

NY: Copernic, 1968.

intelligence, not only what his enemies did, but what they said and intended; of his devices and purposes, few, before the thing was at the point to be done, should be made privy.

He had such knowledge in ordering and guiding an army, with such a gift to encourage his people, that the Frenchmen had constant opinion he could never be vanquished in battle. Such wit, such prudence, and such policy⁵⁷ withal that he never enterprised anything before he had fully debated and forecast all the main chances that might happen; which done, with all diligence and courage he set his purpose forward. What policy he had in finding present remedies for sudden mischiefs, and what engines⁵⁸ in saving himself and his people in sharp distresses, were it not that by his acts they did plainly appear, hard were it by words to make them credible. Wantonness of life and thirst in avarice had he quite quenched in him; virtues indeed in such an estate of sovereignty, youth, and power, as very rare, so right commendable in the highest degree. So staid of mind and countenance, beside, that never jolly or triumphant for victory, nor sad or damped for loss or misfortune. For bountifulness and liberality, no man more free, gentle, and frank⁵⁹ in bestowing rewards to all persons according to their deserts; for his saying was that he never desired money to keep, but to give and spend.

Although that story⁶⁰ properly serves not for theme of praise or dispraise, yet what in brevity may well be remembered, in truth would not be forgotten by sloth; were it but only to remain as a spectacle for magnanimity to have always in eye, and for encouragement to nobles in honorable enterprises. Known be it, therefore, of person and form was this prince rightly representing his heroic affects,⁶¹ of stature and proportion tall and manly, rather lean than gross, somewhat long-necked, and black-haired, of countenance amiable; eloquent and grave was his speech, and of great grace and power to persuade. For conclusion, a majesty was he that both lived and died, a pattern in princehood, a lodestar⁶² [Ep. 6] in honor, and mirror [2 Ch. 6] of magnificence; the more highly exalted in his life, the more deeply lamented at his death; and famous to the world alway.

⁵⁷Cunning.⁵⁸Ingenious devices.⁵⁹Generous.⁶⁰History.⁶¹Disposition.⁶²Guiding star.

Ed. Richard Hosley

1 Henry VI

[581] This year [1421] at Windsor, on the day of Saint Nicholas in December, the Queen [Katherine] was delivered of a son named Henry, whose godfathers were John Duke of Bedford and Henry Bishop of Winchester; and Jacquette or (as the Frenchmen called her) Jacqueline of Baviere Countess of Holland was his godmother. The King, being certified hereof as he lay at siege before Meaux, gave God thanks in that it had pleased His divine providence to send him a son which might succeed in his crown and scepter. But when he heard reported the place of his nativity, were it that he [had been] warned by some prophecy or had some foreknowledge or else judged himself of his son's fortune, he said unto the Lord Fitzhugh his trusty Chamberlain these words [3.1.194]: "My lord, I, Henry born at Month, shall small time reign and much get; and Henry born at Windsor shall long reign and all lose—but, as God will, so be it." . . .

[582] The Dauphin, having knowledge by espials¹ where the King of England and his power lay, came [1422] with all his puissance over the river of Loire and besieged Cosne, a town situate upon that river a six score miles distant from Paris, and appointed part of his army to waste and destroy the confines of the duchy of Burgundy, to the intent to divide the power of the King of England from the strength of the Duke of Burgundy, supposing (as it came to pass indeed) that the Duke would make haste toward Burgundy to defend his own lands. In the meantime they within Cosne were so hard handled that they promised to render their town to the Dauphin if they were not rescued by the King of England within ten days. King Henry, hearing these news, would not send any one creature but determined to go himself to the raising of that siege, and so with all diligence came to the town of Corbeil, and so to Senlis, where (whether it were with heat of the air or that he with his daily labor were feebled or weak-

ened) he began to wax sick, yea and so sick that he was constrained to tarry and send his brother the Duke of Bedford to rescue them of Cosne, which he did to his high honor. For the Dauphin, hearing that the Duke of Bedford was coming to raise his siege, departed thence into Berry, to his great dishonor and less gain.

. . . In the mean season King Henry waxed sicker and sicker, and so in an horse-litter was conveyed to Bois de Vincennes; to whom shortly after repaired the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, whom the King lovingly welcomed and seemed glad of their presence.

[583] Now, when he saw them pensive for² his sickness and great danger of life wherein he presently lay, he with many grave, courteous, and pithy words, recomfirmed them the best he could, and therewith exhorted them to be trusty and faithful unto his son and to see that he might be well and virtuously brought up. And as concerning the rule and governance of his realms during the minority and young years of his said son, he willed them to join together in friendly love and concord, keeping continual peace and amity with the Duke of Burgundy; and never to make treaty with Charles that called himself Dauphin of Vienne [1.1.162], by the which any part, either of the crown of France or of the duchies of Normandy and Guienne, might be lessened or diminished; and further, that the Duke of Orleans and the other princes should still remain prisoners till his son came to lawful age, lest, returning home again, they might kindle more fire in one day than might be quenched in three.

He further advised them that, if they thought it necessary, it should be good to have his brother Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, to be Protector of England during the nonage of his son; and his brother the Duke of Bedford, with the help of the Duke of Burgundy, to rule and to be Regent of France; commanding him with fire and sword to persecute the Dauphin till he had either brought him to reason and obeisance or else to drive and expel him out of the realm of France. . . .

The noblemen present promised to observe his precepts and to perform his desires, but their hearts were so pensive and replenished with sorrow that one could not for weeping behold another. Then he said the seven psalms and received the sacrament, and in saying the

²Anxious about.

psalms of the passion ended his days here in this world, at Bois Saint Vincent, the last of August in the year 1422.

. . . Peter Basset (a chief man in his chamber) affirmed that he deceased of a pleurisy, though the Scots and French set it down to be of Saint Fiacre's disease, that they say was a palsy with a cramp, which Enguerrand reports to be Saint Anthony's fire; but neither of them truly. *Anglorum Proelia* saith that it was a sharp fever, which happening unto him (wearied with the broils of war) in a very unseasonable time of the year, namely the dog-days, tormented him the sorer and grew to be not only dangerous but also desperate, for it left him not till life was extinguished. . . .

[584] His body, embalmed and closed in lead, was laid in a chariot royal, richly appareled with cloth of gold. Upon his coffin was laid a representation of his person, adorned with robes, diadem, scepter, and ball, like a king. The which chariot six horses drew, richly trapped, with several appointments.

. . . With this funeral appointment was he conveyed from Bois de Vincennes to Paris, and so to Rouen, to Abbeville, to Calais, to Dover, from thence through London to Westminster, where he was interred with such solemn ceremonies, mourning of lords, prayer of priests, and such lamenting of commons as never before then the like was seen in England. Shortly after this solemn burial his sorrowful Queen returned into England and kept her estate with the young King her son.

Thus ended this puissant prince his most noble and fortunate reign, whose life (saith Hall) though cruel Atropos abbreviated, yet neither fire, malice, nor fretting time shall appall³ his honor or blot out the glory of him that in so small time had done so many and royal acts. In this year [1422], the one and twentieth of October, deceased the gentle and well-beloved Charles, French King the sixth of that name, who was buried at Saint Denis. So that between the death of these two Kings, namely the one of England the other of France, there was no great space of time, sith Charles departed in October and Henry in August; by the privation of whose lives which of the two realms sustained the greater loss, it is a question not to be discussed. Certain it is that they were both sovereigns tenderly loved of their subjects, as they were princes greatly favoring their people. . . .

³Impair.

[585] After that death had bereft the world of that noble prince King Henry the Fifth, his only son Prince Henry, being of the age of nine months or thereabouts, with the sound of trumpets was openly proclaimed King of England and France the thirtieth day of August, by the name of Henry the Sixth, in the year of the world 5389, after the birth of our Saviour 1422, about the twelfth year of the Emperor Frederick the Third, the fortieth and two (and last) of Charles the Sixth, and the third year of Mordake's regiment⁴ (after his father Robert) Governor of Scotland. The custody of this young prince was appointed to Thomas Duke of Exeter [171] and to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester [174]. The Duke of Bedford was deputed Regent of France, and the Duke of Gloucester was ordained Protector of England.

. . . And surely the death of this King Charles caused alterations in France. For a great many of the nobility which before, either for fear of the English puissance or for the love of this King Charles (whose authority they followed) held on the English part, did now revolt to the Dauphin with all endeavor to drive the English nation out of the French territories [58]. Whereto they were the more earnestly bent, and thought it a thing of greater facility, because of King Henry's young years; whom (because he was a child) they esteemed not but, with one consent, revolted from their sworn fealty. . . .

The Dauphin, which lay the same time in the city of Poitiers, after his father's decease, caused himself to be proclaimed King of France by the name of Charles the Seventh [92]; and, in good hope to recover his patrimony, with an haughty courage preparing war, assembled a great army. And first the war began by light skirmishes, but after it grew into main battles. . . .

[589] This year [1425] after Easter the King called a parliament at Westminster by advice of the peers; and, coming to the parliament house himself, he was conveyed through the city upon a great courser, with great triumph, the people flocking into the streets to behold the child, whom they judged to have the lively image and countenance of his father, and like to succeed him and be his heir in all princely qualities, martial policies, and moral virtues, as well as in his realms, seignories, and dominions.

. . . During the same season Edmund Mortimer, the last Earl of March of that name (which long time had been restrained from his

⁴Rule.

liberty and finally waxed lame),⁵ deceased without issue; whose inheritance descended to the Lord Richard Plantagenet, son and heir to Richard Earl of Cambridge, beheaded (as before ye have heard) at the town of Southampton [2.5]. . . .

[590] Somewhat before this season [1425] fell a great division in the realm of England which of a sparkle was like to have grown to a great flame. For whether the Bishop of Winchester, called Henry Beaufort (son to John [of Gaunt] Duke of Lancaster by his third wife), envied the authority of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realm, or whether the Duke disdained at the riches and pompous estate of the Bishop, sure it is that the whole realm was troubled with them and their partakers,⁶ so that the citizens of London were fain⁷ to keep daily and nightly watches, and to shut up their shops, for fear of that which was doubted⁸ to have ensued of their assembling of people about them [1.3.56 SD, 3.1.85]. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Coimbra, called the Prince of Portugal, rode eight times in one day between the two parties, and so the matter was stayed for a time. But the Bishop of Winchester, to clear himself of blame so far as he might, and to charge his nephew the Lord Protector with all the fault, wrote a letter to the [Duke of Bedford] Regent of France the tenor whereof ensueth. . . .

[591] "Right high and mighty prince, and my right noble and, after one, lieves⁹ lord, I recommend me unto you with all my heart. And as you desire the welfare of the King our sovereign lord, and of his realms of England and France, your own health, and ours also, so haste you hither. For by my troth, if you tarry we shall put this land in adventure with a field.¹⁰ Such a brother you have here, God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth that the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England, etc. Written in great haste on All Hallow'n Eve. By your true servant to my life's end, Henry Winchester."

. . . In this parliament [1426] the Duke of Gloucester laid certain articles to the Bishop of Winchester his charge, the which with the answers hereafter do ensue as followeth [3.1 SD]. . . .

"1. First, whereas he, being Protector and Defender of this land,

⁵Rather his cousin Sir John Mortimer (Boswell-Stone).

⁶Supporters.

⁷Obliged.

⁸Fearing.

⁹Most beloved.

¹⁰Battle.

desired the Tower [of London] to be opened to him and to lodge him therein, Richard Woodville, esquire (having at that time the charge of the keeping of the Tower), refused his desire and kept the same Tower against him unduly and against reason, by the commandment of my said Lord of Winchester [1.3.15].

"2. Item, my said Lord of Winchester, without the advice and assent of my said Lord of Gloucester or of the King's Council, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the King's person and to have removed him from Eltham [1.1.176], the place that he was in, to Windsor, to the intent to put him in governance as him list.

"3. Item, that where my said Lord of Gloucester (to whom of all persons that should be in the land, by the way of nature and birth, it belongeth to see the governance of the King's person), informed of the said undue purpose of my said Lord of Winchester (declared in the article next above-said) and, in letting¹¹ thereof, determining to have gone to Eltham unto the King to have provided as the cause required, my said Lord of Winchester, untruly and against the King's peace, to the intent to trouble my said Lord of Gloucester going to the King, purposing his death, in case that he had gone that way, set men-of-arms and archers at the end of London Bridge next Southwark [3.1.23]; and, in forbarring of the King's highway, let draw the chain of the stoops¹² there, and set up pipes and hurdles in manner and form of bulwarks; and set men in chambers, cellars, and windows, with bows and arrows and other weapons, to the intent to bring final destruction to my said Lord of Gloucester's person, as well as of those that then should come with him.

"4. Item, my said Lord of Gloucester saith and affirmeth that our sovereign lord his brother, that was King Henry the Fifth, told him, on a time (when our sovereign lord, being Prince, was lodged in the palace of Westminster, in the great chamber), by the noise of a spangle there was on a night a man spied and taken behind a tapet¹³ of the said chamber; the which man was delivered to the Earl of Arundel to be examined upon the cause of his being there at that time; the which, so examined, at that time confessed that he was there by the stirring and procuring of my said Lord of Winchester, ordained to have slain the said Prince there in his bed [1.3.34]; wherefore the said

¹¹Hindering.

¹²Posts.

¹³Hangings (Holinshed).

Earl of Arundel let sack him¹⁴ forthwith and drowned him in the Thames.

"5. Item, our sovereign lord that was, King Henry the Fifth, said unto my said lord of Gloucester that, his father King Henry the Fourth living and visited then greatly with sickness by the hand of God; my said Lord of Winchester said unto the King (Henry the Fifth, then being Prince) that the King his father so visited with sickness was not personable,¹⁵ and therefore not disposed to come in conversation and governance of the people; and, forsomuch, counseled him to take the governance and crown of this land upon him. . . .

[595] After the which words thus said (as before is declared), it was decreed also by the said lords arbitrators that the said Lord of Winchester should have these words that follow unto my said Lord of Gloucester [3.1.134]: "My Lord of Gloucester, I have conceived to my great heaviness that ye should have received by divers reports that I should have purposed and imagined¹⁶ against your person, honor, and estate in divers manners; for the which ye have taken against me great displeasure. Sir, I take God to my witness, that what reports soever have been to you of me (peradventure of such as have had no great affection to me, God forgive it them), I never imagined nor purposed anything that might be hindering or prejudice to your person, honor, or estate; and therefore I pray you that ye be unto me good lord, from this time forth, for, by my will, I gave never other occasion, nor purpose not to do hereafter, by the grace of God." The which words so by him said, it was decreed by the same arbitrators that my Lord of Gloucester should answer and say [138]: "Fair uncle, sith ye declare you such a man as ye say, I am right glad that it is so, and for such a man I take you." And when this was done, it was decreed by the same arbitrators that every each of my Lords of Gloucester and Winchester should take either other by the hand, in the presence of the King and all the parliament, in sign and token of good love and accord; the which was done, and the parliament adjourned till after Easter.

. . . But when the great fire of this dissension between these two noble personages was thus by the arbitrators (to their knowledge and judgment) utterly quenched out and laid underboard, all other con-

¹⁴Had him put in a sack.

¹⁵Legally competent.

¹⁶Plotted.

troueries between other lords (taking part with the one party or the other) were appeased and brought to concord; so that, for joy, the King caused a solemn feast to be kept on Whitsunday, on which day he created Richard Plantagenet, son and heir to the Earl of Cambridge (whom his father at Southampton had put to death, as before ye have heard), Duke of York [172]; not foreseeing that this preferment should be his destruction, nor that his seed should of his generation be the extreme end and final conclusion [188]. . . .

[596] After that the Duke of Bedford had set all things in good order in England, he took leave of the King and, together with his wife, returned into France [1427], first landing at Calais, where the Bishop of Winchester (that also passed the seas with him) received the habit, hat, and dignity of a cardinal, with all ceremonies to it appertaining; which promotion¹⁷ the late King (right deeply piercing into the unrestrainable ambitious mind of the man, that even from his youth was ever [wont] to check at the highest, and [having] also right well ascertained with what intolerable pride his head should soon be swollen under such a hat) did therefore all his life long keep this prelate back from that presumptuous estate [5.1.31]. But now, the King being young and the Regent his friend, he obtained his purpose, to his great profit and the impoverishing of the spirituality of this realm. For by a bull legateine which he purchased from Rome, he gathered so much treasure that no man in manner had money but he, so that he was called the Rich Cardinal of Winchester [51]. . . .

[597] After this [1427], the Lord Talbot was made Governor of Anjou and Maine, and Sir John Fastolf was assigned to another place, which Lord Talbot, being both of noble birth and of haughty courage, after his coming into France obtained so many glorious victories of his enemies that his only name was and yet is dreadful to the French nation [2.1.79, 2.3.17]; and much renowned amongst all other people

[598] . . . But the Duke of Alençon, who (as ye have heard) was lately delivered out of captivity, revived again the dulled spirits of the Dauphin and somewhat advanced, in hope of good speed,¹⁸ the fainting hearts of his captains; so that (some occasion offered) they determined to achieve a notable feat (as they took it) against the Englishmen, which was the recovery of the city of Mans out of their hands; for so it happened that divers of the chief rulers in that city, and namely divers spiritual persons, meaning to revolt to the

¹⁷Preferment.¹⁸Success.

1 Henry VI

Dauphin's side, advertised him by letters of their whole minds; which letters were conveyed unto him by certain friars.

The Dauphin, glad of those news, appointed the Lords Delabreth and Fayet, Marshals of France, accompanied with the Lords of Monjean, of Bueil, Dorval, Torcy, Beaumanor, the Hire, and his brother Guillaume, with five hundred other valiant captains and soldiers, to the accomplishing of this enterprise; who, coming thither at the day assigned, in the night season approached toward the walls, making a little fire on an hill in sight of the town to signify their coming; which perceived by the citizens that near to the great church were watching for the same, a burning cresset¹⁹ was showed out of the steeple [3.2.23]; which suddenly was put out and quenched. What needeth many words?

The captains on horseback came to the gate; the traitors within slew the porters and watchmen and let in their friends, whereby the women entered first and the men-of-arms waited at the barriers, to the intent that, if need required, they might fight it out in open field. Hereby many Englishmen were slain, and a great cry and garboil²⁰ raised through the town, as in such surprises is wont. The cause of this mischief was not known to any but only to the conspirators; for the remnant of the citizens, being no partakers, imagined that the Englishmen had made havoc in the town and put all to the sword. The Englishmen, on the other side, judged that the citizens had begun some new rebellion against them or else had striven amongst themselves.

The Earl of Suffolk, which was Governor of the town, having perfect knowledge by such as scaped from the walls how the matter went, withdrew without any tarrance into the castle which standeth at the gate of Saint Vincent, whereof was Constable Thomas Gower, esquire; whither also fled many Englishmen; so as for urging of the enemy, press of the number, and lack of victuals, they could not have endured long; wherefore they privily sent a messenger to the Lord Talbot, which then lay at Alençon, certifying him in how hard a case they were. The Lord Talbot, hearing these news, like a careful²¹ captain in all haste assembled together about seven hundred men; and in the evening departed from Alençon so as in the morning he came to a castle called Guierche, two miles from Mans, and there stayed awhile

¹⁹Torch.²⁰Tumult.²¹Considerate.

till he had sent out Matthew Goffe, as an espial, to understand how the Frenchmen demeaned²² themselves.

Matthew Goffe so well sped his business that privily in the night he came into the castle, where he learned that the Frenchmen very negligently used themselves, without taking heed to their watch, as though they had been out of all danger [2.1.11]. Which well understood, he returned again and within a mile of the city met the Lord Talbot and the Lord Scyles, and opened unto them all things according to his credence. The lords then, to make haste in the matter (because the day approached), with all speed possible came to the postern gate, and alighting from their horses, about six of the clock in the morning they issued out of the castle, crying, "Saint George! Talbot!" [38SD (1)]

The Frenchmen, being thus suddenly taken, were sore amazed, insomuch that some of them, being not out of their beds, got up in their shirts²³ and leapt over the walls [38SD (2)]. Other ran naked out of the gates to save their lives, leaving all their apparel [77SD], horses, armor, and riches behind them. None was hurt but such as resisted. . . .

The city of Mans being thus recovered, the Lord Talbot returned to Alençon, . . . and then [1428] was the Lord Thomas Montague Earl of Salisbury sent into France, . . . who landed at Calais with five thousand men; and so came to the Duke of Bedford, as then lying in Paris, where they fell in counsel together concerning the affairs of France; and namely²⁴ the Earl of Salisbury began marvelously to fancy the gaining of the city and country of Orleans.

This Earl was the man at that time by whose wit, strength, and policy²⁵ the English name was much fearful and terrible to the French nation [2.2.17]; which of himself might both appoint, command, and do all things in manner at his pleasure; in whose power (as it appeared after his death) a great part of the conquest consisted; for surely he was a man both painful,²⁶ diligent, and ready to withstand all dangerous chances that were at hand, prompt in counsel and of courage invincible; so that in no one man men put more trust, nor any singular person won the hearts so much of all men. . . .

²²Employed.

²³Nightshirts.

²⁴Particularly.

²⁵Cunning.

²⁶Assiduous.

[599] After this, in the month of September [1428], the Earl came before the city of Orleans and planted his siege on the one side of the river of Loire.

After the siege had continued full three weeks, the Bastard of Orleans issued out of the gate of the bridge and fought with the Englishmen; but they received him with so fierce and terrible strokes that he was with all his company compelled to retire and flee back into the city [1.2.21SD]. But the Englishmen followed so fast, in killing and taking of their enemies, that they entered with them. The bulwark of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken incontinently²⁷ by the Englishmen, who behaved themselves right valiantly under the conduct of their courageous captain, as at this assault so in divers skirmishes against the French; partly to keep possession of that which Henry the Fifth had by his magnanimity²⁸ and puissance achieved, as also to enlarge the same. . . .

In this conflict many Frenchmen were taken but more were slain; and the keeping of the tower and bulwark was committed to William Glansdale, esquire [1.4.67]. By the taking of this bridge the passage was stopped, that neither men nor victuals could go or come by that way. . . .

The Bastard of Orleans and the Hire were appointed to see the walls and watches kept, and the Bishop saw that the inhabitants within the city were put in good order and that victuals were not vainly spent. In the tower that was taken at the bridge-end (as before you have heard), there was an high chamber, having a grate full of bars of iron by the which a man might look all the length of the bridge into the city; at which grate many of the chief captains stood many times, viewing the city and devising in what place it was best to give the assault [10]. They within the city well perceived this toothing-hole²⁹ and laid a piece of ordnance directly against the window [15].

It so chanced that, the nine and fiftieth day after the siege was laid, the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Thomas Gargrave, and William Glansdale, with divers other, went into the said tower [26] and so into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate [60]; and within a short space the son of the Master Gunner, perceiving men looking out at the window, took his match (as his father had taught him who was gone down to dinner) and fired the gun [69SD]; the shot whereof broke

²⁷Immediately.

²⁸Lofty courage.

²⁹Peephole.

and shivered the iron bars of the grate so that one of the same bars struck the Earl so violently on the head that it struck away one of his eyes [83] and the side of his cheek. Sir Thomas Gargrave was likewise stricken and died within two days [88].

The Earl was conveyed to Meun-on-Loire, where after eight days he likewise departed this world [2.2.4]. . . . The damage that the realm of England received by the loss of this nobleman manifestly appeared in that, immediately after his death, the prosperous good luck which had followed the English nation began to decline, and the glory of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the sea fell in decay.

Though all men were sorrowful for his death, yet the Duke of Bedford was most stricken with heaviness, as he that had lost his only right hand and chief aid in time of necessity. But sith that dead men cannot help the chances of men that be living, he like a prudent governor appointed the Earl of Suffolk to be his lieutenant and captain of the siege, and joined with him the Lord Scales, the Lord Talbot, Sir John Fastolf, and divers other right valiant captains. . . .

[600] In time of this siege at Orleans (French stories³⁰ say), the first week of March, 1429, unto Charles the Dauphin at Chinon, as he was in very great care and study how to wrestle against the English nation, by one Peter Baudricourt Captain of Vaucouleurs (made after Marshal of France by the Dauphin's creation), was carried a young wench of an eighteen years old, called Joan Arc, by name of her father (a sorry shepherd) James of Arc, and Isabel her mother [1.2.51]; brought up poorly in their trade of keeping cattle; born at Domremy (therefore reported by Bale, Joan Domremy) upon Meuse in Lorraine, within the diocese of Toul. Of favor³¹ was she counted likesome, of person strongly made and manly, of courage great, hardy and stout³² withal [89]; an understander of councils though she were not at them; great semblance of chastity both of body and behavior; the name of Jesus in her mouth about all her businesses; humble, obedient, and fasting divers days in the week. A person (as their books make her) raised up by power divine, only for succor to the French estate then deeply in distress; in whom, for planting a credit the rather, first the company that toward the Dauphin did conduct her, through places all dangerous as holden by the Eng-

³⁰Histories.

³¹Countenance.

³²Brave.

lish (where she never was afore), all the way and by nightertale³³ safely did she lead. Then, at the Dauphin's sending by her assignment, from Saint Katherine's Church of Fierbois in Touraine (where she never had been and knew not), in a secret place there among old iron appointed she her sword [101] to be sought out and brought her (that with five flower-de-luces [99] was graven on both sides), wherewith she fought and did many slaughters by her own hands. On warfare rode she in armor cap-a-pie³⁴ and mustered as a man; before her an ensign all white wherein was Jesus Christ painted with a flower-de-luce in his hand.

Unto the Dauphin into his gallery when first she was brought, and he shadowing himself behind, setting other gay lords before him to try her cunning, from all the company, with a salutation (that indeed mars all the matter), she picked him out alone [66]; who thereupon had her to the end of the gallery where she held him an hour in secret and private talk [69], that of his privy chamber was thought very long [118] and therefore would have broken it off; but he made them assign to let her say on. In which (among other), as likely it was, she set out unto him the singular feats [64] (forsooth) given her to understand by revelation divine [52] that in virtue of that sword she should achieve; which were, how with honor and victory she would raise the siege at Orleans [53, 130], set him in state of the crown of France, and drive the English out of the country; thereby he to enjoy the kingdom alone. Hereupon he heartened at full, appointed her a sufficient army with absolute power to lead them, and they obediently to do as she bade them. Then fell she to work and first defeated, indeed, the siege at Orleans [1.6.2]; by and by³⁵ encouraged him to crown himself King of France at Reims, that a little before from the English she had won. Thus, after, pursued she many bold enterprises, to our great displeasure a two year together; for the time she kept in state until she were taken and for heresy and witchery burned, as in particularities hereafter followeth. But in her prime time she armed at all points (like a jolly captain), rode from Poitiers to Blois, and there found men-of-war, victuals, and munition ready to be conveyed to Orleans.

Here was it known that the Englishmen kept not so diligent watch as they had been accustomed to do, and therefore this maid, with

³³Night.

³⁴From head to foot (Holinshed).

³⁵Immediately.

other French captains coming forward in the dead time of the night and in a great rain and thunder [1.4.97SD], entered into the city [1.5.14SD] with all their victuals, artillery, and other necessary provisions. The next day the Englishmen boldly assaulted the town, but the Frenchmen defended the walls so as no great feat worthy of memory chanced that day betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Englishmen. Whereupon the Bastard of Orleans gave knowledge to the Duke of Alençon in what danger the town stood without his present help; who, coming within two leagues of the city, gave knowledge to them within that they should be ready the next day to receive him.

[601] This accordingly was accomplished, for the Englishmen willingly suffered him and his army also to enter, supposing that it should be for their advantage to have so great a multitude to enter the city, whereby their victuals (whereof they within had great scarcity) might the sooner be consumed.

. . . Also, after this the Earl of Vendôme came to them, so that by the daily repair of such as assembled together to strengthen the French part, they were in all to the number between twenty and three and twenty thousand men [1.1.113].

All which being once joined in one army, shortly after fought with the Lord Talbot (who had with him not past six thousand men) near unto a village in Beauce called Patay; at which battle the charge was given by the French so upon a sudden that the Englishmen had no leisure to put themselves in array after they had put up their stakes before their archers; so that there was no remedy but to fight at adventure.³⁰ This battle continued by the space of three long hours, for the Englishmen, though they were overpressed with multitude of their enemies, yet they never fled back one foot till their captain the Lord Talbot was sore wounded at the back, and so taken [108].

Then their hearts began to faint and they fled, in which flight were slain above twelve hundred, and forty taken, of whom the Lord Talbot, the Lord Seales, the Lord Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampston were chief. . . From this battle departed, without any stroke stricken, Sir John Fastolf, the same year for his valiantness elected into the Order of the Garter [131, 3.2.104]. But for doubt³¹ of misdealing at this brunt³² the Duke of Bedford took from him the image

³⁰Recklessly.

³¹Suspicion.

³²Attack.

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of Saint George and his garter [4.1.15], though afterward, by means of friends and apparent causes of good excuse, the same were to him again delivered, against the mind of the Lord Talbot.

Charles the Dauphin, that called himself French King, perceiving Fortune to smile thus upon him, assembled a great power and determined to conquer the city of Reims, that he might be there sacred, crowned, and anointed according to the custom of his progenitors, that all men might judge that he was by all laws and decrees a just and lawful king. . . . When Reims was thus become French, the forehead Charles the Dauphin, in the presence of the Dukes of Lorraine and Bar and of all the noblemen of his faction, was sacred there King of France by the name of Charles the Seventh, with all rites and ceremonies thereto belonging.

[602] . . . On the sixth day of November [1429], being the day of Saint Leonard, King Henry in the eighth year of his reign was at Westminster with all pomp and honor crowned King of this realm of England.

[604] . . . In the chase and pursuit was the Pucelle³ taken [5.3.30], with divers other besides those that were slain, which were no small number [1430].

Tillet telleth it thus: that she was caught at Compiègne by one of the Earl of Ligny's soldiers, from him had to Beaurevoir Castle where, kept a three months, she was after, for ten thousand pounds in money and three hundred pounds rent (all Tournois), sold into the English hands.

In which, for her pranks so uncouth and suspicious, the Lord Regent, by Peter Cauchon Bishop of Beauvais (in whose diocese she was taken), caused her life and belief, after order of law, to be inquired upon and examined. Wherein found, though a virgin, yet first, shamefully rejecting her sex abominably in acts and apparel, to have counterfeited mankind, and then, all damnably faithless, to be a pernicious instrument to hostility and bloodshed in devilish witchcraft and sorcery, sentence accordingly was pronounced against her. Howbeit, upon humble confession of her iniquities, with a counterfeited contrition pretending a careful sorrow for the same, execution [was] spared and all mollified into this, that from thenceforth she should cast off her unnatural wearing of man's habiliments and keep her to garments of her

³Consecrated to office.

⁴Joan of Arc (French = girl, maid).

own kind,⁴⁰ abjure her pernicious practices of sorcery and witchery and have life and leisure in perpetual prison to bewail her misdeeds Which to perform (according to the manner of abjuration) a solemn oath very gladly she took.

But herein (God help us!) she, fully afore possessed of the fiend not able to hold her in any towardness of grace, falling straightway into her former abominations (and yet seeking to eke out life as long as she might), stake⁴¹ not (though the shift were shameful) to confess herself a strumpet and (unmarried as she was) to be with child [5.4.62]. For trial, the Lord Regent's lenity gave her nine months' stay, at the end whereof she (found herein as false as wicked in the rest), an eight days after, upon a further definitive sentence declared against her to be relapse⁴² and a renouncer of her oath and repentance, was thereupon delivered over to secular power and so executed by consumption of fire in the old marketplace at Rouen, in the selfsame stead where now Saint Michael's Church stands; her ashes afterward without the town walls shaken into the wind. Now, recounting altogether her pastoral⁴³ bringing up, rude, without any virtuous instruction, her campestral⁴⁴ conversation with wicked spirits [5.3.3], whom, in her first salutation to Charles the Dauphin, she uttered to be our Lady, Saint Katherine, and Saint Anne, that in this behalf came and gave her commandments from God her maker as she kept her father's lambs in the fields [1.2.76]. . . .

[605] These matters may very rightfully denounce unto all the world her execrable abominations, and well justify the judgment she had and the execution she was put to for the same. A thing yet (God wot) very smally shadowed, and less holpen by the very travail of the Dauphin, whose dignity abroad [was] foully spotted in this point, that, contrary to the holy degree of a right Christian prince (as he called himself), for maintenance of his quarrels in war, would not reverence to profane his sacred estate, as dealing in devilish practices with mis-believers and witches.

. . . . But because the English sore mistrusted further danger, it was concluded that King Henry in his royal person with a new army should come into France, partly to visit and comfort his own subjects

⁴⁰Sex.

⁴¹Sticked, scrupled.

⁴²A relapsed person.

⁴³As a shepherdess.

⁴⁴In the fields.

there, and partly either by fear or favor (because a child of his age and beauty doth commonly procure them love of elder persons) to move the Frenchmen to continue their due obeisance toward him.

Wherefore, after a great host conventent for that purpose assembled, and money for maintenance of the war ready gathered, and the realm set in an order under the government of the Duke of Gloucester Protector (which during the King's absence appeased divers riotis and punished the offenders), the King with a great power took shipping at Dover on Saint George's Eve [1431], within night, and landed at Calais on the morrow, being Saint George's Day and Sunday, by seven of the clock in the morning. He remained in Calais a good space, and from thence he removed to Rouen, being there received with all triumph. He tarried in that city a long time, his nobles daily consulting on their great business and weighty affairs. . . .

[606] But to return to the affairs of King Henry, who in the month of November removed from Rouen to Pontoise, and so to Saint Denis, to the intent to make his entry into Paris and there to be sacred King of France. There were in his company, of his own nation, his uncle the Cardinal of Winchester, the Cardinal and Archbishop of York, the Dukes of Bedford, York, and Norfolk, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Oxford, Huntington, Ormonde, Mortain, and Suffolk. . . .

To speak with what honor he was received into the city of Paris, what pageants were prepared, and how richly the gates, streets, and bridges on every side were hanged with costly cloths of arras and tapestry, it would be too long a process and therefore I do here pass it over with silence. On the seventeenth day of December [1431] he was crowned King of France [4.1.1], in Our Lady Church of Paris, by the Cardinal of Winchester, the Bishop of Paris not being contented that the Cardinal should do such an high ceremony in his church and jurisdiction. After all the ceremonies were finished, the King returned toward the palace, having one crown on his head and another borne before him, and one scepter in his hand and the second borne before him.

. . . . Amongst other of the chiefest prisoners, that valiant captain Poton de Sainte-Traille was one, who without delay was exchanged for the Lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the Battle of Patay [1.4.27]. . . .

[607] When all things were agreed, King Henry came to Calais, from thence to Dover, and so by easy journeys the one and twentieth day of February [1432] to London, where he was triumphantly re-

ceived and richly presented,⁴⁵ as in the *Chronicles* of Robert Fabyan it may at large appear. . . .

[611] And in the fifth year [1435] of this Basilian Council . . . , motion was made among Sigismund the Emperor and other Christian kings [5.4.96] . . . that sith such horror of bloodshed between the two nations continually so lamentably raged in France, some mediation might be made for accord; whereof one thing seemed to minister occasion of the more hope, because the Duke of Burgundy was willing (so that it were not of his own suit) to return and reconcile himself with the French King his mortal enemy and ancient adversary [5.1]. . . .

Upon the day of the first session, the Cardinal of Saint Cross⁴⁶ declared to the three parties [England, France, and Burgundy] the innumerable mischiefs that had followed to the whole state of the Christian commonwealth by their continual dissension and daily discord, exhorting them, for the honor of God and for the love which they ought to bear toward the advancement of His faith and true religion, to conform themselves to reason and to lay aside all rancor, malice, and displeasure; so that in concluding a godly peace [5], they might receive profit and quietness here in this world and of God an everlasting reward in heaven. . . .

The Englishmen would that King Charles should have nothing but what it pleased the King of England, and that not as duty but as a benefit⁴⁷ by him of his mere⁴⁸ liberality given and distributed [5.4.128, 152]. The Frenchmen, on the other part, would that King Charles should have the kingdom frankly and freely [133], and that the King of England should leave the name, arms, and title of the King of France, and to be content with the dukedoms of Aquitaine and Normandy, and to forsake Paris and all the towns which they possessed in France between the rivers of Somme and Loire being no parcel of the duchy of Normandy. To be brief, the demands of all parts were between them so far out of square⁴⁹ as hope of concord there was none at all. . . .

And after, the Duke of Burgundy, to set a veil before the King of England's eyes, sent Toison d'Or his chief herald to King Henry with letters [4.1.11]; excusing the matter by way of information that he

⁴⁵Given gifts.

⁴⁶Santa Croce.

⁴⁷Fief (Boswell-Stone).

⁴⁸Perfect.

⁴⁹Out of square.

was constrained to enter in this league with King Charles by the daily outcries, complaints, and lamentations of his people [57], alleging against him that he was the only cause of the long continuance of the wars, to the utter impoverishing of his own people and the whole nation of France. Therefore, sith he could not otherwise do, but partly to content his own people and chiefly to satisfy the request of the whole general Council, was in manner compelled, for his part, to grow unto a peace and amity with King Charles [3.3.18, 44].

[612] . . . The superscription of this letter was thus: "To the high and mighty Prince Henry, by the grace of God King of England, his well-beloved cousin." Neither naming him King of France nor his sovereign lord, according as (ever before that time) he was accustomed to do [4.1.51]. This letter was much marveled at of the Council, after they had thoroughly considered all the contents thereof, and they could not but be much disquieted; so far forth that divers of them [were] offended so much with the untruth of the Duke that they could not temper their passions but openly called him traitor [61]. . . .

This year the fourteenth day of September [1435] died John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France [3.2.114SD], a man both politic⁵⁰ in peace and hardy in war, and yet no more hardy than merciful when he had the victory; whose body was with all funeral solemnity buried in the cathedral church of our Lady in Rouen, on the north side of the high altar, under a sumptuous and costly monument. Which tomb when King Louis the Eleventh by certain indiscreet persons was counselled to deface, affirming that it was a great dishonor both to the King and to the realm to see the enemy of his father and theirs to have so solemn and rich a memorial, he answered, saying: "What honor shall it be to us or to you, to break this monument and to pull out of the ground the dead bones of him whom in his life neither my father nor your progenitors, with all their power, puissance, and friends, were once able to make fleet one foot backward; but by his strength, wit, and policy kept them all out of the principal dominions of the realm of France, and out of this noble and famous duchy of Normandy? Wherefore I say, first, God have his soul and let his body now lie in rest which, when he was alive, would have disquieted the proudest of us all [4.7.49]. And as for the tomb, I assure you it is not so decent nor convenient as his honor and acts deserved, although⁵¹ it were much richer and more beautiful."

. . . After the death of that noble prince the Duke of Bedford, the

⁵⁰Crafty.

⁵¹Even if.

bright sun in France toward Englishmen began to be cloudy and daily to darken. Then Frenchmen began not only to withdraw their obedience by oath to the King of England but also took sword in hand and openly rebelled. Howbeit, all these mishaps could not anything abash the valiant courages of the English people, for they, having no mistrust in God and good fortune, set up a new sail, began the war afresh, and appointed for Regent in France Richard Duke of York son to Richard Earl of Cambridge [4.1.163].

Although the Duke of York was worthy (both for birth and courage) of this honor and preferment, yet so disdained of Edmund Duke of Somerset, being cousin to the King, that by all means possible he sought his hindrance, as one glad of his loss and sorry of his well-doing; by reason whereof, ere the Duke of York could get his dispatch,⁵² Paris and divers other of the chiefest places in France were gotten by the French King [1.1.60, 5.2.2]. The Duke of York, perceiving his evil will, openly dissembled that which he inwardly minded, either of them working things to the other's displeasure; till, through malice and division between them, at length by mortal war they were both consumed, with almost all their whole lines and offspring [2.4]. . . .

But here is one chief point to be noted, that either the disdain amongst the chief peers of the realm of England (as ye have heard) or the negligence of the King's Council (which did not foresee dangers to come) was the loss of the whole dominion of France between the rivers of Somme and Marne and, in especial, of the noble city of Paris [1436]. For where before there were sent over thousands for defense of the holds and fortresses, now were sent hundreds, yeas and scores; some rascals, and some not able to draw a bow or carry a bill. . . .⁵³

[613] . . . Thus was the city of Paris brought into the possession of Charles the French King through the untrue demeanor⁵⁴ of the citizens, who, contrary to their oaths and promised allegiance, like false and inconstant people, so revolted from the English [5.2.2]. . . .

[615] About this season [1437] Queen Katherine, mother to the King of England, departed out of this life and was buried by her husband in the abbey of Westminster. This woman, after the death of King Henry the Fifth her husband, being young and lusty, following

⁵²Leave to depart.

⁵³Infantry weapon resembling a halberd.

⁵⁴Behavior.

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more her own wanton appetite than friendly counsel, and regarding more private affection than princelike honor, took to husband privily a gallant gentleman and a right beautiful person, endued with many goodly gifts both of body and mind, called Owen Tudor, a man descended of the noble lineage and ancient line of Cadwallader last King of the Britons. By this Owen she brought forth three goodly sons, Edmund, Jasper, and another that was a monk in Westminster and lived a small time; also a daughter which in her youth departed out of this transitory life.

King Henry, after the death of his mother, because they were his brethren of one womb, created Edmund Earl of Richmond and Jasper Earl of Pembroke; which Edmund of Margaret, daughter and sole heir to John Duke of Somerset, begat Henry who after was King of this realm, called Henry the Seventh, of whom ye shall hear more in place convenient. . . .

[618] After this meeting, thus prorogued,⁵⁵ Philip Duke of Burgundy, partly moved in conscience to make amends to Charles Duke of Orleans (as yet prisoner in England) for the death of Duke Louis his father, whom Duke John, father to this Duke Philip, cruelly murdered in the city of Paris, and partly intending the advancement of his niece the Lady Mary, daughter to Adolf Duke of Cleves (by the which alliance he trusted that all old rancor should cease), contrived ways to have the said Duke of Orleans set at liberty [3.3.72] upon promise by him made to take the said Lady Mary unto wife. This Duke had been prisoner in England ever since the battle was fought at Agincourt, upon the day of Crispin and Crispinian in the year 1415, and was set now at liberty, in the month of November in the year 1440, paying for his ransom four hundred thousand crowns, though other say but three hundred thousand.

The cause why he was detained so long in captivity was to pleasure thereby the Duke of Burgundy; for so long as the Duke of Burgundy continued faithful to the King of England, it was not thought necessary to suffer the Duke of Orleans to be ransomed lest, upon his deliverance, he would not cease to seek means to be revenged upon the Duke of Burgundy for the old grudge and displeasure betwixt their two families; and therefore such ransom was demanded for him as he was never able to pay. But after the Duke of Burgundy had broken his promise and was turned to the French part, the Council

⁵⁵Discontinued.

of the King of England devised how to deliver the Duke of Orleans that thereby they might displease the Duke of Burgundy [73]. Which he were delivered without his knowledge, and therefore to his great cost practiced⁵⁶ his deliverance, paid his ransom, and joined with him [in] amity and alliance by marriage of his niece.

This Duke, being now delivered, and speaking better English than French, after his arrival in France repaired to the Duke of Burgundy and, according to his promise and convention,⁵⁷ married the Lady Mary of Cleves, in the town of Saint Omer, on whom he begat a son which after was French King and called Louis the Twelfth. . . . [619] In the beginning of this twentieth year [1440 or 1443], Rich-ard Duke of York, Regent of France [4.1.163] and Governor of Nor-mandy, determined to invade the territories of his enemies both by sundry armies and in several places, and thereupon without delay of time he sent the Lord of Willoughby with a great crew of soldiers to destroy the country of Amiens; and John Lord Talbot was appointed to besiege the town of Dieppe; and the Regent himself, accompanied with Edmund Duke of Somerset [164], set forward into the duchy of Anjou.

. . . The Dukes of York and Somerset likewise entered into Anjou and Maine, and there destroyed towns and spoiled the people, and with great preys⁵⁸ and prisoners repaired again into Normandy.

. . . The Frenchmen a little before this season [1441] had taken the town of Évreux by treason of a fisher. Sir Francis the Arragonese hearing of that chance, appareled six strong fellows like men of the country with sacks and baskets as carriers of corn⁵⁹ and victuals [3.2 SD] and sent them to the castle of Cornille, in the which divers Englishmen were kept as prisoners; and he, with an ambush of Eng-lishmen, lay in a valley nigh to the fortress.

[620] The six counterfeit husbandmen entered the castle unsus-pected and straight came to the chamber of the Captain; and, laying hands on him, gave knowledge to them that lay in ambush to come to their aid. The which suddenly made forth and entered the castle, slew and took all the Frenchmen, and set the Englishmen at liberty; which thing done, they set fire in the castle and departed to Rouen with their booty and prisoners. . . .

⁵⁶Negotiated.

⁵⁷Agreement.

⁵⁸Booty.

⁵⁹Grain.

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But now to speak somewhat of the doings in England in the mean-time [1441]. Whilst the men-of-war were thus occupied in martial feats and daily skirmishes within the realm of France, ye shall understand that, after the Cardinal of Winchester and the Duke of Gloucester were (as it seemed) reconciled either to other, yet the Cardinal and the Archbishop of York ceased not to do many things without the consent of the King or of the Duke, being (during the minority of the King) Governor and Protector of the realm, whereas the Duke (as good cause he had) greatly offended, thereupon in writing declared to the King wherein the Cardinal and the Archbishop had offended both his majesty and the laws of the realm. This complaint of the Duke of Gloucester was contained in four and twenty articles, which chiefly rested in that the Cardinal had, from time to time, through his ambitious desire to surmount all others in high degrees of honor and dignity, sought to enrich himself to the great and notorious hindrance of the King, as in defrauding him not only of his treasure but also in doing and practicing things greatly prejudicial to his affairs in France, and namely by setting at liberty the King of Scots upon so easy conditions as the King's majesty greatly lost there-by, as in particularities thus followeth. . . .

2. First, the Cardinal, then being Bishop of Winchester, took upon him the state of cardinal, which was nayed and denied him by the King of most noble memory my lord your father (whom God assoil),⁶⁰ saying that he had as lief set his crown beside him as see him wear a cardinal's hat, he being a cardinal. For he knew full well the pride and ambition that was in his person, then being but a bishop, should have so greatly extolled⁶¹ him into more intolerable pride when that he were a cardinal" [5.1.31].

[623] . . . About this season [1442], John the valiant Lord Talbot, for his approved prowess and wisdom as well in England as in France, both in peace and war so well tried, was created Earl of Striwebury [3.4.26] and, with a company of three thousand men, sent again into Normandy for the better defense of the same. . . .

In this year [1443] died in Guienne the Countess of Cominges, to whom the French King and also the Earl of Armagnac pretended⁶² to be heir, insomuch that the Earl entered into all the lands of the said lady. And because he knew the French King would not take the matter well to have a Roland for an Oliver, he sent solemn ambassadors to

⁶⁰Absolve.

⁶¹Elevated.

the King of England, offering him his daughter in marriage [5.1.19] with promise to be bound (beside great sums of money which he would give with her) to deliver into the King of England's hands all such castles and towns as he or his ancestors detained from him within any part of the duchy of Aquitaine, either by conquest of his progenitors or by gift and delivery of any French King; and further to aid the same King with money for the recovery of other cities within the same duchy from the French King or from any other person that against King Henry [had] unjustly kept and wrongfully withholden them.

[624] This offer seemed so profitable and also honorable to King Henry and the realm that the ambassadors were well heard, honorably received, and with rewards sent home into their country. After whom were sent for the conclusion of the marriage [45] into Guienne Sir Edward Hull, Sir Robert Ross, and John Grafton Dean of Saint Severinus, the which (as all the chronographers agree) both concluded⁶⁵ the marriage and by proxy affied⁶⁴ the young lady. . . .

Whilst England was unquieted (as you have heard) and France by spoil, slaughter, and burning sore defaced (a mischief in all places much lamented), therefore, to agree the two puissant kings, all the princes of Christendom [5.4.96] travailed so effectuously by their orators and ambassadors that a diet was appointed to be kept at the city of Tours in Touraine, where for the King of England appeared William de la Pole Earl of Suffolk.

. . . Many meetings were had, and many things moved for a final peace; but in conclusion, by reason of many doubts which rose on both parties, no full concord could be agreed upon; but in hope to come to a peace, a certain truce as well by sea as by land was concluded [1444] by the commissioners for eighteen months; which afterward again was prolonged to the year of our Lord 1449 [2H6 1.1.40].

In treating of this truce, the Earl of Suffolk, adventuring somewhat upon his commission, without the assent of his associates, imagined that the next⁶⁶ way to come to a perfect peace was to contrive a marriage between the French King's kinswoman the Lady Margaret daughter to René Duke of Anjou, and his sovereign lord King Henry [1H6 5.3.117]. This René Duke of Anjou named himself King of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem [5.5.40], having only the name and style

⁶³*I.e.*, the negotiations for.

⁶⁴Espoused.

⁶⁵Nearest.

of those realms, without any penny, profit, or foot of possession. This marriage was made strange to⁶⁶ the Earl at the first, and one thing seemed to be a great hindrance to it; which was because the King of England occupied a great part of the duchy of Anjou and the whole county of Maine, appertaining (as was alleged) to King René.

The Earl of Suffolk (I cannot say either corrupted with bribes or so much affectioned to this unprofitable marriage) condescended that the duchy of Anjou and the county of Maine should be delivered to the King the bride's father [5.3.154, 2H6 1.1.57], demanding for her marriage neither penny nor farthing, as who would say that this new affinity passed all riches and excelled both gold and precious stones [1H6 5.3.169]. And to the intent that of this truce might ensue a final concord, a day of interview was appointed between the two Kings in a place convenient between Chartres and Rouen. When these things were concluded, the Earl of Suffolk with his company returned into England [1444], where he forgot not to declare what an honorable truce he had taken, out of the which there was a great hope that a final peace might grow the sooner for that honorable marriage which he had concluded, omitting nothing that might extoll and set forth the personage of the lady or the nobility of her kindred [5.5.1].

But, although this marriage pleased the King and divers of his Council, yet Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realm, was much against it [25], alleging that it should be both contrary to the laws of God and dishonorable to the Prince if he should break that promise and contract of marriage, made by ambassadors sufficiently thereto instructed, with the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac, upon conditions both to him and his realm as much profitable as honorable. But the Duke's words could not be heard, for the Earl's doings were only liked and allowed [88]. . . .

[640] The Council, not forgetting the offer of the Gascons and that they might now have the city of Bordeaux with the country round about, by request of the inhabitants, appointed [1453] the valiant captain John Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, to go thither with an army [4.2.1]. . . .

After the regaining of Bordeaux there arrived at Blay . . . Sir John Talbot (Lord Lisle by his wife) son to the said Earl of Shrewsbury [4.3.35]. . . .

In the meantime the French King, being advertised of all these

doings, raised an army to resist this invasion made by the Earl of Shrewsbury. And first he appointed his captains to besiege the town of Castillon, to the rescue whereof the Earl hasted forward. . . .

The Frenchmen that lay at the siege, perceiving by those good runners-away that the Earl approached, left the siege and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with ordnance. The Earl, advertised how the siege was removed, hasted forward toward his enemies, doubting most lest they would have been quite fled and gone before his coming. But they, fearing the displeasure of the French King (who was not far off) if they should have fled, abode the Earl's coming and so received him; with though he first with manifold courage and sore fighting won the entry of their camp, yet at length they compassed him about and, shooting him through the thigh with an handgun, slew his horse and finally killed him lying on the ground whom they durst never look in the face while he stood on his feet [4.7.32].

It was said that after he perceived there was no remedy but present loss of the battle, he counseled his son the Lord Lisle to save himself by flight [4.5.10], with the same could not redound to any great reproach in him, this being the first journey⁶⁷ in which he had been present. Many words he used to persuade him to have saved his life but nature so wrought in the son that neither desire of life nor fear of death could either cause him to shrink or convey himself out of the danger, and so there manfully ended his life with his said father [4.7.15].

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[622]¹ When the King had heard the accusations thus laid by the Duke of Gloucester against the Cardinal [of Winchester], he committed the examination thereof to his Council, whereof the more part were spiritual persons; so that, what for fear and what for favor, the matter was winked at and nothing said to it, only fair countenance was made to the Duke, as though no malice had been conceived against him. But venom will break out and inward grudge will soon appear, which was this year [1441] to all men apparent, for divers secret attempts were advanced forward this season against this nobleman Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, afar off, which, in conclusion, came so near that they bereft him both of life and land, as shall hereafter more plainly appear.

For, first, this year Dame Eleanor Cobham, wife to the said Duke, was accused of treason, for that she by sorcery and enchantment [1.4.25 SD] intended to destroy the King [2.1.175], to the intent to advance her husband unto the crown [1.2.7]. Upon this, she was examined in Saint Stephen's Chapel before the Bishop of Canterbury, and there by examination convict and judged to do open penance [2.3.11] in three open places within the city of London (*Polychronicon* saith she was enjoined to go through Cheapside with a taper in her hand [2.4.16 SD]) and after that adjudged to perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man, under the keeping of Sir John Stanley, knight [2.3.13]. At the same season were arrested [1.4.44], arraigned, and adjudged guilty, as aiders to the Duchess, Thomas Southwell, priest and canon of Saint Stephen's at Westminster; John Hume, priest; Roger Bolingbroke, a cunning necromancer (as it was said); and Margery Jourdain, surnamed the Witch of Eye.

[623] The matter laid against them was for that they (at the request of the said Duchess) had devised an image of wax representing the

¹References to 2H6 outside this section may be found at pp. 60-62, 166, 167, 191, and 215.

⁶⁷Battle.