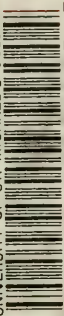


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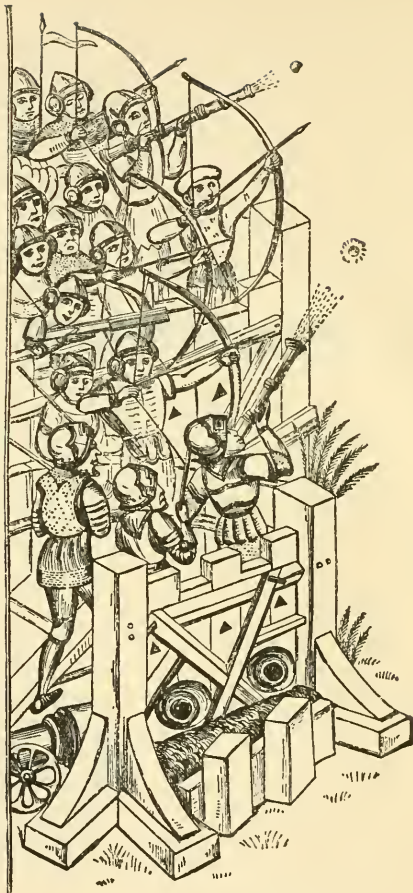
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A SHORTER FROISSART





A TEMPORARY BESIEGING FORT
OF TIMBER.

(From Froissart's "Chronicles of England.")

A SHORTER FROISSART
BEING SELECTIONS FROM THE
CHRONICLES OF FROISSART

Edited by
F. J. TICKNER

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THOMAS NELSON & SONS LIMITED
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Jean Froissart, often known as "Sir John Froissart," was born at Valenciennes about 1337. He became a priest, but spent most of his life in writing and in travelling in Britain and western Europe. He died at Chimay in 1410. His famous "Chronicles" were written in French between 1357 and about 1400, and deal with the period 1326-1400.

John Bourchier, Lord Berners (1467-1533), translated the "Chronicles" into English at the suggestion of Henry VIII., and they were published by Pynson, the first volume in 1523, the second in 1525.

CONTENTS

<i>Introduction</i>	xi
<i>From Lord Berners' Preface</i>	17
I. <i>Here beginneth the prologue of Sir John Froissart of the chronicles of France, England, and other places adjoining</i>	21
II. <i>Hereafter is told the cause whereby the war arose between the kings of France and England</i>	22
III. <i>Of the government of King Edward the Second of England</i>	23
IV. <i>How the Queen of England went and complained her to the King of France, her brother, of Sir Hugh de Spencer</i>	25
V. <i>How Queen Isabel departed from France and entered into the Empire</i>	27
VI. <i>How the Queen Isabel arrived in England with Sir John of Hainault in her company</i>	29
VII. <i>How the Queen of England besieged the king, her husband, in the town of Bristol</i>	31
VIII. <i>How that Sir Hugh de Spencer the elder and the Earl of Arundel were judged to death</i>	34
IX. <i>How King Edward and Sir Hugh de Spencer were taken and delivered to the queen and to her son as prisoners</i>	35
X. <i>The Coronation of King Edward the Third</i>	37
XI. <i>How that King Robert the Bruce of Scotland defied King Edward</i>	39
XII. <i>Here the history speaketh of the manner of the Scots and how they can war</i>	40
XIII. <i>Of the death of King Robert the Bruce of Scotland.</i>	41
XIV. <i>How King Edward of England took the town of Berwick against the Scots</i>	45
XV. <i>How King Edward was counselled to make war against the French King</i>	51
XVI. <i>How certain nobles of Flanders kept the Isle of Cadsand against the Englishmen</i>	52
XVII. <i>Of the battle of Cadsand between the Englishmen and the Frenchmen</i>	53

XVIII. <i>How King Edward of England made great alliances in the Empire</i>	55
XIX. <i>How King Edward of England was made Vicar-General of the Empire of Almaine</i>	57
XX. <i>How King Edward and all his allies did defy the French king</i>	59
XXI. <i>How that after the said defiances made the Frenchmen entered into England</i>	60
XXII. <i>Of the battle on the sea before Sluys in Flanders between the King of England and the Frenchmen</i>	61
XXIII. <i>How the King of England besieged the city of Tournay with great power</i>	64
XXIV. <i>How the Scots won again great part of Scotland while the Siege was before Tournay</i>	65
XXV. <i>Of the great host that the French king assembled to raise the Siege before Tournay</i>	68
XXVI. <i>How the Siege before Tournay was broken up by reason of a truce</i>	69
XXVII. <i>Of the order of Saint George, that King Edward established in the castle of Windsor</i>	72
XXVIII. <i>How the King of England came over the sea again</i>	73
XXIX. <i>How the King of England rode in three battles through Normandy</i>	76
XXX. <i>Of the great assembly that the French king made to resist the King of England</i>	77
XXXI. <i>Of the battle of Caen, and how the Englishmen took the town</i>	80
XXXII. <i>How the King of England came nigh unto Paris with his host</i>	83
XXXIII. <i>How the French king followed the King of England in Beauvais</i>	86
XXXIV. <i>Of the battle of Blanche-taque between the King of England and Sir Godemar du Fay</i>	89
XXXV. <i>Of the order of the Englishmen at Cressy, and how they made three battles afoot</i>	92
XXXVI. <i>The order of the Frenchmen at Cressy, and how they beheld the demeanour of the Englishmen</i>	94
XXXVII. <i>Of the battle of Cressy between the King of England and the French king</i>	95
XXXVIII. <i>How the King of England found the prince, his son, after the battle</i>	101
XXXIX. <i>How the King of England laid siege to Calais, and how all the poor people were put out of the town</i>	101
XL. <i>How the King of Scots, during the siege before Calais, came into England with a great host</i>	103

Contents

vii

XLI. <i>Of the battle of Nevill's Cross between the Queen of England and the King of Scots</i>	104
XLII. <i>How John Copeland had the King of Scots prisoner, and what profit he got thereby</i>	106
XLIII. <i>How the King of England lay at the siege before Calais</i>	109
XLIV. <i>How the King of England made the passages about Calais to be well kept, that the French king could not approach to raise the siege</i>	110
XLV. <i>How the town of Calais was given up to the King of England</i>	111
XLVI. <i>How the Queen of England interceded with the king for the six burgesses of Calais</i>	115
XLVII. <i>How the King of England re-peopled the town of Calais with Englishmen</i>	117
XLVIII. <i>Of the assembly that the French king made to fight with the Prince of Wales</i>	119
XLIX. <i>Of the great host that the French king brought to the battle of Poitiers</i>	120
L. <i>Of the order of the Frenchmen before the battle of Poitiers</i>	123
LI. <i>Of the battle of Poitiers between the Prince of Wales and the French king</i>	124
LII. <i>Of two Frenchmen that fled from the battle of Poitiers, and two Englishmen that followed them</i>	131
LIII. <i>How King John was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers</i>	133
LIV. <i>How the Englishmen won greatly at the battle of Poitiers</i>	136
LV. <i>How the prince made a supper to the French king the same day of the battle</i>	138
LVI. <i>How the prince returned to Bordeaux after the battle of Poitiers</i>	139
LVII. <i>How the prince conveyed the French king from Bordeaux to England</i>	141
LVIII. <i>Of the death of King John, and the Coronation of King Charles the Fifth</i>	143
LIX. <i>Of the death of Edward, Prince of Wales</i>	144
LX. <i>Of Sir John Hawkwood and his company</i>	145
LXI. <i>How the Englishmen that were sent into Brittany were tormented on the sea</i>	146
LXII. <i>How the commons of England rebelled against the noblemen</i>	147
LXIII. <i>The evil deeds that these commons of England did to the king's officers, and how they sent a knight to speak with the king</i>	151

LXIV. <i>How the commons of England entered into London, and of the great evil that they did, and of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury and divers others</i>	155
LXV. <i>How the nobles of England were in great peril to have been destroyed, and how these rebels were punished and sent home to their own houses</i>	160
LXVI. <i>How the king punished of these traitors the chief masters</i>	169
LXVII. <i>How Sir John Froissart, author of this Chronicle, departed out of France and went to the Earl of Foix, and the manner of his voyage</i>	171
LXVIII. <i>How the Prince of Wales made Sir Pier Ernault captain of Lourdes in the county of Bigorre</i>	173
LXIX. <i>How Sir John Froissart journeyed in the country of the Earl of Foix</i>	175
LXX. <i>Of the great virtuousness and largess that was in the Earl of Foix</i>	181
LXXI. <i>Of the state or ordinance of the Earl of Foix</i>	185
LXXII. <i>How Sir John Froissart came to the true knowledge of all the matters contained in this history</i>	186
LXXIII. <i>How the Earl Douglas won the pennon of Sir Henry Percy at the barriers before Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and how the Scots burnt the castle of Pontland, and how Sir Henry Percy and Sir Ralph his brother took advice to follow the Scots to conquer again the pennon that was lost at the skirmish</i>	187
LXXIV. <i>How Sir Henry Percy and his brother, with a good number of men at arms and archers, went after the Scots, to win again his pennon that the Earl Douglas had won before Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and how they assailed the Scots before Otterburn in their lodgings</i>	193
LXXV. <i>How the Earl James Douglas, by his valiantness, encouraged his men who were repulsed and in a manner discomfited, and in so doing he was wounded to death</i>	197
LXXVI. <i>How in this battle Sir Ralph Percy was sore hurt and taken prisoner by a Scottish knight</i>	199
LXXVII. <i>How the Scots won the battle against the Englishmen beside Otterburn, and there were taken prisoners Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, and how an English squire would not yield him, no more would a Scottish squire, and so died both</i>	202
LXXVIII. <i>How Sir Matthew Redman departed from the battle to save himself; and how Sir James Lindsay was taken prisoner by the Bishop of Durham</i>	204

LXXIX.	<i>How the Scots departed and carried with them the Earl Douglas dead, and buried him in the abbey of Melrose; and how Sir Archibald Douglas and his company departed from before Carlisle and returned into Scotland</i>	207
LXXX.	<i>Of the feat and covenant that was done between the King of France and the Duke of Touraine his brother, which of them should soonest come to Paris from Montpellier, which is a hundred and fifty leagues asunder, each of them with but one knight</i>	210
LXXXI.	<i>How Sir John Froissart arrived in England, and of the gift of a book that he gave to the king</i>	212
LXXXII.	<i>How Sir John Froissart showed his book to King Richard</i>	217
LXXXIII.	<i>Of the conquest that King Richard had made in Ireland, and how he brought into his obeisance four kings of that country</i>	218
LXXXIV.	<i>How King Richard of England banished out of England the Earl of Derby for ten years, and the Earl Marshal for ever</i>	227
LXXXV.	<i>How the Earl of Derby returned again into England</i>	230
LXXXVI.	<i>How King Richard yielded himself to the Earl of Derby to go to London</i>	234
LXXXVII.	<i>How King Richard was set in the Tower of London</i>	241
LXXXVIII.	<i>How King Richard of England resigned the crown and the realm into the hands of the Earl of Derby, Duke of Lancaster</i>	245
LXXXIX.	<i>Of the coronation of King Henry, Duke of Lancaster, by the consent of the realm, and the manner of the feast</i>	249
XC.	<i>Of the death of King Richard of England</i>	253



EDWARD III. AND ST. GEORGE.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

INTRODUCTION

NOWADAYS, memoirs and autobiographies are all too common. Statesmen, scientists, writers, artists, and other prominent men and women are wont, indeed are almost expected, to write an account of their lives and to record their impressions of the world in which they live. The *Chronicles* of Froissart, had they been written to-day instead of in the fourteenth century, would not have been called *The Book of Sir John Froissart*, but *My Life and Times, by John Froissart, Canon of Chimay*. They are very different in form from a modern book of memoirs, and the narrative of events play a much more important part in them than the details of Froissart's own life. Nevertheless, after the fashion of an autobiography, they form a picture, and a very faithful and detailed picture, of the world in which he lived; and it is particularly fascinating for us to be able to get this glimpse of western Europe as it was nearly five hundred years ago.

In reading Froissart's *Chronicles*, it is well to remember that they are not the work of a scientific historian. Their author is often at fault in his knowledge of geography, and sometimes inaccurate in his record of events. He was interested in chivalry and adventure, and he travelled many hundred miles in order to meet people who actually shared in the deeds which he wished to record. But an elderly soldier is not always the most accurate narrator of the stirring exploits of his youth, however fascinating in itself his story may be. Froissart, however, makes

no attempt to pass off these stories as his own. He describes the people whom he met and who gave him information, and so adds very greatly to the charm of his book, even if his informants did not enhance the historical accuracy of his narrative with their reminiscences.

Like most of the learned men of his time, John Froissart was a priest, but he moved very much in fashionable circles. For a time he was secretary to Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III. He spent some years at the court of the Black Prince in Aquitaine. He visited King Richard II. of England, King David of Scotland, and Gaston, Earl of Foix ; and he found a patron in the Duke of Brabant, of whom he speaks so highly in his book.

Many of the events which Froissart narrates have an echo in the world of to-day. In the fourteenth century English soldiers were fighting in the Somme valley ; and foreigners, in this case a body of Scotsmen, interfered in the wars in Spain. War and civil discontents interrupted the normal course of events, and Froissart, like ourselves, chanced to be a spectator of one of the rarer incidents of our history, the abdication of an English king.

Yet running right through his narrative is something which our modern world seems to have lost, the tradition of chivalry. Knighthood and its obligations had a very real meaning in Froissart's day, and it must have done a great deal to mitigate the horrors of the warfare which plays so large a part in his story. We read of how English and Scots treated their prisoners almost as guests at the end of a day's fierce fighting ; and a knight who had yielded himself prisoner would undertake to go to Edinburgh or Newcastle with his ransom, without the need for his captor to keep him under guard. Even in the French wars, where there was less inclination to be

generous to the enemy, the obligations of chivalry still held. The Black Prince treated the captive French king with all the honour due to his rank, even if he did take very careful precautions against the possibility of his being rescued during the voyage to England. Chivalry also had its influence in times of peace. Society in those days paid less regard than we should now expect to the bounds of nationality. Froissart was equally at home in England as in France, in Brabant, or in Aquitaine. There were Englishmen staying with the Earl of Foix; and Germans, Almans as they are called, fought for the King of France. The upper classes seem to have been more at one with one another in the various parts of Europe than would be usual to-day, and more divorced from the common people in their own countries.

By a happy turn of fortune, the *Chronicles of Froissart* were translated into English by a man who has succeeded in reproducing the charm and vigour of the original in such a way that an English reader can enjoy Froissart every bit as well as if he were able to read him in Old French. This translator, John Bouchier, Lord Berners, lived in the reign of King Henry VIII., in times as stirring as Froissart's own. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and as a nobleman and a diplomatist he was a man of experience in the world of court and society, to which Froissart himself had belonged. In 1520 he was entrusted with the important post of Captain of Calais, which he held until his death, some twelve years later. During part of this time Lord Berners suffered a good deal from ill-health. When he was unable to carry on his military duties he amused himself by attempting the translation of several books, and among these his edition of Froissart was the most successful.

In his translation of the *Chronicles*, Lord Berners was mainly concerned with the story, and sometimes he was guilty of inaccuracy, even of mistranslation, in matters of detail ; but in spite of these defects, his position as a soldier and statesman made him an ideal translator for this stirring narrative of war and chivalry.

The stories from Froissart in this selection follow as closely as possible the translation of Lord Berners. It has, of course, been necessary to modernize the spelling, but otherwise a modern word has been substituted only where the old one would not nowadays be understood.

It is hoped that those who discover and enjoy Froissart by reading this little book will thereby be inspired to read his *Chronicles* at greater length in a larger and more detailed edition.

A SHORTER FROISSART

BEING SELECTIONS FROM

the book of Sir John Froissart of the Chronicles of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, Flanders, and other places adjoining. Translated out of French into our maternal English tongue by John Bourchier, knight, Lord Berners : at the commandment of our most high redoubted sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth, King of England and of France, and high defender of the Christian Faith, etc.



ENGLISH MAN AT ARMS AND ARCHER.
(From Froissart.)

FROM THE PREFACE OF JOHN
BOURCHIER, KNIGHT, LORD
BERNERS,

TRANSLATOR OF THIS PRESENT CHRONICLE.

WHAT condign graces and thanks ought men to give to the writers of histories, who with their great labours have done so much profit to the human life. They shew, open, manifest and declare to the reader by example of old antiquity, what we should enquire, desire and follow, and also what we should eschew, avoid and utterly fly ; for when we (being unexpert of chances) see, behold and read the ancient acts, gestures and deeds, how and with what labours, dangers and perils they were gested and done, they right greatly admonish, ensign and teach us how we may lead forth our lives : and farther, he that hath the perfect knowledge of other's joy, wealth and high prosperity, and also trouble, sorrow and great adversity, hath the expert doctrine of all perils.

And albeit that mortal folk are marvellously separated both by land and water, and right wondrously situate, yet are they and their acts (done peradventure by the space of a thousand year) compact together by the historiographer, as it were the deeds of one single city and in one man's life : wherefore I say that history may well be called a divine providence ; for as the celestial bodies above complect all and at every time the universal world, the

creatures therein contained and all their deeds, similarly so doth history.

Is it not a right noble thing for us, by the faults and errors of others to amend and erect our life into better? We should not seek and enquire what others did; but what thing was most best, most laudable and worthily done, we should put before our eyes to follow. Be not the sage counsels of two or three old fathers in a city, town or country, whom long age hath made wise, discreet and prudent, far more praised, lauded and dearly loved than of the young men? How much more then ought histories to be commended, praised and loved, in whom is included so many sage counsels, great reasons and high wisdoms of so innumerable persons of sundry nations and of every age, and that in so long space as four or five hundred year.

The most profitable thing in this world for the institution of the human life is history. Only the continual reading thereof maketh young men equal in prudence to old men, and to old fathers stricken in age it ministereth experience of things. More, it yieldeth private persons worthy of dignity, rule and governance: it compelleth the emperors, high rulers and governors to do noble deeds, to the end they may obtain immortal glory: it exciteth, moveth and stirreth the strong, hardy warriors, for the great praise that they have after they be dead, promptly to go in hand with great and hard perils in defence of their country: and it prohibiteth reprobable persons to do mischievous deeds, for fear of infamy and shame.

What knowledge should we have of ancient things past, if history existed not, which is the testimony thereof, the light of truth, the mistress of the human life, the president of remembrance and the messenger of antiquity?

Thus, when I advertised and remembered the manifold commodities of history, how beneficial it is

to mortal folk, and eke how laudable and meritorious a deed it is to write histories, I fixed my mind to do something therein : and ever when this imagination came to me, I volved, turned and read many volumes and books containing famous histories ; and among all other I read diligently the four volumes or books of Sir John Froissart of the country of Hainault, written in the French tongue, which I judged commodious, necessary and profitable to be had in English, since they treat of the famous acts done in our parts—that is to say, in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, Flanders and other places adjoining ; and specially they redound to the honour of Englishmen.

What pleasure shall it be to the noble gentlemen of England to see, behold and read the high enterprises, famous acts and glorious deeds done and achieved by their valiant ancestors ? Forsooth, this hath moved me at the high commandment of my most redoubted sovereign lord King Henry VIII., King of England and of France, and high defender of the Christian Faith, etc., under his gracious supportation, to do my duty to translate out of French into our maternal English tongue the said volumes of Sir John Froissart ; requiring all readers and hearers thereof to take this my rude translation in grace. And in that I have not followed mine author word by word, yet I trust I have ensued the true report of the sentence of the matter. And if any fault be in this my rude translation, I remit the correction thereof to them that discreetly shall find any reasonable default ; and in their so doing I shall pray God to send them the bliss of heaven.—AMEN.



EDWARD III. MEETS HIS COUSIN OF FRANCE, PHILIP VI.,
IN 1331.

(From a 14th-century MS. in the British Museum.)

SELECTIONS FROM THE CHRONICLE

I

Here beginneth the prologue of Sir John Froissart of the chronicles of France, England, and other places adjoining.

To the intent that the honourable and noble adventures and feats of arms, done and achieved in the wars of France and England, should notably be enregistered and put in perpetual memory, whereby the brave and hardy may have an example to encourage them in their well-doing, I, Sir John Froissart, will treat and record an history of great honour and praise.

But, ere I begin, I require the Saviour of all the world, who of nothing created all things, that He will give me such grace and understanding that I may continue and persevere in such wise, that whosoever readeth or heareth this history may take pleasure and example.

Truth it is that I, who have enterprised this book, have followed and frequented the company of divers noble and great lords, as well in France, England, and Scotland, as in divers other countries, and have had knowledge by them, and always to my power justly have inquired for the truth of

the deeds of war and adventures that have befallen, and especially since the great battle of Poitiers, where the noble King John of France was taken prisoner ; since before that time I was but of a young age and understanding.

And in following the truth as near as I can, I, John Froissart, have enterprised this history on the foresaid true foundation, at the instance and request of a dear lord of mine, Robert of Namur, knight, Lord of Beaufort, to whom entirely I owe love and obeisance, and God grant me to do that thing that may be to his pleasure.—Amen.

II

Hereafter is told the cause whereby the war arose between the kings of France and England.

PHILIP LE BEAU, King of France, had three sons and a fair daughter named Isabel, married into England to King Edward the Second. And of these three sons the eldest, named Louis, was King of Navarre in his father's days, and was called King Louis Hutin ; the second had to name Philip the Great or the Long, and the third was called Charles ; and all three were kings of France after their father's decease by right succession each after other, without having any sons.

So that after the death of Charles, last king of the three, the twelve peers and all the barons of France would not give the realm to Isabel the sister, who was Queen of England, because they said and maintained, and still do, that the realm of France is so noble that it ought not to go to a

woman, and so consequently neither to Isabel, nor to the King of England, her eldest son. For they determined the son of the woman should have no right nor succession by his mother, since they declared the mother to have no right: so that by these reasons the twelve peers and barons of France, by their common accord, did give the realm of France to the Lord Philip of Valois, nephew sometime to Philip le Beau, King of France, and so put out the Queen of England and her son, who was the next heir male, as son to the sister of Charles, last king of France.

Thus the realm of France went out of the right lineage, as it seemed to many folk, whereby great wars have arisen, and great destructions of people and countries in the realm of France and other places.

This is the very purpose of this history, to recount the great enterprises and great feats of arms that have fortun'd and fallen. Since the time of the good Charlemagne, King of France, there never fell so great adventures.

III

Of the government of King Edward the Second of England.

KING EDWARD THE SECOND, father to the noble King Edward the Third, on whom our matter is founded, governed right evilly his realm by the advice of Sir Hugh de Spencer, who had been brought up with him since the beginning of his youth. The which Sir Hugh had so enticed the

king, that his father and he were the greatest masters in all the realm, and by envy thought to surmount all other barons of England ; whereby after the great discomfiture that the Scots had made at Bannockburn there arose great murmuring in England between the noble barons and the king's council, and especially against Sir Hugh de Spencer.

And on this point the barons had divers times communication together, to be advised what they might do, whereof Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who was uncle to the king, was chief.

And anon, when Sir Hugh de Spencer had espied this, he came to the king and said, " Sir, certain lords of your realm have made alliance together against you, and unless ye take heed thereto betimes, they purpose to put you out of your realm." And so by his malicious means he moved the king to cause all the said lords to be taken, and their heads to be struck off without delay, and without knowledge or answer to any cause. And first among them was Sir Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who was a noble and a wise, holy knight ; for the which deed the said Sir Hugh de Spencer achieved great hate in all the realm, and especially of the queen and of the Earl of Kent, brother to the king.

And when he perceived the displeasure of the queen, by his subtle wit he set great discord between the king and the queen, so that the king would not see the queen, nor come in her company, the which discord endured a long space. Then was it showed to the queen secretly and to the Earl of Kent, that without they took good heed to themselves, they were likely to be destroyed,

for Sir Hugh de Spencer was about to purchase much trouble to them.

Then the queen secretly did prepare to go into France, and took her way as on pilgrimage to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and so to Winchelsea, and in the night went into a ship that was ready for her, and her young son Edward with her, and the Earl of Kent and Sir Roger Mortimer, and the next morning they arrived in the haven of Boulogne.

IV

How the Queen of England went and complained her to the King of France, her brother, of Sir Hugh de Spencer.

WHEN Queen Isabel was arrived at Boulogne, and her son with her and the Earl of Kent, the captains and abbot of the town came to her and joyously received her and her company into the abbey, and there she abode two days. Then she departed and rode so long by her journeys that she arrived at Paris.

Then King Charles, her brother, who was informed of her coming, sent to meet her divers of the greatest lords of the realm, as the Lord Sir Robert d'Artois, the Lord of Coucy, the Lord of Sully, the Lord of Roze, and divers other, who honourably did receive her and brought her into the city of Paris to the king her brother.

And when the king saw his sister, whom he had not seen long before, he met her and took her in his arms and kissed her, and said, "Ye be welcome, fair sister, with my fair nephew your son,"

and took them by the hands and led them forth. The queen, who had no great joy at her heart save that she was so near to the king her brother, would have kneeled down two or three times at the feet of the king, but the king would not suffer her, but held her still by the right hand, demanding right sweetly of her estate and business.

And she answered him right sagely, and lamentably recounted to him all the felonies and injuries done to her by Sir Hugh de Spencer, and required him of his aid and comfort. When the noble King Charles of France had heard his sister's lamentation, who weepingly had showed him all her need and business, he said to her: "Fair sister, comfort yourself, for by the faith I owe to God and to Saint Denis I shall right well prepare for you some remedy." The queen then kneeled down, whether the king would or not, and said: "My right dear lord and fair brother, I pray God reward you."

The king then took her in his arms and led her into another chamber, which was prepared for her and for the young Edward her son, and so departed from her, and caused, at his costs and charges, all things to be delivered that were behoveful for her and for her son. Not long afterwards Charles, King of France, assembled together many great lords and barons of the realm of France, to have their counsel and good advice how they should ordain for the needs of his sister, Queen of England. Then it was counselled to the king that he should let the queen his sister purchase for herself friends, where she would, in the realm of France or in any other place, and himself feign and know not thereof. For, they said, to

move war with the King of England, and to bring his own realm into hatred, were nothing profitable to him nor to his realm. But they concluded that conveniently he might aid her with gold and silver, for that is the metal whereby love is attained both of gentlemen and of poor soldiers. And to this counsel and advice the king accorded, and caused this to be showed to the queen privily by Sir Robert d'Artois, who as then was one of the greatest lords of all France.

V

*How Queen Isabel departed from France and
entered into the Empire.*

THEN the queen caused to be made ready all her provision, and she and her son, the Earl of Kent and all her company, departed from Paris and rode toward Hainault, and passed through Cambresis and entered into Ostrevant in Hainault, and lodged in a knight's house, who was called Sir d'Ambreticourt, who received her right joyously in the best manner to his power; insomuch that afterward the Queen of England and her son received into England the knight and his wife and all his children, and advanced them in divers manners.

The coming thus of the Queen of England and of her son and heir into the country of Hainault was anon well known in the house of the good Earl of Hainault, who as then was at Valenciennes; and Sir John of Hainault was certified of the time when the queen arrived at the place of Sir

d'Ambreticourt, the which Sir John was brother to the said Earl William. And as he was young and lusty, and desiring all honour, he mounted on his horse and departed with a small company from Valenciennes, and came the same night to Ambreticourt, and did to the queen all honour and reverence that he could devise.

The queen, who was right sorrowful, began to declare (complaining to him right piteously) her dolours ; whereof the said Sir John had great pity, so that the water dashed in his eyes, and he said, "Certainly, fair lady, behold me here your own knight, who shall not fail you to die in the quarrel. I shall do the best of my power to conduct you and my lord your son, and help to bring you into your estates in England, by the grace of God and with the help of your friends in those parts : and I and such other as I can desire shall put our lives and goods in adventure for your sake."

Then the queen said : "Sir, I find in you more love and comfort than in all the world, and for this that ye say and affirm, I thank you a thousand times ; and if ye will do this ye have promised in all courtesy and honour, I and my son shall be to you for ever bound ; for it is right that it so should be."

And after these words, when they were thus accorded, Sir John of Hainault took leave of the queen for that night, and went to Denaing and lay in the abbey ; and in the morning, after mass, he leapt on his horse and came again to the queen, who received him with great joy. By that time she had dined and was ready to mount on her horse to depart with him ; and so the queen departed from the castle of Ambreticourt, and

took leave of the knight and of the lady, and thanked them for the good cheer that they had made her ; and said that she trusted to see the time that she or her son should well remember their courtesy.

Thus departed the queen in the company of the said Sir John, Lord Beaumont, who right joyously did conduct her to Valenciennes ; and to meet her there came many of the burgesses of the town and received her right humbly. Thus was she brought before the Earl William of Hainault, who received her with great joy, and in like wise so did the countess his wife, and feasted her right nobly.

And the Queen Isabel abode at Valenciennes for the space of eight days with the good earl and with the countess, Jane de Valois. In the meantime the queen made preparation for her needs and business, and the said Sir John wrote letters right earnestly unto knights and such companions as he trusted best in all Hainault, in Brabant, and in Bohemia, and prayed them for all the friendship that was between them, that they would go with him in this enterprise into England. And there were great plenty, what of one country and other, that were content to go with him for his love.

VI

How the Queen Isabel arrived in England with Sir John of Hainault in her company.

THUS was Sir John of Hainault moved in his courage and made his assembly, and prayed the

men of Hainault to be ready at Hal, and them of Brabant at Breda, and the Hollanders to be at Dort at a day fixed.

Then the Queen of England took leave of the Earl of Hainault and of the Countess, and thanked them greatly of their honour, feast, and good cheer that they had made her, kissing them at her departing. Thus this lady departed, and her son, and all her company, with Sir John of Hainault, who rode the same night to Mons in Hainault with the Queen of England.

Why should I make long process? They did so much by their journeys that they came to Dort in Holland, where their special assembly was made. And there they secured ships great and small, such as they could get, and shipped their horses and harness and gear, and so commended themselves into the keeping of God and took their passage by sea.

And when they were all departed from the haven of Dort, it was a fair fleet and well ordered. The season was fair and clear and right temperate, and at their departing with the first flood they came before the dykes of Holland; and the next day they drew up their sails and took their way in coasting Zeeland; and they attempted to make land in England; but they could not, for a tempest took them in the sea, and put them so far out of their course that for two days they wist not where they were. In the which God did show them great grace, for if they had taken land at the port where they had thought, they had been all lost, for they would have fallen into the hands of their enemies, who knew well of their coming, and abode them there to put them all to death.

It was that about the end of two days the tempest ceased, and the mariners perceived land in England and drew to that part right joyously, and took land on the sands without any proper haven or port at Harwich, the 24th day of September, the year of our Lord 1326.

And they abode on the sands three days with little store of victual, and unshipped their horses and harness. They wist not in what part of England they were in, whether in the power of their friends or in the power of their enemies. On the fourth day they took forth their way in the adventure of God and of Saint George, as people who had suffered great disease of cold by night and hunger and great fear, whereof they were not as then clean rid. And so they rode forth by hills and dales on the one side and on the other, till at the last they found villages and a great abbey of black monks, the which is called Saint Edmund's Bury, where they three days refreshed themselves.

VII

How the Queen of England besieged the king, her husband, in the town of Bristol.

AND then this tidings spread about the realm so much, that at last it came to the knowledge of the lords by whom the queen was called again into England. And they apparelled them in all haste to come to Edward her son, whom they would have for their sovereign lord. And the first that came and gave them most comfort was Henry, Earl of Lancaster, with the wry neck, who was

brother to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, beheaded as ye have heard herebefore. This Earl Henry came to the queen with great company of men of war, and after him came, from one part and other, earls, barons, knights, and squires, with so much people that they thought them clean out of perils, and always increased their power as they went forward.

Then they took counsel among them that they should ride straight to the town of Bristol, where the king was, and with him the de Spencers. The which was a good town and a strong, and well closed, standing on a good port of the sea, and a strong castle, the sea beating round about it. And therein was the king and Sir Hugh de Spencer the elder, who was about ninety of age, and Sir Hugh de Spencer his son, who was chief governor of the king and counselled him in all his evil deeds. Also there was the Earl of Arundel, who had wedded the daughter of Sir Hugh de Spencer, and divers other knights and squires repairing about the king's court.

Then the queen and all her company, lords of Hainault, earls and barons, and all other Englishmen, took the right way to the said town of Bristol, and in every town where they entered they were received with great feast and honour, and always their people increased. And so long did they ride by their journeys that they arrived at Bristol, and besieged the town round about as near as they could. The king and Sir Hugh de Spencer the younger held them in the castle, and the old Sir Hugh de Spencer and the Earl of Arundel held them in the town.

And when the people of the town saw the great

power that the queen had (for almost all England was of her accord), and perceived what peril and danger evidently they were in, they took counsel among themselves and determined that they would yield up the town to the queen, so that their lives and goods might be saved. And so they sent to treat with the queen and her council in this matter; but neither the queen nor her council would agree thereto without she might do with Sir Hugh de Spencer and with the Earl of Arundel what it pleased her.

When the people of the town saw they could have no peace otherwise, nor save the town nor their goods nor their lives, in that distress they yielded to the queen and opened the gates, so that the queen and Sir John of Hainault, and all her barons, knights, and squires, entered into the town and took their lodgings within, as many as might, and the residue without. Then Sir Hugh de Spencer and the Earl of Arundel were taken and brought before the queen, to do her pleasure with them. Then there was brought to the queen her own children, John her son and her two daughters, the which were found there in the keeping of the said Sir Hugh de Spencer, whereof the queen had great joy, for she had not seen them long before. Then the king might have great sorrow and Sir Hugh de Spencer the younger, who were fast enclosed in the strong castle, for the most part of the realm turned to the queen's part and to Edward her eldest son.

VIII

How that Sir Hugh de Spencer the elder and the Earl of Arundel were judged to death.

WHEN the queen and her barons and all her company were lodged at their ease, then they besieged the castle as near as they might. The queen caused Sir Hugh de Spencer the elder and the Earl of Arundel to be brought forth before Edward her son and all the barons that were there present, and said how that she and her son should take right and law on them according to their deserts.

Then Sir Hugh de Spencer said, "Madam, God be a good judge and give you good judgment, and if we cannot have it in this world, I pray God we may have it in another." Then stept forth Sir Thomas Wager, a good knight and marshal of the host, and there openly he recounted their deeds in writing, and then turned him to another ancient knight to the intent that he should declare what should be done with such persons, and what judgment they should have for such causes.

Then the said knight counselled with other barons and knights, and so reported their opinion, the which was, how these men had well deserved death for divers horrible deeds, the which they had committed; wherefore they deserved for the diversities of their trespasses to have judgment in three divers manners—first, to be drawn, and after to be beheaded, and then to be hanged on the gibbet. This in likewise as they were judged,

so it was done and executed before the castle of Bristol in the sight of the king and of Sir Hugh de Spencer the younger. This judgment was done in the year of our Lord 1326, on Saint Denis' day in October.

And after this execution the king and the young de Spencer, seeing themselves thus besieged in this mischief, and knowing no comfort that might come to them, in a morning betimes they two with a small company entered into a little vessel behind the castle, thinking to have fled to the country of Wales. But they were eleven days in the ship, and endeavoured to sail it as they might; but whatsoever they did, the wind was every day so contrary to them by the will of God, that every day once or twice they were ever brought again within a quarter of a mile to the same castle.

IX

How King Edward and Sir Hugh de Spencer were taken and delivered to the queen and to her son as prisoners.

At the last it fortun'd that Sir Henry Beaumont, son to the Viscount Beaumont, entered into a barge and certain company with him, and spied this vessel and rowed after it so long that the ship, wherein the king was, could not flee fast before them, but finally they were overtaken, and so brought again to the town of Bristol, and delivered to the queen and her son as prisoners.

Thus it befell of this high and hardy enterprise of Sir John of Hainault and his company. For when they departed and entered into their ships

at Dort, they were but three hundred men at arms; and thus by their help and the lords in England, the Queen Isabel conquered again all her estate and dignity, and put unto execution all her enemies, whereof all the most part of the realm were right joyous, without it were a few persons such as were favourable to Sir Hugh de Spencer and of his party.

And when the king and Sir Hugh de Spencer were brought to Bristol by the said Sir Henry Beaumont, the king was then sent by the counsel of all the barons and knights to the strong castle of Berkeley, and put under good keeping and honest, and there were ordained people of estate about him, such as knew right well what they ought to do; but they were straitly commanded that they should in no wise suffer him to pass out of the castle.

And Sir Hugh de Spencer was delivered to Sir Thomas Wager, marshal of the host. And after that the queen departed and all her host toward London, which was the chief city of England; and Sir Thomas Wager caused Sir Hugh de Spencer to be fast bound on the least and leanest horse of all the host, and caused him to wear a tabard such as traitors and thieves were wont to wear. And thus he was led in scorn after the queen's route throughout all the towns as they passed, with trumps and drums to do him the greater despite, till at the last they came to the city of Hereford, where the queen was honourably received with great solemnity and all her company, and there she kept the feast of All Saints with great royalty, for the love of her son and strangers that were there.

When this feast was done, then Sir Hugh de Spencer, who was nothing beloved, was brought forth before the queen and all the lords and knights, and there before him in writing were rehearsed all his deeds, against the which he could give no manner of answer. And so he was then judged by plain sentence, first to be drawn on an hurdle with drums and trumpets through all the city of Hereford, and after to be brought into the market-place, where all the people were assembled, and there his head to be stricken off and sent to London. And according to his judgment he was executed.

Then the queen and all her lords took their way toward London, and they of the city with great company met them and did to the queen and to her son great reverence, and to all their company, as they thought it best.

X

The Coronation of King Edward the Third.

AND when Christmas was come, the queen held a great court. And thither came dukes, earls, barons, knights, and all the nobles of the realm, with prelates and burgesses of good towns; and at this assembly it was advised that the realm could not long endure without a head and a chief lord.

Then they put in writing all the deeds of the king who was in prison, and all that he had done by evil counsel, and all his usages and evil behav-ings, and how evil he had governed his realm, the

which was read openly in plain audience, to the intent that the noble sages of the realm might take thereof good advice, and agree how the realm should be governed from thenceforth.

And when all the deeds that the king had done and consented to, and all his behaving and usages were read and well understood, the barons and knights and all the councillors of the realm drew them apart to counsel; and the most part of them were of one accord, the great lords and nobles with the burgesses of the good towns.

They concluded that such a man was not worthy to be a king, nor to bear a crown royal, nor to have the name of a king. But they all accorded that Edward his eldest son, who was there present and was rightful heir, should be crowned king instead of his father, so that he would take good counsel, sage and true, about him, so that the realm from thenceforth might be better governed than it was before, and that the old king his father should be well and honestly kept as long as he lived, according to his estate.

And as it was agreed by all the nobles, so it was accomplished; and then was crowned with a crown royal at the palace of Westminster beside London, the young King Edward the Third, who in his days after was right fortunate and happy in arms. This coronation was in the year of our Lord 1326, on Christmas Day, and the young king was about the age of sixteen; and they held the feast till the Conversion of Saint Paul following.

XI

*How that King Robert the Bruce of Scotland defied
King Edward.*

KING ROBERT of Scotland, who had been right hardy and had suffered much trouble against the Englishmen, and oftentimes had been chased and discomfited in the time of King Edward the First, grandfather to this young King Edward the Third, was as then become very old and ancient and sick. When he knew the adventures that were befallen in England, how that the old king, Edward the Second, was taken and deposed from his royalty and his crown, and certain of his counsellors were beheaded and put to destruction, as ye have heard herebefore, then he bethought him that he would defy the young king, Edward the Third, because he was young and the barons of the realm were not at all of one accord, as it was said.

Therefore he hoped the better to speed in his purpose to conquer part of England. And so about Easter in the year of our Lord, 1327, he sent his defiance to the young king, Edward the Third, and to all the realm, sending them word how that he would enter into the realm of England and burn all before him as he had done before-time at such season as the discomfiture was at Bannockburn, before the castle of Stirling, where the Englishmen received great damage.

XII

*Here the history speaketh of the manner of the Scots
and how they can war.*

THESE Scottish men are right hardy and long-suffering in harness and in wars. For when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four miles, for they are all a-horseback, except it be the camp followers and lagers of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and others on little hackneys and ponies; and they carry with them no carts nor chariots, because of the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through in the country of Northumberland.

They take with them no store of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass in the journey a great long time with flesh half cooked, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine, and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through: therefore they carry with them none other preparation save that on their horses; between the saddle and the saddle-cloth, they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the cooked flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire and temper a little of the oatmeal; and when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon,

and so make a little cake in manner of a cracknell or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel that they make greater journeys than other people do.

XIII

Of the death of King Robert the Bruce of Scotland.

AND after that he had sent his defiance to the young king, Edward the Third, it fortunèd that King Robert of Scotland was right sore aged and feeble, so that there was no way with him but death. And when he felt that his end drew near, he sent for such barons and lords of his realm as he trusted best, and showed them how there was no remedy with him, but he must needs leave this transitory life, commanding them on the faith and truth that they owed him, truly to keep the realm and aid the young Prince David his son; and that when he was of age they should obey him and crown him king, and marry him in such a place as was convenient for his estate.

Then he called to him the gentle knight, Sir William Douglas, and said before all the lords, "Sir William, my dear friend, ye know well that I have had much ado in my days to uphold and sustain the right of this realm; and when I had most ado, I made a solemn vow, the which as yet I have not accomplished, whereof I am right sorry: the which was, if I might achieve and make an end of all my wars, so that I might once have brought this realm in rest and peace, then I promised in my mind to have gone and warred

on Christ's enemies, adversaries to our holy Christian faith.

“To this purpose mine heart hath ever intended, but our Lord would not consent thereto; for I have had so much ado in my days, and now in my last enterprise I have taken such a malady that I cannot escape. And since it is so, that my body cannot go nor achieve that my heart desireth, I will send the heart instead of the body to accomplish mine avow. And because I know not in all my realm no knight more valiant than ye be, nor of body so well furnished to accomplish mine vow instead of my self, therefore I require you, mine own dear especial friend, that ye will take on you this voyage, for the love of me, and to acquit my soul against my Lord God. For I trust so much in your nobleness and truth, that if ye will take it on you, I doubt not but that ye shall achieve it; and I declare that then shall I die in more ease and be quiet.

“I will that as soon as I am trespassed out of this world, that ye take my heart out of my body and embalm it, and take of my treasure, as ye shall think sufficient for that enterprise, both for yourself and such company as ye will take with you, and convey my heart to the Holy Sepulchre, where our Lord lay, seeing my body cannot come there. And take with you such company and purveyance as shall be appertaining to your estate. And wheresoever ye come, let it be known how you carry with you the heart of King Robert of Scotland at his instance and desire, to be conveyed to the Holy Sepulchre.”

Then all the lords that heard these words wept for pity: and when this knight, Sir William

Douglas, might speak for weeping, he said: "Ah, gentle and noble king, a hundred times I thank your grace of the great honour that ye do to me, since of so noble and great treasure ye give me in charge; and, sir, I shall do with a glad heart all that ye have commanded me, to the best of my true power, howbeit I am not worthy nor sufficient to achieve such a noble enterprise." Then the king said, "Ah, gentle knight, I thank you that ye promise to do it." "Sir," said the knight, "I shall do it undoubtedly by the faith that I owe to God and to the order of knighthood." "Then I thank you," said the king, "for now shall I die in more ease of my mind, since I know that the most worthy and sufficient knight of my realm shall achieve for me that which I could never attain unto."

And soon after this, noble Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland, trespassed out of this uncertain world, and his heart was taken out of his body and embalmed, and honourably he was interred in the abbey of Dunfermline.

And when the springtime began, then Sir William Douglas prepared him of that which appertained for his enterprise and took his ship at the port of Montrose in Scotland, and sailed into Flanders, to Sluys, to hear tidings and to know if there were any noblemen in that country that would go to Jerusalem, to the intent to have more company. And he lay still at Sluys the space of twelve days ere he departed, but he would never come a-land, but kept ever to his ship, and kept always his state and behaviour with great triumph, with trumpets and clarions, as though he had been king of Scots himself;

and in his company there was a knight banneret and seven other knights of the realm of Scotland, and twenty-six young squires and gentlemen to serve him ; and all his vessels were of gold and silver—pots, basins, ewers, dishes, flagons, barrels, cups, and all other things ; and all such as would come and see him, they were well served with two manner of wines and divers manner of spices, all manner of people according to their degrees.

And when he had thus tarried there the space of twelve days, he heard reported that Alphonso, King of Spain, made war against a Saracen king of Granada. Then he thought to draw to that part, thinking surely he could not bestow his time more nobly than to war against God's enemies : and that enterprise done, then he thought to go forth to Jerusalem and to achieve that he was charged with. And so he departed and took the sea toward Spain, and arrived at the port of Valencia the great. Then he went straight to the King of Spain, who held his host against the Saracen king of Granada, and the hosts were near together on the frontiers of his land.

And within a while after that this knight, Sir William Douglas, was come to the King of Spain, on a day the king issued out into the field to approach near to his enemies. And the King of Granada issued out in likewise on his part, so that each king might see other with all their banners displayed. Then they arranged their battles each against other.

Then Sir William Douglas drew out on the one side with all his company, to the intent to show his prowess the better. And when he saw these battles thus ranged on both parties, and

saw that the battle of the King of Spain began somewhat to advance toward their enemies, he thought then verily that they should soon assemble together to fight at hand strokes. And then he thought rather to be with the foremost than with the hindermost, and strake his horse with the spurs, and all his company also, and dashed into the battle of the King of Granada, crying, "Douglas! Douglas!" thinking that the King of Spain and his host had followed, but they did not; wherefore he was deceived, for the Spanish host stood still. And so this gentle knight was enclosed, and all his company, with the Saracens, where he did marvels in arms, but finally he could not endure, so that he and all his company were slain. The which was great damage, that the Spaniards would not rescue them.

XIV

How King Edward of England took the town of Berwick against the Scots.

AND in this same season King Edward of England was informed that the young King David of Scotland had seized the town of Berwick, the which ought to appertain to the realm of England: for King Edward the First, his grandfather, had it in his possession peaceably. Also the king was informed that the realm of Scotland should be held as a fief of the crown of England, and that the young King of Scots had not, as then, done his homage. Wherefore the King of England sent his envoys to the King of Scots, desiring him to

leave his hands off the town of Berwick, for it pertained to his heritage ; for kings of England, his predecessors, have been in possession thereof : and also they summoned the King of Scots to come to the King of England, to do his homage for the realm of Scotland.

Then the King of Scots took counsel how to answer this matter ; and finally the king answered the English ambassadors and said, “ Sirs, both I and all the nobles of my realm marvel greatly of that which ye have required us to do : for we find not anciently that the realm of Scotland should anything be bound or be subject to the realm of England, neither by homage or any other ways. And the king, our father, of noble memory, would never do homage to the kings of England, for any war that was made unto him by any of them : no more in like wise I am in will to do. And also King Robert, our father, conquered the town of Berwick by force of arms against King Edward, father to the king your master that now is ; and so my father held it all the days of his life as his good heritage : and so in like manner we think to do to the best of our power. Howbeit, lords, we require you to be mediators to the king your master, whose sister we have married, that he will suffer us peaceably to enjoy our franchises and rights, as his ancestors have done herebefore, and to let us enjoy that which our father hath won and kept peaceably all his life days. And we desire the king your master not to believe any evil counsel given him to the contrary.”

Then these ambassadors answered and said, “ Sir, we have well understood your answer. We

shall show it to the king, our lord, in like manner as ye have said." And so they took their leave and returned into England to the king; with the which answer the King of England was nothing content. Then he summoned a parliament to be holden at Westminster, where all the nobles and wise men of the realm were assembled, to determine what should be best to be done in this matter.

And when the day of the parliament approached, and all the nobles of the land were assembled about London, then the king caused the message to be shown, and how he had written to the King of Scots, and of the answer of the same king. Wherefore the king desired all the nobles of his realm, that they would give him such counsel as should appertain to the saving of his honour and right.

And when they were all assembled in council, they thought that the king might no longer bear by his honour the injuries and wrongs that the King of Scots did him daily: and so they reported their advice to the king, exhorting him to provide for his force and strength of men of war, to attain thereby the town of Berwick, and to enter into the realm of Scotland in such wise, that he should constrain the King of the Scots to be joyful to come and do his homage to him. And so all the nobles and commons of the realm of England said they would gladly and willingly go with him in that journey. And of their good wills the king thanked them greatly, and desired them to be ready apparelled at a day assigned, and to assemble together at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. And then every man went home and prepared for that journey.

And the day of assembly of the king's host approached, at the which day the King of England and all his host arrived at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and there tarried three days for the residue of his host that was coming after. And on the fourth day he departed with all his host toward Scotland, and passed through the lands of the Lord Percy and of the Lord Neville, who were two great lords in Northumberland, and marched on the Scots. Then the king and all his host drew toward the city of Berwick, for the King of Scotland made no other answer to these second messengers, but as he did to the first; wherefore he was openly defied and summoned.

And so the King of England and his host entered into Scotland; for he was counselled that he should not tarry at siege at Berwick, but ride forth to burn the country, as his grandfather did. And so he did; in which journey he wasted and destroyed all the plain country of Scotland, and destroyed divers towns that were closed with dykes and with pales, and took the strong castle of Edinburgh and set therein a garrison; and so passed the second river in Scotland, under Dunfermline, and ran over all the country thereabout to Scone, and destroyed the good town of Dunfermline. But they did no evil to the abbey, for the King of England commanded that no hurt should be done thereto: and so the king conquered all the country to Dundee and to Dumbarton, a strong castle standing on the marches against the wild Scots, where the King of Scots and the queen, his wife, were withdrawn for surety. For there were no Scots that would appear afore the Englishmen; for they were all

drawn into the forests of Jedworth, wherein all the Scots were, and all their goods. And it was no marvel that they were thus driven, for the king their lord was but fifteen year of age, and the Earl of Moray was but young, and the nephew of William Douglas that was slain in Spain was also of the same age ; so as at that time the realm of Scotland was deprived of good captains.

And when the King of England had run over all the plain country of Scotland, and tarried there the space of six months, and saw that none would come against him, then he garnished divers castles that he had won, and thought by them to make war on all the others. Then he withdrew fair and easily toward Berwick, and in his returning he won the castle of Dalkeith, pertaining to the heritage of the Earl Douglas. It was five leagues from Edinburgh, and therein the king set good captains, and then rode small journeys till he came to Berwick, the which is at the entry of Scotland. And there the king laid round about his siege, and said he would never depart thence till he had won it, unless the King of Scots were to come and raise his siege perforce.

And within the town there were good men of war, set there by the King of Scots. Before this city there were many assaults and sore skirmishes nigh every day ; for they of the city would not yield them up simply, for always they thought to be rescued : howbeit there was no succour appeared. The Scots on mornings and nights made many sallies to trouble the host, but little hurt they did ; for the English host was so well kept that the Scots could not enter but to their damage, and oftentimes lost of their men.

And when they of Berwick saw that no comfort nor aid came to them from any part, and that their victuals began to fail, and how they were enclosed both by water and by land, then they began to fall in a treaty with the King of England, and desired a truce to endure a month. And if within the month King David their lord, or some other for him, came not by force to raise the siege, then they were to render up the city, their lives and goods saved, and the soldiers within might safely go into their country without any damage.

This treaty was not lightly granted; for the King of England would have had them yielded simply, to have had his pleasure of some of them, because they had held so long against him: but finally he was content by the counsel of his lords. And also Sir Robert of Artois did add thereto his counsel, who had been all that journey with the king, and had showed him always how he was next inheritor to the crown of France. He would gladly that the king should have made war into France, and left the wars of Scotland. So his words and others inclined the king greatly to condescend to the treaty of Berwick; so this truce and treaty was granted.

Then they within the city sent word to their king in what case they stood; but for all that they could find no remedy to raise the siege; so the city was delivered up at the end of the month, and also the castle; and the marshals of the host took possession for the King of England, and the burgesses of the city came and did their fealty and homage to the king, and sware to hold of him. Then after the king entered with great solemnity and tarried there twelve days, and

made a captain there called Sir Edward Balliol : and when the king departed, he left with the said knight certain young knights and squires, to help to keep the lands that he had conquered of the Scots and the frontiers thereof.

Then the king and his people returned to London, and every man into their own countries ; and the king went to Windsor, and Sir Robert of Artois with him, who never ceased day nor night in showing the king what right he had to the crown of France : and the king hearkened gladly to his words.

XV

*How King Edward was counselled to make war
against the French king.*

IN this season, Sir Robert of Artois, who was banished out of France, was ever about King Edward. And always he counselled him to defy the French king, who kept his heritages from him wrongfully : of the which matter the king oftentimes counselled with them of his secret council, for gladly he would have had his right, if he wist how. And also he considered, if he should demand his right and it were refused, what he might do then to amend it ; for if he should then sit still and do not his duty to recover his right, he should be more blamed than before. Yet he thought it were better to speak not thereof, for he saw well that by the power of his realm it would be hard for him to subdue the great realm of France, without help of some other great lords either of the Empire or in other places for his money.

XVI

How certain nobles of Flanders kept the Isle of Cadsand against the Englishmen.

And there were in the Isle of Cadsand certain knights and squires of Flanders in garrison, as Sir Ducre of Halewyn, Sir John de Rhodes and the sons of Lestrief. They kept that passage against the Englishmen and made covert war, whereof certain English lords, being in Hainault, were well informed, and saw how that if they went that way homeward into England, they would be met withal to their displeasure.

And these lords went to Dort, in Holland, and there they took shipping to avoid the passage of Cadsand, where the garrison was laid for them by the commandment of the French king.

So these English lords came again into England, as privily as they could, and came to the king, who was right joyous of their coming. And when he heard of the garrison of Cadsand, he said he would provide for them shortly; and anon he ordained the Earl of Derby, Sir Walter of Manny, and divers other knights and squires, with five hundred men at arms and two thousand archers, and they took shipping at London in the river of Thames. The first tide they went to Gravesend, the next day to Margate, and at the third tide they took the sea and sailed into Flanders. So they apparelled themselves and came near to Cadsand.

XVII

Of the battle of Cadsand between the Englishmen and the Frenchmen.

WHEN the Englishmen saw the town of Cadsand before them, they made them ready and had wind and tide to serve them. And so in the name of God and Saint George they approached, and blew up their trumpets and set their archers before them and sailed toward the town. They of Cadsand saw well these great ships approach : they knew well that they were Englishmen, and arranged themselves on the dykes and on the sands with their banners before them, and they made sixteen new knights. They were a five thousand men of war, good knights and squire^s : there was Sir Guy of Flanders, a good and a sure knight, and he desired all his company to do well their duty ; and also there was Sir Ducre de Halewyn, Sir John de Rhodes, Sir Giles Lestrief, Sir Simon and Sir John of Bonquetet, who were there made knights, and Peter of Aglemoustier, with many other knights and squires, expert men at arms.

The Englishmen were desirous to assail and the Flemings to defend. The English archers began to shout and cried their cries, so that such as kept the passage were fain perforce to recoil back. At this first assault there were divers sore hurt, and the Englishmen took land and came and fought hand to hand. The Flemings fought valiantly to defend the passage, and the Englishmen assaulted chivalrously. The Earl of Derby

was that day a good knight, and at the first assault he was so forward that he was stricken to the earth ; and then the Lord of Manny did him great comfort, for by pure feat of arms he relieved him up again and brought him out of peril, and cried, " Lancaster for the Earl of Derby ! " Then they approached on every part ; and many were hurt, but more of the Flemings than of the Englishmen, for the archers shot so wholly together that they did to the Flemings much damage.

Thus in the haven of Cadsand there was a sore battle : for the Flemings were good men of war, chosen out by the Earl of Flanders to defend that passage against the Englishmen ; and of England there was the Earl of Derby, son to the Earl Henry of Lancaster with the wry neck, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Raynold Cobham, Sir Louis Beauchamp, the Lord Bourcher, Sir Walter of Manny, and divers other.

There was a sore battle and well foughten hand to hand : but finally the Flemings were put to the chase, and were slain more than three thousand, what in the haven, streets, and houses. Sir Guy of Flanders was taken ; and Sir Ducre de Halewyn and Sir John de Rhodes were slain, and the two brethren of Bonquetet, and Sir Giles de Lestrief, and more than twenty-six knights and squires.

The town was taken and pillaged, and all the goods and prisoners put into the ships, and the town burnt. And so thus the Englishmen returned into England without any damage. The king caused Sir Guy of Flanders to swear and to bind himself prisoner, and in the same year he

became English, and did faith and homage to the King of England.

XVIII

*How King Edward of England made great alliances
in the Empire.*

AFTER this discomfiture at Cadsand tidings thereof spread abroad in the country, and they of Flanders sent messengers to King Edward, counselling him to come thither and to pass the sea, and telling him how the Flemings greatly desired to see him.

Thus the King of England made great preparations: and when the winter was past, he took the sea, well accompanied with dukes, earls, and barons, and divers other knights, and arrived at the town of Antwerp, as then pertaining to the Duke of Brabant. Thither came people from all parts to see him and the great estate that he kept. Then he sent to his cousin, the Duke of Brabant, and to the Duke of Gelders, to the Marquis of Juliers, to the Lord John of Hainault, and to all such as he trusted to have any comfort of, saying how he would gladly speak with them. They came all to Antwerp between Whitsuntide and the feast of Saint John.

And when the king had well feasted them, he desired to know their minds, when they would begin that they had promised, requiring them to dispatch the matter briefly. For that intent, he said, he was come thither and had all his men ready, and he told how it should be a great damage to him to defer the matter long. These lords had long counsel among them, and finally they said,

“ Sir, our coming hither as now was more to see you than for anything else. We be not as now prepared to give you a full answer : by your leave we shall return to our people and come again to you at your pleasure, and then give you so plain an answer that the matter shall not rest in us.”

Then they fixed a day to come again, three weeks after the feast of Saint John, about the mid of August, and this council to be at Hal, because of the young Earl of Hainault, who should also be there, and with him Sir John of Hainault, his uncle.

When these lords were all come to this parliament at Hal, they had long counsel together. Finally they said to the King of England : “ Sir, we see no cause why we should make defiance to the French king, all things considered, without ye can get the agreement of the Emperor, and that he would command us to do so in his name. The Emperor may well thus do, for of long time past there was a covenant sworn and sealed, that no King of France ought to take anything pertaining to the Empire ; and this King Philip hath taken the castle of Crevecœur in Cambresis, and the castle of Alves in Palluel, and the city of Cambray ; wherefore the Emperor hath good cause to defy him by us. Therefore, sir, if ye can get his accord, our honour shall be the more.” And the king said he would follow their counsel.

Then it was ordained that the Marquis of Juliers should go to the Emperor, and certain knights and clerks of the king's, and some of the council of the Duke of Gelders ; but the Duke of Brabant would send none from him, but he lent the castle of Louvain to the King of England to lie in. And

the marquis and his company found the Emperor at Nürnberg and showed him the cause of their coming. And the Lady Margaret of Hainault, whom Sir Louis of Bavaria, then Emperor, had wedded, did all in her power to further forth the matter.

And the Emperor gave commission to four knights and to two doctors of his council to make King Edward of England his Vicar-General throughout all the Empire, and thereof these said lords had instruments public, confirmed and sealed sufficiently by the Emperor.

XIX

How King Edward of England was made Vicar-General of the Empire of Almaine.

WHEN the King of England and the other lords to him allied were departed from the parliament of Hal, the king went to Louvain and made ready the castle for his abiding, and sent for the queen to come thither, if it pleased her; for he sent her word he would not come thence of an whole year, and sent home certain of his knights to keep his land from the Scots. And the other lords and knights that were there still with the king rode about the realm of Flanders and Hainault, making great dispense, giving great rewards and jewels to the lords, ladies, and damosels of the country, to get their good-wills. They did so much that they were greatly praised, and specially of the common people, because of the circumstances and state that they kept.

Almaine, Germany.

And then about the feast of All Saints the Marquis of Juliers and his company sent word to the king how they had fared. And the king sent to him that he should be with him about the feast of Saint Martin ; and also he sent to the Duke of Brabant, to know his mind where he would the parliament should be holden ; and he answered at Arques in the county of Loos, near to his country. And then the king sent to all other of his allies that they should be there.

And so the hall of the town was apparelled and hanged as though it had been the king's chamber ; and there the king sate crowned with gold, five foot higher than any other, and there openly was read the letters of the Emperor, by the which the king was made Vicar-General and Lieutenant for the Emperor, and had power given him to make laws and to minister justice to every person in the Emperor's name, and to make money of gold and silver.

The Emperor also there commanded by his letters that all persons of his Empire and all others, his subjects, should obey the King of England his Vicar, as himself, and do him homage. And when all this was done, the lords departed and fixed a day that they should all appear before Cambray three weeks after the feast of Saint John ; the which town was become French.

Thus they all departed, and every man went to his own. And King Edward, as Vicar of the Empire, went then to Louvain to the queen, who was newly come thither out of England with great nobleness and well accompanied with ladies and damosels of England. So there the king and the queen kept their house right honourably

all that winter, and caused money, gold and silver, to be made at Antwerp in great plenty.

XX

How King Edward and all his allies did defy the French king.

THUS the winter passed and summer came, and the feast of Saint John the Baptist approached ; and the lords of England and of Almaine apparelled themselves to accomplish their enterprise : and the French king wrought as much as he could to the contrary, for he knew much of their intents. Then King Edward went to Vilvorde, and there caused his company to be lodged, as many as might in the town and the others outside along the riverside in tents and pavilions : and there he tarried from Maudlin-tide till our Lady-day in September, abiding weekly for the lords of the Empire, and specially for the Duke of Brabant, on whose coming all the others abode.

And when the King of England saw how they came not, he sent great messengers to each of them, summoning them to come as they had promised, and to meet with him at Mechlin on Saint Giles' day, and then to show him why they had tarried so long.

These lords of Almaine came at the King of England's summons to Mechlin ; and they

Maudlin-tide, The feast of St. Mary Magdalene, July 22nd.

Our Lady-day in September, The feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, September 8th.

accorded that the King of England might well set forward within fifteen days after; and to the intent that their war should be the more laudable, they agreed to send their defiances to the French king—first the King of England, the Duke of Gelders, the Marquis of Juliers, Sir Robert d'Artois, Sir John of Hainault, the Lord of Fauquemont, Sir Arnold of Baquehem, the Archbishop of Cologne, Sir Waleran his brother, and all other lords of the Empire.

These defiances were written and sealed by all the lords except the Duke of Brabant, who said he would do his deed by himself at time convenient. To bear these defiances into France was charged the Bishop of Lincoln, who bare them to Paris, and did his message in such manner that he could not be reproached nor blamed: and so he had a safe-conduct to return again to his king, who was as then at Mechlin.

XXI

How that after the said defiances made the Frenchmen entered into England.

As soon as King Philip knew that he was defied of the King of England and of his allies, he retained men of war on every side, and sent the Lord Galois de la Bausyne, a good knight of Savoy, into the city of Cambrai, and made him captain there, and with him Sir Thibalt de Marneuil and the Lord of Roye, so that they were, what of Savoy and of France, a two hundred spears. And King Philip sent and seized

into his hands the county of Ponthieu, the which the King of England had before by reason of his mother.

And as soon as Sir Hugh Quieret, Sir Peter Behuchet, and Barbevaire, who lay and kept the straits between England and France with a great navy, knew that the war was open, they came on a Sunday in the forenoon to the haven of Southampton, while the people were at mass. And the Normans, Picards, and Spaniards entered into the town and robbed and pillaged the town, and slew divers, and charged their vessels with the pillage, and so entered again into their ships. And when the tide came, they weighed anchor and sailed to Normandy and came to Dieppe; and there departed and divided their booty and pillage.

XXII

Of the battle on the sea before Sluys in Flanders between the King of England and the Frenchmen.

ON Midsummer even, in the year of our Lord 1340, all the English fleet was departed out of the river of Thames and took the way to Sluys. And the same time between Blankenberghe and Sluys, on the sea, was Sir Hugh Quieret, Sir Peter Behuchet and Barbevaire, and more than six score great vessels; and they were of Normans, Genoese, and Picards about the number of forty thousand. There they were laid by the French king to prevent the King of England's passage.

The King of England and his ships came sailing till he came before Sluys: and when he saw so

great a number of ships that their masts seemed to be like a great wood, he demanded of the master of his ship what people he thought they were. He answered and said, "Sir, I think they be Normans laid here by the French king." "Ah," quoth the king, "I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen, and now shall I fight with some of them by the grace of God and Saint George; for truly they have done me so many displeasures that I shall be revenged, if I may." Then the king set all his ships in order, the greatest before, well furnished with archers, and ever between two ships of archers he had one ship with men at arms; and then he made another battle to lie aloof, with archers, to comfort ever them that were most weary, if need were.

When the king and his marshals had ordered his battles, he drew up the sails and came with a quarter wind to have the vantage of the sun, and at last they turned a little to get the wind. And the Normans saw well how the King of England was there personally, by reason of his banners. Then they did apparel their fleet in order, for they were sage and good men of war on the sea, and did set the *Christofer*, the which they had won the year before, to be foremost, with many trumpets and instruments, and so set on their enemies.

There began a sore battle on both parts: archers and cross-bows began to shoot, and men at arms approached and fought hand to hand. And the better to come together they had great hooks and grappers of iron, to cast out of one

Battle, A squadron.

ship into another, and so tied them fast together. There were many deeds of arms done, taking and rescuing again, and at last the great *Christofer* was first won by the Englishmen, and all that were within it taken or slain. This battle was right fierce and terrible; for the battles on the sea are more dangerous and fiercer than the battles by land: for on the sea there is no retiring nor fleeing; there is no remedy but to fight and to abide fortune, and every man to show his prowess.

This battle endured from the morning till it was noon, and the Englishmen endured much pain, for their enemies were four against one, and all good men on the sea. There the King of England was a noble knight of his own hand; he was in the flower of his youth: in like wise so were the earls of Derby, Northampton, and Gloucester, Sir Raynold Cobham, the Lord Percy, Sir Walter of Manny, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir Chandos, the Lord Delaware, and divers other lords and knights, who bare themselves so valiantly with some succours that they had of Bruges and of the country thereabout, that they obtained the victory; so that the Frenchmen, Normans, and other were discomfited, slain, and drowned; there was not one that scaped, but all were slain.

When this victory was achieved, the king all that night abode in his ship before Sluys, with great noise of trumpets and other instruments. Thither came to see the king divers of Flanders, such as had heard of the king's coming.

And on the next day, the which was Midsummer Day, the king and all his took land, and the king

on foot went a pilgrimage to our Lady of Ardembourg, and there heard mass and dined; and then took his horse and rode to Gaunt, where the queen received him with great joy; and all his baggage came after, little and little.

XXIII

How the King of England besieged the city of Tournay with great power.

WHEN the time approached that the corn began to ripe, the King of England departed from Gaunt with seven earls of his country, eight prelates, twenty-eight baronets, two hundred knights, four thousand men at arms, and nine thousand archers, beside footmen. All his host passed through the town of Oudenarde, and so passed the river of Scheldt, and lodged before Tournay at the gate called Saint-Martin, the way toward Lille and Douay.

Then anon after came the Duke of Brabant with more than twenty thousand men, knights, squires, and commons; and he lodged at the bridge of Aryes, by the river of Scheldt, between the abbey of Saint Nicholas and the gate Valenciennois. Next to him came the Earl of Hainault with a goodly company of his country, with many of Holland and Zeeland; and he was lodged between the king and the Duke of Brabant. Then came Jaques d'Arteveld with more than sixty thousand Flemings, beside them of Ypres, Poperinghe, Cassel, Bergues; and they were set on the other side. Jaques d'Arteveld lodged at

the gate Sainte-Fontaine : the Duke of Gelders, the Earl of Juliers, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and all the Almaines were lodged on the other side, toward Hainault. Thus the city of Tournay was environed round about, so that none could issue out without spying.

XXIV

*How the Scots won again great part of Scotland
while the Siege was before Tournay.*

Now it is to be remembered how Sir William Douglas and the Earl Patrick, the Earl of Sutherland, Sir Simon Fraser, and Alexander Ramsay were captains in such part of Scotland as was left unwon by the Englishmen. And as they might they made war against the Englishmen. Some time they had good adventure and some time evil. And while the King of England was at siege before Tournay, the French king sent men of war into Scotland, and they desired the Scots in the French king's name, that they would set on and make such war in the realm of England, that the king might be fain to return home to rescue his own realm, and to leave up the siege at Tournay : and the French king promised them men and money to aid them so to do.

And so the Scots won again divers fortresses, and so passed the town of Berwick and the river of Tyne, and entered into the country of Northumberland, the which some time was a realm. There they found great plenty of beasts, and wasted and burned all the country to Durham :

Almaines, Germans.

then they returned by another way, destroying the country. In this voyage they destroyed more than three days' journey into the realm of England, and then returned into Scotland and conquered again all the fortresses that were holden by the Englishmen, except the city of Berwick and three other castles, the which did them great trouble. They were so strong, that it would have been hard to have found any such in any country : the one was Stirling, another Roxburgh, and the third the chief of all Scotland, Edinburgh, the which castle standeth on a high rock, that a man must rest once or twice ere he come to the highest of the hill ; and captain there was Sir Walter Limousin.

So it was that Sir William Douglas devised a feat, and showed his intention to his companions, to the Earl Patrick, to Sir Simon Fraser, and to Alexander Ramsay, and all they agreed together. Then they took a two hundred of the wild Scots and entered into the sea, and made provision of oats, meal, coals, and wood ; and so peaceably they arrived at a port near to the castle of Edinburgh. And in the night they armed them and took a ten or twelve of their company, such as they did trust best, and did disguise them in poor torn coats and hats, like poor men of the country, and loaded twelve small horses with sacks, some with oats, some with wheat-meal, and some with coals. And they did set all their company in an ambush in an old destroyed abbey thereby, near to the foot of the hill.

And when the day began to appear, secretly armed as they were, they went up the hill with their merchandise. And when they were in the

midway, Sir William Douglas and Sir Simon Fraser, disguised as they were, went a little before and came to the porter and said: "Sir, in great fear we have brought hither oats and wheat-meal; and if ye have any need thereof, we will sell it to you good cheap." "Marry," said the porter, "and we have need thereof; but it is so early, that I dare not awake the captain nor his steward. But let them come in and I shall open the outer gate."

And so they all entered into the gate of the bailey: Sir William Douglas saw well how the porter had the keys in his hands of the great gate of the castle.

Then when the first gate was opened, as ye have heard, their horses with carriages entered in; and the two that came last, laden with coals, they made them to fall down on the ground-sill of the gate, to the intent that the gate should not be closed again. And then they took the porter and slew him so peaceably, that he never spake word.

Then they took the great keys and opened the castle gate: then Sir William Douglas blew a horn and they did cast away their torn coats and laid all the other sacks overthwart the gate, to the intent that it should not be shut again. And when they of the ambuscade heard the horn, in all the haste they might they mounted the hill.

Then the watchman of the castle, with noise of the horn awoke, and saw how the people were coming all armed to the castle-ward. Then he blew his horn and cried, "Treason! treason! Sirs, arise and arm you shortly, for yonder be men at arms approaching to your fortress." Then

every man arose and armed them and came to the gate ; but Sir William Douglas and his twelve companions defended so the gate, that they could not close it : and so by great valiantness they kept the entry open, till they of the ambuscade came. They within defended the castle as well as they might, and hurt divers of them without ; but Sir William and the Scots did so much, that they conquered the fortress, and all the Englishmen within slain, except the captain and six other squires.

So the Scots tarried there all that day, and made a knight of the country captain there, called Simon Vessey, and with him divers other of the country. These tidings came to the King of England before Tournay.

XXV

Of the great host that the French king assembled to raise the Siege before Tournay.

YE have heard before how the King of England had besieged the city of Tournay with more than six score thousand men at arms, with the Flemings. And because the victuals within the city began to minish, the French lords within caused to go forth out of the town all manner of poor people, such as were not suited to abide the adventure of the siege. They were put out in the open day, and they passed through the Duke of Brabant's host, who showed them grace, for he caused them to be safely brought to the French host at Arras, where the king lay.

And there the French king made a great assembly of men of his own country and part out of the Empire. Thither came to him the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Lorraine, the Earl of Bar, the Bishop of Metz and of Verdun, the Earl of Montebeliard, Sir John of Chalons, the Earl of Geneva, the Earl of Savoy, and the Lord Louis of Savoy his brother. All these lords came to serve the French king with all their powers. Also thither came the Duke of Brittany, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Bourbon, the Earl of Alençon, the Earl of Flanders, the Earl Armagnac, the Earl of Blois, the Lord Coucy, and divers other lords and knights. And after came the King of Navarre with a goodly number of men of war out of the country in France that he held of the French king, and thereby he came to serve him : also there was the King of Scots with a certain number appointed to him.

XXVI

*How the Siege before Tournay was broken up by
reason of a truce.*

THIS siege endured a long season, the space of eleven weeks less three days ; and all that season the Lady Jane of Valois, sister to the French king and mother to the Earl of Hainault, sought earnestly, what on the one part and on the other, to have a respite and a peace between the parties, so that they might depart without battle. And divers times she kneeled at the feet of the French king in that behalf, and also made great labour to the lords of the Empire, and specially to the

Duke of Brabant and to the Duke of Juliers, who had her daughter in marriage, and also to Sir John of Hainault.

So much the good lady procured with the aid and counsel of Louis d'Augymont, who was well beloved with both parties, that it was granted that each party should send four sufficient persons to treat on some good way to accord the parties, and a truce for three days : these appointers were to meet in a little chapel standing in the fields called Esplotyn.

At the day appointed these persons met, and the good lady with them : of the French party there was Charles, King of Bohemia, Charles, Earl d'Alençon, brother to the French king, and the Bishop of Liege, the Earl of Flanders, and the Earl of Armagnac. Of the English party there was the Duke of Brabant, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Duke of Gelders, the Duke of Juliers, and Sir John of Hainault.

And when they were all met, they made each to other great salutations and good cheer, and then entered into their treaty. And all that day they communed on divers ways of accord, and always the good lady of Valois was among them, desiring affectuously all the parties, that they would do their labour to make a peace. Howbeit the first day passed without anything doing, and so they returned and promised to meet again the next day ; the which day they came together again in the same place and so fell again into their treaty, and so fell unto certain points agreeable ; but it was as then so late, that they could not put it in writing as that day ; and to make an end and to make perfect the matter if they might,

the third day they met again, and so finally accorded on a truce to endure for a year between all parties and all their men, and also between them that were in Scotland, and all such as made war in Gascony, Poitou, and in Saintonge. This truce was to begin the fortieth day next ensuing, and within that space every party was to give knowledge to his men without malice ; and if any companies would not keep the peace, let it be at their choice : but as for France, Picardy, Burgundy, Brittany, and Normandy, they were to be bound to this peace without any exception. And this peace was to begin forthwith between the hosts of the two kings. Also it was determined that both parties in each of their names should send four or five personages as their ambassadors to meet at Arras, and the Pope in likewise to send thither four, and there to make a full confirmation. Also by this truce every party was to enjoy and possess all and everything that they were as then in possession of.

This truce immediately was cried in both hosts, whereof the Brabanters were right glad, for they were sore weary with so long lying at the siege : so that the next day, as soon as it was daylight, ye should have seen tents taken down, chariots charged and people remove so thick, that a man would have thought to have seen a new world. Thus the good town of Tournay was safe without any great damage : howbeit they within endured great pain ; their victuals began to fail, for, as it was said, they had as then scant to serve them a three or four days at the most. The Brabanters departed quickly, for they had great desire thereto : the King of England departed sore against his

mind, for he would gladly have done otherwise ; but in manner he was fain to follow the wills of the other lords and to believe their counsels.

Thus these lords departed from the siege of Tournay, and every man drew to his own. The King of England came to Gaunt to the queen his wife, and shortly after passed the sea. The Earl of Hainault returned to his country and held a noble feast at Mons in Hainault, and a great joust, in the which Gerard of Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, did joust, and was so sore hurt that he died of the stroke.

The French king gave leave to every man to depart, and went himself to Lille, and thither came they of Tournay, and the king received them joyously and did show them great grace : he gave them freely their freedom, the which they had lost long before, wherewith they were joyous ; for Sir Godemar du Fay and divers other knights had been long governors there : then they made new provost and jurates according to their ancient usages. Then the king departed from Lille to go to Paris.

XXVII

Of the order of Saint George, that King Edward established in the castle of Windsor.

IN this season the King of England took pleasure to re-edify anew the castle of Windsor, the which was begun by King Arthur, and there first began the Table Round, whereby sprang the fame of so many noble knights throughout all the world. Then King Edward determined to make an order

and a brotherhood of a certain number of knights, and to be called knights of the Blue Garter, and a feast to be kept yearly at Windsor on Saint George's Day.

And to begin this order the king assembled together earls, lords, and knights of his realm, and showed them his intention : and they all joyously agreed to his pleasure, because they saw it was a thing much honourable and whereby great amity and love should grow and increase.

Then was there chosen out a certain number of the most valiantest men of the realm, and they sware and sealed to maintain the ordinances, such as were devised ; and the king made a chapel in the castle of Windsor, of Saint George, and established certain canons there to serve God, and endowed them with fair rent. Then the king sent to publish this feast by his heralds into France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and into the Empire of Almaine, giving to every knight and squire that would come to the said feast fifteen days of safe-conduct before the feast and after : the which feast to begin at Windsor on Saint George Day next after in the year of our Lord 1344, and the queen to be there accompanied with three hundred ladies and damosels, all of noble lineage and apparelled accordingly.

XXVIII

How the King of England came over the sea again.

AND again the King of England thought to go over the sea into Gascony with a great army.

There he made his provision and sent for men all about his realm and in other places, where he thought to speed for his money. In the same season the Lord Godfrey of Harcourt came into England, who was banished out of France: he was well received with the king, and retained to be about him, and had fair lands assigned him in England to maintain his degree. Then the king caused a great navy of ships to be ready in the haven of Southampton, and caused all manner of men of war to draw thither.

About the feast of Saint John Baptist, the year of our Lord God 1346, the king departed from the queen and left her in the guiding of the Earl of Kent, his cousin; and he established the Lord Percy and the Lord Nevill to be wardens of his realm, with the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Bishop of Durham; for he never went from his realm but that he left ever enough at home to keep and defend the realm, if need were. Then the king rode to Southampton and there tarried for wind: then he entered into his ship and the Prince of Wales with him, and the Lord Godfrey of Harcourt, and all other lords, earls, barons, and knights, with all their companies. They were in number four thousand men at arms and ten thousand archers, beside Irishmen and Welshmen that followed the host afoot.

Thus they sailed forth that day in the name of God. They were well onward on their way toward Gascony, but on the third day there arose a contrary wind and drave them on the marches of Cornwall, and there they lay at anchor six days.

In that space the king had other counsel by the

means of Sir Godfrey Harcourt : he counselled the king not to go into Gascony, but rather to set a-land in Normandy, and said to the king : “ Sir, the country of Normandy is one of the plenteous countries of the world : sir, on jeopardy of my head, if ye will land there, there is none that shall resist you ; the people of Normandy have not been used to the war, and all the knights and squires of the country are now at the siege before Aiguillon with the duke. And, sir, there ye shall find great towns that be not walled, whereby your men shall have such winning, that they shall be the better thereby twenty year after ; and, sir, ye may follow with your army till ye come to Caen in Normandy. Sir, I require you to believe me in this voyage.”

The king, who was as then but in the flower of his youth, desiring nothing so much as to have deeds of arms, inclined greatly to the saying of the Lord Harcourt, whom he called cousin. Then he commanded the mariners to set their course to Normandy, and he took into his ship the token of the admiral, the Earl of Warwick, and said how he would be admiral for that voyage, and so sailed on before as governor of that navy, and they had wind at will. Then the king arrived in the Cotentin, at a port called La Hogue.

Tidings anon spread abroad how the Englishmen were a-land : the towns of Cotentin sent word thereof to Paris to King Philip. He had well heard before how the King of England was on the sea with a great army, but he wist not what way he would draw, whether into Normandy, Brittany, or Gascony. As soon as he knew that the King of England was a-land in Normandy, he sent his

constable, the Earl of Guines, and the Earl of Tancarville, who were but newly come to him from his son from the siege at Aiguillon, to the town of Caen, commanding them to keep that town against the Englishmen. They said they would do their best: they departed from Paris with a good number of men of war, and daily there came more to them by the way, and so they came to the town of Caen, where they were received with great joy of men of the town and of the country thereabout, that were drawn thither for surety. These lords took heed for the provision of the town, the which as then was not walled.

XXIX

*How the King of England rode in three battles
through Normandy.*

WHEN the King of England arrived in La Hogue he issued out of his ship, and that day and night the king lodged on the sands, and in the meantime the ships discharged their horses and other baggages. There the king made two marshals of his host, the one the Lord Godfrey of Harcourt, and the other the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Arundel, constable. And he ordained that the Earl of Huntingdon should keep the fleet of ships with a hundred men at arms and four hundred archers: and also he ordained three battles, one to go on his right hand, closing to the seaside, and the other on his left hand, and the king himself in the midst, and every night to lodge all in one field,

Battles, Divisions of the host.

Thus they set forth as they were ordained, and they that went by the sea took all the ships that they found in their ways : and so long they went forth, what by sea and what by land, that they came to a good port and to a good town called Barfleur, the which immediately was won, for they within gave it up for fear of death. Howbeit, for all that, the town was robbed, and much gold and silver there found, and rich jewels : there was found so much riches, that the boys and villains of the host set nothing by good furred gowns : they made all the men of the town to issue out and to go into the ships, because they would not suffer them to be behind them for fear of rebelling again. After the town of Barfleur was thus taken and robbed without burning, then they spread abroad in the country and did what they list, for there was nought to resist them.

At last they came to a great and a rich town called Cherbourg : the town they won and robbed it, and burned part thereof, but into the castle they could not come ; it was so strong and well furnished with men of war. Then they passed forth and came to Montbourg, and took it and robbed and burnt it clean. In this manner they burned many other towns in that country, and won so much riches that it was marvel to reckon it.

XXX

Of the great assembly that the French king made to resist the King of England.

THUS by the Englishmen was burned, exiled, robbed, wasted, and pillaged the good, plentiful

country of Normandy. Then the French king sent for the Lord John of Hainault, who came to him with a great number : also the king sent for other men at arms, dukes, earls, barons, knights, and squires, and assembled together the greatest number of people that had been seen in France a hundred year before. He sent for men into so far countries, that it was long ere they came together, wherefore the King of England did what him list in the mean season.

The French king heard well what he did, and sware and said how they should never return again unfought withal, and that such hurts and damages as they had done should be dearly revenged ; wherefore he had sent letters to his friends in the Empire, to such as were farthest off, and also to the gentle King of Bohemia and to the Lord Charles his son, who from thenceforth was called King of Almaine ; he was made king by the aid of his father and the French king, and had taken on him the arms of the Empire.

The French king desired them to come to him with all their powers, to the intent to fight with the King of England, who burned and wasted his country. These princes and lords made them ready with great number of men at arms, of Almains, Bohemians, and Luxemburgers, and so came to the French king. Also King Philip sent to the Duke of Lorraine, who came to serve him with three hundred spears : also there came the Earl of Flanders, the Earl William of Namur, every man with a fair company.

Ye have heard herebefore of the order of the Englishmen, how they went in three battles, the marshals on the right hand and on the left, the

king and the Prince of Wales, his son, in the midst. They rode but small journeys, and every day took their lodgings between noon and three of the clock, and found the country so fruitful that they needed not to make provision for their host, but only for wine. It was no marvel that they of the country were afraid, for before that time they had never seen men of war, nor they wist not what war or battle meant. They fled away as far as they might when they heard speaking of the Englishmen, and left their houses well stuffed, and granges full of corn, they wist not how to save and keep it. The King of England and the prince had in their battle a three thousand men at arms and six thousand archers, and ten thousand men afoot, beside them that rode with the marshals.

Then the king went toward Caen, the which was a greater town and full of drapery and other merchandise, and rich burgesses, noble ladies and damosels, and fair churches, and specially two great and rich abbeys, one of the Trinity, another of Saint Stephen ; and on the one side of the town one of the fairest castles of all Normandy, and captain therein was Robert of Blargny, with three hundred Genoese, and in the town were the Earl of Eu and of Guines, Constable of France, and the Earl of Tancarville, with a good number of men of war. The King of England rode that day in good order, and lodged all his battles together that night, at two leagues from Caen, in a town with a little haven called Austrehem, and thither came also all his navy of ships with the Earl of Huntingdon, who was governor of them.

XXXI

*Of the battle of Caen, and how the Englishmen
took the town.*

THE next day the Englishmen rose early and appalled them ready to go to Caen. The king heard mass before the sun-rising, and then took his horse, and the prince, his son, with Sir Godfrey of Harcourt, marshal and leader of the host, whose counsel the king much followed. Then they drew toward Caen with their battles in good array, and so approached the good town of Caen.

When they of the town, who were ready in the field, saw these three battles coming in good order, with their banners and standards waving in the wind, and the archers, the which they had not been accustomed to see, they were sore afraid and fled away toward the town without any order or good array, for all that the Constable could do: then the Englishmen pursued them eagerly. When the Constable and the Earl Tancarville saw that, they took up their stand at a gate at the entry of the bridge, and saved themselves and certain with them, for the Englishmen were entered into the town. Some of the knights and squires of France, such as knew the way to the castle, went thither, and the captain there received them all, for the castle was large. The Englishmen in the chase slew many, for they took none to mercy.

Then the Constable and the Earl of Tancarville being in the little tower at the bridge foot, looked along the street and saw their men slain without

mercy : they doubted to fall in their hands. At last they saw an English knight with one eye, called Sir Thomas Holland, and a five or six other knights with him : they knew them, for they had seen them before in Prussia, in Granada, and in other voyages. Then they called to Sir Thomas and said how they would yield themselves prisoners.

Then Sir Thomas came thither with his company and mounted up into the gate, and there found the said lords with twenty-five knights with them, who yielded them to Sir Thomas, and he took them for his prisoners and left company to keep them, and then mounted again on his horse and rode into the streets, and saved many lives of ladies, damosels, and nuns, for the soldiers were without mercy.

It fell so well the same season for the Englishmen, that the river, which was able to bear ships, at that time was so low that men went in and out beside the bridge. They of the town were entered into their houses, and cast down into the street stones, timber, and iron, and slew and hurt more than five hundred Englishmen, wherewith the king was sore displeased. At night, when he heard thereof, he commanded that the next day all should be put to the sword and the town burned ; but then Sir Godfrey of Harcourt said : “ Dear sir, for God’s sake assuage somewhat your courage, and let it suffice you that ye have done. Ye have yet a great voyage to do ere ye come before Calais, whither ye purpose to go ; and, sir, in this town there is much people who will defend their houses, and it will cost many of your men their lives, ere ye have all at your will ; whereby

peradventure ye shall not keep your purpose to Calais, the which should redound to your ruin. Sir, save your people, for ye shall have need of them ere this month pass ; for I think verily your adversary, King Philip, will meet with you to fight, and ye shall find many straight passages and encounters ; wherefore your men, if ye have the more, shall stand you in good stead : and, sir, without any further slaying ye shall be lord of this town ; men and women will put all that they have to your pleasure." Then the king said : " Sir Godfrey, you are our marshal, ordain everything as ye will."

Then Sir Godfrey with his banner rode from street to street, and commanded in the king's name none to be so hardy to put fire in any house, nor to slay any person. When they of the town heard that cry, they received the Englishmen into their houses and made them good cheer, and some opened their coffers and bade them take what them list, so they might be assured of their lives ; howbeit there were done in the town many evil deeds, murders, and robberies.

Thus the Englishmen were lords of the town three days, and won great riches, the which they sent by barks and barges by the river to Austrehem, a two leagues thence, where all their navy lay. Then the king sent the Earl of Huntingdon with two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers, with his navy and the prisoners and riches that they had got, back again into England. And the king bought of Sir Thomas Holland the Constable of France and the Earl of Tancarville, and paid for them twenty thousand nobles.

XXXII

*How the King of England came nigh unto Paris
with his host.*

THUS the King of England ordered his business, being in the town of Caen, and he sent into England his navy of ships charged with clothes, jewels, vessels of gold and silver, and of other riches, and of prisoners more than sixty knights and three hundred burgesses.

Then he departed from the town of Caen and rode in the same order as he did before, burning and laying waste the country, and he took the way to Evreux, and so passed by it. And from thence they rode to a great town called Louviers : it was the chief town of all Normandy of drapery, riches, and full of merchandise. The Englishmen soon entered therein, for as then it was not walled ; it was overrun, spoiled, and robbed without mercy : there was won great riches. Then they entered into the country of Evreux and burned and pillaged all the country except the good fortified towns and castles, to the which the king made no assault, for the sparing of his people and his artillery.

Then the Englishmen left Rouen and went to Gisors, where was a strong castle : they burned the town and then they burned Vernon and all the country about Rouen and Pont de l'Arche, and came to Mantes and to Meulan, and wasted all the country about ; and in every place along the river of Seine they found the bridges broken.

At last they came to Poissy, and found the

bridge broken, but the arches and joists lay in the river : the king lay there five days : in the mean season the bridge was made, to pass the host without peril. The English marshals ran abroad just to Paris, and burned Saint Germain en Laye and Montjoy, and Saint Cloud, and Boulogne by Paris : they of Paris were not well assured of themselves, for it was not as then fortified.

Then King Philip removed to Saint-Denis, and thither were ready come the King of Bohemia, the Lord John of Hainault, the Duke of Lorraine, the Earl of Flanders, the Earl of Blois, and many other great lords and knights, ready to serve the French king.

When the people of Paris saw their king depart, they came to him and kneeled down and said : “ Ah, sir and noble king, what will ye do ? leave thus this noble city of Paris ? ” The king said : “ My good people, doubt ye not : the Englishmen will approach you no nearer than they be.” “ Why so, sir ? ” quoth they ; “ they be within these two leagues, and as soon as they know of your departing, they will come and assail us ; and we not able to defend them : sir, tarry here still and help to defend your good city of Paris.” “ Speak no more,” quoth the king, “ for I will go to Saint-Denis to my men of war : for I will encounter the Englishmen and fight against them, whatsoever fall thereof.”

The King of England was at Poissy, and lay in the nunnery there, and kept there the feast of our Lady in August, and sat in his robes of scarlet

Feast of Our Lady in August, The festival of the Assumption.

furred with ermines ; and after that feast he went forth in order, as they were before.

Then the King of England entered into the country of Beauvais, burning and laying waste the plain country, and he lodged at a fair abbey and a rich called Saint-Messene near to Beauvais : there the king tarried a night, and in the morning departed. And when he was on his way he looked behind him and saw the abbey a-fire : and straightway he caused twenty of them to be hanged that set the fire there, for he had commanded before, on pain of death, none to violate any church nor to burn any abbey. Then the king passed by the city of Beauvais without any assault given, because he would not trouble his people nor waste his artillery. And so that day he took his lodging betime in a little town called Nully.

The two marshals came so near to Beauvais, that they made assault and skirmish at the barriers in three places, the which assault endured a long space ; but the town within was so well defended by the means of the bishop, who was there within, that finally the Englishmen departed and burned clean hard to the gates all the suburbs, and then at night they came into the king's field.

The next day the king departed, burning and wasting all before him, and at night he lodged in a good village called Grandvillier. The next day the king passed by Argies : there was none to defend the castle, wherefore it was soon taken and burned.

Then they went forth destroying the country all about, and so came to Araines and there lodged, for there the king was minded to lie a day or two

to take advice how he might pass the river of Somme ; for it was necessary for him to pass the river, as ye shall hear after.

XXXIII

*How the French king followed the King of England
in Beauvais.*

Now let us speak of King Philip, who was at Saint-Denis and his people about him, and daily increased. Then on a day he departed and rode so long that he came to Coppigny de Guise, a three leagues from Amiens, and there he tarried. The King of England being at Araines wist not where to pass the river of Somme, the which was large and deep, and all bridges were broken and the passages well kept. Then at the king's commandment his two marshals, with a thousand men at arms and two thousand archers, went along the river to find some passage, and passed by Longpré, and came to the bridge of Remy, the which was well kept with a great number of knights and squires and men of the country. The Englishmen alighted afoot and assailed the Frenchmen from the morning till it was noon ; but the bridge was so well fortified and defended, that the Englishmen departed without winning of anything.

Then they went to another town called Longdin Ponthieu ; they could not win the bridge, it was so well kept and defended. Then they departed and went to Picquigny, and found the town, the bridge, and the castle so well fortified that it was not likely to pass there : the French king had so

well defended the passages, to the intent that the King of England should not pass the river of Somme, to fight with him at his advantage or else to famish him there.

When these two marshals had assayed in all places to find passage and could find none, they returned again to the king, and showed how they could find no passage in any place. The same night the French king came to Amiens with more than a hundred thousand men.

The King of England was right pensive, and the next morning heard mass before the sun-rising and then dislodged ; and every man followed the marshals' banners, and so rode in the country of Vimy, approaching to the good town of Abbeville, and they found a town thereby, whereunto was come much people of the country in trust of a little defence that was there ; but the Englishmen anon won it, and all they that were within slain, and many taken of the town and of the country. The king took his lodging in a great house of the Knights Hospitallers that was there.

The same day the French king departed from Amiens and came to Araines about noon ; and the Englishmen were departed thence in the morning. The Frenchmen found there great provision that the Englishmen had left behind them, because they departed in haste. There they found flesh ready on the broaches, bread and pasties in the ovens, wine in tuns and barrels, and the tables ready laid. There the French king lodged and tarried for his lords.

That night the King of England was lodged at Oisemont. At night, when the two marshals were returned, who had that day overrun the

country to the gates of Abbeville and to Saint Valery and made a great skirmish there, then the king assembled together his council and made to be brought before him certain prisoners of the country of Ponthieu and of Vimy.

The king right courteously demanded of them if there were any among them that knew any passage beneath Abbeville, that he and his host might pass over the river of Somme. If he would show him thereof, he should be quit of his ransom, and twenty of his company for his love. There was a varlet called Gobin Agace who stepped forth and said to the king : “ Sir, I promise you on the jeopardy of my head I shall bring you to such a place, where ye and all your host shall pass the river of Somme without peril. There be certain places in the passage that ye shall pass twelve men afront two times between day and night : ye shall not go in the water to the knees. But when the flood cometh, the river then waxeth so great that no man can pass ; but when the flood is gone, the which is two times between day and night, then the river is so low that it may be passed without danger both a-horseback and afoot. The passage is hard in the bottom with white stones, so that all your carriages may go surely ; therefore the passage is called Blanche-taque. And if ye make ready to depart betimes, ye may be there by the sun-rising.” The king said : “ If this be true that ye say, I quit thee thy ransom and all thy company, and moreover shall give thee a hundred nobles.” Then the king commanded every man to be ready at the sound of the trumpet to depart.

XXXIV

Of the battle of Blanche-taque between the King of England and Sir Godemar du Fay.

THE King of England slept not much that night, for at midnight he arose and sounded his trumpet : then straightway they made ready carriages and all things, and at the breaking of the day they departed from the town of Oisemont and rode after the guiding of Gobin Agace, so that they came by the sun-rising to Blanche-taque ; but as then the flood was up, so that they might not pass : so the king tarried there till it was Prime ; then the ebb came.

The French king had his scouts in the country, who brought him word of the demeanour of the Englishmen. Then he thought to close the King of England between Abbeville and the river of Somme, and so to fight with him at his pleasure. And when he was at Amiens he had ordained a great baron of Normandy, called Sir Godemar du Fay, to go and keep the passage of Blanche-taque, where the Englishmen must pass or else in none other place. He had with him a thousand men at arms and six thousand afoot, with the Genoese : so they went by Saint-Riquier, in Ponthieu, and from thence to Crotoy, where the passage lay ; and also he had with him a great number of men of the country, and also a great number of them of Montreuil, so that they were twelve thousand men, one and other.

When the English host was come thither, Sir Godemar du Fay arranged all his company to

defend the passage. The King of England let not for all that ; but when the flood was gone, he commanded his marshals to enter into the water in the name of God and Saint George. Then they that were hardy and courageous entered on both parties, and many a man was overthrown. There were some of the Frenchmen of Artois and Picardy that were as glad to joust in the water as on the dry land.

The Frenchmen defended so well the passage at the issuing out of the water that they had much to do. The Genoese did them great trouble with their cross-bows : on the other side the archers of England shot so wholly together, that the Frenchmen were fain to give place to the Englishmen. There was a sore battle, and many a noble feat of arms done on both sides. Finally the Englishmen passed over and assembled together in the field.

The king and the prince passed, and all the lords ; then the Frenchmen kept none array, but departed, he that might best. When Sir Godemar saw that discomfiture, he fled and saved himself : some fled to Abbeville and some to Saint-Riquier. They that were there afoot could not flee, so that there were slain a great number of them of Abbeville, Montreuil, Arras, and of Saint-Riquier : the chase endured more than a great league. And as yet all the Englishmen were not passed the river, and certain scouts of the King of Bohemia and of Sir John of Hainault came on them that were behind and took certain horses and carriages and slew divers ere they could take the passage.

The French king the same morning was departed from Araines, trusting to have found the Englishmen between him and the river of Somme :

but when he heard how that Sir Godemar du Fay and his company were discomfited, he tarried in the field and demanded of his marshals what was best to do. They said, "Sir, ye cannot pass the river but at the bridge of Abbeville, for the flood is come in at Blanche-taque": then he returned and lodged at Abbeville.

The King of England, when he was past the river, he thanked God and so rode forth in like manner as he did before. Then he called Gobin Agace and did quit him his ransom and all his company, and gave him a hundred nobles and a good horse.

The King of England was well informed how the French king followed after him to fight. Then he said to his company: "Let us take here some plot of ground, for we will go no farther till we have seen our enemies. I have good cause here to abide them, for I am on the right heritage of the queen, my mother, the which land was given at her marriage: I will challenge it of mine adversary, Philip of Valois."

And because that he had not the eighth part in number of men as the French king had, therefore he commanded his marshals to choose a plot of ground somewhat for his advantage: and so they did, and thither the king and his host went. Then he sent his scouts to Abbeville, to see if the French king drew that day into the field or not. They went forth and returned again, and said how they could see none appearance of his coming: then every man took their lodging for that day, and to be ready in the morning at the sound of the trumpet in the same place.

This Friday the French king tarried still in

Abbeville, abiding for his company, and sent his two marshals to ride out to see the dealing of the Englishmen, and at night they returned, and said how the Englishmen were lodged in the fields. That night the French king made a supper to all the chief lords that were there with him, and after supper the king desired them to be friends each to other. The king looked for the Earl of Savoy, who should come to him with a thousand spears, for he had received wages for a three months of them at Troyes, in Champagne.

XXXV

Of the order of the Englishmen at Cressy, and how they made three battles afoot.

ON the Friday the King of England lay in the fields, for the country was plentiful of wines and other victual, and if need had been, they had provision following in carts and other carriages.

That night the king made a supper to all his chief lords of his host and made them good cheer ; and when they were all departed to take their rest, then the king entered into his oratory and kneeled down before the altar, praying God devoutly, that if he fought the next day that he might achieve the day to his honour : then about midnight he laid him down to rest, and in the morning he rose betimes and heard mass, and the prince his son with him, and the most part of his company were confessed and received the Communion ; and after the mass said, he commanded every man to be armed and to draw to the field to the same place before appointed.

Then the king caused a park to be made by the wood side behind his host, and there was set all carts and carriages, and within the park were all their horses, for every man was afoot ; and into this park there was but one entry. Then he ordained three battles : in the first was the young Prince of Wales, with him the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, the Lord Godfrey of Harcourt, Sir Raynold Cobham, and divers other knights and squires that I cannot name : they were an eight hundred men at arms and two thousand archers, and a thousand of others with the Welshmen. Every lord drew to the field appointed under his own banner and pennon. In the second battle was the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel, and divers other, about an eight hundred men at arms and twelve hundred archers. The third battle had the king. He had seven hundred men at arms and two thousand archers. Then the king leapt on a hobby, with a white rod in his hand, one of his marshals on the one hand and the other on the other hand : he rode from rank to rank, desiring every man to take heed that day to his right and honour. He spake it so sweetly and with so good countenance and merry cheer, that all such as were discomfited took courage in seeing and hearing him. And when he had thus visited all his battles, it was then nine of the day : then he caused every man to eat and drink a little, and so they did at their leisure. And afterward they ordered again their battles : then every man lay down on the earth and by him his helm and bow, to be the more fresher when their enemies should come.

XXXVI

The order of the Frenchmen at Cressy, and how they beheld the demeanour of the Englishmen.

THIS Saturday the French king rose betimes and heard mass in Abbeville in his lodging in the abbey of Saint Peter, and he departed after the sun-rising. When he was out of the town two leagues, approaching toward his enemies, some of his lords said to him: "Sir, it were good that ye ordered your battles, and let all your footmen pass somewhat on before, that they be not troubled with the horsemen."

Then the king commanded that it should be so done. Then his two marshals, one rode before, another behind, saying to every banner: "Tarry and abide here in the name of God and Saint Denis." They that were foremost tarried, but they that were behind would not tarry, but rode forth, and said how they would in no wise abide till they were as far forward as the foremost: and when those before saw them come on behind, then they rode forward again, so that neither the king nor his marshals could not rule them. So they rode without order or good array, till they came in sight of their enemies: and as soon as the foremost saw them, they recoiled then aback without good array, whereof those behind had marvel and were abashed, and thought that the foremost company had been fighting.

There is no man, though he were present at the journey, that could imagine or show the truth of the evil order that was among the French party,

A Shorter Froissart

and yet they were a marvellous great number. That I write in this book I learned it specially of the Englishmen, who well beheld their dealing; and also certain knights of Sir John of Hainault's, who was always about King Philip, showed me what they knew.

XXXVII

*Of the battle of Cressy between the King of England
and the French king.*

THE Englishmen, who were in three battles lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, they rose upon their feet fair and easily without any haste, and arranged their battles. The first was the prince's battle. The Earl of Northampton and the Earl of Arundel, with the second battle, were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle if need were.

The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after in such haste and evil order that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and he said to his marshals: "Make the Genoese go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis."

There were of the Genoese cross-bows about fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues, armed with their cross-bows, that they said to their constables: "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms: we have more need of rest."

These words came to the Earl of Alençon, who said : " A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need." Also the same season there fell a great rain with a terrible thunder, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyen and on the Englishmen's backs.

When the Genoese were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great leap and cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that : then the Genoese again the second time made another leap and a fell cry, and stept forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot : thirdly, again they leapt and cried, and went forth till they came within shot ; then they shot fiercely with their cross-bows. Then the English archers stept forth one pace and let fly their arrows so wholly and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoese felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms, and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited.

When the French king saw them fly away, he said : " Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men at arms dash in among them and kill a great number of them : and ever still the Englishmen shot where they saw thickest press ; the sharp arrows ran into the men at arms and

into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoese, and when they were down they could not arise again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another.

And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men at arms and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and squires, whereof the King of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

The valiant King of Bohemia, called Charles of Luxemburg, son to the noble emperor, Henry of Luxemburg, for all that he was nigh blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to them about him: "Where is the Lord Charles my son?" His men said: "Sir, we cannot tell; we think he be fighting." Then he said: "Sirs, ye are my men, my companions and friends in this journey: I require you bring me so far forward that I may strike one stroke with my sword." They said they would do his commandment, and to the intent that they should not lose him in the press, they tied all the reins of their bridles each to other and set the king before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies.

The Lord Charles of Bohemia, his son, came in good order to the battle, but when he saw that the matter went awry on their party, he departed, I cannot tell you which way. The king, his father, was so far forward that he strake a stroke with his sword, yea and more than four, and fought valiantly, and so did his company; and they adventured themselves so forward, that they were there all slain, and the next day they were found

in the place about the king, and all their horses tied each to other.

The Earl of Alençon came to the battle right ordinally and fought with the Englishmen, and the Earl of Flanders also on his part. These two lords with their companies coasted the English archers and came to the prince's battle, and there fought valiantly long. The French king would fain have come thither, when he saw their banners, but there was a great hedge of archers before him.

This battle between Broye and Cressy this Saturday was right cruel and fell, and many a feat of arms done that came not to my knowledge. In the night divers knights and squires lost their masters, and sometime came on the Englishmen, who received them in such wise that they were ever nigh slain; for there was none taken to mercy nor to ransom, for so the Englishmen were determined.

In the morning, the day of the battle, certain Frenchmen and Almaines perforce drove among the archers of the prince's battle, and came and fought with the men at arms hand to hand. Then the second battle of the Englishmen came to succour the prince's battle, the which was time, for they had as then much ado; and they with the prince sent a messenger to the king, who was then on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king: "Sir, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Oxford, Sir Raynold Cobham and other, such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son

and they shall have much ado." Then the king said: "Is my son dead or hurt, or on the earth felled?" "No, sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid." "Well," said the king, "return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive: and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will this journey be his and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him." Then the knight returned again to them and showed the king's words, the which greatly encouraged them, and they repented that they had sent to the king as they did.

Sir Godfrey of Harcourt would gladly that the Earl of Harcourt, his brother, might have been saved; for he heard say by them that saw his banner how that he was there in the field on the French party: but Sir Godfrey could not come to him betimes, for he was slain ere he could come to him, and so was also the Earl of Aumâle, his nephew.

In another place the Earl of Alençon and the Earl of Flanders fought valiantly, every lord under his own banner; but finally they could not resist against the power of the Englishmen, and so there they were also slain, and divers other knights and squires. Also the Earl Louis of Blois, nephew to the French king, and the Duke of Lorraine fought under their banners, but at last they were closed in among a company of Englishmen and Welshmen, and there were slain for all their prowess. Also there was slain the Earl

of Auxerre, the Earl of Saint Pol, and many others.

In the evening the French king had left about him no more than a threescore persons, one and other, whereof Sir John of Hainault was one, who had remounted once the king when his horse was slain with an arrow. And he said to the king : “ Sir, depart hence, for it is time ; lose not yourself wilfully : if ye have loss at this time, ye shall recover it again another season.” And so he took the king’s horse by the bridle and led him away in a manner perforce.

Then the king rode till he came to the castle of Broye. The gate was closed, because it was by that time dark. Then the king called the captain, who came to the walls and said : “ Who is it that calleth there this time of night ? ” Then the king said : “ Open your gate quickly, for this is the fortune of France.” The captain knew then it was the king, and opened the gate and let down the bridge. Then the king entered, and he had with him but five barons, Sir John of Hainault, Sir Charles of Montmorency, the Lord of Beaujeu, the Lord d’Aubigny, and the Lord of Montfort. The king would not tarry there, but drank and departed thence about midnight, and so rode by such guides as knew the country till he came in the morning to Amiens, and there he rested.

This Saturday the Englishmen never departed from their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever defended themselves against all such as came to assail them. This battle ended about evensong time.

XXXVIII

*How the King of England found the prince, his son,
after the battle.*

ON this Saturday, when the night was come and the Englishmen heard no more noise of the Frenchmen, then they reputed themselves to have the victory, and the Frenchmen to be discomfited, slain, and fled away. Then they made great fires and lighted up torches and candles, because it was very dark.

Then the king came down from the little hill where he stood ; and of all that day till then his helm came never on his head. Then he went with all his battle to his son the prince and embraced him in his arms and kissed him, and said : “ Fair son, God give you good perseverance ; ye are my good son, thus ye have acquitted you nobly : ye are worthy to keep a realm.” The prince inclined himself to the earth, honouring the king, his father.

This night they thanked God for their good adventure and made no boast thereof, for the king would that no man should be proud or make boast, but every man humbly to thank God.

XXXIX

*How the King of England laid siege to Calais, and how
all the poor people were put out of the town.*

THEN the king went forth and came before the town of Montreuil-by-the-sea, and his marshals

ran toward Hesdin, but they did nothing to the castle, it was so strong and so well kept. The next day they rode toward Boulogne and came to the town of Wissant : there the king and the prince lodged, and tarried there a day to refresh his men, and on the Wednesday the king came before the strong town of Calais.

In the town of Calais there was captain, a knight of Burgundy, called Sir John de Vienne, and with him was Sir Arnold d'Audrehem, Sir John de Sury, Sir Geoffrey de la Motte, Sir Pepin de Were, and divers other knights and squires.

When the King of England was come before Calais, he laid his siege and ordained bastides between the town and the river : he made carpenters to make houses and lodgings of great timber, and set the houses like streets, and covered them with reed and broom, so that it was like a little town ; and there was everything to sell, and a market-place to be kept every Tuesday and Saturday for flesh and fish, mercery ware, houses for cloth, for bread, wine, and all other things necessary, such as came out of England or out of Flanders ; there they might buy what they list.

The king would not assail the town of Calais, for he thought it but a lost labour : he spared his people and his artillery, and said how he would famish them in the town with long siege, without the French king came and raised his siege perforce.

When the captain of Calais saw the manner and the order of the Englishmen, then he constrained all poor and mean people to issue out of the town, and on a Wednesday there issued out of men, women, and children more than seventeen hundred ; and as they passed through the host, they

were demanded why they departed, and they answered and said, because they had nothing to live on : then the king did them that grace that he suffered them to pass through his host without danger, and gave them meat and drink to dinner, and every person two pence sterling in alms, for the which divers many of them prayed for the king's prosperity.

XL

How the King of Scots, during the siege before Calais, came into England with a great host.

WHEN the King of England had besieged Calais and lay there, then the Scots determined to make war into England and to be revenged of such hurts as they had taken before. For they said then how that the realm of England was devoid of men of war ; for they were, as they said, with the King of England before Calais, and some in Brittany, Poitou, and Gascony. The French king did what he could to stir the Scots to that war, to the intent that the King of England should break up his siege and return to defend his own realm.

The King of Scots made his summons to be at Perth, on the river of Tay, in Scotland : thither came earls, barons, and prelates of Scotland, and there they agreed that in all haste possible they should enter into England. To come in that journey was desired John of the Outer Isles, who governed the wild Scots, for him they obeyed and no man else. He came with three thousand of the most outrageous people in all the country. When all the Scots were assembled, they were of one and other a fifty thousand fighting men.

They could not make their assembly so secret but that the Queen of England, who was then in the marches of the North about York, knew all their dealing. Then she sent all about for men, and lay herself at York : then all men of war and archers came to Newcastle with the queen.

In the mean season the King of Scots departed from Perth, and went to Dunfermline the first day. The next day they passed a little arm of the sea and so came to Stirling, and then to Edinburgh. Then they came to Roxburgh, the first English fortress on that part : captain there was Sir William Montague. The Scots passed by without any assault making, and so went forth burning and destroying the country of Northumberland ; and their scouts ran to York and burned as much as was without the walls, and returned again to their host within a day's journey of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

XLI

Of the battle of Nevill's Cross between the Queen of England and the King of Scots.

THE Queen of England, who desired to defend her country, came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne and there tarried for her men, who came daily from all parts. When the Scots knew that the Englishmen assembled at Newcastle, they drew thitherward, and their scouts came running before the town ; and at their returning they burned certain small hamlets thereabout, so that the smoke thereof came into the town of Newcastle. Some of the

Englishmen would have issued out to have fought with them that made the fires, but the captains would not suffer them to issue out.

The next day the King of Scots, with forty thousand men, one and other, came and lodged within three little English miles of Newcastle, in the land of the Lord Nevill; and the king sent to them within the town, that if they would issue out into the field, he would fight with them gladly. The lords and prelates of England said they were content to adventure their lives with the right and heritage of the King of England their master.

Then they all issued out of the town, and were in number a twelve hundred men at arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand of others with the Welshmen. Then the Scots came and lodged against them near together: then every man was set in order of battle; and the queen came among her men and there was ordained four battles, one to aid another.

The queen went from battle to battle desiring them to do their duty to defend the honour of her lord the King of England, and in the name of God prayed every man to be of good heart and courage, promising them that to her power she would remember them as well or better as though her lord the king were there personally. Then the queen departed from them, recommending them to God and to Saint George.

Anon after, the battles of the Scots began to set forward, and in like wise so did the Englishmen. Then the archers began to shoot on both parties, but the shot of the Scots endured but a short space, but the archers of England shot so fiercely, so that when the battles approached there

was a hard battle. They began at nine, and endured till noon. The Scots had great axes, sharp and hard, and gave with them many great strokes. Howbeit finally the Englishmen obtained the place and victory, but they lost many of their men.

There were slain of the Scots the Earl of Fife, the Earl Patrick, the Earl of Sutherland, the Earl of Mar, the Earl John Douglas, and the Lord Alexander Ramsay, who bare the king's banner, and divers other knights and squires. And there the king was taken, who fought valiantly and was sore hurt. A squire of Northumberland took him, called John Copeland; and as soon as he had taken the king, he went with him out of the field with eight of his servants with him, and so rode all that day, till he was fifteen leagues from the place of the battle; and he said he would not deliver the King of Scots to no man nor woman living, but only to the King of England his lord.

The same day there was also taken in the field the Earl Moray, the Earl of March, the Lord William Douglas, the Lord Robert Vesey, the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Bishop of Saint Andrews, and divers other knights and barons. This battle was at Nevill's Cross, beside Newcastle, the year of our Lord, 1346, the Saturday next after Saint Michael.

XLII

*How John Copeland had the King of Scots prisoner,
and what profit he got thereby.*

WHEN the Queen of England, being at Newcastle, understood how the day had fared for her and

her men, she rode to the place where the battle had been. Then it was showed her how the King of Scots was taken by a squire called John Copeland, and he had carried away the king no man knew whither. Then the queen wrote to the squire commanding him to bring his prisoner, the King of Scots, saying how he had not well done to depart with him without leave.

All that day the Englishmen tarried still in the same place, and the queen with them, and the next day they returned to Newcastle. When the queen's letter was brought to John Copeland, he answered and said, that as for the King of Scots, his prisoner, he would not deliver him to any man or woman living, but only to the King of England, his sovereign lord ; as for the King of Scots, he said he should be safely kept, and he would give account for him.

Then the queen sent letters to the king, to Calais, whereby the king was informed of the state of his realm : then the king sent forthwith to John Copeland, that he should come over the sea to him to the siege before Calais. Then the same John did put his prisoner in safe keeping in a strong castle, and so rode through England till he came to Dover, and there took the sea and arrived before Calais.

When the King of England saw the squire, he took him by the hand and said : " Ah ! welcome, my squire, that by your valiantness hath taken mine adversary the King of Scots." The squire kneeled down and said : " Sir, if God by His grace have suffered me to take the King of Scots by true conquest of arms, sir, I think no man ought to have any envy thereat ; for as well God may send

by His grace such a fortune to fall to a poor squire as to a great lord : and, sir, I require your grace, be not discontent with me, though I did not deliver the King of Scots at the commandment of the queen. Sir, I hold of you, as mine oath is to you, and not to her but in all good manner."

The king said : " John, the good service that ye have done, and your valiantness is so much worth, that it must countervail your trespass and be taken for your excuse, and shame have they that bear you any evil will therefor. Ye shall return again home to your house, and then my pleasure is that ye deliver your prisoner to the queen, my wife ; and in a reward I assign you five hundred pounds sterling of yearly rent to you and to your heirs for ever, and here I make you squire for my body."

Then the third day he departed and returned again into England ; and when he came home to his own house, he assembled together his friends and kin, and so they took the King of Scots and rode with him to the city of York, and there from the king, his lord, he presented the King of Scots to the queen, and excused himself so largely that the queen and her council were content.

Then the queen made good provision for all the garrisons on the marches of Scotland, and left in those marches the Lord Percy and the Lord Nevill as governors there. Then the queen departed from York toward London. And she set the King of Scots in the strong Tower of London, and the Earl Murray and all other prisoners, and set good keeping over them.

Then she went to Dover and there took the sea, and had so good wind that in a short space she

arrived before Calais, three days before the feast of All Saints ; for whose coming the king made a great feast and dinner to all the lords and ladies that were there. The queen brought many ladies and damosels with her, as well to accompany her as to see their husbands, fathers, brethren, and other friends, that lay at siege there before Calais, and had done a long space.

XLIII

How the King of England lay at the siege before Calais.

THE siege before Calais endured long, and many things fell in the mean season, of the which I cannot write the fourth part. The French king had set men of war in every fortress in those marches, in the country of Guines, of Artois, of Boulogne, and about Calais, and had a great number of Genoese, Normans, and others on the sea, so that when any of the Englishmen would go a-foraging, either afoot or on horseback, they found many times hard adventures, and often there was skirmishing about the gates and dykes of the town, and oftentimes some slain and hurt on both parties ; some day the one party lost and some day the other.

The King of England caused engines to be made to oppress them within the town, but they within made others to resist them, so that they took little hurt by them ; but nothing could come into the town but by stealth, and that was by the means of two mariners, one called Marant and the other

Mestriel, who dwelt in Abbeville. By them two they of Calais were oftentimes recomforted and refreshed by stealth; and oftentimes they were in great peril, chased and near taken, but always they escaped, and made many Englishmen to be drowned.

All that winter the king lay still at the siege, and thought and imagined ever to keep the commonalty of Flanders in friendship; for he thought by their means the sooner to come to his intent. He sent oftentimes to them, and made them great promises to keep their amity with him and to oppress the drift of the French king, who did all that he could to draw them to his opinion.

XLIV

How the King of England made the passages about Calais to be well kept, that the French king could not approach to raise the siege.

KING PHILIP, who knew well how his men were sore constrained in Calais, commanded every man to be with him at the feast of Pentecost in the city of Amiens or thereabout, and there was none durst say nay.

Then the French king and his company departed and went to Hesdin, and there he tarried a day. Then he was counselled to go through the country called La Belune; and that way he took, and with him two hundred thousand, one and other, and came straight to the hill of Sangatte, between Calais and Wissant. They came thither in goodly order, with banners displayed, so that it was great beauty to behold their array. To them of

Calais, when they saw them, it seemed a new siege.

When the King of England saw and knew that the French king came with so great an host to raise the siege, and knew well how he had so constrained the town that it would not long endure for default of victuals, it grieved him sore to depart. Then he considered well how the Frenchmen could not approach, neither to his host nor to the town, but in two places, either by the dunes by the seaside or else above by the highway; and there there were many dykes, rocks, and marshes, and but one way to pass, over a bridge called Newland Bridge.

Then the king made all his navy to draw along by the coast of the dunes, every ship well garnished with bombards, cross-bows, archers, springals, and other artillery, whereby the French host might not pass that way. And the king caused the Earl of Derby to go and keep Newland Bridge with a great number of men at arms and archers, so that the Frenchmen could not pass any way without they would have gone through the marshes, the which was impossible.

And when the French king saw that he could do nothing, the next day he dislodged betimes and took his way to Amiens, and gave every man leave to depart.

XLV

How the town of Calais was given up to the King of England.

AFTER that the French king was thus departed from Sangatte, they within Calais saw well how

their succour failed them, for the which they were in great sorrow. Then they desired so much their captain, Sir John of Vienne, that he went to the walls of the town and made a sign to speak with some person of the host.

When the king heard thereof, he sent thither Sir Walter of Manny, and Sir Basset. Then Sir John of Vienne said to them : “Sirs, ye be right valiant knights in deeds of arms, and ye know well how the king, my master, hath sent me and others to this town and commanded us to keep it to his behoof in such wise that we take no blame, nor to him no damage ; and we have done all that lieth in our power. Now our succours hath failed us, and we be so sore strained that we have not to live withal, but that we must all die or else enrage for famine, without the noble and gentle king of yours will take mercy on us : the which to do we require you to desire him, to have pity on us and to let us go and depart as we be, and let him take the town and castle and all the goods that be therein, the which is great abundance.”

Then Sir Walter of Manny said : “Sir, we know somewhat of the intention of the king, our master, for he hath showed it unto us. Know ye, therefore, for truth it is not his mind that ye or they within the town should depart so, for it is his will that ye all should put yourselves into his pure will, to ransom all such as pleaseth him and to put to death such as he list ; for they of Calais hath done him such contraries and despites, and hath caused him to expend so much goods, and lose many of his men, that he is sore grieved against them.”

Then the captain said : “Sir, this is too hard a matter to us. We are here within, a small sort of

knights and squires, who hath truly served the king our master as well as ye serve yours. And we have endured much pain and sorrow ; but we shall yet endure as much pain as ever knights did, rather than consent that the worst lad in the town should have any more evil than the greatest of us all. Therefore, sir, we pray you that of your humility ye will yet go and speak to the King of England and desire him to have pity on us ; for we believe him to have so much gentleness, that by the grace of God his purpose shall change.”

Sir Walter of Manny and Sir Basset returned to the king and declared to him all that had been said. The king said he would none otherwise but that they should yield them up simply to his pleasure. Then Sir Walter said : “ Sir, saving your displeasure, in this ye may be in the wrong, for ye shall give by this an evil example : if ye send any of us, your servants, into any fortress, we will not be very glad to go, if ye put any of them in the town to death after they be yielded ; for in like wise they will deal with us, if the case fell like.” The which words divers other lords that were there present sustained and maintained.

Then the king said : “ Sirs, I will not be alone against you all ; therefore, Sir Walter of Manny, ye shall go and say to the captain that all the grace that he shall find now in me is that they let six of the chief burgesses of the town come out bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-legged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks, with the keys of the town and castle in their hands, and let them six yield themselves purely to my will, and the residue I will take to mercy.”

Then Sir Walter returned and found Sir John of Vienne still on the wall, abiding for an answer. Then Sir Walter showed him all the grace that he could get of the king.

“ Well,” quoth Sir John, “ sir, I require that you tarry here a certain space, till I go into the town and show this to the commons of the town, who sent me hither.”

Then Sir John went into the market-place and sounded the common bell. Then straightway men and women assembled there: then the captain made report of all that he had done and said, “ Sirs, it will be none otherwise; therefore now take advice and make a short answer.” Then all the people began to weep and to make such sorrow that there was not so hard a heart, if they had seen them, but that would have had great pity of them: the captain himself wept piteously.

At last the most rich burgess of all the town, called Eustace of Saint Pierre, rose up and said openly: “ Sirs, great and small, great mischief it should be to suffer to die such people as be in this town, either by famine or otherwise, when there is a mean to save them. I think he or they should have great merit of our Lord God that might keep them from such mischief. As for my part, I have so good trust in our Lord God, that if I die in the quarrel to save the residue, that God would pardon me: wherefore to save them I will be the first to put my life in jeopardy.”

When he had thus said, every man worshipped him, and divers kneeled down at his feet with sore weeping and sore sighs. Then another honest burgess rose and said: “ I will keep company with my gossip Eustace.” He was called John

d'Aire. Then rose up Jaques of Wissant, who was rich in goods and heritage ; he said also that he would hold company with his two cousins. In like wise so did Peter of Wissant, his brother : and then rose two other ; they said they would do the same. Then they went and apparelled them as the king desired.

XLVI

*How the Queen of England interceded with the king
for the six burgesses of Calais.*

THEN the captain went with them to the gate : there was great lamentation made of men, women, and children at their departing : then the gate was opened, and he issued out with the six burgesses, and closed the gate again, so that they were between the gate and the barriers.

Then he said to Sir Walter of Manny : “ Sir, I deliver here to you, as captain of Calais, by the whole consent of all the people of the town, these six burgesses, and I swear to you truly that they be and were to-day most honourable, rich, and most notable burgesses of all the town of Calais. Wherefore, gentle knight, I require you to pray the king to have mercy on them, that they die not.” Quoth Sir Walter : “ I cannot say what the king will do, but I shall do for them the best I can.” Then the barriers were opened, the six burgesses went towards the king, and the captain entered again into the town.

When Sir Walter presented these burgesses to the king, they kneeled down and held up their hands and said : “ Gentle king, behold here we

six, who were burgesses of Calais and great merchants ; we have brought to you the keys of the town and of the castle, and we submit ourselves clearly into your will and pleasure, to save the residue of the people of Calais, who have suffered great pain. Sir, we beseech your grace to have mercy and pity on us through your high noblesse." Then all the earls and barons and others that were there wept for pity.

The king looked felly on them, for greatly he hated the people of Calais for the great damages and displeasures they had done him on the sea before.

Then he commanded their heads to be stricken off. Then every man required the king for mercy, but he would hear no man in that behalf : then Sir Walter of Manny said : " Ah, noble king, for God's sake refrain your courage : ye have the name of sovereign noblesse ; therefore now do not a thing that would blemish your renown, nor give cause to some to speak of you villainously. Every man will say it is a great cruelty to put to death such honest persons, who by their own wills put themselves into your grace to save their company."

Then the king turned away from him and commanded to send for the hangman, and said : " They of Calais have caused many of my men to be slain, wherefore these shall die in like wise."

Then the queen kneeled down and sore weeping said : " Ah, gentle sir, since I passed the sea in great peril, I have desired nothing of you ; therefore now I humbly require you in the honour of the Son of the Virgin Mary, and for the love of me, that ye will take mercy of these six burgesses."

The king beheld the queen and stood still in a study a space, and then said: "Ah, dame, I would ye had been as now in some other place; ye make such request to me that I cannot deny you. Wherefore I give them to you, to do your pleasure with them."

Then the queen caused them to be brought into her chamber, and made the halters to be taken from their necks, and caused them to be new clothed, and gave them their dinner at their leisure: and then she gave each of them six nobles, and made them to be brought out of the host in safeguard, and set at their liberty.

XLVII

How the King of England re-peopled the town of Calais with Englishmen.

THUS the strong town of Calais was given up to King Edward of England, the year of our Lord God 1346, in the month of August. The King of England called to him Sir Walter of Manny and his two marshals, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Stafford, and said to them: "Sirs, take here the keys of the town and castle of Calais: go and take possession there and put in prison all the knights that be there; and all other soldiers that came thither simply to win their living cause them to leave the town, and also all other men, women, and children, for I would re-people again the town with pure Englishmen.

So these three lords, with a hundred with them, went and took possession of Calais, and did put

in prison Sir John de Vienne, Sir John of Sury, and others. Then they made all the soldiers to bring all their harness into a place appointed, and laid it all in a heap in the market of Calais. Then they made all manner of people to go forth, and kept there no more persons but a priest and two other ancient personages, such as knew the customs, laws, and ordinances of the town, and to show how the heritages were divided. Then they prepared the castle to lodge the king and queen, and prepared other houses for the king's company. Then the king mounted on his horse and entered into the town with sound of trumpets, drums, horns, and other instruments.

The king gave to Sir Walter of Manny divers fair houses within the town, and to the Earl of Stafford, to Sir Bartholomew of Berghersh, and to other lords, to repeople again the town. The king's mind was, when he came into England, to send out of London thirty-six good burgesses to Calais to dwell there, and to do so much that the town might be peopled with pure Englishmen; the which intent the king fulfilled.

Then the king ordained men to keep the gates, walls, and barriers, and amended all things within the town; and Sir John de Vienne and his company were sent into England and were half a year at London ere they were put to ransom. Methinks it was great pity of the burgesses and other men of the town of Calais, and women and children, when they were fain to forsake their houses, heritages, and goods, and to bear away nothing, and they had no restorement of the French king, for whose sake they lost all. The most part of them went to Saint-Omer.

XLVIII

*Of the assembly that the French king made to fight
with the Prince of Wales.*

IN the year of our Lord 1355, in the month of October, the Prince of Wales, eldest son to the King of England, went into Gascony, and went near to Toulouse, and so passed the river of Garonne and went into Carcassonne, and burned the borough, but the city was well defended. And from thence he went to Narbonne, burning and laying waste the country ; and in the month of November he returned to Bordeaux with great pillage and many prisoners, for no man resisted him.

And when King John of France heard how the Prince of Wales, with a good number of men of war, was far entered into his country, he said and sware that he would ride and fight with him wheresoever he found him. Then the king made a special assembly of all nobles and such as held of him. His commandment was that, all manner of excuses laid apart, his letters once seen, every man, on pain of his displeasure, should draw and meet with him in the marches of Blois and Touraine, for the intent to fight with the Englishmen.

And the prince and his company rode forth, and ever found good countries and plentiful ; for in Berry, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, and Maine is very plentiful country for men of war.

XLIX

Of the great host that the French king brought to the battle of Poitiers.

THEN the prince and his company rode as they did before, destroying the country, approaching to Anjou and to Touraine. And the French king heard how that the prince was in Touraine, and how that he was returning by Poitou : ever the Englishmen were coasted by certain expert knights of France, who always made report to the king what the Englishmen did. Then the king came to la Haye in Touraine, and his men had passed the river of Loire, some at the bridge of Orleans, and some at Meung, at Saumur, at Blois, and at Tours and wherever they could. They were in number twenty thousand men at arms beside others ; there were twenty-six dukes and earls, and more than sixscore banners, and the four sons of the king, who were but young, the Duke Charles of Normandy, the Lord Louis, that was from thenceforth Duke of Anjou, and the Lord John, Duke of Berry, and the Lord Philip, who was after Duke of Burgundy.

The French king heard how the prince hasted greatly to return, and the king feared that he should escape him and so departed from La Haye in Touraine, and all his company, and took the way to Poitiers.

On the other side the prince wist not truly where the Frenchmen were ; but they supposed that they were not far off, for they could not find no more forage, whereby they had great lack in

their host of victual, and some of them repented that they had destroyed so much as they had done before when they were in Berry, Anjou, and Touraine, and that they had made no better provision.

The same Friday three great lords of France, the Lord of Craon, the Lord Raoul of Coucy, and the Earl of Joigny, tarried all day in the town of Chavigny, and part of their companies. The Saturday they passed the bridge and followed the king, who was then a three leagues before, and took the way among bushes without a wood side to go to Poitiers.

The same Saturday the prince and his company dislodged from a little village thereby, and sent before him certain scouts to see if they might find any adventure, and to hear where the Frenchmen were. They were in number a threescore men at arms well horsed, and with them was the Lord Eustace d'Ambrecicourt and the Lord John of Ghisteltes, and by adventure the Englishmen and Frenchmen met together by the foresaid wood side.

The Frenchmen knew anon how they were their enemies ; then in haste they did on their helmets and displayed their banners, and came a great pace towards the Englishmen : they were in number two hundred men at arms. When the Englishmen saw them, and that they were so great a number, then they determined to fly and let the Frenchmen chase them, for they knew well the prince with his host was not far behind. Then they turned their horses and took the corner of the wood, and the Frenchmen after them, crying their cries and making great noise. And

as they chased, they came on the prince's battle ere they were aware thereof themselves : for the prince tarried there to have word again from them that he sent forth.

The Lord Raoul de Coucy, with his banner, went so far forward that he was under the prince's banner : there was a sore battle, and the knight fought valiantly ; howbeit he was there taken, and the Earl of Joigny, the Viscount of Brosse, the Lord of Chavigny, and all the others taken or slain, save a few that escaped. And by the prisoners the prince knew how the French king followed him in such wise that he could not eschew the battle : then he assembled together all his men.

Thus the prince rode that Saturday from the morning till it was against night, so that he came within two little leagues of Poitiers. Then the Captal de Buch, Sir Aymenion of Pommiers, the Lord Bartholomew of Berghersh, and the Lord Eustace d'Ambrecicourt, all these the prince sent forth to see if they might know what the Frenchmen did. These knights departed with two hundred men at arms well horsed : they rode so far that they saw the great battle of the king's ; they saw all the fields covered with men at arms.

These Englishmen could not forbear, but set on the tail of the French host and cast down many to the earth and took divers prisoners, so that the host began to stir, and tidings thereof came to the French king as he was entering into the city of Poitiers. Then he returned again and made all his host do the same, so that Saturday it was very late ere he was lodged in the field.

The English scouts returned again to the prince

and showed him all that they saw and knew, and said how the French host was a great number of people. "Well," said the prince, "in the name of God let us now study how we shall fight with them at our advantage." That night the Englishmen lodged in a strong place among hedges, vines, and bushes, and their host well watched, and so was the French host.

L

Of the order of the Frenchmen before the battle of Poitiers.

ON the Sunday in the morning the French king, who had great desire to fight with the Englishmen, heard his mass in his pavilion and took the communion, and his four sons with him.

Then it was ordained that all manner of men should draw into the field, and every lord display his banner and set forth in the name of God and Saint Denis. Then trumpets blew up through the host and every man mounted on horseback and went into the field, where they saw the king's banner wave with the wind. There might have been seen great noblesse of fair harness and rich armoury of banners and pennons; for there was all the flower of France, there was none durst abide at home without he would be shamed for ever.

LI

*Of the battle of Poitiers between the Prince of Wales
and the French king.*

WHEN the prince saw that he should have battle, and that the French king did set but little store by him, he said then to his men : “ Now, sirs, though we be but a small company as in regard to the power of our enemies, let us not be abashed therefore ; for the victory lieth not in the multitude of people, but where God will send it. If it fortune that the day be ours, we shall be the most honoured people of all the world ; and if we die in our right quarrel, I have the king, my father, and brethren, and also ye have good friends and kinsmen ; these shall revenge us. Therefore, sirs, for God’s sake I require you do your duty this day ; for if God be pleased and Saint George, this day ye shall see me a good knight.” These words and such others that the prince spake comforted all his people.

The Lord Sir John Chandos that day never went from the prince, nor also the Lord James Audley, and when he saw that they should needs fight, he said to the prince : “ Sir, I have served always truly my lord your father and you also, and shall do as long as I live. I say this because I made once a vow that at the first battle that either the king, your father, or any of his children should be at, I would be one of the first setters on, or else die in the pain. Therefore I require your grace, as in reward for any service that ever I did to the king, your father, or to you, that you will

give me licence to depart from you and to set myself where I may accomplish my vow." The prince accorded to his desire and said, " Sir James, God give you this day that grace to be the best knight of all," and so took him by the hand.

Then the knight departed from the prince and went to the foremost front of all the battles, accompanied only with four squires, who promised not to fail him. This Lord James was a right sage and a valiant knight, and by him was much of the host ordained and governed the day before.

Thus Sir James was in the front of the battle, ready to fight with the battle of the marshals of France. In like wise the Lord Eustace d'Ambrecicourt did his pain to be one of the foremost to set on. When Sir James Audley began to set forward to his enemies, Sir Eustace, being a-horseback, laid his spear in the rest and ran into the French battle. And when a knight of Almaine, called the Lord Louis of Coucibras, saw the Lord Eustace come from his company, he rode against him, and they met so rudely that both knights fell to the earth. The Almain was hurt in the shoulder, therefore he rose not so quickly as did Sir Eustace, who, when he was up and had taken his breath, came to the other knight as he lay on the ground ; but then five other knights of Almaine came on him all at once and bare him to the earth, and so perforce there he was taken prisoner and brought to the Earl of Nassau, who, as then, took no heed of him ; and I cannot say whether they sware him prisoner or no, but they tied him to a cart and there let him stand.

Then the battle began on all parts, and the battles of the marshals of France approached, and

they who were appointed to break the array of the archers set forth. They entered a-horseback into the way where great hedges were on both sides set full of archers. As soon as the men at arms entered, the archers began to shoot on both sides, and did slay and hurt horses and knights, so that the horses, when they felt the sharp arrows, would in no wise go forward, but drew aback and reared and took on so fiercely that many of them fell on their masters, so that for press they could not rise again ; insomuch that the marshals' battle could never come at the prince.

Certain knights and squires that were well horsed passed through the archers, and thought to approach the prince, but they could not. The Lord James Audley, with his four squires, was in the front of that battle, and there did marvels in arms, and by great prowess he came and fought with Sir Arnold d'Audrehem under his own banner, and there they fought long together, and Sir Arnold was there sore handled.

The battle of the marshals began to disorder by reason of the shot of the archers with the aid of the men at arms, who came in among them and slew of them, and did what they list, and there was the Lord Arnold d'Audrehem taken prisoner by other men than by Sir James Audley or by his four squires ; for that day he never took prisoner, but always fought and went on his enemies.

Also on the French party the Lord John Clermont fought under his own banner as long as he could endure : but there he was beaten down and could not be relieved nor ransomed, but was slain

without mercy. So within a short space the marshals' battles were discomfited, for they fell one upon another and could not go forth; and the Frenchmen that were behind and could not get forward fell back and came on the battle of the Duke of Normandy, the which was great and thick, and was afoot, but anon they began to open behind; for when they knew that the marshals' battle was discomfited, they took their horses and departed, each as he might best. Also they saw a rout of Englishmen coming down a little mountain a-horseback, and many archers with them, who brake in on the side of the duke's battle. True to say, the archers did their company that day great service; for they shot so thick that the Frenchmen wist not on what side to take heed, and little and little the Englishmen won ground on them.

And when the men at arms of England saw that the marshal's battle was discomfited and that the duke's battle began to disorder and open, they leapt then on their horses, the which they had ready by them: then they assembled together and cried, "Saint George! Guyenne!" and the Lord Chandos said to the prince: "Sir, take your horse and ride forth; this day is yours: God is this day in your hands: get us to the French king's battle, for there lieth all the sore of the matter. I think verily by his valiantness he will not fly: I trust we shall have him by the grace of God and Saint George, so he be well fought withal: and, sir, I heard you say that this day I should see you a good knight."

The prince said, "Let us go forth; ye shall not see me this day return back," and said,

“ Advance banner, in the name of God and of Saint George.” The knight that bare it did his commandment : there was then a sore battle and a perilous, and many a man overthrown, and he that was once down could not be relieved again without great succour and aid. As the prince rode and entered in among his enemies, he saw on his right hand on a little bush lying dead the Lord Robert of Duras, and his banner by him, and a ten or twelve of his men about him. Then the prince said to two of his squires and to three archers : “ Sirs, take the body of this knight on a shield and bear him to Poitiers.” And this was done.

Then the prince and his company turned them against the battle of the Duke of Athens, Constable of France. There was many a man slain and cast to the earth. As the Frenchmen fought in companies, they cried, “ Mountjoy ! Saint Denis ! ” and the Englishmen, “ Saint George ! Guyenne ! ”

Anon the prince with his company met with the battle of Almain, whereof the Earl of Salzburg, the Earl Nassau, and the Earl Nidau were captains, but in a short space they were put to flight : the archers shot so wholly together that none durst come within their range. They slew many a man that could not come to ransom : these three earls were there slain, and divers other knights and squires of their company, and there was the Lord d'Ambrecicourt rescued by his own men and set on horseback, and afterwards he did that day many feats of arms and took good prisoners.

When the Duke of Normandy's battle saw the prince approach, they thought to save themselves,

and so the duke and the king's children, the Earl of Poitiers and the Earl of Touraine, who were right young, believed their governors and so departed from the field, and with them more than eight hundred spears, that struck no stroke that day. Howbeit the Lord Guichard d'Angle and the Lord John of Saintr , who were with the Earl of Poitiers, would not fly, but entered into the thickest press of the battle. The king's three sons took the way to Chavigny, and the Lord John of Landas and the Lord Thibauld of Woodney, who were set to wait on the Duke of Normandy, when they had brought the duke a long league from the battle, they took leave of the duke and desired the Lord of Saint Venant that he should not leave the duke, but bring him in safeguard, whereby he should win more thanks of the king than if he abode still in the field. Then they met also the Duke of Orleans and a great company with him, who were also departed from the field with clear hands. There were many good knights and squires, though their masters departed from the field, had rather have died than to have had any reproach.

Then the king's battle came on the Englishmen : there was a sore fight, and many a great stroke given and received. The king and his youngest son met with the battle of the English marshals, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Suffolk, and with them of Gascons the Captal of Buch, the Lord of Pommiers, the Lord of Mussidan, the Lord of Languiran, and the Lord de la Strade. And in the king's battle there was the Earl Douglas of Scotland, who fought a season right valiantly, but when he saw their discomfiture, he

departed and saved himself ; for in no wise he would be taken of the Englishmen, he had rather been there slain.

On the English part the Lord James Audley, with the aid of his four squires, fought always in the chief of the battle. He was sore hurt in the body and in the visage. As long as his breath served him he fought ; at last, at the end of the battle, his four squires took and brought him out of the field and laid him under a hedge side for to refresh him ; and they unarmed him and bound up his wounds as well as they could.

On the French party King John was that day a full right good knight ; if the fourth part of his men had done their duty as well as he did, the day had been his by all likelihood. Howbeit they were all slain and taken that were there, except a few that saved themselves, that were with the king.

There was slain the Duke Peter of Bourbon, the Lord Guichard of Beaujeu, the Lord of Landas, and the Duke of Athens, Constable of France, the Bishop of Chalons in Champagne, the Lord William of Nesle, the Lord Eustace of Ribemont, the Lord de la Tour, the Lord William of Montaignu, Sir Baudrin de la Heuse, and many others, as they fought by companies ; and there were taken prisoners the Lord of Woodney, the Lord of Pompadour, the Earl of Vaudemont, the Earl of Mons, the Earl of Joinville, the Earl of Vendôme, Sir Louis of Melval, and the Lord Piers Buffier. There were at that brunt slain and taken more than two hundred knights.

LII

*Of two Frenchmen that fled from the battle of Poitiers,
and two Englishmen that followed them.*

AMONG the battles, encounterings, chases, and pursuits that were made that day in the field, it fortun'd so to Sir Edward of Roucy that when he departed from the field because he saw the field was lost without recovery, he thought not to abide the danger of the Englishmen; wherefore he fled all alone and was gone out of the field a league, and an English knight pursued him and ever cried to him and said, "Return again, sir knight, it is a shame to fly away thus."

Then the knight turned, and the English knight thought to have stricken him with his spear in the targe, but he failed, for Sir Edward swerved aside from the stroke, but he missed not the English knight, for he strake him such a stroke on the helm with his sword, that he was astonied and fell from his horse to the earth and lay still. Then Sir Edward alighted and came to him ere he could rise, and said, "Yield you, rescue or no rescue, or else I shall slay you." The Englishman yielded and went with him, and afterward was ransomed.

Also it fortun'd that another squire of Picardy, called John de Hellenes, was fled from the battle and met with his page, who delivered him a new fresh horse, whereon he rode away alone. The same season there was in the field the Lord Berkeley of England, a young lusty knight, who the same day had reared his banner, and he all

alone pursued the said John of Hellenes. And when he had followed the space of a league, the said John turned again and laid his sword in the rest instead of a spear, and so came running toward the Lord Berkeley, who lifted up his sword to have stricken the squire ; but when he saw the stroke come he turned from it, so that the Englishman lost his stroke, and John strake him as he passed, on the arm, that the Lord Berkeley's sword fell into the field.

When he saw his sword down, he lighted suddenly off his horse and came to the place where his sword lay, and as he stooped down to take up his sword, the French squire did pike his sword at him, and by hap strake him through both the thighs, so that the knight fell to the earth and could not help himself. And John alighted off his horse and took the knight's sword that lay on the ground, and came to him and demanded if he would yield him or not.

The knight then demanded his name. " Sir," said he, " I hight John of Hellenes ; but what is your name ? " " Certainly," said the knight, " my name is Thomas, and I am Lord of Berkeley, a fair castle on the river of Severn, in the marches of Wales." " Well, sir," quoth the squire, " then ye shall be my prisoner, and I shall bring you in safeguard, and I shall see that you shall be healed of your hurt." " Well," said the knight, " I am content to be your prisoner, for ye have by law of arms won me." There he sware to be his prisoner, rescue or no rescue.

Then the squire drew forth the sword out of the knight's thighs, and the wound was open ; then he wrapped and bound the wound, and set

him on his horse, and so brought him fair and easily to Chatelleraut, and there tarried more than fifteen days for his sake, and did get him remedy for his hurt : and when he was somewhat amended, then he gat him a litter and so brought him at his ease to his house in Picardy. There he was more than a year till he was perfectly whole ; and when he departed he paid for his ransom six thousand nobles, and so this squire was made a knight by reason of the profit that he had of the Lord Berkeley.

LIII

How King John was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers.

OFTENTIMES the adventures of love and of war are more fortunate and marvellous than any man can think or wish. Truly this battle, the which was near to Poitiers in the fields of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, was right great and perilous, and many deeds of arms there was done the which all came not to knowledge.

The chase endured to the gates of Poitiers : there were many slain and beaten down, horse and man, for they of Poitiers closed their gates and would suffer none to enter ; wherefore in the street before the gate was horrible murder, men hurt and beaten down. There were divers English archers that had four, five, or six prisoners : the Lord of Pons, a great baron of Poitou, was there slain, and many other knights and squires ; and there was taken the Earl of Rochouart, the Lord of Partenay, the Lord of Montendre, and the Lord John of Saintr . And there was left for

dead among other dead men, the Lord Guichard d'Angle, who fought that day by the king right valiantly, and so did the Lord of Charny, on whom was great press, because he bare the sovereign banner of the king's. There was a great press to take the king, and such as knew him cried, "Sir, yield you, or else ye are but dead."

There was a knight of Saint-Omer, retained in wages with the King of England, called Sir Denis Morbeke, who had served the Englishmen five years before, because in his youth he had fled the realm of France for a murder that he did at Saint-Omer. It happened so well for him, that he was next to the king when they were about to take him: he stepped forth into the press, and by strength of his body and arms he came to the French king and said in good French, "Sir, yield you." The king beheld the knight and said: "To whom shall I yield me? Where is my cousin the Prince of Wales? If I might see him, I would speak with him." Denis answered and said: "Sir, he is not here; but yield you to me and I shall bring you to him." "Who be you?" quoth the king. "Sir," quoth he, "I am Denis of Morbeke, a knight of Artois; but I serve the King of England because I am banished the realm of France, and I have forfeited all that I had there." Then the king gave him his right gauntlet, saying, "I yield me to you."

The Prince of Wales, who was courageous and cruel as a lion, took that day great pleasure to fight and to chase his enemies. The Lord John Chandos, who was with him, never left him all that day, nor took heed of taking of any prisoner: then at the end of the battle he said to the prince:

“ Sir, it were good that you rested here and set your banner a-high in this bush, that your people may draw hither, for they be sore spread abroad, nor can I see any more banners or pennons of the French party ; wherefore, sir, rest and refresh you, for ye be sore chafed.”

Then the prince's banner was set up a-high on a bush, and trumpets and clarions began to sound. Then the prince did put off his helmet, and the knights of his body and they of his chamber were ready about him, and a red pavilion put up, and then drink was brought forth to the prince and for such lords as were about him, the which still increased as they came from the chase. There they tarried, and their prisoners with them.

And when the two marshals were come to the prince, he demanded of them if they knew any tidings of the French king. They answered and said : “ Sir, we hear none of certainty, but we think verily he is either dead or taken, for he is not gone out of the battle.”

Then the prince said to the Earl of Warwick and to Sir Raynold Cobham : “ Sirs, I require you go forth and see what ye can know, that at your return ye may show me the truth.” These two lords took their horses and departed from the prince, and rode up a little hill to look about them. Then they perceived a flock of men at arms coming together right wearily ; there was the French king afoot in great peril, for Englishmen and Gascons were his masters ; they had taken him from Sir Denis Morbeke perforce, and such as were most of force said, “ I have taken him ” ; “ Nay,” quoth another, “ I have taken him ” ; so they strove which should have him.

Then the French king, to eschew that peril, said: "Sirs, strive not: lead me courteously, and my son, to my cousin the prince, and strive not for my taking, for I am so great a lord to make you all rich." The king's words somewhat appeased them; howbeit ever as they went they made riot and brawled for the taking of the king. When the two foresaid lords saw and heard that noise and strife among them, they came to them and said: "Sirs, what is the matter that ye strive for?" "Sirs," said one of them, "it is for the French king, who is here taken prisoner, and there be more than ten knights and squires that challenge the taking of him and of his son." Then the two lords entered into the press and caused every man to draw back, and commanded them in the prince's name, on pain of their heads, to make no more noise nor to approach the king no nearer, without they were commanded.

Then every man gave room to the lords, and they alighted and did their reverence to the king, and so brought him and his son in peace and rest to the Prince of Wales.

The prince made lowly reverence to the king and caused wine and spices to be brought forth, and himself served the king in sign of great love.

LIV

How the Englishmen won greatly at the battle of Poitiers.

THUS this battle was fought, as ye have heard, in the fields of Maupertuis, a two leagues from

Poitiers, the twenty-second day of September, the year of our Lord 1356. It began in the morning and ended at noon, but as then all the Englishmen were not returned from the chase; therefore the prince's banner stood on a bush to draw all his men together, but it was nigh night ere all came from the chase. And as it was reported, there was slain all the flower of France, and there were taken, with the king and the Lord Philip his son, seventeen earls, beside barons, knights, and squires, and slain a five or six thousand of one and another.

When every man was come from the chase, they had twice as many prisoners as they were in number in all. Then it was counselled among them because of the great charge and doubt to keep so many, that they should put many of them to ransom forthwith in the field, and so they did. And the prisoners found the Englishmen and Gascons right courteous; there were many that day put to ransom and let go only on their promise of faith and truth to return again between then and Christmas to Bordeaux with their ransoms.

Then that night they lay in the field beside where the battle had been: some unarmed them, but not all, and unarmed all their prisoners, and every man made good cheer to his prisoner; for that day whosoever took any prisoner, he was clear his, and might quit or ransom him at his pleasure. All such as were there with the prince were all made rich with honour and goods, as well by ransoming of prisoners as by winning of gold, silver, plate, jewels, that was there found: there was no man that did set anything by rich armour, whereof there was great plenty, for the Frenchmen

came thither richly beseen, weening to have won the day.

LV

*How the prince made a supper to the French king
the same day of the battle.*

THE same day of the battle, at night, the prince made a supper in his lodging to the French king and to the most part of the great lords that were prisoners. The prince made the king and his son, the Lord James of Bourbon, the Lord John d'Artois, the Earl of Tancarville, the Earl of Estampes, the Earl Dammartin, and the Lord of Partenay, to sit all at one board, and other lords, knights, and squires at other tables ; and always the prince served before the king as humbly as he could, and would not sit at the king's board for any desire that the king could make, but he said he was not sufficient to sit at the table with so great a prince as the king was.

But then he said to the king : " Sir, for God's sake make none evil nor heavy cheer, though God this day did not consent to follow your will ; for, sir, surely the king, my father, shall bear you as much honour and amity as he may do, and shall accord with you so reasonably that ye shall ever be friends together after. And, sir, methinks ye ought to rejoice, though the journey be not as ye would have had it, for this day ye have won the high renown of prowess and have passed this day in valiantness all others of your party. Sir, I say not this to mock you, for all that be on our party, that saw every man's deeds, are plainly

accorded by true sentence to give you the prize and chaplet."

Therewith the Frenchmen began to murmur, and said among themselves how the prince had spoken nobly, and that by all estimation he should prove a noble man, if God sent him life to persevere in such good fortune.

LVI

How the prince returned to Bordeaux after the battle of Poitiers.

WHEN supper was done, every man went to his lodging with their prisoners. The same night they put many to ransom and believed them on their faiths and troths, and ransomed them but easily, for they said they would set no knight's ransom so high, but that he might pay at his ease and maintain still his degree.

The next day, when they had heard mass and taken some repast and everything was trussed and ready, they took their horses and rode towards Poitiers. They rode but small journeys because of their prisoners and great carriages that they had. They rode in a day no more than four or five leagues, and lodged ever betimes, and rode close together in good array saving the marshals' battles, who rode ever before with five hundred men at arms to open the passages as the prince should pass; but they found no encounterers, for all the country was so afraid that every man drew to the fortresses.

Thus the prince and his company did so much

that they passed through Poitou and Saintonge without damage, and came to Blaye, and there passed the river of Gironde and arrived in the good city of Bordeaux.

It cannot be recorded the great feast and cheer that they of the city with the clergy made to the prince, and how honourably they were there received. The prince brought the French king into the abbey of Saint Andrew's, and there they lodged both, the king in one part and the prince in the other. The prince bought of the lords, knights, and squires of Gascony the most part of the earls of the realm of France, such as were prisoners, and paid ready money for them.

There was divers questions and challenges made between the knights and squires of Gascony for taking of the French king; howbeit Denis Morbeke, by right of arms and by true tokens that he showed, challenged him for his prisoner. Another squire of Gascony, called Bernard of Troutes, said how he had right to him: there was much ado and many words before the prince and other lords that were there. And because these two challenged each other to fight in that quarrel, the prince caused the matter to rest till they came in England, and ordered that no declaration should be made but afore the King of England, his father; but because the French king himself aided to sustain the challenge of Denis Morbeke, for he inclined more to him than to any other, the prince therefore privily caused to be delivered to the said Sir Denis two thousand nobles to maintain withal his estate.

Thus the prince, the Gascons, and Englishmen tarried still at Bordeaux till it was Lent, in great

mirth and revel, and spent foolishly the gold and silver that they had won. In England also there was great joy when they heard tidings of the battle of Poitiers, of the discomfiting of the Frenchmen, and taking of the king; great solemnities were made in all churches, and great fires and wakes throughout all England. The knights and squires, such as were come home from that journey, were much made of and praised more than others.

LVII

*How the prince conveyed the French king from
Bordeaux into England.*

THE same winter the Prince of Wales, and such of England as were with him at Bordeaux, prepared ships to convey the French king and his son, and all their other prisoners, into England. And when the time of his departure approached, then he commanded the Lord d'Albret, the Lord of Mussident, the Lord de Lesparre, the Lord of Pamiers, and the Lord of Rauzan, to keep the country there till his return again. Then he took the sea, and certain lords of Gascony with him.

The French king was in a vessel by himself, to be the more at his ease, accompanied with two hundred men at arms and two thousand archers; for it was showed the prince that the three estates by whom the realm of France was governed, had laid in Normandy and Crotoy two great armies, to the intent to meet with him and to get the French king out of his hands, if they might.

But there were no such that appeared, and

yet they were on the sea eleven days, and on the twelfth day they arrived at Sandwich. Then they issued out of their ship and lay there all that night, and tarried there two days to refresh them, and on the third day they rode to Canterbury.

When the King of England knew of their coming, he commanded them of London to prepare them and their city to receive such a man as the French king was. Then they of London arrayed themselves by companies.

At the shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury the French king and the prince made their offerings, and there tarried a day, and then rode to Rochester and tarried there that day, and the next day to Dartford, and the fourth day to London, where they were honourably received, and so they were in every good town as they passed.

The French king rode through London on a white courser well apparelled, and the prince on a little black hobby by him. Thus he was conveyed along the city, till he came to the Savoy, the which house pertained to the heritage of the Duke of Lancaster. There the French king kept his house a long season, and thither came to see him the king and the queen oftentimes, and made him great feast and cheer.

Anon after the French king was removed from the Savoy to the castle of Windsor, and all his household, and went a-hunting and a-hawking thereabout at his pleasure, and the Lord Philip his son with him: and all the other prisoners abode still at London and went to see the king at their pleasure, and were received all only on their faiths.

LVIII

*Of the death of King John, and the Coronation of
King Charles the Fifth.*

KING JOHN of France, who had great desire to return into France, as it was reason, showed to the King of England with good courage all the signs of love that he might do, and also to his nephew the Prince of Wales. And in like wise so did the King of England to him.

So thus the French king tarried as a prisoner in the realm of England. And it came to pass that he fell sick at his lodging at the Savoy in London, and every day he grew worse and worse, the which greatly displeased the King of England and the queen, for all his physicians said he was in great peril.

And King John of France died in his bed in England, at the Savoy, in the city of London, whereof the King of England, the queen, and all their children, and many more in England, were right sorry and heavy, for the great honour and love that the king had to him.

On Trinity Sunday, the year of our Lord 1366, King Charles, son and heir to King John, was crowned and anointed king in the great church of our Lady in Reims, by the archbishop of the same place, and also the queen his wife, daughter to Duke Peter of Bourbon. And there was present King Peter of Cyprus, the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Burgundy, Sir Wenceslas of Bohemia, Duke of Luxembourg and of Brabant, the Earls of Eu and of Dammartin, of Tancarville and of

Vaudemont, with many prelates and other lords, and in the city was great feasts and solemnities five days : then the king departed and went to Paris. It cannot be recounted in a whole day the solemnities and great feasts that they of Paris made them. Then the lords returned into their own countries, such as had been there at the king's coronation.

LIX

Of the death of Edward, Prince of Wales.

AND in the year of our Lord, 1376, on Trinity Sunday, there passed out of this world the flower of chivalry of England, Edward, Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, at the king's palace of Westminster, beside London. And so he was embalmed and put in lead, and kept till the feast of Saint Michael next after, to be interred with the greater solemnity when the parliament should be there. King Charles of France, because of his lineage, did his obsequy reverently in the Holy Chapel of the palace in Paris, and there were many of the prelates and nobles of the realm of France. And so then the truce was prolonged to the first day of April next after.

And after the feast of Saint Michael, when the obsequy of the prince was done and finished, then the King of England made to be known to his sons, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Cambridge, and to the Lord Thomas the youngest, and to all the barons, earls, prelates, and knights of England, how that the young Richard should be king after his decease, and so caused them all to

swear solemnly to maintain him. And on Christmas Day the king made him to sit at his table above all his own children in great estate, representing that he should be king after his decease.

LX

Of Sir John Hawkwood and his company.

THE same season there was in the marches of Tuscany, in Italy, a valiant English knight called Sir John Hawkwood, who did and had done many a noble feat of arms. He issued out of the realm of France, when the peace was made between the two kings at Bretigny, beside Chartres. And at that time he was but a poor knight, and then he thought to return again into England into his own country, but he thought he could win nothing there; and when he saw that all men of war should leave the realm of France by the ordinance and treaty of peace, he made himself captain of a certain number of companions called the Late Comers, and so went into Burgundy, and there he assembled a great number of such adventurers, English, Gascons, Bretons, Almain, and companions of divers nations.

And they were invited and went to the Marquis of Montferrat, who as then made war with the Lords of Milan. And so this marquis brought them all beyond the mountains, after he had delivered to them sixty thousand francs, whereof Hawkwood had for his part ten thousand, for him and his company. And when they had achieved the war with the marquis, divers then returned

into France ; but Sir John Hawkwood and his company abode still in Italy. And Pope Urban the Fifth, as long as he lived, employed him in his wars against Milan, and in like wise so did Pope Gregory, who reigned after him.

This Sir John Hawkwood was a knight right hardy and of great experience, and well renowned in the marches of Italy, and did there many great feats of arms.

LXI

How the Englishmen that were sent into Brittany were tormented on the sea.

AND after the death of King Edward the Third of England it was ordained by King Richard and his council that two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers should go into Brittany, and the chief captain of that journey should be Sir John Arundel, and with him should go Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Thomas Banaster, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir John Bourchier, the Lord Ferrers, and the Lord Basset. All these knights drew to Southampton ; and when they had wind, they entered into their ships and departed.

The first day the wind was reasonably good for them, but against night the wind turned contrary to them, and whether they would or not, they were driven on the coast of Cornwall. The wind was so sore and strainable, that they could cast none anchor, nor also they durst not.

In the morning the wind brought them into the Irish Sea, and by the rage of the tempest three of their ships broke and went to wrack,

wherein was Sir John Arundel, Sir Thomas Banaster, and Sir Hugh Calverley, and an hundred men at arms, of the which hundred fourscore were drowned, and Sir John Arundel their captain there perished, which was great damage. And Sir Hugh Calverley was never in his life before so nigh his death, for all that ever was in his ship, except himself and seven mariners, were all drowned. For he and the seven mariners that were saved took hold of cables and masts, and the strength of the wind brought them to the sands: howbeit, they had drunk water enough, whereof they were right sick and evil at ease.

Out of this danger escaped Sir Thomas Trivet and Sir John Bouchier, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Basset, and divers other, but they were sore tormented and in great peril; and after that this tempest was ceased, they returned again to Southampton, and went back again to the king and his uncles and recounted all their adventures, weening that Sir Hugh Calverley had been drowned with the others. Howbeit, that was not so, for he was gone sick to London. Thus brake up that expedition, whereby the Duke of Brittany could have no comfort of the Englishmen, which was right contrarious to him; for all that season and the winter following the Frenchmen made him right sore war.

LXII

How the commons of England rebelled against the noblemen.

IN the mean season there fell in England great mischief and rebellion of moving of the common

people, by which deed England was at a point to have been lost without recovery. There was never realm nor country in so great adventure as it was in that time, and all because of the ease and riches that the common people were of, which moved them to this rebellion, as sometime they did in France, the which did much hurt, for by such incidents the realm of France hath been greatly grieved.

It was a marvellous thing and of poor foundation that this mischief began in England, and to give example to all manner of people I will speak thereof as it was done, as I was informed, and of the incidents thereof. There was an usage in England, and yet is in divers countries, that the noblemen hath great franchise over the commons, and keepeth them in servage, that is to say, their tenants ought by custom to labour the lords' lands, to gather and bring home their corn, and some to thresh and to fan, and by servage to make their hay and to hew their wood and bring it home. Thus the noblemen and prelates are served by them, and specially in the county of Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Bedford.

These unhappy people of these said countries began to stir, because they said they were kept in great servage, and in the beginning of the world, they said, there were no bondmen. Wherefore they maintained that none ought to be bond, without he did treason to his lord, as Lucifer did to God. They said they were men formed to the similitude of their lords, saying why should they then be kept so under like beasts; the which they said they would no longer suffer, for they would be all one, and if they laboured or did any-

thing for their lords, they would have wages therefore as well as others.

And of this imagination was a foolish priest in the country of Kent called John Ball, for the which foolish words he had been three times in the Archbishop of Canterbury's prison : for this priest used oftentimes on the Sundays, after mass, when the people were going out of the minster, to go into the cloister and preach, and made the people to assemble about him, and would say thus :

“ Ah, ye good people, matters go not well to pass in England, nor shall do till everything be common, and that there be no villains nor gentlemen, and the lords be no greater masters than we be. What have we deserved, or why should we be kept thus in servage ? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve : whereby can they say or show that they be greater lords than we be, saving by what they cause us to win and labour for what they dispend ? They are clothed in velvet and camlet, furred with grey squirrel, and we be vested with poor cloth : they have their wines, spices, and good bread, and we have the drawing out of the chaff and drink water : they dwell in fair houses, and we have the pain and labour, rain and wind in the fields ; and by that which cometh of our labours they keep and maintain their estates. We be called their bondmen, and without we do them service readily, we be beaten ; and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, that will hear us or do us right. Let us go to the king, he is young, and show him what servage we be in, and show him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us of some remedy. And

when the king seeth us, we shall have some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise."

Thus John Ball said on Sundays, when the people issued out of the churches in the villages ; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said how he said truth : and so they would murmur one with another in the fields and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.

Of his words and deeds there were many people in London informed, such as had great envy at them that were rich and such as were noble ; and then they began to speak among them and said how the realm of England was right evilly governed, and how that gold and silver was taken from them by them that were named noblemen. So thus these unhappy men of London began to rebel and assembled them together, and sent word to the foresaid countries that they should come to London and bring their people with them, promising them how they should find London open to receive them.

This promise moved so them of Kent, of Essex, of Sussex, of Bedford and of the countries about that they rose and came towards London to the number of sixty thousand. And they had a captain called Wat Tyler, and with him in company was Jack Straw and John Ball : these three were chief sovereign captains, but the head of all was Wat Tyler, and he was indeed a tiler of houses, an ungracious patron.

When these unhappy men began thus to stir, they of London, except such as were of their band, were greatly afraid. Then the Mayor of London, and the rich men of the city, took counsel to-

gether, and when they saw the people thus coming on every side, they caused the gates of the city to be closed and would suffer no man to enter into the city.

The same time King Richard was at the Tower of London, and with him there was the Earl of Salisbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Robert of Namur, the Lord of Gommegnies, and divers other, who were in doubt of these people that thus gathered together, and wist not what they demanded. This rebellion was well known in the king's court ere any of these people began to stir out of their houses ; but neither the king nor his council did provide no remedy therefor, which was great marvel.

LXIII

The evil deeds that these commons of England did to the king's officers, and how they sent a knight to speak with the king.

THE Monday before the feast of Corpus Christi, the year of our Lord God 1381, these people issued out of their houses to come to London to speak with the king to be made free, for they would have had no bondman in England. And so first they came to the shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and there John Ball had thought to have found the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he was at London with the king.

When Wat Tyler and Jack Straw entered into Canterbury, all the common people made great feast, for all the town was of their assent ; and

there they took counsel to go to London to the king, and to send some of their company over the river of Thames into Essex, into Suffolk, and into the counties of Hertford and Bedford, to speak to the people that they should all come to the farther side of London and thereby to close London round about, so that the king should not stop their passages, and that they should all meet together on Corpus Christi day.

They that were at Canterbury entered into Saint Thomas' Church and did there much hurt, and robbed and brake up the archbishop's chamber, and in robbing and bearing out their pillage they said: "Ah, this Chancellor of England hath had a good market to get together all these riches. He shall give us now account of the revenues of England and of the great profits that he hath gathered since the king's coronation."

They departed in the morning, and all the people of Canterbury with them, and so took the way to Rochester and sent their people to the villages about. And in their going they beat down and robbed houses of advocates and procurers of the king's court and of the archbishop, and had mercy of none. And when they were come to Rochester, they had there good cheer; for the people of that town tarried for them, for they were of the same sect, and then they went to the castle there and took the knight that had the rule thereof, he was called Sir John Newton, and they said to him: "Sir, it behoveth you to go with us, and you shall be our sovereign captain and do that we will have you." The knight excused himself honestly and showed them divers considerations and excuses, but all availed him

nothing, for they said unto him : “ Sir John, if ye do not as we will have you, ye are but dead.” The knight, seeing these people in that fury and ready to slay him, feared death and agreed to them, and so they took him with them against his inward will.

And they went forward till they came within a four mile of London, and there lodged on a hill called Blackheath ; and as they went, they said ever they were the king’s men and the noble commons of England : and when they of London knew that they were come so near to them, the Mayor, as ye have heard before, closed the gates and kept straitly all the passages.

Then these people thus being lodged on Blackheath determined to send their knight to speak with the king and to show him how all that they had done or would do was for him and his honour, and how the realm of England had not been well governed a great space for the honour of the realm nor for the common profit, by his uncles and by the clergy, and specially by the Archbishop of Canterbury his Chancellor ; whereof they would have account. This knight durst do none otherwise, but so came by the river of Thames to the Tower.

The king and they that were with him in the Tower, desiring to hear tidings, seeing this knight coming made him way, and he was brought before the king into a chamber ; and with the king was the princess his mother and his two brethren, the Earl of Kent and the Lord John Holland, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Mayor of London, and divers other notable burgesses.

This knight, Sir John Newton, who was well known among them, for he was one of the king's officers, kneeled down before the king and said : " My right redoubted lord, let it not displease your grace the message that I must needs show you, for, dear sir, it is by force and against my will."

" Sir John," said the king, " say what ye will : I hold you excused." " Sir, the commons of this your realm hath sent me to you to desire you to come and speak with them on Blackheath ; for they desire to have none but you : and, sir, ye need not to have any doubt of your person, for they will do you no hurt ; for they hold and will hold you for their king. But, sir, they say they will show you divers things, the which shall be right necessary for you to take heed of, when they speak with you ; of the which things, sir, I have no charge to show you : but, sir, if it may please you, give me an answer such as may appease them that they may know for truth that I have spoken with you ; for they have my children in hostage till I return again to them, and without I return again, they will slay my children."

Then the king made him an answer and said . " Sir, ye shall have an answer shortly." Then the king took counsel what was best for him to do, and it was anon determined that the next morning the king should go down the river by water without fail to speak with them. And when Sir John Newton heard that answer, he desired nothing else, and so took his leave of the king and of the lords and returned again into his vessel, and passed the Thames and went to

Blackheath, where he had left more than three-score thousand men. And there he answered them that the next morning they should send some of their council to the Thames, and there the king would come and speak with them. This answer greatly pleased them, and so passed that night as well as they might.

LXIV

How the commons of England entered into London, and of the great evil that they did, and of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury and divers others.

IN the morning on Corpus Christi day, King Richard heard mass in the Tower of London, and all his lords, and then he took his barge with the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, and certain knights, and so rowed down along the Thames to Rotherhithe, where were descended down the hill ten thousand men to see the king and to speak with him.

And when they saw the king's barge coming, they began to shout, and made such a cry, as though all the devils of hell had been among them. And they had brought with them Sir John Newton to the intent that, if the king had not come, they would have stricken him all to pieces, and so they had promised him.

And when the king and his lords saw the demeanour of the people, the best assured of them were in dread; and so the king was counselled by his barons not to take any landing there, but so rowed up and down the river. And the king

demanded of them what they would, and said how he was come hither to speak with them, and they said all with one voice: "We would that ye should come aland, and then we shall show you what we lack." Then the Earl of Salisbury answered for the king and said: "Sirs, ye be not in such order nor array that the king ought to speak with you." And so with those words was no more said: and then the king was counselled to return again to the Tower of London, and so he did.

And when these people saw that, they were inflamed with ire and returned to the hill where the great band was, and there showed them what answer they had and how the king was returned to the Tower of London. Then they cried all with one voice, "Let us go to London," and so they took their way thither. And in their going they beat down abbeys and houses of advocates and of men of the court, and so came into the suburbs of London, which were great and fair, and there beat down divers fair houses, and specially they brake up the king's prisons, as the Marshalsea and other, and delivered out all the prisoners that were within: and there they did much hurt, and at the bridge foot they threatened them of London because the gates of the bridge were closed, saying how they would burn all the suburbs and so conquer London by force, and slay and burn all the commons of the city.

There were many within the city of their accord, and so they drew together and said: "Why do we not let these good people enter into the city? They are our fellows, and that which they do is for us." So therewith the gates were

opened, and then these people entered into the city and went into houses and sat down to eat and drink. They desired nothing but it was immediately brought to them, for every man was ready to make them good cheer and to give them meat and drink to appease them.

Then the captains, as John Ball, Jack Straw, and Wat Tyler, went throughout London and a twenty thousand with them, and so came to the Savoy in the way to Westminster, which was a goodly house, and it pertained to the Duke of Lancaster. And when they entered, they slew the keepers thereof and robbed and pillaged the house, and when they had so done, then they set fire on it and clean destroyed and burned it.

And when they had done that outrage, they left not therewith, but went straight to the fair hospital of the Rhodes called Saint John's, and there they burned house, hospital, minster, and all. Then they went from street to street and slew all the Flemings that they could find in church or in any other place, there was none respited from death. And they brake up divers houses of the Lombards, and robbed them and took their goods at their pleasure, for there was none that durst say them nay.

And they slew in the city a rich merchant called Richard Lyon, to whom before that time Wat Tyler had done service in France ; and on a time this Richard Lyon had beaten him, while he was his varlet, the which Wat Tyler then remembered, and so came to his house and strake off his head

Hospital of the Rhodes, the priory of the Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Rhodes, in Clerkenwell.

and caused it to be borne on a spear-point before him all about the city.

Thus these ungracious people demeaned themselves like people enraged and mad, and so that day they did much sorrow in London.

And so against night they went to lodge at Saint Katherine's before the Tower of London, saying how they would never depart thence till they had the king at their pleasure, and till he had accorded to them all that they would ask. And so when they had done all these evils all the day, at night they lodged before the Tower.

Ye may well know and believe that it was great pity for the danger that the king and such as were with him were in. For some time these unhappy people shouted and cried so loud, as though all the devils of hell had been among them.

In this evening the king was counselled by his brethren and lords, and by Sir Nicholas Walworth, Mayor of London, and divers other notable and rich burgesses, that in the night time they should issue out of the Tower and enter into the city, and so slay all these unhappy people, while they were at their rest and sleep; for it was thought that many of them were drunken, whereby they should be slain like flies; also of twenty of them there was scant one in armour. And surely the good men of London might well have done this at their ease, for they had in their houses secretly their friends and servants ready in armour. Howbeit, there was nothing done, for the residue of the commons of the city were sore feared, lest they should rise also. And in the city with the Mayor there were twelve aldermen, whereof nine of them held with the king, and the

other three took part with these ungracious people, as it was after well known, for the which they full dearly paid.

And on the Friday, in the morning, the people, being at Saint Katherine's near to the Tower, began to apparel themselves and to cry and shout, and said, without the king would come out and speak with them, they would assail the Tower and take it by force, and slay all them that were within.

Then the king feared these words, and so was counselled that he should issue out to speak with them. And then the king sent to them that they should all draw to a fair plain place called Mile End, where the people of the city did sport them in the summer season, and there the king would grant them that which they desired. And there it was cried in the king's name, that whosoever would speak with the king let him go to the said place, and there he should not fail to find the king.

Then the people began to depart, specially the commons of the villages, and went to the same place: but all went not thither, for they were not all of one condition; for there were some that desired nothing but riches and the utter destruction of the noblemen, and to have London robbed and pillaged. That was the principal matter of their beginning, the which they well showed; for as soon as the Tower gate opened, and the king was issued out with his two brethren and the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Robert of Namur, and divers other, then Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, and more than four hundred, entered

into the Tower and brake up chamber after chamber, and at last found the Archbishop of Canterbury, called Simon, a valiant man and a wise, and chief Chancellor of England; and a little before he had said mass before the king. These gluttons took him and strake off his head, and also they beheaded the Lord of Saint John's and a friar minor, master in medicine, pertaining to the Duke of Lancaster. They slew him in despite of his master, and a sergeant at arms called John Leg; and these four heads were set on four long spears, and they made them to be borne before them through the streets of London, and at last set them on high on London Bridge, as though they had been traitors to the king and to the realm.

LXV

How the nobles of England were in great peril to have been destroyed, and how these rebels were punished and sent home to their own houses.

WHEN the king came to the said place of Mile End, without London, he found there threescore thousand men of divers villages and of sundry countries in England. So the king entered in among them and said to them sweetly: "Ah, ye good people, I am your king: what lack ye? what will ye say?"

Then such as understood him said: "We will that ye make us free for ever, ourselves, our heirs, and our lands, and that we be called no more

Lord of St. John's, the Prior of the Knights Hospitallers.

bond nor so reputed." "Sirs," said the king, "I am well agreed thereto. Withdraw you home into your own houses and into such villages as ye came from, and leave behind you of every village two or three, and I shall cause writings to be made, and seal them with my seal, the which they shall have with them, containing everything that ye demand. And to the intent that ye shall be the better assured, I shall cause my banners to be delivered into every bailiwick, shire, and country."

These words appeased well the common people, such as were simple and good plain men, that were come thither and wist not why. They said, "It was well said, we desire no better." Thus these people began to be appeased, and began to withdraw them into the city of London. And the king also said a word, the which greatly contented them. He said: "Sirs, among you good men of Kent ye shall have one of my banners with you, and ye of Essex another, and ye of Suffolk, of Bedford, of Cambridge, of Hertford, and of Lynn, each of you one; and also I pardon everything that ye have done hitherto, so that ye follow my banners and return home to your houses."

They all answered how they would so do. Thus these people departed and went into London. Then the king ordained more than thirty clerks the same Friday, to write with all diligence letters patent, sealed with the king's seal, and to deliver them to these people; and when they had received the writing, they departed and returned into their own countries.

But the great venom remained still behind, for

Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball said, for all that these people were thus appeased, yet they would not depart so, and they had of their accord more than thirty thousand. So they abode still and made no press to have the king's writing nor seal, for all their intent was to put the city to trouble in such wise as to slay all the rich and honest persons, and to rob and pillage their houses. They of London were in great fear of this, wherefore they kept their houses privily with their friends and such servants as they had, every man according to his power.

The Saturday the king went to Westminster and heard mass in the church there, and all his lords with him. And beside the church there was a little chapel with an image of our Lady, which did great miracles, and in whom the kings of England had ever great trust and confidence. The king made his orisons before this image, and did there his offering; and then he leapt on his horse, and all his lords, and so the king rode toward London; and when he had ridden a little way, on the left hand there was a way to pass without London.

The same morning Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball had assembled their company together in a place called Smithfield, where every Friday there is a market of horses. And there were together all of affinity more than twenty thousand, and yet there were many still in the town, drinking and making merry in the taverns and paying nothing, for they were happy that made them best cheer. And these people in Smithfield had with them the king's banners, the which were delivered them the day before, and all these gluttons were in mind to

overrun and to rob London the same day ; for their captains said how they had done nothing as yet. “ These liberties that the king hath given us are to us but a small profit : therefore let us be all of one accord and let us overrun this rich and powerful city, ere they of Essex, of Suffolk, of Cambridge, of Bedford, of Arundel, of Warwick, of Reading, of Oxford, of Guildford, of Lynn, of Stafford, of Lincoln, of York, and of Durham, do come hither. For all these will come hither ; and if we be first lords of London, and have the possession of the riches that are therein, we shall not repent us ; for if we leave it, they that come after will have it from us.”

To this counsel they all agreed ; and therewith the king came the same way unaware of them, for he had thought to have passed that way without London, and with him a forty horse.

And when he came before the abbey of Saint Bartholomew and beheld all these people, then the king rested and said how he would go no farther till he knew what these people ailed, saying, if they were in any trouble, how he would appease them again. The lords that were with him tarried also, as reason was when they saw the king tarry.

And when Wat Tyler saw the king tarry, he said to his people : “ Sirs, yonder is the king : I will go and speak with him. Stir not from hence, without I make you a sign ; and when I make you that sign, come on and slay them all except the king ; but do the king no hurt, he is young, and we shall do with him as we list and shall lead him with us all about England, and so shall we be lords of all the realm without doubt.”

And therewith he spurred his horse and departed

from his company and came to the king, so near him that his horse's head touched the croup of the king's horse, and the first word that he said was this: "Sir king, seest thou all yonder people?" "Yea truly," said the king, "wherefore sayest thou?" "Because," said he, "they be all at my commandment, and have sworn to me faith and truth, to do all that I will have them." "In a good time," said the king, "I will well it be so."

Then Wat Tyler said, as one that nothing demanded but riot: "What, believest thou, king, that these people and as many more as be in London at my commandment, will depart from thee thus without having thy letters?"

"No," said the king, "ye shall have them: they be ordained for you, and shall be delivered every one each after other. Wherefore, good fellows, withdraw fair and easily to your people and cause them to depart out of London; for it is our intent that each of you, by villages and townships, shall have letters patent, as I have promised you."

With those words Wat Tyler cast his eyes on a squire that was there with the king, bearing the king's sword. And Wat Tyler hated greatly the same squire, for the same squire had displeased him before for words between them. "What," said Tyler, "art thou there? Give me thy dagger." "Nay," said the squire, "that will I not do: wherefore should I give it thee?" The king beheld the squire, and said: "Give it him; let him have it." And so the squire took it him sore against his will.

And when this Wat Tyler had it, he began to

play therewith and turned it in his hand, and said again to the squire: "Give me also that sword." "Nay," said the squire, "it is the king's sword: thou art not worthy to have it, for thou art but a knave: and if there were no more here but thou and I, thou durst not speak those words for as much gold in quantity as all yonder abbey." "By my faith," said Wat Tyler, "I shall never eat meat till I have thy head."

And at these words the Mayor of London came to the king with twelve horsemen, well armed under their coats, and so he brake the press and saw and heard how Wat Tyler demeaned himself, and said to him: "Ha, thou knave, how art thou so hardy in the king's presence to speak such words? It is too much for thee so to do." Then the king began to chafe, and said to the mayor: "Set hands on him."

And while the king said so, Tyler said to the Mayor: "A' God's name, what have I said to displease thee?" "Yes, truly," quoth the Mayor, "thou false stinking knave, shalt thou speak thus in the presence of the king, my natural lord?" And with those words the Mayor drew out his sword and strake Tyler so great a stroke on the head that he fell down at the feet of his horse, and as soon as he was fallen they environed him all about, whereby he was not seen of his company. Then a squire of the king's alighted, called John Standish, and he drew out his sword and put it into Wat Tyler's belly, and so he died.

Then the ungracious people there assembled, perceiving their captain slain, began to murmur among themselves and said: "Ah, our captain is slain, let us go and slay them all." And there-

with they arranged themselves on the place in manner of battle, and their bows before them.

As soon as Tyler was on the earth, the king departed from all his company and all alone he rode to these people, and said to his own men : “Sirs, none of you follow me ; let me alone.” And so when he came before these ungracious people, who put themselves in order to revenge their captain, then the king said to them : “Sirs, what aileth you ? Ye shall have no captain but me : I am your king : be all in rest and peace.” And so the most part of the people that heard the king speak and saw him among them, were shamefaced and began to wax peaceable and to depart ; but some, such as were malicious and evil, would not depart, but made signs as though they would do somewhat.

Then the king returned to his own company and demanded of them what was best to be done. Then he was counselled to draw into the field, for to fly away was of no use. Then said the Mayor : “It is good that we do so, for I think surely we shall have shortly some comfort of them of London and of such good men as be of our part, who are prepared and have their friends and men ready armed in their houses.” And in the meantime noise and rumour ran through London how these unhappy people were likely to slay the king and the Mayor in Smithfield ; through the which noise all manner of good men of the king’s party issued out of their houses and lodgings well armed, and so came all to Smithfield and to the field where the king was, and they were anon to the number of seven or eight thousand men well armed. And ever as they came they ranged

them afoot in order of battle : and on the other part these unhappy people were ready ranged, making semblance to give battle, and they had with them divers of the king's banners.

There the king made three knights, the one the Mayor of London, Sir Nicholas Walworth, Sir John Standish, and Sir Nicholas Brember. Then the lords said among themselves : " What shall we do ? We see here our enemies, who would gladly slay us, if they might have the better hand of us." Sir Robert Knolles counselled to go and fight with them and slay them all ; yet the king would not consent thereto, but said : " Nay, I will not so : I will send to them, commanding them to send me again my banners, and thereby we shall see what they will do. Howbeit, either by fairness or otherwise, I will have them." " That is well said, sir," quoth the Earl of Salisbury.

Then these new knights were sent to them, and these knights made token to them not to shoot at them, and when they came so near them that their speech might be heard, they said : " Sirs, the king commandeth you to send to him again his banners, and we think he will have mercy of you." And straightway they delivered again the banners and sent them to the king. Also they were commanded, on pain of their heads, that all such as had letters of the king were to bring them forth and to send them again to the king ; and so many of them delivered their letters, but not all.

Then the king caused them to be all torn in their presence ; and as soon as the king's banners were delivered again, these unhappy people kept no array, but the most part of them did cast

down their bows, and so broke their array and returned into London. Sir Robert Knolles was sore displeased in that he might not go to slay them all ; but the king would not consent thereto, but said he would be revenged of them well enough ; and so he was after.

Thus these foolish people departed, some one way and some another ; and the king and his lords and all his company right orderly entered into London with great joy. And the first journey that the king made he went to the lady princess, his mother, who was in a castle in the Royal, called the Queen's Wardrobe, and there she had tarried two days and two nights right sore afraid, as she had good reason. And when she saw the king her son, she was greatly rejoiced and said : " Ah, fair son, what pain and great sorrow that I have suffered for you this day ! "

Then the king answered and said : " Certainly, madam, I know it well ; but now rejoice yourself and thank God, for now it is time. I have this day recovered mine heritage and the realm of England, the which I had near lost." Thus the king tarried that day with his mother, and every lord went peaceably to his own lodgings.

Then there was a cry made in every street in the king's name, that all manner of men, not being of the city of London and not having dwelt there the space of one year, should depart ; and if any such be found there on the Sunday by the sun-rising, that they should be taken as traitors to the king and lose their heads.

This cry was made, there was none that durst break it, and so all manner of people departed and sparkled abroad every man to their own

places. John Ball and Jack Straw were found in an old house hidden, thinking to have stolen away, but they could not, for they were accused by their own men. Of the taking of them the king and his lords were glad, and then strake off their heads and Wat Tyler's also, and they were set on London Bridge, and the valiant men's heads taken down that they had set on the Thursday before. These tidings anon spread abroad, so that the people of the strange countries, which were coming towards London, returned back again to their own houses and durst come no farther.

LXVI

How the king punished of these traitors the chief masters.

Now I shall show you the vengeance that the King of England took on these ungracious people.

When these people were appeased and Baker was executed to death, and Lister of Norwich, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball and divers other at London, then the king was counselled to go visit his realm, through every shire, bailiwick, and village, to purge and punish all the said evil-doers, and to get again all such letters as by force he had given them in divers places, and so to bring again his realm in good order.

Then the king sent secretly for a certain number of men at arms to come to him at a day appointed, and so they did to the number of a five hundred spears and as many archers; and when they were all come as the king had devised, the

king departed from London with his household-men only, and took the way into Kent, where first these ungracious people began to stir. And these foresaid men of war followed after the king and coasted him, but they rode not in his company.

The king entered into Kent and came to a village called Ospringe, and called the mayor and all the men of the town before him. And when they were all come into a fair place, the king made to be shown them by one of his council how they had erred against the king, and how they had near turned all England to tribulation and to loss. And because that the king knew well that this business was begun by some of them and not by all, wherefore it were better that some did bear the blame than all, therefore he commanded them that they should show who they were that were culpable, on pain to be for ever in the king's indignation and to be reputed as traitors against him.

And when they that were there assembled heard that request and saw well that such as were culpable should excuse all the other, then they beheld each other and at last said: "Sir, behold him here by whom this town was first moved." Straightway he was taken and hanged, and so there were hanged to the number of seven; and the letters that the king had given them were demanded again, and so they were delivered again, and torn and broken before all the people. And it was said to them all: "Sirs, ye that be here assembled, we command you in the king's name, on pain of death, every man to go home to his own house peaceably, and never to grudge

nor rise against the king nor none of his officers ; and this trespass that ye have done the king doth pardon you thereof." Then they cried all with one voice : " God thank the king's grace and all his council ! "

In like manner as the king did at Ospringe, he did at Canterbury, at Sandwich, and in other places in Kent. In like wise he did in all other places of his realm, where any rebellion had been ; and there were hanged and beheaded more than fifteen hundred.

LXVII

How Sir John Froissart, author of this Chronicle, departed out of France and went to the Earl of Foix, and the manner of his voyage.

IT is long now since I made any mention of the businesses of far countries, for the businesses nearer home hath been so fresh that I left all other matters to write thereof. Howbeit, all this season valiant men, desiring to advance themselves in the realm of Castile and Portugal, in Gascony, in Rouergue, in Quercy, in Limousin, and in Bigorre, every day they imagined by what subtlety they could get one of another, by deeds of arms or by stealing of towns, castles, and fortresses.

And therefore I, John Froissart, who have taken on me to chronicle this present history at the request of the high renowned prince, Sir Guy of Chatillon, Earl of Blois, Lord d'Avesnes, Beaumont, Schoonhoven, and of Gouda, my sovereign master and good lord, considered in

myself how there were no great deeds of arms likely toward in the parts of Picardy or Flanders, seeing the peace was made between the duke and them of Gaunt ; and it greatly annoyed me to be idle, for I knew well that after my death this noble and high history should have its course, wherein divers noble men should have great pleasure and delight. And as yet, I thank God, I have understanding and remembrance of all things past, and my wit is quick and sharp enough to conceive all things shown unto me touching my principal matter, and my body as yet able to endure and to suffer pain.

All things considered, I thought I would not fail to pursue my said first purpose : and to the intent to know the truth of deeds done in far countries, I found occasion to go to the high and mighty Prince Gascon, Earl of Foix and of Bearn : for I knew well that if I might have that grace to come into his house and to be there at leisure, I could not be so well informed to my purpose in any other place of the world ; for thither resorted all manner of knights and strange squires, for the great nobleness of the said earl.

And as I imagined, so I did, and showed to my redoubted lord, the Earl of Blois, mine intent, and he gave me letters of recommendations to the Earl of Foix.

And I rode without peril or damage till I came to his house, called Orthez, in the country of Bearn, on Saint Katherine's day, the year of grace 1388. And the said earl, as soon as he saw me, made me good cheer and smiling said how he knew me, and yet he never saw me before, but he had often heard speaking of me. And so he

retained me in his house, to my great ease, with the help of the letters of credence that I brought unto him, so that I might tarry there at my pleasure : and there I was informed of the business of the realms of Castile, Portugal, Navarre, and Aragon, yea, and of the realm of England and country of Bourbonnais and Gascony. And the earl himself, if I did demand anything of him, he did show me all that he knew, saying to me how the history that I had begun should hereafter be more praised than any other ; and the reason why, he said, was this, that fifty years past there had been done more marvellous deeds of arms in the world than in three hundred years before that.

Thus was I in the court of the Earl of Foix, well cherished and at my pleasure : it was the thing that I most desired to know news as touching my matter, and I had at my will lords, knights, and squires, ever to inform me, and also the gentle earl himself.

LXVIII

*How the Prince of Wales made Sir Pier Ernault
captain of Lourdes in the county of Bigorre.*

BETWEEN the county of Foix and the country of Bearn lieth the county of Bigorre, which county pertained to France, and marched on the country of Toulousain on the one part, and on the county of Comminges and of Bearn on the other part, and in the county of Bigorre lieth the strong castle of Lourdes, which was English ever since the county of Bigorre was yielded to the King of England and to the prince for the redemption of King John

of France by the treaty and peace made at Bretigny before Chartres.

I, Sir John Froissart, make narration of this business, because when I was in the county of Foix and of Bearn I passed by the county of Bigorre, and I demanded and inquired of the news of that country, such as I knew not before.

And it was showed me how the Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, while he was at Tarbes, he had great will to go see the castle of Lourdes, which was three leagues off, near to the entry of the mountain ; and when he was there and had well regarded the town, the castle, and the country, he praised it greatly, as well for the strength of the castle as because it stood on the frontier of divers countries ; for the garrison there might run well into the realm of Aragon, into Catalonia, and to Barcelona.

Then the prince called to him a knight of his household, in whom he had great trust and loved entirely, for he had served him truly, and was called Sir Pier Ernault, of the country of Bearn, an expert man at arms and cousin to the Earl of Foix. Then the prince said to him : “ Sir Ernault, I institute and make you castellan and captain of Lourdes and governor of the county of Bigorre. Look that ye keep this castle ; see well that ye make a good account thereof to the king, my father, and to me.” “ Sir,” quoth the knight, “ I thank you, and I shall observe your commandment.” There he did homage to the prince, and the prince put him in possession.

LXIX

How Sir John Froissart journeyed in the country of the Earl of Foix.

IN the season that I enterprised to go see the Earl of Foix and to see the diversities of the countries where I had never been before, when I departed from Carcassonne I left the way to Toulouse and went to Montroyal and so to Fanjeaux, and then to Mazerès, and so to the castle of Sauredun, and then I came to the good city of Pamiers, pertaining to the Earl of Foix; and there I tarried, abiding for some company going into the country of Bearn, where the earl was.

And when I had tarried there three days in great pleasure, for the city was delectable, standing among the fair vines and environed with a fair river, large and clear, on a day it so fortunèd that thither came a knight of the Earl of Foix from Avignon-ward, called Sir Espang de Lyon, a valiant and an expert man at arms about the age of fifty years. And so I gat me into his company, and he was greatly desirous to hear of the matters of France; and so we were six days on our journey ere we came to Orthez, and this knight every day after he had said his prayers, most part all the day after he took his pastime with me in demanding of tidings, and also when I demanded anything of him, he would answer me to my purpose.

And when we departed from Pamiers, we passed by the mount of Cosse, which was an evil passage,

and so we came to the town and castle of Ortingas, which was French, but we passed by it and so came to dinner to a castle of the Earl of Foix, half a league thence, called Carlat, standing high on a mountain. And after dinner the knight said to me: "Sir, let us ride together fair and easily, we have but two leagues to ride to our lodging"; and so I was content to do.

Then the knight said: "We have this day passed by the castle of Ortingas, which doth much damage in this country. Peter d'Anchin keepeth it, and hath taken and stolen out of the realm of France more than threescore thousand francs." Then I demanded how that might be.

"I shall show you," quoth the knight. "On our Lady-day in August there is ever a great fair, and all the country resorteth thither, for there is much merchandise. That day Pier d'Anchin and his companions of Lourdes had taken their advice and were determined to get this town and castle; and so they sent two simple varlets (by seeming) to the said town in the month of May, to get themselves some service in the town; and so they did, and were retained with two masters, and they did right diligent service to their masters, and so went in and out on their masters' business without any suspiciousness of them.

"And so on our Lady-day in August there were many merchants, strangers of Foix, of Bearn, and of France; and as ye know well, when merchants do meet, that saw not one another long before, they will make good cheer together: and so in the same houses where these two varlets were in service, were many merchants drinking and making good cheer, and their hosts with them.

“ And by appointment about midnight Pier d’Anchin and his company came to Ortingas and ambushed themselves in a wood, and so they sent six varlets to the town with two ladders, and they passed the dykes and came to the walls and reared up their ladders, and the other two varlets that were in service in the town did aid them, while their masters sat making good cheer. So these said varlets did put themselves in adventure, and one of the said two varlets brought the other six to the gate within, where there were two men keeping the keys.

“ Then this varlet said to the other six : ‘ Sirs, keep yourselves here privy and close, and stir not till ye hear me whistle. I trust to make the porters open the gates of their ward ; they have the keys of the great gate, and therefore as soon as they have opened their ward, I will whistle. Then step forth and slay the porters : I know well enough the keys of the gate, for I have oftentimes helped to keep the gate with my master.’

“ And as they devised, so they did ; and so the varlet went to the gate and saw and heard how the porters were drinking within their ward. Then he called them by their names and said : ‘ Sirs, open your door : I have brought you of the best wine that ever you drank, which my master hath sent you, to the intent you should keep your watch the better.’

“ And they, who knew right well the varlet, believed that he had said truth and opened the door ; and then he whistled, and the other six stepped forth and entered in at the door, and there they slew the porters so privily that none knew thereof. Then they took the keys and

went and opened the gate and let down the bridge easily, that none knew thereof : then they blew a blast in a horn, so that they that were ambushed mounted on their horses and came on the spurs and entered on the bridge, and came into the town, and so took all the men of the town sitting drinking, or else in their beds. Thus was Ortingas taken by Pier d'Anchin of Bigorre and by his companions of Lourdes."

Then I demanded of the knight how they got the castle. " I shall show you," quoth he. " The same time that Ortingas was thus taken, the captain of the castle, by his evil adventure, was in the town and supped with certain merchants of Carcassonne, and was there taken among others. And in the next morning Pier d'Anchin brought him before the castle, where his wife and children were, and made them believe that he would strike off his head, without his wife would deliver up the castle : and if she would so do, he promised to deliver her husband quit, and to suffer him and all his to depart with bag and baggage without any hurt.

" And the lady, who saw herself in a hard case, and saw she was not able to make war herself, and for saving of her husband's life, she yielded up the castle. And so her husband and she and all theirs departed and went to Pamiers.

" Thus had Pier d'Anchin the town and castle of Ortingas ; and the same time that they entered, he and his company won above thirty thousand francs, in merchandise and prisoners of France ; but all such as were of the county of Foix or of Bearn were clean delivered without any damage. And this Pier d'Anchin kept

Ortingas after the space of five years, and he and his company oftentimes would run to the gates of Carcassonne, which was a six leagues thence, and did great damage to the country, as well by ransoming of the towns as by pillage over all the country.

“ In the mean season that Pier d’Anchin was in the garrison of Ortingas, on a night certain of his company went out and came to a castle called Pailhès, a good league thence, whereof a French knight called Raymond de Pailhès was owner. They had been there often before and failed of their purpose, but as then their hap was such, that they scaled the castle and took it, and the knight and the lady in their beds. They let the lady and her children go free, but they kept still the knight in his own castle the space of four months, and at last he paid a thousand francs for his ransom. And finally, when they had sore overridden the country, they sold these two castles, Ortingas and Pailhès, to them of the country for eight thousand francs, and then they went to Lourdes, their principal garrison. So thus in this adventure knights did put themselves daily.”

And so we rode till we came to Montesquieu, a good town close pertaining to the Earl of Foix, which the Armagnacs and the d’Albrets took by stealth on a season, but they kept it but three days. And in the morning we departed from Montesquieu and rode to the town of Palaminich, a good town close on the river of Garonne, pertaining to the Earl of Foix : and when we were almost there, we had thought to have passed the bridge of Garonne, and to have entered into the town, but we could not ; for the day before it

had so sore rained from the mountains of Catalonia and Aragon, whereby another river was so increased, which was called Saluz, and ran so fast, that it raised up the river of Garonne in such wise that it brake one of the arches of the bridge, which was of timber. Wherefore we returned again to Montesquieu and tarried there all the day.

And the next day we rode along by the river of Garonne and passed by Palaminich, and then we entered into the land of the Earl of Comminges and Armagnac, and on the other side was the river of Garonne and the land of the Earl of Foix.

And as we rode, this knight showed me a strong town called Marteras the Toussac, pertaining to the Earl of Comminges, and on the other side of the river, on the mountain, he showed me two castles pertaining to the Earl of Foix, the one called Montmirail and the other Montclare; and as we rode between these towns and castles along by the river of Garonne in a fair meadow, this knight said to me: "Sir John, I have seen here many fair skirmishes and encounterings between the Foixois and Armagnacs, for as then there was no town nor castle but that was well furnished with men of war, and so they warred each upon other. The Armagnacs against yonder two castles made a bastide and kept it with men of war, and did much hurt in the Earl of Foix's land; but I shall show you how it fortuneth. The Earl of Foix, on a night, sent his brother Peter de Bearn with two hundred spears, and with them a four hundred villains of the country charged with fagots, much wood, and bushes, and brought it to the bastide, and then set fire thereon, and so burned the bastide and all them that were within

without mercy, and since then it was never made again."

So in such devices we rode all that day along by the river of Garonne, and what on the one side and on the other we saw many fair castles and fortresses. All that were on our left hand pertained to the Earl of Foix, and the other side pertained to the Earl of Armagnac.

All these matters that Sir Espang de Lyon showed me right well contented me; and every night, as soon as we were at our lodgings, I wrote ever all that I heard in the day, the better thereby to have them in remembrance, for writing is the best remembrance that may be.

And we rode till we came to Morlaas.

LXX

Of the great virtuousness and largess that was in the Earl of Foix.

THE next day we departed and rode to dinner to Montgarbel, and so to Eroy, and there we drank, and by sun-setting we came to Orthez. The knight alighted at his own lodging, and I alighted at the *Moon*, where dwelt a squire of the earl's, Ernaulton du Puy, who well received me, because I was of France.

Sir Espang of Lyon went to the castle to the earl and found him in his gallery, for he had but dined a little before; for the earl's usage was always that it was high noon ere he arose out of his bed, and supped ever at midnight. The knight showed him how I was come thither, and immediately I was sent for to my lodging, for he

was the lord of all the world that most desired to speak with strangers, to hear tidings.

When the earl saw me, he made me good cheer and retained me as of his house, where I was more than twelve weeks, and my horse, well treated. The acquaintance of him and of me was because I had brought with me a book, which I made at the contemplation of Wenceslas of Bohemia, Duke of Luxembourg and of Brabant, which book was called the *Meliador*, containing all the songs, ballads, rondeaux and virelays, which the gentle duke had made in his time, which by imagination I had gathered together; which book the Earl of Foix was glad to see, and every night after supper I read thereon to him, and while I read, there was none durst speak any word, because he would I should be well understood, wherein he took great solace, and when it came to any matters of question, then he would speak to me, not in Gascon but in good and fair French. And of his estate and house I shall somewhat record, for I tarried there so long that I might well perceive and know much.

This Earl Gaston of Foix, with whom I was, at that time was fifty years of age and nine; and I say I have in my time seen many knights, kings, princes, and others, but I never saw any like him of personage, nor of so fair form nor so well made. His visage fair, sanguine and smiling, his eyes grey and amorous, wherever he list to set his regard. In every thing he was so perfect that he cannot be praised too much. He loved that which ought to be beloved, and hated that which ought to be hated. He was a wise knight of high enterprise and of good counsel; he never had

miscreant with him ; he said many orisons every day.

Every day he gave five florins in small money at his gate to poor folks for the love of God. He was large and courteous in gifts : he could right well take where it pertained to him, and to deliver again where he ought. He loved hounds of all beasts ; winter and summer he loved hunting. He never loved folly outrage nor folly largess ; every month he would know what he expended. He took in his country, to receive his revenues and to serve him, notable persons, that is to say twelve receivers, and ever, from two months to two months, two of them should serve for his receipt ; for at the two months' end he would change and put other two into that office, and one that he trusted best should be his comptroller, and to him all others should account, and the comptroller should account to him by rolls and books written, and the accounts to remain still with the earl.

He had certain coffers in his chamber, out of the which oftentimes he would take money to give to lords, knights, and squires, such as came to him, for none should depart from him without some gift. He was of good and easy acquaintance with every man, and gladly would speak to them. He was short in counsel and answer. He had four secretaries, and at his rising they must ever be ready at his hand without any calling, and when any letter were delivered him and that he had read it, then he would call them to write again, or else for some other thing.

In this estate the Earl of Foix lived ; and at midnight, when he came out of his chamber into

the hall to supper, he had ever before him twelve torches burning, borne by twelve varlets standing before his table all supper. They gave a great light, and the hall was ever full of knights and squires, and many other tables dressed to sup who would. There was none should speak to him at his table, but if he were called.

His meat was lightly wild fowl, the legs and wings only, and in the day he did but little eat and drink. He had great pleasure in harmony of instruments ; he could do it right well himself ; he would have songs sung before him. He would gladly see conceits and fantasies at his table, and when he had seen it, then he would send it to the other tables.

Briefly all this I considered and advised ; and ere I came to his court, I had been in many courts of kings, dukes, princes, earls, and great ladies, but I was never in any that so well liked me, nor there was any more rejoiced in deeds of arms than the earl did. There was seen in his hall, chamber, and court, knights and squires of honour going up and down and talking of arms and of love. All honour there was found, all manner of tidings of every realm and country there might be heard, for out of every country there was resort for the valiantness of this earl. There I was informed of the most part of the deeds of arms that was done in Spain, in Portugal, in Aragon, in Navarre, in England, and in Scotland, and in the frontiers and limitations of Languedoc ; for I saw come thither to the earl while I was there knights and squires of all nations, and so I was informed by them and by the earl himself of all things that I demanded.

LXXI

Of the state or ordinance of the Earl of Foix.

OF the estate and order of the Earl of Foix cannot be too much spoken nor praised. For the season that I was at Orthez I found him such and much more than I can speak of ; but while I was there, I saw and heard many things that turned me to great pleasure. I saw on a Christmas Day, sitting at his board, four bishops of his country, the Bishop of Pamiers and the Bishop of Lescar, they sat highest, then the Bishop of Aire and the Bishop of Roy, on the frontiers of Bourdelais and Bayonne : then sat the Earl of Foix, and then the Viscount of Roquebertin of Gascony, and the Viscount of Bruniquel, the Viscount of Gousserant, and a knight of England of the Duke of Lancaster's ; the duke had sent him thither : the knight was called Sir William Willoughby. And at another table sat five abbots and two knights of Aragon called Sir Raymond de Montflorentin and Sir Martin de Ruane. And at another table sat knights and squires of Gascony and of Bigorre ; and at other tables knights of Bearn a great number.

And the chief stewards of the hall were Sir Espang of Lyon, Sir Siquart de Bois-Verdun, Sir Nouvans de Nouvailles, and Sir Peter of Vaulx of Bearn, and the earl's two brethren served at the table, Sir Ernaulton Guillaume and Sir Peter of Bearn, and the earl's two sons, Sir Yvain of l'Echelle was sewer, and Sir Gracien bare his cup. And there were many minstrels as well of his own

as of strangers, and each of them did their duty in their faculties.

The same day the Earl of Foix gave to heralds and minstrels the sum of five hundred francs, and gave to the Duke of Touraine's minstrels gowns of cloth of gold furred with ermines, valued at two hundred francs. This dinner endured four hours. Thus I am glad to speak of the Earl of Foix, for I was there in his house a twelve weeks, and well entreated in all things: and while I was there, I might learn and hear tidings of all countries; and also the gentle knight Sir Espang of Lyon, in whose company I entered into the country, caused me to be acquainted with knights and squires such as could declare to me anything that I could demand.

LXXII

How Sir John Froissart came to the true knowledge of all the matters contained in this history.

It might be demanded of me how I knew all these matters, to speak so properly of them. I answer to all such that I have made great diligence in my days to know it, and have searched many realms and countries, to come to the true knowledge of all the matters contained in this history, written and to be written, for God gave me the grace to have the leisure to see in my days and to have the acquaintance of all the high and mighty princes and lords, as well in France as in England.

For in the year of our Lord God, 1390, I had laboured thirty-seven years, and as then I was of

the age of fifty-seven years ; and in thirty-seven years a man, being in strength and well retained in every coast as I was (for after my young days I was in the King of England's court five years with the queen, and also I was welcome to King John of France and to King Charles his son), might well learn many things. And surely it was always my chief imagination and pleasure to inquire and to retain it by writing.

LXXIII

How the Earl Douglas won the pennon of Sir Henry Percy at the barriers before Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and how the Scots burnt the castle of Pontland, and how Sir Henry Percy and Sir Ralph his brother took advice to follow the Scots to conquer again the pennon that was lost at the skirmish.

THEN the lords and knights of Scotland determined once again to raise up an army, and to make a journey into England. They said it was as then good time and hour, for they saw the Englishmen were not all of one accord ; and whereas often times past they had received great buffets, then they said it was good time for them to be revenged.

It was ordained that Sir Archibald Douglas, the Earl of Fife, the Earl of Sutherland, the Earl of Monteith, the Earl of Mar, and nineteen other great lords of Scotland, should lead the most part of the army towards Carlisle. And the Earl Douglas, Sir George, Earl of March and of Dunbar, and the Earl John of Moray, these three

were to be captains of three hundred spears of chosen men and of two thousand other men and archers, and they were to go towards Newcastle and enter into Northumberland.

Thus these two hosts departed, each from the other, each of them praying the other, that if the Englishmen followed any of their armies, not to fight with them till both their armies were joined together.

When the Earls of Douglas, of Moray, of March and Dunbar departed from the great host, they took their way, thinking to pass the water and to enter into the bishopric of Durham, and to ride to the town and then to return, burning and destroying the country, and so to come to Newcastle and to lodge there in the town in the despite of all the Englishmen.

And as they determined, so they did essay to accomplish, for they rode a great pace under covert without doing any pillage by the way or assaulting any castle, tower, or house, but so came into the Lord Percy's land and passed the river of Tyne without any let three leagues above Newcastle not far from Brancepeth, and at last entered into the bishopric of Durham, where they found a good country. Then they began to make war, to slay people, and to burn villages, and to do many sore displeasures.

At that time the Earl of Northumberland and the other lords and knights of that country knew nothing of their coming. When tidings came to Newcastle and to Durham that the Scots were abroad, and that they might well see by the fires and smoke abroad in the country, the earl sent

Let, hindrance.

to Newcastle his two sons and sent commandment to every man to draw to Newcastle, saying to his sons: "Ye shall go to Newcastle, and all the country shall assemble there, and I shall tarry at Alnwick, which is a passage that they must pass by. If we may enclose them, we shall speed well."

Sir Henry Percy and Sir Ralph, his brother, obeyed their father's commandment and came thither with them of the country. The Scots rode, burning and destroying the country, that the smoke thereof came to Newcastle. The Scots came to the gates of Durham and skirmished there; but they tarried not long but returned, as they had ordained before to do, and all that they found by the way they took and destroyed.

Between Durham and Newcastle is but twelve leagues English, and a good country. There was no town, without it were walled, but it was burned; and they repassed the river of Tyne where they had passed before, and then came before Newcastle and there rested. All the English knights and squires of the country of York and bishopric of Durham were assembled at Newcastle, so that the town was so full of people that they wist not where to lodge.

When these three Scottish earls, who were chief captains, had made their enterprise in the bishopric of Durham, and had sore overrun the country, then they returned to Newcastle and there rested and tarried two days, and every day they skirmished.

The Earl of Northumberland's two sons were two young lusty knights, and were ever foremost at the barriers to skirmish. There were many

proper feats of arms done and achieved ; there was fighting hand to hand. Among others there fought hand to hand the Earl Douglas and Sir Henry Percy, and by force of arms the Earl Douglas won the pennon of Sir Henry Percy, wherewith he was sore displeased, and so were all the Englishmen.

And the Earl Douglas said to Sir Henry Percy : “ Sir, I shall bear this token of your prowess into Scotland, and shall set it on high on my castle of Dalkeith, that it may be seen afar off.” “ Sir,” quoth Sir Henry, “ ye may be sure ye shall not pass the bounds of this country till ye be met withal in such wise that ye shall make none avaunt thereof.” “ Well, sir,” quoth the Earl Douglas, “ come this night to my lodging and seek for your pennon. I shall set it before my lodging and see if ye will come to take it away.” As then it was late, the Scots withdrew to their lodgings and refreshed them with such as they had. They had flesh enough ; they made that night good watch, for they thought surely to be awaked for the words they had spoken, but they were not, for Sir Henry Percy was counselled not so to do.

The next day the Scots dislodged and returned towards their own country, and so came to a castle and a town called Pontland, whereof Sir Edmund of Alphel was lord, who was a right good knight. There the Scots rested, for they came thither betimes, and understood that the knight was in his castle. Then they ordained to assail the castle, and gave a great assault, so that by force of arms they won it and the knight within it. Then the town and castle was burned ; and

from thence the Scots went to the town and castle of Otterburn, eight English miles from Newcastle, and there lodged.

That day they made no assault, but the next morning they blew their horns and made ready to assail the castle, which was strong, for it stood in the marsh. That day they assaulted till they were weary, and did nothing. Then they sounded the retreat and returned to their lodgings.

Then the lords drew to council to determine what they should do. The most part were of the accord that the next day they should dislodge without giving of any assault, and to draw fair and easily towards Carlisle. But the Earl Douglas brake that counsel and said: "In despite of Sir Henry Percy, who said he would come and win again this pennon, let us not depart hence for two or three days. Let us assail this castle; it is pregnable. We shall have double honour. And then let us see if he will come and fetch his pennon."

Every man accorded to his saying, what for their honour and for the love of him. Also they lodged there at their ease, for there was none that troubled them. They made many lodgings of boughs and great herbs, and fortified their camp sagely with the marsh that was thereby, and their carriages were set at the entry into the marshes, and they had all their beasts within the marsh. Then they apparelled themselves ready to assault the next day. This was their intention.

Now let us speak of Sir Henry Percy and of Sir Ralph his brother, and show somewhat what they did. They were sore displeased that the Earl Douglas had won the pennon of their arms. Also

it touched greatly their honours, if they did not as Sir Henry Percy said he would ; for he had said to the Earl Douglas that he should not carry his pennon out of England, and also he had openly spoken it before all the knights and squires that were at Newcastle.

The Englishmen there thought surely that the Earl Douglas's band was but the Scots' vanguard, and that their host was left behind. The knights of the country, such as were well expert in arms, spake against Sir Henry Percy's opinion, and said to him : " Sir, there fortuneth in war oftentimes many losses. If the Earl Douglas have won your pennon, he bought it dear, for he came to the gate to seek it and was well beaten : another day ye shall win as much of him or more. Sir, we say this because we know well all the power of Scotland is abroad in the fields, and if we issue out and be not men enow to fight with them (for peradventure they have made this skirmish with us to the intent to draw us out of the town, and the number that they be of, as it is said, above forty thousand men), they may soon enclose us and do with us what they will. Yet it were better to lose a pennon than two or three hundred knights and squires, and put all our country in adventure."

These words refrained Sir Henry and his brother, for they would do nothing against counsel. Then tidings came to them by such as had seen the Scots, and seen all their demeanour and what way they took, and where they rested.

LXXIV

NB

How Sir Henry Percy and his brother, with a good number of men at arms and archers, went after the Scots, to win again his pennon that the Earl Douglas had won before Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and how they assailed the Scots before Otterburn in their lodgings.

IT was shown to Sir Henry Percy and to his brother and to the other knights and squires that were there, by such as had followed the Scots from Newcastle and had well advised their doing, who said to Sir Henry and to Sir Ralph: "Sirs, we have followed the Scots privily and have discovered all the country. The Scots be at Pontland, and have taken Sir Edmund Alphil in his own castle, and from thence they be gone to Otterburn, and there they lie this night. What they will do to-morrow we know not; they are ordained to abide there. And, sirs, surely their great host is not with them, for in all they pass not there a three thousand men."

When Sir Henry heard that, he was joyful and said: "Sirs, let us leap on our horses, for by the faith I owe to God and to my lord my father, I will go seek for my pennon and dislodge them this same night." Knights and squires that heard him agreed thereto and were joyous, and every man made him ready.

The same evening the Bishop of Durham came thither with a good company, for he heard at Durham how the Scots were before Newcastle, and how that the Lord Percy's sons, with other

lords and knights, should fight with the Scots. Therefore the Bishop of Durham, to come to the rescue, had assembled up all the country, and so was coming to Newcastle. But Sir Henry Percy would not abide his coming, for he had with him six hundred spears, knights and squires, and eight thousand footmen. They thought that sufficient number to fight with the Scots, if they were but three hundred spears and three thousand of others.

Thus they departed from Newcastle after dinner, and set forth in good order, and took the same way as the Scots had gone, and rode to Otterburn, a seven little leagues from thence and fair way, but they could not ride fast because of their footmen. And when the Scots had supped and some laid down to their rest, for they were weary of toiling and assaulting the castle all that day, and thought to rise early in the morning in the cool of the day to give a new assault; but suddenly the Englishmen came on them and entered into their lodgings, weening it had been the masters' lodgings, but therein were but varlets and servants.

Then the Englishmen cried, "Percy, Percy!" and entered into the lodgings, and ye know well where such affray is, noise is soon raised. And it fortun'd well for the Scots, for when they saw the Englishmen came to wake them, then the lords sent certain of their servants or footmen to skirmish with the Englishmen at the entry of the lodgings, and in the meantime they armed and apparelled them, every man under his banner and under his captain's pennon. The night was far on, but the moon shone so bright as if it had

been in a manner day. It was in the month of August, and the weather fair and temperate.

Thus the Scots were drawn together, and without any noise departed from their lodgings and went about a little mountain, which was greatly to their advantage. For all the day before they had well considered the place and said among themselves: "If the Englishmen come on us suddenly, then we will do thus and thus, for it is a jeopardous thing in the night if men of war enter into our lodgings. If they do, then we will draw to such a place, and thereby either we shall win or lose."

When the Englishmen entered into the field at first they soon overcame the varlets, and as they entered farther in always they found new men to busy them and to skirmish with them. Then suddenly came the Scots from about the mountain and set on the Englishmen ere they were aware, and cried their cries; whereof the Englishmen were sore astonished. Then they cried "Percy!" and the other party cried "Douglas!"

There began a cruel battle, and at the first encounter many were overthrown of both parties; and because the Englishmen were a great number and greatly desired to vanquish their enemies, they did greatly put aback the Scots, so that the Scots were near discomfited.

Then the Earl James Douglas, who was young and strong, and of great desire to get praise and grace, and was willing to deserve to have it, and cared for no pain nor toil, came forth with his banner and cried, "Douglas, Douglas!" and Sir Henry Percy and Sir Ralph his brother, who had

great indignation against the Earl Douglas because he had won the pennon of their arms at the barriers before Newcastle, came to that part and cried, "Percy!" Their two banners met and their men. There was a sore fight; the Englishmen were so strong and fought so valiantly that they drove the Scots back.

There were two valiant knights of Scots under the banner of the Earl Douglas, called Sir Patrick of Hepburn and Sir Patrick his son. They acquitted themselves that day valiantly. The earl's banner had been won, if they had not been there: they defended it so valiantly and in the rescuing thereof did such feats of arms, that it was greatly to their recommendation and to their heirs' for ever after.

It was showed me by such as had been at the same battle, as well by knights and squires of England as of Scotland, at the house of the Earl of Foix,—for anon after this battle was done I met at Orthez two squires of England called John of Newcastle and John of Cautiron; also when I returned to Avignon I found also there a knight and a squire of Scotland. I knew them and they knew me by such tokens as I showed them of their country, for I, author of this book, in my youth had ridden nigh over all the realm of Scotland, and I was then a fifteen days in the house of Earl William Douglas, father to the same Earl James, of whom I spake of now, in a castle a five leagues from Edinburgh, in the country of Dalkeith. The same time I saw there this Earl James, a fair young child, and a sister of his called the Lady Blanche.

And I was informed by both these parties how

this battle was as sore a battle fought as lightly hath been heard of before of such a number. And I believe it well, for Englishmen on the one party, and Scots on the other party are good men of war, for when they meet there is a hard fight without sparing, there is no "ho!" between them as long as spears, swords, axes, or daggers will endure, but they lay on each upon other. And when they be well beaten and one party hath obtained the victory, they then glorify so in their deeds of arms and are so joyful, that such as be taken they shall be ransomed ere they go out of the field, so that shortly each of them is so content with the other that at their departing courteously they will say, "God thank you!" But in fighting one with another there is no play nor sparing, and this is true, and that shall well appear by this said encounter, for it was as valiantly fought as could be devised, as ye shall hear.

LXXV

How the Earl James Douglas, by his valiantness, encouraged his men who were repulsed and in a manner discomfited, and in so doing he was wounded to death.

THE Scots showed great hardiness, and fought merrily with great desire of honour. The Englishmen were three to one; howbeit, I say not but the Englishmen did nobly acquit themselves, for ever the Englishmen had rather been slain or taken in the place than fly.

Thus, as I have said, the banners of Douglas

and Percy and their men were met each against other, envious who should win the honour of that day. At the beginning the Englishmen were so strong that they drove back their enemies. Then the Earl Douglas, who was of great heart and high of enterprise, seeing his men fall back, to recover the place and to show knightly valour, took his axe in both his hands, and entered so into the press that he made himself way in such wise, that none durst approach near him, and he was so well armed that he bare well off such strokes as he received.

Thus he went ever forward like a hardy Hector, willing alone to conquer the field and to discomfit his enemies ; but at last he was encountered with three spears all at once, the one strake him on the shoulder, the other on the breast and the stroke glinted down to his belly, and the third strake him in the thigh. And, sore hurt with all three strokes, he was borne perforce to the earth, and after that he could not be again relieved. Some of his knights and squires followed him, but not all, for it was night, and no light but by the shining of the moon. The Englishmen knew well they had borne one down to the earth, but they wist not who it was ; for if they had known that it had been the Earl Douglas, they had been thereof so joyful and so proud that the victory had been theirs. Nor also did the Scots know of that adventure till the end of the battle ; for if they had known it, they would have been so sore despaired and discouraged that they would have fled away.

Thus, as the Earl Douglas was felled to the earth, he was stricken into the head with an axe,

and another stroke through the thigh. The Englishmen passed forth and took no heed of him ; they thought none otherwise but that they had slain a man at arms. On the other part the Earl George of March and of Dunbar fought right valiantly, and gave the Englishmen much ado, and cried, " Follow Douglas," and set on the sons of Percy. Also Earl John of Moray, with his banner and men, fought valiantly and set fiercely on the Englishmen, and gave them so much to do that they wist not to whom to attend.

LXXVI

How in this battle Sir Ralph Percy was sore hurt and taken prisoner by a Scottish knight.

OF all the battles and encounterings that I have made mention of herebefore in all this history, great or small, this battle that I treat of now was one of the sorest and best fought, without cowardice or faint hearts. For there was neither knight nor squire but that did his duty and fought hand to hand.

The Earl of Northumberland's sons, Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, who were chief sovereign captains, acquitted themselves nobly, and Sir Ralph Percy entered in so far among his enemies that he was closed in and hurt, and so sore handled that his breath was so short, that he was taken prisoner by a knight of the Earl of Moray's called Sir John Maxwell.

In the taking the Scottish knight demanded what he was, for it was in the night, so that he

knew him not, and Sir Ralph was so sore overcome and bled fast, that at last he said : " I am Ralph Percy." Then the Scot said : " Sir Ralph, rescue or no rescue, I take you for my prisoner : I am Maxwell." " Well," quoth Sir Ralph, " I am content ; but then take heed to me, for I am sore hurt, my hose and my greaves are full of blood."

Then the knight saw by him the Earl Moray and said : " Sir, here I deliver to you Sir Ralph Percy as prisoner ; but, sir, let good heed be taken to him, for he is sore hurt." The earl was joyful of these words and said : " Maxwell, thou hast well won thy spurs." Then he delivered Sir Ralph Percy to certain of his men, and they stopped and wrapped his wounds ; and still the battle endured, not knowing who had as then the better, for there were many taken and rescued again that came to no knowledge.

Now let us speak of the young James, Earl of Douglas, who did marvels in arms ere he was beaten down. When he was overthrown, the press was great about him, so that he could not arise, for with an axe he had his death's wound. His men followed him as near as they could, and there came to him Sir James Lindsay his cousin, and Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, and other knights and squires.

And by him was a gentle knight of his, who followed him all the day, and a chaplain of his, not like a priest but like a valiant man at arms, for all that night he followed the earl with a good axe in his hands and still skirmished about the earl where he lay, and drove back some of the Englishmen with the great strokes that he gave.

Thus he was found fighting near to his master, whereby he had great praise, and thereby the same year he was made archdeacon of Aberdeen. This priest was called Sir William of North Berwick ; he was a tall man and a hardy, and was sore hurt.

When these knights came to the earl, they found him in an evil case, and a knight of his lying by him called Sir Robert Hart ; he had a fifteen wounds in one place and other. Then Sir John Sinclair demanded of the earl how he did. " Right evil, cousin," quoth the earl, " but thanked be God there hath been but a few of mine ancestors that hath died in their beds : but, cousin, I require you think to revenge me, for I reckon myself but dead, for my heart fainteth oftentimes. My cousin Walter and you, I pray you raise up again my banner which lieth on the ground, and my squire, Davie Collemine, is slain. But, sirs, show neither to friend nor foe in what case ye see me in ; for if mine enemies knew it, they would rejoice, and our friends be comforted."

The two brethren of Sinclair and Sir James Lindsay did as the earl had desired them, and raised up again his banner and cried " Douglas ! " Such as were behind and heard that cry drew together and set on their enemies valiantly and drove back the Englishmen beyond the place where the earl lay, who was by that time dead ; and so they came to the earl's banner, the which Sir John Sinclair held in his hands, and many good knights and squires of Scotland about him, and still company drew to the cry of " Douglas." Thither came the Earl Moray with his banner,

well accompanied, and also the Earl of March and of Dunbar, and when they saw the Englishmen waver and their company assembled together, they renewed again the battle and gave many hard and sad strokes.

LXXVII

How the Scots won the battle against the Englishmen beside Otterburn, and there were taken prisoners Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, and how an English squire would not yield him, no more would a Scottish squire, and so died both.

To say truth, the Englishmen were sorer pressed than the Scots, for they came the same day from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, six English miles, and went a great pace to the intent to find the Scots, which they did: so that by their fast going they were near out of breath, and the Scots were fresh and well rested, which greatly availed them when time was of their business. For in the last skirmish they drove back the Englishmen in such wise, that after that they could no more assemble together, for the Scots passed through their battles. And it fortunèd that Sir Henry Percy and the Lord of Montgomery, a valiant knight of Scotland, fought together hand to hand right valiantly without heeding any others, for every man had enough to do. So long they two fought that perforce of arms Sir Henry Percy was taken prisoner by the Lord of Montgomery.

This was a sore battle and well foughten; and as fortune is always changeable, though the

Englishmen were more in number than the Scots, and were right valiant men of war and well expert, and though at the first front they drove back the Scots, yet finally the Scots obtained the place and victory, and all the foresaid Englishmen were taken, and a hundred more, saving Sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick, who when he knew no remedy nor recoverance, and saw his company fly from the Scots and yield them on every side, then he took his horse and departed to save himself.

The same season, about the end of this discomfiture, there was an English squire called Thomas Felton, a goodly and a valiant man, and that was well seen, for all that night he would neither fly nor yet yield him. It was said he had made a vow at a feast in England, that the first time that ever he saw Englishmen and Scots in battle, he would so do his duty, all in his power, in such wise that either he would be reputed for the best doer on both sides, or else die in the pain. He was called a valiant and a hardy man, and did so much by his prowess, that under the banner of the Earl of Moray he did such valiantness in arms that the Scots had marvel thereof, and so he was slain in fighting. The Scots would gladly have taken him alive, but he would never yield; he hoped ever to have been rescued. And with him there was a Scottish squire slain, cousin to the King of Scots, called Simon Glendinning; his death was greatly complained of the Scots.

This battle was fierce and cruel till it came to the end of the discomfiture; but when the Scots saw the Englishmen give way and yield themselves, then the Scots were courteous and set them

to their ransom, and every man said to his prisoner : " Sir, go and unarm you and take your ease ; I am your master " : and so they made their prisoners as good cheer as though they had been brethren, without doing to them any damage. The chase endured five English miles, and if the Scots had been men enough, there would have none escaped, but either they would have been taken or slain.

LXXVIII

How Sir Matthew Redman departed from the battle to save himself ; and how Sir James Lindsay was taken prisoner by the Bishop of Durham.

I SHALL show you of Sir Matthew Redman, who got on horseback to save himself, for he alone could not remedy the matter. At his departing Sir James Lindsay was near to him and saw how Sir Matthew departed, and this Sir James, to win honour, followed in chase Sir Matthew Redman, and came so near him that he might have stricken him with his spear, if he had list. Then he said : " Ah, sir knight, turn ; it is a shame thus to fly : I am James of Lindsay : if ye will not turn, I shall strike you on the back with my spear." Sir Matthew spake no word, but strake his horse with the spurs sorer than he did before.

In this manner he chased him more than three miles, and at last Sir Matthew Redman's horse foundered and fell under him. Then he stept forth on the earth and drew out his sword, and took courage to defend himself ; and the Scot thought to have stricken him on the breast, but Sir Matthew Redman swerved from the stroke,

and the spear point entered into the earth. Then Sir Matthew strake asunder the spear with his sword ; and when Sir James Lindsay saw how he had lost his spear, he cast away the truncheon and lighted afoot, and took a little battle-axe that he carried at his back, and handled it with his one hand quickly and cleverly, in the which feat Scots be well expert, and then he set at Sir Matthew, and he defended himself properly.

Thus they tourneyed together, one with an axe and the other with a sword, a long season, and no man to stay them. Finally Sir James Lindsay gave the knight such strokes and held him so short, that he was put out of breath in such wise that he yielded himself and said : " Sir James Lindsay, I yield me to you." " Well," quoth he, " and I receive you, rescue or no rescue." " I am content," quoth Redman, " so ye deal with me like a good companion." " I shall not fail that," quoth Lindsay, and so put up his sword.

" Well, sir," quoth Redman, " what will you now that I shall do ? I am your prisoner, ye have conquered me. I would gladly go again to Newcastle, and within fifteen days I shall come to you into Scotland, wherever ye shall assign me." " I am content," quoth Lindsay : " ye shall promise by your faith to present yourself within this three weeks at Edinburgh, and where-soever ye go, to repute yourself my prisoner."

All this Sir Matthew sware and promised to fulfil. Then each of them took their horses and took leave each of other. Sir James returned, and his intent was to go to his own company the same way that he came, and Sir Matthew Redman to Newcastle.

Sir James Lindsay could not keep the right way as he came : it was dark and a mist, and he had not ridden half a mile, but he met face to face with the Bishop of Durham and more than five hundred Englishmen with him. He might well have escaped if he had would, but he supposed it had been his own company, that had pursued the Englishmen.

When he was among them, one demanded of him what he was. "I am," quoth he, "Sir James Lindsay." The bishop heard those words and stept to him and said : "Lindsay, ye are taken : yield ye to me." "Who be you ?" quoth Lindsay. "I am," quoth he, "the Bishop of Durham." "And from whence come you, sir ?" quoth Lindsay. "I come from the battle," quoth the bishop, "but I struck never a stroke there. I go back to Newcastle for this night, and ye shall go with me." "I may not choose," quoth Lindsay, "since ye will have it so. I have taken and I am taken ; such is the adventures of arms." "Whom have ye taken ?" quoth the bishop. "Sir," quoth he, "I took in the chase Sir Matthew Redman." "And where is he ?" quoth the bishop. "By my faith, sir, he is returned to Newcastle. He desired me to trust him on his faith for three weeks, and so have I done." "Well," quoth the bishop, "let us go to Newcastle, and there ye shall speak with him." Thus they rode to Newcastle together, and Sir James Lindsay was prisoner to the Bishop of Durham.

After that Sir Matthew Redman was returned to Newcastle and had shown to many how he had been taken prisoner by Sir James Lindsay,

then it was shown him how the Bishop of Durham had taken the said Sir James Lindsay, and how that he was there in the town as his prisoner.

As soon as the bishop was departed, Sir Matthew Redman went to the bishop's lodging to see his master, and there he found him in a brown study, lying in a window, and said: "What, Sir James Lindsay, what make you here?" Then Sir James came forth of the study to him and gave him good morrow, and said: "By my faith, Sir Matthew, fortune hath brought me hither; for as soon as I was departed from you, I met by chance the Bishop of Durham, to whom I am prisoner, as ye be to me. I believe ye shall not need to come to Edinburgh to me to make your finance. I think rather we shall make an exchange one for another, if the bishop be so content." "Well, sir," quoth Redman, "we shall accord right well together, ye shall dine this day with me. The bishop and our men be gone forth to fight with your men, I cannot tell what shall fall, we shall know at their return." "I am content to dine with you," quoth Lindsay. Thus these two knights dined together in Newcastle.

LXXIX

How the Scots departed and carried with them the Earl Douglas dead, and buried him in the abbey of Melrose; and how Sir Archibald Douglas and his company departed from before Carlisle and returned into Scotland.

AFTER this battle was finished, every man returned, and the Earl Douglas's dead body was

laid on a carriage, and with him Sir Robert Hart and Simon Glendinning, and then they prepared to depart. So they departed and led with them Sir Henry Percy and more than forty knights of England, and took the way to the abbey of Melrose. At their departing they set fire in their lodgings, and rode all the day, and yet lay that night in the English ground ; none denied them.

The next day they dislodged early in the morning and so came that day to Melrose. It is an abbey of black monks on the border between both realms. There they rested, and buried the Earl James Douglas. The second day after, his obsequy was done reverently, and on his body was laid a tomb of stone and his banner hanging over him.

Whether there were, as then, any more Earls of Douglas, by whom his land was inherited, or not, I cannot tell ; for I, Sir John Froissart, author of this book, was in Scotland in the earl's castle of Dalkeith when Earl William was living, at which time he had two children, a son and a daughter ; but after there were many of the Douglasses, for I have seen five brethren, all squires, bearing the name of Douglas, in the house of King David of Scotland.

When these Scots had been at Melrose Abbey and done there all that they came thither for, then they departed, each from other, and went into their own countries, and such as had prisoners, some led them away with them and some were ransomed and suffered to return. Thus the Englishmen found the Scots right courteous and gentle in their deliverance and ransom, so that they were well content.

This was shown me in the country of Bearn, in the Earl of Foix's house, by a knight named John of Newcastle, who was taken prisoner on that day under the banner of the Earl of March and Dunbar; and he greatly praised the said earl, for he suffered him to pass in manner as he desired himself.

Thus these men of war of Scotland departed, and ransomed their prisoners, as soon as they might, right courteously, and so returned little and little into their own countries. And it was shown me, and I believe it well, that the Scots had, by reason of that journey, two hundred thousand francs for ransoming of prisoners: for since the battle that was at Bannockburn before Stirling in Scotland, where Sir Robert of Bruce, Sir William Douglas, Sir Robert Versy, Sir Simon Fraser, and other Scots chased the Englishmen three days, they never had a day so profitable nor so honourable for them, as this was.

When tidings came to the other company of the Scots that were beside Carlisle, how their company had distressed the Englishmen beside Otterburn, they were greatly rejoiced, and displeased in their minds that they had not been there. Then they determined to dislodge and to draw into their own countries, seeing their other company were withdrawn. Thus they dislodged and entered into Scotland.

LXXX

Of the feat and covenant that was done between the King of France and the Duke of Touraine his brother, which of them should soonest come to Paris from Montpellier, which is a hundred and fifty leagues asunder, each of them with but one knight.

THE French king being at Toulouse, he ordered all his business and removed and renewed seneschals and officers, and reformed the country into good estate, so that every man was well contented ; and on a day the king, in the presence of his brother, his uncle of Bourbon, and the lords of France and Gascony, to the intent to have a perpetual memory, gave to his cousin-german, Sir Charles d'Albret, for the augmentation of his honour, two quarters of the arms of France with *fleur-de-lys*.

Anon after it was ordained that the king should depart from Toulouse to return into France. Every man made him ready and took leave of the king, the Bishop of Toulouse, the seneschal and the burgesses, and lords and damosels of the town. The king departed and rode that night to the new castle of Alroy, and so forward every day, so that he came to Montpellier, where he was joyfully received, and there tarried three days.

Then he had great desire to return to Paris to see the queen. On a day, as he communed in sport with his brother of Touraine, he said : " Fair brother, I would that you and I were at Paris and all our estate here still as it is, for I have great

desire to see the queen and your fair sister of Touraine." Then the duke said: "Sir, we cannot be there with wishing: it is a far journey hence." "That is true," quoth the king, "yet I think I might be soon there, if I would." "Yea," quoth the duke, "with help of good horses; for so could I be, but my horse must bear me." "Well," quoth the king, "lay a wager, you and I, who shall be there soonest." "I am content," quoth the duke; for he was ever ready to win money of the king.

The wager was laid between the king and the duke, that whosoever of them twain came soonest to Paris should win five thousand francs of the other. They were to depart the next day all at one hour, and each of them to take but one knight or servant with them. There was no man that durst break their wager.

The next day they departed as it was ordained: the Lord of Garençieres rode with the king, and the Lord of Viefville was with the Duke of Touraine. Thus these four rode night and day like young lusty gallants; they changed many horses; thus they rode in post.

Thus the French king and his brother the Duke of Touraine rode in great haste, each of them to win the wager. Consider well the great pain of these two great and rich lords. Youth and liberty of courage made them to do that enterprise; their estates abode behind. The French king made it four days and a half ere he came to Paris, and the Duke of Touraine no more but four days and a quarter of a day, they followed each other so near. The duke won the wager by reason that the French king rested himself about

eight of the clock at Troyes in Champagne, and the duke took a barge in the river of Seine and went along the river to Melun, and there took horse and rode so till he came to Paris, and so went to Saint Pol to the queen and to his wife, and demanded tidings of the king, for he wist not whether he were come or not.

And when he knew that the king was not come, he was joyful and said to the queen: "Madam, ye shall shortly hear tidings of the king." He said truth, for the king came soon after. When the Duke of Touraine heard that the king was come, he went and met him and said: "Sir, I have won my wager, let me be paid." "It is reason," quoth the king, "and so ye shall."

There they showed before the ladies all their journey, and how that in four days and a half they were come from Montpellier to Paris, which was a hundred and fifty leagues asunder. The ladies turned all the matter to sport and laughing, but they well judged that they had endured much pain, and judged that youth and courage of heart caused them to do it. And the Duke of Touraine was truly paid for his wager.

LXXXI

How Sir John Froissart arrived in England, and of the gift of a book that he gave to the king.

TRUE it was that I, Sir John Froissart, at that time treasurer and canon of Chimay in the earldom of Hainault, in the diocese of Liege, had great desire to go and see the realm of England, when

I had been in Abbeville and saw that truce was made between the realms of England and France.

Many reasons moved me to make that voyage : one was because in my youth I had been brought up in the court of the noble King Edward the Third and of Queen Philippa his wife, and among their children and other barons of England that as then were alive, in whom I found all noblesse, honour, largess, and courtesy. Therefore I desired to see the country ; for I had not been there for twenty-seven years before, and I thought, though I saw not those lords that I left alive there, yet at the least I should see their heirs, the which should do me much good to see, and also to justify the histories and matters that I had written of them.

And I had engrossed in a fair book, well illumined, all the matters of love and moralities that in four and twenty years before I had made and compiled, which greatly quickened my desire to go into England to see King Richard, who was son to the noble Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, for I had not seen this King Richard since he was christened in the cathedral church of Bordeaux, at which time I was there, and thought to have gone with the Prince of Wales on his journey into Galicia in Spain, and when we were in the city of Dax, the prince sent me back into England to the queen, his mother.

For these causes and others I had great desire to go into England to see the king and his uncles. Also I had this said fair book, well covered with velvet, garnished with clasps of silver and gilt, thereof to make a present to the king at my first

coming to his presence. I had such desire to go this voyage, that the pain and toil grieved me nothing. Thus provided of horses and other necessaries, I passed the sea at Calais and came to Dover, the twelfth day of the month of July.

When I came there, I found no man of my knowledge, it was so long since I had been in England, and the houses were all newly changed, and young children were become men, and the women knew me not, nor I them.

So I abode half a day and all a night at Dover; it was on a Tuesday, and the next day, by nine of the clock, I came to Canterbury to Saint Thomas' shrine and to the tomb of the noble Prince of Wales, who is there interred right richly. There I heard mass, and made mine offering to the holy saint, and then dined at my lodging, and there I was informed how King Richard should be there the next day on pilgrimage, which was after his return out of Ireland, where he had been the space of nine months or thereabout.

The king had a devotion to visit Saint Thomas' shrine, and also because the prince, his father, was there buried. Then I thought to abide the king there, and so I did; and the next day the king came thither with a noble company of lords, ladies, and damosels. And when I was among them they seemed to me all new folks, I knew no person; the time was sore changed in twenty-eight years.

Then I thought to go to the Lord Thomas Percy, great seneschal of England, who was there with the king; so I acquainted me with him, and I found him right honourable and gracious, and

he offered to present me and my letters to the king, whereof I was right joyful, for it behoved me to have some means to bring me to the presence of such a prince as the King of England was. He went to the king's chamber, at which time the king was gone to sleep, and so he showed me and bade me return to my lodging and come again, and so I did. And when I came to the bishop's palace, I found the Lord Thomas Percy ready to ride to Ospringe, and he counselled me to make as then no knowledge of my being there, but to follow the court, and said he would cause me ever to be well lodged till the king should be at the fair castle of Leeds in Kent.

I ordered me after his counsel, and rode before to Ospringe, and by adventure I was lodged in an house where was lodged a gentle knight of England called Sir William Lisle. He was one of the king's privy chamber, and when he saw that I was a stranger and, as he thought, of the marches of France, because of my language, we fell in acquaintance together; for gentlemen of England are courteous, treatable, and glad of acquaintance. Then he demanded what I was and what business I had to do in those parts. I showed him a great part of my coming thither, and all that the Lord Thomas Percy had said to me and ordered me to do. He then answered and said how I could not have better means, and that on the Friday the king should be at the castle of Leeds; and he showed me that when I came there I should find there the Duke of York, the king's uncle, whereof I was right glad, because I had letters directed to him, and also that in his youth he had seen me in the court of the noble King

Edward, his father, and with the queen, his mother.

Then on the Friday, in the morning, Sir William Lisle and I rode together to Leeds, and thither came the king and all his company, and there I found the Lord Edmund, Duke of York. Then I went to him and delivered my letters from the Earl of Hainault, his cousin, and from the Earl of Ostrevant. The duke knew me well, and made me good cheer and said : “ Sir John, hold you always near to us and we shall show you love and courtesy. We are bound thereto for the love of time past and for love of my lady the old queen, my mother, in whose court ye were, we have good remembrance thereof.” Then I thanked him, as reason required ; so I was advanced by reason of him and Sir Thomas Percy, and Sir William Lisle ; and by their means I was brought into the king’s chamber, and into his presence by means of his uncle, the Duke of York. Then I delivered my letters to the king, and he took and read them at good leisure. Then he said to me that I was welcome, as he that had been, and is, of the English court. As on that day I showed not the king the book that I had brought for him ; he was so sore occupied with great affairs, that I had as then no leisure to present my book.

And when they had tarried at Leeds a four days, the king returned to Rochester and so to Eltham, and so I rode forth in the king’s company.

LXXXII

*How Sir John Froissart showed his book to
King Richard.*

I HAVE delight to write this matter at length so as to inform you of the truth : for I, that am author of this history, was present in all these matters, and the valiant knight, Sir Richard Stury, showed me everything.

And so it was, that on the Sunday following all such as had been there were departed, and all these councillors, except the Duke of York, who abode still about the king ; and the Lord Thomas Percy, and Sir Richard Stury showed my business to the king. Then the king desired to see my book that I had brought for him ; so he saw it in his chamber, for I had laid it there ready on his bed. When the king opened it, it pleased him well, for it was fair illumined and written, and covered with crimson velvet, with ten buttons of silver and gilt, and roses of gold in the midst, with two great clasps gilt, richly wrought.

Then the king demanded me whereof it treated, and I showed him how it treated of matters of love ; whereof the king was glad, and looked in it and read it in many places, for he could speak and read French very well. And he took it to a knight of his chamber named Sir Richard Creadon, to bear it into his secret chamber. And the same Sunday I fell in acquaintance with a squire of England called Henry Christall, an honest man and a wise, and could well speak French. He companied with me, because he saw the king and

other lords make me good cheer, and also he had seen the book that I gave to the king ; also Sir Richard Stury had showed him how I was a maker of histories. Then he said to me as hereafter followeth.

LXXXIII

Of the conquest that King Richard had made in Ireland, and how he brought into his obeisance four kings of that country.

“ SIR JOHN,” quoth he, “ have ye not found in the king’s court since ye came hither any man that hath told you of the voyage that the king made but lately into Ireland, and in what manner the four kings of Ireland are come into the obeisance of the King of England ? ” And I answered “ No.”

“ Then shall I show you,” quoth the squire, “ to the intent that ye may put it in perpetual memory, when ye return into your own country and have leisure thereto.” I was rejoiced of his words, and thanked him. Then he began thus and said : “ Sir John, it is not in memory that either any King of England made such apparel and provision for any journey to make war against the Irishmen, nor such a number of men at arms nor archers. The king was nine months in the marches of Ireland to his great cost and charge to the realm, for they bare all his expenses ; and the merchants, cities, and good towns of the realm thought it well bestowed, when they saw the king return home again with honour.

“ But I show you, because ye should know the

truth. Ireland is one of the evil countries of the world to make war upon or to bring under subjection, for it is closed strongly and widely with high forests and great waters and marshes, and places uninhabitable. It is hard to enter to do them of the country any damage, nor shall ye find any town, nor person to speak to withal; for the men draw to the woods and dwell in caves and small cottages under trees and among bushes and hedges, and when they know that any man maketh war against them and is entered into their countries, then they draw together to the straits and passages and defend it, so that no man can enter into them, and when they see their time, they will soon take their advantage on their enemies, for they know the country and are light people. For a man at arms, be he ever so well horsed or run as fast as he can, the Irishmen will run afoot as fast as he and overtake him, yea, and leap up upon his horse behind him and draw him from his horse; for they are strong men in the arms, and have sharp weapons with large blades with two edges, after the manner of dart heads, wherewith they will slay their enemy.

“They be hard people and of rude device and wit, and of divers frequentations and usage. They set nothing by jollity nor fresh apparel, nor by nobleness; for though their realm be sovereignly governed by kings, whereof they have plenty, yet they will take no knowledge of gentleness, but will continue in their rudeness, according as they are brought up. Truth it is that four of the principal kings and most puissant after the manner of the country are come to the

obeisance of the King of England by love and fairness, and not by battle nor constraint.

“The Earl of Ormond, who marcheth upon them, hath taken great pain and hath so treated with them that they came to Dublin to the king and submitted them to him, to be under the obeisance of the crown of England; wherefore the king and all the realm reputeth this for a great and honourable deed, and thinketh this voyage well bestowed, for King Edward of good memory did never so much upon them as King Richard did in this voyage. The honour is great, but the profit is but little, for though they be kings, yet no man can devise nor speak of ruder personages.

“I shall show you somewhat of their rudeness. I know it well, for I have proved it by themselves: for when they were at Dublin, I had the governance of them about a month by the king’s commandment and his council, to the intent that I should learn them to use themselves according to the usage of England, and because I could speak their language as well as French or English, for in my youth I was brought up among them.

“I was with the Earl of Ormond, father to the earl that now is, who loved me right well, because I could as then ride and handle an horse meetly well; and it fortuneth one time that the said earl, who as then was my master, was sent with three hundred spears and a thousand archers into the marches of Ireland to make war with the Irishmen, for always the Englishmen have had war with them, to subdue and put them under.

“And on a day, as the said earl went against them, I rode on a goodly horse of his, light and swift. Thus I rode and followed my master, and

the same day the Irishmen were laid in an ambush, and when we came near them they opened their ambuscade; then the English archers began to shoot so eagerly that the Irishmen could not suffer it, for they are but simply armed, therefore they wavered and went back.

“Then the earl, my master, followed in the chase, and I that was well horsed followed him as near as I could; and it fortunèd so that my horse was afraid and took his bridle in his teeth and ran away with me, and whether I would or not he bare me so far forth among the Irishmen that one of them, by lightness of running, leapt up behind me and embraced me in his arms, and did me none other hurt, but so led me out of the way and so rode still behind me the space of two hours, and at the last brought me into a secret place, thick of bushes, and there he found his company, who were come thither and scaped all dangers, for the Englishmen pursued not so far. Then, as he showed me, he had great joy of me and led me into a town and a strong house among the woods, waters, and mires. The town was called Harpelyn, and the gentleman that took me was called Brian Costeret. He was a goodly man, and, as it hath been showed me, he is as yet alive; howbeit, he is very aged. This Brian Costeret kept me seven years with him, and gave me his daughter in marriage, of whom I had two daughters. I shall show you how I was delivered.

“It happened at the seven years' end one of their kings, named Arthur Mackemur, King of Leinster, made an army against Duke Lionel of Clarence, son to King Edward of England, and against Sir William of Windsor, and not far from

the city of Leinster the Englishmen and Irishmen met together, and many were slain and taken on both parties, but the Englishmen obtained the victory and the Irishmen fled, and the King Arthur saved himself; but Brian Costeret, my wife's father, was taken prisoner under the Duke of Clarence's banner. He was taken on the same courser that he took me on, the horse was well known among the Earl of Ormond's folks; and then he showed how I was alive and was at his manor of Harpelyn, and how I had wedded his daughter, whereof the Duke of Clarence, Sir William Windsor, and the Englishmen were right glad.

“Then it was showed him that, if he would be delivered out of prison, that he should deliver me into the Englishmen's hands, and my wife and children. With great pain he made that bargain, for he loved me well and my wife, his daughter, and our children. When he saw he could make his finance none otherwise, he accorded thereto, but he retained mine eldest daughter still with him. So I and my wife and our second daughter returned into England, and so I went and dwelt beside Bristol, on the river of Severn.

“And because the language of Irish is as ready to me as the English tongue, for I have always continued with my wife and taught my children the same speech, therefore the king, my sovereign lord, and his council commanded me to give attendance on these four kings and to bring them to the usage and customs of England, seeing they had yielded them to be under his obeisance and of the crown of England, and they were sworn

to hold it for ever. Much pain I had to make them to speak anything in fair manner. The king my sovereign lord's intent was, that in manner, countenance, and apparel of clothing they should use according to the manner of England, for the king thought to make them all four knights.

“ They had a fair house to lodge in in Dublin, and I was charged to abide still with them and not to depart, and so two or three days I suffered them to do as they list and said nothing to them, but they followed their own appetites.

“ The fourth day I ordained other tables to be covered in the hall, after the usage of England, and I made these four kings to sit at the high table, and their minstrels at another board, and their servants and varlets at another beneath them, whereof by seeming they were displeased and beheld each other and would not eat, and said how I would take from them their good usage, wherein they had been nourished. Then I answered them, smiling to appease them, that it was not honourable for their estates to do as they did before, and that they must leave it and use the custom of England, and that it was the king's pleasure they should so do, and how he was charged so to order them. When they heard that, they suffered it, because they had put themselves under the obeisance of the King of England, and persevered in the same as long as I was with them.

“ Much ado I had at the first to cause them to wear gowns of silk furred with minever and grey, for before these kings thought themselves well apparelled when they had on a mantle. They

rode always without saddles and stirrups, and with great pain I made them to ride after our usage.

“Then I demanded if they would not gladly receive the order of knighthood, and that the King of England should make them knights according to the usage of France and England and other countries. They answered how they were knights already, and that sufficed for them. I asked where they were made knights, and how, and when. They answered that in the age of seven years they were made knights in Ireland, and that a king maketh his son a knight, and if the son have no father alive, then the next of his blood may make him knight. And then this young knight will begin to joust with small spears, such as they may bear with their ease, and run against a shield set on a stake in the field, and the more spears that he breaketh the more he shall be honoured. I knew their manner well enough, though I did demand it. But then I said that the knighthood that they had taken in their youth sufficed not to the King of England, but I said he should give them after another manner. They demanded how. I answered that it should be in the holy church, which was the most worthiest place. Then they inclined somewhat to my words.

“Within two days after the Earl of Ormond came to them, who could right well speak the language, for some of his lands lay in those parts. He was sent to them by the king and his council. They all honoured him and he them. Then he entered little and little to speak of the order of chivalry, which the king would that they should

receive. He showed it them from point to point, how they should behave themselves, and what pertained to knighthood.

“The earl’s words pleased much these four kings, whose names were these: first, the great O’Neal, King of Meath; the second, Brian of Thomond, King of Thomond; the third, Arthur of Mackemur, King of Leinster; the fourth, Connor, King of Connor and Erpe: they were made knights by King Richard of England in the cathedral church of Dublin, dedicated to Saint John Baptist. It was done on our Lady-day in March; it fell on a Thursday. These four kings watched all the night before in the church, and the next day at high mass time, with great solemnity, they were made knights, and with them Sir Thomas Ourghem, Sir Jonathan Pado, and Sir John Pado his cousin. These kings sat that day at the table with King Richard. They were regarded of many folks, because their behaviour was strange to the manner of England and other countries, and ever naturally men desire to see novelties.”

Then I, Sir John Froissart, said: “Henry, I believe you well, and I would it had cost me largely if only I could have been there; and surely this year past I had come hither if it had not been that I heard of the death of Queen Anne of England, which did hinder me. But one thing I would desire of you to know, how these four kings of Ireland came so soon to the King of England’s obeisance, when King Edward, the king’s grandfather, who was so valiant a prince and so redoubted over all, could never subdue them nor put them under, and yet he had always

war with them ; and in that they are subdued now, ye said it was by treaty and by the grace of God.”

Then answered Henry Christall and said : “ Sir John, to show you the very truth I cannot, but as many a one saith, and it is to be supposed, that the great power that the king had over with him, and tarried there in their country nine months, and every man well paid, abashed the Irishmen. Also the sea was closed from them on all parts, whereby their livenges and merchandises might not enter into their countries. King Edward of noble memory in his time had to answer so many wars, what in France, Brittany, Gascony, and Scotland, so that his people were divided in divers places and sore occupied, wherefore he could not send any great number into Ireland. But when the Irishmen saw the great number of men of war that King Richard had in Ireland this last journey, the Irishmen were well advised and came to obeisance.

“ Thus I have shown you the manner how the king, our sovereign lord, hath this year accomplished his voyage in Ireland. Put it in your memorial to the intent that, when ye shall return into your own country, ye may write it in your chronicle with many other histories that depend to the same matter.” Then I thanked him and said it should be done. So I took leave of him.

Thus I tarried in the King of England’s court as long as it pleased me, not always in one place, for the king oftentimes removed to Eltham, to Leeds, to Kingston, to Sheen, to Chertsey, or to Windsor, about the marches of London.

LXXXIV

How King Richard of England banished out of England the Earl of Derby for ten years, and the Earl Marshal for ever.

THE Earl Marshal was as great in the King of England's favour as might be. And to the intent to please the king and to flatter him, he made the king believe that he was a true, faithful, and a secret servant, and that he could not endure to hear any word spoken against the king. Howbeit, oftentimes a man thinketh to be advanced and is pulled back. And so it fortunéd of the Earl Marshal: I shall show you how.

On a day to please the king, he said: "Right dear sir, I am of your lineage, and am your liege man and Marshal of England. Wherefore, sir, I am bound to you by mine allegiance and oath sworn, my hands in yours, that I should be in no place hearing any thing contrary to your majesty royal, and should keep it secret." The king looked on him, and demanded and said: "Why say you these words? We will know it." "My right redoubted sovereign lord," quoth the Earl Marshal, "I say it because I cannot suffer anything that should be prejudicial or against your grace. Sir, cause the Earl of Derby to come before you, and then I shall show you more." Then the Earl of Derby was sent for, and the king commanded the Earl Marshal to stand up, for he was on his knee while he spake to the king.

And when the Earl of Derby was come before the king, who thought no evil, then the Earl

Marshal said : “ Sir Earl of Derby, I say to you, ye have thought evil and spoken otherwise than ye ought against your natural lord the King of England, when ye said that he was not worthy to hold land or realm, seeing that without law or justice, without counsel of any of his noblemen, he disturbeth his realm ; and without title or good reason putteth out of his realm and destroyeth them who ought to aid and sustain him. Wherefore here I cast my gage, and will prove with my body against yours that ye are an evil, false traitor.”

The Earl of Derby was sore abashed with those words, and stepped back a little and stood still a season. And when he had studied a little, he stepped forth with his cap in his hand, and came before the king and the Earl Marshal and said : “ Earl Marshal, I say thou art an evil and a false traitor, and it I shall prove, my body against thine, and in that quarrel here is my gage.” The Earl Marshal, when he heard how he was appealed, said how he desired the battle. Then each of these earls drew to their company, for the king showed himself to be right sore displeased, and so entered into his chamber.

And after that he had considered the matter a season, the king assembled great number of prelates and great lords of England ; and they came to him at Eltham. Then the king sent for the Earl of Derby and the Earl Marshal, and set each of them in a separate chamber. Then he ordained the Constable of England, and four other great lords, to go to the Earl of Derby and to the Earl Marshal to take their bonds to abide the king's ordinance.

These lords came to the said earls and showed them the king's pleasure, and how the king would take the matter on him. So they bound themselves to abide the king's order. Then the king said: "I ordain and command that the Earl Marshal, because he hath brought this realm into this trouble by reason of his words, wherein he cannot make proof, that he prepare himself to leave this realm of England, and go to dwell in what place he list out thereof, and that he be banished in such wise so that he never return again. And also I ordain that the Earl of Derby, our cousin, because he hath displeased us, and that he is the chief cause of the banishment of the Earl Marshal, within fifteen days he leave the realm of England, and be banished for ten years without returning, except we repeal him again, the which shall always lie in our pleasure."

When these two earls saw what sentence the king had given them, they were right sore pensive, and good cause why. The Earl Marshal sore repented him of what he had said and done, for when he began the matter he thought otherwise to have been borne out by the king than he was. For if he had known as much before, he would never have begun the matter.

When he saw there was no remedy, he made him ready, and made his exchange from London to Bruges, and so came to Calais, where he had been captain, and there took his leave and so went to Bruges, and there tarried a fifteen days, and then to Gaunt, and so to Mechlin, and finally to Cologne.

The Earl of Derby made all his provision at Dover to pass to Calais; and, being at London

ere his departure, was counselled by his father to go straight to the French king and to his cousins in France. And according to his father's counsel so he did.

LXXXV

How the Earl of Derby returned again into England.

THEN the Londoners communed together, and not only they but others in divers places of the realm. But the chief murmuration that the people were in was by the first setting on of them of London; for the commons of London were as chief, and by them all other commons would be ruled. And upon the mischief that they saw apparent in England, they had divers secret councils together, and with them certain prelates and knights of the realm. And they concluded to send into France for the Earl of Derby, and were determined, when he were come, to show him the evil government of King Richard, and to put to him the crown and governing of the realm of England, and to make him king and his heirs for ever, so long as he will keep the realm in all good usages.

Then the Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of honour and prudence, was desired to do that message, who for the common profit of the realm accorded to go at their desires, and ordained for his departure so wisely that none knew thereof but such as ought to know it. And so he took a ship at London, and but seven only with him; and so passed without any peril and came to Sluys in Flanders, and from thence to Gaunt, to

Oudenarde, and to Condé, and so to Valenciennes. He rode not like any bishop, but like a monk pilgrim, and discovered to no man what he was nor what he intended to do. The fourth day he departed and took a man to be his guide to Paris, saying how he would go a pilgrimage to Saint Maure. He did so much that he came thither where the Earl of Derby was, at a place called Vincetour, beside Paris.

When the Earl of Derby saw the Archbishop of Canterbury coming to him, his heart and spirits rejoiced, and so did all such as were about him, for he thought well then to hear some news out of England. The archbishop showed not as then the cause of his coming, and therefore to cover his business he said openly he was come on pilgrimage to Saint Maure. All such as were about the earl thought it had been so.

When the archbishop saw his time, he took apart the Earl of Derby alone in a chamber and closed the door to them. Then the archbishop showed the earl the debility of the realm of England, and the desolation thereof, and how justice had no place to reign for default of a good king; and how certain valiant men and prelates, with the Londoners and others in general, had devised a remedy; and for that cause he was sent thither to him, to desire him to return into England, and they would make him king because Richard of Bordeaux had done and consented to be done so many evil deeds that all the people sorrowed at it, and were ready to rise against him.

When the earl had heard the bishop's words at length, he was not hasty in giving an answer, but

leaned out at a window, looking down into a garden, and studied a space, and had many imaginations. At last he turned him to the archbishop and said : “ Sir, your words cause me to study. Loth I would be to take on me this enterprise, and loth I would be to leave it, for I know well that it will be long ere I can return into England, without it be by the same means as ye have declared. But such a weighty matter requireth counsel.”

Then the earl called to him such of his council as he trusted best. When they were before him, then the earl caused the archbishop to show them all the matter and the cause of his coming thither. Then the earl demanded counsel what was best for him to do. They all answered with one voice : “ Sir, God hath taken pity on you. Howsoever ye do, refuse not this bargain, for ye shall never have a better. Surely, whosoever will inquire of your lineage, and from whence ye are descended, ye are of the true stock and descent of Saint Edward, sometime King of England. Sir, thank the Londoners, your good friends, who will help to deliver you out of danger, and have pity on your children, and on the desolation of the realm of England.”

When the earl heard his counsellors so earnestly counsel him, his spirits opened and he said : “ Sirs, I will do as ye will have me, for to have your counsel was the intent that I sent for you.” “ Sir,” quoth they, “ ye say well ; and, sir, we counsel you truly to our power, and as the matter requireth.” Then as secretly as they could they prepared for their departure. Then it was de-

Saint Edward, Edward the Confessor.

vised how they might pass the sea ere any knowledge thereof should come into England.

And the earl made his provision at Wannes ; and when all things were ready, he came thither. And when the wind served, the Earl of Derby and his company took the sea. He had with him three ships of war to conduct him into England, and the farther they sailed the better wind they had, so that within two days and nights they arrived at Plymouth in England, and issued out of their ships, and entered into the town, little by little.

And straightway there assembled together of the most notable men of the city, to the number of two hundred, and they spake together and held no long council, for the case required it not ; but they said : “ Let us apparel ourselves and go and receive the earl, since we agreed to send for him ; for the Archbishop of Canterbury hath well done his duty, seeing he hath brought him into England.” Then they did choose certain men to go abroad and to publish the earl’s coming to lords, knights, and squires, such as were of their party, and more than five hundred of the Londoners took their horses, and they had so great desire to go forth that they were loth to tarry, one for another.

The Earl of Derby tarried not long at Plymouth, but the next day, as soon as their horses were unshipped, they rode towards London. The Mayor of London and they that had the

Wannes. This place cannot be identified. The whole account is very inaccurate, for Henry of Derby landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and not at Plymouth, as Froissart suggests.

governing of the city were the first that met the earl in the fields, and humbly received him ; and ever as they rode forward they met more people.

Then the mayor and the notable men of the city, and divers other lords and knights, prelates, bishops and abbots, such as were in London, came to see the earl ; also the Duchess of Gloucester and her two daughters came to see him, who were his cousins. With the ladies were the Countess of Arundel and her children, and also the Countess of Warwick, with divers other ladies, such as were at London. The people of London were so joyful of the earl's coming that there was no more working in London that day than if it had been Easter Day.

LXXXVI

How King Richard yielded himself to the Earl of Derby to go to London.

THE Earl of Derby and the Londoners had their spies going and coming, who reported to them all the state of the king, and also the earl knew it by such knights and squires as daily came from the king's part to the earl, who had sure knowledge that the king was gone to the castle of Flint, and had no company with him but such as were of his own household. And it seemed that he wished for no war, but would escape that danger by treaty.

Then the earl determined to ride thither and to have the king, either by force or by treaty. Then the earl and all his company rode thither, and within two miles of the castle they found a great

village. There the earl tarried and drank, and determined in himself to ride to the castle of Flint with two hundred horse and to leave the rest of his company still there : and he said he would do what he could by fair treaty to enter into the castle by love and not perforce, and bring out the king with fair words and assure him from all peril except going to London, and promise him that he should have no hurt of his body, and to be mediator for him with the Londoners, who were not content with him.

The earl's device seemed good to them that heard it, and they said to him : " Sir, beware of dissimulation : this Richard of Bordeaux must be taken either quick or dead, and all the other traitors that be about him and of his council, and so be brought to London and set in the Tower. The Londoners will not suffer you to do the contrary."

Then the earl said : " Sirs, fear not but all that is enterprised shall be accomplished. If I can get him out of the castle with fair words, I will do it ; and if I cannot, I shall send you word thereof and then ye shall come and lay siege about the castle, and then we will do so much by force or by assault, that we will have him quick or dead, for the castle is well pregnable." To those words accorded well the Londoners ; so the earl departed from the army and rode with two hundred men to the castle, where the king was among his men right sore abashed.

The earl came riding to the castle gate, which was fast closed, as the case required. The earl knocked at the gate : the porters demanded who was there. The earl answered : " I am Henry of

Lancaster : I come to the king to demand mine heritage of the duchy of Lancaster : show the king this from me." " Sir," quoth they within, " we shall do it." Straightway they went into the hall and into the donjon where the king was, and such knights about him as had long time counselled him.

Then these news were showed to the king, and they said : " Sir, your cousin of Derby is at the gate, who demandeth of you to be set in possession of the duchy of Lancaster, his inheritance." The king then regarded such as were about him, and demanded what was best to do. They said : " Sir, in this request is none evil : ye may let him come in to you with twelve persons in his company and hear what he will say : he is your cousin and a great lord of the realm ; he may well make your peace if he will, for he is greatly beloved in the realm, and specially with the Londoners, who sent for him into France : they be as now the chief that be against you. Sir, ye must dissemble till the matter be appeased and till the Earl of Huntingdon, your brother, be with you. And it cometh now evil to pass for you that he is at Calais, for there be many now in England that be risen against you, that if they knew that your brother were about you, they would sit still and durst not displease you. He hath to his wife the Earl of Derby's sister ; by his means we suppose ye should come to peace and concord."

The king agreed to those words and said : " Go and let him come in with twelve with him, and no more."

Two knights went down to the gate, and opened the wicket and issued out, and made reverence to

the earl and received him with gracious words, for they knew well that they had no force to resist them, and also they knew well the Londoners were sore displeased with them : therefore they spake fair and said to the earl : “ Sir, what is your pleasure ? The king is at mass : he hath sent us hither to speak with you.” “ I say,” quoth the earl, “ ye know well I ought to have possession of the duchy of Lancaster. I am come in part for that cause and also for other things that I would speak with the king of.” “ Sir,” quoth they, “ ye be welcome : the king would be glad to see you and to hear you, and hath commanded that ye come to him, but with twelve persons only.”

The earl answered : “ It pleaseth me well.” So he entered into the castle with twelve persons, and then the gate closed again and the rest of his company tarried without.

Now consider what danger the Earl of Derby was in ; for the king then might have slain him and such as were with him, as easily as a bird in a cage. But he feared not the matter, but boldly went to the king, who changed colour when he saw the earl.

Then the earl spake aloud, without making any great honour or reverence, and said : “ Sir, are ye fasting ? ” The king answered and said : “ Yea : why ask you ? ” “ It is time,” quoth the earl, “ that ye had dined, for ye have a great journey to ride.” “ Why, whither should I ride ? ” quoth the king. “ Ye must ride to London,” quoth the earl ; “ wherefore I counsel you eat and drink, that ye may ride with the more mirth.”

Then the king, who was sore troubled in his mind, and in a manner afraid of those words, said: "I am not hungry: I have no lust to eat." Then such as were by, who were then glad to flatter the Earl of Derby, for they saw well the matter was likely to go diversely, said to the king: "Sir, believe your cousin of Lancaster, for he will nothing but good." Then the king said: "Well, I am content. Cover the tables." Then the king washed and sat down, and was served. Then the earl was demanded if he would sit down. He said no, for he was not fasting.

In the mean season, while the king sat at dinner, and did eat but little, his heart was so full that he had no lust to eat, all the country about the castle was full of men of war. They within the castle might see them out at the windows, and the king, when he rose from the table, might see them himself. Then he demanded of his cousin what men they were that appeared so many in the fields. The earl answered and said: "The most part of them be Londoners." "What would they have?" quoth the king. "They will have you," quoth the earl, "and bring you to London and put you into the Tower. There is none other remedy, ye cannot escape otherwise."

"No," quoth the king, and he was sore afraid of those words, for he knew well the Londoners loved him not, and said: "Cousin, can you not provide for my surety? I will not gladly put me into their hands, for I know well they hate me and have done long, though I be their king." Then the earl said: "Sir, I see no other remedy, but to yield yourself as my prisoner; and when

they know that ye be my prisoner, they will do you no hurt. But ye must so ordain that you and your company ride to London with me and be as my prisoner in the Tower of London."

The king saw himself in a hard case, and all his spirits were sore abashed, for he feared greatly that the Londoners would slay him. Then he yielded himself prisoner to the Earl of Derby, and bound himself and promised to do all that he would have him to do. In like wise all other knights, squires, and officers yielded to the earl, to escape the danger and peril that they were in. And the earl then received them as his prisoners and ordained forthwith horses to be saddled and brought forth into the court, and the gates opened.

Then many men at arms and archers entered : then the Earl of Derby caused a cry to be made, that on pain of death no man should be so bold as to take away anything within the castle, nor lay any hands upon any person, for all were under the earl's safeguard and protection ; which cry was kept, no man durst break it.

And as it was informed me, King Richard had a greyhound called Math, who always waited upon the king and would obey no man else ; for whensoever the king did ride, he that kept the greyhound did let him loose and he would straight run to the king and fawn upon him and leap with his forefeet upon the king's shoulders. And as the king and the Earl of Derby talked together in the court, the greyhound, who was wont to leap upon the king, left the king and came to the Earl of Derby, Duke of Lancaster, and made to him the same friendly countenance and cheer as he was wont to do to the king.

The duke, who knew not the greyhound, demanded of the king what the greyhound would do. "Cousin," quoth the king, "it is a great good token to you and an evil sign to me." "Sir, how know you that?" quoth the duke. "I know it well," quoth the king, "the greyhound maketh you cheer this day as king of England, as ye shall be, and I shall be deposed. The greyhound hath this knowledge naturally: therefore take him to you; he will follow you and forsake me." The duke understood well those words and cherished the greyhound, who would never after follow King Richard, but followed the Duke of Lancaster.

So every man leapt a-horseback and departed from the castle of Flint and entered into the fields. This Duke Henry of Lancaster, who was no more called Earl of Derby but Duke of Lancaster, rode by the king, and oftentimes they talked together, and men of war rode before and behind in great number, and all such as were of the king's court rode together in a company. That night they lay about Oxford.

The Duke of Lancaster led King Richard by no castles nor good towns, for fear of stirring of the people, but always kept the fields. Then the duke gave licence to a great number of his people to depart, and said: "Sirs, ye may depart, for we have what we desire: the king cannot fly nor escape from us. We and our own company shall bring him to London and put him in safeguard in the Tower. He and all his are my prisoners, I may bring them whither I will. Therefore, sirs, go your ways home, till ye hear other news." They did as the duke commanded them, and he

ok the way to Windsor and came thither ; and most part of the Londoners returned to London, and others to their own places. The Duke of Lancaster departed from Windsor and would not be by Colnebrook, but took the way by Staines and so came to dinner to Chertsey. The king had sired the duke that he should not bring him London way nor through the city, and therefore they took that way.

LXXXVII

How King Richard was set in the Tower of London.

Thus the Duke of Lancaster departed from Chertsey and rode to Sheen, and from thence in the night time they conveyed the king to the Tower of London, and such other knights and sires as the king would. The next morning when the Londoners knew that the king was in the Tower, they were greatly rejoiced. But there was great murmuring among them, because the king was conveyed thither so secretly ; they were angry that the duke had not brought him through London openly, not to have done him honour but shame, they hated him so sore.

Behold the opinion of common people, when they be up against their prince or lord, and especially in England. Among them there is no remedy, for they are the most dangerous people in the world and most outrageous, if they be poor, and specially the Londoners : and indeed they be rich and of a great number. There was in London a twenty-four thousand men in

armour complete, and a thirty thousand archers, and they were hardy and high of courage ; the more blood they saw shed the less they were abashed.

When the Duke of Lancaster had set his cousin King Richard in the Tower of London and certain of his counsellors, and had set sure keeping on them, the first thing then that the duke did was to send for the Earl of Warwick, who was banished and commanded to lie in the Isle of Wight, and discharged him clean thereof. And secondly, the Duke of Lancaster sent to the Earl of Northumberland and to the Lord Percy his son, that they should come to him, and so they did. After he inquired and sought out to have the four companions who had strangled his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, in the castle of Calais. They were so well sought out, that they were all taken ; they were set in prison apart in London.

Then the Duke of Lancaster and his council took advice what should be done with King Richard, being in the Tower of London, where King John of France was kept, while King Edward went into the realm of France. Then it was thought that King Richard should be put from all his royalty and joy that he hath lived in ; and they did put all his deeds in articles to the number of twenty-eight.

Then the Duke of Lancaster and his council went to the Tower of London and entered into the chamber where King Richard was, and without any reverence to him there was openly read all the said articles ; to the which the king made none answer, for he saw well all was true that was laid to his charge, saving he said : “ All that I

have done passed by my council." Then he was demanded who they were that had given counsel and by whom he was most ruled. He named them, in trust thereby to have been delivered himself in accusing of them, as he had done beforetime, trusting thereby to escape and to bring them in the danger and pain ; but that was not the mind of them that loved him not.

So as at that time they spake no more, but departed ; and the Duke of Lancaster went to his lodging and suffered the mayor and the men of law to proceed. They went to the Guildhall, where all the matters of the city were determined, and then much people assembled there. When they saw the governors of the city go thither, they thought some justice should be done, as there was indeed. I shall show you how.

First, the articles that were made against the king, which had been read before him in the Tower, were read again there openly. And it was showed by him that read them, how the king himself denied none of them, but confessed that he did them by the counsel of four knights of his chamber, and how by their counsel he had put to death the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel, Sir Thomas Corbet and other, and how they had long incited the king to do those deeds ; which deeds, they said, were not to be forgiven, but demanded punishment, for by them and their counsel the justice of right was closed up through all the courts of England, Westminster and other, whereby many evil deeds followed, and companies and routs of thieves and murderers rose and assembled together in divers parts of the realm, and robbed merchants by the ways and poor men in

their houses ; by which means the realm was in great peril to have been lost without recovery.

These words thus shown to the people made many to be abashed, and many began to murmur and said : “ These causes demand punishment, that all others may take ensample thereby, and Richard of Bordeaux should be deposed ; for he is not worthy to bear a crown, but ought to be deprived from all honour and to be kept all his life in prison with bread and water.”

Though some of the villains murmured, others said on high : “ Sir Mayor of London and ye others that have justice in your hands to minister, execute justice : for we will ye spare no man, for ye see well the case that ye have showed us demandeth justice forthwith ; for they are judges upon their own deeds.”

Then the mayor and others of the governors of the law went together into the chamber of judgment. Then these four knights were judged to die, and were judged to be had to the foot of the Tower, where King Richard was, that he might see them drawn along by the dike with horses each after other through the city into Cheapside, and then their heads stricken off there and set upon London Bridge, and their bodies drawn to the gibbet and there hanged.

This judgment given, they were delivered to execution. For the Mayor of London, and such as were deputed to the matter, went from the Guildhall to the Tower and took out the four knights of the king's, whose names were called Sir Bernard Brocas, Sir Manlays, Master John Derby, receiver of Lincoln, and Master Seely, the king's steward.

Each of them were tied to two horses in the presence of them that were in the Tower, and the king might well see it out at the windows ; wherewith he was sore discomforted, for all others that were there with the king looked to be in the same case, they knew them of London to be so cruel. Thus these four knights were drawn, one after another, along through the city till they came into Cheap, and there on a fisher's stall their heads were stricken off and set upon London Bridge, and their bodies drawn by the shoulders to the gibbet and there hanged up.

This justice thus done, every man went to their lodgings. King Richard, knowing himself taken and in danger of the Londoners, was in great sorrow in his heart, and reckoned his power nothing ; for he saw how every man was against him, and if there were any that owed him any favour, it lay not in their powers to do him any aid, for they durst not show it. And then he said to them that kept him, how he would gladly speak with his cousin of Lancaster.

LXXXVIII

How King Richard of England resigned the crown and the realm into the hands of the Earl of Derby, Duke of Lancaster.

IT was shown to the Duke of Lancaster how Richard of Bordeaux desired to speak with him. The duke in an evening took a barge and went to the Tower by water, and went to the king, who received him courteously and humbled himself

greatly, as he that saw himself in great danger, and said: "Cousin of Lancaster, I regard and consider mine estate, which is as now but small, I thank God thereof. And any more to reign or to govern people or to bear a crown, I wish it not; and as God help me, I would I were dead by a natural death. Cousin, all things considered, I know well I have greatly trespassed against you and against other noblemen of my blood; by divers things I perceive I shall never have pardon nor come to peace. Wherefore with mine own free and liberal will I will resign to you the heritage of the crown of England, and I require you take the gift thereof with the resignation."

When the duke heard that, he said: "Sir, it is convenient that part of the three estates of the realm be called to these words, and I have sent already for some noblemen, prelates, and councillors of the good towns of England, and I trust they will be here within this three days, sufficient of them for you to make a due resignation before them, and by this means ye shall greatly appease many men within the realm. For to withstand such enormities and evils as have been used in the realm for fault of justice, who had no place to reign, I was sent for from beyond the sea. And the people would crown me, for the renown runneth through England that I have more right to the crown than ye have. For when our grandfather, King Edward the Third, did choose and make you king, the same was as then showed him; but he loved so his son, the prince, that none could break his purpose nor opinion, but that you should be king. And if ye would have followed the steps of your father, the prince, and

have believed his counsel, as a good son ought to have done, ye might have been still king and have continued your estate. And because mine uncle of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel did counsel you truly and faithfully to keep the honour of the realm and to follow the steps of your ancestors, ye have traitorously caused them to die. As for me, I have taken on me to defend your life as long as I may for pity, and I shall pray the Londoners and the heritors of them that ye have slain and banished, to do the same."

"Cousin, I thank you," quoth the king; "I trust more in you than in any other." "It is but right that ye should so do, for if I had not been here ye would have been taken by the people and deposed with great confusion and slain, by reason of your evil works." King Richard heard well all the duke's words and wist not what to say against it; for he saw well that force nor arguments could not avail him, but rather meekness and humility: wherefore he humbled him and prayed the duke to save his life.

When the Duke of Lancaster had been at the Tower two hours with King Richard, and had showed him part of his faults, then he returned. And the next day he sent forth more commandments into all parts of the realm to cause noblemen and others to come to London. His uncle, the Duke of York, came to London, and the Earl of Rutland his son, the Earl of Northumberland and the Lord Thomas Percy his brother: the Duke of Lancaster made them good cheer. Thither came also great number of prelates and abbots.

And on a day the Duke of Lancaster, accom-

panied with lords, dukes, prelates, earls, barons, and knights, and of the notablest men of London and of other good towns, rode to the Tower and there alighted.

Then King Richard was brought into the hall, apparelled like a king in his robes of estate, his sceptre in his hand and his crown on his head. Then he stood up alone, not holden nor stayed by any man, and said aloud : “ I have been King of England, Duke of Aquitaine, and Lord of Ireland about twenty-two years, which seignory, royalty, sceptre, crown, and heritage I clearly resign here to my cousin, Henry of Lancaster ; and I desire him here, in this open presence, in entering of the same possession, to take this sceptre.” And so delivered it to the duke, who took it.

Then King Richard took the crown from his head with both his hands and set it before him, and said : “ Fair cousin, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, I give and deliver you this crown, wherewith I was crowned King of England, and therewith all the right thereto depending.” The Duke of Lancaster took it, and the Archbishop of Canterbury took it out of the duke’s hands. This resignation thus done, the Duke of Lancaster called a notary and demanded to have letters and witness of all the prelates and lords there being present. Then Richard of Bordeaux returned again into the chamber from whence he came. Then the Duke of Lancaster and all other leapt on their horses, and the crown and sceptre were put in a coffer and conveyed to the abbey of Westminster, and there kept in the treasury. And every man went to their lodgings

and abode till the day of parliament and council should be at the palace of Westminster.

LXXXIX

Of the coronation of King Henry, Duke of Lancaster, by the consent of the realm, and the manner of the feast.

IN the year of our Lord God 1399, the last day of September, on a Tuesday, began a parliament at Westminster holden by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, at which time there were assembled prelates and clergy of the realm of England a great number, and also dukes, earls, barons, and of every town certain men. Thus the people assembled at Westminster, there being present the Duke of Lancaster, and there the same duke challenged the realm of England and desired to be king by three reasons: first by conquest, secondly because he was heir, and thirdly because Richard of Bordeaux had resigned the realm into his hands by his free will in the presence of certain dukes, earls, prelates, and barons, in the hall within the Tower of London.

These three causes shown, the Duke of Lancaster required all the people there present, as well one as other, to show their minds and intents in that behalf. Then all the people with one voice said that their will was to have him king, and they would have none other but him. Then the duke again said to the people: "Sirs, is this your minds?" And they all with one voice said, "Yea, yea."

And then the duke sat down in the royal seat, which seat was raised up in the hall and covered with a cloth of estate, so that every man might well see him sit. And then the people lifted up their hands a-high, promising him their faith and allegiance.

Then the parliament concluded, and the day was taken for his coronation on Saint Edward's day, the Monday the thirteenth day of October ; at which time, the Saturday before his coronation, he departed from Westminster and rode to the Tower of London with a great number. And the next day the Duke of Lancaster departed from the Tower to Westminster, and rode all the way bareheaded. He was accompanied with the prince his son, and six dukes, six earls, and eighteen barons, and in all, knights and squires, nine hundred horsemen. The king had on a short coat of cloth of gold, after the manner of Almaine, and he was mounted on a white courser, and the Garter on his left leg.

Thus the duke rode through London with a great number of lords, every lord's servant in their master's livery, all the burgesses and Lombard merchants in London, and every craft with their livery and device. Thus he was conveyed to Westminster. He had in number six thousand horsemen, and the streets were hanged as he passed by ; and the same day and the next there were in London running seven conduits with wine, white and red.

· That night the duke was bathed, and the next morning he was confessed and heard three masses, as he was accustomed to do : and then all the prelates and clergy came from Westminster

church to the palace, to fetch the king with procession. And so he went to the church in procession, and all the lords with him in their robes of scarlet furred with minever : and over the king was borne a cloth of estate of blue with four bells of gold, and it was borne by four burghesses of the Cinque Ports, as Dover and other. And on every side of him he had a sword borne, the one the sword of the Church, and the other the sword of justice ; the sword of the Church his son, the prince, did bear, and the sword of justice the Earl of Northumberland did bear, for he was as then Constable of England, for the Earl of Rutland was deposed from that office ; and the Earl of Westmoreland, who was Marshal of England, bare the sceptre.

Thus they entered into the church about nine of the clock ; and in the midst of the church there was an high scaffold all covered with red, and in the midst thereof there was a royal chair covered with cloth of gold. Then the king sat down in that chair, and so sat in royal estate, saving he had not on the crown, but sat bareheaded.

Then at four corners of the scaffold the Archbishop of Canterbury showed unto the people how God had sent them a man to be their king, and demanded if they were content that he should be consecrated and crowned as their king. And they all with one voice said, " Yea," and held up their hands, promising him faith and obeisance.

Then the king rose and went down the scaffold to the high altar to be sacred, at which consecration there were two archbishops and ten bishops, and before the altar he was anointed in

six places : on the head, on the breast, and on the two shoulders behind, and on the hands. Then the sword of justice was drawn out of the sheath and hallowed, and then it was taken to the king, who did put it again into the sheath ; then the Archbishop of Canterbury did gird the sword about him. Then Saint Edward's crown was brought forth, and blessed, and then the archbishop did set it on the king's head.

After mass the king departed out of the church in the same estate and went to his palace ; and there was a fountain that ran by divers branches with white wine and red. Then the king entered into the hall, and so into a privy chamber, and after came out again to dinner. At the first table sat the king, at the second the five peers of the realm, at the third the valiant men of London, at the fourth the new-made knights, at the fifth the knights and squires of honour ; and by the king stood the prince holding the sword of the Church, and on the other side the Constable with the sword of justice, and a little above the Marshal with the sceptre, and at the king's board sat two archbishops and seventeen bishops.

And in the midst of the dinner there came in a knight, who was called Dymoke, all armed upon a good horse richly apparelled, and had a knight before him bearing his spear, and his sword was by his side and his dagger. The knight took to the king a parchment, the which was read. Therein was contained, that if there were either knight, squire, or any other gentleman that would say that King Henry was not rightful king, he was there ready to fight with him in that quarrel before the king or wheresoever it should please him

to appoint. That bill was cried by an herald in six places of the hall and in the town. There was none that would challenge him. When the king had dined, he took wine and spices in the hall and then went into his chamber. Then every man departed and went to their lodgings. Thus the day passed of King Henry's coronation with great joy and feast, which endured all the next day.

XC

Of the death of King Richard of England.

It was not long after that true tidings ran through London, how Richard of Bordeaux was dead ; but how he died and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this chronicle. But this King Richard, dead, was laid in a litter and set in a carriage covered with black cloth, and four horses all black in the carriage, and two men in black leading the carriage, and four knights all in black following. Thus the carriage departed from the Tower of London and was brought along through London fair and softly, till they came into Cheapside, where the chief assembly of London was, and there the carriage rested the space of two hours.

Thither came in and out more than twenty thousand persons, men and women, to see him where he lay, his head on a black cushion, and his visage open. Some had on him pity and some none, but said he had long deserved death.

Now consider well, ye great lords, kings, dukes, earls, barons, and prelates, and all men of great

lineage and puissance : see and behold how the fortunes of this world are marvellous, and turn diversely. This King Richard reigned king of England twenty-two years in great prosperity, holding great estate and seignory. There was never before any king of England that spent so much in his house as he did, by a hundred thousand florins every year ; for I, Sir John Froissart, canon and treasurer of Chimay, knew it well, for I was in his court more than a quarter of a year together, and he made me good cheer, because that in my youth I was clerk and servant to the noble King Edward the Third, his grandfather, and with my lady Philippa of Hainault, Queen of England, his grandmother. And when I departed from him, it was at Windsor, and at my departing the king sent me by a knight of his called Sir John Golofer, a goblet of silver and gilt weighing two marks of silver, and within it a hundred nobles, by the which I am as yet the better, and shall be as long as I live : wherefore I am bound to pray to God for his soul, and with much sorrow I write of his death ; but because I have continued this history, therefore I write thereof to follow it.

In my time I have seen two things : though they differ, yet they be true. I was in the city of Bordeaux and sitting at the table when King Richard was born, the which was on a Tuesday about ten of the clock. The same time there came there where I was, Sir Richard Pontchardon, Marshal as then of Aquitaine, and he said to me : “ Froissart, write and put in memory that as now my lady princess hath had a fair son on this Twelfth day, that is the day of the Three

Kings, so he is son to a king's son and shall be a king." This gentle knight said truth, for he was king of England twenty-two years ; but when this knight said these words, he knew full little what should be his conclusion. And the same time that King Richard was born, his father, the prince, was in Spain.

Upon these things I have greatly pondered since ; for the first year that I came into England, into the service of Queen Philippa, King Edward and the queen, and all their children, were as then at Berkhamstead, a manor of the Prince of Wales beyond London. The king and the queen were come thither to take leave of their son, the prince and princess, who were going into Aquitaine, and there I heard an ancient knight say : " There is a book which is called *le Brut*, and it deviseth that neither the Prince of Wales, eldest son to the king, nor the Duke of Gloucester, should ever be king of England, but the realm and crown should return to the house of Lancaster."

There I, John Froissart, author of this Chronicle, considering all these things, I say these two knights, Sir Richard Pontchardon and Sir Bartholomew of Burghersh, said both truth ; for I saw, and so did all the world, Richard of Bordeaux twenty-two years king of England, and after the crown returned to the house of Lancaster, and that was when King Henry was king, the which he had never been if Richard of Bordeaux had dealt amiably with him ; for the Londoners made him king because they had pity on him and on his children.

Thus, when King Richard had lain two hours in the carriage in Cheapside, then they drove the

carriage forward: and when the four knights that followed it afoot were without London, they leapt then on their horses, which were there ready for them, and so they rode till they came to a village called Langley, a thirty mile from London, and there this King Richard was buried. God have mercy on his soul!

THE END

Froissart, Jean

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113

A shorter Froissart

.F7.

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