Christians, who were in doubt which of the two Popes was to be regarded as Christ's vicar. Urban, whose party was strongest, perceiving spiritual weapons were insufficient, thought it more advantageous to use temporal arms. To that end, he published against Clement and his adherents a Crusade, of which Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich was declared General.

The Pope by this bull granted the same indulgences, to all that were willing to engage in this undertaking, as to those who bore arms against the infidels. The effect produced. in England, by the publication of the Crusade, answered the Pope's wishes. The nobles, gentry, people, and clergy, engaged in it with the same ardour as if they had been to wage war with the enemies of the Christian name. Whilst they waited for the Parliament's approbation, which was not at all

questioned, every one was diligently preparing to obtain the promised indulgences, either by serving in person in the war, or by contributing money for promoting the same.

Whilst the Croises were making their preparations, the Earl of Cambridge returned from Portugal, where he had met with the same treatment the Earl of Buckingham his brother had done in Bretagne. That is, the King of Portugal used the English succours, to make an advantageous peace with the King of Castille, to whom he even gave Beatrix his only daughter, promised to the Earl off Cambridge's eldest son. So the English Prince returned extremely dissatisfied, after losing all hopes of procuring his son the crown of Portugal, and helping to place the Duke of Lancaster his brother on throne of Castille.

The Parliament, which met in the beginning of the year 1383[24], not only approved of the Crusade published. by Urban, but also granted a considerable subsidy upon that account. When every thing was ready, the Bishop of Norwich embarked the Croises, consisting of fifty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Upon his arrival at Calais he held a council of war, to consider which way he should turn the arms of the Croises.

Most were for entering France, since the bull, it is said that the Crusade was designed against Clement and his adherents. But the General, for private reasons, caused it to be resolved, that the war should be carried into Flanders. To colour this resolution, it was alleged, that Flanders was a fief to the crown of France though the Earl of Flanders had acknowledged Pope Urban. So, contrary to the intention of the court, and no doubt of the Pope himself, the Croises invaded Flanders, and took Graveling, Bourbourg, Mardike, and Dunkirk.

The Earl of Flanders, surprised at this unexpected attack, levying some troops with all possible diligence, was so rash, as with twelve thousand men, to offer the Croises battle, who had received a strong reinforcement from the Gantois. This daringness cost him dear, since he had the misfortune to see this army his only refuge, entirely routed. Reduced to this extremity, and beholding his country on the point of being utterly destroyed, he saw no other way to free himself from this danger, but to apply to the court of France. He represented to the young King's Council, how much it concerned France to save Flanders, and the more, because in all appearance, the design of the Croises was not to rest satisfied with that single conquest.

The court of France, roused by these remonstrances, or rather by their own interest, which would not suffer them to see Flanders fall into the hands of the English, resolved to assist the Earl. Charles VI. headed a powerful army, marched against the Croises, who were besieging Ypres. Upon his approach they raised the siege[25], and retired to Bourbourg, where, they were invested. The Bishop General, wanting provisions for the subsistence of his army, would have been at a loss to free himself from this streight, had not the Duke of Bretagne used his interest in his favour.

By the mediation of this Prince, the Croises Obtained leave to retire, upon restoring the places they had taken. Thus ended the Crusade, undertaken for the sole interest of Urban, without the people of England receiving the least benefit. When the Bishop returned, the King ordered the temporalities of his see to be seized, and several of his principal officers imprisoned for not following their instructions.

Whilst these Croises were employed in ravaging Flanders, England was a great sufferer in her turn, by the frequent descents of the French, and incursions of the Scots. As there was no army on foot to repulse these enemies, the King was forced to call a Parliament, who granted him a subsidy to continue the war with Scotland, the conduct whereof was committed to the Duke of Lancaster. The King of Scotland being informed of the preparations against him, sued for peace, but it was absolutely refused.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Bretagne used his endeavours to reconcile the two crowns of France and England; and he at length prevailed with the two Kings, to send their plenipotentiaries

between Calais and Boulogne. But this negotiation ended only in a truce for ten months, in which the Kings of Scotland and Castille, if they desired it, were to be included. The Duke of Burgundy, uncle of the King of France; undertook to answer within such a time for the King of Scotland. But the Earl of Flanders his father-in-law dying in this interval, his care to take possession of his dominions, made him forget, or neglect, this engagement.

Meanwhile, whether the English-thought the Scots would not be included in the treaty, or were willing to reap some advantage for the expense they had been at, the Duke of Lancaster went and ravaged Scotland, to the very gates of Edinburgh. This incursion obliged the King of Scotland to desire to be included in the truce, which was granted, by the mediation of the Duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1384] Shortly after the Duke of Lancaster's return, a certain Irish monk came to court, then at Salisbury, and discovered to the King a secret of great moment, namely, that the Duke of Lancaster his uncle had conspired to murder the King, and seize the crown. This accusation was attended with so many strange circumstances, that Richard could not help believing it. But the Duke, without the least emotion, vindicated himself upon each article, in such a manner that the King seemed satisfied. He ordered however the accuser to be taken into custody, either to punish him, or examine him more strictly. But when he was to be brought before the council, he was found to have been hanged overnight in the prison, without any possibility of discovering the author of this outrage.

This accident did the Duke of Lancaster great injury, because people who were prejudiced against him, thought it was as probable, that the monk was murdered, by authors of the accusation, as by the orders of the party accused.

Another accident, shortly after, confirmed the people in the suspicion raised by the monk's report against the Duke of Lancaster. An alderman of London, a great favourite of the Duke, being charged. with conspiring against the King, was found guilty, after a strict examination. Though the Duke was then absent, his close friendship with the criminal, and the endeavours of his friends to prevent the sentence, and afterwards to procure the King's pardon, occasioned reflections not at all to the Duke's advantage.

He was then upon an embassy at Paris, where he spent fifty thousand marks, in obtaining only the prolongation of the truce for some months. The King's favourites looking upon the Duke of Lancaster as a troublesome inspector, and incapable of condescending to court them, believed they ought before all things to be rid of that Prince. For that purpose, they acted in concert, to create in the King suspicions, which should cause him to consider this uncle, as a very dangerous enemy.

Richard at length consented to a resolution of accusing -the Duke of high-treason. Judge Tresilian, a man of a cruel and daring temper, took upon him to draw up the articles of accusation, and manage the evidence. He even offered to try him as a private person, though by the laws of the land he could be judged only by his Peers. As this plot could not be so secretly contrived; that the Duke should have no notice thereof, he thought it imprudent to deliver himself into the hands of his enemies, who were bent upon his mind so, without troubling himself about his vindication; he withdrew to his castle of Pontefract, where he assembled some troops, and made other preparations in order to defend himself, in case of attack.

Though he had not many friends, yet being persecuted by the ministers, who were still less beloved than himself, he easily found people to take his part. A civil war was on the point of being kindled in the kingdom, when the Princess of Wales, the King's mother, interposed to make peace, before hostilities were commenced. She succeeded at length, after many journeys and fatigues, and Richard, satisfied of the falseness of the suspicions, suggested to him against the Duke his uncle, received him again into favour.

A. D. 1385] During these broils, no preparations were made for the war, though the late truce with France and Scotland was about to expire. It was imagined, it might be renewed; but the King of France had other designs. As he saw the court of England in perfect security; he resolved to improve it, by making a powerful effort, from which he promised himself great advantages. He sent a numerous army into Guienne, hoping to finish the conquest of that dukedom, before the English should be able to oppose it.

At the same time he sent the King of Scotland an aid of a thousand men at arms, besides money, under the command of John de Vienne, who was to make a powerful diversion in the north, in order to favour the descent of the French in the southern parts of the island. The alarm taken by the English at these preparations, turned to their safety. The court gave such pressing orders to levy troops, and the orders were executed with such ardour and diligence, that Richard quickly saw him, self at the head of three hundred thousand men.

He detached sixty thousand, under the command of the Duke of Lancaster, to march into Scotland, whilst with the rest, he himself expected the French on the southern coast. Upon the Duke of Lancaster's approach, the Scots, who were now ravaging the borders of England, retired to the centre of their kingdom, leaving the English General free to revenge his countrymen, by his ravages in Scotland. The great army assembled by Richard, destroying the King of France's hopes of succeeding in his project, he deferred the execution to a more convenient season.

By that means Richard was at liberty to march towards Scotland, with the choice of his army. In all probability, he would have entirely subdued that kingdom, had he known how to improve his advantages, since the King of Scotland was unable to withstand him. But the favourites' jealousy of the Duke of Lancaster, who commanded under him, was the reason, so fair an opportunity was irrecoverably lost.

The Scots, perceiving that the King of England, instead of pushing them vigorously, was amusing himself with ravaging the country about Edinburgh, began to recover from their alarm, caused by his formidable forces. As they were not able to attack him, they judged the best way to oblige him to quit Scotland, was to make a diversion in his own country. They accordingly removed at a greater distance from the English army, to make the King believe it was to avoid a battle. But, suddenly, by speedy marches they came into Cumberland, where they made terrible ravages.

Whilst they were marching thither, Richard never troubled himself to enquire after them. So, imagining they were fled, and satisfied with the advantages already gained, he resolved, not being fond of war, to return into England. He had intelligence by the way, of the Scots entering Cumberland, and might easily have cut off their retreat.

But notwithstanding all the Duke of Lancaster's endeavours to persuade him to a vigorous resolution, he chose to follow the Earl of Oxford's advice. This favourite, who had great influence over him, persuaded him, that the Duke of Lancaster only sought to expose him to danger. This advice corresponding with the suspicions and inclinations, he continued his march, without going in quest of the enemy.

All but the favourites, were so amazed. at his unconcern for the calamities of his subjects of Cumberland, that they could not help loudly murmuring and considering the King himself as a Prince regardless of the good of the public.

Whilst the King was on his journey to London, the Lord Holland, his half brother quarrelling with the Earl of Stafford's eldest son killed him and took sanctuary in Beverly Abbey. The action was so heinous, that notwithstanding ties of blood, Richard resolved to abandon the murderer to the rigour of the law. In vain did the Princess of Wales, their common mother, intercede for her son, she could never obtain his pardon. This refusal sat so hard on her mind that, she died with grief a few days after[26], nevertheless, whether the King was sorry for being so cruel to

his mother, or the murderer found a more powerful intercessor, the Princess was hardly in her grave, when he granted the pardon she had sued for in vain.

The fear of the French invasion being vanished, the Duke of Lancaster brought his own affairs upon the board, and demanded assistance of the King to prosecute his right to the crown of Castille. There could never be a more seasonable juncture to obtain his desire. Ferdinand king of Portugal being dead, without leaving any legitimate children but Beatrix Queen of Castille, the King her husband, pretended, the crown of Portugal was devolved to his Queen, by the death of the King her father. But the Portuguese, not bearing the thoughts of living under the dominion of the Castilians had placed on the throne John, natural son of the late king.

As this quarrel could hardly be decided, but by arms, the King of Castille entered Portugal and advancing as far as Lisbon laid siege, to the city. But meeting with a braver defence than he expected, he was forced to retire. In the next campaign he lost a battle, which obliged him to quit Portugal, still hoping to compass his ends by the assistance of France.

The new King of Portugal finding his enemy, was about, to receive aid from the King of France, sent ambassadors to England to make an alliance with Richard, offering to acknowledge the Duke of Lancaster for King of Castille, and support his right with all his forces.

Affairs in England were then in a posture, very proper to render the negotiation of the Portuguese ambassadors successful. Richard, prejudiced against the Duke his uncle heartily wished his removal; his favourites representing him as a dangerous relation, and a very troublesome governor. They told him moreover, it was his interest to dethrone the King of Castille, sworn enemy of the English, which was the more practicable, as the King of Portugal offered to make a powerful diversion. The Duke of Lancaster hastened with all possible ardour, the conclusion of this affair, imagining, with the forces of England, and assistance of Portugal, it would not be impossible to succeed in his designs.

All these considerations induced the King's Council, to give a favourable hearing to the King of Portugal's proposals, and to promise, the Duke of Lancaster an aid proportionate to the importance of the undertaking. Pursuant to this resolution, the King, called a Parliament to demand a subsidy to enable him to accomplish this project. The Commons readily granted it and expressed great earnestness for the expedition, not so much out of love to the Duke, as to remove him out of the kingdom where it was continually feared he would at last occasion troubles fatal to the state.

For that reason, they had this affair so much at heart, that the clergy refusing to pay their part of the subsidy, they petitioned the King to seize their temporalities. Richard, who loved not his uncle enough to quarrel with the clergy for his sake, refused to comply with the Commons' request. His moderation procured him from the clergy, what force would hardly ever have extorted from them. Thus, the Duke of Lancaster, secure of the Parliament's assistance, made as King of Castille, a league offensive and defensive with the King of Portugal, and prepared for the war with all possible diligence.

In the same Parliament Roger Mortimer Earl of Marche was declared presumptive heir of the crown, in case Richard died without issue. He was son of Philippa, only daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III and grandson of Roger Mortimer Earl of Marche, executed as a traitor in the late reign. But the sentence passed upon him was afterwards repealed, because the formalities prescribed by the laws and customs of the realm were not observed at his trial.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King conferred on the Earl of Cambridge his uncle, the title of Duke of York; on the Earl of Buckingham his other uncle that of Duke of Gloucester. He could not help raising these two Princes to higher degrees of honour, unless he would leave them below Robert de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, whom he created at the same time Marquis of Dublin,

and shortly after, Duke of Ireland. This favourite was the first that bore the title of Marquis in England: Michael la Pole, another of the King's favourites, was made Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Chancellor.

In the beginning of the year 1386 Leo King of Armenia, expelled from his dominions by the Turks, came to England to confer with Richard. His design was to procure a firm and lasting peace between France and England, in expectation that afterwards the two crowns would join all their forces to restore him to his kingdom. But he succeeded not in his project, at least he obtained from Richard a considerable present, and a yearly pension of a thousand pounds.

As soon as the Duke of Lancaster had finished, his preparations for his Spanish expedition, he embarked at Portsmouth, with an army of twenty thousand men, among whom were two thousand men at arms. He carried with him Constantia of Castille, his wife, and his two daughters Philippa and Catherina, the first of whom he had by Blanch of Lancaster, and the other by Constantia. The King and Queen accompanied them to Portsmouth, and wishing them good success, presented them with two gold crowns.

The Duke setting sail, made some stay at Brest, And obliged the Duke of Bretagne to raise the siege of that town, which all his solicitations had not yet been able to get of the hands of the English. Then pursuing his voyage, he arrived August the 9th at Corunna, where he landed his troops. Upon his arrival, he made himself master of several places in Gallicia, and at last of Compostella, where he passed the winter. Whilst the season prevented him from continuing his progress, he concluded a marriage between Philippa his eldest and the King of Portugal, and spent the rest of his time in projecting the next campaign.

The Duke of Lancaster's departure, which had long before made a great noise, prompted the court of France to improve so favourable a conjuncture. As England, deprived of her best troops, would be probably defenceless, Charles resolved to make a fresh effort to conquer that kingdom. To that end he made such prodigious preparations that all Europe expected with astonishment the success of this undertaking.

He had prepared nine hundred transport ships, and caused a wooden fort to be made, (which could be taken in pieces), for the defence of his army after landing. If the Duke of Berry his uncle, who wished to render this project abortive, had not too long delayed his coming, the French would have found England too unprovided with troops for her defence; But the Duke not repairing to Sluice till the 14th of September, Richard had time so to prepare, as to have no reason to fear the mighty efforts of his enemies.

As soon as the grand designs of France, were known in England, troops were levied with that speed and success that an army of two hundred thousand men were drawn together. Part of these forces were put into the places most exposed; whilst the rest stood ready to hinder the enemies landing. But as this army was to be maintained, as well as raised, which could not be done without a very great expense, a Parliament was called to consider of ways and means. The King demanding a subsidy; proportionate to his wants, the Parliament was very willing to grant it, but could not think of leaving the money in the power of the King and his favourites, among whom the Marquis of Dublin, and the Earl of Suffolk, held the first rank.

These Lords were so universally and excessively odious, that in order to ruin them the Parliament scrupled not to hazard the loss of the whole kingdom. They presented an address to the King desiring that the treasurer and the Earl of Suffolk, the Chancellor, might be removed from their places.

Moreover that all those might be called to an account, through whose hands the public money had passed; affirming, the King would find in the confiscation of the mis-manager's estates, wherewithal to answer the occasions of the state. Richard, who expected quite another thing, in

the present juncture of affairs, received the address with an indignation, which it was not possible for him to conceal. He answered very sharply, that the Parliament ought to mind the business for which they were called, and not meddle with what belonged not to them. He rashly added, that, to please the Parliament, he would not turn out the meanest scullion in his kitchen. At the same time he withdrew to Eltham, not staying for a reply.

Though the king could not doubt; but so offensive an answer would extremely incense the commons, he sent a few days after, the Chancellor himself to order them, in an imperious manner, to grant the desired subsidy. This order, hitherto unusual in affairs of this nature, was received with so great a concern that the two houses uniting upon this occasion, as having one and the same interest, sent the King word that they would proceed to no business till he returned to his Parliament, and his ministers were punished according to their deserts.

This reply provoking the King to the highest degree, he commanded the two houses to send to him forty of their members to give an account of their proceedings. But the Parliament was so far from complying, that they would have come to an open rupture, if the most prudent had not prevailed with them, though with great difficulty, to send to the King, the Duke of Gloucester, his uncle, and the Bishop of Ely. These two Lords being come to Eltham, told the King in the name of the two houses, that as the Sovereign had power to assemble them, they had likewise a right to require his presence in his Parliament.

They added, it was enacted by an old statute, that in case the King absented himself forty days from his Parliament, without lawful cause, the members might return to their homes; which they were resolved to do, if the King persisted to deprive them of the honour of his presence. To this vigorous declaration Richard replied with much passion, and with no less imprudence, that he plainly saw his subjects were resolved to rebel against him, and therefore he had nothing more to do, than to desire the assistance of the King of France, to reduce them to their duty.

The Lords made answer, the King of France was the most mortal enemy of the English nation as appeared in his present endeavours to destroy them; therefore the King's desperate resolution could not but proceed from the pernicious advice of his evil counsellors, who sought only to set him at variance with his faithful subjects. Upon these words they withdrew, saying; their orders were only to entreat him to return to his Parliament, whose sole view was his and the kingdom's welfare.

The deputies being retired, Richard came to more moderate resolutions. Probably, the ministers and favourites were afraid of the consequences which might attend a rupture with the Parliament. In this disposition, he repaired to the Parliament, and with a good grace granted whatever they had required. The chancellor was not only removed from his office but summoned to appear and give an account of his administration wherein he had been notoriously guilty of many misdemeanours.

As for the Marquis of Dublin; lately made Duke of Ireland; he was sent thither with a pension of thirty thousand marks his whole estate being confiscated by order of Parliament. This done; the two houses appointed fourteen commissioners to take care of the public affairs jointly with the King.

The Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel were authorized to examine the public accounts and how, the King's revenues had been disposed of. A few days after, the Chancellor being found guilty of mis-management, was confined in Windsor castle and compelled to restore all the grants he had received of the King. These grants were so excessive, that Richard himself, who had never computed them, could not help being surprised, and upbraiding his favourite for abusing his good will. Towards the end of this session came the agreeable news of the French army being separated, and their fleet so damaged by a storm that it could not be fit to put to sea again for a

long time. Of the great number of ships prepared by the French, the most part foundered at sea; or were lost on the English coasts. Among the last were found some laden with planks for building the fort above mentioned.

The Parliament breaking up as soon as the fear of the invasion was passed, the King gave proofs of his levity, by recalling to court the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and the Archbishop of York. He even affected to caress them more than before their grace, and load them with fresh favours. The favourites resumed their former post with hearts full vengeance especially against the two commissioners of accounts, who by a strict examination of their conduct, had occasioned their condemnation.

It was not difficult to persuade the young King, they had suffered for his sake, and that the designs of their enemies aimed not so much at the ministers, as at the King himself. They represented to him, That accusing the counsellors is a clear evidence that the Sovereign is thought incapable of governing; and that the readiest way to discredit a Prince, is to persuade his subjects, he makes use of his ministers. These insinuations frequently repeated, made so strong an impression on the King's mind, that he resolved to free himself from the subjection of the Parliament. But the favourites intimated to him; it would be a very difficult thing to execute, as long as the Duke of Gloucester was at the head of the factious.

By this means they led him to consent to all their plots for his uncle's destruction. When they were sure of the King's approbation, they concerted the means to compass their ends. They found no better way than to poison the Duke, and some other of their principal enemies, at a feast to which they were **invited by the city of London** as they durst not execute this plot, without securing **the Mayor he gave the Duke of Gloucester notice** of it; who came not to the feast.

A. D. 1387] Had it been as easy for the, favourites to destroy their private enemies as it was to draw upon them the King's hatred, there would scarcely have been left in the kingdom a Lord capable of giving them any umbrage. But in a government like that of England, particularly during a minority, it is no easy thing for the King and his ministry to do whatever they please. The favourites then, in their continual fears of being themselves prevented, were obliged to recourse to secret ways to ruin their enemies. Mean while they continued to prejudice the King against his best subjects, till being of age, he might act with a more absolute authority.

The Earls of Arundel and Nottingham; Admirals of England, putting to sea in the beginning of the spring, took a fleet of French, Spanish, and Flemish merchantmen, and brought some of them to England, laden with wine. After that they sailed to Bretagne and relieved Brest, besieged by the Duke. This service, which deserved some return from the King, only made them incur his indignation. When they came from their expedition, he would not vouchsafe even to speak to them; so much was he prejudiced against them by his ministers. It was intimated to him that the taking of these ships would not fail of bringing troubles upon him, which would very much embarrass him. The two Earls, highly offended at this uncivil reception, resigned their commission, which was given to the Earl of Northumberland.

Thus did the favourites stir up their master against the principal Lords, in hopes of reaping the fruit of their artifices, when the King should be of age. But an accident which happened soon after, made them hasten the execution of their projects. The Duke of Ireland presuming upon his influence over the King, had the insolence to divorce his wife, daughter of the Lord Coucy, and grand daughter of Edward III. in order to marry Lancerona, maid of honour to the Queen, a Bohemian of mean birth:

Though this divorce was very injurious to the royal family, Richard, shewed not the least concern. But it was not the same with the Duke of Gloucester, who highly resented the affront, and declared he would revenge it. This threat made the Duke of Ireland resolve to prevent him. After concerting the means with the King, he feigned to go into Ireland, and took the road to Wales, where the

King was pleased to accompany him. But this pretended voyage was only to consult more privately how to execute their project of assuming an arbitrary power of which the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby and Nottingham, were to feel the effects. The result of this consultation was, that the King should raise an army to terrify these Lords, and then call a Parliament, the election whereof should be so managed, that the members should be all at his devotion; and that he should cause to be passed all such acts as were necessary to secure him an unlimited power.

As soon as the plot was contrived, they went to Nottingham, where the King sent for all the sheriffs, some of the principal citizens of London, and all the judges. When they were met, he communicated to them his design of raising an army to chastise such Lords, as he named to them, among whom was the Duke of Gloucester, and demanded of the sheriffs what number of troops each could furnish him with. Then he told them, he intended to call a Parliament, and ordered them to let no representative be chosen but, what was in the list he should give them himself.

The sheriffs made answer, it was not in their power to execute his orders. That the people were so well inclined to the Lords he had mentioned, that there was no prospect of levying an army against them; that it was still more difficult to deprive the people of their right of freely electing their representatives in Parliament. But the judges[28] were not so scrupulous in what related to them.

The King asked them, whether he had not power to turn out the fourteen commissioners' appointed by Parliament, and annul such acts as were prejudicial to him? They replied, "The King was above the laws." Nevertheless, when they were required to subscribe their opinion, some endeavoured to be excused, but were compelled to it by the menaces of the favourites. It is affirmed, one of the, judges[29] said aloud after signing, that never did action better deserve hanging than that he had just done." The opinion of the judges being thus extorted, Richard thought he had surmounted all difficulties.

He immediately issued out commissions to levy an army; but found so few willing to serve him, that he was forced to desist from his projects. Enraged at this disappointment, he returned to London, after a fruitless declaration of his designs, which rendered him more odious to the public.

A plot of this nature, so openly contrived, and not executed, seldom fails of proving fatal to the authors. The Duke of Gloucester, and the other Lords of his party, perceived their destruction was resolved and if the King and his favourites had not already sacrificed them to their animosity, it was not for want of will but of power. The only remedy left, in their opinion was, a recourse to arms. But as prudent people use not that method till all others prove ineffectual, the Duke of Gloucester thought he should try once more to remove the King's prejudices.

For that purpose; he sent the Bishop of London with respectful assurances of his allegiance, and an offer to clear himself by oath of the crimes falsely laid to his charge. Richard seemed at first inclinable to admit of this justification; but the Earl of Suffolk soon made him alter his mind, by telling him, even before the Bishop, he would never be safe on the throne as long as the Duke of Gloucester was alive. The Bishop of London was so offended at these words, that he could not forbear saying to the favourite, that being condemned by the Parliament, and holding his life purely by the King's grace, it became him less than any man, to accuse loyal subjects.

This boldness was. so. displeasing to the King, that he commanded the prelate to depart from his presence. Affairs being come to this point; and the prescribed Lords believing that a vigorous defence was the only way left to screen them from the designs of the court, resolved at length to take arms. As they were in great credit with the people, who considered them as their protectors, they had soon drawn together an army of forty thousand men, with which they marched directly to London. The diligence of the Lords broke all the measures of the King and his ministers. Richard was resolved to go to France, and restore to King Charles, Calais and Cherbourg, in

order to obtain a powerful aid, which might enable him. to reduce his rebellious subjects, as he termed them. But the sudden approach of the Lords not suffering him to execute this design there was a necessity of having recourse to other means.

The best way, as he thought, was to amuse the malcontents, whilst the Duke of Ireland raised an army in Wales, where he had many mense. Pursuant to this project, he sent word to the malcontent Lords, that he was ready to grant them all their reasonable desires, and should be on the morrow in Westminster hall where they might come and present their petition, The Lords gladly embraced the offer, and taking care not to be surprised[30], repaired to the place appointed.

They found the King seated on a throne, in his royal robes, expecting their coming. As they approached throne, they fell on their knees, in a suppliant posture, though in effect it was not so much to ask pardon, as to obtain of him the punishment of his. Ministers.

The Bishop who was chancellor, asking the reason of their taking arms, they replied, it was solely with intention to procure the good of the King and :kingdom. Adding, the King's person should be always be inviolable to them, and that their design was only to bring the traitors about him to condign punishment. Then they named in particular, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, the Archbishop of York, Judge Tresilian, and one Brembar, an Alderman of London, who was of the same cabal. The King gravely answered, that in the next Parliament[31] justice should be done to all. Then he upbraided them for their presumption, intimating it was in his power to crush them, but out of pure condescension he was pleased to give them a favourable hearing.

After that he took the Duke of Gloucester by the hand, and bidding them all rise, said their complaints should be considered. As he intended only to amuse them, he ordered a proclamation to be published, to justify their appearing in arms, in hopes they would be induced to dismiss their troops. But they were too well acquainted with the character of the King and his ministers, to rely on their bare word. Apprehensive of being suddenly oppressed, when they should be no longer feared, they resolved to continue in arms till the Parliament was assembled.

They quickly saw how necessary this precaution was: The Duke of Ireland having levied an army in Wales with great expedition, marched with all speed to the King's assistance. Had he been able to approach London, it was not certain that the citizens would join the confederates. To prevent this danger, the Earl of Derby[32], eldest son of the Duke of Lancaster, went with part of the army to meet the Duke of Ireland, and finding him in Oxfordshire gave him battle, and gained an easy victory over a general who was nothing less than a warrior.

In the beginning of the fight, the Duke, who was afraid of falling into the hands of his enemies, took to flight, without troubling himself about what became of his army. All his baggage being taken, in a casket was found a letter from the King, commanding him to march to London with all possible speed, and promising him to live and die with him. This defeat breaking all the King's measures, the Duke fled into Holland, and, after some stay at Utrecht, went and lived at Louvain, where he died three years after.

The Earl of Suffolk would have retired to Calais, but the governor[33] not daring, at such a juncture, either to arrest or protect him, chose to send him back to the King. Richard, uncertain how the victorious Lords would deal with him, took refuge in the Tower. He had the more reason to fear, as a Frenchman was seized. at that time, bringing him a safe-conduct to come to Boulogne, where King Charles expected him. It was farther discovered by a letter found upon the same person, that Charles expected to be put in possession of Calais and Cherbourg, and had even advanced part of the sum, he was to give for these two places.

A. D. 1388] The confederate Lords being now fully satisfied of the pernicious designs of the King, and his ministers, marched their whole army into London; and then demanded a conference

with the King. Richard would fain have been excused, but, as he saw no remedy, and was apprehensive of starving in the Tower, he durst not refuse it.

At this interview, they bitterly upbraided him with the Nottingham plot to destroy them; with his design to make himself absolute, by means of an army; with his attempting to have a Parliament at his devotion; with his orders to the Duke of Ireland to march to London, whilst he was amusing them with vain promises; lastly, with his treaty with the King of France, to deliver up Calais and Cherbourg. Richard answered these reproaches, with a shower of tears, which moved the Lords.

They imagined, the King's ill conduct proceeded only from his little experience, and the bad counsels of his favourites, and as they were removed, he would be reclaimed. This belief rendering them more tractable, it was agreed, that the King should on the morrow be at Westminster, to settle with them the affairs of the government. Hardly were they out of the Tower, before he altered his mind, and sent them word, he would not confer with them. This fickleness so incensed them, that they immediately let him know, in case he came not to Westminster next day, according to his promise, they would go themselves, and proceed to the election of a new King.

This precise declaration so alarmed him, that he not only came to the place of conference, but consented to the banishment of his two principal favourites, with the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham and Chichester, and several other Lords and Ladies, who had favoured the designs of the court. As for the judges, since it was designed to treat them with the utmost rigour, they were taken off the benches in Westminster hall, and sent to the Tower.

The Parliament being assembled. in February 1389, several persons were accused of high treason, and sentenced to divers punishments. Tresilian, Brembar, and some other Knights and gentlemen were hanged at Tyburn. The rest of the judges, with the Bishop of Chichester, received the same sentence; but had their lives granted them, and were banished to Ireland. The two favourites, and the Archbishop of York; were condemned to exile, and their estates confiscated to the King's use.

After the Parliament had thus paid what was thought due to justice, two acts were passed, the first of which forbade the ascribing to the King the late commotions, and the other, granted a general pardon to both parties: Matters being thus settled, the King renewed his coronation oath, and all the Lords did him homage, and repeated their oaths of allegiance. This Parliament, called the Merciless, did not break up till June the 4th.

During the troubles, in England, the Scots, willing to take advantage of the juncture, advanced as far as Newcastle, under the conduct of Sir William Douglas, and committed great ravages on the borders. As soon as these commotions were appeased, Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, son of the Earl of Northumberland; marched against the Scots, and giving them battle, slew Douglas with his own hand. But the Earl of Dunbar coming upon him during the battle, with a body of fresh troops, so changed the scene, that the English army was at length defeated, and Hotspur taken prisoner.

About the same time, the Earl of Arundel, whom the Parliament had made High Admiral, went to the assistance of the Duke of Bretagne, attacked by the King of France. This aid obliging Charles to grant the Duke peace, the English were sent home. In his return, the Earl of Arundel, took from the French; eighty freighted ships, and plundered the Isles of Rhe and Oleron: after which he sailed with his fleet to England. Shortly after, the two crowns agreed upon a three years truce, wherein the Scots were included.

Since the last Parliament, England remained in tranquillity. The new ministers being guided by different maxims from those of the old, took care not to engage the King in such proceedings as

were likely to prove his ruin. But though the King's council was successfully changed, it was not so easy to change his temper. Full of his own merit, he was extremely concerned to be under the direction of others, when he was of age to hold the reins of the government himself. Upon his entering into his two and twentieth year, he called his council, ordering all the members to be present. When they were met, he demanded of them how old he was, to which answer was made, he was full twenty-one years of age. Since it is so, added, I will govern my kingdom myself; the condition of a King ought not to be worse than that of his subjects, who are at liberty, at that age to manage their own affairs.

Having thus made known his intentions, he commanded the chancellor to deliver him the Great Seal, which he gave to the Bishop of Winchester. At the same time he turned out the Bishop of Hereford from being treasurer, and removing from the council board the Duke of Gloucester his uncle, the Earl of Warwick, and some others, whom he did not like, put such in their room as he believed more pliant to his will. This proceeding was not in itself strange, since it was in his power to make these alterations.

A. D. 1389] However, it was remarked, he had never given less signs of prudence, which those who begin to be of age are supposed to have, than in the choice of his new ministers, who were by no means qualified for their posts. Accordingly it was not long before disorder and confusion were visible in the public affairs. The favourites' first care was, to insinuate to the King, that the Duke of Gloucester had ill designs upon his person. But the Duke so fully vindicated his innocence, that the King was ashamed of giving ear to so groundless a charge. He would not however suffer the Duke to prosecute his accusers, though they were confuted in his presence.

A. D. 1390] Whilst Richard was apprehensive of the attempts of this uncle, who was represented to him as a very dangerous enemy, he saw another arrive, who was no less formidable. This was the Duke of Lancaster, who was returned from his Spanish expedition. The progress he had made in that country, had at length obliged the King of Castille to make a treaty with him, promising to pay down six hundred thousand livres, with a yearly pension of forty thousand, during the lives of him and his duchess. This treaty was followed by a marriage of the Princess Catherine, the Duke's daughter by Constantia, with Henry, eldest son of the King of Castille, on account of which the Duke and Duchess resigned their pretensions to that crown.

Though Richard was not very well pleased with the Duke of Lancaster's arrival, he received him with such caresses, as gave room to hope for a happy union in the royal family for the future. This hope was confirmed, by the reconciliation procured by the Duke of Lancaster, between the King and the Duke of Gloucester; a reconciliation seemingly so sincere on the King's side, that all the world was deceived. Notwithstanding these fair appearances, the Duke of Lancaster's presence was very grievous to Richard. This may be judged by the price wherewith he was willing to purchase his absence.

To attain his ends, he made him the richest present that a King of England could then make a subject, by investing him with the duchy of Guinness, with the same privileges as were granted to the late Prince of Wales, the King's father. As he had never any affection for him, his making him so noble a present, could be only with a view to remove him from England. Shortly after the Earl of Derby, eldest son of the Duke of Lancaster, went and bore arms in Prussia, where he signalised himself by many gallant actions.

Whilst this Prince was endeavouring to gain a reputation by his warlike exploits, Richard passed his time in sham fights. He spent immense sums in tournaments, which gave occasion to compare him, very much to his disadvantage, with his cousin the Earl of Derby, who was in great esteem[33].

A. D. 1391] Whilst the King was employed in these diversions, the Parliament revived a statute, enacted in the reign of Edward III. By this act it was made high treason to bring into the kingdom provisions from the Court of Rome, without the King's license. A nuncio, sent to England upon

this account, made a great noise, and even threatened that the Pope would proceed to extremities. But his menaces were incapable of obliging the Parliament to annul the act. All he could obtain was a reprieve for this new sort of offenders, till the ensuing Parliament.

Though a terrible plague, and a famine no less intolerable, then afflicted England, the King, who was excessively fond of pageantry and pomp, retrenched none of his diversions or expenses, which ran out to prodigious sums. He is said to have entertained daily six thousand persons. He valued himself upon surpassing in magnificence all the Sovereigns of Europe, as if he had been possessed of an inexhaustible fund of treasure.

In his kitchen alone, three hundred domestics were employed, and the Queen had the like number of women in her service. The courtiers so readily obtained whatever they asked, that the King's favours were the less valued. In short, he affected in every thing a profuseness, which could not but be very chargeable to his subjects, and by a necessary consequence draw on him their aversion.

A. D. 1392] As his revenues were not sufficient for so many expenses, he had a mind to try to obtain some assistance from the Londoners. But, not to frighten them, he was contented first to see how they stood affected, by borrowing only a thousand pounds, probably with design not to confine himself afterwards to such a trifle. **How inconsiderable soever this sum was, he had the vexation to be refused in a very mortifying manner, even to the cutting in pieces by the populace an Italian merchant, who offered to lend the money himself.**

Richard highly resented this affront, which he soon after found an opportunity to revenge. Under colour of punishing a tumult of little consequence, raised by a baker's apprentice, he stripped the city of all her privileges, took away her charter, and removed the courts of justice to York. It is true, he afterwards restored the whole, but the Londoners were obliged to redeem their charter with a present of ten thousand pounds, and two gold crowns. But though they paid dearly for refusing to lend the King a thousand pounds, it was nothing in comparison of the prejudice the King himself received by it. By this proceeding he entirely forfeited the affection of the citizens, who made him sensible afterwards, how dangerous it is for a **King of England to have the Londoners for his enemies.**

In the beginning of the year 1393, arrived at London deputies from the English settled in Ireland, imploring assistance against the natives[34]. For some time there had been frequent insurrections in the island, which shewed, the Irish wanted to shake off the yoke of the English. These disorders should have had a more speedy remedy, but Richard, too much addicted to his pleasures, had neglected the affairs of Ireland, as if he had been wholly unconcerned.

At last, the mischief was so increased, that he could not, without hazarding the loss of the island, any longer delay applying a suitable remedy. The Duke of Gloucester offered to go and suppress the rebels; but the King not thinking proper to trust him with the command of an army, resolved to go himself. In this resolution he called a Parliament, which granted him a large sum as well for the Irish war, as for the charges of an embassy of the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, who were to negotiate a final peace with France.

But this affair came to nothing, by an accident which prevented the meeting of the plenipotentiaries between Ardres and Guisnes, according to agreement. King Charles, who was from time to time seized with a distemper, which deprived him of his understanding, being come to Abbeville on purpose to let the English see he was in his senses, fell into one of his usual fits. This relapse occasioned the deferring of the negotiation to a more convenient season.

The King's preparations for his voyage to Ireland, were somewhat interrupted in the beginning of the year 1394, by the funerals of his Queen[35] and of the Duchesses of Lancaster[36], and York[37], who died about the same time. It is said the Queen was a great favourer of Wickliff's doctrine, and, had she lived any longer, would have saved the Lollards[38], (so Wickliff's followers

were called,) many of the calamities they afterwards endured. The departure of the Duke of Lancaster, their chief patron, who was gone to take possession of the principality of Guienne, not a little contributed to hasten the designs of their enemies, who improved these favourable junctures to persecute them.

How great soever Richard's grief was for the death of the Queen, he set out for Ireland, according to his project. He arrived there in September[39], and at first made some progress against the rebels. But as the season would not permit him to proceed, he went to Dublin, where he held a Parliament, whilst the Duke of York assembled another in England, which granted a subsidy for prosecuting the Irish war.

A. D. 1395] Richard was preparing to take the field again, when the Archbishop of York, and Bishop of London, arrived from England, to entreat him in the name of the clergy, to hasten his return. They even intimated, that the least delay might bring an irreparable damage to religion. The foundation of this great alarm was, that in the late Parliament, the Lollards had made efforts to set on foot a reformation of the church[40].

As they had many friends in the kingdom, and in the Parliament itself, the clergy were afraid they would proceed to this reformation. For which reason, the two deputed prelates so magnified the danger, religion was in, that Richard immediately departed for England, leaving to the Earl of March the management of the war. Upon his arrival at London, he took certain measures with the clergy to suppress the sect of the Lollards, and compelled Sir Richard Story publicly to abjure their doctrine, threatening to punish him with death if ever he relapsed to that sect.

Shortly after, was brought into England, by the King's order, the corpse of the Duke of Ireland, who died at Louvain. This object reviving the King's affection, he caused the coffin to be opened, that he might once more have the pleasure to see the man whom he had so tenderly loved. Then he ordered him a magnificent funeral, and was pleased to honour it with his presence, as Edward II. had formerly done with regard to Gaveston. But the nobility would not shew that respect to a favourite, of whom they had so much cause to complain. So that, like Edward II. Richard was attended at the funeral pomp, with only some of the clergy[41].

A. D. 1396] Whilst the King was employed in his Irish expedition, the Duke of Lancaster, who was gone to Bourdeaux to cause his sovereignty to be acknowledged, had met with unexpected obstacles. The Gaseons, pretending, their country was inseparably united to the crown of England, maintained, it was not in the King's power to alienate it. This pretension was strengthened with a motive of interest, which confirmed them in their obstinacy. They said, if they were once separated from England, they ran the risk of being deprived of the only protection, capable of preventing their falling under the dominion of France.

For this reason, they asserted the alienation in question was equally prejudicial to themselves and the crown of England. It was objected, that they had never made the same scruple with regard to the Prince of Wales, the King's father. But they replied, there was a wide difference between that alienation and this. That the first being made in favour of the next heir to the crown, was to be only for a time, whereas this might easily happen to be for ever.

After several contests on this subject, which lasted some time, the King resolved to revoke the grant, to which the Duke of Lancaster found it expedient to submit. To console him in some measure for this loss; the King gave him leave to marry Catharine Rowet, widow of Sir Thomas Swinford[42]. The Duke had long kept her as his mistress, and had by her several children, who were legitimated by the King and Parliament, by the name of Beaufort. Some time after, the King created the eldest, Earl of Somerset[43].

Before the Duke of Lancaster's arrival, the King had sent ambassadors to France, to demand in marriage Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. The court of France had at first rejected this proposal,

because .the Princess was but seven years old, and besides was promised to the Duke of Bretagne. However, notwithstanding these difficulties, the marriage was concluded, in a second negotiation, and withal, a twenty-eight years truce between the two crowns. Shortly after both the Kings met between Ardres and Calais, under tents pitched on purpose, where the two courts displayed all their magnificence, and where the treaty was signed and the nuptials solemnized[44].

Richard is said to have expended on this occasion three hundred thousand marks, a sum far exceeding that of two hundred thousand, which he received in deduction of what was promised him with his Queen. The Duke of Gloucester, who liked neither the marriage nor the truce, could not forbear shewing his discontent. He frankly told the King, it would have been more advisable to attempt, by a vigorous war, to recover what England had lost in France, than to enter into an alliance with a crown, that had all along gained more advantages by treaties with the English, than by the success of its arms.

The King's usual expense, with the charges of his late marriage, having entirely drained his exchequer, and even obliged him to borrow large sums, there was a necessity of recurring to extraordinary ways to fill his coffers. Though the Parliament which met in the beginning of the year 1397, granted him a very considerable sum, it was not sufficient to enable him to pay his debts. Besides, he took occasion to increase the expense of his household, from a report that the electoral Princes had cast their eyes upon him, to raise him to the imperial dignity, and thereby reduced himself to still greater streights.

As he was ashamed to ask a fresh supply from the Parliament, he had recourse again to borrowings, or rather to extorted grants, which he exacted from the rich. There was not a Lord, Bishop, Gentleman, or rich Burgess, who was not obliged to lend him money, though it was well known he never designed to repay it. But though this method of raising money upon the people, had ever been considered by the English, as one of the greatest breaches of their privileges, it occasioned no commotion. Every one was intimidated, and though each injustice was highly resented, it was taken patiently, in hopes it would be the last.

The restitution of Cherbourg to the King of Navarre, and of Brest to the Duke of Bretagne, was not looked upon with the same tranquillity. Though these two places belonged not originally to England, the English had been at great expense in aiding the Princes, to whom they appertained, that they might have been justly kept till the whole was repaid. This occasioned a general dissatisfaction, and the more, because it brought the King but an inconsiderable sum, which was also lavished away in needless expenses. It is true he pretended, his engagement to restore these places after a peace, or a long truce with France, made this restitution necessary; but it was well known also that the King of Navarre, and the Duke of Bretagne had failed him first.

Be this as it will, the Duke of Gloucester thought this fault so prejudicial to England, that he could not help upbraiding the King in very sharp terms; to which Richard made such a reply as plainly shewed how much he was offended at his remonstrance. This accident revived the King's former hatred of the Duke of Gloucester, which being rather stifled than extinguished, shewed itself from time to time. He complained to the Dukes of Lancaster and York, that the Duke of Gloucester took upon him to controul, his actions, and amongst his complaints, he dropped some expressions, which made them think he suspected all three of having ill designs upon him.

The two Princes protested they had an unshaken loyalty for him, and did not question but the Duke their brother had the same, though his hasty temper caused him sometimes to speak with too much warmth. The King appeared satisfied with their justification. However, his easiness to be appeased, after shewing such great anger, bred in them suspicions, which induced them to quit the court, and retire to their estates.

Their withdrawing was probably the occasion of the Duke of Gloucester's ruin as it gave his enemies an opportunity to inflame the King's displeasure against him, and to determine him at

length to be rid of so troublesome an inspector. But as nothing could be found in his conduct which might expose him to the rigour of the law, and as it would be dangerous to destroy him that way, Richard resolved to make use of a more speedy and certain method.

To execute this design, he came one morning, to his uncle's country house, finding him in bed, desired him to rise immediately, and go with him to London. He pretended, he wanted him in a very important affair, which he would impart to him on the road. The Duke presently mounting his horse rode by the King, who talked to him about the pretended affair, without shewing he had any other design. Whilst they were discoursing together, they came to a hollow way, where the Duke was suddenly surrounded with some horsemen, and carried on board a ship, which lay ready in the Thames to convey him to Calais[45].

When the King came to London, he sent for the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, and after familiarly talking with them some time[46], ordered them to be apprehended and sent, to the Tower. He served the Lord Cobham in the same manner, with some others[47] whom, he designed to get rid of. Mean time the intelligence he received of the people's beginning to stir, obliged him to issue a proclamation, declaring, these Lords were taken into custody for new misdemeanours, and promising they should be proceeded against according to law.

This proclamation having somewhat appeased the people, the King summoned all the Peers of the realm to Nottingham. This was done with design to, sound them, rather than ask their advice, concerning the manner of proceeding against the prisoners. After the affair was debated in council, the Lords fearing to incur either the King's indignation, or the hatred, of the public if they came to any resolution, declared it to be of such a nature that it could only be decided by the authority of the Parliament. This was precisely what the King wanted. He had already taken all necessary measures to have a Parliament at his devotion.

Some time since, he changed the sheriffs of the kingdom, and suffered none, but what had promised to be subservient to his designs. He had taken the same precautions, with respect to all officers that had credit and power in the boroughs and counties. So by means of the magistrates, and persons in public posts, he had caused such representatives to be chosen, as he had secured beforehand.

The Parliament being thus composed, the Bishop of Exeter opened the session with a speech, labouring to prove that the regal power was unlimited, and that such as endeavoured to bound it, deserved the severest punishments. Pursuant to this principle, which met with a general approbation, the Parliament repealed the act of grace, passed nine years before in favour of the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, and all their adherents. All the acts were likewise annulled passed in the Parliament, which appointed the fourteen governors to the King, as being extorted during his minority.

If the Parliament of 1386. deserved to be called the Merciless, we know no name odious enough for this. By a manifest prevarication, this assembly made no scruple to sacrifice to the passions of the King. and his ministers, the most distinguished Lords of the kingdom, as well as the liberties and privileges of the people. Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, was impeached of high treason, for being one of the commissioners appointed by the Parliament of, 1386, to whom was committed the inspection of the administration of the public affairs.

For this new sort of offence, the Archbishop was condemned to banishment, and his estate confiscated to the King's use. Then the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, were accused of the same crimes, for which nine years before the King had granted a pardon, and sentenced to die by this truly merciless Parliament. Froissart says, the King would be present at Arundel's execution. Another historian adds, that the spectacle remained so deeply imprinted in his memory, that his sleep was often interrupted by dreams, representing to him the Earl covered with blood, and upbraiding him with his injustice. To this contributed, perhaps, the rumour that several miracles

were wrought at the tomb of the deceased[48], and that his head was miraculously rejoined to his body. As for the Earl of Warwick who willingly confessed himself guilty, without taking advantage of the pardon, he was treated with less rigour, his punishment being changed into perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man.

As to the Duke of Gloucester, in all appearance, the King was apprehensive it would be very dangerous to put him to death publicly or that the Parliament would not be so compliant as to sacrifice so considerable a person. Be this as it will, he had taken care as was afterwards known, to have him privately put to death[49] at Calais. Meantime, his enemies gave out that he died of an apoplexy, and before he expired, confessed himself guilty of treason against the King. Upon this report, without any examination of the grounds, the Duke's whole estate was confiscated to the King's use.

It was almost impossible that these severities should not produce some altercation among the nobility. But, to prevent accidents, Richard took care to gratify the principal Lords, and particularly the Princes of the blood. He created Henry Earl of Derby his cousin, eldest son of the Duke of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford. Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Rutland, eldest son of the Duke of York, was made Duke of Albemarle. Thomas de Holland. Earl of Kent, received the title of Duke of Surrey. John de Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, the King's half brother, was created Duke of Exeter. Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Norfolk and Sir William le Scroope, Earl of Wiltshire. Lastly, out of complaisance to the Duke of Lancaster, the King made John Beaufort, his eldest son by his third marriage, who was already Earl of Somerset, Marquis of Somerset. To these honourable titles he added other favours, by distributing among these Lords the forfeited estates of the Duke of Gloucester, and of the Earls of Arundel and Warwick.

In those days the Parliament seldom sat above one session, unless the business required a short prorogation. But this was too well disposed for the King, to be willing to run the hazard of having one less devoted to him. So not thinking fit to dissolve it, he was pleased to adjourn it to Shrewsbury; this town, in the neighbourhood of Wales, where he had many friends, seeming more proper for his designs than London, where he knew he was not beloved.

A. D. 1398] The new session was only a continuation of the extraordinary proceedings already began at Westminster. The Parliament strove to carry the prerogative royal to a greater height than any King of England had ever pretended to stretch it, and established. such maxims as were destructive of the constitution, and the liberties of the people. They approved, as conformable to law, the opinions for which, nine years before, the judges were condemned. Pursuant to this principle, the judges who attended during the sitting of the Parliament, decided, that when the King proposed any articles to be debated in Parliament, it was high treason to bring in others before the King's were first dispatched.

By this and the like decisions, the cases of high treason were so multiplied, that hardly was it possible to prevent falling into that crime, unless by making the King's will and pleasure the sole rule of action[50]. At last, under colour of dispatching business, the Parliament appointed a certain number of commissioners[51], who were invested with the authority of the whole house.

Thus by an unprecedented act, the whole power of the nation was devolved to the King, twelve Peers, and six commoners. To give the more strength. to these irregular proceedings, the King caused them to be confirmed by the Pope's bull, which was published in all the counties of the kingdom.

During this second session, Richard brought into Shrewsbury a numerous guard of the militia of Cheshire, who expressed so strong an inclination to serve him, that to gratify the county, he erected it into a principality.

Richard, incapable of reflection, suffered himself to be blindly guided by his passion, which made him consider, as a great advantage, all occasions of exercising the arbitrary power he thought to have so firmly established. Towards the end of the year 1398, he gave a signal proof of the little regard he intended to have for his subjects; on occasion of a quarrel between two of the principal Lords of his court.

The Duke of Hereford, eldest son of the Duke of Lancaster; awed by the examples of the Duke of Gloucester his uncle; and the other Lords, whom the King had sacrificed to his revenge, limiting his desires; made it the height of his ambition, to keep in his favour, and carefully endeavoured to avoid giving any cause of suspicion. It was; probably, from this consideration; that fearing the Duke of Norfolk had laid a snare for him; in speaking to him very disrespectfully of the King[52], he informed Richard of the same.

The Duke of Norfolk denying he had ever spoken against the Kings and the Duke of Hereford maintaining his accusation, it was, ordered, that the affair should be decided according to the law of chivalry, that is, by single combat. Coventry was appointed for the duel, at which the King would be present in person. But just as the two Dukes were entering the lists, the King, on pretence of avoiding the effusion of blood, but in reality to be rid of these two Lords at once, commanded them to proceed no farther.

Then, though there could be but one guilty, he banished them both, the Duke of Norfolk for life, and the Duke of Hereford for ten years. The former died shortly after at Venice, and the other retired into France[53]. This act of authority was no less contrary to the privileges of the nobility, than what the King had hitherto done with regard to the whole nation in general; for by the laws of the land, these Lords could only be tried by their Peers. But at that time the privileges of the people were little regarded.

Not long after the Duke of Hereford's departure, his father, the Duke of Lancaster, died[54] little lamented by the people, and still less by the King, who could not help fearing him. By the death of this Prince, his honours and estates, which were very considerable, fell to the Duke of Hereford his son, to whom before his departure, the king had remitted four years of his banishment.

Moreover, he had granted him letters patent, empowering him, though in exile, to take possession by his attorney of his fees, that should happen to fall to him in his absence, with a suspension of homage till his return. Notwithstanding, immediately after the death of the Duke his father, the King, by a sentence no less unjust than the former, decreed, that his banishment should be perpetual, and confiscated all his estate.

By such acts of despotic power, the laws and liberties of England were in a deplorable state. The Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundel, being dead, Warwick sent away, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk in exile, there was scarcely a man in the kingdom able to oppose the arbitrary power usurped by the King. The Duke of York alone, the King's uncle, might have defended the nation's interests. But as he loved his ease, he was no proper person to engage in such an undertaking.

Richard seeing himself therefore above all restraint, gave himself up to a soft and effeminate life, regardless of the good of the public. His ministers, little qualified for their posts, suffered their affairs to decay, and saw without any concern, the English nation fall into the utmost contempt. The Scots frequently broke the truce, by incursions upon the borders, being very sure that the court of England was far from thinking of revenging their insults.

The English possessions in France were almost reduced to nothing, and the places which might one day have served to repair these losses, were sold without a necessity. The merchants' ships were daily plundered by the Corsairs of France and the Low-Countries, without any means used to protect the trade. Amidst these disorders, the Ministers, of whom the Earl of Wiltshire was

the chief, sought only to augment the King's revenues, by borrowings, new taxes, and still less legal ways. Pretences were no longer sought to demand subsidies; the Ministers whole business was only to find speedy and effectual means to extort money from the people, to whom the demanding it was thought to be too great an honour.

At length, having practised divers expedients, as unjust as extraordinary, to supply the King's prodigious expenses, and satisfy his ministers, avarice, a method was used which could not fail of procuring large sums. As the late Parliament had reversed the pardon granted in 1386, to the Duke of Gloucester's adherents, accusations were brought against such as had then taken arms in favour of that Prince. By the judgments given upon these accusations, seventeen counties were condemned as guilty of treason, and the estates of all the inhabitants adjudged to the King.

In this extremity, the richer sort of gentlemen and burgesses were forced, in order to avoid the seizure of their estates, to give blank obligations, which the King caused to be filled with what sums he was pleased to exact. Moreover; by what was inserted in these notes, which were termed Ragmans[55], every person was bound under great penalties, to support the statutes of the Shrewsbury Parliament, and all the subsequent acts; that is to say, they entirely threw themselves, upon the King's mercy[56].

It was impossible that a government so tyrannical, should not draw the hatred of the nation upon the Prince and his instruments. It was also very visible, that these oppressions kindled in the hearts of the people, an ardent desire of freeing themselves from them, insomuch that the least spark was capable of producing a fatal combustion.

Whilst England was exposed to all these calamities, the Irish, contemning the small number of troops left by Richard in their country, took up arms with one consent. Roger Mortimer Earl of Marche, Governor of Ireland, opposing the rebels, was slain in the first battle. This Prince, who was declared by an act of Parliament, presumptive heir of the crown, left two sons, Edmund and Roger, the eldest of whom succeeded him in his honour of Earl of Marche, and died without issue, as well as Roger his brother. But the marriage of Ann their sister with the Duke of York's second son, proved a fertile source of troubles, which long afflicted the kingdom.

Richard receiving the news of the Irish revolt, resolved to go in person and chastise the rebels, Pursuant to this resolution, he levied a numerous army, which furnished him with a fresh occasion to exact great sums from his subjects, whereby he considerably increased the hatred already entertained against him.

A. D. 1399] When he was ready to embark, some suspicions instilled into him, of the Earl of Northumberland, Governor of the northern counties, moved him to send that Earl a positive order, to come and join him without delay. But the Earl excusing himself, on account that his presence was absolutely necessary in those parts, the King, without further examination, pronounced him a traitor, and ordered all his estate to be seized. Then leaving the regency of the kingdom to the Duke of York his uncle, he set sail, and arrived May the 31st at Waterford, whence he marched to Dublin.

He was attended by the sons of the Duke of Lancaster, by his third wife, and by those of the late Duke of Gloucester, whom he carried like hostages; and had taken with him the best part of his jewels, as if he had foreseen he should never more return to his palace. He made at first some progress against the rebels, and in several encounters, gave marks of valour, which caused a belief, that if hitherto he had shewn no great inclination for war, it was not to be ascribed so much to a want of courage, as to a bad education.

But whilst his vanity was flattered with the advantages he gained over the Irish, a conspiracy was forming in England to deprive him of the crown. Under an arbitrary government, such as Richard's, there must needs be great numbers of malcontents. He had scarcely set out for Ireland,

with almost all his Lords, his creatures, but the malcontents in England began to think of means to dethrone him. To that end, after several conferences, they sent word to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, since his banishment, was retired into France, that all England was ready to rise, and nothing was wanting but a leader of distinction to head the malcontents.

That upon mature deliberation, they thought none so proper as the Duke of Hereford, for whom the people had a great esteem and affection, and who moreover had a very plausible pretence to take up arms, to demand satisfaction for the injuries he had suffered: that if the Duke would repair into England, they engaged to assist him to the utmost of their power; and in the present disposition of the nation, there was no doubt, but they would join those that should undertake to free them from the oppression they endured.

The Archbishop, who was himself extremely incensed against the King, communicating this letter to the Duke, that Prince resolved to lay hold of the juncture, to try what fortune would do in his favour. However, as he was sensible he could not carry on this enterprise by himself, he took care so to manage it, that he might easily desist, in case things were not disposed as he was made to expect. Pursuant to this resolution, he privately repaired into Bretagne, where he fitted out three ships, and embarked in company with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and about fourscore men, among whom there were but sixteen or eighteen lances.

With this small force he set sail, and hovered about the coast of England, now in one place, and then in another, without landing any where. His design was to see what effect his approach would have among the people, and to engage the English openly to declare for him, in a belief that he was attended with greater force, this trial succeeded beyond expectation. When it was known that he was on the coast, the people rose in several parts, not considering whether the aid which appeared was sufficient to protect them; and this readiness determined the Duke to push his enterprise farther.

In the beginning of July, he landed at Raven-spur in Yorkshire, where the Earl of Northumberland and Henry Percy his son, immediately joined him with some troops. After this junction, the concourse of people, flocking in crowds to list under his banners, was so great, that in a few days his army was threescore thousand strong.

As soon as the Duke of York, Regent of the kingdom, heard of the Duke's landing, he called a council, to consider of the necessary measures on this occasion. But the hourly news of the increase of the Duke's forces, and the disposition of the kingdom, quickly made the counsellors, among whom there were few persons of abilities, despair of being able to remedy this evil. In this perplexity, they committed a capital fault, in resolving to quit London and retire. to St Albans.

This imprudent step was extremely prejudicial to the King's affairs. The Lords of the Council were no sooner departed from London, but the citizens, no longer restrained by the presence of those who represented the King's person, declared for the Duke, and by their example, drew in such towns, as would not yet have ventured to proceed so far.

The Duke, who, at his arrival in England, had taken the title of Duke of Lancaster, published a manifesto; setting forth, that he had taken arms purely to obtain satisfaction for all the injustices done him. This manifesto produced so great an effect, that when the Regent would have issued out commissions to levy troops, he hardly found any willing to accept them. Every one said publicly, he did not care to oppose the lawful pretensions of a Prince so unjustly oppressed.

This refusal convincing the Earl of Wiltshire, and the rest of the ministry, that instead of being able to support their authority, they ran the hazard of seeing themselves sacrificed to the public hatred, they deserted the Duke of York and retired to Bristol Castle. After the flight of the counsellors, the Regent perceiving there was no stemming the torrent, threw up the care of the public affairs, and withdrew to his own house, leaving the kingdom like a ship exposed to the

winds and waves, without pilot or mariners. All the other Lords, who had as yet remained neuter, in order to join the strongest party, finding the King's interest abandoned, no longer deferred openly declaring for the Duke.

The Duke improving these advantages, marched with all speed to London, where the citizens had invited him. He was triumphantly received in that noble city, with all the demonstrations of zeal and affection, which could be given by a people extremely incensed against their Sovereign; and considering themselves as delivered from tyranny. But how pleasing soever the honours he received from the Londoners might be, he staid no longer than was necessary to secure their allegiance; after which he marched towards Bristol.

Upon his arrival, the gates being opened to him with joy, he commanded the castle to be assaulted, where the Counsellor's were retired. The siege was pushed so vigorously, that in four days the besieged were forced to surrender at discretion. The people's fury against the Earl of Wiltshire and his companions, was so violent that the Duke thought he could not refuse them the satisfaction to see these odious ministers sacrificed to their vengeance. So, without considering that the power which he assumed was still more illegal than the King's usurpations, he ordered the Earl of Wiltshire to be beheaded, with some others of the Council, to satisfy the people who loudly called for their death.

The happy success of this expedition made the whole kingdom embrace the Duke's party, and shortly after he had the satisfaction to see his uncle the Duke of York, come and assist him with his counsels.

Whilst these things were transacting in England, Richard was in Ireland in perfect security. The contrary winds, which continued to blow above three weeks, hindered his receiving any news. When he heard of the Duke of Lancaster's descent, he imprisoned his brothers, with the Duke of Gloucester's sons, and resolved to go immediately into England, and fight his enemy. But the Duke of Albemarle advised him to stay a few days, to have time to prepare ships to transport all his forces at once. He took this fatal advice, which completed his ruin.

It was during that time that London declared for the Duke, which perhaps would not have been, had the King been known to be in England, with a resolution vigorously to oppose the designs of his enemies. Richard being determined to stay some days longer in Ireland, sent the Earl of Salisbury before, to levy troops in Wales, assuring him he would quickly follow him. The Earl used such expedition, that in a few days he assembled an army of forty thousand men, the Welsh and Cheshire men zealously taking arms for the King.

If Richard had arrived with his forces by the time he had promised, he might at least have had the satisfaction, of trying the fortune of a battle in defence of his crown. But the wind returning to the east, detained him eighteen days longer in Ireland. During that time a rumour being spread in the Earl of Salisbury's army, that the King was dead in Ireland, the troops would have disbanded themselves. It was with great difficulty the Earl prevailed with them to stay a few days, in order to have certain news of the King.

This delay being expired, and Richard not appearing, the Welsh and Cheshire men deserted their colours, and retired to their homes. Richard landed a few days after, and as he knew nothing of the Earl of Salisbury's army being dispersed, marched to Caermarthen in hopes to meet them. But when he heard that he had lost that refuge; and all the nobility had declared against him, that his ministers were beheaded at Bristol, and the people ardently espoused the Duke of Lancaster's quarrel, he knew not what course to take, all that were proposed appearing equally dangerous.

The officers and soldiers would have had him put himself at their head; and give his enemy battle. They promised to spill the last drop of their blood in his defence, and inspired him with hopes that his army would daily increase in his march, by the junction of those, who through

force, or the belief of his death, had deserted him. Some advised him to return, and fortify himself in Ireland: Others were of opinion, that he should fly for refuge into France to the King his father-in-law, till a more favourable season afforded him an opportunity to return to his dominions.

Amidst these uncertainties, the unfortunate King, incapable of chusing the best advice; and having none about him but such as wanted courage or capacity, could not come to any resolution. However, as he distrusted every body; he could not long remain in a situation which seemed to him so very dangerous. On a sudden, without advising with any person, he privately withdrew from his army in the night, and shut himself up in Conway castle, which was deemed impregnable, but at that time unprovided of all things. He had no sooner disappeared, but the Lord Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester, Master of the Household, broke his white staff, before the King's domestics, and went to meet the Duke of Lancaster, who was advancing towards Chester at the head of his army.

Richard finding himself almost alone in the castle he had chosen for his sanctuary, without any prospect of being able to defend himself, was afraid, if he attempted to escape, of falling into the hands of an enraged people, who gave him but too many proofs of their hatred. In this extremity, he saw no other remedy but to throw himself upon the generosity of his enemy. He sent him word by one of his attendants, that he was ready to submit to what terms he himself should judge reasonable, and desired him to send some person to confer with him.

The Duke immediately dispatched the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Northumberland, to know his intention. In the short conference with these deputies, Richard offered, if his life were secured, with those of eight persons he should name, to resign his crown, and be content to lead the residue of his days like a private person. The deputies giving him hopes his offer would be accepted, he desired to confer with the Duke himself. To that purpose he went to Flint, not above ten miles from Chester, where the Duke was now arrived.

Next day the Duke being come to Flint, went to the King, who said to him with a cheerful countenance: "Cousin of Lancaster, you are welcome." Then the Duke thrice bowing to the ground, replied, "My Lord the King, I am come sooner than you appointed me, because the common fame of your people is, that you have for these one and twenty years governed very ill, and rigorously, of which they are not at all satisfied; but if it please God, I will help you to govern them better for the future." To which the King only returned, "Fair Cousin, since it pleases you, it pleases us too[57]." The two Princes went the same day (August 20.) and lodged at Chester, whence they set out together for London.

Upon their approach, the Londoners came out in crowds, to receive, the one with a thousand curses, and the other with excessive applause and commendations. Then the King was conducted to the Tower, and confined there, whilst the King took measures with his friends to complete his work. The suddenness of this revolution, and the Duke of Lancaster's diligence in traversing so many counties, are very surprising. If it is considered that in seven and forty days, he marched from Ravenspur, where he landed, to London, Bristol, Chester, and from thence back to London, it will hardly be conceivable, that an army of sixty thousand. men could possibly run over so much ground in so short a space.[58]

The moment the Duke had got the King in his power, he took care to cause him to summon a Parliament at London, that no time might be lost. In the conferences he had with his friends, before the meeting of the Parliament, the question was not so much concerning what was to be done, since the placing him upon the throne was resolved, as how to proceed. Some were for his taking possession, upon Richard's bare promise of resigning the crown.

Others thought, the promise appeared too constrained to be the foundation of any right, and the more, as there was a nearer heir than the Duke. This was Edmund Mortimer Earl of Marche, son

of that Roger who was declared Richard's presumptive successor. At last, after many debates upon so nice a point, it was the Duke of York's opinion that Richard should be obliged to make an absolute resignation. Secondly, the Parliament should depose him before the crown was disposed of.

Lastly, these two steps being taken, and the throne declared vacant, the same Parliament, in consideration of the Duke of Lancaster's great service to the state, should adjudge him the crown by their supreme authority, which, in extraordinary cases, was superior to the laws. This opinion was unanimously approved. Thus in punishing a King for setting himself above the laws, a power was given the Parliament no less contrary to them. So difficult it is on such occasions, to keep within the bounds of justice and equity.

This expedient, then thought proper to restore the peace of the kingdom, proved the real source of the calamities which afterwards afflicted the nation, when these violent proceedings seemed to be entirely forgotten. The descendants of the Duke of York, who proposed this opinion, found it their interest to destroy the foundation on which it was built, and maintain that the Parliament had exceeded their power, in transferring the crown to the house of Lancaster.

Pursuant to the resolutions the Duke of Lancaster had taken with his friends, he repaired to the Tower, the day before the opening of the Parliament, (September 29), attended by a great number of Lords. There, in the presence of all, Richard delivered up the crown and sceptre, with the other ensigns of royalty, and, by an instrument signed with his own hand, confessed himself unworthy and unfit to govern any longer. Next day the Parliament being met, the instrument of resignation was produced, and approved by unanimous consent. But as this resignation alone, according to the measures agreed upon, did not appear sufficient, the two Houses ordered articles of accusation against Richard to be drawn up, to serve for reasons of his deposition, to which they intended to proceed.

To these articles, which were thirty-five in number, was prefixed King Richard's coronation oath; and the design of the several articles was to prove, that by the violation of such and such acts of government, he had violated that oath. Of these articles, it is sufficient to say, that some of them were false, some of them trifling, many of them exaggerated, and others but too well founded for, unquestionably, as fully appears throughout the history of his reign, Richard had been guilty of many imprudent, and of many illegal actions.

Parliament, with one voice acknowledged the articles to be well grounded and publicly known, and pronounced, that Richard should be deposed. At the same time, commissioners were appointed to give him notice of his deposition, and to annul the oaths and homage of the people of England, after much the same manner as in the case of Edward II[59].

This affair being thus settled, and the throne become vacant, the Duke of Lancaster rose up, and after crossing himself, claimed the crown. He built his pretensions upon being descended from Henry III and upon the right he had received from God, by the assistance of his relations. and friends, for the recovery of his realm of England, which was upon the brink of destruction[60].

It was not without reason that he affected to make use of obscure expressions, which left undetermined the foundation on which he built his pretended right. If he seemed to derive his title from Henry III, rather than from Edward III his grandfather, it was, because there was a rumour, that Edmund Earl of Lancaster, surnamed Crouch-Back, was eldest son of Henry III, but by reason of his deformity, Edward I. his younger brother, was placed on the throne. According to this supposition, the Duke would have made the ignorant believe, he could ground his title upon being son of Blanch of Lancaster, grand-daughter of Edmund Crouch-Back, and heiress of that family. But as he was sensible, every body could not be imposed upon by so gross a forgery, he added certain expressions, intimating that he built his right also upon the service he had just done the state.

This is the meaning of the claim, expressed in such obscure terms. As it was resolved to adjudge the crown to the Duke, the Parliament took care not to examine his claim too close, but were very willing to suppose it uncontestable. Thus, without any regard to the just rights of the Earl of Marche, it was decreed that Henry of Lancaster should be proclaimed King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, which was done that very day, being the 30th of September[61].

Thus ended the reign of Richard II. a prince who his younger years seemed to have noble and generous inclinations, but unfortunately suffered himself to be corrupted by flattery. He had the advantage of being descended from a father and grandfather so universally esteemed, that had he ever so little answered the nobleness of his birth, he might have been one of the most glorious Kings that ever wore the English crown. But like Edward II. his great grandfather, he had the weakness to give himself up to the guidance of his favourites.

Accordingly he underwent the same fate with that Prince, whom he but too much resembled in every other respect. The chief difference to be observed between them, is that Richard was of a more cruel and inflexible temper, and usurped a more absolute power than Edward, which rendered him more odious, and less lamented. Let us close his reign with a reflection which the-sad catastrophe of these two Princes affords; namely, that in a government, like that of England, all the King's endeavours to usurp an arbitrary power; are but so many steps towards his destruction[62].



In the 18th of Richard II a pound weight of gold of the whole standard was to make by tale forty-five nobles, amounting to fifteen pounds, or a proportionate number of half or quarter nobles: and a pound weight of silver of the old sterling, to make by tale seventy-five grosses or groats, amounting to twenty-five shillings, or a hundred and fifty half grosses, at two-pence a piece, or three hundred sterlings at a penny a piece, or six hundred half sterlings: and Nicholas Malakin a Florentine, was master and worker. These Rose-Nobles (if that in Speed be genuine; for it wants both the Rose and the constant Legend of Jesus autem, &c.) gives his portraiture in a sedentary posture, with a sword in his right hand, and **RICAR. D. GRA. AGLIE. FRANCIE. REX. D. AQVIT.**

On the reverse **AVXILIVM. MEVM. A. DOMINO.** His crown is fleurie, as in those of his predecessors, but no rays between the flowers. We ought perhaps to read **HYB** for **AQVIT.** since it is hard to imagine, why Aquitaine should be so much as mentioned after France; and **AGLIE** instead of **ANGLIE.** makes it probable that this was rather coined by Richard IIIrd, (in whose reign that way of writing was in use) than by the IInd. His other coins were exactly like his grandfather's. **RICARDUS. REX. ANGLIÆ.** Reverse, **CIVITAS; EBORACI.**

Notes to Chapter 2

1.) The coronation oath, on this occasion, was as follows: "I. That he would permit the church to enjoy all her liberties: that he would reverence her ministers, and maintain the truth. II. That he would restrain violence and all oppression, in all sorts of men: that he would cause good laws to be every where observed, especially those of St. Edward, King and Confessor: and would also

cause all evil laws or customs to be abrogated. **III.** That he would be no respecter of persons, but would give right judgment between man and man, and would chiefly observe mercy in all his decrees or Judgments, as God should shew mercy to him." Then the Archbishop led the King (the Lord Marshal walking before him) to all the four sides of the scaffold, and shewing the King to the people, declared the purport of the oath he had now taken, and asked them, if they would be subject to this Prince as their lawful ruler, and be obedient to his commands? This Ceremony was no innovation, but seems to be a remainder of the old English custom of electing the King, as may be observed by comparing the manner of the coronation, and election of King Edward the Confessor, and William I. with this action.

2.) The manor of Scrivelby, in right of Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir John Marmion.

3.) Bravely defended by Sir Hugh Tyrrel, a Knight of Essex. Upon account of these invasions, orders were issued out for arming the clergy.

4.) But Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland entering Scotland, at the head of ten thousand men, wasted and plundered the country for three days, especially the Earl of Dunbar's lands for it was he that had surprised Roxborough.

5.) She married, not long after this sentence, Sir William de Windesore, a person of note,

6.) A squadron commanded by Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtney, two brothers. Sir Peter escaped but Sir Philip was taken prisoner.

7.) This, however, did not prevent him from renewing his efforts at a future period.

8.) To the number of about ten thousand, viz. three thousand men at arms, and seven thousand archers with whom were John Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, the Lords, Nevil, Lucy, Stafford,

9.) About a hundred and forty of the English were taken prisoners, and with them Sir Thomas Musgrave.

10.) This year, a famous single combat was fought on June 7, at Westminster, in the King's presence, between John Anneslee, Knight, and Thomas Katryngton, Esq. whom the foresaid Knight had accused in Parliament, of treason, for selling to the French the castle of St. Saviour's, built by the Lord Chandos in the Isle of Cotentin in France, Katryngton was overcome, and thereupon run mad.

11.) The mob let him out of Maidstone goal. He preached to the army upon this proverbial rhyme: When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then a Gentleman?

12.) There were at that time six hundred warlike men in it, and six hundred archers.

13.) The contents of this charter, abolishing villainage, were as follows: "Richard, &c. Know ye, that of our special grace, we have manumitted, or set free, all and singular our liege subjects, and other of the county of Essex; and them and every of them from all bondage, do release and acquit by these presents. And also we pardon to our said liegemen and subjects, all manner of felonies, treasons, transgressions, and extortions, by them, or any of them, in any manner whatsoever, done or committed, &c."—Witness our Self at London, the 15th of June, in the 4th year of our reign.

14.) Besides a general enfranchisement of all bondmen; he demanded, that all warrens, parks, and chases, should be made free and common to all, so that the poor as well as the rich should have liberty to fish, fowl, and hunt, in all places throughout the kingdom, &c.

15.) And also took hold of the King's bridle.

16.) The King had ordered the Mayor to arrest Tyler. For this good service, King Richard knighted the Mayor, and also John Philpot, Nicholas Brembar, and Robert Laund, Aldermen; and gave Sir William Walworth a hundred pounds per annum; and to the other three, forty pounds per annum for ever. Not long after he knighted Nicholas Twyford, and Adam Francis, two other aldermen. It is a common notion that the dagger was added, upon this account, to the arms of the city of, London; but Mr. Stow thinks it to be St. Paul's sword.

17.) They are supposed to have given themselves these names in contempt of the nobility and gentry.

18.) William Ufford, then Earl of Suffolk,, understanding that the mob intended to surprise him, and carry him along with them, to countenance their irregular doings, suddenly rose from supper, and disguising himself, came through by-ways to the King at St. Albans, with a wallet on his shoulder, pretending to be a servant of Sir Roger de Boys.

19.) At North Walsham in Norfolk.

20.) This revocation was done by a proclamation under the Great Seal, dated at Chelmsford, July 2.

21.) She arrived at Dover, about the latter end of December, and was married to the King, in the Chapel Royal at Westminster, on January 14. She was crowned soon after. Instead of her bringing any dower, King Richard gave the Emperor no less than ten thousand marks, or eighty thousand florins, for his alliance; and was also at the whole charge of her journey, and coming over. At her request, King Richard granted a general pardon, upon her arrival.

22.) This Parliament was held at Westminster, on November 2, and repealed the grant of manumission of villains, made by the King, during the late insurrection; it also continued the subsidy of wool, leather, and wool-fells.

23.) Kingston upon Hull, of which place his father William de la Pole, was the first Mayor.

24.) On February 21, at Westminster. It gave the Bishop of Norwich the fifteenth granted in the last Parliament: who engaged, in consideration thereof, to serve the King one whole year in his wars in France, with three thousand men at arms, and two thousand five hundred archers, well mounted.

25.) His army mutinying, he was forced to raise the siege, and to leave his great cannon behind him: but after this he obtained a complete victory over the French, in which three, or, according to others, twelve thousand of them were slain.

26.) She died at Wallingford Castle, and was buried in the church of the Friars Minors at Stanford. The King had a chapel built at Stanford to pray for her soul.

27.) They were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the bishops of Ely, Hereford, Winchester and Exeter; John de Waltham, keeper of the Privy Seal Edmund de Langley, Duke of York; Thomas of Woodstock; Duke of Gloucester; the Abbot of Waltham; the Earl of Arundel, the Lord John Cobham; the Lord Richard le Scrope, and the Lord John de Enron.

28.) They were Sir Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice; Sir Robert Belknap, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Holt, Sir Roger Fulthorp, Sir William Burgh; together with John de Locton, the King's Serjeant at Law.

29.) Sir Robert Belknap, who said upon signing, Now want I nothing but a ship, or a nimble horse, or a halter, to bring me to that death I deserve: if I had not done this, I should have been killed by your hands, (for it seems, the Duke of Ireland, and Earl of Suffolk threatened to kill him, if he refused to sign) and now I have gratified the King's pleasure and yours in doing I have well deserved to die for treason against the nobles of the land.

30.) The Bishop of Ely, and divers other persons of honour and credit giving their oaths on the King's behalf, that no treachery or ill practice should be used, but that they might come and go with safety: Which was no unnecessary caution; for on the day they were to appear, they received notice of an ambuscade being laid for them in Westminster, by Sir Thomas Trivet, and Sir Nicolas Brembar.

31.) Which he appointed to be February 3.

31.) Henry of Bollingbroke.

32.) His own brother Edmund de la Pole, who was governor of the castle, refused to harbour him, without the consent of The Lord William Beauchamp, governor of the town, who sent him back as a prisoner into England. The Lord Beauchamp was sent for over, and committed prisoner upon this account.

33.) This year was slain at a tournament John Hastings, the last Earl of Pembroke of that family: in which it is remarkable, that none of the sons ever saw his own father, the father dying always before the son was born.

34.) King Edward III used to receive from that kingdom thirty thousand pounds yearly; but after his decease, the English settled there, flocked to England in such numbers, that the rest remained not only exposed to the depredation of the natives, but it cost the King thirty thousand marks a year to preserve that part of the island belonging to him; Whereupon he ordered all that belonged to Ireland to repair thither on pain of death.

35.) She died on June 7, at Shene in Surrey, and was buried at Westminster, August 3.

36.) Constantia, daughter of Pedro the Cruel King of Castille. She was buried at Leicester.

37.) Isabella, sister of Constantia. She was buried in the church of the Fryars Preachers at King's Langley in Hertfordshire.

38.) They were so called, either from Walter Lollard, a German, who flourished about the year 1315, or else from the word Lolium, signifying Darnel or Tares; because they were reputed as tares sowed by the evil one in the field of God's church.

39.) Attended by the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of March, Nottingham, Rutland, &c.

40.) They delivered a remonstrance into the house by Sir Thomas Latimer, and Sir Richard Story, against the corruptions of the church, containing twelve articles.

41.) He was hurt by a wild hoar, in hunting, whereof he died. Being brought to England in November, he was buried at Earl's Coln in Essex. He was succeeded in his estate and honour of Earl of Oxford, by Alberic de Vere his uncle.

42.) This woman was born in Haynault, and daughter of Sir Pain Rowet, or Ruet, a Knight of that country: she was, in her youth, brought up in the Duke of Lancaster's house, and waited on his first wife Blanch, but afterwards became the Duke's concubine.

43.) There were four, John, Thomas, Henry, and Joanna. They were surnamed Beaufort, from the castle of Beaufort in France, that came by Blanch of Artois, the Duke's first wife.

44.) They were married on October 31, in St. Nicolas's church at Calais, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. She was crowned January 7.

45.) The account given of this transaction, by Froissart, is as follows: The King, under pretence of a hunting match, came to a seat of his near Romford in Essex, called Havering Bower; whence he set out one summer's afternoon, and came about five o'clock (only with a few attendants, having left the rest at Waltham) to the Duke's castle at Pleshey in the same county, as if it were to pay him a visit. He was received by the Duke and his Duchess with all due honour and respect; and a supper was got ready for his Majesty. But before he sat down he desired the Duke to order five or six of his horses to be saddled, to accompany him that night to London; for that he himself, with his two uncles of Lancaster and York, was to hold a council the next day, in which he wanted also his advice, what answer to give the Londoners, to a petition they were to present him. Upon this the Duke, who suspected no harm, taking along with him only three esquires and four servants, accompanied the King towards London; who took the way of Bondelay (or Epping Forest) to avoid the great road, and Behode, (perhaps Brentwood) and other towns; still talking familiarly with the Duke, as they went along. When they came near Stratford, between ten and eleven of the clock, the King putting spurs to his horse, rode away before and at the same time Thomas Mowbray Earl Marshal, who lay in ambush with a great number of horsemen, seized upon the Duke, who in vain cried to the King for help. The castle of Pleshey, where King Richard came to the Duke, was the seat of the high constables of England even before the conquest: Thomas of Woodstock became possessed of it, by his marrying Eleanor, eldest daughter, and one of the co-heiresses of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, of this famous and ancient castle, nothing now remains but the mount.

46.) He gave them many fair words and gracious promises; and had invited the Earl of Warwick to a feast the same day he had him arrested.

47.) And also Sir John Cheney, &c. The Lord Cobham was sent prisoner to Jersey.

48.) He was in the church of the Augustin Fryars in London.

49.) He was smothered between two feather beds, in September; as appears by the confession of John Hall, a servant of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, Captain of Calais; which Hall was concerned in that murder, and executed for it, in the year 1400. His body was brought over to England, soon after his death, as appears by King Richard's order for that purpose, dated October 4, and buried in Westminster abbey. According to some, it was at first buried in his castle of Hadley in Essex, thence removed into the church of the college founded by him at Pleshey for canons regular, and afterwards into Westminster abbey.

50.) It was also made treason: 1. For any person whatsoever to compass or imagine the King's death; 2. To contrive his deposition; 3. To ride armed, or make war against the King in his realm; 4. Deposition; to disclaim the homage. And the heirs of all persons convicted of any of these four articles, were for ever to be deprived of the land and possessions of their ancestors.

51.) The Dukes of Lancaster, York, Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, the Marquis of Dorset; the Earls of Marche, Salisbury, Northumberland, Gloucester, Winchester, and Wiltshire, or any six of them; together with John Hussey, Henry Green, John Russell, Henry Chelmswike, Robert Tey, and John Golofre, Knights of the Commons of the kingdom, or any three of them.

52.) The words were, that the King, notwithstanding his fair countenances, and great oaths, did yet intend to oppress the Duke of Lancaster, and the two Dukes of Albemarle and Exeter, viz.

Edward Plantagenet, and John de Holland. This accusation against the Duke of Norfolk, was brought in by the Duke of Hereford, on January 30, while the Parliament was sitting.

53.) Where he was nobly received by the King of France, and found such favour in that court, that he was offered in marriage, the only daughter of the Duke of Berri, the said King's uncle. But King Richard having notice thereof, used means to stop the prosecution of that treaty.

54.) John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, died about February 2, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, where his monument. was to be seen till the great fire.

55.) They were afterwards burnt by order of Henry IV.

56.) Among other grievances, the sheriffs of all the counties throughout the kingdom, were forced to take an unusual oath, viz. That they would obey all the King's commands, whether under the broad-seal, privy seal, or signet; and if they knew any person in their respective bailiwicks, that had spoken any thing to the scandal or disgrace of the King, they should imprison them, of what degree or condition. soever they were.

57.) These were all the words they had together, without adding anything to, or taking from them, for I (says the author of the Chronicle of Lambeth) stood by and heard them.

58.) He had moreover the good fortune to have the King's jewels and treasure, which amounted to seven hundred thousand pounds, with all his horses and baggage, to fall into his hands.

59.) Though many Lords and prelates in this Parliament had been loaded with benefits by King Richard, none of them had the courage or gratitude to speak a word in his defence on this occasion, except Thomas Merks, Bishop of Carlisle. That learned and undaunted prelate, in a long and eloquent speech, exposed the iniquity and danger of the present proceedings, and vindicated the character of his unhappy sovereign in many particulars, imputing the errors into which he had fallen rather to his want of experience, or to evil counsel, than to malice. The only answer given to this speech was, an order to the Earl Marshal, from the Duke of Lancaster, to take the Bishop into custody, and send him prisoner to the abbey of St. Alban's: a more unconstitutional and arbitrary deed than any King Richard had ever done after this there was an end to all debate. All the articles were sustained as true; King Richard was solemnly deposed; and a committee appointed to intimate that sentence to the degraded monarch.

60.) He claimed the crown in the form following: "*in the name of the Fader, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster chaigne this rewme of Ynglonde and the ermine, with all the membres and the appurtenances, als I that am descendit be ryght lyne of the blode comyng fro the gude Lorde King Henry therde, and thorghe that ryght that God of his grace bath sent me, with helpe of my kyn and of my friends to recover it: the whiche rewme was in poynt to be undone for defaut of governance, and undoying of the glide lawes.*"

61.) After all which King Henry said, "*Sires, I thank God and zowe spiritual and temporal, and all the astates of the Land, and do zowe wyte, is es noght my will that no man thynk that be waye of conquest I would disherit any man of his heritage, franchises, or other-ryght that hym aght to have, nor put hym out of that that he has, and has had by the gude laves and costumes of the rewme; except rhos persons that has ben agan the gude purpose and the commune profyt of the rewme.*"

62.) In King Richard's reign, was brought in the custom of wearing piked shoes, called crackewes, which continued in fashion about three centuries, .in spite of the bulls of Popes, the decrees of councils, and the declarations of the clergy against them. What could exhibit a more fantastical appearance than an English beau of the 14th century? He wore long pointed shoes, fastened to

his knees, by gold or silver chains, hose of one colour on one leg, and of another on the other; short breeches, which did not reach to the middle of his thighs, and disclosed the shape of all the parts included in them; a coat, one half white, and the other half black or blue; a long beard; a silk hood buttoned under his chin, embroidered with grotesque figures of animals, dancing men, &c. and sometimes ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones. This dress, which was the very top of the mode, in the reign of Edward III. and Richard II appeared so ridiculous to the Scots, (who probably could not afford to be such egregious fops) that they made the following satirical verses upon it:—

**"Long beird's hirtiless,
Peynted whoods witless,
Gay cotes gracelies,
Maketh Englund thriflelies."**

The dress of the gay and fashionable ladies, who frequented the public diversions of those times, was not more decent or becoming. It is thus described by Knyghton:— "These tournaments are attended by many ladies of the first rank and greatest beauty, but not always of the most untainted reputation. These ladies are dressed in party coloured tunics; one half being of one colour, and the other half of another; their lirripipes, or tippets are very short; their caps remarkably little, and wrapped about their heads with cords; their girdles and pouches are ornamented with gold and silver; and they wear short swords, called daggers, before them: they are mounted on the finest horses, with the richest furniture. Thus equipped, they ride from place to place, in quest of tournaments, by which they dissipate their fortunes, and sometimes ruin their reputations. The head-dresses of the ladies underwent many changes, in the course of this period. They were sometimes enormously high, rising almost three feet above the head, in the shape of sugar loaves, with streamers of fine silk flowing from the top of them to the ground.—One improvement took place in the reign of Richard II. After the example of his first Queen (Ann of Bohemia) the ladies first rode on side saddles; previously it was the custom for them to ride astride like men. Upon the whole, however, there seems no good reason to pay any compliments to our ancestors of this period, at the expense of the good people of the 19th century, either for the frugality, elegance, or decency, of their dress.—One of the most expensive singularities attending the royal feasts in this period consisted in what they called intermeats. These were representations of battles, sieges, &c. introduced between the courses, for the amusement of the guests. At a dinner given by Charles V. of France to the Emperor Charles IV. AD 1378, the following intermeat was exhibited. A ship with masts, sails, and rigging, was seen first: she had, for colours, the arms of the city of Jerusalem Godfrey de Bouillon appeared upon deck, accompanied by several Knights, armed cap-a-pie: the ship advanced into the middle of the hall, without the machine which moved it being perceptible. Then the city of Jerusalem appeared, with all its towers lined with Saracens. The ship approached the city; the Christians landed, and began the assault; the besieged made a good defence, several scaling ladders were thrown down; but at length the city was taken. Intermeats at ordinary banquets consisted of certain delicate dishes, introduced between the courses, and designed rather for gratifying the taste, than for satisfying hunger.—In 1397, King Richard began repairing Westminster Hall, and caused the, walls, windows, and roof, to be taken down and new built, with a stately porch, as it now remains.





Chapter III

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH, FROM THE REIGN OF EDWARD I IN 1272, TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II IN 1399



AFTER JOHN LACKLAND became vassal, and tributary to the see of Rome, the Popes considered England only as a conquered country, for which they had no manner of regard of this the reigns of John and Henry III. afford us such flagrant instances, that it would be needless to add anything to show to what excess the papal power was carried in the kingdom. It will suffice to remark, that the encroachments of the court of Rome continuing incessantly; or rather daily increasing, the English grew so weary of them, that at length in the reign of Edward I. they began to seek effectual means for their deliverance.

This was not however till after frequent experiences, that all their complaints and solicitations to the Popes were to, no purpose. Herein chiefly consists what we have to say concerning religion during the four reigns we have gone through. But to render this matter more intelligible, it will be necessary briefly to observe the occasion of the disputes England had, as well with the court of Rome, as with the clergy.

I. The first cause of complaint, was the frequent appeals to the court of Rome, not one of which was rejected.

II. The frequent citations complained of, caused by these appeals, which obliged people to spend their substance in journeys to Rome, to solicit their affairs.

III. That the Pope had usurped the collation of almost all the church preferments, not excepting the bishoprics and archbishoprics, contrary to the right of the King, the chapters, and the patrons. This encroachment was grown to that height, that there was not a benefice great or small, but what the Popes disposed of, by the infallible means they had contrived to be the masters of all the collations.

IV. But as this was generally the occasion of great contests, and as those that were canonically elected were commonly supported by the King, the Pope found a certain means to free himself from these importunities. He bestowed the bishoprics, and other benefices before they were vacant, by way of provisions; and this was another great cause of complaint for the English.

V. It was moreover complained of, that most of the benefices disposed of by the Pope, by the plenitude of his power, were conferred on foreigners, particularly on the cardinals, and their relations, who by virtue of the Pope's dispensation, enjoyed the profit, without ever residing. These benefices were commonly farmed out to the English, who, to make the most profit, got the cure served for a very small salary. Hence, divine service was neglected, the churches ran to ruin, hospitality was banished, and the instruction of Christians almost wholly abolished. Hence likewise

this further inconvenience, the money was carried out of the kingdom for ever. It may easily be judged how prejudicial this was to the country, if it is considered, that by a calculation made in the reign of Henry III. the foreign ecclesiastics were found to have greater revenues in England than the King himself.

VI. Another cause of- complaint sprang from the frequent taxes imposed on the clergy by the Popes; one while, under colour of a crusade; another while, to supply the necessities of the Holy See; and lastly, by the tenths, which they liberally granted to the King, because they generally had a share.

VII. In the next place, the legates and nuncios, sent into England without any necessity, were a great grievance to the English. The clergy were not only obliged to maintain them at a great expense, but also to make them considerable presents, and pay them procurations, and other impositions, which the Pope allowed them to levy upon the ecclesiastics.

VIII. The Popes were likewise. possessed of the first-fruits of all the benefices, whence arose the same inconvenience, of exhausting the kingdom's treasure.

IX. Peter-Pence, which originally was only a charitable allowance, granted by the Saxon Kings for the maintenance of the English college at Rome, was converted into a tribute; which the Pope collected in a very rigorous manner, very different from that practised in former days.

X. In fine, the tribute King John had engaged to pay the Holy See, and which the Popes exacted with great haughtiness, was considered by the English as an intolerable yoke, and a standing badge of their servitude.

XI. As to the contests between the crown and the clergy, the King and the magistrates complained that the clergy were continually endeavouring to encroach upon the prerogatives of the crown, secure as they were, of being always supported by the Pope.

XII. That the clergy had extended their jurisdiction to many things purely civil, under pretence there is no case but where religion may be concerned. This complaint chiefly regarded matrimonial causes.

XIII. They said further, that the ecclesiastics, instead of supporting, on occasion, the rights and prerogative of the crown, were always ready to join with the Pope, as if he were their only Sovereign.

These are the principal grievances complained of by the English, and from which they endeavoured from time to time to free themselves, either by acts of Parliament, or Orders of Council. But these precautions to screen themselves from the papal usurpations, afforded the Popes at the same time, an occasion of complaining in their turn, that the English were striving to rob the church of her privileges. Herein they had a great advantage, by loudly urging the cause of God, which they always took care to confound with their own interest. In a bull of Pope Clement V. inserted in the Collection of the Public Aids, are specified the complaints of the court of Rome against the English. And since we have related the grievances of the English, it is reasonable we should likewise make known those of the Pope.

I. The Pope complained, that the cardinals were hindered from enjoying the prebends he conferred on them, without any consideration of the respect due to persons ordained by God, to bear their part of the burden of governing the church.

II. He said, though he had an incontestable right to collate benefices, as well in England as in all other states, yet those on whom he had bestowed them were not permitted to take possession, neither were they that had the boldness to oppose it excommunicated.

III. That such as were summoned upon that account, were not suffered to obey the summons. That notaries were forbidden to act, and the King's subjects to appear out of the kingdom.

IV. That the Pope's nuncios were hindered from exercising their commission, without the King's license. That some of them had even been publicly imprisoned, and not released, without paying a large fine.

V. That the magistrates would not suffer the excommunicated to be imprisoned, after the forty days, which, according to, good and laudable custom, were allowed them, to make the church satisfaction.

VI. That the King sent frequent prohibitions to the ecclesiastical courts, not to try causes which were of their cognizance.

VII. That the same courts were abridged of their jurisdiction over the clergy, without considering, that ecclesiastical persons are in no manner dependent upon the laity.

VIII. That the civil courts dared to condemn ecclesiastics, without the consent of their superiors.

IX. That clergymen were made to appear in their shirts in the civil courts, notwithstanding they pleaded their privileges. That indeed they were sent back to the ecclesiastical court when they were demanded; but it very often happened, if they were not found guilty, the civil judges were so bold, as fully to acquit them, without suffering the ecclesiastical court to take any cognizance of the matter.

X. That clergymen were subjected to the trial of twelve lay-persons and were acquitted or condemned by the verdict of lay persons, twelve incompetent judges.

XI. That the great men frequently lodged in the monasteries, and put them to a great expense, on the frivolous pretence of their being founded by their ancestors.

XII. That during the vacancy of the abbeys, those who were entrusted with the custody by the King, wasted the revenues, and committed great damages.

XIII. Lastly, that the tribute of a thousand marks due to the Holy See, was not regularly paid, and the arrears which were to be sent to Avignon, were put to other uses.

As the Pope and clergy mutually supported each other, one of the most effectual means practised in England to oppose that papal power, was to check the growth of the clergy's riches. To that end, in the reign of Edward I. the statute of Mortmain was enacted, as has been related. This was a fatal blow to the clergy, who, without this statute, would have been masters of all the lands in the kingdom, since they incessantly acquired, and never alienated. But this statute was almost as prejudicial to the Pope, since bounds could not be set to the clergy's power, without lessening, at the same time, that of the court of Rome. Edward I. struck likewise at the papal authority, at least with regard to the collation of the bishoprics, by obliging the Bishops to renounce the article of the provision bull, which gave them their temporalities wherein he was followed by his successors.

If Edward II. had shewn more resolution and firmness, or had not been forced to the circumstances of the times to keep fair with Rome, he might have greatly promoted the work of liberty, which the English had long and so passionately desired. But Edward, expecting always to find in the Pope's authority, a protection against his subjects, frequently stooped to condescensions for the court of Rome, destructive of the interests of his kingdom. This rendered the Parliament's endeavours ineffectual during the course of his reign.

But under Edward III. more effectual measures were taken to be delivered from the so long complained of oppressions—the two statutes which tended to cut up by the roots two of the most considerable grievances, had they been punctually executed. The first was the statute of provisors, whereby it was enacted, that in case the Pope collated any archbishopric, bishopric, dignity, or other benefice, contrary to the Rights of the Kings, chapters, or patrons, the collation was to devolve to the King for one turn. And if any person sued for, and procured, reservations, or provisions from the court of Rome, he should be imprisoned till he had made fine to the King at his will, and found sufficient security not to prosecute any man in the court of Rome, on account of his imprisonment.

The second act was the statute of *Præmunire*, by which it was enacted, that in case any of the King's subjects should carry into a foreign court, causes, the cognizance whereof belonged to the King's court, they should be imprisoned, and their lands, goods, and chattels be forfeited to the King: Notwithstanding these two acts, which seemed to take from the Pope all hopes of disposing for the future of any benefice, and ought to have made him apprehensive that the Parliament would proceed to redress other grievances, the court of Rome still continued her oppressions.

In 1376, that is, about a year before the death of Edward. III. a memorial was presented to the Parliament, showing, that by the death and translation of Bishops, the Pope exacted five times the yearly revenue of the vacant see, and by that means drew out of the kingdom. twenty thousand marks a year. That the Pope's agents collected the same sum, for the necessities of the Holy See. That this very year, the Pope had seized the first-fruits of all the benefices in England. That he had increased the number of the cardinals to thirty among whom there were not above two or three well affected to England.

That the Pope's avarice was worse than the plague. That, in spite of the statute of Provisors, there were persons every day provided of benefices by the court of Rome, and there was no hindering it, but by banishing all than dare to accept of these provisions, In short, that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to these, oppressions, in order to prevent England falling into a fatal slavery. Upon these complaints, which were carried to Gregory IX. there was a sort of agreement made between the King and the Pope, but so full of equivocations and reservations on the part of the Pope, that it was easy to perceive he did not mean to desist from his pretended rights.

Gregory dying soon after, his successors, regardless of his engagements, still continued to bestow English benefices upon foreigners. This conduct obliged the House of Commons to petition Richard II. to seize all the effects of the beneficed agents, and banish them the realm, which the King did accordingly.

In the same reign, the statute of Provisors was confirmed and enlarged.

Two years before, Richard forbade the clergy, under great penalties, to pay a tax imposed by the Pope.

The next year he issued out a proclamation commanding, upon pain of death and forfeiture of estate, all persons that were gone to Rome to solicit the repeal of the statutes of Provisors and *Præmunire*, to return into England within such a time.

All these precautions being insufficient to check the Popes, who pretended not to be bound by acts of Parliament, the statute of Præmunire was revived in 1392, with enlargements, which seemed to leave the court of Rome no hopes of evading it. The act ran, that all persons that should pursue, in the court of Rome, translations, sentences of excommunication, bulls, mandates, or any other things whatsoever, contrary to the rights of the King and crown, should be put out of the protection of the laws, and proceeded against according to the statute of Præmunire.

That all those who should bring into the kingdom these foreign instruments, or receive and publish them, should be liable to the same penalties. Lastly, that they who pursued any process in a foreign court, to the prejudice of the King's right, should be treated in the same manner.

This rigid act might well curb the English who were subject to the laws, but not the Pope, who was out of their reach, accordingly he desisted not from his pretensions. In 1398 he translated the Bishop of London, to the See of Lichfield and Coventry and gave the bishopric of Lincoln to Henry Beaufort, a son of the Duke of Lancaster. But the Bishop of Lincoln, who had not sued for this translation, not daring to accept it, by reason of the statute of Præmunire, retired to a monastery, and the Pope translated the Bishop of Landaff to the see of Lichfield and Coventry.

Richard was extremely offended, that the Pope should take upon him, without being desired, to remove Bishops from one see to another. He summoned the clergy upon this occasion, and demanded their opinion of these translations contrary to his will. This was a puzzling question for the clergy, who, fearing to displease the King or the Pope, avoided giving a positive answer.

Some time after, the Pope sent a nuncio into England, to try to procure, a repeal of the aforementioned statutes. But though the nuncio met with an honourable reception, he could not succeed in his commission. Richard being deposed the next year, the contests with the court of Rome remained in this situation.

Let us proceed now to the heresies, or rather the opinions branded with that name, during the interval we have gone through. In 1286 or 1287, Peckham Archbishop of Canterbury, censured eight propositions, maintained by one Richard Knapwell a Dominican Friar. Some of these propositions, which will serve to show what subjects were discussed in the schools, and wherein knowledge was made to consist, were as follows:—

I. That the dead body of Jesus Christ, had not the same substantial form, as when living.

III. That if the eucharistical bread had been consecrated with these words, "This is my body," during the three days Jesus Christ lay in his grave, the bread would have been transubstantiated into the new form, which the body of Christ took at the separation of his soul.

IV. That after the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the eucharistic bread is transubstantiated by virtue of these words, "This is my body," into the whole living body of Christ, that is, the matter of the bread is converted into the matter of his body, and the substantial form of the bread, into the substantial form of his body, that is to say, into his intellectual soul, so far as it constitutes the form of his body.

VII. That in the articles of faith, a man is not bound to rest upon the authority of the Pope, or of any priest or doctor, but that the Holy Scriptures and evident deductions from thence, are the only foundation of our assent.

VIII. That the rational soul is the only form by which a man is a man.

This last article was considered as the foundation of the rest, and all together were condemned by the archbishop.

In 1314, in the reign of Edward II. some students of Oxford, maintained in their disputations certain opinions, concerning the Trinity and creation of the world, which being brought before the university, were condemned as heretical.

These opinions, being wholly founded on scholastic notions, were stifled in the birth, because the people understood nothing of such matters. But it was not the same with Wickliff's doctrine, published towards the close of the XIVth century, in the same university. The reason is, his doctrine was of another nature, and tended to reform the abuses crept into the church. Accordingly his opinions were embraced by great numbers.

John Wickliff, or rather. Wickliff, was educated at Oxford, in Merton College, where he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was so eminent for his learning, parts, and fine genius, that Simon Islip Archbishop of Canterbury, having founded Canterbury College in Oxford, made him rector. Wickliff behaved in his post with universal approbation till the death of the Archbishop, who had a great esteem for Langhorn, successor of Islip[1], willing to favour the monks, and introduce them into the College, attempted to turn out Wickliff, and put one Woodhull a monk in his room. But he could never obtain the consent of the fellows of the college, who. were desirous to keep their old rector.

This affair being brought to Rome, the monks of Canterbury solicited the Pope so earnestly in behalf of Woodhull, that Wickliff was deprived of his rectorship. However, this was no injury to the doctor's reputation. Everybody saw it was a general affair, and that the monks did not so much strike at his person, as at all the seculars that were members of the college. And indeed, they were all turned out as well as he, to make room for the monks.

Shortly after, Wickliff was presented to the living of Lutterworth in the diocese of Lincoln, and then it was that he published, in his sermons and writing, certain opinions, which appeared to be novel, because contrary to the received doctrine of those days. As he did not declare his sentiments till after the loss of his rectorship, his enemies have taken occasion to accuse him of acting from a spirit of revenge, by reason of the injury done him. Wickliff's bitterest enemies however, have never taxed him with any immoralities. These are the chief articles maintained by Wickliff in his writings and sermons:—

I. That the Eucharist, after consecration, is not the real body of Christ, but only its emblem or figure.

II. That the church of Rome is no more the head of the universal church, than any other church; nor was there any greater power given to St. Peter, than to the rest of the apostles.

III. That the Pope of Rome had no more jurisdiction in the exercise of the keys, than any other Priest.

IV. That in case the church misbehaves, it is not only lawful, but meritorious to dispossess her of her temporalities.

V. That when a Prince, or temporal Lord, is, convinced, that the church makes an ill use of her endowments, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take them away.

VI. That the Gospel is sufficient to direct a Christian in the conduct of his life.

VII. That all other rules instituted by holy men, and practised in the monasteries, add no more perfection to Christianity, than whiteness to a wall.

VIII. That neither the Pope, nor any other prelate, ought to have prisons for the punishing offenders against the discipline of the church, but that every person ought to be left at his liberty in the conduct of his life.

These opinions, maintained by Wickliff with great vivacity, were immediately espoused by great numbers, not only among the students of Oxford, but the great men at court; particularly the Duke of Lancaster and the Lord Percy, Earl Marshal, declared for him[2]. It must be observed, that this happened towards the end of the reign of Edward III. at a time when that monarch, old and infirm, left the administration of the government to the Duke of Lancaster his son, as we have seen in his history.

Gregory XI. being informed that these articles were publicly maintained at Oxford, dispatched an order to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, to apprehend and examine Wickliff, and send the depositions to Rome. But it was difficult for these two prelates fully to execute these orders, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Earl Marshal, having openly declared, they would not suffer Wickliff to be imprisoned. Indeed, there was yet no act of Parliament, empowering the Bishops to imprison heretics, without the King's consent.

The two prelates therefore were Contented with summoning Wickliff before them, in St. Paul's church, where there was a vast concourse of people to hear the examination. The Duke of Lancaster, and the Lord Percy accompanied the doctor, assuring him, there was no danger, and that he might make his defence with courage, against men, who were but mere ignoramuses in comparison to him. Here is a short dialogue which passed between these two Lords, and the Bishop of London, upon Wickliff's account.

The Lord Percy bidding the doctor sit down, the Bishop of London opposed it, and commanded him to stand up, but the Earl Marshal would not let him.

Bishop of London: "Lord Percy, if I could have guessed, you would have played the master here, would have prevented your coming:"

The Duke of Lancaster.:"Yes he shall play the Master here for all you."

The Lord Percy: "Wickliff, sit down; you have need of a seat, for you have many things to say."

Bishop: "It is unreasonable that a clergyman, cited before his ordinary, should sit down during his answer. He shall stand."

Duke of Lancaster. "My Lord Percy is in the right. And for you, my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant; I will take care to humble your pride, and not only yours, but that of all the prelate's in England. Thou dependent upon the credit of thy relations but they are far from being able to help thee, they shall have enough to do to support themselves."

Bishop. "I place no confidence either in my relations, or in any man else, but in God alone, who Will give me the boldness to speak the truth."

The Duke speaking softly to the: "Rather than take this at the Bishop's hands, drag him by the hair of the head out of the church."

These words being over heard by some stander by, occasioned the tumult, mentioned in the reign of Edward III. Upon this accident the assembly broke up, and Wickliff's examination was deferred to another time.

The death of Edward III. happening shortly after, and the Duke of Lancaster being president of the new King's council, the Bishops durst not proceed against. During that time, the number of his followers increased so considerably, that the university of Oxford, debated whether they should receive the Pope's bull, commanding them to prosecute Wickliff with the utmost rigour.

The historian who relates this particular, not acquainting us with their final resolution, the bull was probably rejected.

The Pope finding, his bull to the university of Oxford produced no great effect, sent fresh orders to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London; to prosecute Wickliff. But as he had intimation, that the Bishops could not proceed in the affair without the King's licence he enjoined them to represent to Richard and his council, that Wickliff's errors were not only dangerous to religion, but likewise to the state. However, the King's council, it seems, did not think so.

The two prelates however, willing to obey the Pope to the utmost of .their power, summoned Wickliff a second time before them at Lambeth. He appeared, and by his explaining his opinions, seemed ready to give the prelates some sort of satisfaction. But, probably they would not have been contented with so general an explanation, if one Clifford, a gentleman, had not rudely entered the assembly, and forbidden them to proceed.

It is said, the two prelates were over awed by this absolute order, though they knew not whence it came; believing that Clifford durst not act thus of himself. Besides, the populace intimidated by their menacing words, that they would not see Wickliff ill treated. These considerations obliged the Bishops to dismiss the doctor, forbidding him to amuse the people any more with disputations of so dangerous a consequence.

He had no regard, however, to this injunction, but continued to preach and defend his doctrine; and, from that time he lived in quiet upon his cure of Lutterworth, without any farther disturbance. Some time after Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, successor of Simon Sudbury, beheaded by the Kentish rebels, summoned a provincial synod; at London, where Wickliff's doctrine was condemned.

The condemnation of Wickliff's doctrine, prevented not its spreading all over the kingdom, and with such success, that the fore-mentioned historian assures us, two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard. Richard II. permitting the Bishops to prosecute and imprison heretics; several Lollards were cited before their respective Bishops. Some recanted, and others bravely stood the shock. But among these last, there was not one delivered over to the secular arm, there being yet no law to that purpose.

It was not till the next reign, that those barbarous executions commenced in England. So notwithstanding the opposition of the bishops, Wickliff's opinions flew over the kingdom with a wonderful swiftness, because the clergy were not at liberty to employ the only means they have all along thought proper to extirpate heresy. It seems also, the Bishops durst not personally attack Wickliff, for fear of having their ignorance too much displayed by his superior learning. Be that as it will, Wickliff was left in quiet at Lutterworth till his death[3].

The loss of the master disheartened not his followers. They continued to preach and maintain their opinions, with the same courage as during his life. The daily progress of their doctrine, became at length so considerable, that in 1386, the Parliament thought themselves obliged to petition the King to take care that the church and state received no detriment by the novel opinions of the Lollards. Whereupon the King appointed commissioners to peruse Wickliff's books; but this commission was very negligently executed.

In 1389, the Wickliffites or Lollards began to separate from the church of Rome, and appoint priests from among themselves, to perform Divine service, after their way. Though some were

from time to time prosecuted by the Bishops, these prosecutions were not very rigorous. Their aim seemed to be only to hinder them from pleading prescription. Besides, a petition presented to the King by a former Parliament, to revoke the power granted the Bishops, to imprison heretics, restrained the most forward.

But in 1395, the endeavours of the Lollards, in the King's absence, to get their doctrine approved by the Parliament, put the Bishops upon taking other measures. These pretended heretics finding themselves supported by an infinite number of followers, presented to the House of Commons a remonstrance, containing these twelve articles.

I. That when the church of England, treading in the steps of the church of Rome, began to make an ill use of her temporalities, faith and charity began to disappear.

II. That the English priesthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power superior to angels, is not the priesthood settled by Christ upon his apostles.

III. That the celibacy of the clergy, was the occasion of many scandalous irregularities in the church.

IV. That the doctrine of transubstantiation renders the greatest part of Christendom guilty of idolatry.

V. That exorcisms, benedictions, pronounced over water, bread, oil, stones, for the altar, church walls, priests' vestments, the mitre, cross, pilgrim's staff, have more of necromancy than religion.

VI. That it was a great crime, to join in the same person ecclesiastical and civil offices.

VII. That prayers for the dead, in which one person is preferred to another, are not conformable to the charity prescribed by the Gospel.

VIII. That pilgrimages, and offerings made to images and crosses, and especially the pictures representing the Holy Trinity, are a sort of idolatry.

IX. That auricular confession, serves only to make the priests proud, and by letting them into the secrets of the penitent, gives opportunities for many sins, and scandalous intrigues.

X. That the taking away any man's life, either in war, or courts of justice, is contrary to the doctrine of the Gospel, which is a dispensation of grace and mercy.

XI. That the vow of single life, undertaken by women, is the occasion of numberless disorders, and of the murder of multitudes of children un-baptized, or even unborn.

XII. That it is necessary to banish from civil society all useless trades, which serve only to support pride and luxury.

This remonstrance so alarmed the clergy, that they immediately deputed the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London to the King, praying him to return with all speed into England, that he might by his presence and authority check the growth of the new doctrine.

Some time after, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a synod at London, where eighteen articles extracted from Wickliff's book, entitled Trialogus, were condemned. These are the most remarkable particulars concerning Wickliff and his doctrine, before the

deposing of Richard II. But certain Bohemian students, being at Oxford when Wickliff began to publish his doctrine, they carried it into their own country; where it spread wonderfully.

The first council held in England during the four last reigns, was convened in the reign of Edward I by John de Peckham Archbishop of Canterbury. In this council were ratified the canons of the general council of Lyons, concerning pluralities. Then the Archbishop passed some canons directly contrary to the prerogative royal, and for that reason he was obliged to repeal them afterwards.

In 1281, the same Archbishop convened at Lambeth a provincial synod, where, among others; the following canons were made:—

The IInd enjoined the priests to acquaint the more ignorant sort of the laity, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are delivered to them, together with the species of bread, and that what they receive in the chalice, is not holy, but only mere wine, to help them to swallow the other species with more ease. For (as the canon goes on) the blood of our Lord is allowed only to the priests that celebrate Divine service in these lesser churches.

The IIIrd canon forbids priests to re-baptize the children that had been baptized by the laity, unless there is reason to doubt, whether the child was baptized or not. In that case, the canon. allowed the priest to baptize the infant, with these conditional words, If thou art not already baptized, I baptize thee in the name of the father, &c.

The Xth enjoined the priests to instruct the people committed to their charge, in plain intelligible language, without making use of scholastic terms and distinctions.

In 1287, Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, held a diocesan synod, which enjoined, that care should be taken to instruct the people concerning the doctrine of transubstantiation. They were to be told, that the adoration of the host could not be carried too far, since they received under the species of bread, the same body that. hung upon the cross for their salvation, and under the species of wine, the blood which was shed from Christ's side.

We meet but with one remarkable council in the reign of Edward II. held at London in 1310, where the Templars were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

In 1328, in the reign of Edward III. Mepham Archbishop of Canterbury, held a provincial synod at London. By this synod, Good Friday, and the conception of the Blessed Virgin were made holy days, and all work forbidden; but the country people were allowed to follow their business after Divine service. By the same synod, all monks, hermits, canons regular, were prohibited taking confessions.

In 1332, Mepham held another provincial synod at Magfield, which settled all the holy days observed in the province of Canterbury. Among the festivals we find St. George's day, and St. Augustan's, first Archbishop of Canterbury.[4]

Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, held at London in 1342 a provincial synod, the most remarkable canons whereof are these:

The IVth enjoined the monks, who had any appropriated livings, to relieve the poor in proportion to the value of the benefice. In case of failure, the Bishops were empowered to compel them to their duty by sequestrating the profits.

The IXth was levelled against the mendicant friars, who abusing the confidence of dying persons, persuaded them to make wills prejudicial to their families. As the synod durst not directly attack

the friars, who were under the Pope's protection, those who were prevailed on to dispose of their estates so unreasonably were barred the benefit of Christian burial.

During the reign of Richard II. we find no remarkable councils, but those held on occasion of Wickliff and his followers.

Robert Kilwarby, a Cordelier, or Minorite, was Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Edward I. and a prelate of eminent learning for the age he lived in. He wrote several theological tracts, which were in great repute in those days. His merit having raised him to the dignity of a cardinal, he resigned his Archbishopric, and went and lived at Rome, where he died.

Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath, was chosen for successor to Kilwarby; but the Pope, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, gave the see of Canterbury to John Peckam an English Franciscan, who was auditor of his chamber. This prelate had great contests with Edward I. as well on occasion of the canons of his synod, as upon other accounts. The quarrel went so far, that the King was going to banish him from the realm. He was reckoned very learned, particularly in the civil and canon law. There are some theological tracts of his, with commentaries upon several books of the Scripture.

Robert Winchelsey, successor of Peckam, preferred his Archbishopric to a cardinalate which the Pope would have honoured him with. This prelate is chiefly praised for his charities. He used to relieve four thousand poor people twice a week at his house, besides his maintaining many young scholars at both the universities. These charities gained him the affection of the people, who, after his death, flocked in crowds to his tomb, and paid him the regard of a saint.

Mean while, this Archbishop so beloved by the people, had great contests with Edward I. for being deeply concerned in the intrigues of the Lords who opposed the designs of the King. The Pope, whom Edward knew how to gain to his interest, cited the Archbishop to Rome, to justify his conduct, and laid him under a suspension. It was not till the reign of Edward II. that he was restored.

John Briton, Bishop of Hereford, chiefly excelled in the knowledge of the common law. He wrote a book much esteemed, *de Juribus Anglicanis*, and died in 1275.

Johannes Duns Scotus, commonly called doctor Subtilis, lived in the reign of Edward II. He differed in many things from the opinions of Thomas Aquinas, and was a great champion for the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin. After being professor in Divinity at Oxford and Paris, he died at Cologn in the same office, in 1309, or 1310.

Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, was eminent for his learning, and capacity in the administration of the public affairs; and particular for his loyalty to Edward II. his Sovereign, for which he lost his life, as was related in the history of that Prince.

Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, under Edward III. was more famous as a statesman, than as an Archbishop.

Thomas Bradwardin, successor of Stratford, was a great philosopher and mathematician, and withal a very learned divine. He was commonly called the profound doctor, according to the custom of those days, of giving such titles, to those that were eminent for their learning. He wrote a book against the Pelagians, which gained him great reputation, intituled, *Of the Cause of God*. But what rendered him still more esteemed than his learning, was, his humility, and his zeal to instruct the people committed to his care. Before his promotion to the archiepiscopal see, he was confessor to Edward III. and attended that great Prince in all his expeditions. Some have done him the honour to say, that the progress of Edward's arms in France, was in great measure owing to his prudent counsels.

William Occam, of the order of St. Francis, disciple of Duns Scotus, is famous for being head of the Nominalists against the Realists, of whom his master Scotus was chief.

Richard Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh[5], born at Dundalk in Ireland, was a great enemy to the Mendicant Friars. He died at Avignon 1360. He translated the bible into English, and wrote two treatises, one in defence of the parish priests, against the friars; the other, *de Audientia Confessionum*.

John de Trevisa, a Cornish man, who lived in the reign of Edward III. translated the bible, and several other books into English. He was of the same opinion as the Archbishop of Armagh, and maintained, that Jesus Christ sent apostles, but never Mendicant Friars, to preach the Gospel.

These are almost all that were eminent for their piety and learning, during the four last reigns, unless we reckon among the famous and learned men, a company of schoolmen, who deserve not to be placed in that class.

The most noted historians of the fourteenth century were THOMAS WILKES. His history begins at the Conquest, and ends at the death of Edward I. 1304. He was canon regular of Osney near Oxford, and writes as clearly and fully, (especially in some passages relating to the Barons' wars) as so compendious a Chronicle as his is, would allow him to do. Dr. Gale has published this history in his Hist. Angl. Vol. II.

The author of the Chronicle, which goes under the name of JOHN BROMPTON, Abbot of Joreval or Jorvaulx, in Yorkshire, lived about this time. The Chronicle begins with the coming of Austin, in 588, and ends with the death of Richard I. 1198. It is plain from this history's taking no notice of the foundation of that monastery, &c. that neither Brompton, nor any member of that religious house was author of this Chronicle, but that it was procured by that Abbot, and by him bestowed on his monastery. The author (whoever he be) is very full in his collections for the Saxon times, but takes no notice of the chronological part in the whole story of the Heptarchy. He gives the Saxon laws at large, and translates pretty honestly. This Chronicle is published among the *Decem Scriptores*.

RANULPH HIGDEN, monk of St. Werburgh's in Chester, where he died very aged in 1377, was a downright plagiary. He falls foul on William of Malmsbury in many places. He styles his work, *Poly-chronicon*. What he collected relating to the times of the Britons and Saxons, has been published by Dr. Gale, Vol. I. who commends him for preserving many remains out of ancient Chronicles, now wholly lost or mislaid.

MATTHEW, a Benedictine monk of WESTMINSTER, ended his history at the year 1307, though it was afterwards continued by other hands. He was a choice collector of the flowers of former historians, from whence he is usually stiled Florilegus. he entirely transcribes Matthew Paris. His most eminent continuator was Adam Merimuth, canon regular of St. Paul's, and an eminent civilian who in his latter days gave himself wholly to the reading and writing English history. He begins his work at 1302, and reaches to 1380.

The celebrated Geoffrey Chaucer, the friend and partisan of the no less celebrated John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and justly regarded as the father of English poets, also flourished in this period.—He was a student in the law; and, possessing a large share of general learning, he obtained the favour of Edward III. by whom he was employed in some official departments.

In the subsequent reign he fell into disgrace at court, by supporting the doctrines of Wickliffe, and adhering to John of Northampton, mayor of London, who, being prosecuted by the ministry for seditious practices, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. To avoid the vengeance of the court, Chaucer fled to the continent, whence he returned to England in a state of poverty, after an absence of several years. He was soon discovered, and thrown into prison; but, being

prevailed on, by menace and promise, to disclose the contrivances of his party, he was restored to liberty. He afterwards recovered the good graces of King Richard, from whom he procured several grants, which were increased by his successor Henry.

He died in the last year of the fourteenth century, at an advanced age. He was a man of uncommon genius, which he cultivated with great success. His poems, though they may appear harsh and uncouth to modern readers, soar above the general barbarism of the age in which he lived. By his contemporaries they were deemed elegant and harmonious: and the good sense with which they abound, recommends them to more enlightened age. Many editions have been printed of his "*Canterbury Tales*" and they still continue to delight those who have a taste for the poetical compositions of our ancestors[6]. Gower, and Barber, also poets of note in their day, were his contemporaries.

John de Gaddesden was the most distinguished physician of this period: He wrote a large and learned work on medicine, to which; on account of its excellence, the title of the *Medical Rose* was given. His modes of treatment, however; would be thought extremely whimsical, as well as unsafe, in the present day. For instance—immediately after the eruption. of the small pox, he says, "cause the whole body of your patient to be wrapped in red scarlet cloth, or in any other red cloth, and command every thing about the bed to be made red. This is an excellent cure, It was in this manner I treated the son of the noble King of England; when he had the small pox; and I cured him without leaving any marks."—The royal patient whom he treated in this manner must have been either Edward III. or his brother Prince John of Eltham.

Notes to Chapter 3

1.) After the death of this Simon Islip, William Edington Bishop of Winchester, was offered the Archbishopric; but he refused it, saying, that Canterbury was the higher rack, but Winchester the better manger.

2.) More than one half of the people of England, says Knyghton in a few years, became Lollards.

3.) He died of the palsy, December 31, 1385.

4.) And St. Thomas of Canterbury's, which is placed between Innocents and the Circumcision, on December 29.

5.) He was installed Dean of Lichfield, April 1337, afterwards translated to Armagh, and died in 1360,

6.) It may be remarked, generally, that the poets of this age indulged themselves in satirical compositions, as well personal as general, though they must have exercised their wit at the risk of their lives, as appears from an incident which occurred in the reign of Henry the First: who, in the year 1124, sentenced one Luke de Barra to lose his eyes, for having written defamatory ballads against him: and, notwithstanding the strenuous intercession of the count of Flanders, the sentence was executed with such rigour, that the unfortunate poet died in consequence of the wounds he received. But though the monarchs and nobles of those times were thus impatient of satire, they were not averse to the courtly strains of panegyric. The celebrated William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, chancellor of the chief judiciary of England, the Pope's legate, and chief favourite of Richard the First, is said to have kept a number of poets in his pay to compose songs and poems in his praise; and to have allowed the best singers and minstrels, by considerable presents, to come from the continent, and sing these compositions in the streets of the different cities in England. Some of the best poems of these times were written in the Latin language, which the imperfection of the English had rendered extremely prevalent. Some fragments of these may be seen in Camden's remains, which in elegance and harmony may justly vie with the

most polished productions of the Austrian age. The language which the Normans imported into England was that which was called *Lingua Romana*, or the romance language, which was the vulgar tongue of all the provinces of France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was this language,—a base corruption of the Latin, which had itself superseded the Celtic of the ancient Gauls, at the time when the Roman arms had made a conquest of their country, and from whence the French is derived—that many metrical romances were composed by the poets of France and Normandy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and it was from the language in which they were written, rather than from the extravagant fables which they commonly contained, that these compositions received the denomination of Romances. The Provençal poets were justly celebrated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in most of the countries of Europe; they were called Troubadours, or Finders, from the fertility of their invention; and were, in fact, the fathers of modern poetry. No bards ever received a greater encouragement or protection; they were invited to the courts of the greatest princes, where they were equally respected by the brave and the fair, as they celebrated the achievements of the one, and the charms of the other. So flattering was the applause they attracted that several crowned heads devoted their leisure hours to the muses, became Troubadours, and composed poems in the Provençal language, which was then the most perfect of all the European tongues. Richard the First was one of these royal poets; some of whose poems in the Provençal dialect, are still extant; and one of them has been published in the first volume of Mr. Walpole's catalogue of Royal and Noble Author's of England. In times when poetry was so much esteemed and cultivated, music could not be neglected; particularly as these two arts were much more intimately connected in those days than they are at present: for most of the poets of France and England, like the ancient bards of Gaul and Britain, were musicians, and sung their verses to the music of their harps. These poetical musicians, known by the name of minstrels, were entertained in the courts and castles of princes, barons, and prelates, who lavished on them a great part of their wealth. Matilda, consort to Henry the First, was so fond of music and poetry, and so profuse in her gifts to the professors and votaries of these sciences, that she expended almost the whole of her revenues upon them, and even oppressed her family in order to procure money to reward them for their labours. An art so highly cherished, and so liberally rewarded, could not fail to flourish. Sacred music was likewise cultivated with equal ardour during this period and many of the dignified clergy paid such application to it as to become considerable proficient, in this pleasing art. The church music of England did not long preserve that grave and solemn style which was so peculiarly calculated to inspire the mind with religious sentiments for, before the end of the twelfth century, its primitive simplicity had degenerated into softness and effeminacy. John of Salisbury complains, that this effeminate kind of church music had even debased the dignity, and polluted the purity of religious worship; that the sweet modulations of the chorister rather resembled a concert of sirens than of men that, by attending to their artificial sounds, the ear lost its capacity of discrimination; and the mind, overpowered with sweetness, was unable to decide on the merits of the performers, who, exceeding the bounds of moderation, were more apt to raise unhallowed passions in the hearts of men than excite devout affections. If this description be not grossly exaggerated, though such music was highly improper for a place of worship, the skill of the composers, and abilities of the performers, must have been far from contemptible. The arts were by no means neglected in the period we are now closing; but, there were many circumstances which prevented them from making a rapid progress towards perfection. The situation of the country was peculiarly unfavourable to the improvement of the necessary arts. Agriculture was so little encouraged, that the preference which Edward the Second evinced to it over martial exercises, exposed him to the reproach and contempt of his subjects. The attention of the people too, and especially of the nobility, was almost constantly diverted from the cultivation of their lands by foreign wars and domestic commotions; and, as they could not find time to bestow on agriculture, that primary source of subsistence, it is not to be expected that arts of an inferior consequence could be promoted with any degree of assiduity. The great barons and prelates, who were the chief proprietors of the soil, kept a vast quantity of land in their own possession, which was cultivated partly by their slaves or villains, and partly by their tenants; who, whenever they were called upon, were under the necessity of neglecting the cultivation of their own land, to attend to that of their lords: and, as these slaves and tenants could have no interest in the

produce of their labours, it is natural to suppose that they would perform them with negligence and inattention. It is a circumstance no less curious than singular, that not only treatises composed at this period for the instruction of farmers and their servants, down to the very swineherd, were written in Latin; but even the accounts of the profits and expenses of farms and dairies were kept in that language. It deserves notice, that the useful art of clock-making was introduced into England during this period. The first clock we hear of in this country was placed in the old clock tower, opposite to the gate of Westminster Hall, and was purchased according to Selden, with part of a fine of eight hundred marks imposed on Randolph de Hengharn, chief justice of the King's Bench, 1288. In 1292, another clock, which cost thirty pounds—equivalent to five hundred pounds of our present money—was placed in the cathedral of Canterbury. About seventy or eighty years afterwards the art of clock making in England had attained to a considerable degree of perfection, Leland gives an account of a very curious clock, made by Richard de Wallingford, abbot of St. Alban's, in the reign of Richard II which he describes as representing the revolutions of the sun and moon, the fixed stars, and the ebbing and flowing of the sea. He informs us, that the abbot composed a book of directions for the management of this curious piece of mechanism, to prevent its being spoiled by the ignorance of the monks.



The Bishops burning the bones of John Wickliff

**End of Book 10
Rapin's History of England**



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Word of the Lord from Jerusalem"
(Isaiah 2:3)."**

