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U P O N

P A R I S.

Translated from the FRENCH

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MR. DE SAINTFOIX.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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V O L III.

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Printed for G. BURNETT, at Bishop Burnett's Head,  
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M D C C L X V I.

HISTORICAL ESSAYS

OF

PART I

Translated from the French

of

M. DE SAINT-FLORENCE

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IN THREE VOLUMES

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VOL. III

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HISTORICAL ESSAYS

UPON

P A R I S.

*The Wars between FRANCE and ENGLAND.*

SOME systematical Authors highly praise the Feudal Government; a judgment may be framed of the justice of their notions, by the continual dissentions and wars, which this form of Government occasioned. I said in the beginning of these Essays, that my principal object was to convey an idea of the antient customs and usages, and particularly of the manners and fundamental character of the French. Hitherto I have described them amongst themselves, and in civil life; we are now going to consider them in war, and in a war of near 300 years continuance, against an enemy, whom they at length drove away, but whose hatred and jea-

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lous pride they will never be able to subdue. This part of our History, tho' of very great importance, has not yet been particularly treated of. I imagined the reader would not be displeas'd at my presenting him with a succinct and uninterrupted chain of Events, which have an intimate connection with each other, and the continuation whereof is incessantly destroyed in general Histories, by the introduction of other events which are entirely foreign to them. It will, at the same time, be surpris'ing to observe the errors, which indolence, inattention, and doubtful authorities, have led our historians to commit, and which undermine the honor and glory of the nation. This performance has been written with care; I have told the truth; I always quote the English historians; I am but a narrator; facts are evidences for themselves. We shall find that Rapin de Thoyras, possess'd of great talents for writing a history, frequently changes or disguises it. With regard to the collection of public acts, by Thomas Rymer, it is only necessary to run over them, to be convinc'd that he has written many things at a venture.

*Rollon* was one of the chiefs of those bands of Normans, who ravaged France under the second race. In 911 Charles the simple ceded Neustria to him, since called Normandy, to hold it as a fief

fief to the crown. As to the sovereignty over upper Brittany, which, it is said, he also obtained, it was only to confer a title upon him, in order to make conquests; and his quarrels with the Britons, it may be well believed, were far from being disagreeable to the Court. He was a very equitable governor. It is true, that upon his death-bed, still wavering in his opinion, between Idolatry and Christianity, which he had embraced, he bequeathed a hundred livres of pure gold to the capital churches of Normandy, and at the same time caused a hundred of his old captives to lose their heads, in honor of his native Gods; yet it is probable that every body was satisfied, and that this precaution appeared to the Monks of that time, only as a piece of Norman artifice, as in their Annals and Chronicles, they have not in the least disqualified him upon this account, from the title of a very devout and pious prince. His successor was William, surnamed *Long-Sword*; William was succeeded by Richard *sans peur* (without fear); Richard *sans peur* by Richard *the good*; Richard *the good*, by Richard III. and Richard III. by Robert his brother, called the *devil*, who died a batchelor, and designed a child he had by a \* daughter of a Furrier of

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*Falaise*

\* She was called *Harlotte*. This word in English implies a woman of pleasure. She was dancing in the street, when the duke who observed her from a window had her called in.

*Falaise* to be his heir. He brought the boy to Paris; Henry I. who had some obligations to him, was very ready to give this child the investiture of Normandy, and took upon himself the care of his education. Sometime after Robert set out upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died in his return at *Nice* in *Bithynia*. Young William, who was surnamed *the bastard*, became a great prince, and in the end deserved the name of *Conqueror*. He gave out that St. Edward *the Confessor*, had designed him for his successor to the throne of England. If credit is to be given to the greater part of historians, St. Edward had made a vow of chastity, and had wedded one of the finest women in his kingdom, only to exercise this virtue still more, by continual temptation. It is very extraordinary that a prince, who had upon such a motive deprived himself of the pleasure of having children, should just fix upon a *bastard*, in order to make him his heir. William received from the Pope a standard that had been blessed, one of St. Peter's hairs, and a Bull of excommunication, against whosoever should oppose his enterprize. The Counts of Brittany and Flanders assisted him with troops and money, and part of the Norman Nobility followed him. He embarked at the port of St. Valery, September 26, 1066, arrived on the Coast of Suffex the 28th,

28th, conquered England by a single battle, and at first treated the English with much lenity; but he soon fancied he discovered that a king could never hope to make himself beloved by them, as a natural melancholy rendered them turbulent and ever discontented. He ruminated upon the facility with which he had conquered them, and persuaded himself that any one else would as easily have done it; that their minds were not so strong as they were perverse; that their souls were more arrogant than elevated; that their courage bordered less upon true bravery than a presumptuous roughness in their character; that their pride was alarmed, when they found themselves no way feared; that then they began to be in terror, and that therefore he ought not to seem to think them of consequence enough to be treated with severity. Accordingly he did not chastise their revolts with gibbets and the effusion of blood; he contented himself with loading them with taxes, and making them feel from time to time some of those caprices of authority, which are so much the more humbling to a nation, as they make them feel the little regard that is paid to them. They revenged themselves in a dastardly manner. “A day did not pass, says Rapin de Thoyras\*, in which some Normans were not

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“found

\* Vide History of England, vol. ii. p. 27 and 28.

“ found assassinated in the woods or roads, without it’s being possible to discover the perpetrators of these murders; so much did the English favour one another.” William *the conqueror* left three sons; Robert, William surnamed *Rufus*, and Henry. Never was man possessed of a more frank, generous, and humane heart \* than Robert; never had a prince a more hard and ferocious one, than William. Their father proportioned this partition of their inheritance to the difference of their characters; he hated the English, and destined William for their monarch, though he was only the younger brother; he loved the Normans, and bequeathed Normandy to Robert.

William *Rufus*, who was killed by accident, as he was hunting, in the 13th year of his reign, left no children; and Henry his younger brother mounted the throne. The good duke Robert, to whom it belonged, had taken the cross, and by his bravery had greatly contributed to the taking of Jerusalem. At his return he was willing

\* Having been wounded by a poisoned arrow, the Physicians told him, that he could not possibly be cured, unless some one instantly sucked his wound. *Let me die then*, said he, *I can never be cruel enough to let any one expose himself to die for me.* The Princess Sybilla, his wife, took an opportunity, whilst he was asleep, to suck his wound, and lost her life in saving her husband’s



ling to support his pretensions ; but his easy good-nature soon induced him to give them up. Henry, far from being moved with gratitude, attacked him some years after, and having overcome him in a battle, invaded Normandy, sent him prisoner to Cardiff castle, and deprived him of his sight, by passing a red hot brass basin before his eyes. Such was the fate of the unfortunate Robert ! About fifteen or sixteen years before, this same Henry whom he had besieged in St. Michael's mount, being in want of water, and sending to him for some, Robert complied with his request, and at the same time presented him with a ton of wine, saying, to William *Rufus*, who rallied his generosity --- " How -- whatever wrong our  
 " brother may have done us, ought we to wish  
 " him to die of thirst ? perhaps he would rather  
 " obstinately perish than surrender ; we may  
 " hereafter have occasion for a brother ; and  
 " where shall we find another, when we have  
 " lost this ?

Policy alone should have determined Philip I. who then reigned in France, to have opposed the progress of the English ; but unfortunately his concubine *Bertrade*, had let herself be bribed by Henry's presents. I make use of the word concubine, because the indolent Philip had neither the heart, nor that refinement of sentiment which

is necessary to think of a mistress; and besides he had wedded this Bertrade merely because he was used to her, pretty much in the same manner as the Cannons and Curates of those times married.

Lewis the Fat, his successor, undertook to recover Normandy for William *Cliton*, son to the unfortunate Robert. Henry, to support his usurpation, crossed the sea with some English troops. It is easy to determine on which side Justice was. The two kings met near Gisors; Lewis the Fat proposed to Henry to terminate the war by single combat. “\* The two armies applauded this challenge; but Henry, far from accepting of it, turned it into ridicule: a battle ensued, wherein the English were defeated.”† Fortune was more favorable to them upon another occasion: the French met with a repulse near Andeli. William Cliton was at last killed before the city of Alost in Flanders. Henry, by his death, becoming heir to his brother Robert, who was blind, and whom he kept still in prison, Lewis the Fat at length consented to give him the investiture of Normandy, and to receive his oath of homage and fidelity.

Amongst the Charters collected by Thomas Rymer, we find an act of convention, which demonstrates

\* Le Gendre.

† Larrey.

monstrates how little honour our kings generally received from their great vassals. It is expressed in this act, that in consideration of a pension of 400 marks of silver, which the king of England promises to pay annually to Robert, count of Flanders, “\* the said count maketh oath, to defend against all men, who may be born or die, the life, liberty, and all the members of Henry king of England, and to assist him in preserving his kingdom, without prejudice to the faith which the said count of Flanders has promised to Lewis king of France; in such sort, that if the said king Lewis is inclinable to attack the kingdom of England, he Robert, count of Flanders, will endeavour by council and prayers to prevent his doing so; and if the said king Lewis persists in passing into England, and carries with him the said count, in that case, the said count shall assist the said king Lewis with as few men as possibly he can; and at the same time, in such manner, that the said king of France may not be entitled to divest him of his fief; *Ita tamen ne inde feodum suum erga regem Franciæ foris faciat.*”

Lewis the Young, successor to Lewis the fat,

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repudi-

\* Vide Rymer, Acta Publica Reg. Angliæ, vol. i. p. 2, 4, 7.

repudiated Leonora of Aquitaine, and returned her the Dower she brought him, though he had two daughters by her. A short time after she married again, with Henry II, son to Geoffrey count of Anjou, and Matilda daughter of Henry I. king of England; so that Henry II. by his father's side had Anjou, Touraine and la Maine, and by his mother's side England and Normandy; and by the Dower which Leonora of Aquitaine brought him, he added to these possessions Poitou, and all Guyenne as far as the Pyrennees. He afterwards found himself master of Brittany, by the marriage of her son Geoffrey to the heiress of that country.

The imprudent Lewis the Young, could not but be terrified at the sight of a vassal who possessed above one half of the kingdom, and who was not less to be dreaded for his secret Intrigues, than when he made an open attack at the head of an army. Ireland was a convincing proof of this: he had conquered it without sieges, or battles, and without having the least pretensions to it, solely by his underhand dealings, and his address in sowing discord among the petty sovereigns who governed it. He frequently said, *that the world itself was scarce sufficient for a great man.* this was declaring himself a public enemy. Luckily the embarrassments, which Leonora of  
Aquitaine

Aquitaine created him, obliged him to set some bounds to his ambition. They lived upon very bad terms together, because he kept mistresses; and every woman who has been devoted to gallantry, and finds herself upon the decline, is almost always jealous of a husband that is younger than herself. Leonora knew that he was desperately fond of Rosamond Clifford, and that being obliged to set out for Ireland, he had secreted her near Woodstock, in a little Palace which he had built, and surrounded with a Labyrinth, the windings whereof seemed impenetrable. She repaired to Woodstock, and entered into the Labyrinth, where she lost herself so often, and wandered so long, that she was obliged to remain there all night; however, she discovered the clue next day, surprised her rival, and poisoned her; and to complete her revenge against her unfaithful husband, she excited her children to revolt against him, by advising them to insist upon her giving them appointments. Whilst the two younger sons (Richard and Geoffrey) were gaining over the Inhabitants of Guyenne, Anjou, and Brittany, to join in the revolt, the eldest came to Paris. Lewis the Young, whose daughter he had married, thought he did nothing but justice in giving ear to the complaints of this young prince, against his father, and on promising to procure him the

cession of Normandy; as it had been stipulated when he gave him his daughter, that Henry should yield this Province to the young couple, in order to support their dignity, when they had attained a certain age: besides the father and son were his vassals, and in quality of their lord, he was the judge of their conventions, with respect to the fiefs which they possessed in his kingdom. The activity, courage, and abilities of the English monarch, made him triumph on every side, over the leagues that were formed against him; but the happy success of his arms did not dazzle him: the turbulent and rebellious character of his children, and the advantages that France might derive therefrom, had too much struck him; so that, although he was conqueror, and had compelled Lewis the Young to raise the siege of Rouen, and withdraw his troops out of Normandy, yet he sent to desire an interview with him, intreating him not to be the protector of his sons revolts, but rather the mediator between them and him. Lewis the Young was possessed of more good faith than policy: he took part in this reconciliation, and a peace ensued.

By one of the articles of the Treaty, it was stipulated that Richard, second son to Henry, should marry the second daughter of Lewis the Young, Alice of France: this princess who was  
only

only six years old, was sent over to her father in-law, to be brought up in England. When she came of age, Richard, who was then become the eldest son, his brother dying without issue, was desirous of consummating his marriage, this was opposed by Henry; Philip Augustus, who succeeded Lewis the Young, summoned Henry to let the marriage of his sister be accomplished, or to send her back to him, and return at the same time Gisors and part of Vexin, which she had received as a dower. Henry would neither send back Alice, nor restore her dower, nor let her marriage be consummated. Philip enraged at this, being joined by Richard, declared war against him, defeated him wherever he met him, and compelled him to supplicate for peace. One of the principal conditions of this peace was, that Richard who had engaged in the Croisade, should marry Alice, upon his return from Palestine, and that in the mean time she should be put into the hands of one of five persons, whom he should appoint. It was not then known that Henry, who had kept Leonora of Aquitaine confined for upwards of a dozen years, was enamoured with the young Alice, that he had debauched her, that she was pregnant, and that these were the secret reasons of his refusal. A judgment may be formed of  
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the probity, honor, and morals of this monarch, when at fifty-five years of age he committed this detestable action. He survived the signing of the treaty but a few days.

*The first step his son Richard (surnamed Cœur de Lion) took upon his accession to the crown of England, was to come to Paris and pay homage to Philip Augustus; and this visit, adds Rapin de Thoyras, \* procured him the restitution of the places which Philip had taken from Henry during the preceding war. † Philip and Richard seemed united in the strictest bonds of friendship, eating and lying almost constantly together: they set out for the Croisade, and had some dispute in Sicily: this animosity was increased during the siege of Acre. After they had taken this city, Philip began to consider that their misunderstanding would, sooner or later, produce some remarkable occurrence, equally fatal to them both, and advantageous to Saladin; that they were not agreed even with respect to the king ‡ they were to nominate for the christians of the east, after they should have conquered Jerusalem; that many of the chieftains of his army had died of the bloody-flux: that his troops daily decreased; that*

\* Vol. ii. p. 249.

† Vide Lefendre.

‡ Philip espoused the interest of the marquis of Montserrat, and Richard supported that of Guy Lufignan,



that he had been himself at the point of death, and that notwithstanding the strength of his constitution, he was still sensible of the remains of a disorder, which was by some attributed to poison, and which had occasioned him the loss of his hair, beard, nails and eye-brows. He therefore resolved to return to France, but at his departure he left 10,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, engaged for three years, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, enjoining him to obey the king of England upon every occasion, as if it were himself: *According to appearances, says Rapin de Thoyras, he gave him counter-orders in private* \*. This partial historian did not attend, that in the succeeding page, talking of the battle of Ascalon, he relates, “ That the duke of Burgundy impetuously attacked the right wing of the Saracens, who maintained a running fight, and gave him an opportunity of advancing with greater resolution than prudence, far beyond the midst of the battle; and that at this juncture, some troops who lay in ambush, suddenly rushing upon them, in a great body, from the top of the hills, surrounded on every side the corps which he commanded, and made a great slaughter.” Do men who attack and fight in this manner, appear to have had secret orders, to render

\* Vol. ii. p. 268, 269, and 270.

der ineffectual the operations of the general in chief? The duke of Burgundy died of the bloody flux at Acra: the French embarked to return to their native country: the Germans and Italians had already set out, unable to support the haughty ferocity of Richard. Moreover, every one was persuaded that he had no intention to take Jerufalem, and that he had entered into a secret treaty with Saladin, which was as lucrative to him as it was scandalous. If from thence he derived immense sums, as several historians aver, they did him but little service; he was cast away upon his return, in the Adriatic sea. He imagined that by disguising himself like a Pilgrim, he might venture to cross the territories of Leopold marquis of Austria; but he was known and taken up, whilst he was performing the office of turnspit in the kitchen of an inn. Leopold, whom he had insulted at the siege of Acra, sold him to the emperor, Henry VI, who kept him fifteen months in prison.

Upon Philip's departure from Syria, he had promised not to attack any of Richard's possessions in France, till forty days after Richard was returned into his own dominions; it is said, he broke his word, being desirous of availing himself of the advantage of his enemy's absence, to attack

attack Normandy. We have seen that Alice Philip's sister, had been betrothed to Richard, and that she had received for her Dower Giffors and part of Vexin. When these two princes quarrelled in Sicily, Richard said to the count of Flanders, who endeavoured to reconcile them; that he was ready to make the first overtures; but that to prevent beforehand \* any new occasion of dispute, he was obliged to declare to Philip, that he would never marry his sister for reasons, which he would ever keep secret; if Philip however would absolutely know them, he would point out proper Persons of whom he might learn them. Philip interrogated these People whose veracity he had no reason to suspect, and learnt that Alice had had a child by Henry: he therefore no longer insisted upon the marriage, but upon his return into France, sent for his sister, who had remained at Rouen. Rapin de Thoyras agrees that the Senechal of Normandy refused to give her up. The reader is therefore left to judge; whether Philip had any reason to be displeas'd, and whether marching to Rouen in order to obtain the restitution of this Princess, and her Dower, was attacking

\* Vide Daniel Vol. iv. p. 58.

attacking Richard's dominions. She afterwards married the Count de Ponthieu.

Philip produced some Letters, wherein he was advised that Richard had formed a Design of assassinating him by the Emissaries \* of old *de la Montagne*. Richard accused Philip of having offered large Sums to the Emperor to detain him in Prison; *and this roaring lion* say the English Historians, *was no sooner at liberty, than he breathed nothing but vengeance.* What was done after all by this roaring lion? He gained an advantage over Philip in two battles, and was defeated upon ten other different occasions: Rapin de Thoyras asserts † “ That these two princes, finding their forces  
“ were too equal for either of them to expect  
“ making any great progress in this war, at  
“ length desired to make peace.” this equality of strength required more explanation from this  
historian.

\* As Henry count of Champagne who was cotemporary with Philip Augustus, was passing through the Dominions of the Prince des Assassins, that Prince asked him, whether he had as obedient subjects as his were; and without waiting for a reply, gave a sign to three young men who instantly went to the top of a very high tower, from whence they threw themselves headlong, and were killed. Every one knows that the assassins believed that the death to which they exposed themselves in executing the orders of their Chief, conveyed them directly into Paradise.

† P. 287.

historian. Thus much is certain, that neither Province nor Dauphiny, at that time made part of France ; and that Richard, besides England and Ireland, was in possession of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, part of Berri and Auvergne ; Poitou Limoufin, Angoumois, Perigord, Saintonge, and in general of all Guyenne.

Rigord and William of Britanny, cotemporary historians, relate that the two armies were situated in sight of each other near Ifsoudun in Berri, and that every thing seemed to prognosticate a very bloody battle, when of a sudden Richard went into Philip's camp, and seemed so sensibly affected with the distresses which their animosity occasioned to their Subjects, that he desired his friendship. These two Monarchs, add they, embraced each other, and seated themselves apart at the foot of an old Tree : a few moments after, they were seen to rise and draw their swords ; it was imagined, that some reproachful expression had given a fresh edge to their resentment ; it was a serpent of a most monstrous size coming out of the tree which they had luckily perceived just as it was ready to spring upon them ; they killed it, continued their conference, and agreed upon a Treaty, whereby Philip con-  
sented

sented to retain no other conquests he had made, than Vexin and Evreux, and those of Vexin in Normandy.

Aimar, viscount of Limoges, having found a treasure upon his estate, Richard † pretended it belonged to him as Lord of Limousin, and laid siege to the Castle of Chalus, whither Aimar had retired: here he received a wound, which caused his Death April 6. 1199. † “*His courage, says Rapin de Thoyras, which bordered upon rage, was the Reason of his being surnamed Coeur de Lion.*” Lions are not traitors; § he was one, as well towards his Allies as his Enemies, and kept no faith with his Subjects; he is accused of having formed a design to assassinate Philip Augustus and the marquis of Montferrat. The circumstance, which I am going to relate, will I believe, evince, that he might without injustice, be suspected of such crimes. John Lack-land, his brother, with whom he was at variance, having taken refuge in France, where Philip || allowed him to keep a body of Troops

† It is said this treasure consisted of a table, round which were seated an Empero, his wife, and several Children, and that these figures were as large as life, and the whole made of massy Gold.

† Vol. 2. p. 28.

§ *ibid.*

|| Vide Larrey.

troops for his guard in the city of Evreux, invited one day all the officers of the garrison to dinner, and had their throats cut, whilst they were at table, thinking of nothing but festivity; he exposed their bloody heads upon the walls\*, and then set out to offer this place to his brother, who gave him a gracious reception. This perfidious cruelty was the instrument of their reconciliation; but they gathered nothing from it but the fruits that are inseparable from crimes, indignation and shame. Upon Philip's receiving intelligence of this abominable action, he immediately marched to Eyreux, retook that city by assault, and gave it up to the horrors of war, looking upon the inhabitants as accomplices with the perfidious John. With respect to the challenge, which he sent at the same time to Richard, it was generally condemned: could the French allow their king to hazard his person against a prince, who had just dishonoured himself, by associating himself with those who had been guilty of the blackest treason, and who was at best no more than his vassal?

Richard dying without issue, John Lackland seized upon his treasures, which he profusely squandered away, in bribing those whose credit might support his pretensions; he mounted a throne, where he soon attempted to fix himself by

\* Vide Philip, book iv.

by criminality. The pretensions of his nephew, young Arthur count of Brittany, and son to Geoffrey \* his elder brother, kept him incessantly alarmed : he stabbed him, it is said, with his own hand, in the town of Rouen, after having taken him prisoner in battle. Philip Augustus was sovereign lord of the deceased, of the assassin, and of the place where the assassination was committed : the Britons craved justice at his hands, he convened the court of Peers : John was summoned before them, and the citation signified to him at London. He sent ambassadors to ask a safe conduct ; *he may come*, said Philip to them ; and upon their asking whether he might return in safety, *that*, he replied, *will depend upon the sentence which the court of peers shall pronounce.* John not having appeared, he was declared a rebel, and guilty of violating the faith which he had promised to his lord ; and moreover, guilty of felony and treason, for the attack made in the lordship of France, upon the person of Arthur his nephew, son-in-law † to his sovereign, and a liege-man of the crown ; that in  
 confe-

\* Geoffrey, who was younger than Richard, and older than John, had been dead about 14 years : he had married Constantia, daughter and heiress of Conan *the Little*, count of Brittany.

† Arthur had married a daughter of Philip Augustus, and Agnes de Meranie.



consequence thereof all the lands and lordships he held in the kingdom, for which he paid homage, were confiscated, and that the possession of them would be recovered by force of arms, as far as it might be necessary.

Philip hereupon began by attacking Normandy, from whence he drove the English; and afterwards carrying his victorious arms into Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, he replaced these provinces under the immediate authority of their ancient masters. The right of reuniting them to his domain, founded upon the feudal laws was legal; whereas the scheme which he formed some years after, at the instigation of Innocent III. to invade England, appeared very unjust. When William of Langton was at Rome, this pope had him elected archbishop of Canterbury in *his own presence*; John maintained the prerogatives of his crown, protested against this election, which had been made out of the kingdom, and which was moreover extorted, as he said, in favour of a subject, who could not fail of being disagreeable to him: Innocent III. treated him as a rebel to the church, excommunicated him, and freed his subjects from their oath of fidelity, declared his throne vacant, and promised Philip Augustus the remission of all his sins, if he would attack England, and unite that kingdom

kingdom to France. Philip (according to Le Gendre) assembled the house of Lords, who ingenuously declared that the pope's conduct was offensive to all sovereigns, that he could neither take away or confer crowns, and that it would be as shameful as it would be dangerous to receive one at his hands. Philip bore the king of England too great an enmity to follow this salutary advice; besides he was constantly urged on by cardinal Pandolphe, legate of the holy see, who flattered and soothed him, called him *the pious and doughty champion of the holy see*, and portrayed to him incessantly a picture of England conquered, and John his enemy dethroned. When the armament was ready, this cardinal, under pretence of completely heating by his presence the minds of the people, against one who was excommunicated, crossed to Dover, where John was assembling some troops; he asked an audience of him, and approaching with the mild, but dejected air of a minister of peace, lamenting the impending storm, and desirous to dispel it; *You are lost*, said he to John, *part of your nobles are now treating with Philip; he is going to put to sea, at the head of a formidable army; yours will abandon you, and your barons will, perhaps, be the first to make you fall into the hands of the French.* John could not be ignorant, that he had entirely  
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alienated the affections of his people ; and this intelligence corresponded so exactly with what he learnt from every other quarter, that the artful legate easily perceived his embarrassment, and by increasing his apprehensions, brought him without much difficulty to ask counsel of him : arrogant minds upon the smallest reverse of fortune become the weakest. This prince swore, and made sixteen of his barons swear for him, and *upon their souls too*, that he submitted to every thing the holy see proposed ; and some weeks after, in executing one of the most extraordinary, and at the same time shameful treaties that ever a crowned head entered into ; he repaired to the principal church at Dover, accompanied by some lords and officers of his army, and there, in the presence of a numerous concourse of people, declared, that of his own free will and pleasure, and by the advice of his barons, in order to expiate the sins he had committed against the ministers of the Lord \*, he from that time forward acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the holy see, and as such obliged himself to pay an annu-

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\* He had used these ecclesiastics ill, who had most openly declared themselves for the pope, and amongst others the archdeacon of Norwich ; he imprisoned him, and made him wear a leaden cap, which had been purposely made for him. This poor archdeacon fell a victim to this strange dress, at the end of a few weeks.

al tribute of a thousand marks, namely 700 for England and 300 for Ireland; he then took the crown from off his head, and placed it at the legate's feet, as representative of the pope, paid homage to him, and presented him with some pieces of gold, as earnest of the tribute to which he had subjected himself. Pandolph trampled the gold under foot, carried off the crown and sceptre, and did not return them to this abject monarch till the end of five days.

The French army was in the mean time, waiting the return of this legate, in order to set sail. He did return, and appearing boldly before Philip, told him, that he must disband his troops, and think no more of conquering England; that God had turned John's heart; that he was no longer a rebellious prince to the church, and a *hardened Satan, but a mild and devout sheep of the flock*; that the pope, ever like a clement and forgiving father, having held his hand out to him, could not avoid covering him with his apostolic wing, and hurling his thunder upon whosoever should dare to attack this penitent son, whose dominions now made part of the patrimony of St. Peter. Philip as much surprized as nettled, at this discourse, made answer, that after having engaged him, by the most holy motives, in an immense expence, for an armament as well by sea

sea as land, it was very extraordinary the pope should pretend all on a sudden to tie up his hands, and that he should dare at the same time to impose upon, and threaten a king of France: *It is not* (added he) *so easy to give me laws, as it is to deceive me — withdraw.*

He would doubtless have pursued his enterprise; it would have been too shameful for him to have desisted from it; but the intelligence he received of a league which was forming against him in the Low-countries, obliged him to carry his arms on that side. The Emperor Otho VI, several princes of Germany, the dukes of Lorraine, Brabant and Limburg, the counts of Holland, Namur, Boulogne and Flanders, were preparing to attack him. The Earl of Salisbury joined them, after having surprised, burnt, sunk, or dispersed almost all our fleet, whilst the officers were diverting themselves on shore\*. The confederates, says Rigord, a cotemporary historian, flushed with their numbers and this dawning of success, had already made a partition of France amongst themselves; their army daily increased, it amounted with the English troops to near 150,000 men. Philip who had only 50,000, humbled their pride at Bouvines, a village be-

\* Vide *Larrey*.

tween Lisle and Tournais. Never was there a more complete, or a more glorious victory.

Whilst our forces appeared to be employ'd in Flanders, the king of England had made a descent at Rochelle. \* After having made himself master of several places in Poitou and Anjou, he laid siege to the Rock *aux Moines*; but upon the approach of young Lewis, Philip's son, he raised the siege with such precipitancy †, that he left behind him his tents, the sick, and all his warlike machines and heavy baggage. It is asserted that he made a retreat that day of 18 leagues without stopping, and yet his rear guard was cut to pieces. ‡. “ Notwithstanding this check  
 “ (says Rapin de Thoyras 1) he had still troops  
 “ enough to hope for great success in this war,  
 “ if it had continued; but the victory which  
 “ Philip had just gained at Bouvines, giving him  
 “ some reason to apprehend all the burthen would  
 “ fall upon him, he asked a truce, by the inter-  
 “ cession of the pope. Though Mezerai avers  
 “ (continues he) that it was by reason of the  
 “ pressing sollicitations of the sovereign pontiff,  
 that

\* See *Vignier*.

† Vide *Guil. Brito. L. 10.*

‡ *Infra unius mensis, filius in Pictoniâ de rege Angliæ & Pictonibus sine consensu, pater in Flandria de Osborn & Flandrensibus, triumphavit. Rigord. Guielm. Brit. Lib. 1.*

(1) See vol. ii, . 342.

“ that Philip granted this truce ; it may never-  
“ theless be presumed that there was no great  
“ difficulty in persuading him to consent to it ;  
“ he could, in fact, wish for nothing more ad-  
“ vantageous, than to see the English repass  
“ the sea, as there was nothing to be got by  
“ them, but on the contrary much to lose.”

Is it possible that partiality can so seduce an historian, as that he should reason in this manner ? John had fled before Lewis, whose army consisted of no more than 7000 foot and 2000 horse ; the lord of Poitou who had favoured his descent at Rochelle had abandoned him ; his troops were discontented, and discouraged ; the league, upon which he founded all his hopes, had just been crushed in Flanders ; not daring to appear in the field, he had shut himself up in Parthenay, a city of Poitou ; Philip was going to attack him with a victorious army ; it was almost impossible for him to escape ; but Philip, who appeared sometimes to despise the threats of Rome, was nevertheless too sensible of the contagious disorder with which the minds of people were at that time agitated upon the least excommunication, not to pay great deference to the pope ; he was too well convinced of this in the sequel ; besides he was fond of money ; he yielded therefore

to the strong solicitations of his holiness, and the attracting charms of the great sums that were offered him, \* Sixty thousand pounds sterling which was paid him in ready money, induced him to consent to a Truce, when he might easily have driven the English out of Guyenne, and all the other possessions they had on this side of the sea. † It would have been much more prudent and less chimerical for him to have pursued his conquest, than to accept, as he did two years after, the Crown of England for his son.

The reign of a weak and despicable prince, is sometimes productive of good: The people recover their rights and freedoms, which are but too often little thought of under glorious and successful reigns. The English nobility availed themselves of the contempt into which John had fallen, to oblige him to renew and confirm by a fresh Oath, the priveleges which they had enjoyed under the Saxon kings, and to which they had been restored under Henry I. by the famous Charter of *common Liberties*. Scarce had John signed this Charter, than, in order to put himself in a capacity of revoking it, he enlisted in the most secret manner possible,

in

\* Vide Rigord. p. 66. Duchesne vol. 5.

† Vide Larrey.



in Holland, Flanders, Guyenne, and Poitou, all sorts of vagabonds and banditti, and repaired to Dover to raise these different troops. He promised them a part of the spoils of the nobility, and began by sacking the Lands of the principal lords in a most barbarous manner: the Pope some years before had excommunicated this Prince, had declared him unworthy to fill the throne, and had freed his subjects from their Oath of fidelity, because he would not acknowledge an Archbishop of Canterbury of his creation: this same Pope freed him with as much facility from all the Oaths he had taken to his subjects, and excommunicated them, because they were desirous of defending their lives, *their liberties* and properties. Innocent III. that daring, violent and obdurate pontiff, but who according to the Monk Matthew Paris, softened into wax at the sight of gold, (*Ad omnia scelera pro præmiis datis cereus.*) still continued to fill the papal chair. When he was informed by his Legates, that Lewis \* had accepted the crown of England, he mounted the Pulpit, and holding up a sword, † Blade, blade, (said he) “issue from thy scabbard, sharpen thyself to kill and to glitter.”

C 4

The

\* From the time of Lewis VIII.

† Vide Pere Dan. Mezeray.

The Apostles did not preach in this manner.  
 “ He concluded this sermon in playing off all  
 “ his Artillery and destroying the Souls of  
 “ Lewis and Philip *en ricochet*, if he let his  
 “ son go ; \* Mezeray says, that those thun-  
 “ der-bolts, when they are unjust, are no-  
 “ thing more than the thunder-bolts of Sal-  
 “ monius. Philip durst not flater himself  
 that the Ecclesiastics of his kingdom would  
 look upon them in that light ; the succours  
 he furnished to make this enterprize succeed  
 were given in a secret manner ; he condem-  
 ned it in publick. *Sir*, said Lewis to him  
 whom he feigned to desire keeping on his side,  
 “ I am your liegeman for the Fiefs which  
 “ you have given me in France, but it does  
 “ not belong to you to give any decision con-  
 “ cerning the throne of England ; and if you  
 “ pretend to offer me any violence in that  
 “ respect, I shall make application to the  
 “ court of peers : they have heard as well as  
 “ you what the deputies have said, who are  
 “ come to offer me that Throne in the part  
 “ of the Barons and the nobility : My preten-  
 sions are incontestable, and I will support them  
 even to death. These deputies had said,  
 that John obtained the crown only by election ;  
 that

\* Vide Jean de Serres and Andrew Duchesne.

that he had publicly abdicated it ; that it was true, the Pope had restored it to him at the end of five days, but that the Pope could not restore what John had not in his power to give ; that this prince had at his coronation † promised to observe, inviolably the Charter of *their Liberties* ; that they had acknowledged him for king, only upon this condition ; that far from fulfilling his promise, he had sent for foreign troops to rivet the fetters of the nation ; that by violating his own oaths, he had released them from those which they had taken to him, that a king particularly one who reigned by election, became culpable like another man, from the moment he was a traitor to his country ; that there could be no greater treason, than wanting to throw a free nobility into slavery, and to render them tributary to a foreign prince ; § that under the Saxon kings, and from the time of William the conqueror, many examples might be brought to prove that the order of succession was not always followed ; || that the Speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury at the time of John's election, to the prejudice of Arthur, was a proof hereof :

C 5 If

† Vide Rapin de Thoyras vol. 2. p. 305,

§ The Pope.

|| Vide Matthew Paris p. 264.

*If, said this prelate, \* any one of the family of the last king is found, who surpasses the others in excellence, we ought to make no difficulty in submitting ourselves to his dominion; that Prince Lewis was not only one of the nearest heirs on the side of the Princess Blanche, his wife, daughter to Eleanor, sister of Richard Coeur de Lion, who died without issue, but he was the only one able to assist them; that they therefore came to intreat him to accept of a crown which they had formerly entrusted to John, and which was vacant, independently of all their grievances, from the solemn abdication which that unworthy prince had made of it. Such were the reasons alledged by the deputies of the English nobility: all our historians have weakened and mutilated them, because they have gone no farther than transcribing from the English monk, Matthew Paris.*

Lewis landed at the Port of Sandwich, May 23. 1216, was crowned at London, where he received the homage of the Barons, and that of Alexander I. king of Scotland, for the fiefs which he enjoyed in England. John who had not dared to risk a battle by opposing the landing of the French Troops, fled before them from County to County, and was in  
danger

danger of perishing with his army, in crossing a Marsh which divides the Counties of Lincoln and Norfolk ; as it was, he lost his baggage and treasure. Rapin de Thoyras says, that this irreparable loss in the circumstances wherein he was at that time, threw him into a violent Fever, of which he died at the end of a few days, Oct. 28. 1216. \* Other historians relate, that having with great difficulty reached the Abbey at Swinhead, he was there poisoned by the Monks, because, said they, he is now nothing but a Tyrant. Some years before, when he was at the head of some foreign troops ravaging the lands of his Barons in the most barbarous manner, William Albinet governor of Rochester, who had shut himself up with his family in the Castle, perceiving an archer who aimed at this prince, and was going to kill him : Wretch said he, turning the bow aside, “ Knowest thou that it  
“ is the king ? I am sensible that we are re-  
“ duced to the last extremity, that we are in  
“ want of every thing ; that we have no hopes  
“ of being succoured ; that he is going to  
“ attack us by assault ; that he was always  
“ void of mercy ; that he will massacre us  
“ all, and that my family and myself will be

C 6

the

\* Vol. II. p. 357.

“ the first victims that he will sacrifice to his  
 “ implacable enmity : ——— but it is the  
 “ King.”

He was surnamed John Lack-land, because Henry II. his father, had designed nothing for him in the first partition he made of his Dominions amongst his children : it's said, he had this surname fixed upon him after his death. The monks of Winchester spread abroad amongst the People, that a continual noise was heard upon his tomb, and that hideous cries frequently issued from it ; they cast his body into an open Field.

He left two Sons ; Henry the eldest was but ten years old. The greater part of the Barons began to reflect, that by acknowledging him for king, there would be a minority : this is a flattering prospect for restless and phlegmatic spirits, who want to feed themselves with new arrangements in the state, factions, intrigues, and cabals : besides in the present situation of this young Prince's affairs, every one was in hopes of having his own price in joining with him. They had received Lewis as their deliverer, which he really was : but as soon as the violation of Oaths is thought of, pretences are soon invented to give a gloss to treason, they said that he had not only distrust-  
 ed

ed them, but that he had been guilty of injustice towards them, and had affronted them, by bestowing the government of several important Places upon Frenchmen. Some were base enough to pretend continuing in his interest, in order to find opportunities of betraying him by perfidious Counsels. \* The Count de Perche reproached them with this at the battle of Lincoln, where the French troops were in a most disadvantageous situation cut to pieces, without being able either to make an attack, or to defend themselves. This loss was succeeded by another at sea ; some little succours which came from Calais, were defeated, *and what contributed the most to our victory, says an English † historian, was that we had on board our Ships a very great quantity of quick lime ; we cast it into the air, and a favourable wind blew it into the eyes of the French, and blinded them.*

Lewis saw himself blocked up in London ; *We must get rid of him*, was the cry of an arrogant and base mob, *he is a French Prince*. He had indeed all the courage and dignity of one ; he knew the English, and seemed less provoked to see himself shamefully abandoned by them, than anxious to give them up : he sent a message to the  
Earl

\* Rapin de Thoyras Vol. II. p. 384.

† *ibid.* Note.

Earl of Pembroke, tutor to young Henry, whose army was approaching to acquaint him, that he was ready to treat, *but declaring to him at the same time*, says Rapin de Thoyras, § *that he would never consent but to an honourable peace, and which secured those who had called him over to England from every kind of harm.* This generous care, if they did not desire it, was worthy of him. All our historians, Mezerai, Le Gendre, Daniel &c. have advanced that this prince, by one of the Articles of the Treaty, promised that he would endeavour to engage his father to restore all the provinces on this side of the sea, confiscated under king John, or that he himself would yield them up, when he came to the throne. || In this Treaty, which consists of 18 Articles, there is not one that makes mention of this restitution, Rapin de Thoyras \*\* and John le Clerc agree, that if Louis entered into such an engagement, it was probably only a *verbal* one or by secret Articles; \*\*\* they should have frankly acknowledged, what indeed they thought, that the pretended promise of this restitution is a fact shamefully and falsely alledged by the Monk Matthew

§ Vol. II. p. 385.

|| Vide Rymer, Acta publica T. 1 p. 74.

\*\* Vol. II. p. 385.

\*\*\* See Extract of the publick acts, by Rymer p. 668.



Matthew Paris, \* and that far from finding any tracts of it in the publick acts of England, proofs to the contrary are there found, since it is not to be questioned, that Henry would not have failed to make frequent mention of this promise, and the breach of it, in his declarations of war, † or Truces, and in the complaints he made to the Pope who was guarantee of the Treaty between Lewis and him; now ‡ he never mentions it.

Moreover

\* *Matthew Paris* was an Englishman and a monk of St. Albans; His history begins at the conquest of England by William the Conqueror, and ends in 1259. Henry second son to John *Lack-land*, honoured him with his friendship.

† Acta publica T. I. p. 93.

‡ When the queen (*Blanche*) learnt that her son *Lewis*, was taken prisoner by the *Saracins*, she wrote to Henry, who had also taken up the *Cross*, soliciting him to accomplish her vow, and to go to the succour of the *Christians*: Henry wrote to her, and to *Lewis*, that he would hasten his departure, if the provinces that were confiscated from his father *John Lack-land* were yielded to him; he would not have failed to have added, agreeable to the promise which was made me by the late king *Lewis VIII.*: he does not say a word of this: *Lewis VIII.* therefore never engaged to make this restitution, either by secret articles, or verbally.

Litera Henrici III Regis Angliæ, Ludovico IV Regi Franciæ.

anno 1252 | *Requiriti dudum per Literas vestras quod adventum nostrum  
acce'leremus in succursum Terræ sanctæ, recolimus serenitati  
vestræ rescripsisse quod, si Terras nostras per vos & progenitores  
vestros occupatas freti salubri consilio nobis redderetis, passagium  
nostrum acceleraremus, & personam & res nostras exponeremus in ob-*  
Acta publica | *sequium crucifixi ad honoris vestri incrementum.  
T. I. p. 167. | Et licet jam passagium nostrum sit juratum, &*

Moreover a refusal only of the treaty removes every likelihood of this promise ; Lewis does not there talk like a prince who receives laws ; on the contrary he imposes conditions in favour of his adherents and allies ; he insists upon the payment of the ransoms which are due to him, and they are promised him : it may be discovered by all the articles, that he imagines he should pass over a golden bridge ; and in fact besides 5000 marks of silver which the City of London had lent him, he received 15000 more, in ready money, upon condition of never returning again to England with an evil intent. Our historians ever lazy, and who frequently go no farther than to

copy

*certo tempore statutum, idem tamen passagium anticipabimus, potenter nos accingendo ad prædictæ Terræ succursum, dum tamen occupata prædicta nobis benigne restituantis, quod vestræ Regiæ dignitati ad salutem cedit perpetuam, & laudem famæ temporalis.*

The queen (Blanche) seemed disposed to yield Normandy to Henry, but the French Barons opposed it : if the queen regent, said they, through the natural affection of a mother desirous of snatching her son from the hands of the Saracins, is inclinable to take such a step, she cannot expect that we should ever consent to it, and that we should approve of any one's looking upon the sentence of the Peers, that condemned John Lack land, who was thereby deprived of Normandy as trifling and void : it would be very astonishing, they added, that the king himself should presume to engage in such matters without our consent : *ab sit enim ut duodecim parium judicium quo justè abjudicatur Rex Anglorum & privatatur Normandiâ, cassetur & pro frivolo habeatur . . . factum est murmur horribile inter Magnates francorum, quod sine consensu universalis Bernagii, talia præsumeret Rex Franciæ præmeditari.* Matthew Paris p. 558, 604 and 605.

copy from one another, have either never enquired after the original piece, or have been ignorant of it; they have imprudently referred to Matthew Paris; not only the character but the whole life of Lewis VIII. would have been evidence against the asseverations of the English Monk, had they once reflected; never was a Prince more courageous, or less liable to be guilty of an action unworthy of a Frenchman. Besides, \* as soon as he offered to withdraw himself, says Rapin de Thoyras, “The Earl of Pembroke did not hesitate giving his consent to it, considering that the king of France’s troops and money were not so much exhausted, as to render him unable to make still great efforts for discharging the Prince his son.” † This historian should have added that the king of France had 25 Hostages at Compiègne, which had been given him by the English Barons, and doubtless were of the most illustrious families in England.

Young Henry, immediately after his being proclaimed king by the Lords of his party, had paid the homage of his crown to the Pope, in the hands of the legate, confirming also the gift his father had made to the holy See: this was the reason that his Holiness interested himself so warmly

\* Vol. 2. p. 385.

† Rapin de Thoyras Vol. 2. p. 353. Daniel Vol. 4. p. 235. Larrey vol. 1. p. 469.

warmly in his favour, whilst through esteem he pontifically excommunicated Lewis every Sunday, knowing him to be incapable of ever submitting to this shameful homage; and this gave the finishing hand to the opprobrium of the English barons; they did not only betray a Prince whom they had called over, but also the honour and rights of their nation, because in submitting to the dominion of Henry, they acknowledged England to be a fief, and a tributary fief of Rome. Some amongst them endeavoured to excuse themselves, by saying that Philip should either not have sent them his son, or that in sending him, he should openly have assisted him with all the forces of his kingdom. It's true, this monarch's conduct was very singular; he sent only feeble succours in comparison of those which he might have given; he suffered the French bishops to publish the excommunication against Lewis; he confiscated his lands, and daily said that he would neither see him nor speak to him, to avoid exposing himself to the contagion of an excommunicated person: did not he hereby himself furnish the English Ecclesiastics with the necessary reasons for retaining the people in the party which the Pope favoured?

Philip Augustus died July 14th. 1223.; our historians, and amongst others Father Daniel, the

the constant copier of Matthew Paris, say that upon Lewis VIII's accession to the crown, Henry sent to him to ask the restitution of Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Poitou, *agreeable to the treaty concluded between them at London*; that Lewis answered that he possessed those provinces, by the right of war, by that of a Sovereign over his rebellious vassals, and in consequence of the sentence given against John *Lackland*, by the court of peers; that moreover he did not think himself obliged to fulfil a treaty, several articles of which Henry himself had first violated. I have proved that Lewis never engaged to restore these provinces, and he lost no time to make it known, that he had on the contrary resolved to drive all the English out of his kingdom. He declared that Henry having failed in duty as vassal by not appearing at his coronation in quality of Duke of Guyenne, he confiscated anew all the moveable fiefs of the crown; which had belonged to the kings of England. He assembled his army near Tours, passed the Loire, defeated the English in the country of Aulnis, made himself master of Niort, St. John d'Angeli, Rochelle, Limousin, Perigord, and in general of all that they possessed on this side of the Garonne; there remained nothing more to do but to drive them from Bourdeaux and Gascony, when unfortunately

unfortunately upon the representation of the Pope and the Ecclesiastics, he abandoned his object to turn his arms against the count de Toulouse and the heretics of Languedoc; *he granted Henry a truce, says le Gendre, in consideration of the Sum of 30,000 Marks.* \*

Matthew Paris makes Louis VIII. die at the siege of Avignon, being poisoned by the count de Champagne; it is very certain that he took that city Sept. 12. 1226. and that he did not die till two months after, Novr. 8. at Montpensier in Auvergne. If William de Puilaurens, a cotemporary writer, is to be credited upon this subject, the Physicians † having declared to this prince that his disorder was occasioned by an excess of continence and health, his chamberlains introduced to his bedside whilst he was asleep, a young girl of exquisite beauty, to whom they earnestly recommended to say, that she did not come there  
*excited*

\* vol. 3. p. 270.

† . . . . . *Sentiens Arcambaldus de Borbonio posse juvari Regem amplexu fœminæ, quæsitam virginem speciosam ac generosam, atque edoctam, qualiter Regi se offerret & loqueretur, quod non libidinis desiderio, sed auditæ infirmitatis auxilio advenisset, dormiente rege, à cubiculariis ejus, de die fecit in thalamum introduci; quam Rex evigilans, cum vidisset aspirantem, quæsit quæ esset & qualiter introisset? Quæ sicut edocta erat, ad quid advenerat, referavit; cui gratiatus rex ait; non ita erit, puella, non enim peccarem mortaliter ullo modo, & convocato Dom. Arcambaldo de Borbonio, mandavit eam honorificè maritari. Guil. de Pod'io lauentii. cap.*

excited by any lascivious desires, but solely from the generous motive of a Subject who should be charmed to preserve a life so precious to the State. Lewis, when he awoke, asked this young person in a very gracious manner, what she wanted; this she gave him to understand by her blushes, the embarrassment she was under, and some words feebly articulated; No, no, (said he) *I would rather die than commit a mortal sin.* He caused the remedy to be taken from him, recommending it however, to Archambaud de Bourbon to recompence her good intentions, and to wed this elegant virgin in an honourable way.

S. Lewis, his successor, gave the investiture of the county of Poitou to his brother Alphonso; Hugh count de la Marche assembled troops, fortified himself in his cities and castles, and had the effrontery to declare to Alphonso, that he no longer acknowledged him for his Lord, and asked succours from the king of England. Henry was not very scrupulous in the faithful observance of his Oaths; so that though the truce with France was not expired, he put to Sea and landed at the port of Royan. The great Chronicle of St. Denis relates that the countess de la Marche, the handsomest, the most impious, and the most wicked \* of her age, *went to meet him, and said to him;*

\* She wanted to poison S. Lewis.

him; *Good dear son, you are very kind to come in this manner to succour your brothers, \* whom the son of Blanche of Castille would too much trample upon and tread under foot.* These sons of Blanche of Castille descended from Robert *the Strong*, and the kings of England from Torquet, † a private gentleman of Brittany; but setting aside the origin of the two houses, this countess, though a widow of John *Lack land* and mother to Henry, having besides quitted her rank to wed a count de la Marche, should not have been so puffed up as to say, that she would sooner kill herself *than bend her knee before the wife of Alphonso*, a son of France.

S. Lewis marched against the English, and found them encamped on the other side of the Charente; having gained the shore, sabre in hand, at the head of his guards, he forced all the barricades of the bridge of Taillebourg; at the same time part of his army having forded the river, or crossed it in boats, obliged the enemy to abandon the shore, and soon made themselves masters of ground enough to form themselves in battle array. Henry was in consternation at the prodigies of valour he saw S. Lewis perform, and strongly recommended to his brother to endeavour

\* They were only half brothers to Henry.

† Father of Ingelger, a branch of the Counts of Anjou, kings of England.



your amusing him by proposals of peace. Richard threw off his casque and cuirass, took a white truncheon in his hand, came into our army, and was conducted to the king, of whom he obtained a suspension of arms till the next day. This was in the month of July: at day break our troops discovered the English had decamped: we followed them, but could not come up with them till near ten o'clock. The ground was advantageous for them, being situated between two hills, and intersected with vineyards; Prince Richard, the earls of March and Leicester, drew them up in order of battle, and endeavoured to animate them by their discourse and example: it was a long and bloody battle; but at length they were broken on every side, and Lewis pursued, not so much with the design of accomplishing their defeat, as to prevent bloodshed, and the impetuosity of troops flushed with the Victory. Henry being apprehensive that he should be invested in Xaintes, flew as far as Blaye, and not thinking himself in security even then, shut himself up in Bourdeaux.

The proposals of peace, which he caused to be made, were immediately rejected. This was in the beginning of August, and the French were unwilling to lose the favourable moment, as Philip Augustus and Lewis VIII. had done of driving the

the English out of the kingdom. Unfortunately S. Lewis seemed to be out of order; many of our troops died of a kind of pestilential disease; it was feared he had caught it: his disposition was well known, and it was certain if the Campaign continued, he would not leave the army: His barons agreed to grant Henry a truce for five years, \* upon conditions of his annually paying £ 5000 sterling, and that the conquered places should remain in the hands of the Victor. It has been observed, that our kings in granting a peace or a truce, were always attentive to stipulate payment of a certain sum of money from the enemy: in those times war was carried on from no other source than that of their own savings, and the revenues of their lands and domains, which their ministers had not yet applied.

From the time that sentence was passed against John *Lackland*, there had been nothing but Truces between the two crowns; S. Lewis concluded a treaty of peace in 1259, whereby he not only left Henry in possession of all that remained to him beyond the Garonne, but even restored to him whole provinces, Perigord, Limousin, Quercy, Agenois and part of Saintonge beyond the Charente, on condition of paying Liege-homage for them, and renouncing all his pretensions to Normandy

Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou. This peace says Mezeray, “ at a time when  
“ nothing was more easy than entirely to drive  
“ off these ancient enemies to their own island,  
“ turned the stomachs of all good Frenchmen :  
“ the scrupulous monarch would make it, not-  
“ withstanding the remonstrances of all his  
“ council, and this is the only time ; for he  
“ never happened to run counter to the will of  
“ his Barons.

The history of Rapin de Thoyras will ever be read with pleasure : his style, though not always chaste, is agreeable ; the order, the neatness of his narration, and his happy transitions incessantly attract and carry away the reader : he is equal to the best historians of antiquity for his manner of preparing and arranging the events that are to appear, by pointing out their causes ; but he was born a Frenchman ; the revocation of the edict of Nantes compelled him to quit his country ; he hated it, perhaps, because he regretted it's loss : the animosity he bears it, is frequently to be observed, as well as his glaring partiality for that nation, whose history he wrote. All that he says upon the subject of the treaty of 1259, is barefaced and contrary to his own self-conviction. I agree with him, that Henry had impoverished England by continually sending money to Ger-

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many and Rome, in order to get his brother Richard elected king of the Romans, and his second son king of Sicily; that his parliament complained of this, and at the same time of several infractions of *Magna Charta*: that Henry consented to appoint twelve commissioners, and agreed that his Parliament should have the nomination of twelve more, who should unite their endeavours for the reformation of abuses: “ That these twenty four commissioners, being  
 “ apprehensive that a foreign war might destroy  
 “ the work, which they had so happily begun,  
 “ and that S. Lewis in order to accomplish the  
 “ conquest of Guyenne, might avail himself of  
 “ the present distressed situation of England,  
 “ came to a resolution of concluding a firm and  
 “ durable peace with France.” \* I agree to these facts; but this historian afterwards heaps falsity upon falsity, when he subjoins that the Earl of Leicester took upon himself the office of coming to Paris in order to propose the terms of this peace, and that the court of France finding the proposals made by England very advantageous, *were extremely willing to look upon this Earl as duly authorized*, and concluded with him a treaty, *which Henry was obliged to sign*. I shall quote nothing but the English acts; these evince, that

\* Vol ii. p. 502.

that besides the apprehension of losing Guyenne, Henry was absolutely resolved upon making peace with France, because it was necessary to forward his schemes upon the kingdom of Sicily; † that in order to negotiate this peace, he sent the earl of Leicester and three other ambassadors to Paris, so early as the year 1257 ‡ that there were no disputes at that time between him and his parliament; that this misunderstanding did not begin till 1258; that he came to Paris in 1259 to confer upon and terminate the matter with S. Lewis; that they had several conferences, and that as he himself negotiated in person, there can be no truth in asserting, “ That the  
 “ court of France being extremely willing to  
 “ look upon the Earl of Leicester as duly antho-  
 “ rized, though they were not ignorant of the  
 “ situation of affairs in England, concluded a  
 “ treaty, which Henry was afterwards obliged  
 “ to sign.” He signed it at Abbeville, and found it so advantageous, that he insisted upon it's being signed by S. Lewis's son: his own sons, his brother Richard and the twenty four commissioners signed it: he wrote a letter to the Pope, to thank him for his mediation, and to testify how well satisfied he was with having brought

D 2

this

† Vide Rymer Acta publica T. i. part 2. pp. 25 and 44.

‡ Ibid. p. 27.

this important affair to an issue ; moreover, when in 1265, he had conquered his Barons and the Earl of Licester, and saw himself for the remainder of his reign, as much master in England, as he had ever been, he constantly maintained the peace with France, and never thought of exclaiming against the treaty of Abbeville ; his successors (Edward I. and Edward II.) confirmed and ratified it still more by new acts, and if they had any disputes with our kings, they only related to some \* lands, which they pretended were dependencies of Guyenne. Can it be credited that notwithstanding these acts, and every thing the most evident in history, Rapin de Thoyras, has the boldness to aver † “ That the kings of  
 “ England, who were successors to Henry, did  
 “ not think themselves bound by a treaty, made  
 “ in such a Conjuncture of affairs, whereby  
 “ France would acquire a right over Normandy,  
 “ Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou, which  
 “ she before supported only by the force of  
 “ arms ; for, adds he ‡ if these provinces had  
 “ made part of the monarchy under the second  
 “ race, Hugh Capet had given them as fiefs to  
 “ some Lords, from whom they had reverted to  
 “ the

\* See the treaty of peace between the kings of France and England and Rymer's Acts Vol. i. part 3. pp. 14 and 15.

† Vol. ii. p. 502.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 228.

“ the kings of England by legal succession, and  
 “ it is easier to aver than to prove that Philip  
 “ Augustus had just reason for confiscating  
 “ them ?” Is it not remarkable that this histo-  
 rian should seem to doubt that the members of a  
 state ought to be subject to the laws which are  
 therein established, and to the conventions which  
 they themselves have made and desired ? The  
 great fiefs of the crown were nothing more than  
 donations which our kings at the death of the  
 feudatory, renewed in favour of his Son, or near-  
 est of kin, receiving at the same time, his faith  
 and homage ; these donations were liable to be  
 revoked and confiscated for ingratitude, disobedi-  
 ence, felony, injustice and wrongs done to the  
 sovereign, or to those who belonged to him ; it  
 was usual for the feudatories, who were guilty of  
 any of these offences, to lose their fiefs for ever,  
 without being able to recover them ; and there  
 was the more reason for this as these feudatories  
 (the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Guyen-  
 ne, the counts of Champagne, Thoulouse and \*  
 D 3 Flanders)

\* We find in Rymer's acts (p. 12. and 8) that the counts  
 of Flanders, in the sec et treaties which they made with the  
 king of England, promised on condition of a certain sum, that if  
 he had a war with the king of France they would send as few men  
 over as they possibly could to the succours of the king of France  
 their lord, *but however in such a manner that he could not be  
 authorized to divest them of their fiefs* ; the kings of France could  
 therefore

Flanders) were originally nothing more than the removable administrators of these provinces, whereof they had obtained the hereditary property. John *Lack-land*, who was accused of having assassinated his nephew Arthur, was cited before the court of Peers; he sent ambassadors to Paris to ask a safeguard; the answer which Philip Augustus made was simple, just and natural; they wanted to object that their master was not only duke of Normandy, but at the same time king of England, and that if he even submitted to expose himself to this appearance, the Barons of his kingdom would oppose it. “What is that to me? (replied Philip) Is not the duke of Normandy † my vassal? Is he not  
“ liable

therefore confiscate the fiefs of their great and little vassals, in cases of felony, rebellion &c.

† Normandy was a liege-fief like the rest. The cotemporary historian of the life of Lewis the young, says, *Normaniam . . . Henrico, filio comitis andegavorum, reddidit, & eum pro eadem terrâ in hominem ligium accepit.* Hist. gloriosi Regis Ludovici. Duchesne. T. 4.

The king of France in the treaties he made with the king of England calls them *ses feaux* (his feudatories,) and they stile him *their Lord*. “We Henry king of England, will aid Philip king of France *our Lord*, with all our power, We Philip king of France, will aid Henry king of England, *our man* and our faithful, with all our power. Acta publica Angliæ T. i. p. 17. anno 1180.

This is what we Philip king of France have promised to  
Richard



“ liable to be called in question by his Peers for  
 “ an attempt committed in France upon another  
 “ of my vassals and my own son-in-law ? If he  
 “ has thought proper to acquire a higher title,  
 “ I am not upon that account to lose the rights  
 “ of my sovereignty.” John not having ap-  
 peared was therefore judicially condemned to  
 death, and the fiefs which he held of the crown  
 were very legally confiscated. Moreover the  
 kings of England, who were now become pos-  
 sessors of more than half the kingdom, had al-  
 ways endeavoured to usurp the rest ; they were  
 incessantly exciting the other vassals to revolt,  
 supported them in their rebellion, and afforded a  
 refuge for all the disaffected : this was a continued  
 felony on their part, and I ask whether abstractedly  
 from all political reasons, the love alone, which  
 princes owe to their people, did not require our

## D 4

kings

Richard king of England, (our faithful friend) : Then follows  
 what we Richard king of England, have promised to Philip  
 king of France our lord and friend. *ibid.* p. 20. anno. 1189.

This is the form of peace concluded between us and our dear  
 and faithful John king of England. Then follows the form of  
 peace concluded between Philip the illustrious king of France  
 our Lord, and us John king of England. *ibid.* anno 1200

To the illustrious king of France our relation and Lord,  
 Henry king of England &c. *ibid.* anno 1259.

To Philip king of France, our cousin and Lord, Edward king  
 of England &c. *ibid.* anno 1272.

Similar Letters from Edward II. and Edward III. *ibid.* anno  
 1329.

kings to exert that right which they derived from the feudal laws, to drive out of their kingdom seditious and rebellious vassals who were often perfidious, and who from father to son, had so long caused the misfortunes and desolation of France?

Our historians, after having falsely averred, upon the authority of Matthew Paris, that Lewis VIII. when blocked up in London, had promised to yield the provinces, which had been confiscated from John *Lack-land*, say that S. Lewis, through a tenderness of conscience, and for the repose of his father's Soul, made the treaty of 1259. There are even those who adapt another imposition of this Monk: he says that Lewis VIII. had ordered at his death the restitution of these provinces: the will of this prince is still extant, wherein far from ordering this restitution to be made, he bequeaths to his third son Anjou and Maine, and to his fourth Auvergne and Poitou.

All that I have said evinces that S. Lewis could have no scruple with regard to the confiscation made by his Grandfather, and renewed by his father: he himself declared \* to his Barons that he thought it just. Why then did he restore these four provinces? Through impatience to  
return

\* *Vide Joinville.*

return into the east, and to accomplish the vow he had made of delivering the holy sepulchre; because he was shocked at the thoughts of spilling Christian blood, and his heroism prompted him only to combat with infidels: besides, Henry came to visit him at Paris, was his courtier, and gained his esteem; *we are brothers in law*, said the pious king; *his children are cousins german to mine; I want to establish peace between them and the two kingdoms.* \* The sequel does not prove that heaven blessed his good intentions.

His son Philip the bold, and Edward I. son to Henry III. began their reigns nearly about the same time. It is proper to be acquainted with Edward I. whose memory is as dear to the English, as that of Charles V. or Lewis XII. is to the French: I shall not take upon me to conclude, that his character is in general that of the English nation; but unluckily one may always discern a ground work of ferocity, even in such of their kings as they admire the most.

Edward, after having compelled Lewallyn, prince of Wales, to submit to pay him homage, made the yoke of vassalage so burthensome to him, that he was forced to take up arms again: he lost his head by Edward's command, and through a scandalous and barbarous derision, it

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was

\* Vide Matthew Paris.

was exposed crown'd with ivy, over the gate of the tower of London. \* The country of Wales was not dismembered from the English monarchy ; it had never made part of it, and therefore was not subject to confiscation : David, brother and heir to Lewellyn, wanted to recover his rights ; some traitors sold him to Edward, who made his parliament condemn him to be quartered ; and none of the horrors of the most unjust and shocking punishment were spared a Prince, who descended from Roderick the Great, and from one of the most ancient Royal-Houses of Europe.

Some years afterwards, Edward was chosen arbitrator between the pretenders to the throne of Scotland, which he decided in favour of John Baliol, and availed himself of the opportunity, to assert that that kingdom was a fief depending upon the crown of England : John Baliol paid him homage, and did not wait long to feel his most mortifying contempt : I design, said the English monarch to him, that you shall come to England, appear before me, and attend the bar of my tribunal, when ever I shall think proper ; a sovereignty exercised with so much pride, and to which the title was so ill founded, provoked the Scots ; they revolted ; Edward entered their  
country

• Vide Larrey.

country three times, and in order to humble them, endeavoured as many times to destroy it; dastardly and cruel he ordered the royal blood to flow upon the scaffold; \* he even invented new punishments for the women, † whilst in fear of incurring the displeasure of the Pope, he did not dare to punish some bishops, who were taken with arms in their hands and cuirasses under their habits.

Let us now see, after what manner this so haughty and terrible prince behaved, with his vassals, to the king of France his Lord. Two sailors, the one an Englishman, and the other a Norman, were boxing at the port of Bayonne; the English sailor pulled out a knife and killed the Norman. This quarrel was the cause of a great many more among the mariners of these two nations; a fleet of merchantmen coming out of the ports of Normandy, met with an English fleet of the same sort; they began to upbraid each other, and at last came to blows; the English were very roughly handled. It was hitherto nothing more, than a small private war, between two individuals; but some English men of war having intermeddled, they took and sunk near two hundred boats, and afterwards drawing near to Rochelle, attempted to surprize this city, while

D 6

privateers

\* The brothers of Robert Bruce.

† The countess of Bogham, and her sister,

privateers from Bayonne made desolation round every part of it.

Philip the Fair, dispatched ambaffadors to Edward, to know the reason of these hostilities, and to inform him, that he should be cited before the court of Peers, if satisfaction was not immediately received; Edward answered, that he should always be greatly delighted, to maintain the peace, that had subsisted between the two kingdoms ever since the treaty of Abbeville, but that otherwise he was not under any one person's jurisdiction; that if any of the king of France's subjects, complained of their having been injured by any of his, they might come to London with all safety; that he kept his tribunal there and would render them speedy justice. This answer which declared all manner of independence, did not fail to irritate Philip; Edward as duke of Guyenne, was cited before the court of Peers to answer for the conduct of the privateers from Bayonne, and others of his vassals.

He seems to have been one of those advantageous men, whose air of audacity is soon brought down, and who begin to comply, as soon as they are treated with haughtiness. This vassal who was subject to no jurisdiction, sent prince Edward his brother, to excuse him and answer in his name, saying, \* *that his health would not suffer him to*  
be

\* Meseray.

*be exposed to the air of the sea*: Philip was determined, that he should appear in person; and as soon as the adjournments of the citation were expired, he confiscated Guyenne, and ordered troops to march into it, under the command of Raoul constable of Nesle.

The English historians averr, that the queen mother in law to Philip, and the queen his consort, signed with prince Edward a treaty, in order to pacify the king of France on his complaints against certain commanders, judges, and privateers, of the dutchy of Guyenne, and to make him publick satisfaction; by which treaty the king of England should deliver up to him, the persons whom he had complained of, and likewise all the cities of that dutchy; that Philip some days afterwards, upon the solicitations of the two queens, would return back every thing, revoke the citation that was passed on Edward in the court of Peers, and grant him a pass, that he might arrive safe to Amiens, where he would receive him again, with new fealty and homage. These historians add, that in executing this treaty, the cities and towns of Guyenne, having been given up to the constable of Nesle, Philip broke his promise, and kept them. The truth of this fact is, that by this treaty, only six places were to be delivered up, that they were  
delivered

delivered accordingly, and that he pretended not to have promised to restore them, until after he had been indemnified for the expences of the war and for the depredations made upon his subjects.

Edward sent to Paris a Dominican and a Cordelier, to reproach Philip, and to tell him, that he did not any longer acknowledge him as his Lord ; he made a league with the Emperor Adolphus of Nassau, the duke of Austria, and also, with many other German princes, the archbishop of Cologne, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, the counts of Holland, Juliers, Luxembourg and Bar ; but this cloud of allies, after many threats, bravadoes, and much expence to the English, vanished away in less time than it had taken up in forming ; some failed in their engagements ; the troops that were sent by the emperor, were met and cut to pieces near Comines by the earl of St. Pol, and the constable of Nesle ; the count of Bar, who had made an irruption into Champagne, was beat and made prisoner by the queen, \* who commanded in person, and gave all the orders during the whole time of action ; a large detachment under the command of the count d'Artois, was attacked by the Flemish near Furnes, whom they afterwards

\* Jane of Navarre, wife of Philip the fair. Mezeray vol. ii. p. 350.



fell upon and charged so vigorously, that there remained 16,000 of them on the field of battle; Philip took Lille, Courtray, Douay, Cassel, and Furnes; On news having been received, that the king of England was at last arrived to the relief of his allies with some troops, and that he was at Bruges with the earl of Flanders, he marched towards that city; and they not daring to wait for him retired to Gand. The English were not a whit more successful at Guyenne, where they had only Bayonne in their possession: They had lost two battles there; the count de Valois had won the first of prince Edward, who there received a wound of which he died afterwards; the count d'Artois won the second, of the earl of Lincoln.

Edward perceiving our Army advancing towards Gand, asked a cessation of arms; “ I grant it, (replied Philip to his envoy,) and notwithstanding all my victories and conquests, shall never be averse to peace, when I find sincerity in the proceedings of my enemies, and submission in my vassals.” The cessation of arms was followed by a truce, which the depressed English prince did not obtain as Rapin de Thoyras asserts, † “ But only thro’ the mediation of the king of Sicily, and the earl of Savoy,

† Vol. iii. p. 71.

“ Savoy, who interceded for him.” This truce by which Philip remained in possession of every thing he had subdued, was only for a few months ; it was prolonged afterwards to two years, and terminated at last in a treaty of peace ; Edward married Philip’s sister, and his son Philip’s daughter ; † he promised to abandon the unfortunate earl of Flanders, whom he had engaged to revolt. Guyenne was again restored to him, which he had never any hopes of recovering by arms, upon condition, that he should come and pay homage for it in the city of Amiens without restriction.

The war between the two crowns was renewed, under the reigns of Charles the Fair, and Edward the second, occasioned by lord Montpesat’s building a castle, three leagues from Agen, upon a piece of ground, that did incontestably belong to the domain of France. The officer who commanded on this frontier, received orders from Charles the Fair, to seize this fortress. The lord Montpesat gave out that his land held of the dutchy of Guyenne, and in spite of a decree which condemned him upon the acknowledgements he himself made, the English commander of the garrison of Agen joined him and assisted him to retake his castle, putting all the soldiers to  
the

† She was only seven years old.

the sword, and hanging the officers. Charles the Fair, hearing of this insolent behaviour, so well preserved his moderation, as to send to the king of England, to demand justice; possibly as it was only French blood that was spilt, it was not deemed a crime in those days, at the court of London. Edward had the injustice to want to defend this horrible attempt: whilst he was privately raising troops in Guyenne, and fortifying and securing his places, the earl of Kent's brother was at Paris, where he endeavoured to amuse the king with fair promises. Mezeray says, that Charles having at last declared he was very much surprized at their delay in not making him the satisfaction and reparation which he had demanded, "The earl of Kent set out, carrying with him the chevalier Peter d'Arablai, before whom the guilty were to be brought, but when they had gone about half way the earl of Kent dismissed the said chevalier, ridiculing him," and threatening to kill him if he offered to go a step farther: The count de Valois entered Guyenne, and made himself master of all the country between Garronne and Dordogne. Isabella of France \* the wife of Edward, and sister of Charles came to Paris to ask peace and obtained it. Charles kept l'Agenois, to indemnify

\* A collection of treaties &c. by Tillet.

demnify himself for the expences of the war, and did not deliver it back till three years afterwards, and then, not without the sum of fifty thousand pounds sterling. He died on the first day of February in the year 1328, and during the reign of Philip de Valois, his successor, we shall see the ambition of the English assume a new form.

The fundamental part of the character of a nation never changes; all historians who have spoke of the first beginning of our monarchy, paint the French a lively high-spirited and passionate people, falling upon every thing with impetuosity that opposes them, but generous, *full of confidence*, and magnanimous as soon as they have conquered; it's said they admitted their prisoners to their table, and gave them a place in their tent; they often returned them their arms, and slept by their side without the least dread: after having disarmed them, they thought they had likewise subdued their courage and resentment. We had given up Guyenne and Ponthieu to the English; we permitted them to remain among us; we slept upon the faith of alliances and treaties; the hour of waking was dreadful: our kings had always kept their eyes shut against the necessity of securing the tranquillity of their people; they had too often spared an arrogant

gant and turbulent enemy, whom Heaven at last permitted to shake their throne.

It will not be improper, before we relate the events of the war, which Edward the third declared against Philip de Valois, to examine whether his pretensions to the crown of France were well grounded.

The women, \* among the ancient people of Germany, never brought any portions to their husbands ; they inherited nothing from their Fathers, and the succession to their brothers, if they died without male issue, passed to a paternal uncle, or to his sons. It is not to be doubted, that the Salick laws were digested, (under the reign of Pharamond, or of Clovis) upon the customs and manners of the Germans. The sixty-second article of these laws, mentioned in the capitularies of Charlemagne, says, that with respect to the † *Salick land*, *no part of it can descend to the females ; but all the heritage must go to the males.* Marculphus who wrote about the year 660. introduces a father speaking thus to his daughter ; ‡ *there is a barbarous law that we observe, which does not permit sisters to share with their brothers ;* the intention of this law was, to hinder estates from going out of French families,

i. e.

\* Tacit. de Morib. Germ. c. 18.

† Lex Salica Caroli Mag. Tit. 62. par. 6.

‡ Marculp. L. 2. fol. 12.

i. e. from noble families, or from the families of conquerors, and to keep them from strangers. We also see in the same sixty-second article, that females were admitted to share in lands, (1) that the conquerors had not kept for them, and which they had left to the Gauls.

Childebert the son of Clovis had daughters only. His brother Clotaire the I. succeeded him after the demise of Caribert, who left behind him no male issues: Bertha his eldest daughter who was married to Ethelbert, king of Kent, did not pretend to the throne. Gregory of Tours mentions, that Chilperic the first, king of Soissons, answered the \* ambassadors of his nephew Childebert the second, king of Austrasia: “ Death hath  
 “ snatched away my sons; I have now only  
 “ daughters remaining; Childebert, my brother’s  
 “ son

(1) There were two kinds of *aleuds* or hereditary lands, the *Salick-Aleuds*, and the non-*Salick-Aleuds*. The first could not be possessed but by conquerors and only by males. The non-*Salick-Aleuds*, were lands left to the natives of the country in full property and independant of any particular fee; in these the females shared with their brothers; the succession of a Gaul or a Roman, might descend to a Frenchman, who married his daughter, whereas, if a Gaul, or Roman married a Frenchwoman, he had nothing to expect in succession from the father, brothers or French relations of his wife, at least with respect to the *Salick-lands*; The Abbe du Bos, to support this abominable system, endeavours always to confound the *Salick lands* with the military benefices.

\* *Lib. 6. c. 3.*

“son is therefore my immediate heir;” Some time after, Chilperic having impeded the marriage of Rigontha his daughter, with Recarede, king of the Visigoths, \* Childebert dispatched ambassadors to him a second time, charging him not to dismember any part of the monarchy in favour of this marriage. Chilperic gave him his promise accordingly, and Fredegonde his wife, (says Gregory de Tours) when shewing the French lords, what she had given Rigontha assured them that those riches were only the effects of her own œconomy, and that she had taken nothing out of the royal coffers: Gontran king of Orleans and Burgundy having likewise no male issue, contented himself, with recommending his daughter Clotilda, to this same || Childebert, his nephew, whom he acknowledged as his heir, and whose promise he obtained, that she should not be disturbed in enjoying the riches, which he should leave her by his will. All our historians have omitted mentioning the precedent of Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald; neither she nor her son Baldwin earl of Flanders claimed the crown, when the grandees of the kingdom called her cousin Charles the Fat to it. In short in all our history, under the first, second, and third races for almost nine hundred years,

\* *Ibidem* c. 45.

|| *Ibidem*, L. 9. c. 20.

years, until the year 1316, we do not meet with any one princess, who has pretended a right to succeed her father.

Lewis Hutin died on the third of June, 1316 and left behind him only a daughter, but the queen his widow was pregnant ; on the 14th of November she was delivered of a prince who only lived eight days : Philip the Long, who had been declared regent, on the demise of his brother, Lewis Hutin, and during the queen's pregnancy,\* passed from Regency to Royalty, and was consecrated at Rheims on the 9th of January 1317. The duke of Burgundy and the count de la Marche protested against his consecration, saying, that it ought to have been first examined whether the daughters of Lewis Hutin had not a just claim to the crown : || *Rapin de Thoyras says, we may infer from the opposition of these princes of the blood, which was against their own interests, that the Salick law was not at that time indisputable.* An impartial and true historian would have said, we may infer from the singular conduct of these princes, that small private interests and personal enmity exasperated them against Philip § the Long ; he would have added, that certainly it was not a spirit of justice that guided their proceedings, since five months before, on the 17th of July

\* *Nangii. cont.*

|| T. iii. p. 269.

§ *Nangii. cont.*



July 1316, by their own consent, by the advice of the whole council, and by that of the other princes of the blood and Barons it had been determined and signed, that if the queen should only be delivered of a daughter, the crown of France should descend of right to Philip the Long; but that of Navarre should go to the daughter of Lewis Hutin, because females are not excluded from that crown.

Philip the Long in order to remove all the pretences of the dissatisfied called together an assembly of the grandees of the state, which was held on the second of February 1317: almost all the bishops of the kingdom were present, and the university was also summoned to attend. It was unanimously agreed, *that the laws and customs inviolably observed by the French excluded females from the crown.* The Count de la Marche and the duke of Burgundy subscribed to this decision.

Philip the Long having left no male issue, Charles the Fair, his brother, succeeded him without any manner of opposition, and this was a new confirmation of the Salick-law. Charles the fair left only a daughter, and his widow the the queen pregnant; the point therefore was, as at the death of Lewis Hutin, to nominate a regent, and to chuse according to custom that prince

prince of the blood, who was called by law to the crown, if the queen was not delivered of a boy; Edward the third, pretended that he was that prince, and that they ought consequently to confer the regency on him. He dispatched ambassadors to Paris, who pleaded his cause *before the court of Peers, and all the barony of France assembled*, they had not neglected as the chronicles inform us, to endeavour to strengthen their arguments, by noble presents and fair promises signifying moreover to the lords, that the farther the sovereign was distant, the vassal was less in dependency; notwithstanding all their eloquence, and intrigues, and notwithstanding all the gold they squandered away, the regency was given in favour of Philip de Valois, as presumptive heir to the throne: Edward complained bitterly of this decree to his parliament in England; representing in the strongest terms his pretended right to the crown of France, it appears however, as it is represented by the English historians, that his parliament † had not the condescension to find his arguments of any consequence. I will relate them, and also the answers of Philip de Valois in representing the state of the question.

Philip the fair, and Charles count de Valois, were the sons of Philip the Bold: Philip the Fair, had

† Rapin de Thoyras, vol. iii. p. 158.

# PHILIP the Bold, King of France.

PHILIP the fair, king of France.

CHARLES,  
Count de Valois,  
his brother.

LEWIS HUTIN, king of France, died in 1316.

PHILIP the long, king of France, died in 1321.

CHARLES the fair, king of France, died in Edward

JANE, who married Eudes who married left daughters, 1328, and only III.

JANE who married Philip Count IV. Duke of Burgundy. Flanders. dren. who had no chil-

CHARLES the Philip count Lewis, the bad, king of Na-d'Artois, born male.

varre, born in in 1323.  
1332.

had three sons and one daughter, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip the long*, *Charles the fair*, and *Ifabella*, who was married to *Edward II.* and mother of *Edward III.* *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip the long*, and *Charles the fair*, left only daughters; therefore *Philip de Valois*, their Cousin German, son of *Charles de Valois*, was the nearest heir of the male line. It was no question, says *Rapin de Thoyras*, “Between *Edward the third*, and “*Philip de Valois*, whether there was a law, that “was called *Salick-law*, which excluded the fe- “male branch from succeeding to the crown: “whether this law was real or chimerical, *Ed- “ward* and *Philip* were equally interested to “improve it, since it was the only foundation of “both their pretensions; without this law, the “crown would have incontestably devolved to “*Jane*, the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*. . . . *Phi- “lip the Long*, and *Charles the Fair*, had no man- “ner of right to it, and consequently their Sister “*Ifabella* could have no claim; moreover, if “the *Salick-law* had not had any force, *Edward* “himself could not have had any right to the “crown, since he would have been preceded by “the daughters of *Philip the long*, and *Charles the fair*; he had therefore no manner of occa- “sion to contest about the authority of this “law.”

It mentions, said *Edward* \* that the nearest male heir should succeed; it excludes females, on account of the weakness of their Sex: but it's intention was not to exclude the male issue of the females. † I acknowledge added he, that my mother has undoubtedly no manner of right to the crown, being a woman; but I maintain that she renders me capable of succeeding in quality of a male. I am nearer to the preceding kings, being their nephew, than *Philip de Valois*, who is only their Cousin German, 'tis to me, therefore that the crown appertains.

*Philip's* answer consisted in demonstrating that from the beginning of the Monarchy, there had been many instances, wherein the regency had been conferred on queens, that it was not therefore upon the account of their Sex's pretended weakness, that women were not suffered to succeed: that the intent of the law was to hinder the sceptre from passing into the hands of a prince of another nation (2) or even of a different house from that, to which the subjects had paid obedience, the *French* nobility having no idea of being stript of their original right to the crown, or to the election of a king, in case of the reign-

E 2

ing

\* Leibnitz. cod. diplom. vol. ii. p. 66.

† Rob. of Avesbury.

(2) Read the 75th, and 76th. pages of the second vol. of these Essays.

ing Family becoming extinct; that the sons of foreign monarchs, and the daughters of our own kings, were never stiled princes of the blood, in France, and finally that a mother could not transmit to her son a right which she had not, and which she \* could never have.

I am not surprized, that *Rapin de Thoyras* has not cited a reason, that was certainly opposed to the chimerical pretensions of *Edward*: but 'tis something very extraordinary, that *Mezeray*, *le Gendre*, *Daniel*, *Choisi*, and others of our historians, have not mentioned it; it effectually exposes the extravagant injustice of the English monarch. † When *Charles* the fair died in 1328, the daughter of *Philip* ‡ the long had sons; did not the grandsons of *Philip* the long strive to exclude his nephew *Edward*, imagining that an interpretation had been received, that this nephew would devote himself intirely to the *Salick-law*: Besides *Charles* the fair had left daughters, who might be married, and have sons.

*Philip de Valois*, six months after his consecration, summoned *Edward* to come, and pay him homage for the dutchy of *Guyenne*, and the county of *Ponthieu*. || *Edward* wrote to him, the

14th

\* *Baldus*. † *Acta publica* T. ii. pars 4. pag. 70.

‡ *Philip* was born anno 1323. the son of *Jane* daughter of *Philip* the long, and of *Eudes* the IV. duke of *Burgundy*.

|| *Rymer*, *acta publica*. T. ii. pars. 3. pag. 23.

14th of April 1329, that he had for a long time, had an intention to discharge this duty, but, that a multiplicity of affairs prevented him from doing it. He solemnly paid this homage, \* in the city of *Amiens* on the 6th of June; and ratified it by his letters patent † bearing date the 30th day of march anno 1331. The same year he arrived in *France*, made a new treaty relating to the affairs of *Guyenne*, appeared very sensible of the proceedings of *Philip*, who thought fit to allow him a deduction of thirty thousand livres *Tournois* upon the sum that had been stipulated in the preceding treaty. In the beginning of the year 1332; he proposed a double marriage, ‡ that of his son with *Philip's* daughter, and that of his sister with *Philip's* son. This proposal shews, that he had given over all his vain imaginations, with respect to the crown of *France*, or that he was of all men, the most wicked and perfidious. § He employed the years, 1333, 34, 35, and 36, to rob by the basest and most infamous arts, *David Bruce* who was an infant, and his brother-in-law of the kingdom of *Scotland*. In the year 1337 being encouraged by *Robert d'Artois*, who had fled to *England* for refuge, he pretended to be again

E 3

convinced

\* Ibid. p. 27. † Ibid. p. 61: || Ibid. pars iv. pag. 63.  
§ *Rapin de Tboyras* vol. iii. p. 166.

convinced, (1) that he had a right to lay claim to the crown of *France*. He entered into alliances with the emperor, and with many *German* princes: he kept troops in pay from all countries, and when he thought himself in a condition to begin war, he wrote to the pope, “ That after  
 “ the demise of his uncle, *Charles* the fair, the  
 “ crown of *France* devolved to him, as being the  
 “ nearest heir; that he had been deprived of it,  
 “ by a hasty and unjust decree; that the ambassa-  
 “ dors whom he had dispatched to *Paris*, had not  
 “ been heard; that in depriving a minor of a  
 “ crown, which legally appertained to him, the  
 “ grandees of the kingdom had acted more like  
 “ rogues, villains and robbers, than judges: and  
 “ that he protested against every thing that had  
 “ been transacted during his minority.” What would *William the Bastard* the conqueror of England have said, could he have heard from the bottom of his grave one of his descendants treating the French nobility after this manner?

It was well known that Edward’s ambassadors had

(1) He was so little persuaded to it, that in his letter to the Rhymer acta publica, T. i. | pope, dated the 30th of *January* 1340, he says  
 para 4. p. 64 | that if *Philip de Valois* had made him the least offers  
 he would have been satisfied: et revera, si nobis oblationem, etiam mediocrem, tunc fecisset, ad vitandum guerrarum discrimina & expensarum profluvia, super ea responsonem rationabilem fecissemus.



(2) had pleaded his cause before the court of peers when he sent to demand the regency, after the death of Charles the fair; he spoke of it himself \* in the assembly of his parliament at Northampton the latter end of February 1328. The English historians add, that the widow of Charles the fair having only been delivered of a daughter, † he gave other ambassadors a full power bearing date the 16th of May 1328, to demand the crown in his name; he was not in great haste, for it was a month and a half since the queen ‖ had been delivered; if these ambassadors really came to France it is highly probable they did not arrive till after the consecration § of Philip de Valois; besides if they had begged to be heard, they ought not to have been so, since the sentence of the court of peers imported like that which was given in the case of Philip the long, “ That should the

E 4

queen

(2) The pope in his answer to Edward, after proving to him Acta publica T. 2. | that his arguments were false in every respect, pars 4. pag. 70. | and that his pretensions were not warrantable; concludes with advising him, “ To give up as soon as possible “ the title of king of France, a title which would make him “ be despised as a very unjust prince, and which could not fail “ to draw upon him and his posterity for ever, the implacable “ hatred of all the French.

\* Rapin de Thoyras vol. iii. p. 158.

† Acta publica T. ii. pars. 3 pag. 13.

‖ She was delivered the first of April.

§ He was consecrated at Reims the 28th of Mays

“queen be delivered only of a daughter, from that  
“ instant Philip should be acknowledged king.”

Philip having had intelligence of the contents of Edward's letter to the pope replied : neither I nor the king of England could be judges in our own cause ; it was heard and tried in the court of peers, and before all the barons assembled ; who unanimously decided that my right was indisputable ; Edward never even in his own parliament protested against this resolution ; he has acquiesced in it for more than nine years, as all the other potentates of Europe have done ; the allegation of his minority is ridiculous and trifling ; but admitting that was allowable, his parliament had declared him of age, and he governed by himself in the year 1331 when he sent me \* his letters patent, by which he declared and solemnly swore, that he was my leige subject, and that he would serve me on all occasions ; this act has been followed by many others and particularly by a full power, which his ambassadors have shewn me in the course of this present year 1337, by which he empowers them “ To  
“ transact upon all sorts of demands, lawsuits,  
“ † debates, questions and disputes, between our  
“ subjects and his and between him and us, the  
“ king

\* Rapin de Thoyras vol. iii. p. 163.

† Acta publica T. ii. pars 3. pag. 190.

“ king of France and his lord, with respect to his  
 “ lands in the dutchy of Aquitaine and others in  
 “ our kingdom, and upon all adjournments de-  
 “ pending in our court.”

Can it be believed that Edward was not ashamed to reply, that if he had not made publick protestations, he had made secret ones in his privy \* council by which he had declared, “ That  
 “ by the homage which he was going to pay ;  
 “ he did not mean to prejudice his right to the  
 “ crown of France, tho’ he should even ratify  
 “ this homage by his letters patent, and that it  
 “ was only the fear of losing his lands in France,  
 “ which compelled him to take this step. Thus  
 “ no power can depend upon the oaths of a king  
 “ of England, nor upon the treaties which are  
 “ made with him ;” he will always have protested secretly in his privy council against the peace which he has signed, when ever he perceives that any advantage may be gained by beginning a new war.

It would be natural to believe, that Edward having assumed the title of *king of France*, some of our kings had required by treaty, that the successors of this wicked prince should continue to retain it, as a perpetual mark of his bad faith and of shame to the English who were driven out of

E 5

the

\* Rapin de Thoyras vol. iii, p. 159.

the kingdom, altho' backed and assisted by so many rebellious and discontented cities and provinces. It was upon the following occasion that he took this title, with which his successors have continued to adorn themselves, only as the satyrical earl of Rochelle says, *to preserve to themselves the prerogative (3) of curing the kings evil.* The Flemish had begun to rebel again; their earl had sheltered himself in France; they had for their chief commander, James Arteuelle a brewer.

Edward and this brewer stood in need of each other's assistance; they were soon friends, but the Flemish refused to declare against Philip, because they had promised him upon oath by the last treaty, not to bear arms against the king of France their sovereign lord, and that they had also bound themselves to put two thousand florins into the apostolical chamber, if they acted contrary to their promise.

Arteuelle persuaded them that it was an easy thing to remove the scruples they laboured under by persuading Edward to take upon himself the title (4) of king of France; they congratulated

(3) Collyer an English writer says, that this gift came from St. Edward the Confessor.

(4) He had taken this title in a commission sent to the duke Rymer *acta publica* | of Brabant, dated the 7th of October 1537, T. ii. pars 3. p. 192 | but soon dropt it saying, no European prince nor even his allies were willing to give it him; It appears by

ed themselves on having chosen a chief who had so much understanding, and proposed this expedient to the king of England, who found it at first extremely ridiculous, “ But his council (says “ Rapin de Thoyras) after mature reflection, “ approved of this method of getting the Flemish “ to enter into the confederacy.” We see that in case Edward had wanted Jews, he would have taken in like manner the title of Messiah. He published a manifesto by which “ He declared to “ all good Frenchmen that not to seem to refuse “ heaven’s kind offer, and to oppose the will of “ God, he was determined to take upon him the “ government of the kingdom of France, which “ had devolved to him by the death of his uncle “ Charles the fair, promising his protection to all  
E 6 “ those

by a letter which he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, the 21st. of February 1340, that he felt the ridicule of having taken this title, and was afraid his parliament would not approve of such an usurpation: “ Let not any one be surpris’d says he, that “ we have changed our usual style, and that we have nominated “ ourselves king of France, essential reasons have necessarily oblig’d us to take this measure; we will represent them to  
Ibid. pars. 4. | “ you, to the other prelates, and to the lords and  
pag. 69. | “ commons in the next assembled parliament.”

Non mirantes ex hoc quod stilum nostrum consuetum mutavimus, & Regem Franciæ nos facimus nominari; nam diversæ subsunt causæ per quas hoc facere necessario nos oportet, & quas vobis & aliis prælatis & Magnatibus, necnon communitatibus ejusdem regni Angliæ, ad dictum Parliamentum plenius exponemus &c.

“ those who should follow the example of the  
 “ Flemish, and acknowledge him for their sove-  
 “ reign.”

This is the æra of joining the flower de luces and leopards together; it must be observed that Edward stiled himself king of France, England and Ireland, that he placed the flower de luces, in the first and fourth quarters, which are the most honourable, (5) and that all his successors have continued to quarter in the same manner until George the first elector of Hanover. I do not know whether this prince at his accession to the throne of England, declared that he would not reside at Paris, but this is certain that he was the first who began to quarter the first and fourth part, in the first with England, in the second with Scotland, in the second with France, in the third with Ireland.

Many German princes, the duke of Brabant, the earls of Holland, Zeland, Gueldre, Hainaut, Juliers, and Limbourg, and in general all the lords of the Netherlands brought troops to Edward; his money and the title of vicar of the empire, which he had obtained from the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria made them take to his party; He  
 began

(5) Queen Anne still continued to bear the same arms until her death; altho' it's said that the great seal of England, was resolved to be changed, in the year 1706; at the time of the union of that kingdom with Scotland,

began the war by the siege of Cambray, which he was obliged to raise. He advanced towards St. Quintin; The Continuator of Nangis says, that both armies were opposite to each other, on Friday the 22d of October 1339; that ours having made a march of five leagues, it was judged expedient to let the soldiers rest; that Edward took the advantage of the night to decamp, and to withdraw himself to Hainaut. Froissart (6) pretends that they reciprocally defied each other, and that they agreed on a certain day to give battle; the day being come Philip would not stir from his camp; because his council represented to him, that the king of England by losing a battle in picardy, only exposed his men and run the hazard of being obliged to retire to some towns in Flanders; whereas if he won it, he might carry fire and sword into the very heart of the kingdom. In whatever manner this thing happened it's very certain, that Edward entered again into the countries of his allies, that the campaign was ended in Flanders; that in Gascony, they deprived him of Bourg, Blaye, and some other places; that our fleet beat his, took two of his largest ships and many others of less note

(6) He was of Valenciennes; the queen of England, daughter of the earl of Hainaut, and Edward her husband honoured him with their countenance. He was not ungrateful, his propensity for the English shews itself on every occasion.

note, that descents were made upon the coasts of England, and that Hampton court, Portsmouth, and the island of Guernesey, were plundered.

Fortune was more favourable to him at the beginning of the ensuing campaign. \* our fleet remained over against a sluice to hinder him from passing again into Flanders; we had more ships than he, but his were manned with the best of his troops, besides the jealousy which prevailed between Quieret and Bahuchet, our two admirals led them continually to oppose each other in all their plans of operation. Edward having gained the advantage of the wind, and placing the sun directly in their eyes, they flung their grappling-irons and hooked each other, then they began to fight as if they had been upon dry land; the slaughter was terrible; Quieret was killed; Edward had his thigh pierced by an arrow; it was about five o'clock in the evening, and the action had lasted from eight in the morning. Victory began to declare herself in our favour, when a Flemish squadron appeared which drew up by Edward's side and occasioned him to win the battle. He gave orders with a view to insult Philip, as the continuator of Nangis says, † that admiral Bahuchet should be hanged on the main-mast of his

\* Anno 1340.

† Nangii continuat.



his ship. Is it necessary then, that in the annals of England no triumph can be exhibited, which is not stained at the same time with some barbarous action ?

Conqueror of the seas, and at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men in Flanders, Edward fed himself with the hopes of a glorious campaign. He detached one third of his army under the command of Robert d'Artois, who penetrated as far as St. Omers, and ravaged the frontiers for near a month. Eudes IV. duke of Burgundy having at last assembled troops, tho' much inferior in number to the others, attacked Robert d'Artois, beat him, killed nine or ten thousand of his men, and pursued him as far as Montcassel.

This check augmented the perplexity of the English monarch ; he had undertaken the siege of Tournay, not one of his attacks was attended with success, the besieged having always made a most rigorous resistance : our army which was encamped about two leagues from his, harrassed him continually, beat all his detachments and cut off his provisions ; he sent to Philip to propose deciding their quarrel by single combat, by a hundred against a hundred, or by a general battle : the direction of the letter was *to Philip de Valois*, without any other addition. Philip wrote back ;

“ A

“ A letter has been brought to our camp addressed  
 “ to Philip de Valois ; as it is not to us \* we  
 “ don’t send an answer ; but we avail ourselves  
 “ of the opportunity of your herald to inform you,  
 “ that you are our vassal ; that in attacking us  
 “ and raising the cities of Flanders against their  
 “ earl, and against us their sovereign and your’s,  
 “ you are guilty of rebellion, perjury and felony,  
 “ and we hope by the help of God to humble and  
 “ punish you.” Some historians, and amongst  
 others are Daniel and Choisi, have ridiculously  
 wanted to embellish this answer ; “ Philip, (say  
 “ they) added that in the duel proposed, the risk  
 “ must be equally on each side, and that he ac-  
 “ cepted the challenge if Edward would stake  
 “ the kingdom of England, against that of  
 “ France.” My reflections on this challenge  
 are as follows : Edward had not yet conquered  
 an inch of ground in this kingdom ; he found  
 himself under the necessity of shamefully raising  
 the siege of Tournay ; † convoys could not reach  
 his camp but with great difficulty ; he wanted  
 money to pay his troops ; they murmured : be-  
 sides he was not ignorant that some of his allies,  
 beginning to think unfavourable of the consequen-  
 ces of the war, were meditating to break off from  
 the league, they were actually treating in private  
 with

\* Rhymer acta publica T. ii. pars. 4. pag. 80.

† Rapin de Theyras Vol. iii. p. 183.

with Philip; it was in these circumstances that he sent to challenge him; he knew very well, that this prince was too discreet, to expose a crown which he possessed for upwards of twelve years, to the uncertainty of a duel; now what name can be given to a man who sends a challenge to another, when he is intimately persuaded that the person to whom it is sent, will not be foolish or weak enough to accept it? Let me add, that this challenge was in the year 1340; that in the year 1347, when the unfortunate battle of Creci, the almost certain taking of Calais, and the fire of rebellion in many provinces, seemed to prognosticate easy conquests to Edward in this kingdom, Philip proposed to fight with him six against six, to decide to whom every thing should belong; he rejected the proposal: \* in the year 1340 he was a great Braggadochio, what was he in the year 1347? †

Let us return to his situation before Tournay, and see after what manner he got out of it. Jane de Valois countess dowager of Hainault his mother-in-law and sister to Philip, had taken the veil after her husband's death in the abbey of Fontenelles; he cunningly insinuated to her, that peace was now at no great distance, and that it would be meritorious in her to be the instrument  
of

\* Ibid p. 203.

† A collection of challenges.

of bringing it about, between two princes whom she ought to love dearly. The good princess quitted her convent, and repaired directly to her brother's camp, went the day following to that of her son-in-law, and admonished each of them in a very christian manner. Philip to whom an opportunity of crushing his enemy always presented itself, but who yet never knew to avail himself of that advantage, consented to a truce of ten months, which was afterwards prolonged to two years. The English monarch did not fail to break it as soon as there appeared a favourable conjuncture for renewing the war.

John III, duke of Britanny died without issue in 1341; the Duchy belonged to Jane de Penthièvre, wife of Charles of Blois; John earl of Montfort contested the property with her, and came privately to London to support himself by a protector in his unjust pretensions. Robert d'Artois (7) who breathed nothing but hatred and revenge,

(7) Robert d'Artois was a prince of the blood, and brother-in-law to Philip de Valois to whom he had done signal services. They quarrelled concerning the process for the county of Artois: Robert dishonoured himself by forging and producing false titles; in spite of that however, his courage, his understanding, the most engaging figure and his misfortunes, interested people in his favour, and no one could pardon Philip for having pursued him every where, without suffering him to have an asylum in any country. The earl of Montfort was also of the house of France; Philip protected Charles of Blois.

after having conferred with him went to find Edward ; the moment is at last come says he, for wresting the crown from Philip ; the earl of Montfort is here ; he can deliver up to you ports and cities in Brittany ; these ports and cities will serve you as places of arms, and will open to you the entrance into Maine and Anjou, you are already master of Guyenne and Ponthieu, which have always supplied you with good soldiers ; Geoffrey d'Harcourt so powerful in Normandy on account of his lands, relations and friends, has promised you that he will raise that province in your behalf, the instant you appear there ; the spirit of rebellion will quickly communicate itself to the other parts of the kingdom ; where the people groan under a load of taxes ; Philip has displeas'd his nobility by not attending to the remonstrances they made to him, upon the usurpations of the clergy : he wanted to treat the bishops tenderly, and he has rendered them proud and ungrateful : (8) the least check would be sufficient to shake his throne. What Robert d'Artois said happened unfortunately to be too true. Edward promised succours to the earl of Montfort, who acknowledged him king of France, and paid him homage as such.

The

Daniel. ]. (8) Robert d'Artois was mistaken; 'tis true, they would not pay the tenths but they gave Philip the sur-  
Le Gendre, | name of *Good Catholick*.

The English troops who landed in Brittany, gathered no laurels there; some Lords of that province being at the head of their peasants whom they armed, retook by storm the city of Vannes, of which Robert d'Artois had made himself master; the English garrison was cut to pieces; Robert d'Artois being dangerously wounded fled to Hennebont, where he embarked to return to England: but died of his wound in the voyage.

Edward vowed that he would revenge his death in such a terrible maner, that the Bretons should remember it for ever. He went himself to Morbrian, \* and thought to throw terror on the country by giving himself out as a conqueror, whose troops were numerous enough to attack three cities all at once: he besieged Vannes, Nants, and Rennes. The country however was not at all afraid of him; for time out of mind, they had entertained a very low opinion of the valour of the English; † Edward was obliged to raise the siege of Nannes and Nants; he hoped at least that he should succeed in that of Vannes, by bringing all his forces before it; he was mistaken, the duke of Normandy ‡ arrived with fifty thousand men, and encamped over against him: “ The  
“ two armies, (says Rapin de Thoyras) remain-  
“ ed during great part of the winter at a small  
“ distance

\* Near Vannes.

† Larrey.

‡ Since king John.

“ distance the one from the other, but well  
“ intrenched, without it's appearing that either  
“ of the two chiefs had any desire to fight; Ed-  
“ ward was not disposed to risk a battle against  
“ an army that was much stronger than his own,  
“ and the duke of Normandy would not run any  
“ hazard, hoping to starve the enemy.” He  
would have starved them in fact, and obliged them  
to surrender at discretion; our fleet after having  
chaced that of the English from Morbian, kept at  
sea and took or sunk all the convoys that arrived  
from England; Edward was still more embarrass-  
ed than when he was before Tournay. In the  
beginning of January two legates from the  
holy see arrived at the duke of Normandy's  
camp, and negotiated a truce for three years.  
The whole nation murmured against the govern-  
ment, and disgust and contempt began to succeed  
in the hearts of the nobility to that glorious zeal,  
with which they had till then, lavished their  
blood and fortunes to terminate the war.

\* Philip gave a Tournament on account of the  
marriage of his second son; all the nobles of  
France and those of the adjacent kingdoms, were  
invited to it according to custom, and with the  
usual ceremonies: this invitation served for a ge-  
neral safeguard. In the middle of the feast, he  
ordered

\* In 1344.

ordered Oliver de Clifton (1) with thirteen other Lords of Brittany to be arrested; and they were beheaded a few days after at the *Halles* in Paris. It \* is true they had always been partizanes, and still appeared to be such of Charles de Blois. It † is averred by some that they had held a secret correspondence with Edward and the Earl of Montford, and that the beautiful countess of Salisbury's husband seeking to be revenged of the king of England, and knowing the intrigues that were carrying on between him and those gentlemen, as well as several other Normans, informed the king of France of their proceedings, and even pointed out to him the means of intercepting their letters. I acknowledge that Philip in having them executed without bringing them to trial, acted more like a tyrant than a king; but must not Edward have been guilty of the most barbarous breach of faith, in wanting, by what he called *reprisals*, to cut off the heads of the French prisoners who remained in England since the truce unable to pay their ransom? ‡ The English historians, at the same time that they acknowledge he was upon the point of committing this barbarous deed, if Henry of Lancaster had not by his prayers and remonstrances prevented him, endeavour to

(1) Tatler to the Constable. \* See *Froissart* and *Darguître*.

† See Larrey.

‡ Vide Rapin de Thoyras p. 194.



to excuse him, and urge such reasons as are necessary to be refuted in order to discover which of the two kings first broke the truce. These historians agree, that Edward \* “ would have had  
 “ reason for making such a bustle on account of  
 “ the execution of the Lords of Brittany, if  
 “ they had been only his secret partisans; but  
 “ say they, he writes positively in the complaints  
 “ which he made to the Pope, that they were  
 “ his adherents, and that they had been seized in  
 “ Brittany; now the allies on both sides were in-  
 “ cluded in the truce; Philip therefore violated  
 “ it the first, by ordering these Lords to be seiz-  
 “ ed in Brittany, or in the midst of the Tour-  
 “ nament.” I might at once reply, that these  
 historians agree in Edward’s † having often advanced  
 falsities in his manifestoes against the Scotch; that  
 he was not a whit more tenacious of the truth in his  
 declamations against Philip; and further, that in his  
 complaints to the Pope, he does not specify whether  
 these Lords of Brittany were his *secret* or *declared* ||  
 adherents: it is certain that they were partizans of  
 Charles de Blois, at the time of the truce taking place,  
 and that it was stipulated by one of the Articles of  
 this truce, §  
 “ that

\* Ibid. p. 193 and 505. † Ibid. p. 456. || Larrey.

§ Vide, The Collection of Treaties by Du Tillet. Henry de Malestroit one of those Breton gentlemen, was at that time  
 master

“ that neither of the two kings should treat either  
 “ by word or writing, with the subjects of the  
 “ other, nor should endeavour to suborn them.”  
 Edward therefore, could not openly correspond  
 with these Breton Lords; and by treating secretly  
 with them, and with some Norman gentlemen,  
 he had infringed the truce: his intended  
 reprisals upon the French prisoners, would there-  
 fore have been so many assassinations, and conse-  
 quently he proved himself by the issue to be the  
 most iniquitous of men, “ By declaring war  
 “ against Philip, under pretence that he had vio-  
 “ lated the truce by his shameful behaviour to-  
 “ wards the Lords of Bretagne.” \*

Geoffry of Harcourt † having suspicion that  
 the perfidious plots which he had been concerting  
 for some years in Normandy were discovered,  
 fled to London for refuge; he advised the Eng-  
 lish monarch to act in such a manner, as if he de-  
 signed

master of Requets of the *Hotel*; could he enjoy this office un-  
 der Philip and at the same time be one of Edwards open adhe-  
 rents? Larrey's history of Paris vol. i. p. 197.

\* Larrey's *Rapin* vol. iii. p. 193 and 194.

† When he saw the body of the Count d'Harcourt his bro-  
 ther, and those of many other French Lords his relations and  
 friends slain upon the field of battle at Creci, he was seized  
 with remorse, and quitting Edward's victorious army all alone,  
 and without taking notice to any about him, he came to Phi-  
 lip's camp, with a rope round his neck, and threw himself at  
 the feet of his natural sovereign who pardoned him.

signed to make the formidable attack on the side of Guyenne: I have said he, been in favour with Philip: I ought to know him; he never fore-casts any thing, and never acts but when necessity compels him: he confines his attention entirely to that part where his enemy seems to be destined, and never considers whether it is possible he may come: threaten the neighbouring provinces of Gascony, but fall in reality upon Normandy: this province offers you large cities, mostly dismantled; a rich plentiful country quite open, and which the ravages of war have not affected for upwards of a century: you may load your ships with an immense booty; you will spread terror to the very gates of Paris, before Philip will be able to collect force sufficient to oppose you.

Edward took this advice, Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby, whom he sent into Guyenne, drew off all Philip's attention that way by the conquest of Bergerac, Angouleine and some other places. Prince John assembled our army between Orleans and Tours: he invited all the nobility to follow him; France, said he, will never be quiet, whilst the English keep any possessions there; as heir to the throne, I can't have a more favourable opportunity of making myself known to the people, that I am one day to govern, than by driving entirely out of the king-

dom, an enemy whose turbulent pride animates rebellion. The measures he took must necessarily have been applauded, if the circumstances had been different: he should have considered that there had been revolts in various provinces; that amongst the nobility, those who were really attached to the glory of the state would certainly follow him; but that the malecontents would remain upon their lands, and that the punishment inflicted upon some gentlemen, particularly in Normandy, had more irritated than terrified their relations and friends.

At the approach of our army the Earl of Derby shut himself up in Bourdeaux: most of the fortresses and places which he had seized were retaken, and the siege of Aiguillon was begun. Several English and Gascon knights distinguished by their courage and experience, had thrown themselves into that castle: it was furnished with provisions in great plenty, and its situation at the conflux of the Gascony and the Lot rendered it very strong. Edward who was persuaded that this place would not soon give out, continued his armaments and omitted nothing that might corroborate the belief, that his object was to succour Gascony, or to make a diversion upon the coasts of Poitou. He set out from Southampton on the second of July 1346, seeming to direct his  
course

course towards Bourdeaux: advice was soon received that he had made a descent at la Hogue in Contentin; he pillaged, burnt and sacked Valogne, S. Lo, Carentan, Harfleur, Cherbourg, Caën passed under the walls of Rouen, went up the Seine as far as Poissi, and sent a herald to offer Philip battle; but says Mezeray, he behaved in the same manner as the wolf, who *after having made the greatest slaughter amongst the flock, bearing the mastiffs bark, thinks of nothing but sheltering himself in the woods*: he made a precipitate retreat, attempting nothing but his escape, so soon as he understood that Philip had assembled a sufficient number of troops to take the field. The pleasure which the English historians take in recounting the evils which then befell France, engages them in a very circumstantial detail of the victories of their famous Edward. Was this prince a Hero? was he aught but a Tartar, hunting after blood and spoils? Let the reader judge: after having ransacked Caen, he expeditiously loaded, say they, his largest ship with all the merchandize and riches he had found in this and other cities, and sent them off for England: he did not stop before those places that could defend themselves; he continued his route through open cities and villages, \* giving them up to the

F 2

fury

\* Vide acta publica T. ii. pars. 4. pag. 205.

fury of his troops, and reducing them to ashes : from the top of Notre Dame might be seen, add they, the royal castle of Poissi, that of S. Germain en-laye, and the villages of Ruel, Nanterre, and Neuilli, all in a blaze. It should be observed, that these historians always persevered in saying, “ That this was to revenge the death of  
 “ the gentlemen of Bretagne : ——— What a  
 “ pretext for war ! what revenge !

Edward made very expeditious marches : his design was to traverse Picardy, and to shelter himself in some fortified place in Flanders : he found himself greatly embarrassed upon the banks of the Somme : he attempted to cross it at Pequigne and at Pontderemi : he was vigorously repulsed at both the passes. \* “ At last he was so happy as  
 “ to discover 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 Gon-  
 “ demar du Fay with a body of 12,000 men to  
 “ guard that ford, on which depended the success  
 “ of his designs. Edward who saw himself there-  
 “ fore under a necessity either of forcing the pas-  
 “ sage

“ sage, or 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.  
 “ The French he adds, after some endeavours to  
 “ repulse the English, were obliged to abandon  
 “ that important passage.”

This relation deserves to be particularly considered, more especially as it is copied after Daniel and Choisi. How happened it that the English who were thus *animated by the presence of their king*, were repulsed at Pequigne and Pontderemi, where our forces were less numerous than at Blanquetague? Besides this ford at Blanquetague was only passable about two hours at low water: it was impracticable to have filed off above 15 men in front; how could Edward expect that 12,000 French would immediately take to flight? why was he not afraid, that our army who followed close upon their heels might come up with them, and cut all those to pieces who had not yet forded the river? Rapin de Thoyras did not think proper to make these reflections; but is it not shameful that our historians have omitted them, and that they have neglected

to relate that Philip declared “ He had for some “ time been incessantly betrayed on every side.” Mezeray gives us to understand, that Gondemar du Fay was a relation \* of Geoffrey of Harcourt, and that he had sold himself to the English.

The tide was beginning to come up, when our vanguard arrived at Blanquetaque : we then found several waggons and 3 or 400 men, who had not yet been able to cross the river : it would have been natural to have considered those men as assassins and incendiaries : but we looked upon them only as enemies, who in laying down their arms begged their lives, which was granted them. The next day August 26, we passed the Somme over the bridge at Abbeville ; it was excessive hot and a storm succeeded soon after : it was three o'clock in the afternoon when we came within sight of Edward's camp. He had taken his resolution the night before : finding there were no hopes of escaping us or \* avoiding a battle, he had chosen an advantageous ground, and was posted upon a hill near the village of Creci : \* a thick forest which covered the left wing rear of his army, formed with the entrenchments he made on his right, a kind of Crescent : his men at arms occupied the center, his infantry and bow-men were upon the front of the wings :  
It

\* The battle of Creci.



They have told me they believed, that in the reign of Henry II. the parliament having published an arret, whereby all games of chance were prohibited, the great council thought of this method of play, to shew that they did not recognize the arrets of the parliament, and that they were not obliged to conform to them. This reason did not satisfy me, nor will it, I believe, satisfy any one; for after all, the usual effects of play, are at least as dangerous as the disorders that may be occasioned by places of public prostitution: now, it is not above two hundred years since such places were tolerated and protected by the laws, at court, in Paris, and in all the great cities of the kingdom; if the parliament had published, and posted up an arret to abolish them, surely such respectable judges as those of the great council, would not have attempted to preserve one in the heart of the palace, where they administered justice; they would not have made a point of going thither upon particular days. My notion of this matter is, that our kings had fools who were appointed, and upon the establishment

ment

ment of the household; the provosts of the household were their counsel, and they had a right of appeal to the grand council; these fools, either to amuse themselves, or to divert other people, or, perhaps, for other reasons, carried on suits, the pleadings whereof were probably postponed till the time of Carnival, in the same manner as causes were then, and still are, pleaded on *Shrove Tuesday*, at the Chatelet, and in parliament. The president of the great council, after having heard the counsel on both sides, called for a box and dice, to determine thereby disputes usually so ridiculous. Such is my conjecture upon this head; I acknowledge, at the same time, that I have no authority to support it.

*Fairs*

It was represented to Philip that after a march of five leagues, which the heat of the sun and the storm had rendered very fatiguing, our troops must necessarily be tired and harrassed; that it behoved him therefore to let them rest till the next day, and not to engage precipitately with an enemy who was fresh, advantageously posted, and to whom despair and the necessity of conquering gave additional courage. The impetuous Count d'Alencon \* treated this advice with contempt: the attack was ordered; 12,000 Genoese archers formed our first line: 'tis said, that having neglected during their march to cover the strings of their bows, they were so wet as to be unfit for service, and that † *harrassed and discomfited by the arrows which the English archers discharged, and which fell upon them like showers of hail, they gave way* and fell both upon our second line. Nothing else could be done than to open and let them pass: but the necessary movements were not easily to be made upon every narrow ground, ‡ “Where so many lords, kings, counts, dukes and French barons, with their banniers did not come in a regular manner, but in disorder and confusion pressing one before the other:” Philip no doubt suspected the

F 4.

Genoese

\* Brother to Philip of Valois, † Froissart.

‡ The king of Bohemia and his son the king of the Romans.

Genoese of treachery, for he cried out, *put those vagabonds to death directly who stop up our way.* The Count d'Alencon immediately endeavoured to execute this order, whereby he broke his own line, and was killed in making fruitless attempts to restore it. The prince of Wales availed himself of this critical instant, and did not find much difficulty in compleating the disorder of the Count d'Alencons corps. At the time that Philip advanced to support it, six pieces of cannon which Edward had placed upon the summit of the hill began to play: "These thunderbolts, which  
 " the English (says Rapin de \* Thoyras) began  
 " for the first time to use, and which were yet  
 " unheard of in France, did great execution a-  
 " mongst the French troops, and struck them  
 " with such terror that the success of the day is  
 " partly ascribed to the surprize of the French at  
 " this novelty!" † The Earls of Northampton and Arundel, who commanded the enemy's second line, seeing that we broke in upon the left of their first line, and that we began impetuously to pursue them, made a movement which the night favoured, and which enabled them to take us in flank. Philip though a bad general, fought like a soldier: he received two wounds, one in his throat and the other in his thigh; his horse was killed under him; and shouts were heard on every

\* Pag. 200.

† Larrey.

every side, *save the king*: this outcry, confused or ill delivered orders, the fire and noise of the cannon, which darkness rendered still more terrible, to those who were unprepared for them all increased the carnage: each fled thinking the rest were also flying; Philip was carried off the field of battle against his will by the Count d'Hainaut——for there he wanted to resign his life.

So many shocking acts committed by the English in the very heart of the kingdom, had inspired him with such a thirst of revenge as blinded him: the mistakes he committed that day are inconceivable, he might have shut Edward up in his camp, and made him perish by famine, or compelled him to surrender at discretion in a few days; he wanted a bloody victory; it escaped him by his own imprudence: he attacked with troops fatigued and enfeebled, an enemy well entrenched, and who were persuaded they deserved no quarter; and therefore had no other way to escape death and save their booty, but by a courageous defence. Prince John had taken with him the flower of our troops into Guyenne: the army that fought at Crecy collected in a hurry, was numerous as to men, but weak as to soldiers; we had at our head three

F 5

\* kings,

\* Philip, John king of Bohemia and Charles his son, king

of

kings, many princes and lords, and not one general; besides the only place at which we could attack the English was narrow and might have been easily disputed by a front of small extent! so that the superiority of our number became useless. †

Froissart relates that an officer came to Edward, and told him, the prince of Wales was greatly pressed by us, and that he stood in need of succour; that Edward asked whether he was taken or wounded; that the officer having replied neither, he answered, “Go back and tell him  
 “and my generals, that as long as my son is  
 “alive, they send no more to me, for the honour  
 “of this day shall be his, and the boy must new  
 “gain his spurs. § (The ¶ English historians say,)  
 “that if their army had been worsted, all would  
 “have been lost without resource, Philip having  
 “resolved

the Romans: Philip and Charles were wounded. The king of Bohemia 80 years old and blind, having caused his horses bridle to be tied to those of two of his knights, was conducted into the thick of the battle, where ignorantly fighting, he and his two knights were slain: Their bodies were found the next day near that of their king, and their horses still tied together.

✦ It is said, that our army consisted of 80,000 men, and that Edward's was but half that number.

§ That is to say, deserving to be knighted: knights were created before and after battles. The prince of Wales was only fifteen years old.

¶ Rapin de Thoyras, vol. iii. p. 489.

“ resolved to put them all to the sword without  
 “ mercy ; Bame, \* (they add,) judiciously  
 “ avails himself of this circumstance to justify  
 “ Edward’s conduct, who kept at a distance  
 “ during the whole action.” Let us suppose  
 ourselves in those times, and consider that kings  
 frequently sent challenges to each other ; that  
 Edward had sent several to Philip, the usual tenor  
 of which was, “ That there was nothing he  
 “ wished for so much as to meet him at single  
 “ combat, or to find him personally in the heat  
 “ of battle ;” *perhaps* we shall find, that Philip  
 charging at the head of his troops, wounded, and  
 having two horses killed under him ; made as  
 good a figure, even in adversity, as the English  
 monarch on the top of a hill, distant from dan-  
 ger, reposing himself upon the success of his arms,  
 upon the surprize which his cannon † breathed  
 F 6 amongst

\* One of Edward’s panegyrist, Rapin de Thoyras, p. 199.

In 1330. a monk of the order of St. Augustin who was a  
 great alchemist, having in his mortar a mixture of Sulphur and  
 saltpetre, a spark of fire accidentally falling into it set it on fire,  
 and an explosion of all the matter ensued. This event greatly  
 exciting his admiration, he sought the reason which he found  
 to be very natural, arising from the hot dry quality of the sul-  
 phur, and the cold humidity of the saltpetre : to which adding  
 a small quantity of pounded charcoal ready to strike fire he  
 produced this invention so destructive to mankind : after-  
 wards perceiving the vehement effect of the fire when inclosed  
 forcing

amongst us, and coming upon the field of battle only to receive the compliments upon the victory.

We have seen that the object of his descent at la Hogue, was only to make incursions to carry off booty, and to ransack the country : his victory gave him the idea of conquest. He considered that Calais being upon the nearest coast towards England, would secure him for the future an easy and quick entrance into the heart of France, if he could make himself master of it : he therefore laid siege to it on the 8th of September 1346. His first attacks were repulsed with so much courage, and such vigorous sallies were made upon him, that he soon lost all hope of reducing that place by force, notwithstanding the succours which the Marquis de Juliers, and the Count de Namur, brought him of 30,000 Germans and Flemish. He came to a resolution of surrounding his camp with lines of contrevallation and circumvallation, with redouts and places for  
arms

forcing its way with violence, he made a trial of it in a small tube charged with his powder, and then communicated his secret. Vide the Treatise upon Artillery by Diego Tilosio. In 1338 we began to make use of two or three cannons at the attack of some castles, but they were only employed for the demolition of turrets. The French knights would have considered it as a great meanness, to have used them against men that were exposed, and ranged before them in order of battle.



arms at proper distances : his fleet blocked up the port, and he had no other design than to wait patiently till such time as a scarcity of provisions should compel the governor to capitulate.

A few days after the battle of Creci, Philip wrote to prince John to quit the siege of Aiguillon, and to come and join him with his army ; the Earl of Derby now found himself master of Guyenne ; he ravaged Saintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, took Xaintes, Poitiers, Niort, and St. Jean d'Angeli. The towns of Flanders continued their revolt, and furnished Edward with troops. Several gentlemen of Brittany, friends and relations of those who were beheaded at Paris, joined the earl of Monfort's party, and of course the English. Charles de Blois was vanquished and taken prisoner at the battle of Rochederein. Scarce a week passed without intelligence being received of fresh insurrections in the other provinces. The Frenchman tho' ever ready to sacrifice his fortune for the glory of the State, does not begin to mutiny about taxes till they are the most necessary to be raised : ill success makes the weight insupportable to him. Whilst our best officers were discouraged, it should seem that heaven took delight in producing heroines against us. The queen of England put herself at the head of a body of troops, and defeated the  
king

king of Scotland our ally. The countess of Montfort was seen more than once upon the breach, animating the soldiers, and repulsing the besiegers who found a grave in those very ditches they had just gained possession of. Clifton's widow one of the finest women in Europe, sold her jewels, mortgaged her lands, purchased ships, scoured the Seas, boarded the enemy sword in hand, and avenged the death of her husband upon every French ship she met with.

The fidelity of the inhabitants of Calais struggled with the horrors of the most shocking famine: they were blockaded upwards of nine months; our army approached to succour them. Edward's intrenchments were reconnoitered on every side, and were found to be unattackable. It was now that Philip sent him various challenges; he always answered, "He was there to take Calais and not to fight a duel." I should not have suspected this prudence of his, if it *were not certain that a cruel man is seldom brave.* \* Philip decamped at the end of six weeks, finding that he could not provoke his enemy to any sort of combat, and that it was absolutely impossible to force his lines. The besieged having now no further hopes of succour

\* We shall see presently, that they are found to accept the challenge which king John gave to fight him body to body in the lists.

succour asked to capitulate. They certainly were brave men, where resolution and fidelity should be admired and respected by every generous spirit: Edward declared he would grant them no terms, and that he must be master of their lives. His design was to hang a considerable number, and put the rest to the sword: his character was too well known for any doubt to remain concerning this. Two legates from the holy see, together with Gautier de Mauny representing to him, that he would make himself odious to all Europe; that the French would then have a right to make reprisals upon all the prisoners who should hereafter fall into their hands; that if he was incapable of being touched with pity for a suppliant enemy, he should have some consideration for those who served himself and not expose them to the hazard of perishing one day under the hands of an executioner. He was a long time inflexible: but at length consented to receive the garrison prisoners of war, and to promise the inhabitants their lives upon condition that they quitted the city without carrying away any of their effects, and that they would previously pitch upon six of their fellow citizens, who should be delivered up to him to be changed: we see he could not treat them more inhumanly, without having put them all to death, and this was his  
original

original design. When the governor had convened the citizens, and communicated these cruel terms, the general cry was that it was better to perish arms in hand than to accept of them. Eustache de S. Piere, one of the richest and most opulent citizens desired to be heard : If it were possible for us said he, to fight our enemy, he would not dare to shew himself thus cruel : wide intrenchments separate us from him ; before we could get through them, his soldiers being under cover of the forts they have erected, would have pierced us with their arrows, we should be crushed with those unknown thunder bolts which he is so dastardly as to make use of : has the Frenchman then nothing but valour ? a tender, generous, compassionate soul always distinguishes him : after having made vain efforts, what would become of our wives and children ? shall we abandon them to Edward's fury ? he asks six victims, I offer myself for the first : can there be a death more worthy of us, than that which saves the lives of our relations, our friends, our countrymen ? he had scarce finished speaking, e're five more offered themselves with the most eager magnanimity. They appeared before Edward with a modest but firm countenance : The English monarch looked upon them and gave a signal to the executioner to seize them : three successive times

times he pushed from him the queen his wife, who upon her knees implored their pardon: she at length obtained it.

The conquest of Calais was followed by a truce; a scourge more dreadful than war itself, suspended it's calamities. Historians relate that in the kingdom of Catay in Asia, a globe of different colours was observed for several hours in the firmament: that in falling to the earth it burst, and such a stench issued from it, that it's malignity instantly spread a mortal contagion over all the country: that this vapour remounting and condensing in the air, formed a cloud of venomous insects which fell in showers, and that the shocking plague whose seeds it contained, after having ravaged Asia and Africa, extended it's baneful influence to Europe, where it swept away two thirds of the inhabitants in less than eighteen months. This calamity was preceded by tremendous earthquakes which were felt from South to North swallowing whole cities in the deep abysses which they formed.

Philip de Valois did not live to see the expiration of the term of the truce: he died at *Nogent-le-Roy*, August 22, 1350; aged 57 years. He had just taken for his second wife a young princess of exquisite beauty: it is said the extatic transports of  
his

his new passion, digged his grave in the arms of Hymen.

John \* II. his son succeeded to his throne : the truce between the two crowns was prolonged at different periods, till the year 1355. The plague and famine had not spared England any more than France. During this truce the ancient spirit of Chivalry was renewed, nothing was talked of but challenges and duels, wherein the English according to all their own historians, were but seldom successful. One of the most celebrated rencounters was that of thirty English who opposed thirty gentlemen of *Bretagne* : they met at the place of assignation near a large tree between Ploërmel and Josselin : a month had passed from the giving of their words and fixing upon the day. The English began to reflect, that such a combat should not take place without permission obtained from the two kings, and accordingly proposed deferring it till such permission could be had : the gentlemen of *Bretagne* thought † this reflection came a little too late, and assured them that it should not be said they had come upon the field of battle, *without shaking hands and knowing who had the handsomest mistress* : They accordingly fought, and the event of war determined

\* The reader is desired to pay attention to the preface of this Volume.

† Vide Daniel.

determined the French ladies to be the handsomest: half of the English were slain; the others fled in a cowardly manner or begged their lives. These little combats produced some good; they awakened in the Frenchman's soul an esteem for himself and his country, and an idea of superiority over his enemies: they animated him to repair losses which he had sustained only through treachery, or the imprudence of his generals. The peace of Avignon was all this while in agitation: the Pope was mediator: it seems Edward was not blinded by his success, and indeed it would have been difficult for him to have disowned, that at the sieges of Tournay and Vanes, and afterwards at Cressy, we had it in our power to have starved him in his camp, and obliged him to surrender at discretion: we find that in the public acts of England, that he gives full powers to his ambassadors, to *renounce for him and his heirs, all pretensions to the kingdom of France*: \* it would have been shameful to have given up so fine a crown, if he had thought he had any right to it: but this he never believed: he had therefore waged an unjust war, and which moreover ought to have made him execrable in the

\* Acta publica T. iii. pars. 1. p. 94. and 100. "Necnon  
 "renunciandi omni juri quod habemus in & ad regnum sive  
 "coronam Franciæ." Rapin, vol. iii. p. 210.

the eyes of all Europe, by the barbarous manner in which he conducted it. The English historians say, “ That king John after he had offered  
 “ him Guyenne and the counties of Artois and  
 “ Guisnes to possess them in all sovereignty, pre-  
 “ cipitately broke off the negotiation, and hurried  
 “ his people into fresh misfortunes.” There is no proof in the public acts of England of such an offer being made, it is a false suggestion: king John consented, it is true to let Edward remain in possession of Guyenne, and moreover to cede to him the counties of Artois and Guisnes; but this was always upon condition of his paying homage to France, an homage that Edward himself had yielded for nine years together, and which all the kings his predecessors had done for their possessions in the kingdom. With regard to the fresh misfortunes which befell us, we shall presently see that the courage of the English had very little share in the advantages which they gained, and for which they were intirely indebted to the troubles which Charles the Bad king of Navarre, excited amongst us. He was son to Philip Count d’Evreux a prince of the blood, and of Jane only daughter of Lewis Hutin; he sprung therefore from both branches of the House of France: never did a more worthless man exist: some months after having wedded king John’s daughter he



he attempted to assassinate him : the constable of France was murdered in his bed at his instigation : his gloomy soul, restless and turbulent, was constantly engendering schemes of disturbance and confusion : the career of glory had no charms for him ; he took delight in the windings of dark and treacherous conspiracies ; and he was more particularly calculated to foment revolts, by being of an affable, courteous, liberal disposition, uniting great courage with an extensive understanding, and possessing a most elegant figure, which made his eloquence naturally powerful, become irresistible. He possessed in *apanage*, or by exchange for successions several cities in Normandy, where he more frequently resided than in his own kingdom : He had fortified them under various pretences, and garrisoned them with Navarre soldiers. Here the malecontents standard was constantly flying, whilst he insinuated to the people who loved him in spite of his enemies, that being the son of the only daughter of Lewis Hutin, the crown belonged to him : doubtless if the distaff could communicate a right, his claim was better founded than Edward's : their secret correspondence was suspected for some time, gave reason to apprehend an union between them, in order to wrest the kingdom from the legitimate heir, and divide it betwixt themselves. Such was the

Crisis

Crisis we were then at. It favoured Edward's hopes; he broke the truce, landed at Calais, ravaged Artois, and advanced as far as Hedin. King John having assembled his troops sent and offered him battle, or a duel body to body, in the lists; but he accepted of neither: "This is what the French historians relate, (says Rapin de Thoyras) \* but the English on the contrary aver, that it was Edward who sent the challenge, and that John refused it." There is a fresh instance of the perpetual falsity of this historian: Froisart a cotemporary writer, was and ought to have been attached to the English monarch; he positively says, that he refused the challenge, and that he retired with great precipitation to Calais, from whence he returned into England. The assembly of the States granted a supply to increase our army with 30,000 men; the king of Navarre endeavoured by his emissaries which he employed in all the cities, to spirit up the people to revolt on account of this tax, and to prevent it's being levied: king John being informed that he was at Rouen with only a few attendants, went thither secretly, surprized him at table, seized him and caused four of his zealous partizans, to be put to death before his face, brought him prisoner to Paris, and shut him up in the large tower of the Louvre. Upon the news of the detection of his  
brother,

\* Vol. iii. p. 211.

brother, Philip of Navarre who was also in possession of considerable lands in Normandy convened his friends, \* excited part of that province to revolt, concluded a treaty with Edward, acknowledged him legitimate king of France, and soon saw the duke of Lancaster arrive with 6,000 English. They marched into Perche, took Verneuil, and sacked the flat country; but at the approach of our army, they retreated towards the forest of l'Aigle into woods and marches, from whence it was impossible to force them: king John left some troops to keep them within those limits and marched against the prince of Wales who was advanced as far as Berri, and began to make great progress in his flight: the king followed him so close as to cut off his retreat, which obliged him to intrench himself at Maupertuis two leagues from Poitiers, † upon very uneven ground, covered with vineyards, hedges and bushes, and consequently very delightful for our gendarmerie to approach, which at that time composed the greatest strength of the army: but if he could defend himself here with 12,000 men against 50,000, his destruction was not the less inevitable on account of the want of provisions. This induced him to offer an indemnification

\* Acta publica T. iii. pars. 1. p. 128.

† The battle of Poitiers.

nification for all the damage he had done in his march, to give up all the prisoners he had taken, and not to bear arms against France or her allies for seven years. It was natural to reject such a proposal, and to insist upon his surrendering himself prisoner with his whole army; but it was folly to attempt forcing him in a post well intrenched, when he might have been compelled by famine to submit in three days to all the terms that could have been imposed, this was in vain represented by all the generals to king John: he looked upon these sagacious remonstrances as timid counsel, adding with all the disdain of false and ridiculous courage, that he was ashamed to conquer without fighting. He made all the Gendarmerie dismount from their horses, except 300 picked men who were to begin the attack. In order to come at the enemy, they were obliged to mount a defile, where only four could enter abreast: this defile was lined with very thick quick set hedges, behind which a thousand archers were posted, who annoyed them with a shower of arrows discharged close by them: those who were not killed, wounded or dismounted, and who could gain the end of the defile, were easily repulsed, which threw the Gend'Armerie who were to support them into disorder; and these being on foot with their heavy armour, could not

not rally fast enough, to resist the attack of the English Cuirassiers who pursued them. The prince of Wales perceiving the beginning of a route in our vanguard, immediately dispatched 600 Cuirassiers along the side of the hill, who fell unperceived upon the rear of the Dauphin's Corps: the surprize was presently communicated to the rest of the army: the murmur became general: the orders of the commanders were answered with reproaches; Did they want, said the men, by making us dismount to deliver us up to the enemy? some flew; others went for their horses and rallied, but with so little order, that all their efforts served only to evince, that courage alone and the superiority of numbers do not decide the fate of battle. King John received two wounds in his face, had his horse killed under him and was taken prisoner.

The English historians put this victory in competition with any the most glorious the Romans ever gained: they compare the prince of Wales to Scipio and Cæsar: let the reader determine whether that prince deserves these Elogiums: He set out from Bourdeaux in imitation of his father, to make the ravages of a Tartar; Rapin de Thoyras agrees, \* that such a sudden irruption was not expected: he pillages, burns, and sacks an open and defenceless country: as soon

as he learns that an army is on the march against him he flies: his retreat is cut off: he intrenches himself in an advantageous post: he is ready to accept of shameful terms: he offers not to carry arms against France for seven years, and to return all the booty he had taken: he is ruined if we do not even endeavour to give him battle: King John seems to be seized with a vertigo! he will at all events attack him, and disposes his troops for that purpose in the most ill judged manner: we are defeated. Besides, what particular honour can the English pretend to derive from this victory, when they are compelled to own \* that in the prince's of Wales's army, which was composed of 12,000 men, there were not at most above 3000 English, and 9000 Gascoons.

King John was conducted to Bourdeaux: Edward wanted to have him in London: the Gascoons opposed it: We have had the honour said they, to vanquish him, he ought to remain with us. Their indignation kindled: there was reason to apprehend they would set him at liberty, and write secretly to the Count d'Armagnac who commanded in Languedoc, to draw near in order to second their designs: this is what induced the prince of Wales, to yield to the Pope's solicitations, and to consent to a two  
years

\* Vide Froissart, Larrey, Rapin de Thoyras.

years truce : this tied France's hands ---- King John was thereby incapacitated to relieve his country : as long as this Truce continued, it was not allowable to force any enterprize to deliver him. We find by the public acts \* of England, that this truce was signed at Bourdeaux March 24, 1357, and that in the beginning of April the prince of Wales embarked with his prisoner, after having appeased the Gascoons, by giving some of them money, and making large promises to others. " When they made their entry " into London, (says Rapin de Thoyras,) the " prince of Wales rode on a little black nag by " king John's side, who was mounted on a " stately white courser, adorned with costly trap- " pings." In this seeming modesty of the victor, much pride might be discovered : it was the highest pitch of cruelty to expose an unhappy king as a shew for the populace.

Never were union and concord so necessary, as after the fatal battle of Poitiers : never were the sentiments of the people so divided ; never were there so much confusion, trouble and disorder in the State ; Charles the Bad, makes his escape from prison, and lights a fresh the torch of civil war ; Paris revolts : the Dauphin runs the risk of losing his life : his authority is con-

G 2

temned

\* Acta Publica. . iii. pars i, p. 133.

temned; most of the great cities follow the example of the capital, and deliver themselves up to a spirit of independency: the citizen takes upon him the republican; the Ecclesiastick establishes societies to convene the factions; the peasants driven to despair by the violences exercised with impunity by the nobility in the Country, assemble in multitudes to knock them on the head and \* destroy them; the perfidious Edward violates the conventions of the Truce, and supplies Charles the Bad with Troops, that France after having torn herself to pieces, and after being covered with fresh wounds, may no longer be in a condition to oppose him but with languid Efforts when he shall renew the war. Such is the picture of the French monarchy in the years 1357 and 1358.--it was then expiring. A sudden and happy revolution took place in the minds of the people upon the news of a treaty, whereby king John was to obtain peace and his liberty, upon paying the English monarch four millions of golden crowns, and ceding to him in full sovereignty La Guyenne, Saintonge, Limousin, Perigord, Rouargue, Querci, Angoumois, Poitou, the country of Aunis, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy

\* The reason they gave for violating the wives and daughters of the nobility was, that there might be no more nobles; and the monks and mendicants of their party, considering their intentions gave them absolution.



Normandy, Boulonnois, Poitiers, the counties of Montreuil, and Guisnes, the city of Calais, and the dependance of Bretagne.

So shameful a peace was unanimously rejected; honour and love for the name of Frenchman, rekindled in the heart of the nation: Even Charles the Bad seemed to throw off his factious and turbulent character: a reconciliation took place between him and the Dauphin: the flame of discord was extinguished: divisions ceased: the spirit of party which had but too strongly prevailed in the general assembly of the States disappeared, and the deputies of the three orders, after having deliberated upon the measures which were necessary to be pursued for supporting the war, granted the Dauphin considerable supplies, which however were almost impossible to be levied in a State, whose dissensions had not less drained it of men and money than the incursions of the English.

Edward was so intoxicated with his prosperity, that he looked upon it as a great insult for France to refuse the conditions which he had imposed upon king John: he swore he would compel that kingdom to acknowledge him as master: he renewed his alliances with the princes of Lower Germany, and with the cities of Flanders where he raised troops, and presently found him-

self at the head of an army of 100,000 men (according to Larrey,) which consisted of Germans, Flemings, English and Gascoons. He set out from Calais in November 1359, pillaged Artois and Picardy, entered Champagne, and stopped before Rheims : his design was to have been crowned at this last place; but this city though but ill fortified, defended itself so valiantly that he was obliged to raise the siege; he consoled himself with ransoming Burgundy and Nivernois, sacking Brie and Champagne, and gratifying his barbarous pleasure in burning the environs of Paris. He continued the same ravages in Beauce, when one day, say the historians, the sky was instantly covered with a thick cloud, and in less than a quarter of an hour, all his camp was overflowed : his tents, baggage and ammunition were all born away by the torrent : a shower of hail of a most prodigious size killed his men and horses. \* the trees which were torn up by the roots, by the violence of the wind, and the thunder and lightning were more than sufficient to impress terror upon the most intrepid mind. The soldiers cried out that God interposed to avenge the cause of France : Edward seemed convinced of it : he turned towards the church of Chartres

\* The English historians say, that a thousand men and 6000 were killed.

Chartres whose steeple was in sight, and vowed, that if he escaped the present danger, he would agree to a peace : that instant add the historians, the storm ceased, the sun appeared, and the sky became serene.

It should be observed, that the Dauphin not being powerful enough to keep the field, had drawn off as much corn and forage as he could ; which he had sent to be deposited in the strongest cities and castles, whither he had also retired with part of his troops, whilst the remainder continued hovering about the enemy in detached parties, and incessantly harrassed their rear-guard ; that Edward had obstinately pursued the siege of Rheims for seven weeks, where he lost a great many men ; that the difficulty he afterwards found in procuring provisions, together with the fatigue of so many marches and counter-marches during a very wet Winter, had occasioned great sickness amongst his troops, so that they were diminished to half their number and continued daily decreasing ; that he had pillaged, burnt, and sacked the flat country, without making any conquest ; that it may therefore be presumed, the vow which he made of giving peace to France was the effect of ostentation and hypocrisy, to mask his shame at not being able to execute any

G 4

thing

thing considerable with so numerous an army • and that in fine, he would not have been in a condition to impose such hard terms as those of the treaty of Britigni, if Charles the Bad, ever the same and ever a traitor to his Country, and to the blood from which he sprung, had not broke afresh with the Dauphin, and rekindled the flame of civil war in Normandy.

We have already seen that by the treaty, which the assembly of the States referred to acquiesce in, king John had agreed to pay 400,0000 of golden crowns for his ransom, and ceded in full sovereignty Guyenne, Gascony, Saintonge, Limosin, Perigord, Rouargue, Querci, Anjoumois, Poitou, the country of Aunis, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy, Boulonnois, Ponthieu, the counties of Montreuil and Guisnes, and the city of Calais, with the dependance of Bretagne: by the treaty of Bretigni † the ransom was fixed at 3,000,000 of golden crowns, and the same provinces were ceded except Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Du Maine, and the sovereignty over Bre-  
tagne

• See Rapin de Thoyras Vol. iii. p. 220.

† This treaty begins thus: Acta pub. T. iii. pars. 2. p. 14.

“ As by the wars many mortal battles have been fought,

“ Occisions of People,

“ Perils of Souls,

“ Desflouring of Maids and Virgins. Dishonouring married Women and Widows, &c.

tagne and Flanders, : Edward on his part promised to renounce all his pretensions to the crown of France. King John returned to his kingdom October 28th, 1360 : he returned to England about Christmas 1363 without any one being acquainted with the real motive of the voyage ; he died in London April 28th 1364. He was doubtless a knight of prowess ; but in other respects a prince of no genius, no conduct, no discernment : he had no ideas but such as were false or chimerical, and was as extravagant in point of probity, as valour, easily gained over by a flattering enemy, and haughtily obstinate with affectionate ministers, who had the boldness to advise him : impatient and fantastical : he would too often descend to ribaldry with his troops. One day as the soldiers were singing the song of Roland as was customary upon marches, he said, \* “ It is a good while since we have seen  
“ any Rolands amongst the French. We should  
“ see Rolands still, (replied a veteran captain) if  
“ they had a Charlemain to command them.”

Before we recount the events of the war, which was rekindled between the two crowns in 1368. it is necessary to examine whether Charles Vth. had any just cause for declaring it. I shall not relate here that Edward after having acknow-

\* Vide Boethius Hist. Scotorum,

ledged Philip de Valois as king of France and his lords violated those oaths which had been renewed for eight whole years, and had no other excuse for his conduct, than saying, "He had  
" previously protested in his privy council against  
" all treaties he should make with Philip, and  
" that he had entered into them only because he  
" was apprehensive of losing his possessions in  
" France, and because he was unable to renew  
" the war." I shall not mention that king John had also protested in his privy council against the treaties which he might sign: he was incapable of such mental reservation, and besides this excuse which Edward made use of, probably because he knew it would be relished by his people, would not have been favourably received by our's. I shall confine myself therefore to the articles of the treaty alone, to show which of the two kings broke his word: I shall not insist upon a contract's being not valid, when the contracting parties are not at full liberty, and that king John never was so as he was obliged before his being released from prison, to give up as hostages two of his own sons, his brother, two other princes of the blood, and several lords: \* we know that the hostages of a peace are answerable with their lives for the fulfilling of the conventions.

\* Vide Grotius de jure belli & pacis.

ventions. The reader is here apprised, that I can not possibly enter into a succinct narration, and that I treat now of one of the most important points in the history of our wars with the English.

It was stipulated by the 12th article of the treaty signed at Britigni May 8th 1360, as I have said before, that king John should renounce his Sovereignty over the provinces which had been ceded to Edward : that Edward on his part should renounce all his pretensions to the crown of France, to Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and the sovereignty of Bretagne, and Flanders ; and that the two kings should have a conference at Calais in order to fix the time and place of the said Renunciations. \*

When they met at Calais, they corrected some of the articles of the treaty of Bretigni, and drew up and signed a convention, whereby it was agreed that the intended renunciations should not take place at present ; † that the provinces, cities, and lands ceded to Edward should be delivered to him betwixt the 24th of October 1360, and All-saints day 1361 ; that after this delivery the deputies of both kings should meet in the church of the Augustins at Bruges, upon St. Andrew's day of the said year 1361, to give and receive

G 6

reciprocally

\* Acta pub, T. iii. pars. 1. p. 204. † *ibid*, T. iii. pars 2. p. 12.

reciprocally the said renunciations, that is to say, the renunciation of king John to the provinces ceded to Edward, and that of Edward with respect to his pretensions to the crown of France &c. that nevertheless king John should be authorized to avail himself of the said sovereignty over the yielded provinces, till the expiration of the term specified in the said renunciations: in the like manner as Edward was allowed to take to himself and use the title of king of France till the said time: \* “ Provided always in favour of  
 “ us king John our heirs and successors, that  
 “ the said letters above inserted have no effect  
 “ or any way tend to our prejudice or detriment,  
 “ untill our said brother Edward, and our said  
 “ nephew the prince of Wales shall have deli-  
 “ vered and executed their said renunciations in  
 “ the manner before mentioned, and that they  
 “ cannot avail themselves of the said present let-  
 “ ters against us our heirs and successors, in any  
 “ manner except in the abovesaid case.”

† By the 28th article it was stipulated, that Edward should at his own expence place king John in possession, of all that he Edward and his allies, held in the provinces not ceded; in the same manner that king John should deliver up at his own expence, all that was to be yielded to  
 Edward;

\* Ibid. T. iii. pars. 2. p. 15 and 17. † Ibid. page 5.



Edward; that in case there should be found any rebellious or disobedient subjects, king John should at his own expence compel them to obey, and that Edward on his part engaged the same.

Rapin de Thoyras \* agrees, that king John was very punctual in fulfilling his engagements; that the English commissaries were put in possession of the provinces ceded, and that no obstacle arose but with respect to the county of Gaure in Gascony, and the estate of Belleville in Poitou, *objects of very little consequence and which were submitted to arbitration.*

† “ Edward on the contrary, (says du Tillet)  
 “ had nothing else in view than to sap and ruin  
 “ that part of the kingdom which remained in  
 “ king John’s possession, in order to seize upon  
 “ it afterwards. Instead of giving up at his own  
 “ expence the cities and fortresses which were  
 “ garrisoned by his troops, as he had expressly  
 “ agreed by the treaties of Bretigni and Calais,  
 “ he urged them under hand not only to keep  
 “ and defend them in their own name under  
 “ pretence of pay being due to them, but also to  
 “ assemble and to gain possession of other places,  
 “ and to make inroads, and raise contributions  
 “ in

\* Volume iii. page 229 and 243.

† See the collection of Treaties.

“ in every part of the kingdom, which conse-  
 “ quently was as much harrassed as in the time  
 “ of the war with the English; which in fact  
 “ subsisted: for those who continued it, had still  
 “ kept to their party, calling themselves Com-  
 “ panies men: so that there was no alteration  
 “ but in the name. Edward to save appearan-  
 “ ces, sent to the commanders of the Places  
 “ orders to surrender them, but made no disposi-  
 “ tions to compel them to it.”

He should have sent deputies to Bruges, and we find in the English acts a commission \* dated November 15th 1361, † whereby John Wedale and Thomas Dunclent are appointed to repair to the said city: but he altered his mind and did not send them. It ‡ seems the Pope reproached him

\* If M. Bonamy had read this commission attentively, he would have found that the object Edward had in view, was by chicanery to evade giving the Renunciations: he would have also found, that in the treaty with the princes of the blood, he had the same design; and the new Editor of the History of *Father Daniel*, might have saved himself the note at the bottom of page 68 of volume 6, as it is certain that M. Bonamy is mistaken, when he says that Edward in the Commission of November 15th, 1361, charges the Deputies to make the Renunciations which he had promised, in his name: Edward does not say a single word of this in the commission.

† Vide Acta pub. T. iii. pars. 2. p. 49.

‡ Ibid page 52.

him with his conduct in a letter dated in January 1362. Jean de Montreuil and Jean Juvenal des Ursins say that our deputies repaired to Bruges upon St. Andrew's day 1361 \* with letters patent which contained the renunciations of king John and the Dauphin, to the sovereignty over the provinces given up, but that Edward sent neither letters patent, nor the renunciations which he was to make on his part.

He found himself in possession of the ceded provinces: he had taken measures to gain time by chicanery and fresh propositions, and his only design now was to elude the execution of the articles of the treaty, appearing however always ready to execute them. He made an offer in 1362 to the princes of the blood, and to some of the principal lords whom he detained as hostages, to let them return to France, upon condition that they would sign, and make king John, the Dauphin, and the assembly of the States, † sign a new treaty wherein he consented to give the renunciations promised on his part, in the same manner as king John should do on his part; but to this article was subjoined another, to which he was sure neither the Dauphin nor the assembly of the States would subscribe: it stipulated,

\* Vide *Mss.* in the King's library.

† Vide *Acta pub.* T. iii, pars. 2. p. 71.

lated, that he Edward should not be obliged to make good the damages incurred by the pillage which his captains, soldiers, adherents or allies, had committed, or continued to commit since the signing of the peace, in that part of the kingdom belonging to king John ; and that he should not be obliged to compel them at his own expence to deliver up the cities and fortresses which they there held. The danger and perfidy of this article was visible : king John was reproached with his weakness in approving this new treaty. ~~it~~ it was unanimously rejected : things remained in the same State, and no farther mention was made of renunciations.

Though the prince of Wales was indebted to the Gascoons for part of his glory, he treated them with great haughtiness and severity : they soon felt the yoke of his government : he completed the disgust he had given them by endeavouring to impose a tax upon every fire in his new Dominion : most of the temporal and spiritual lords, and nearly all the deputies of the principal cities, unable to bear any longer the incessant violation of their privileges, without his paying any regard to their remonstrances, signed a petition, wherein, after having represented his usurpations, and the injustice and violence of his officers, they lodged an appeal to the court of France.

France. The Sire d'Albret, the Counts d'Armagnac de Cominges, de Carmaing, and de Perigord, presented this petition to Charles Vth. ; he gave them a gracious reception, and treated them with distinction, but though they strongly urged him to make a reply, he deferred for almost a whole year giving them a positive answer : he was very certain of his right of sovereignty over Guyenne, but that all Europe might be acquainted with it, he pretended to be desirous of greater certainty upon that head, by consulting the most celebrated universities of Spain, Germany and Italy. He at length held his bed of justice in the month of January 1368, when the treaties of Britigni and Calais were examined : Edward's prevarications were manifest : he had furnished Charles *the Bad* with succours : he had continued his correspondence and intrigues with the Flemings : his garrisons had not evacuated the places and fortresses which he should have yielded and delivered up at his own expence : they had pillaged and ravaged that part of the kingdom which belonged to king John : it had been necessary to make war against them, and that war had cost much blood and money ; though Edward had not secretly excited them, he was answerable for the evils they had occasioned, as it was stipulated (in the 28th and 29th article,) “ That in case  
“ of

“ of any rebellious or disobedient subjects being  
 “ found, the king of England should compel  
 “ them to obedience at his own expence.” With  
 respect to the articles relating to the renunciations,  
 they stipulated, \* that the sovereignty of king  
 John over the ceded provinces should remain in  
 the same state : that in the mean time he should  
 be authorized to exercise the said sovereignty  
 untill St. Andrew’s day 1361, the day fixed upon  
 for giving the reciprocal renunciations : that  
 the letters of renunciation over the yielded pro-  
 vinces, which he should make and send by the  
 said St. Andrew’s day, should have no effect, nor  
 any way prejudice him, his heirs or successors,  
 if Edward did not at the same time give letters  
 of renunciation with regard to his pretensions to  
 the crown of France ; king John therefore had  
 retained his sovereignty over the ceded provinces,  
 and consequently Charles Vth his son and suc-  
 cessor was authorized to receive the appeal of the  
 people of the dutchy of Guyenne. He did re-  
 ceive it : the prince of Wales as vassal of the  
 crown, was cited to appear before the court of  
 peers : he replied, that he would appear at the  
 head of 60,000 men, and his first step was to  
 imprison and cruelly ill treat Bernard Gallot and  
 John Chapponal who notified to him this cita-  
 tion :

\* Acta. pub tom iii. pars 2 page 11 and 17.

tion : some historians \* go so far as to say, that they were put to death by his order in prison : this was violating the law of nations ; but in all times, and we have recent proofs of it, the English have been very little sollicitous about the esteem of their neighbours, and their pride makes them look upon this indifference, as a noble liberty of thinking.

It was specified in the treaties of Britigni and Calais, that if any alteration arose concerning any of the articles, the two *kings should submit to the arbitration of the court of Rome.* † Edward gave the finishing hand to the infraction of these treaties, by refusing the offer that was made him by Charles Vth to refer their differences to the decision of the Pope and cardinals : the only reply his ministers constantly made to our ambassadors was, ‡ “ That if the king of France  
 “ began by giving up the cause of the people of  
 “ the Dutchy of Guyenne, and by renouncing  
 “ the sovereignty of the ceded provinces, they  
 “ presumed that their king would on his part,  
 “ make the proper renunciations.” He therefore had not done it : and some time after he did not hesitate declaring, “ That he never  
 renounced

\* Vide Juvenal des Ursins.

† Vide Acta publica tom iii pars 2 page 7.

‡ Vide Jean de Monstreuil.

“renounced expressly nor tacitly his pretensions  
“to the crown of France.” \*

I have taken all I have said from the English acts themselves; the reader is left to judge of Rapin de Thoyras’s want of faith; he had the treaty of Calais before him, which corrects and interprets some of the articles of that of Britigni: he cautiously avoids mentioning those articles, and pretends to be entirely unacquainted with them. Did he imagine that no French historians would recur to the public acts of England, or was he not afraid of bringing his own history into disrepute, and dishonouring himself by thus scandalously prevaricating? How dare he urge  
“That † king John in putting Edward into pos-  
“session of the ceded provinces, did not reserve  
“to himself the sovereignty over those provinces,  
“neither by the treaty nor by any of the secret  
“ratifications of each respective article; and  
“that if he had reserved to himself that sove-  
“reignty; he would not have failed to enter a  
“protest when Edward (in the month of July  
“1362) created Guyenne into a Principality  
“in favour of his son, without the participation  
“of France?” ‡ The treaty of Calais (these  
repetitions I hope will be forgiven me) expressly  
stipulated,

\* Vide Acta publica T. iii. pars. 2. p. 66.

† Volume third page 243.

‡ Acta publica Tom third, pars. second, page 31.



stipulated, that king John's sovereignty over the ceded provinces should remain in *statu quo*, till such time as the two kings should reciprocally have transmitted to each other the renunciations they were to make : that if Edward did not send his renunciations of his pretensions to the crown of France, king John's renunciations of the sovereignty over the yielded provinces should be of no effect : Edward did not send his renunciations, consequently the act whereby he took upon himself the sovereignty of Guyenne, by erecting it into a Principality in favour of the prince of Wales became annulled : this was an infraction of the treaty, against which king John had previously protested.

I should not pass over in silence a complaint which the English monarch represented as an enormous grievance : " Some of the prisoners " (said he) who were detained in our dominions " for not having paid their ransom, and some of " the hostages have made their escape and have " not returned, notwithstanding the citations " we have sent to them and to king Charles." I ask, if it is not natural for the hostages of a peace which he had violated to consider themselves as as free, particularly when their apenages and domains were ransacked by his captains and soldiers ; whom he had underhand excited to act in

in that manner; I ask if he was not the most iniquitous of men in exacting from his prisoners exorbitant sums, notwithstanding the representations they made to him of the situation of their lands, which his troops had not less ravaged in time of peace than they had done during the war.

As England and Scotland form only one State, Rapin de Thoyras speaks impartially upon the wars and treaties between those two kingdoms before their union; he agrees \* that Edward made use of the most dastardly and odious means to dethrone the king of Scotland, a child, and his brother-in-law; but when that Edward has to do with France, he paints him as an equitable magnanimous prince, full of candour and rectitude, and displaying a most astonishing moderation in his successes; “ Moreover  
 “ (says he,) there is but little probability that  
 “ the treaty of Britigni being so advantageous to  
 “ him, he should be desirous of furnishing the  
 “ French with pretences for breaking it.” For my part I am of opinion, that this treaty which was so advantageous to him and so severe for us, was precisely the reason which induced him to persuade himself, that either he must make himself completely master of France, or live in  
 continual

\* Volume third, page 165 and 166;

continual fear, if he gave her time to breath, that she would not fail avenging the injustices he had done her : this instant excited him to foment troubles by supplying Charles *the Bad* with succours : it was for this that a part of his troops whom he had purposely disbanded without paying them continued their ravages ; he eluded sending the renunciations, because he still flattered himself that our provinces exhausted by misery, would at length yield to him in despair, by degrees accustom themselves to be deluded by his pretended right to a kingdom, whose misfortunes he could either terminate or prolong. His hopes were frustrated, and he was convinced that the long reign of unjust kings is frequently nothing more than a gift which heaven issues from the treasury of it's vengeance, that they may be spectators before their death of the downfall of that edifice which their haughty and unruly ambition, had raised and cemented with blood. Du Guesclin, after having defeated the army of Charles the Bad at Cocherel in 1364, and by that victory obliged him to sue for peace, performed a still more important service to France the ensuing year ; he engaged those troops of Banditti, which desolated the country to follow him into Spain, in order to oppose Pedro *the cruel*, king of Castille, who had just  
poisoned

poisoned Blanche de Bourbon his wife. Charles Vth being relieved from this scourge, and from the hostilities of Charles *the Bad*, applied himself to the solacing of his people, the regulation and œconomy of his finances, and to agriculture and commerce which he caused again to flourish: the resources of a kingdom like France, provided they are not stifled by a tyrannical administration, are so great and natural, that it requires but a little time for it to recover itself, and shine forth with it's usual brilliance, Charles Vth in less than five years found himself in such a situation, that he had no longer occasion to be in any sort of fear of Edward, but brandished the sword of justice and sovereignty against that vassal whose ambition was groundless: he sent a private valet to declare war against him, after that the court of Paris, had by their arret of November 1369 confiscated the dutchy of Guyenne, and all his possessions in the kingdom, in consequence of his daring attempts, his infraction of treaties, the insolent reply of the prince of Wales his son, and the insults offered to two persons \* in a public character.

I shall not enter into a detail of this war; suffice it to say that Edward saw in less than six campaigns those very provinces wrested from him, which

\* Bernard Pallot and Jean Chapponal.

which he had been more than 20 years in conquering, though favoured by our dissensions, our civil wars, and all the efforts of that wickedness possessed by Charles *the Bad*. Some of our Historians, ever faithful copyists of the English historians, \* give their readers to understand, that Edward's advanced age and the prince of Wales's illness greatly contributed to the rapidity of our success; it is true, the prince of Wales, though he continued to command and act, did not enjoy for some time a good state of health; but Charles V. was equally afflicted; with regard to Edward, he died at the age of 65; he was only 58 when the war broke out, and was to the last of a most robust constitution. Let us say, that in the preceding wars two thirds of his armies were composed of Gascon and other provincial officers and soldiers, from beyond the Loire; whereas in this last war, the majority of the Lords of these provinces, were no longer his partizans, and two thirds of his troops were English. He might have drawn great succours from Bretagne, if the Bretons had not opposed his evil designs and those of their Duke with the most unshaken resolution.

Charles V. died September 16th, 1380: at his death the English remained in possession of no other places in the kingdom than Calais, Cher-  
 VOL. III. H burg,

\* Bernard Pallot and Jean Chapponal.

burg, Brest, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne. Charles the sixth's youth (he being only 12 years old when he ascended the throne) gave France up to the avarice and ambition of his three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy; summoned by their birth to take the reins of government into their hands, they became the tyrants of the state, consulting nothing but their own private interests. The duke of Anjou, whom Jane queen of Naples had adopted, set out for Italy, after he had possessed himself of the treasure amassed by the deceased king, which he had concealed in the castle of Melun; the duke of Berri set out to pillage Languedoc and Guyenne, the government of which he had procured; and the duke of Burgundy who remained master in the council, resolved upon declaring war against the Flemings, who had revolted against the Count of Flanders, whose daughter and sole heiress this duke had wedded. The king was not yet fourteen years old, but he had manifested a warlike disposition from his infancy; he absolutely insisted upon going on this expedition. This was in the beginning of November; the river Lys was then greatly swelled; 5 or 6 hundred of our men having found some boats, crossed it without being perceived, and suddenly attacked and routed a body of 6000 of the enemy, who guarded the head of the bridge of Comines: among the dead was  
found

found an old woman, who had promised them that they should be invincible, if they allowed her to bear the standard of St. George. We advanced into the country, and the 17th of November 1382 is a memorable day in our history for gaining the battle of Rosebegue: the rebels, animated by their numbers and heated with insolent confidence, had deliberated the preceding day in the council "To give quarter to no one but little king Charles, whom Philip Artivelle, their chief, wanted to make a present of to the King of England." They were entirely routed. Upwards of 20,000 were slain, among which number was Artivelle: this victory struck the rebellious cities with a panic, and they all submitted except Ghent: the season being too far advanced to begin the siege, the king returned to Paris.

The following year the war was still more bloody in Flanders: religion became part of the quarrel: there were two popes Clement VII. and Urban VI. who had anathematized each other reciprocally for five years. Urban perceiving that spiritual thunders did not much advance his cause, had recourse to temporal arms, and declared a croisade against his competitor and his adherents; those who listed under this banner were allowed all possible indulgences. The English were solicitous to partake of them, as nothing appeared to them so meritorious, as to

engage in a war which principally threatened France, where Clement was acknowledged the real successor to St. Peter. Those that set out for the Croisade landed at Calais ; their General was Henry Spencer Bishop of Norwich ; This mitred soldier, says an historian, whether he found our frontiers too well guarded, or whether the inhabitants of Ghent had brought him over to their interest, marched against the Count of Flanders who acknowledged Urban, but who was a vassal of France when Clement was acknowledged : he took Gravelin, Bourbourg, Mardyke, Dunkirk, Cassel, Nieuport, Furnes and Ostend : but at the approach of the Constable de Clifson and our army, the credit of Urban's benedictions began to fail : Spencer raised the siege of Ypres, and abandoned all his conquests, except Bergues, Gravelin, and Bourbourg : the troops which he had distributed in these three places, fled from the two first at our approach ; the siege of Bourbourg, whither they were all retired, was formed : and not a single Englishman would have escaped, if the duke of Bretagne who was in our army, had not interceded in behalf of his old friends who were allowed to retire to Calais.

The Count of Flanders died January 23, 1384 ; the duke of Burgundy, who had married his daughter and sole heiress, by uniting this rich succession to the other great fiefs of the crown, which



which king John his Father had bequeathed him; laid the basis of that extent of power, which was in the end so fatal to the State: the unhappy politics of this prince and of the duke of Bretagne, consisted in constantly obliging France to be upon a good footing with them, and to wink at their airs of independency; to which end they thought it necessary to make themselves feared, and that France would cease to have any apprehensions from them, if the English were entirely driven out of the kingdom. From this period the reader will meet with nothing but a series of treachery and crimes.

The greatest preparations were making at the port of Ecluse: near 900 ships rendezvoused there; Charles VI. with the advice and assistance of the Constable de Clifson, was going to fall upon England: the opportunity was favourable; she was drained of her best troops by an expedition to Portugal: every thing promised us an easy conquest: The English, whose natural presumption fails them when attacked at their fire-sides, had already deserted their maritime cities, and far from consulting the defence of their coasts, fled with their treasures into the midst of forests; Richard II. in this general consternation, followed the duke of Suffolk's counsel; he tempted the duke of Berri's avarice and succeeded: that shameful Prince had taken upon him to assemble part of

our army, and to conduct it into Flanders; Charles VI. might well send him couriers after couriers to urge him on---he did not arrive till the middle of September; the wind which had been remarkably favourable for two months successively began to change; the sea became boisterous, and the greater part of our ships being damaged in a storm which lasted two days and two nights, were altogether unfit for service.

Fresh preparations were making during the winter: Clifton continued representing to the council, that the troubles and dissensions in England were still very great, and that we ought to avail ourselves of the opportunity: he repaired to Treguyer towards the end of June, where he pushed on the armament: Richard II. in order to divert this storm, had recourse to the duke of Bretagne: he could not have applied better; the duke who fancied he had recent subjects of complaint against Clifton, imagined he might serve the English, and appear only to avenge himself of a man who was born his subject, and seemed to brave him upon every occasion; he sent to compliment him upon his arrival in Bretagne, and invited him to assist at the assembly of the States whom he had convened at Vannes; Clifton went thither fully persuaded that his dignity as Constable would secure him from all insults; moreover it is said that

that he was in love with the duchess †; the duke almost devoured him with caresses, consulted him upon several affairs, and having one day engaged him to take a walk to the castle of Hermine, put him under arrest, and ordered Bavalan, captain of the castle, to tie him up at night in a sack, and cast him into the sea: Bavalan was acquainted with his master; he considered the remorse he would feel: the duke was, in fact, the next day in quite a different mind from that of the preceding, and when Bavalan owned to him that his order was not executed, he embraced him with transports, and assured him he should never forget the service he had done him by his disobedience; nevertheless as he pretended to have grounds of complaint against Clifson's behaviour, he declared he would not release him but upon certain terms, and not till he had paid the sum of 100,000 livres. The king was much amazed, as it was reasonable to expect, at such an attempt upon the first officer of the crown; but his youth still kept him dependant upon his uncles: they had a particular enmity to Clifson, and the duke of Bretagne was clear, on promising to give

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up

\* It's said the Dutchess and Clifson, were in very tender embraces one day, when they were observed through a lattice by the king of Navarre Charles the Bad, and that he acquainted the Duke therewith. Clifson had lost an eye, so that if this anecdote be true it proves, that a man with one eye may be loved as well as any other. The M. S. saits of Charles of Navarre.

up the 100,000 livres, and renouncing the other conditions which he had exacted from his prisoner. Thus failed the second armament against England: Clifton was the soul of this expedition: he had meditated and planned the scheme, and there was no one but he who could execute it; as he had gained the confidence of the troops, as soon as the report was spread of his being confined at Treguyer, they deserted.

The Dukes of Berri and Burgundy continued sacrificing the State to their own private interests: all France called out shame upon them: Charles VI. having attained his twentieth year, declared to them that he would henceforward govern by himself: they retired much displeas'd, one to his government of Languedoc, and the other to his dominions in Flanders. The new ministers whom the king fixed upon had capacity and upright intentions; they suppress'd part of the taxes, reformed many abuses that were burthensome to the people, and contrary to the administration of justice, the interest of the finances, and the advantage of commerce: every one pleas'd himself with the prospect of a glorious and happy reign. It was known that Clifton, who was convinc'd of the necessity of entirely extirpating the English out of the kingdom, wait'd only for the expiration of a truce of three years which had been granted to them, to attack them in their own island, and there

there let them see some of those evils which they had occasioned unto us, and compel them to accept of a peace upon such terms as we should think proper to offer. In the night of the 13th and 14th of June, upon his return to his Hotel with scarce any attendants, he was attacked in the street called Coulture St. Catherine by one Peter de Craon at the head of a band of twenty villains: they imagined he was killed, seeing him fall from his horse; but he received only some wounds which were cured. It was known that Craon took refuge in Bretagne; the Duke who was summoned to deliver him up, replied that he had come into his dominions, but that he was there no longer. Upon this reply the king resolved to march into Bretagne; the dukes of Berri and Burgundy to whom he sent orders to come and join him with the troops they ought to furnish, obeyed, but publickly declared that this war was a very unjust one. On the 5th of August the enemy set out from Mans, and took the route of Nantes: it is said that for three or four days the king appeared disturbed in his mind, and that he expressed it by his eyes: it was very hot weather; the intense heat of the Sun had turned his brain, and he became mad: he drew his sword and killed three or four people round him. I should be inclined to think that this accident, which deprived him of reason except by intervals, was not the effect of intoxication; but why was

not that tall black man, that kind of a phantom, who some minutes before issued from behind a bush, and who having laid hold of his horse's bridle, cried out in a terrible voice, "Stop, prince, you are betrayed; whither are you going?" Why was not this man taken up? Why was it reported in Paris for upwards of a fortnight, that the expedition against Bretagne would prove fatal?

This war was no more thought of; the troops were disbanded; the king was conducted to Paris; the ministers whom he had chosen were driven from his council, and shamefully persecuted by the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who seized afresh the reins of government; there was no farther thought of availing ourselves of the disorders in England; a truce for 28 years was signed with Richard II.; he interceded for Craon's pardon, and this assassin returned to court, whilst Clifton was banished from thence, and saw himself divested of all his employments.

In 1399 Henry \* of Lancaster dethroned Richard II. and afterwards had him put to death, by beating him with clubs in the tower of Pontefract. Richard had wedded the eldest daughter of Charles VI.; it appeared then, that France

\* He said that Richard was a bastard, the issue of the amours of the princess of Wales, and a Canon of Bourdeaux.

could not decently acknowledge the murderer of this prince for his successor; but the duke of Burgundy influenced the council, and his opinion prevailed; Henry was acknowledged, and the truce between the two crowns renewed, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the duke of Orleans; he had constantly refused to see Henry's embassadors; he continued treating him like an usurper, and even sent him a very abusive challenge. When Charles VI. recovered his health he approved of his brother's conduct, adopted his sentiments and ordered succours to be sent to the malecontents, in England, and troops to march into Guyenne; several fortresses were there taken from the English, and it is not to be questioned that if the duke of Burgundy had been so minded, the design of wresting from them the few places and castles that they still possessed in the kingdom, would have been accomplished.

We now border upon those times of horror, when there was neither party, king, nor people. The duke of Burgundy departed this life April 17th, 1404; John, surnamed *without fear*, his eldest son, after having taken possession of the duchy and county of Burgundy, of Artois and Flanders, came to court to foment divisions, and seize upon the government. It was not without much impatience and chagrin, that the duke of Orleans had before seen himself compelled to

yield so long to the superior age and experience of the father; he was therefore greatly hurt at the cabals and claims of his son. Each day produced fresh contests and fresh reconciliations, ruptures, and new causes of hatred and jealousy between the two princes. The duke of Burgundy, who was born a villain, cherished in his heart every cruel passion: the disposition of his nature was to create crimes, in the same manner as venomous plants produce poison. On the 23d of November 1407, between seven and eight at night, he caused the duke of Orleans \* to be assassinated, in the old street *du Temple*; the next day he assisted at his funeral, lamented his loss and wept: but finding that very strict search was going to be made, at the houses even of the princes of the blood, and knowing that the assassins would be found in his Hotel † of Artois, he made a precipitate escape from Paris and fled with them into Flanders. He afterwards returned with 1000 armed men, and was so far from testifying any remorse for his crime that he haughtily asked to be heard, and in an audience which he compelled them to allow him, a Cordelier named John Petit, who was his speaker,

\* He was the king's only brother. He left three sons; the eldest of whom was only fourteen years old: they continued in mourning for him for several years.

† In the streets of Mauconseil and Countess of Artois.



maintained in presence of the Dauphin who presided, that the duke of Orleans had by several actions proved himself to be an impious tyrant; that it was lawful to kill tyrants; and consequently, that killing him was nothing but a just and legal action, useful and necessary to the state.

The revolt of the inhabitants of Liege against their Bishop, obliged the duke of Burgundy to return into Flanders: the queen who was under the greatest apprehensions from him, and who had retired to Melun, returned to Paris; the duchess of Orleans to whom she wrote, did not delay repairing thither, accompanied by her children; she threw herself at the king's feet, and implored justice for the death of her husband, and for the shameful calumnies with which his memory had been aspersed, after he was assassinated. Her prayer was heard; the pardon which the duke of Burgundy had obtained, was annulled; he was pronounced a traitor, an assassin, a calumniator and an enemy to the state. Whilst his trial was depending in court, fortune favoured him in Flanders: the news soon came that he had gained a compleat victory over the malecontents of Liege, and that he was returning to Paris; the queen who did not think that this was a place of safety for her, carried the king with her to Tours. The duchess of Orleans

leans was of a hot, choleric disposition; she had borne a tender love for her husband ; when she found that his assassin was upon the point of triumphing, and that the court was obliged to negociate with him, she fell a victim to chagrin and despair. Her death, and the tender years of her children, facilitated the negociation, and an apparent reconciliation between the two houses : the duke of Burgundy promised to disband his troops ; he had a safe-guard to conduct him to Chartres, where he asked the king's pardon, and addressing himself afterwards to the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, begged of them to pardon him likewise : a marriage was agreed upon between one of his daughters and one of these princes, and the king ordered them to make oath of a sincere reconciliation. Could it be sincere ? Besides a wicked man often thinks that by affecting pride, he will tincture his very crimes with a kind of pride : the duke of Burgundy appeared more haughty and overbearing than ever : the house of Orleans looked upon him with indignation : the other princes were not less shocked to see him seize upon all authority : jealousy of the government, and his imperious manners, united almost every one against him. The kingdom fell a prey to all the evils which are attendant upon a civil war : the French, divided under the names of Orleanois and

and Burgundians, devoted themselves as instruments to the fury of those two houses, and drenched with their blood the capital and the provinces ; the king, whose mental weakness daily increased by the frequent returns of his disorder, was nothing but a phantom which the two factions by turns laid hold of.

England was not in less confusion than France, during the reign of Henry IV. the murderer of Richard II. ; he died March 20th, 1413. It was reserved for Henry V. his son, to profit of our dissensions, and of the blackest and most dastardly treachery. The populace of Paris were still seditious, and carried their insolence so far as to insult the king and the dauphin : the duke of Burgundy, the constant spring of the commotions and massacres of this mob, was declared an enemy to the state : the king who was a little recovered, was going to take the standard of St. Denis, and command his army in person : the duke of Burgundy being closely pursued, was compelled to humble himself : he was pardoned conditionally, and one of the terms was, that he should not approach Paris and the court, without being sent for by the king's letters, sealed with the great seal and issued by the advice of the council. This stipulation which estranged him from the government of the state, filled him with rage ; he saw  
his

his faction sinking, and that of the Orleannois, who were also called Armagnacs, triumphing: he negociated with England, and gave the finishing stroke to all the abominations of his life, by a treaty which specified,

That till then, for want of good information, he had been ignorant or misunderstood the just rights of the king of England and his heirs to the crown of France; that having examined them, he acknowledges them just and legal: that he promises and engages, in consequence thereof, to wage a mortal war against Charles VI. and the dauphin, and submits to pay liege-homage to the said king of England, as soon as he shall be in possession of tolerable part of the kingdom of France; acknowledging that though this homage be due at present, it is postponed for the mutual advantage of each.

That he will, by every secret means which he knows of, or which shall be pointed out to him, act in such a manner, as to place the said king of England in the real and peaceable possession of the said kingdom of France.

That whilst the said king of England shall be employed in recovering his rights, he the duke of Burgundy, will make war with all his forces against the enemies which the said king of England has in the kingdom of France, that is to say, against A. B. C. D. and against all their countries

tries and partisans who shall disobey the said king of England.

That if in treaties of alliance, letters patent, or otherwise, he should appear to side with Charles VI. who calls himself king of France, and with the dauphin, this will only be through dissimulation, to obtain a greater advantage, and to advance the scheme projected between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy.

Thus did a prince of the blood, grandson to king John, and the first peer of the kingdom, league with the natural enemies of his country, to wrest the scepter from his own house, and give it to that of an usurper, to whom even the crown of England \* did not belong. We may at the same time form a judgment in what manner our history of France is composed: This treaty, the consequences of which have been so fatal to us, has been passed over in silence by all our historians, except Father Daniel, who only speaks of it by the bye, and so slightly, that one would imagine he had not read it at length: I cannot conceive how he neglected

\* In default of Richard II. the crown of England belonged to Mortimer earl of March, son to that Roger, who had been declared presumptive heir to Richard II. and who descended from Lionel of Clarence, second son to Edward III.; whereas Henry of Lancaster, father to Henry V. was son of a younger branch of Lionel,

to avail himself of it, for clearing up several facts during the remainder of the reign of Charles VI. It should be further observed, that this treaty was only renewed and confirmed at Calais in the month of October 1416, and that it had been concluded so early as the year 1414: various vouchers of this treaty are found in the public acts of England, amongst others a procuration of this year 1414, whereby we find that the duke of Burgundy acknowledged himself a liege-vassal of Henry V. and was to pay him homage in that quality\*. To these evidences another may be added; which is, that Henry V. in 1413, had sent an embassy to Paris solely to desire the renewal of the 28 years truce between the two crowns; † but that in 1414, elevated with the alliance which he had just made secretly with the duke of Burgundy, he sent fresh ambassadors who spoke, in a very different tone; they at first demanded all the kingdom, which they said they did by virtue of their master's right, as heir to Edward III.: they were afterwards willing to reduce their demands to the execution of the treaty of Bretigni, that is to say, to a cession of nearly the one half of France.

These proposals would certainly terminate in nothing but a declaration of war: Henry made all his preparations, and publickly said, "That

\* Acta publica, T. 4. pars 2. p. 80. † Vide Rapin, p. 80.

“ he should have only the one half of the French  
“ to oppose, and that the other half would even  
“ make a diversion in his favour.” On the 21st  
of August 1415, he landed in Normandy three  
leagues from Harfleur, at the head of 50,000  
men: the next day he laid siege to that place.  
Seven or eight lords of the country, who had  
thrown themselves into it, with 400 armed  
men, made a vigorous defence till the 28th of  
September: they were in constant expectation  
of being succoured, and did not capitulate till  
they were at the last extremity.

This siege cost the English a great number  
of men: they were besides afflicted with the  
dysentery: they were in want of provisions, and  
the season became very inclement by reason of  
continual rains. Henry thought of nothing but  
sending his troops home, when on the 30th of  
October such a violent storm arose, that all  
his transports, after being dashed one against the  
other, were either shattered, dispersed, or com-  
pletely wrecked upon our coast. He was in  
hopes by making forced marches, to arrive at  
Calais before we could oppose his retreat. He  
crossed the country of Cœux, the country of  
Eu, Vienne; went up the Somme, and took  
many round about ways to cross it above St.  
Quentin, which he did without opposition by  
the treachery of those who commanded the mi-  
litia

litia of that district. He thought, or seemed to think, that he would not be intercepted in his march, when he discovered our army between Ruisseauville and Azincourt, he could no longer avoid coming to action: he incamped at the village of Maisonnelles, from whence he sent to make proposals of giving up Harfleur and paying for all the damage he had done in France from the time of his descent, provided the passage remained free for him to Calais: his offers were rejected. His troops were fatigued and harrassed: ours were in good condition and three times as numerous: but nothing can supply a want of confidence between soldiers and their general; this is the most fatal presage, particularly on the day of battle: the constable Charles Albert was neither loved nor esteemed: he was taxed with presumption and incapacity, the usual attendants of a man raised by mere favour. He had neglected two days before to occupy a defile which 300 men might have defended against 50,000: the English would have been compelled to surrender at discretion; he probably wanted to signalize himself by gaining a battle: he did precisely all he could to lose it: if he had consulted with the enemy upon the choice of his ground, they could not have pointed him out any worse: instead of keeping upon an extensive space, open and unconfined, he posted  
himself



himself between two woods in a field so very close, that he at once put it out of his power to derive any advantage from the superiority of his numbers; the disposition of his army and his other manœuvres were equally despicable: moreover all the first nobility were desirous of being with the princes in the vanguard; they were not ranged but in crowds, and were so pressed that it was scarce possible to extend the army. They fought with much courage, but were constantly in such great disorder and confusion, that it was braving death without marching up to victory. We left five princes of the blood, a great number of lords, and 6000 armed men \* or gentlemen, and 1800 soldiers; the relations and friends of the Constable Albert had the melancholy consolation of finding that he was among the slain. I shall not enter into other details upon this fatal day; they are to be met with in every history: I shall make only a single observation: our troops were entirely routed: some of them seemed to stop, and were inclined to rally: † Henry fearing that if the action was re-commenced, the prisoners which he had taken would incommode his own troops, and might be inclined to make their escape, ordered an officer with 200 archers to go and

\* The armed men, *bommes d'armes*, were almost all gentlemen.

† Rapin.

cut their throats from rank to rank : The duke of Brabant and the count of Nevers, brothers to the duke of Burgundy, were amongst the number of those unhappy victims. Bertrand du Guesclin was at the battle of Cocherel in the same situation as the English monarch : he completed the defeat and pursuit of the enemy, when he was informed that succours were in view for them : he ordered the prisoners to be disarmed, but not to be put to the sword.

Henry with his victorious army, which was, nevertheless, reduced from 50 to 17 or 18,000 men, reached Calais, from whence he returned to England. " His victory, (says Rapin de Thoyras,) had not procured him an inch of " land ;" and the taking of Harfleur, his only conquest, was a very trifling indemnification for the immense sums, which he had disbursed for his armaments : the sequel will shew that being drained of money and soldiers, he was compelled to remain inactive for the two succeeding years.

When our consternation, which is always at first excessive, was somewhat abated, it was considered that the wound we had received was very bloody, but that it was not dangerous : that two thirds of our army had not been engaged : that fresh troops poured in upon us from every side : that the Frenchman re-appeared himself

himself as soon as he had a chief; and that, far from being obliged to keep upon the defensive, we were very capable of making an attack: we resolved upon recovering Harfleur: ammunition was wanting there: the fortifications were not yet entirely repaired: and it was difficult for the English to throw in speedy succours; but we experienced that when Henry said, “That half the French would make a diversion in his favour,” he was unhappily but too sure of it. News came that the duke of Burgundy advanced towards Paris with a numerous army, and we were therefore obliged, instead of continuing the siege of Harfleur, to man the most important posts upon the Seine and the Oise. He sent deputies who declared from him, that he only came to salute the king, and to intreat him not to keep him at such a distance from his person and councils in conjunctures so dangerous for the state. The dauphin replied, that he might come provided he disbanded his troops, and appeared as an obedient and submissive vassal ought to do. The perfidious duke who waited for this reply, continued his march and encamped at Lagni; he expected that the powerful faction which he had in Paris, would throw open the gates of that city to him; but such prudent measures were taken, that not one of his partizans dared to declare himself. He sent fresh  
deputies

deputies : the dauphin was seized with such a sudden and violent disorder, that he died in six days, viz. December 8th 1413 : it was suspected that he lost his life by poison.

To the dauphin Lewis succeeded prince John his brother, who was then seventeen years of age; he was then at Valenciennes with the count of Hainaut, whose daughter he had married. It was in vain for the king and queen to write to him, and press him to wait upon them, to assume that rank to which his birth entitled him; he constantly postponed doing it, pretending to have apprehensions and fears, and alledging for his excuse the two factions which rent the state. At last at the end of fifteen months, he came as far as Compiègne; the count of Hainaut who governed there, repaired to Paris and haughtily declared in full council, that the dauphin was his kinsman and heir, that he would not carry him to court, but that on the contrary he was going to conduct him back to Valenciennes, if the king would not take the duke of Burgundy into his confidence and friendship, and admit him near his person. In consequence of this speech the count of Hainaut should have been immediately arrested: the thing was deliberated upon; he got scent thereof, disguised himself, and fled from Paris to Compiègne; he there found the dauphin expiring with an imposthume, which had  
burst

burst in his throat, and which stifled him April 3d, 1470. A report was spread that the queen had sent this young prince a golden chain, and that scarce had he got possession of it before he fell ill, and the skin of his hands peeled off. Others aver that the king of Sicily poisoned him, to advance the Count de Ponthieu, his kinsman (who thereby succeeded to the title of dauphin, and was afterwards Charles VII.) to the throne. The reader is desired to give the greatest attention to the facts and dates which I am going to enumerate: he will discover the ignorance, the negligence, and the want of reflection of all our historians, without excepting one.

The dauphin Lewis died October 18th, 1415, according to the Journal under Charles the sixth, page twenty-nine.

April 19th, 1416, \* a conspiracy was discovered in Paris, which had been hatched by the duke of Burgundy, the design whereof was to kill the king, the queen, and the duke of Berri, the king and queen of Sicily, Tangui du Châtel, the chancellor Demarle, and several others: the principal accomplices confessed this execrable plot, either upon the rack, or whilst they were dying.

\* Vide Monstrelet, Vol. I. chap. 155.

In the month of October, of the same year 1416, the duke of Burgundy repaired to Calais, where he renewed that infamous treaty, of which I have already given an abstract, and wherein he acknowledged the king of England as the legitimate king of France, promising, \*  
 “ that by every secret means he could discover,  
 “ or which should be pointed out, to him, he  
 “ would act in such a manner as to put him in  
 “ possession of the said kingdom; subjoining,  
 “ that if he should seem to side with Charles  
 “ VI. who stiled himself king of France, and  
 “ with the dauphin, this would be only out of  
 “ dissimulation, and to forward the success of  
 “ the scheme formed between the said king of  
 “ England, and him the duke of Burgundy.”

He went from Calais to meet † John the dauphin at Valenciennes, where he greatly careffed

\* Acta Publica, T. 4. pars 2. page 177.

† It was on the 12th of November, 1416, and not in the beginning of that year as Rapin de Thoyras asserts, vol. 4. pag. 118. This historian purposely misplaces these facts: he puts the death of the dauphin John before the treaty of Calais, and to cast an obscurity over the dates, corrects a supposed error of Mezeray: “ The dauphin John (says he, *ibid.* p. 119) died  
 “ at Compeigne April 16th, 1416, and not in 1417, as Meze-  
 “ ray relates.” We know that the year then began at Easter; prince John, after bearing the title of Dauphin fifteen  
 months

caressed him, and swore to him, that he had nothing so much at heart, as to oppose the designs of the English, and that as a faithful vassal he would assist him against them with all his powers; he afterwards engaged the Count of Hainaut to promise, that he would use his utmost endeavours to reinstate him in the good graces of the king and queen, and that till such time as he had obtained this, he would refuse to give up the dauphin.

This young prince died, as I said before, April 3d. Charles his brother, who was fifteen

I 2

years

months and a half, died April 3d, at the end of the year 1416, and consequently in 1417, if we reckon the beginning of the year from the first of January. I here repeat, that the duke of Burgundy signed his treaty with Henry in the month of October 1416; he went to see the dauphin John at Valenciennes in the month of November following, and the dauphin John died four months and a half after that interview. This remark is of the greater importance, as it points out all the treachery of the duke of Burgundy, and is at the same time a certain proof, that when he afterwards treated with the dauphin Charles (Charles VII.) he did not act with more sincerity than with the dauphin John. If our historians had made this observation, they would have seen in another point of light, and related in a different manner, the rest of the events that occurred in the reign of Charles VI. See Monstrelet upon these dates, Vol. I. Chap. 161, and also the Journal of Paris under the reigns of Charles VI. and Charles VII. page 31.

years old, and the only one remaining of the six sons whom Charles VI. once had, was now become presumptive heir to the crown. He about the same time, that is, April 29th, lost his father in law, Louis d'Anjou king of Sicily, who loved him tenderly, and who frequently repeated to him in his last moments, whilst he bathed him with tears, that he should never put any confidence in the duke of Burgundy.

This wicked man soon published a manifesto, wherein he set forth, that the administration of affairs was in the hands of plunderers, and people without faith or honour; that they had poisoned the two last dauphins; that they oppressed the liberty of the nobility, and daily burthened the people with fresh taxes; that he therefore exhorted all good Frenchmen to unite with him to remedy the evils which France laboured under, and to relieve the king, queen, and dauphin, from that state of shameful captivity in which they were held by dangerous ministers; he concluded with promising to abolish all imposts, and to make use of all the force and power which his own \* estate could furnish him with, to repulse the English. He added in another manifesto,

\* The Publick Acts of England (Vol. I, part 2. p. 119. part 3. p. 6. 11. and 29.) furnish additional proofs of his insincerity.



in answer to the reproaches and restrictions which the king had put upon him, that these did not proceed from the king: He knows, said he, the purity of my intentions; I flatter myself that he loves me, and that he has not the least scruple about my attachment to him; he is my lord, the head of my house, and the source of my power; I am indebted to him for every thing; I have armed myself for him and my country; as soon as I have driven from about his person those traitors who beset him, I will go and combat the English: I will destroy imposture; and the world shall see whether I have entered into any alliance with them, as some insolent calumniators have had the effrontery to lay to my charge.

He set out from Hesdin at the head of 60,000 men; most of the cities of Picardy and Champagne opened their gates to him: he abolished the imposts in every place through which he passed, and the people (always the people) letting themselves be gulled by this trap, equally frivolous as trite, showered blessings upon a perfidious man, who had no other object in view, than to make a diversion in favour of England. Henry had just made a descent at Torgues in Normandy, after having remained

first campaign, as I have before related, had drained him of money and soldiers; Rapin de Thoyras \* relates, that the supplies which he obtained from his parliament to prosecute the war, not being proportioned to his wants and schemes, he pledged his own jewels, the jewels of his crown, and even his crown itself.

It should seem as if heaven, unable to destroy the French in any other way than by themselves, took a pleasure in selecting these scourges from among the royal family. A fund had been established for the payment of the troops; the queen (Isabella of Bavaria) imperious, avaricious, vindictive and gallant, wanted to seize upon it, under pretext of supporting her household, and for the pensions that were due to her: the constable d'Armagnac opposed this measure; she threatened him; he knew her, and resolved to frustrate her design; he was certainly a great man; but the means he used were scandalous: probably, the ideas of shame and meanness are quite different at court from what they are elsewhere; he informed the king of those things which a husband should be unacquainted with; Louis de Bourdon, an amiable but rash man, much in the good graces of the queen, was arrested, and

\* Rapin, Vol. IV. page 128.      Ibid. Vol. IV. page 122.

put to the torture, then sewed up in a sack and cast into the Seine; this princess was banished to Tours, and the dauphin, by the advice of the constable, seized upon the different treasures she possessed, to supply the exigencies of the state. \* From the time of the assassination of the duke † of Orleans, she could not hear the name of the duke of Burgundy uttered without shuddering: her terrors however gave way to her thirst of revenge: though constantly watched, she found means to write to him to implore his assistance. He had been for two months ravaging the environs of Paris: his faction was so powerful in that capital, that the constable d'Armagnac and the dauphin durst not venture to quit it: he thus kept them at bay, ‡ which favoured the progress

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\* Vide Monstrelet, chap. 167.

† The intrigues of the brother and sister in law, were but too publickly known: it was commonly said, that she had had a son by him.

‡ The consequence which flowed from the disorder in the state occasioned by the duke of Burgundy was, that all the other great vassals disunited their interests from those of the monarchy; (Vide Acta Publica, T. 3. pars 4. page 23, and 24.) the queen of Sicily, duchess of Maine and Anjou, made a truce with Henry for her lands; that is to say, she engaged not to furnish her contingent to France; the duke of Brittany made a similar one; Burgundy, Champaign, Picardy, Artois, and Flanders, were under the power of the duke of Burgundy:

gress of the English in Normandy. The joy which he felt upon the receipt of the queen's letter is easy to be conceived; he saw at one glance all the advantage he should derive from such an union; and the news soon spread, that he had gone to Tours with astonishing expedition, at the head of 1500 picked horsemen, and that having with much facility set that princess at liberty, he conducted her to Troyes. She there fixed her court, and took upon herself the title of Regent, by virtue of letters patent which she imagined to be irrevocable, and whereby the king had in 1403 appointed her to govern the state during his illness; she created a sovereign chamber at Amiens, dissolving the parliament at Paris, the chamber of accounts, and the other tribunals, and expressly forbidding any order of the king or dauphin to be obeyed, as they were not free: her ordinances were sealed with a particular seal which she caused to be made, whereon she was represented as a woman in distress, extending her arms to implore relief.

Some bishops interfered, and endeavoured to restore the union of the royal family: the self-

Burgundy: hence it may be judged, what difficulties the constable and the dauphin had to surmount, to procure money and troops.

appointed

appointed regent and the duke of Burgundy named deputies; the dauphin, in the king's name, appointed others: these deputies had several meetings at the village of La Tombe, between Montereau and Bray sur Seine; but not agreeing upon the principal articles, they determined to refer the matter to the decision of the two legates of the Holy See, who were come to offer their mediation: these two legates, in consequence of this determination, assisted at the conferences, and drew up a treaty, which stipulated that the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy should jointly govern the kingdom. The constable d'Armagnac, and the chancellor Demarle, dissuaded the king and the dauphin from the ratification of this treaty: they were perfectly well acquainted with the engagement that the duke of Burgundy had entered into with Henry at Calais; could they avoid representing, that his whole life was but a tissue of dastardly and tacit treason, or of audacious crimes; and that, by allowing him to return to court, and to take part in the councils, the person of the dauphin would be exposed, and the state given up to it's most dangerous enemy? Nevertheless, all our historians, for want of being acquainted with the treaty of Calais, and by not reflecting sufficiently upon the character of the duke of Burgundy, ac-

cause those two ministers of having opposed a reconciliation between him and the dauphin, for no other reason, than because they were certain of losing their places, and being perhaps exiled, had he recovered his former authority at court.

The constable had sent almost all his troops to surprise Montlheri and Marcoufir; before they could possibly return, the Burgundian faction sent advice to Lisle Adam, who commanded in Pontoise for the duke of Burgundy, that if he would secretly draw near, they were in hopes of being able to introduce him into Paris by Buci gate: he appeared there accordingly with 800 armed men on the night between the 28th and 29th of May, 1418; the son of one of the Quarteniers, named Perrinet le Clerc, gave that gate up to him; he had stolen the keys from under his father's pillow. Part of the conspirators immediately dispersed themselves into different quarters of the city, crying out, " Rise, " good people, peace, live the king and Bur- " gundy." The populace answered them with similar shouts, and having armed themselves with whatever they could find nearest at hand, joined the conspirators. They then proceeded to the Hôtel of St. Paul, in the street of St. Antoine, broke open the doors, waked the king, forced him to dress to put himself at their head, and  
made

made him walk before them in the streets to give credit to his approving of the enterprize. Tanguy du Chatel, trembling for the dauphin's safety, had at the first alarm run directly to his hotel: \* the young prince was wrapt in sleep: he covered him up in one of the sheets, and carried him from his bed to the Bastile; the next day he conducted him to Melun. That night and the day following, a great number of Armagnacs † were imprisoned: some houses were pillaged, but little blood was spilt. Lisle Adam dispatched a courier to the duke of Burgundy, who was then at Dijon: one may boldly presume, that the answer he received from the duke, on the 10th of June, by two men so black and wicked as Merrilliers and Montague, was to excite underhand, a general massacre of all those who were not his partizans; for in the first transports, during the first emotions of the sedition, and till that time, there were only five or six persons killed ‡, whereas, on the 12th, the people on a sudden gave themselves

\* The Hotel Du petit Muse, from whence the Street *Du petit Muse* near the Celestines derived it's name.

† This was the name of those in the opposite faction to that of the duke of Burgundy.

‡ See the History of Paris. *Pieces Justificatives*, Vol IV, page 587.

up to the most barbarous rage : pillage was one of the least excesses of their fury : they butchered women, children, and old men : they broke open the gates of the Conciergerie, and set those at liberty who were confined there : the palace-court streamed with the blood of the most respectable citizens : six bishops, the constable d'Armagnac, the chancellor Demarle, the greater part of the presidents, the counsellors, and the masters of requests shared the same fate. This outrageous mob, then near the Celestines, hurried to the other prisons, and finding the unhappy victims whom they sought for hidden in the cells of the Chatelet, they set fire to them, and they perished in the flames : others they cast from the tops of the towers, who were received below upon the points of swords and pikes : the bodies of the constable d'Armagnac and the chancellor Demarle, after being dragged through the streets, were cast into the common sewer.

On July 14th, the queen and the duke of Burgundy came to Paris ; “ They there made (as “ the historians relate) a triumphal entry : they “ themselves were strewed with flowers, as well “ as the paths they passed : nothing was heard “ on every side but peals of acclamation and “ loud huzza's : joy sparkled in every counte- “ nance.” Did it efface the infamy which a  
bad



bad heart generally imprints upon the countenance of villains? By what hands were these flowers strewed? By hands that were reeking with blood! What tongues were those that bel- lowed out those peals of acclamations and loud huzza's? Those very tongues, which but a few days before, in the midst of massacres and carnage, resembled those of Furies!

\* Heaven thought fit to purge Paris of it's infamous inhabitants; before the end of the year, upwards of 100,000 people were carried off by a contagious disorder; "And these were chiefly the populace and the murderers," \*\* according to Juvenal des Ursins.

Henry pursued his conquests in Normandy: they were not difficult, or rather, what were the conquests and glory of this pretended hero, when duly considered! If a gentleman had a quarrel with one of his neighbours, and a relation of this gentleman should say to that neighbour; Fight a duel with my kinsman, I will pretend to be his constant friend: I will prevail upon him to let me be his second, and whilst you attack him in front, I will give him wounds behind: in what light should we look upon this relation, and what should we think of the man who would avail himself of such a pro-

\* Vide Journal de Paris, page 50.

\*\* Ibid, page 448.

posal? Such was in fact the treaty of Calais: such was the drama performed by the duke of Burgundy, and this same Henry so renowned in history. \*

On the 26th of August, 1418, he laid siege to Rouen: all his attacks were so vigorously repulsed, that he soon gave up hopes of making himself master of this city, by any other way than that of famine: he blockaded it on all sides, and even erected gibbets at certain distances along the lines, at the same time sending a herald to make a declaration to the inhabitants, that as they obstinately persisted in opposing him, he would instantly hang up every one of them that fell into his hands. These scandalous and barbarous menaces excited nothing but their contempt; and I question whether the Greek or Roman history can produce an example of a siege supported with so much courage, resolution, and patriotism; but unfortunately they had declared themselves for the duke of Burgundy: they imagined, as did all the other cities that espoused his cause, that his intentions were good; and far from suspecting that he had any understanding with the English, they flattered them-

\* He is particularly celebrated as a hero by monkish pens, for no other reason than that he burnt some persons suspected of being heretics.

felves he would confider it as a particular honour to succour them. He, in fact, feemed every day preparing for it: but after much delay, he fent them a message, at the expiration of four months, that fome unexpected incidents having obliged him to divide his forces, he was absolutely incapable of fulfilling the promise, which he had hitherto made them, and that he advised them to capitulate upon the beft terms they could obtain. \* Neither this mortifying advice, nor the shocking extremities to which they were reduced, as yet diminished their courage: they had for two months together no other bread to eat than what they made of the ftraw from their beds, and the leather coverings of old trunks: their other fufenance confifted of the flefh of horfes, dogs, and cats, and even that of the moft unclean animals. They refolved upon making an unexpected fally with ten thoufand men, in order to attack with vigour the enemy's lines, and either force them to abandon them, or all perifh in the attempt. \*\* Guy le Boutelier, who was their new governor appointed by the duke of Burgundy, gave Henry fecret intelligence of their defign, and

\* Rapin page 134. and Monftrélet Chap. 201. \*\* Vide the Journal of the fiege of Rouen.

sent in the night, two hours before they were to make their sally, to saw away the cross beams and other props which supported the bridge they were to pass over : the bridge was a pretty large one ; as soon as it was covered, it began to give way : they pushed forward, and crowded to get to the end : this precipitate motion completed it's fall : the ditch was deep : several were killed, others wounded, and a great number stifled. Those who got over found the enemy ranged in battle waiting for them before their lines : they sold their lives so very dear, that it is probable, if they had been five or six thousand strong, they would have delivered the city. At length on the 13th of January they sent deputies to capitulate. The earl of Warwick told them from Henry, that capitulating was out of the question, and that they must surrender at discretion ; they looked coldly at the earl of Warwick, and returned without giving him an answer. Some hours after, Guy le Boutellier sent intelligence to Henry, that the garrison and inhabitants were at work in order to undermine 80 fathom of their walls, and that after they had set fire to the four corners of the city, they were resolved men, women and children, to retire by that breach, and force a way to victory, or to an honourable

honourable death: Fear had that effect upon the English monarch, which esteem for such a brave people could not inspire him with: He sent them word, that he was inclinable to grant them terms, which were, that the garrison should retire without arms; that he would maintain the citizens in all their privileges; that they should pay him 345,000 crowns of gold; that all the inhabitants should take the oaths of fidelity to him, and that he might chuse three from among them, whom he might dispose of at his pleasure; for in the same manner as, in those times, an individual, in order to signify that he became the proprietor of a field, cut off three or four branches of a tree, so an English monarch, in order to testify that he had obtained the sovereignty of a city, hung up three or four of the citizens: such a mode of taking possession was not practised among other nations. Robert de Layel, John Jourden, and Allen Blanchard, had signalized themselves by their firmness in all the deliberations: they had never discontinued animating and exhorting their fellow citizens to make a vigorous defence; and these were the three victims that Henry fixed upon: \* but as he was not less avaricious than blood-thirsty, Layel and Jourden obtained their par-

\* Rapin, page 168, 169.

don, at the price of a considerable sum : Blanchard was beheaded : “ I have no fortune,” said this brave man as he was going to be executed ; “ and tho’ I had, I would not make use of it “ to save an Englishman from dishonouring “ himself.” All the historians relate that Henry, at his entry into Rouen, was preceded by a page superbly mounted, who carried at the end of a lance a large fox’s tail, probably in honour of Guy le Boutelier ; this might appear incredible, if it were not certain that this prince publicly loaded him with caresses, and appointed him lieutenant of Upper Normandy under the duke of Gloucester.

During the siege of Rouen, the dauphin had sent ambassadors to Henry to treat of peace ; plenipotentiaries were appointed on each side, who at first assembled at Alençon, and afterwards at Louvien ; but Henry, by the demands he made, was very certain that their conferences would terminate in nothing. The Public Acts of England prove, that this congress was nothing more than a farce on his side ; a necessary and important farce to make it be believed, that as he entered into a negotiation with the dauphin, and even offered to join him against the duke of Burgundy, consequently the

Treaty

Treaty of Calais, and that long train of treason which was imputed to the duke of Burgundy, were nothing but chimeras and calumnies.

These conferences were succeeded by others, which seemed to change the scene; but the foundation, though under a different form, was always the same: the queen and the duke of Burgundy required an interview with Henry to treat of the terms of peace, and of his marriage with Madame Catherine, the dauphin's sister; the park of Meulant was fixed upon for this interview, which took place May 29th, 1419; the conferences began the next day, and continued for upwards of three weeks: Henry required the provinces which were ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni. I warn the reader that all I am now going to say is directly opposite to what all the historians have related; but I shall cite proper proofs, in justification of what I advance, and am inclinable to believe, that my reflexions, and the consequences I draw, will appear just.

The treaty which the queen and the duke of Burgundy would have signed, would have been invalid. They had, it is true, the king's authority; but he was insane: the dauphin, who was then seventeen years of age, took upon himself (which he had a right to do) the title of Regent:

gent : his consent was necessary, and that of the general states, to the ceding of such a number of provinces ; besides the duke of Burgundy found half the kingdom joined him, for no other reason but that he was thought to be well disposed, and the only one capable of remedying the evils which the state laboured under ; but if he had subscribed to the demands of the English monarch, he would immediately have been abhorred by the whole nation ; all the cities that had declared for him, would have abandoned him, and would consequently have strengthened the party of the dauphin. \* Such are the reflections which the queen, the duke of Burgundy, and Henry previously made ; thus it was not to confer about peace that they assembled.

What then was the real object of their interview at Meulant ? This was it, as the sequel will prove ; the queen and the duke of Burgundy had resolved to destroy the dauphin, to marry Madame Catherine to Henry, and to let him succeed to the crown. Henry and the duke of Burgundy had a secret conference at Meulant, “ Which (say the historians) greatly displeased all good Frenchmen.” The result of this conference was, that the duke of Burgundy should make advances towards a reconciliation with the dau-

\* Monstrelet, chap. 199. P. Daniel, page 538.



phin: if the young prince consented to this reconciliation, he would deliver himself into his hands and those of the queen; and if he did not consent to it, appearances would be against him; the civil war would be protracted, and the arms of Henry, always secretly abetted by the duke of Burgundy, would continue their progress. Such was the spring of this dark plot: the duke of Burgundy appeared more than ever attached to the interests of France, whilst the conferences were carrying on at Meulant; and when he and Henry thought it was time to put an end to them, they feigned to break them off with much parade and dissatisfaction with each other: "I perceive, (said Henry to the duke of Burgundy) that you only want to amuse me; but know, cousin, that I will have the girl and what I asked with her, or I will turn your king and you also out of his kingdom: \* Sire, (replied the duke of Burgundy) you speak your pleasure; but before you turn my lord and us out of his kingdom, you may assure yourself you will have a good deal to do." It should be observed, that the English historians agree, that Henry, in order to prosecute the war, had pledged his jewels and crown; that he had not 25,000 men; that no army had

\* Vide Montrelet, chap. 208.

opposed his progress ; that by the duke of Burgundy's diversion in his favour, and by his treasonable practices, he had gained possession of several places ; and that nevertheless, in four years time, he had conquered only a single province. Now if this quarrel had not been a meanly contrived scheme between the two princes, to blind and deceive the people, is it natural to believe, that Henry, who certainly was no fool, would have talked in this rodomontade stile, and exposed himself to the consequences of such a discourse to the proudest man in the world ; to a man who could crush him in an instant with his own forces only ; and still more so, by uniting them with those of the dauphin ?

The duke of Burgundy and the dauphin appeared to be re-united (\*) ; they saw one another on the 11th of June, 1419, near the castle of Pouilly le Fort, between Corbeil and Mejun, “ And swore brotherly love to each other, and to unite against the damnable enterprizes of the English :” they appointed the place of rendezvous for another interview on the

(\*) Three weeks after this interview, Henry surprised Pontoise ; and Lisle Adam, a man entirely devoted to the duke of Burgundy, and who commanded in that place, was generally accused of having given it up to the English.

20th of August, which was to be at the bridge of Montereau, after which the dauphin was to repair to the king and queen: this interview did not take place till the 10th of September; the duke of Burgundy was there killed. My opinion concerning this murder is directly opposite to those of all the historians: if my reflexions do not convince the reader, he will at least be surpris'd that none of our historians should have made them before me.

November 20th, 1407, the duke of Orleans and the duke of Burgundy went to mass at the Augustins; where they communicated together, and swore by the holy host to love one another from that time like brothers, and to pursue each others interests. On the 23d, the duke of Burgundy had the duke of Orleans assassinated, and on the morrow assisted at the funeral with tears in his eyes, and bearing up a corner of the pall.

In 1413, after signing the peace with the sons of the duke of Orleans, he thought he had found both the happy moment and the means of taking them off; he had entrusted the secret to Peter des Essars, superintendant of the finances, and his creature: he suspected him of having given the young princes information of his design: he continued dissembling with him, and  
testifying

testifying the same friendship, whilst underhand he brought him to trial upon a very slight accusation; violating also his parole of honour, which he had publicly and solemnly given him.

In the month of October 1416, he signed the treaty of Calais, whereby acknowledging Henry for the legitimate king of France, he promised to serve him against Charles VI. and the dauphin, and to dissemble with them, and make use of all the artifices against them that could be devised, and which should be pointed out to him.

Three weeks after, on the the 12th of November, he repaired to Valenciennes, where he greatly cared for the dauphin John, and promised, as a faithful vassal, he would assist him against the English: he afterwards engaged the count of Hainaut to give him a promise that he would do all in his power to restore him to the king and queen's confidence: "And (says Monstrelet, chap. 161) the duke of Burgundy and the count of Hainaut swore that they would contribute their utmost assistance to the well governing of the kingdom, and the persons of the king and dauphin." He deceived the count of Hainaut his brother in law, and the dauphin John, of whom he had never had  
the

the least reason to complain ; and he was still more inclined to cheat the dauphin Charles, with whom he had always been at enmity, and who he had reason to think, bore him a mortal hatred.

In fine, he could not declare himself *bona fide* and sincerely against Henry, because Henry would not have failed to avenge himself, by publishing the treaty of Calais. So dastardly and perfidious a treaty would have covered him with infamy ; he would have been execrated by all those who had been imposed upon by his manifestoes, and who had joined his party : those cities which had declared for him, would have found that he had lighted the torch of civil discord, that he had caused so many massacres to be committed, and that he was desirous of seizing the reins of government, only to betray the state, and put the nation under the yoke of a foreign nation, its enemy ; the French, whom he had so long divided, would all have united against him ; he would have been prosecuted ; his peerages and those great fiefs which he held of the crown, and which rendered him so powerful, would have been confiscated ; none of his subjects or vassals could have continued their obedience to him without being guilty of felony and treason ; they would have abandoned the

father and son, as well through duty as contempt ; for the son (Philip, surnamed the Good) had also signed the treaty of Calais. After the father had been slain upon the bridge of Montereau, John Seguinat, his secretary, exposed himself to be put to the most cruel torture, rather than acknowledge that his master had made and signed this treaty of Calais. This evinces how much the house of Burgundy feared that this treaty, of which there were only some suspicions, should transpire.

The dauphin was hated, perhaps still more by his mother than by the duke of Burgundy ; she incessantly repeated that this young prince and the constable d'Armagnac, in order to frame a pretext for seizing upon certain sums of money, which she had amassed by the retrenching of her expences, had carried their ill treatment of her so far as even to make her husband suspect her virtue ; that they had been the cause of poor Louis de Bourdon being drowned ; and that they had banished her to Tours, only to put the seal to her reproach, and to persuade the world that the reports, which were spread concerning her gallantry, were but too true. My son, added she, has done me great injury ; but he is young ; I am a good mother, and I pardon him. Now there are things which the best hearts

hearts cannot forgive ; and certainly Isabeau du Baviere was naturally very wicked, very avaricious, and very vindictive. Besides, she thought that this son whom she had persecuted, if he came to the throne, would certainly discard her from court ; or if she remained, she would then be deserted and abandoned, and without credit or consequence ; whereas, by marrying her Idol, her lovely Catherine, to Henry, and letting the succession of the crown devolve to him, the tenderness of this dear child, and the gratitude of her son-in-law, would preserve to her that state of power and grandeur, of which she had ever been jealous. It cannot be doubted but these were her sentiments, when we find her falling into fits of the most extravagant fury upon the news of the death of the duke of Burgundy. Why this fury and these transports, if it were not that she thought the death of this wicked man would render the scheme they had planned abortive ? Why did she league with Henry, and the new duke of Burgundy ? Why did she write, and cause letters to be written, to all the cities, by her crazy husband, that their son was a traitor and a homicide, whom they disinherited, and whom the nation should proscribe ?

Let us now see if it was probable, that the dauphin thought of killing the duke of Burgundy :

this duke was in possession of Flanders, Artois, the duchy and county of Burgundy; his partizans commanded the best places in Picardy, Champaign, Brie, and half the Isle of France: the council and parliament were composed of his creatures; the city of Paris, which at that time gave the lead to all the rest of the kingdom, was entirely at his devotion; the count of St. Paul, his nephew, whom that capital had required of him for it's governor, was then resident therein with a numerous garrison; in fine, he had a son twenty-three years of age, much beloved, who passed for a sensible and learned prince: it is plain that his partizans would join his son, either through inclination or to secure their fortunes and employments; and that this son, already secretly united with the English, would think he had a right to favour them openly under pretence of avenging his father's death: so that the dauphin would not only have committed an useles crime, but one which could not fail of being very fatal to his interest. The historians do not make these reflexions, or, at least, do not appear much affected by them. All, except Juvenal des Ursins, seem to be convinced that Tanguy du Chatel, and others who composed this young prince's council, had resolved to avenge the death of the duke of Orleans; that



is to say, they had solemnly promised and swore perfect security to the duke of Burgundy, with no other view than that of assassinating him ; that they thought nothing of making themselves execrable to the whole earth by this treason ; and that to be ready to execute so villainous a plot, they did not hesitate to expose the dauphin, with whom their fortune was then united, and to risk his fate, and even his life ; for he might have been killed in the fray upon the bridge of Montereau. These are, we must allow, courtiers of a very uncommon kind ; they blindly sacrifice every thing to the manes of a master, who could do nothing more for them, and whom they had lost upwards of twelve years. It should at the same time be observed, that Tangui du Chatel passed generally with both parties, for a prudent generous man, full of candour and probity ; and that he had given, and gave afterwards, such proofs as evinced, that he was more attached to the person, than to the rank of the dauphin. But let us examine the circumstances of the fact, as they are related by Jean Juvenal des Ursins.

The castle of Montereau is separated from the city by the bridge : the duke of Burgundy's troops occupied the castle ; those of the dauphin were in the city : on the side of the castle, a barrier was erected, through which passed the duke

of Burgundy, with the lords who accompanied him: the dauphin, with the ten lords, came through a similar barrier, which had been erected on the side of the city. There was an inclosure formed with hedges on the middle of the bridge, with two avenues leading to it, the one from the castle, the other from the city; and both the said lords were visited, and had nothing about them but their habergeons and swords. When they had got into the avenues, each of them had guards placed at the two entries; that is to say, the dauphin at the passage thro' which he entred from the city, and the duke of Burgundy at that through which he entered from the castle; and when they had reached the inclosure, his royal highness the dauphin spoke first, and said to the duke of Burgundy, Well, cousin, you know that by the treaty of peace which was lately concluded between us at Melun, we agreed, that within a month from that time, we should meet in some place to treat of the exigencies of the kingdom, and find means to resist the English; this place was fixed upon: we came upon the day appointed, and have waited for you fifteen whole days; during which time, our people and yours have done a great deal of injury to the subjects, and our enemies go on conquering of countries; as we have already promised and sworn peace, I  
look

look upon it as concluded betwixt us ; let us consult, I beseech you, upon the means of opposing the English. The duke replied, that nothing could be consulted upon, or done, except in the presence of the king his father ; and that it was necessary he should come. The dauphin told him very mildly, that he would wait upon the king his father whenever he himself pleased, but not at the pleasure of the duke of Burgundy ; and that it was well known, that whatever they should transact, would be agreeable to the king. Some words arose, and the count de Noailles \* approached the said duke, who reddened and said, My lord, you are going now to your father ; at the same time laying his left hand upon him, and drawing his sword half out of the scabbard with his right ; then Tangui du Chatel took the dauphin in his arms, and carried him without the gate, at the entrance of the inclosure ; and some struck the said duke of Burgundy and the said Count de Noailles, and they were both at the point of death ; and the people of the castle, who were near the gate of the inclosure, never stirred, thinking it was the dauphin which was killed ; and as Tangui du Chatel was heavily taxed with having struck the blow, he cleared himself to the son of the duke of Burgundy, affirming like

\* He was a Burgundian.

outrageous behaviour, had been killed on the spot. If it be urged that the dauphin's letter should be suspected; it must also be agreed, that credit is not to be given to the accounts invented and published by the court of Burgundy; the ten \* lords who were with the dauphin, were as worthy of belief, as the ten who accompanied the duke of Burgundy; there were no other than these twenty persons who could know how the thing passed; and it is only upon the testimony of the one or the other of these that the cotemporary historians wrote: these historians may have been imposed upon, or might be attached to one or the other of the parties: if the account of Jean Juvenal des Ursins is questioned, because he is said by some to have been a partisan of the dauphin's, why should not that of Monstrelet be also doubted, who was born in Hainaut, and who was, and ought to have been, well affected to the house of Burgundy? There is scarce a chapter in his history, wherein we may not discover his partiality for the duke of Burgundy and

\* If the duke of Burgundy had not brought his misfortune upon himself, and if they had treacherously assassinated him, would not they also have killed the lords who accompanied him? They were contented with making them prisoners, and afterwards releasing them; desirous that witnesses, who could not be suspected, might themselves relate the affair as it happened.

his son ; it is particularly flagrant in the relation of the murder at Montereau. Besides, several circumstances which he insinuates are manifestly false ; I shall quote only one at present. He relates (probably to render Tanguy du Chatel more odious) “ that the duke of Burgundy, upon entering the barriers, gave Du Chatel a friendly slap upon the shoulder ; saying to the lord de St. Georges, this is the man I confide in :” now we have the deposition of the lord de St. Georges : he does not mention a word concerning this ; certainly the Burgundian would not have forgot such a circumstance in his deposition.

Let us examine the particular and only proofs, which seem to support the opinion of those, who think that the murder of the duke of Burgundy was a premeditated assassination ; this was an information given at the request of his son and widow, before the bailiff of Dijon, and others of their officers. It consists of six depositions, that is to say, of a declaration that Bertrand du Noailles, and William Lapaleur had made before two notaries, of what they pretended had been related to them by lord Archambaut de Noailles some time before his death ; as this declaration contains nothing but hearsay, and as it's falsity is manifest, I shall produce nothing but the depositions of the four eye-witnesses, Jean Seguinat,

secretary to the duke of Burgundy, Anthony de Vergi, Guillaume de St. Georges, and Gui de Pontaillier, three of the ten lords who had accompanied him; the reader will, doubtless, presume that the judges, the place where the information was made, and the evidences are to be suspected.

The deposition of Jean Seguinat, secretary to the duke of Burgundy.

——— “ My late lord of Burgundy, and the  
 “ lords of his company, with the deponent, pas-  
 “ sed and entered the deponent’s barrier; and as  
 “ soon as they got therein, Tangui du Chatel  
 “ pulled the deponent by the sleeve within the  
 “ said barriers, to close the circles thereof more  
 “ hastily.” The murder of the duke of Bur-  
 gundy could not be represented as a premeditated  
 assassination, without exciting doubts and per-  
 plexities in people’s minds, with regard to the  
 precautions taken on both sides. From the man-  
 ner in which Seguinat expresses himself, it should  
 seem, that the dauphin had the power to open and  
 shut the barrier on the side of the duke of Bur-  
 gundy: common sense cannot give credit to this:  
 this same Seguinat, the other witnesses, and all  
 the accounts agree, that it was settled, for the sake  
 of mutual safety, that the dauphin’s friends should  
 have

have the city, and those of the duke of Burgundy the castle : \* the duke of Burgundy arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon, with 400 armed men, and 200 archers ; he placed them in the castle and its environs, and posted a guard near his barrier ; but the castle, this guard, and those troops would have been no security to his person, nor to the lords that accompanied him, if he had not been at liberty to open his barrier, in case of danger, as the dauphin had the power of opening his. “ The aforesaid duke of Burgundy” (continues Seguinat) “ perceived the dauphin, “ who was near the gate towards the city, upon “ the said bridge, at the spot where there was a “ little retreat formed of hedges ; the aforesaid “ lord went towards him, took off his black velvet “ cap, and knelt, saying to him, My lord, after “ God I ought to obey none but the king and “ you ; I come to offer you my person, my “ estates, all my forces, allies, and friends ; if “ any thing has been said to you to my disad- “ vantage, I intreat you not to believe it.—Do “ I say right, gentlemen, added he ? You speak “ so well, replied the dauphin, that it is im- “ possible to talk better ; rise, my good cousin, “ and be covered, taking him by the hand. “ The president of Provence came up to the

\* Vide The Journ, pages 219 and 220.

“ dauphin,

“ dauphin, and whispered in his ear, and the  
 “ deponent perceived the said president and the  
 “ dauphin beckon to Tanguï du Chatel ; when  
 “ the said Tanguï struck the said duke of Bur-  
 “ gundy betwixt the shoulders with a large war-  
 “ hatchet, without a dagger, which he held in  
 “ his hand ; saying to him, My lord of Burgundy,  
 “ get in.”—We should consider that the two  
 barriers were six feet high, one towards the  
 castle, the other towards the city ; and that there  
 was a space railed in, forming a kind of saloon,  
 or inclosure, in the center of the bridge, to  
 which there were two entries, one towards the  
 castle, and the other towards the city ; the dau-  
 phin was at the entry towards the castle, that is  
 to say, on the same side on which the duke of  
 Burgundy was coming ; the duke was not yet  
 got into the saloon, in as much as Du Chatel, in  
 pushing him with the hatchet, said to him, Get in.  
 “ My lord of Burgundy,” continues Seguinat,  
 “ turning on one side, could see a tall brown man  
 “ who held a great sharp-edged drawn sword, and  
 “ at this instant the dauphin’s party, having  
 “ begun to cry out, *Kill, kill*, the tall brown man  
 “ struck the said lord of Burgundy with the said  
 “ sword upon the head, coming down his face  
 “ on the right side, and my lord of Burgundy  
 “ aforesaid had his arm cut almost through near  
 “ the



“ the wrist, by endeavouring to parry the stroke ;  
“ Barbazan was near the person who gave the  
“ blow, which, however did not level my said  
“ lord ; but at that instant, Tangui du Chatel  
“ struck the said lord of Burgundy so violent a  
“ blow upon the head with the said war-hatchet,  
“ that he fell to the ground on his left side, his  
“ face being turned towards the dauphin, who  
“ was present ; the lords of Noailles and  
“ d’Autrey, placing themselves before the said  
“ lord of Burgundy to parry the blows which  
“ were aimed at him, were wounded, and at  
“ the same time that *Kill, kill*, was cried out,  
“ those who were in the dauphin’s company,  
“ made prisoners of those who came in with my  
“ lord of Burgundy, except my lord of Neuf-  
“ chatel, who escaped. The deponent, all the  
“ while looked upon the said lord of Burgundy  
“ as in great danger of his life, when he saw a  
“ man kneel, and plunge his sword into his  
“ body ; then my lord of Burgundy, stretching  
“ his arms, gave a sigh, and expired.”

It appears by all the accounts, that both parties were afraid of each other ; and that all possible securities were reciprocally given and received ; moreover the duke of Burgundy, lived in continual dread since the assassination of the duke of  
“ Orleans,

Orleans, and the different massacres which he had occasioned in Paris; he had erected at the hotel of Burgundy (in the street Mauconseil, where stands the Italian comedy) a tower, and in the tower was a chamber without windows, the door of which was very low; he locked it himself at night, opened it in the morning with all the precaution that is attendant upon guilt: as he was so very careful at Paris, it is not to be imagined he would be negligent during his conferences with the dauphin; it is even said, that he hesitated for a long time before he went to the interview at Montereau; that he had some forebodings of his being killed there; that this was predicted to him, and that he did not endeavour to conceal his fears: these must have increased his natural distrust, and made the ten lords, who accompanied him, still more attentive to the least motions of those ten who were with the dauphin; a man nevertheless comes and whispers the dauphin in the ear; a wink is given to Du Chatel, he pushes the duke of Burgundy to give him notice that he is going to strike him; he has a great war-hatchet, though it had been mutually agreed that they should have nothing but their swords; the dauphin's partizans are placed behind the duke of Burgundy: is all this probable? should not the Burgundians have been directly behind

behind their duke; and the dauphin's party, in the same manner, immediately behind him?

Du Chatel, Barbazan, and the others who composed the council of this young prince, knew the diffident character of the duke of Burgundy; it was not to be doubted that he would be upon his guard: all that they could expect was to surprize him, which must have been done by preventing the soldiers placed at the barriers from immediately giving their assistance, upon hearing the cry of "Kill, kill;" but men do not desile hastily, and in great numbers, through a wicket; besides, the Seine is pretty broad at Montereau, and consequently the barriers, that were erected at the two extremities of the bridge, were at some distance from the inclosure which was made in the middle; the ten Burgundian lords could not therefore be suddenly overwhelmed with numbers: a defence of some minutes gave the men of their barrier sufficient time to come to their assistance; then the engagement would have been general, and the dauphin might have been killed: if it is objected, that his council did not think this expedient, and that he was only desirous of revenging the death of the duke of Orleans and the constable Armagnac, I do not think myself obliged to answer such an absurdity.

The

The deposition of Guillaume de Vienne, lord of  
St. Georges.

— “ Then my lord the duke of Burgundy  
“ entered the said barriers, with the ten lords of  
“ his company, and the wicket by which they  
“ entered was immediately shut; and when the  
“ said lord the duke perceived the said dauphin,  
“ who was at one of the squares above the  
“ bridge towards the river, at a retreat made in  
“ the form of a pass-over, my lord the duke  
“ aforefaid went towards the dauphin, and kneel-  
“ ing before him, took off his hood, bowing to  
“ him, and saying, that he was come, agreeable  
“ to his command, to engage in his service, and  
“ to employ himself in promoting the good of the  
“ kingdom; and then the dauphin took him  
“ by the hand, and made him rise, and they held  
“ each other by the hand, and it appeared to the  
“ deponent that they were conversing lovingly  
“ and graciously together; as the deponent was  
“ taken ill, he retired to a corner hard by to  
“ vomit; when hearing an outcry of *Kill, kill,*  
“ he turned about, and saw many armed men  
“ enter the said barriers and closes that were on  
“ the dauphin’s side; Tanguy du Chatel then  
“ came up to him, and led him out of the said  
“ barriers, and gave him to the lord of Guitri,  
“ who

“ who conducted him to his hotel in the city,  
 “ sick as he was. Being interrogated concern-  
 “ ing those who struck and murdered the duke of  
 “ Burgundy, he said, he did not see the duke of  
 “ Burgundy struck, because he was ill and vo-  
 “ miting at the time ; and the thing was so sud-  
 “ denly done that he could not perceive who  
 “ did it.”

\* The lord of St. Georges had been chance-  
 lor to the duke of Burgundy, who was killed at  
 Montereau, and served his son in the same capa-  
 city for a salary of 3000 livres ; he is so honest  
 as not to violate truth, by averring that his mas-  
 ter was treacherously assassinated ; but, at the  
 same time, he will not depose against him, and  
 acknowledge that he saw him put his hand upon  
 the gripe of his sword, in order to strike the  
 dauphin : he thinks proper to say, that he could  
 not see what passed, as he was then vomiting in  
 a corner. Moreover, we find that this lord of  
 St. Georges was not wounded, as Monstrelet  
 falsely asserts.

#### The deposition of Anthony de Vergi.

— “ My lord of Burgundy and the dauphin  
 “ had hold of each others hands, and it appeared

\* Etat de la Maison du Duc de Bourgogne, p. 121.

“ to the deponent, that they were conferring lo-  
 “ vingly and graciously together: and whilst  
 “ they were so doing, the deponent heard, *Kill,*  
 “ *kill,* cried in a loud voice, and saw a great  
 “ number of armed men within the barriers and  
 “ closes erected on the dauphin’s side. Being  
 “ interrogated concerning those who struck and  
 “ murdered the late duke, he said, he saw very  
 “ well that he was struck, but that he could not  
 “ distinguish the person who struck him, be-  
 “ cause those who struck were behind him; and  
 “ the thing was done very suddenly.”

- As this witness says simply, that “ it ap-  
 “ peared to him,” that the dauphin and the  
 duke of Burgundy were conferring graciously to-  
 gether, he acknowledges he did not hear what  
 passed betwixt them. As he could not see those  
 who struck the duke of Burgundy, because they  
 were behind the duke, and between this prince  
 and the deponent; still less could he see, whe-  
 ther the duke had previously made the motion,  
 to put his hand upon the guard of his sword, in  
 order to strike the dauphin. This deposition,  
 like the preceding, appears to be that of a man  
 who cannot speak the truth, but who, at the  
 same time, would evade a lie. Besides, I shall  
 always say, that it appears to me, that the lords  
 who

who escorted the duke of Burgundy must have been immediately behind him, in the same manner as those who escorted the dauphin must have been immediately behind the dauphin.

The deposition of Gui de Pontaillier\*.

— “ And the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin held each other by the hand, and it seemed to him, that they were conversing lovingly and graciously together; and whilst they were thus conversing, he heard, *Kill, kill,* cried in a tumultuous manner, and with a loud voice; and then he saw a great number of armed men enter the said barriers and closes erected on the dauphin’s side.—He moreover says, that he saw Tangui du Châtel strike the duke of Burgundy with a war-hatchet; and that M. Robert de Loire held the duke of Burgundy by the sleeves of his gown behind.”

Seguinat deposes, that he was seized and made a prisoner by M. Bataille; and that he does not know the name of the tall brown man who held a sharp-edged drawn sword, and who first struck

\* He was chamberlain and pensioner of the duke of Burgundy.

the duke of Burgundy\* : this tall brown man was M. Robert de Loire, who, according to Pontailier's deposition, was employed in holding the duke of Burgundy behind by the sleeves of his gown. Seguinat adds, that Barbazan was near the tall brown man ; Pontailier says, that he did not observe Barbazan within the barriers, but that he saw him out of the barrier, looking through a wicket that was open. Monstrelet † pretends, that “ Barbazan reproached those who “ had planned the thing, with having disho- “ noured the dauphin for ever ; and that it “ would have been better that he had died, than “ to have been present at that day's work.” We find that the evidences do not agree, and that the account of the cotemporary historian is con- tray to the testimony given by the witnesses.

‡ Charles de Bourbon, count of Clermont, had married one of the daughters of the duke of Burgundy ; he was one of the ten lords who accompanied him ; he blamed his father-in-law, and declared for the dauphin, whose party he followed ever after ; it should be observed, that he was a young § prince of distinguished merit. The

\* The deposition of Seguinat,  
p. 212.

† Proofs towards a History of the Murder of  
the Duke of Burgundy, p. 290.

‡ Vide Monstrelet,

§ He was seventeen

years of age.



year following, by his valour, resolution, and good conduct, he drove the count de Foix out of Languedoc. If the murder at Montereau had been a vile plot, is it natural that he would have united with traitors, men of no faith, and who spared no oaths to draw their victim into the snare? He always persisted to the duke of Burgundy's son, that his father had occasioned his own misfortune; and he compelled him to send him back his wife (Agnes of Burgundy) with whom he had not yet consummated his marriage, because she was not of age: he consummated it at Autun, September 17, 1425.

In the sequel of the Journal of Paris, under the reigns of Charles VI. and Charles VII. we find "A Memoir to serve for a History of the Murder of John without Fear, Duke of Burgundy." This is a narrative from the editor. We cannot think he could have the effrontery to give it as authentic, as he compiled it solely from the depositions which have been just presented to the reader, and from some other pieces extracted from the Registers of the Chambers of Accounts at Dijon, which furnish no sufficient proof of a premeditated assassination. Amongst other false and ridiculous circumstances which we meet with in this narrative, and these pieces, I shall quote  
only

only the following §: “The animosity of the  
 “duke’s affassins was so great, that every one  
 “was desirous of having a bit of his gown to  
 “put upon his own.—He was stript of every  
 “thing but his under petticoat and his buskins.  
 “—His body was placed upon a bier, such as  
 “is made use of to carry the poor to their grave,  
 “and he was carried to the hospital, and from  
 “thence to the church, by the most infamous  
 “wretches that could be found.—Tangui du  
 “Chatel, being willing to distinguish himself  
 “among the accomplices, took one of the duke’s  
 “black spurs with gilt rowels, and made an  
 “etwee of it to chase the falcon-bill-hatchet  
 “with which he had struck him.” Du Chatel  
 always passed for a haughty man, but frank and  
 candid\*; if he had through affectation made a  
 parade

§ P. 223, 224, and 289.

\* In 1425, Arthur of Richemont, brother to the duke of Brittany, offered to bring Charles VII. all the troops of the duchy, upon condition that he would banish from his person all those who were accused of being accomplices in the death of the duke of Burgundy; Tangui du Chatel went and threw himself at Charles the Seventh’s feet, and begged of him, as a recompence for his services, that he might have leave to retire: this prince embraced him, shed tears, and said that he could not consent to that separation. This faithful servant prepared every thing for his departure, and exiling himself, left the ministry, and the command of the armies, with as much glory

parade of this hatchet, and publicly shewn it, would he have had the effrontery to send to the court of Burgundy a challenge, wherein he declared, that he had no other design than to save the dauphin; that he had never struck, nor bid any one strike, the duke of Burgundy; that all those who accused him of so doing lied; and that he offered to fight them in the Champelos?

Pierre Fenin and Monstrelet, were certainly much attached to the Burgundian party? S. Remi served in the English troops, and was afterwards chancellor to Philip of Burgundy, son to John without Fear; should the historians who succeeded these three cotemporary historians, blindly have followed them? It should be still further observed, that the circumstances of the murder, as related by Fenin, Monstrelet, and S. Remi, are different from those deposed to by the witnesses; so that either the depositions of the witnesses are supposititious, or the account given by these historians is false; moreover, the relation of Fenin is not agreeable to that of Remi; and Monstrelet has only copied, word for word, S. Remi, who ought to be throughout suspected.

as ever was gained by continuing in them. It must be agreed, that so good a master, and so good a servant, have but very little of the appearance of traitors and assassins.

After having examined both sides of the question with all possible attention ; if I must give my opinion, it is this: The dauphin was at the entrance of the inclosure : he advanced three or four paces before the duke of Burgundy : after the first compliments were over, he entered into an explanation, and upbraided him with not having performed any part of the promise he had made in the conference at Pouilli le-fort ; that he had not withdrawn his garrisons from the places which he ought to have evacuated ; that his troops had all along remained inactive, and had not opposed any of Henry's new enterprizes ; that the English had surprized Pontoise by escalade, and that all France accused Lisle-Adam of having given up that city. We should consider the duke of Burgundy as a veteran in guilt, naturally haughty, in alliance with the queen, master of the king's person, and despising a young prince, who was only seventeen years of age, and of a mild disposition ; he must have been the more piqued at the reproach concerning the taking of Pontoise, as Lisle-Adam \* was looked upon as the immediate agent of all his treachery and barbarity : he

\* Lisle-Adam had entered into the service of the duke of Burgundy by treachery ; he was also accused of having occasioned the massacres in Paris in 1418, and of insulting the corpse of the constable d'Armagnac.

therefore behaved very insolently, and said to the dauphin (putting his hand at the same time to the guard of his sword \*) that the king and queen should judge of these reproaches and of the quarrel he seemed so fond of entering into, and that he would go to wait upon them immediately. It was very natural to suppose him capable of making an attempt upon the dauphin's life. Robert de Loire and the Viscount de Narbonne struck him, whilst Du Châtel, who was behind the dauphin, drew off this prince immediately, and conducted him into the saloon: *Kill him, Kill him,* was then the outcry; upon which the Burgundian lords saw through the saloon, which was surrounded with a rail, a number of men enter into the barrier. It should be observed, that according to the depositions of the witnesses, there was no barrier between the dauphin and duke of Burgundy, as the cotemporary historians assert.

I shall dwell but little upon facts that every one are acquainted with. The new duke of Bur-

\* Monstrelet asserts, that the duke of Burgundy wanting to bring his sword more forward, which had slipped back during his kneeling before the dauphin, Robert de Loire said to him, What, will you draw your sword in the presence of the dauphin? and that then Du Chatel cried out, Now is the time, and struck the said duke of Burgundy.

gundy pursued the detestable scheme projected by his father, under pretence of avenging his death; he united with the queen to ruin the dauphin, and to deprive him of the crown, in order to place it upon Henry's head. This wicked woman kept her court at Troyes, in Champagne; she had conducted her husband thither, whose disorder had for some time past degenerated into a confirmed insanity. Henry repaired to this city on the 20th of May, 1420, and the next day a treaty was signed, which was called *the Peace of Troyes*; it consisted of XXXI articles; but I shall cite those only that are most material.

“ The king of England having become son  
 “ to the king of France, by his marriage with  
 “ the princess Catherine, shall honour the king  
 “ and queen of France as his father and mother.

“ He shall in no shape prevent the king of  
 “ France, during his life time, from preserving  
 “ the royal dignity, and receiving the revenues  
 “ of his crown.

“ As the said king of France is by his disorder,  
 “ prevented from attending to the government of  
 “ the state, the king of England shall, from this  
 “ day forth, be regent of the kingdom, and then  
 “ govern it with equity and justice, with the  
 “ counsel of the princes, great lords, barons,  
 “ and nobles of the said kingdom.

In “

“ In all public acts, the king of France, speaking of the king of England, shall make use of this form, Our dearly beloved son, Henry king of England, and heir of France.”

It is to be observed, that the princess Catherine, whom Henry espoused, had two elder sisters living, and married; one to the duke of Bretagne, and the other to the duke of Burgundy: that upon the dauphin's demise, supposing that women could succeed to the throne, these two princesses must certainly have inherited before Catherine, their younger sister.

“ After the death of king Charles, the crown, with all its dependencies, shall devolve to the king of England, and his heirs.”

That is to say, if Henry and Catherine died without issue, the crown of France should go to Henry's brothers, or their heirs.

“ When the king of England, or any of his heirs, shall have mounted the throne of France, the two kingdoms of France and England shall be perpetually united under the government of one and the same prince; there shall not be a king in each kingdom; but one king shall be sovereign in both realms, without either being subordinate to the other: the laws and liberties of each of the two kingdoms shall be completely preserved.

“ Considering the crimes that have been committed by Charles, who takes upon himself the title of dauphin of Viennois, it is agreed, that no truce nor peace shall be made with him, without the consent of the two kings, and the said duke of Burgundy.”

“ All those, (says du Tillet) who designed this treaty, were deficient in common understanding; it was then allowed that the king was out of order, and, consequently, that he was incapable of negotiating and contracting, particularly to the detriment and total everſion of his crown, of which he was only administrator, and not the lord or proprietor; and ſuppoſing him to have been in the ſoundeſt and moſt perfect ſtate of mind, he could not deprive his ſon, the dauphin, of the ſaid crown, as by an expreſs and fundamental law, it was his right, and muſt devolve to him, independent of the title of heir; ſo that no exheridation, confiſcation, or diſqualification, could take place for any crimes in any caſe whatever: for in France the king cannot deprive his ſon, or the next heir, of the ſaid crown, unleſs he deprive him of life; and even after his death, it will go to his male deſcendants, if any he has.” \*

\* *Recueil des Traités, &c.* page 323.



There is in this respect, a difference betwixt princes of the blood and private persons. A prince of the blood does not succeed to the crown as heir, as being a prince of the blood to which it belongs: neither the king, nor the court of Peers, nor the whole nation assembled, can deprive him of a right, which is immediately transmitted to him with his life, and which only dies with him, provided he is not alienated from the nation, and has not by some act renounced his being a Frenchman. Besides, putting the case that Charles VI. had, on account of the supposed crimes committed by the dauphin, a right to exclude him from the crown, could he also exclude the branches of Orleans, Anjou, Alençon, and Bretagne?

To these observations I shall subjoin some others, which our historians have neglected to make. Common sense and equity require, that when a crime has been committed, a complaint thereof should be first made; that an information should be lodged upon that complaint; that upon the information a decree should be issued; and that the person accused should be judged afterwards upon his responses, or be condemned for contumacy, if he doth not appear.

The treaty of Troyes bears date the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, 1420; Charles VI. therein appoints Henry heir to the crown, and declares, that no peace or

truce should be concluded with Charles, who styles himself dauphin, on account of the crimes he has committed.

\* On the 23d of December following, that is to say, seven months after this treaty, the said duke of Burgundy appeared in mourning before Charles VI. and Henry, makes a complaint, and demands justice against his father's assassins. Upon this complaint, and the remonstrances of the university, and the deputies of several cities, and upon the conclusions of the attorney general, without taking the depositions of any witnesses, Charles VI. after saying that the late duke of Burgundy, who was so great a friend to the state, and who had served it so well, was basely, treacherously, and diabolically slain upon the bridge of Monterau, by the dauphin and his accomplices, issues an arret, whereby, with the advice of the members of his great council, the presidents and laymen of his parliament, and other of his counsellors, he declares, that all the accomplices in the said murder, are incapable and unworthy of all succession, direct or collateral, and of all honours, dignities, or prerogatives whatever; and that they have moreover incurred

\* Preuves pour servir à l'histoire du duc de Bourgogne, page 347.

all the pains and penalties set forth by the laws against high treason.

\* The information upon this supposed murder, and the depositions of the witnesses (Jeân Seguinat, William de Vienne, Anthony de Vergi, and Gui de Pontaillicr †) were made in the month of April, 1421.

Thus on the 21st of May, 1420, without taking any legal steps against the dauphin, he is divested of all the rights conferred on him by birth; and on the 23d of December following, a complaint is received against him, and articles issued, whereby he is condemned as a rebel; and on the 10th of April, 1421, an information is lodged, and the witnesses are heard upon the crime, of which he is accused: is not this condemning a man previous to his trial? It will not be said, that the witnesses were the dauphin's prisoners, and that they could not be heard sooner: the Journal proves they were at perfect liberty, and in the city of Paris, at the very time of the arret's being issued, on the 23d of December, 1420.

\* Ibid. page 271.

† Observe that Seguinat and Pontaillicr are the only evidences who depose, that it was a premeditated assassination; and that these two witnesses contradict each other in circumstances. Ibid. page 243.

It should be further observed, that the ten lords who accompanied the dauphin upon the bridge of Montereau, and the ten who accompanied the duke of Burgundy, were the only persons who could make oath how the action passed; that the dauphin partly maintained, that the duke of Burgundy was going to draw his sword to strike the dauphin; that according to the jurisprudence of those times, when the crime was doubtful, a combat was ordered between the accusers and the accused; and that the dauphin's party proposed this combat, to prove their innocence.

We find that the duke of Burgundy, after having been instrumental in the assassination of the duke of Orleans, his superior, and his lord by blood, in one of the streets of Paris, made Jean Petit, a cordelier, maintain, "That every vassal and subject did a meritorious deed in killing a tyrant, even by surprize and treachery, notwithstanding any oath or engagement contracted with him, and without waiting for his being condemned by trial." The parliaments of Paris, and the university, condemned this abominable doctrine in 1416; they revoked this sentence in 1418, upon the duke of Burgundy's solicitation; and when this wicked man was killed in 1419, on the bridge of Montereau, they

they prosecute and proscribe the dauphin. Every one knows to what extremities he was reduced; and that the English, when he took upon him the title of king, after the death of his father, called him in derision, *the King of Bourges*. He was obliged, through a kind of bashfulness, to shut himself up when he took his meals. Saintrailles coming to speak to him about an urgent affair, found him going to dinner with the Queen, and nothing on the table but a loin of mutton, and two pullets.

I have said already, that Henry was four years in making himself master of Normandy, though no army opposed his progress, and though he was favoured by the diversion and secret treachery of the duke of Burgundy: that the young duke of Burgundy publickly espoused his cause, and conducted him to Paris, and gave up that capital to him, with above thirty other considerable cities. I have had occasion to give a sketch of the English monarch's severity, at the battle of Azincourt, and the siege of Rouen: I could give several other instances of it, but shall confine myself to this. At the attack of Montereau, he had taken eighteen gentlemen prisoners; at the end of a few days, being irritated at the vigorous defence of the governor, who had retired into the castle, he sent a messenger to signify to him, that if  
he

he did not surrender, he would immediately hang those eighteen gentlemen; the governour returned for answer, that he should continue to do his duty, and that he had too favourable an opinion of the king of England, to imagine him capable of executing menaces so † contrary to the laws of war, and of nations: upon which Henry ordered the eighteen gentlemen to be hanged. Such was the prince who wanted to reign over the French, and to whom historians give the titles of *magnanimous, just, generous, and victorious*. He died at Vincennes the 31st of August, 1422, of a disorder which was called *la mal S. Fiacre*, \* and which it is said was no other than a fistula. His son, who succeeded, being but eight or nine months old, he appointed the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, his brothers, one to be regent in France, and the other protector in England; recommending to them in a particular manner, carefully to cultivate and make use of the duke of Burgundy's friendship. He was certainly in

† Rapin de Thoyras, page 144 and 147.

\* It appears that the cure of this disorder was unknown till the time of Louis XIV. It usually produces such a general corruption in the blood, that, historians say, a prodigious quantity of lice issued from Henry's eyes and ears, and as soon as they were washed away, more made their appearance.

the right, for as soon as the duke had returned to his duty, that is to say, as soon as the French discontinued fighting against one another, the English were driven out of the kingdom, which they had torn to pieces for upwards of three centuries, by means of the feuds that they there possessed, and the divisions which they incessantly fomented. They retained nothing but Calais; this place had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months; the duke of Guise retook it in 1558, in the space of eight days\*. A prodigious quantity of cannon was found in it, with arms and ammunition, and provisions in abundance, and this inscription upon one of the gates.—*The French will take Calais, when lead floats on water like cork.*

In the history of these wars, besides the inconveniences, disorders and evils, inseparable from the government, there are epochas to be observed as singular, as they were fatal. Louis the Young repudiated Leonora of Aquitaine; six weeks after, she married Henry duke of Normandy, count of Anjou, who afterwards became king of England, and to whom she brought as a dowry Poitou, and all Guyenne, as far as the Pyrenees. Philip of Valois, in 1346, at Creci,

\* Vide Guillaume Paradin, and P. Daniel,

king John, in 1356, at Poitiers, and the constable Albret, in 1415, at Azincourt, were all in the same situation; they might have triumphed over the English without fighting; they attack them, and are defeated. Philip the Bold, to whom his father, king John, had ceded Burgundy, marries the heiress of the count of Flanders, and this new branch of the royal family, becomes its most implacable and dangerous enemy. Duke John, in 1416, secretly concludes the treaty of Calais, whereby he acknowledges Henry as the legitimate king of France; \* Philip his son, who had also signed that infamous treaty, publicly confirmed it in 1419, under pretence of avenging the death of his father; he conducts Henry to Paris, and delivers up that capital to him, with more than thirty other places, and continues for sixteen years to desolate his country, and persecute the heads of his house: at last, the grievances which he complains of from the English, joined to the disgusts which their natural arrogance excited in him, induce him to resolve upon abandoning them: but as this determination is neither prompted by virtue nor honour, the condition upon which he proposes to cease being the enemy of his country, is the ceding to

\* Acta publica. T. 4. page 277.



him of several territories; and to give a gloss to this demand, he constantly maintains, that his father was shamefully assassinated, and obstinately insists, that Charles VII. should acknowledge this in the treaty. Charles was of a very mild, tractable, and sympathising disposition, and tho' very courageous, † never reflected without horror, upon the torrents of blood that might be spilt in a siege or battle: he considered that France had been pillaged for upwards of twenty years, by civil and foreign wars; that the good of his people ought to be his supreme law; and that, as the father of his subjects, it was necessary he should do, what he would not have done if he had been only a private gentleman; he therefore submitted to all the conditions that were imposed by his imperious vassal. Rapin de Thoyras observes, with regard to this Philip duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good, "that it frequently happens, " that eulogiums and surnames are given to " princes, which agree very little with their real " characters." The reflection is just: this Philip the Good, was void of faith and probity, immoderately ambitious, and constantly meditating how to aggrandize himself: he was not less op-

† He was more than once the first to mount the breach at an assault, and to fight the enemy arm to arm.

pressive, less cruel, or less unjust to his nearest relations, than he was to his sovereign: he shamefully persecuted Jacqueline of Bavaria, his cousin, and obtained her succession of inheritance, in the most tyrannical manner; he seized upon Brabant, Lothier, Limbourg, and Anvers, which belonged to his ward, the young count de Nevers.

F I N I S.











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