

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

*Books of enduring scholarly value*

### Rolls Series

Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, usually referred to as the 'Rolls Series', was an ambitious project first proposed to the British Treasury in 1857 by Sir John Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, and quickly approved for public funding. Its purpose was to publish historical source material covering the period from the arrival of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII, 'without mutilation or abridgement', starting with the 'most scarce and valuable' texts. A 'correct text' of each work would be established by collating 'the best manuscripts', and information was to be included in every case about the manuscripts used, the life and times of the author, and the work's 'historical credibility', but there would be no additional annotation. The first books were published in 1858, and by the time it was completed in 1896 the series contained 99 titles and 255 volumes. Although many of the works have since been re-edited by modern scholars, the enterprise as a whole stands as a testament to the Victorian revival of interest in the middle ages.

### Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England

This two-volume compilation contains the texts of documents in Latin, Middle French and Middle English (with translations and abstracts) concerning the later phases of the Hundred Years' War, focusing on the period 1423 to 1450. Published between 1861 and 1864, it was edited by Joseph Stevenson (1807–95), a Northumbrian archivist and clergyman who had been instrumental in persuading the British government to sponsor the Rolls Series project. Stevenson transcribed and translated material from archival sources in France and England, including the Registers of the Grants issued by the English government in France from 1420 to 1433 and the Privy Seal collection. The introduction to Volume 1 outlines the political instability and shifting alliances that underlay the hostilities, and the subjects of the texts range from court matters and diplomacy to finance and military logistics. This primary source material reveals fascinating details about a pivotal period in European history.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press has long been a pioneer in the reissuing of out-of-print titles from its own backlist, producing digital reprints of books that are still sought after by scholars and students but could not be reprinted economically using traditional technology. The Cambridge Library Collection extends this activity to a wider range of books which are still of importance to researchers and professionals, either for the source material they contain, or as landmarks in the history of their academic discipline.

Drawing from the world-renowned collections in the Cambridge University Library and other partner libraries, and guided by the advice of experts in each subject area, Cambridge University Press is using state-of-the-art scanning machines in its own Printing House to capture the content of each book selected for inclusion. The files are processed to give a consistently clear, crisp image, and the books finished to the high quality standard for which the Press is recognised around the world. The latest print-on-demand technology ensures that the books will remain available indefinitely, and that orders for single or multiple copies can quickly be supplied.

The Cambridge Library Collection brings back to life books of enduring scholarly value (including out-of-copyright works originally issued by other publishers) across a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in science and technology.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Letters and Papers  
Illustrative of  
the Wars of the  
English in France  
During the Reign  
of Henry the Sixth,  
King of England

VOLUME 1

EDITED BY JOSEPH STEVENSON



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,  
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108042871](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108042871)

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2012

This edition first published 1861

This digitally printed version 2012

ISBN 978-1-108-04287-1 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE  
DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

---

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

4

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,*  
*December 1857.*

---



Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

LETTERS AND PAPERS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

REIGN OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

# LETTERS AND PAPERS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE  
ENGLISH IN FRANCE

DURING THE REIGN OF

## HENRY THE SIXTH,

KING OF ENGLAND.

EDITED

BY

THE REV JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A.,

OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DURHAM, AND  
VICAR OF LEIGHTON BUZZARD.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S  
TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

VOL. I.

LONDON:  
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.

1861.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Printed by  
**EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE, Her Majesty's Printers.**  
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

---

	Page.
PREFACE - - - - -	ix
APPENDIX TO THE PREFACE - - - - -	lxxv
LETTERS AND PAPERS (transcribed from various sources in France) - - - - -	1
SUPPLEMENTARY LETTERS AND PAPERS (transcribed from various sources in England) - - - - -	379

---

VOL. I.

b

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

P R E F A C E.

---

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---



Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## P R E F A C E.

---

§ 1. THIS present volume contains the first instalment of a collection of miscellaneous Letters and Papers which illustrate the reign of king Henry the Sixth. The second volume, which will speedily follow, completes the series. These documents have for the most part been obtained from the libraries and archives of France, and consequently have reference to the relations existing between that kingdom and our own. Throughout the reign of the Lancastrian sovereigns, the history of the two realms, never widely apart, approximates so closely as to become nearly identical. As it is with the history, so it is, to a great extent, with the sources whence that history is to be derived. France has turned to good account the information so amply supplied by our Chronicles and Records, and is both able and willing to repay the obligation. The results of an extended investigation in that direction cannot but be important to us; for it is now a recognized principle of historical investigation, that the half century included within these volumes cannot be understood by either country without a careful study of what was passing at the same time upon the other side of the Channel.

The subject-matter of the present series of papers.

§ 2. Yet, though the history of each nation thus reflects and illustrates that of its neighbour, the incidents themselves are widely different. If they admit of comparison, it is only by contrast. As regards ourselves, the reign of our sixth Henry (with which

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

we are more immediately concerned at present), although most instructive and most interesting, is not one of those to which we would turn with any feeling of national satisfaction. It is for England a period of reverse and humiliation, the chronicle of how the possessions, won by the misdirected bravery and the unscrupulous diplomacy of Henry the Fifth, were lost by the folly of those who governed in the name of his son. With France it is different; it is the record of her progress. Her institutions, civil and military, are now placed upon a broader and firmer basis; she develops and extends her commerce, and busies herself in improving her domestic resources. The intense nationality which since that time has always been so conspicuous in her history, is now beginning to exhibit itself; and "Our Adversary of France" is about to repay to England some portion of her long debt of sorrow and suffering. Within the limited period included in these volumes, the position of the two kingdoms shifts and revolves, and eventually becomes reversed. At its opening, Charles the Seventh was styled, in derision, the petty King of Bourges, for his dominion was limited to that city, while Henry the Sixth was proclaimed king of England and France at Westminster and Paris. At its close, Charles is king of Normandy and France, while Henry is in poverty and exile, dependent for his bread and his life upon those nations whose hostility he had defied and whose friendship he had scorned.

§ 3. This reverse was not the result of any one incident, nor was it accomplished by the agency of any single individual. Like nearly every other great national revolution, it was brought about by the operation of different causes; causes widely distinct from each other in their origin and bearing, yet all pointing to one end. It could scarcely have been otherwise than it was.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## PREFACE.

xi

From the death of Henry the Fifth, his conquests were imperilled by a combination of hostile influences. While some of these lay in the pathway, and were obvious to all men, others started up from a distance so remote that they were scarcely perceptible at the first; and their full magnitude was not discovered until it was too late to arrest their progress.

§ 4. For a due appreciation of the value of the documents here printed, it becomes necessary that the reader should be made acquainted with the circumstances under which they were originally drawn up, and the individuals by whom they were written, and to whom they were addressed. Some such preliminary statement as this is due to the reader. It is due also to the documents themselves; for the value of historical papers, such as these here printed, frequently depends rather upon the inferences which they indirectly tend to establish, than upon the information which they openly and broadly propound as matters of fact. Two modes of illustration present themselves. The information may be supplied either by prefixing to each document a short notice of its contents; or the editor may furnish a general introduction, which shall deal with the subject in its broader and more comprehensive aspect. Each plan has its advantages; but, in my opinion, they preponderate so decidedly in favour of the latter alternative that I have not hesitated to give it the preference. And since the larger proportion of the letters and papers contained in these volumes has reference to our dealings, diplomatic or military, with France, it becomes necessary that our relations with that country, as they existed at the death of Henry the Fifth, should be explained in these introductory observations.

§ 5. Upon the accession of the House of Lancaster to the throne of England in the person of Henry the Fourth, Preliminary remarks

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

upon the  
tendency of  
the reign  
of Richard  
II.,

the fortunes of this country were upon the wane. The son of the Black Prince had disappointed the expectations which had been formed of him when he had successfully confronted the rebels at Smithfield;<sup>1</sup> for not only had he proved himself unworthy of the name which he bore, but he had dimmed the honour of the nation over which he ruled. His domestic government was oppressive, his foreign policy was undignified. Indifferent himself to military glory, he was careless of the reputation of his people. Rash and yet timid, by turns haughty and servile, to-day a prodigal and to-morrow a miser, he offended all—the clergy, the nobles, and the commons.<sup>2</sup> He was faithless to the traditions of his family; he had no capacity for war as a general, and no liking for it as a soldier. Deficient in energy and enterprise, he wished for peace, and he bought it by concessions.<sup>3</sup> He gave up Brest to the duke of Bretagne, and sold Cherbourg to the king of Navarre.<sup>4</sup> Before his deposition he had nearly stripped England of those conquests upon which the Englishmen of that day so highly prided themselves, their possessions in France. The men who had been defeated at Cressy and Poitiers did not hesitate to declare that England was governed by a coward; and worse than all, the taunt was repeated in the court at Westminster.<sup>5</sup> The nation was

<sup>1</sup> Walsingh. 253, 10, speaks favourably of his courage, and *ib.* 55, of his clemency and discretion.

<sup>2</sup> See his character as drawn by the Monk of Evesham, p. 169, ed. Hearne. So also Juvenal des Ursins, “Car il n’y avoit ne gens d’eglise, ne nobles, ne autres, qui n’en feussent mal contents.” *Hist. de Charles VI.* p. 171, edit. 1614. A characteristic letter, addressed by him to Albert duke of Bavaria, is extant, in which he relates with

much satisfaction, how he had recently punished his ungrateful and rebellious nobles; and he urges his correspondent to follow his example in this respect. See Appendix I. to this Preface, p. lxxv. where the letter is printed.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. de S. Denys*, i. 170.

<sup>4</sup> *Juv. des Ursins*, 142.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. de S. Denys*, i. 256, *Juv. des Ursins*, 44, *Chronique de Richart*, p. 2, ed. Williams, 1846.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## PREFACE.

xiii

humbled in the person of her monarch ; and France felt that she had nothing to dread from such a rival as this.

§ 6. The interest which the reign of Henry the Fourth <sup>and of Henry IV</sup> possesses is chiefly derived from events which took place within our own island. It is the history of a successful invasion, and the record of the steps by which the invader secured the prize, and transmitted it to his descendants. All that he undertook was planned with skill and executed with energy. We cannot withhold our admiration from the first sovereign of the House of Lancaster. Intent upon the establishment of his own family and the consolidation of his own interests, Henry estimated events solely with reference to these objects. He was too much occupied at home to look across the Channel. He dreaded nothing more than a rupture with France ; and to avoid it, he constrained himself to submit to indignities which must have galled his spirit. The House of Valois would not acknowledge that of Lancaster ; Henry was only a *soi-disant* king of England.<sup>1</sup> He had stolen the crown by fraud, and held it by violence, contrary to all laws, human and divine. His ambassadors, whom he sent into France, were not admitted into the presence of Charles, no safe-conduct was granted to them, and, in violation of the usages of nations and the courtesy of chivalry, the English herald was arrested and detained a prisoner.<sup>2</sup> Henry wrote to Charles thanking him for the kindness which he had experienced while an exile in France ; but his letter remained un-

<sup>1</sup> Ordonnances, ix. 4, xii. 218. See also the Trésor des Chartes, 29 June 1399, 30 Mai, 1399. The monk of S. Denys adopts the same language : "Henricus Lancastriæ, " qui se dicebat regem Angliæ." iii. 230. Walleran, count de S. Pol, repeated the same charges in terms

yet more offensive and insulting ; he defied Henry of Lancaster to mortal combat as a murderer and usurper. His letter is printed in Monstrel., I. x., ed. Pantheon.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of Privy Council, i. 103.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

answered.<sup>1</sup> Henry bore all this patiently. He knew that a war with France would be fatal to himself and his family. For a time England appeared to exist upon the forbearance of the French monarch. But when he had firmly established himself upon his throne, he did not forget past injuries and insults, and he revenged himself in his own peculiar manner. It was done frugally, but effectually. If he did not wage war with France upon a large scale, it was because the circumstances of that kingdom afforded him the means of humbling its pride by a series of aggressions petty and irritating. At a small outlay of English blood and English gold, he secured for England a large return of gratified resentment. The feuds between the rival Houses of Burgundy and Orleans had now broken out, and Henry prolonged the contest which was draining the strength of France. He helped each in turn, but never so long as effectually to disable the other. He interposed as soon as the fight was likely to become fatal. Either combatant might cripple the other, but he might not kill him; if the gladiator should slay his antagonist, the game would be over. Burgundian and Armignac both courted him, and both hated him; but whether as foe or ally, each in turn served his purpose. He played his part with skill, and it was successful. As long as diplomacy would suffice, he negotiated; an embassy was cheaper than an army. When that failed, but not till then, troops and money were sent across the Channel.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. 10, 212, 3, Bibl. Imp. Paris, "Comment la royne d'Angleterre retourna en France apres ce que le roy Richart avoit este mis a mort."

<sup>2</sup> Passing by other instances, we find that as early as January 1404 Charles VI. issued letters in which he states that Henry of Lancaster had usurped the throne of England, and had landed troops in Picardy, Normandy, Bretagne, and Poitou.

Ordonn., xii. 218. In June 1405, Geoffrey Goupil was sent express to Paris to inform the council that the English had landed at La Hogue. Addit. Chart. 51. And in 1406 Charles proclaims that, in order to resist the enterprise of Henry of Lancaster, whose army was about to make a descent upon some part of France, he had determined to send troops into Picardy. Id. 1398.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## PREFACE.

xv

Henry's reign was a short one, but it was long enough to render nugatory the hostile interests by which he had been opposed at its beginning. At its close, he saw his authority established upon a firm basis, his family had taken root in the soil of England, he had no rival faction to dread, and the House of Lancaster was respected at home and feared abroad.

§ 7. It might have fared otherwise with England, it would certainly have fared otherwise with France, if such a prince as that latter kingdom had recently lost in Charles the Fifth had still led her armies and directed her councils. While England was thus husbanding her resources, and increasing in material prosperity, that unhappy country was undergoing a trial which, for duration and extremity of suffering, had hitherto been without a parallel in her history. The death of Charles the Fifth threw the government of the realm into the hands of a youthful sovereign, whose irregularities ended ere long in the loss of his reason. Whilst in this helpless condition, he was surrounded by persons who traded upon his madness and made a gain of the miseries of his people. And to make his position yet more lamentable, his enemies were chiefly those of his own household.

§ 8. Foremost on the list were the two individuals from whom Charles might naturally have expected the warmest sympathy and the most effective help, his wife, Isabella of Bavaria, and his brother, Louis, duke of Orleans. The names of these two great criminals are inseparably associated. Of the former, it may be enough to say that she deserted her husband in the midst of his visitation, persecuted her son Charles the Seventh with implacable hatred as long as she had the power to injure him, and accepted as her paramour the brother of her crazed husband. She is the type of vulgar sensualism; selfish, gross, and unspiritual: devoid of those brilliant

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

qualities which sometimes accompany sin, and make men think that it is not so exceeding sinful.<sup>1</sup> There was nothing to palliate the ugliness of her guilt, save simple animal beauty; when that was gone all was gone, and then men wondered how it was that she ever could have been loved or admired.

and Louis  
duke of  
Orleans.

§ 9. There were some redeeming natural graces in the character of the duke of Orleans, which might have become virtues had they been cultivated.<sup>2</sup> The estimable qualities which promised so fairly in his youth vanished, or were perverted, as vice gained the ascendancy over him. His personal appearance was pleasing, there was a winning grace in his address, he acquired an ascendancy over all with whom he associated. There was no want in him of discretion, or judgment, or common sense, but he seldom listened to their dictates; he was an accomplished speaker, but his eloquence was generally applied to the furtherance of some unworthy object. Nor were his qualities simply negative; there was in him a considerable amount of positive evil, unmistakably developed. His vices were conspicuous and notorious. In later life he became arrogant and suspicious, sensual and cruel, cowardly and crafty.<sup>3</sup> His expenditure was boundless,<sup>4</sup> and it was supported by

<sup>1</sup> The bust of the queen in the Gallery of Sculpture at Versailles, coincides with and supports this estimate of her character. The face is sensual and unintellectual, and the lower features are unpleasingly developed.

<sup>2</sup> "Le duc d'Orleans avoit assez bon sens et entendement, et estoit beau prince et gracieux," Juv. des Ursins, 109. The monk of S. Denys has preserved many illustrations of his temper and character,

both for good and evil, but he has shown that the latter predominated. See also, "Louis et Charles, ducs d'Orléans, leur influence sur les arts, la littérature, et l'esprit de leur siècle," par A. Champollion-Figeac. 8 Paris, 1844, a curious work, the utility of which, however, is considerably diminished by the absence of precise references to the documents upon which it is founded.

<sup>3</sup> S. Denys, iii., 119, 458.

<sup>4</sup> Id. iii., 266, 330, 460.



Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## PREFACE.

xvii

measures of the most unscrupulous audacity and dishonesty. During his administration he ground down the people with taxes, which, as it was notorious, were never applied to the purpose for which they were collected.<sup>1</sup> Upon one occasion, he decided that it had become necessary for the exigencies of the state that a tax of seventeen millions<sup>2</sup> should be raised. The money so collected was deposited in a tower in the palace. The duke, finding that he wanted money—he always wanted money—came by night with some armed men, broke open the doors, and violently carried off a large portion of the treasure. In the same year a second contribution was demanded in order to resist, it was said, a threatened invasion of the English, and eight hundred thousand crowns were again wrung from the people.<sup>3</sup> It was openly stated, and universally believed, that of this immense sum not one single piece of gold found its way into the public treasury; the whole was squandered by the duke and the queen upon their pleasures.<sup>4</sup> Thus things went on until Paris rung with the execrations which the guilty couple drew down upon themselves. They had become a scandal to France, and a proverb and a by-word to the other nations of Europe.<sup>5</sup> A monk, preaching before the queen, ventured openly to tell her of the estimation in which she was held, in consequence of the laxity of her own personal morality and that of her court. “If you will not believe me,” said he, “disguise yourself, put on the dress of a poor woman, and go into the town, and you will soon understand my meaning.”<sup>6</sup>

§ 10. Truly the people hated her.<sup>7</sup> They might have

Unpopularity of this faction,

<sup>1</sup> S. Denys, iii., 229.

<sup>2</sup> So says the monk of S. Denys; but the question arises, Seventeen millions of what coin?

<sup>3</sup> S. Denys, iii., 141.

<sup>4</sup> Id. 229.

<sup>5</sup> Id. 266.

<sup>6</sup> Id. 268.

<sup>7</sup> Her life was frequently in danger. See Monstrel., p. 53, edit. Panth. and Ordonn. x. 176.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

forgiven her sin, but they could not forgive her heartlessness. They found excuses for the inexcusable dissipation and extravagance of Louis of Orleans: he was so merry, so good-humoured with it all; true, he was very wicked, but he sinned pleasantly. They could not brook the tranquil, heartless sensuality of the queen, so avaricious too, in the midst of her excesses. The duke wanted money to spend it, she wanted money to hoard it. Besides, she was a foreigner. They had stories of frequent troops of horses laden with gold which she sent home to her native Bavaria, and they cried out that she was impoverishing France to enrich Germany.<sup>1</sup> They knew what was passing in the king's palace, from which she absented herself; a palace, and yet a madhouse and a prison. The poor king and his child and hers were scantily supplied with the very necessaries of life. Upon one occasion, as the king was seated at dinner, the nurse of the young dauphin informed him that the royal household was unprovided with food and clothing, that she had asked for them, and that her applications were disregarded.<sup>2</sup> This occurred during one of the king's intervals of sanity, then the queen left him, because she did not like his company; when his malady returned, she would not live with him, because she was afraid of him.<sup>3</sup> His condition was horrible. When he ate, he fell upon his food like a wolf.<sup>4</sup> For five months he could not be persuaded to take off his clothes, and he was covered with filth and vermin. At length it became necessary that something should be done, and "a very skilful physician" prescribed the mode of treatment. Ten or twelve men, with their faces blackened, and in disguise, "very fearful to look upon," burst into the room in which he lay at night, and seized the poor maniac. They violently stripped his filthy rags off his vermin-

<sup>1</sup> S. Denys, iii., 232.

<sup>2</sup> Juv. des Ursins, 215.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. S. Denys, vi., 486.

<sup>4</sup> . . . . . "bien glouement et  
"lounissement." Juv. des Ursins,  
220.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## PREFACE.

xix

eaten skin, and dressed him in his new clothes.<sup>1</sup> It was believed that this disease was the result of witchcraft, and that a spell had been cast upon him by his brother of Orleans.<sup>2</sup> This at least was the popular idea; while the more sober-minded held that these calamities which pressed so heavily upon all were sent as a punishment for the sins of the nation, and they waited in the expectation that ere long a yet heavier vengeance would overtake the guilty.<sup>3</sup> They had not to wait long. The blow fell at last, but it was attended with results even more fatal than those which had been anticipated.

§ 11. In his intervals of reason, Charles the Sixth had invoked the aid of the duke of Burgundy against his brother and the queen,<sup>4</sup> and his appeal had not been in vain. Jean sans Peur, as he was ostentatiously, but somewhat undeservedly, called, stood forward as the guardian of the king, as the protector of the nation,

<sup>1</sup> These particulars and others equally horrible are given by Juvenal des Ursins, 220.

<sup>2</sup> The details of the magical arts used by the duke of Orleans against his brother are omitted in many manuscripts, and in all the printed editions of Monstrelet previous to that of Buchon. See his note p. 80, edit. Panth. The accusation was alluded to by Henry IV. in 1402, during the course of his angry correspondence with the duke. He writes thus, "Et plut a Dieu que vous n'eussiez oncques fait ni procuré contre la personne de votre dit seigneur et frere, ou les siens, plus que nous n'avons de notre dit seigneur; si créons qu'ils en fussent a présent plus aises." Id. i. ch. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolas de Clamengis, who wrote at this time thus expresses the popular sentiment: "Et mirari debet aliquis si Christi desertores Christus deseruit? Quo deserente, cuncta super nos violenti torrentis impetu undique mala inundaverunt. Unde enim regem nostrum, suapte natura clementissimum et optimum, ita flagellatum credimus? . . . unde postremo, ut fontem malorum aperiam, bella inter nos tam crudelia, tam impia, tamque infausta, nisi propter execrabilia Deoque ulterius importabilia quæ inter nos regnant scelera, quæ necesse est ut nos mature, nisi aliter obsistamus, in capitale atque irreparabile demergant exitium." De Lapsu et Reparatione Justitiæ, cap. viii, p. 47, ed. 1613.

<sup>4</sup> Juv. des Ursins, 216.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

and as the vindicator of public morality.<sup>1</sup> He was a formidable antagonist to the party of Orleans and Isabella of Bavaria.<sup>2</sup> His position as a member of the family of Valois,<sup>3</sup> his wealth, and his immense possessions, gave him great weight in the councils of the nation. He was highly popular with that busy and influential body which gave the tone to public opinion, the citizens of Paris; for he proclaimed that he had come to reform the oppressive government of the Orleanists,<sup>4</sup> and to cut down the duke's expenditure, public and private. There were personal antipathies, moreover. Cold and haughty in manner, the duke of Burgundy disliked and despised the careless gaiety of his cousin of Orleans, who took his revenge by laughing at the solemn reserve and the steady respectability of the other. Political interests clashed, and gave an intensity to personal animosity; Orleans was plotting for the acquisition of influence and territorial extension, which, if obtained, would cripple the power and compromise the safety of

<sup>1</sup> Clamengis, after having depicted the miseries into which France had fallen, thus addresses the duke:—"In hac tristissima temporum caligine, in hoc totius iniquitatis inundante diluvio, in hoc omnium vitiorum, scelerum, flagitiorumque inaudita confusione, te, infelix et calamitosa patria, dux illustris ac præclarissime, auxiliatorem remediique ministrum expectat. Tu præsidium, tu refugium, tu salutis post Salvatorem spes amplissima es." Cap. x., p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> At one period open war seemed to be imminent. Charles recites, in one of his Ordonnances (12 Oct. 1405), that the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, "Ayent faictz grans mandemens de gens d'armes et autres gens de guerre." Ordonn.,

xii. 223. Upon a previous occasion, 14 Jan. 1401, a reconciliation had been brought about by the intervention of queen Isabella, the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Berry and Orleans. De Laborde, iii., *Introd.*, p. vi., who cites the Register, K. 55, n. 16, in the Imperial Archives.

<sup>3</sup> He strengthened this relationship by marrying his daughter Margaret to the dauphin Louis, son of Charles VI. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, xi. 81, ed. 1818.

<sup>4</sup> One of his proposals, which must have terrified the prodigal duke of Orleans, was that he should be required to render an account of how he had expended the revenues of the nation which had been at his disposal for three years. P. Cochon, *Chron. Normande*, p. 373.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:  
During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## PREFACE.

xxi

the House of Burgundy.<sup>1</sup> Hostility sprung up between them at each turn. They were rivals everywhere, in the camp and at the council-board, in peace and in war, even at the fireside; for the crowning insult had come in the shape of a complaint from the young wife of Jean sans Peur, who told her husband that the profligate Orleans had ventured to make proposals to her which, if unavenged, would be an eternal stain upon her honour.<sup>2</sup>

§ 12. Such was the position of affairs in France towards the end of the year 1407. Yet the crisis, which, to all appearance, had so long been impending, seemed to be arrested by the mediation of the relatives of the two cousins. Upon Sunday, the twentieth of November, "they heard mass together, and received " the Body of the Lord."<sup>3</sup> Upon the twenty-second they dined with their uncle, the old duke de Berri, and met and parted like men who had outlived past grievances.<sup>4</sup> The duke of Orleans invited Burgundy to dine with him on the following Sunday, and the invitation was accepted. On the evening of the next day, Wednesday, Orleans went to visit the queen, who had given birth to a dead child a fortnight before. He left her about eight o'clock, upon the receipt of a message which stated that the king wanted to see him upon matters of urgent importance. He proceeded on his way to the palace, along the Rue Vielle du Temple, slenderly escorted. Two of his esquires, riding upon

The duke  
of Orleans  
is mur-  
dered

<sup>1</sup> He possessed himself of Luxembourg in 1402, *Art de Vérif. les Dates*, xiv. 143. About the same time he acquired enormous possessions in Coucy, Ham, Peronne, and Laon, all contiguous to the territories of the duke of Burgundy. See "Les ducs de Bourgogne," by Le Comte de Laborde, iii., *Introd.*, p. iii., note.

<sup>2</sup> "Contigit . . . ut Aurelianensium dux . . . eam de stupro seu adulterio sollicitavit. Cui sceleri magno animo resistenti, vim etiam inferre attentare præsumpsit." Tho. Basin, *Hist. Caroli VII.*, i. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Juv. des Ursins*, 235.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. de la Pucelle*, 115.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04287-1 - Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France:

During the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England: Volume 1

Edited by Joseph Stevenson

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

the same horse, and four or five valets carrying torches, some before him, some behind, formed his entire retinue. He was anxious that his visits to the queen should attract as little notice as possible. He had not gone far before he was surrounded by twelve or fourteen masked assailants armed with swords, axes, and clubs, who attacked him so suddenly that he had not time either to fight or escape. In reply to his terrified exclamation, "I am the duke of Orleans," came the answer, "It is you we want." He was cut down from his mule, stabbed, hacked, gashed, and bruised. A young esquire, a German, attempted to save him by throwing himself upon the body, and he shared his fate.<sup>1</sup> The murderers leapt upon their horses, and rode off. Then a tall man, wearing a red hat drawn far down over his eyes, came out of an adjoining house, and holding a wisp of lighted straw close to the face of the body, watched to see whether he still breathed. Satisfied that all was over, and that the work had been done effectually, he hurried after the others. When the people in the neighbourhood at last ventured out into the street, they found that the murdered man was the duke of Orleans. He was dead; the blows would have killed him had he had ten lives. His right arm, which he had raised with the instinct of self-preservation, was cut to the bone in two places, at the wrist and at the elbow. His left hand was clean gone, but it was found afterwards at a considerable distance. His scull was cleft open from the back to the forehead, and from ear to ear, and the brains were scattered here and there upon the bloody pavement.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two others of his attendants were wounded at the same time. In a list of the household of the late duke, dated 19 January 1408, mention is made of "Robin Huppe, qui fut mutilé avec monseigneur le

"duc," and of Guillaume Quidoit, "qui fut semblablement mutilé avec mon dit seigneur." Laborde, p.vi.

<sup>2</sup> This account of the murder of the duke of Orleans is founded upon the depositions of eye-wit