

CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED

In 1577, Raphael Holinshed, about whom practically nothing is known, published his *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. For the second edition, issued in 1587, the *Chronicles* were re-edited, modernized, amplified, and brought up to date by other men: John Hooker, Abraham Fleming, and Francis Thynne, among others. This was the edition from which Shakespeare drew the material for many of his plays, including his treatment of Joan of Arc in *I Henry VI*, and it is the edition from which we take the following pertinent selection from the account of the reign of Henry VI. Although Holinshed's standards of historical authenticity are by no means as strict as those cherished by modern historians, he makes frequent acknowledgment of his sources, even noticing some disagreement among them. For his account of the war with France, he relies heavily on Halle's *The Union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke, 1398-1547*, (London, 1550), except for the material on Joan, for which he frequently refers to French sources, although it is clear that he did not hesitate to color his account with a patriotic English point of view, while at the same time warning his readers that the French accounts were undoubtedly partisan. Holinshed's spelling of French names is of course according to English phonetics; the editors have glossed only those of important French places and people, together with a few archaic English works and constructions. Holinshed's marginal notations have been deleted.

HENRIE THE SIXT.

...In the moneth of September¹ the earle² came before the citie of Orleance, and planted his siege on the one side of the riuer of Loire; but before his comming, the bastard of Orleance,³ the bishop of the citie, and a great number of Scots, hearing of the earles intent, made diuerse fortifications about the towne, and destroyed the suburbes, in which were twelue parish churches, and foure orders of friers. They cut also downe all the vines, trees, and bushes, within fiue leagues of the citie, so that the Englishmen should haue neither refuge nor succour.

After the siege had continued full three weekes, the bastard of Orleance issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen; but they receiued him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his companie compelled to retire and flee backe into the citie. But the Englishmen followed so fast, in killing and taking of their enimies, that they entered with them.

The bulworke of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken in continentlie⁴ by the Englishmen, who behaued themselues right valiantlie vnder the conduct of their couragious capteine, as at this assault, so in diuerse skirmishes against the French; partlie to keepe possession of that which Henrie the fift had by his magnanimitie & puissance atchieued, as also to enlarge the same. But all helped not. For who can hold that which will awaie: In so much that some cities by fraudulent practises, othersome by martiall prowesse were recoured by the French, to the great discouragement of the English and the appalling of their spirits; whose hope was now dashed partlie by their great losses and discomfitures (as after you shall heare) but cheeflie by the death of the late deceased Henrie their victorious king.⁵...

In this conflict, manie Frenchmen were taken, but more were slaine, and the keeping of the tower and bulworke was committed to William Glasdale esquier. By the taking of this bridge the

passage was stopped, that neither men nor vittels could go or come by that waie. After this, the earle caused certeine bulworkes to be made round about the towne, casting trenches between the one and the other, laieng ordinance in eurie place where he saw that any batterie might be deuised. When they within saw that they were enuironed with fortresses and ordinance, they laid gun against gun, and fortified towers against bulworkes, and within cast new rampiers, and fortified themselues as stronglie as might be deuised.

The bastard of Orleance and the Hire⁶ were appointed to see the walles and watches kept, and the bishop saw that the inhabitants within the citie were put in good order, and that vittels were not vanelie spent. In the tower that was taken at the bridge end (as before you haue heard) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of iron, by which a man might looke all the length of the bridge into the citie; at which grate manie of the cheefe capteins stood manie times, viewing the citie, and deuising in what place it was best to giue the assault. They within the citie well perceiued this tooting hole and laid a peece of ordinance directlie against the window.

It so chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie after the siege was laid, the earle of Salisburie, sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glasdale, with diurse other went into the said tower, and so into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a short space, the sonne of the maister-gunner, perceiuing men looking out at the window, tooke his match (as his father had taught him) who was gone downe to dinner, and fired the gun; the shot whereof brake, and shiuered the iron barres of the grate, so that one of the same bars strake the earle so violentile on the head, that it stroke awaie one of his eies, and the side of his cheeke. Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise striken, and died within two daies.

The earle was conueied to Meun on Loire, where after eight daies he likewise departed this world whose bodie was conueied into England with all funerall appointment, and buried at Bissam by his progenitors, leauing behind him an onelie daughter named Alice, married to Richard Neuill, sonne to Rafe earle of Westmerland, of whome more shall be said heerafter. The damage that the realme of England receiued by the losse of this nobleman, manifestlie appeared; in that immediatlie after his death, the prosperous good lucke, which had followed the English nation, began to decline, and the glorie of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the sea fell in decaie.

Though all men were sorrowfull for his death, yet the duke of Bedford was most striken with heauinesse, as he that had lost his onelie right hand, and cheefe aid in time of necessitie. But sith⁷ that dead men cannot helpe the chances of men that be liuing, he like a prudent gouernour appointed the earle of Suffolke to be his lieutenant and capteine of the siege, and ioined with him the lord Scales, the lord Talbot, sir John Fastolfe, and diurse other right valiant capteins. These persons caused bastilles to be made round about the citie, and left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance their purpose, which to bring to wished effect there was not anie want, as of no cautelous policie, so of no valiant interprise, tending to the enimies ouerthrow.

In the Lent season vittels and artillerie began to waxe scant in the English campe, wherefore the earle of Suffolke appointed sir John Fastolfe, sir Thomas Rampston, and sir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris, to the lord regent, to informe him of their lacke, who incontinentlie vpon that information prouided vittels, artillerie, and munitions necessarie, and loded therewith manie chariots, carts, and horsses: and for the sure conueieng of the same, he appointed sir Simon Morhier, prouost of Paris, with the gard of the citie, and diurse of his owne household seruants to accompanie sir John Fastolfe and his complices, to the armie lieng at the siege of Orleance. They were in all to the number of fifteene hundred men, of the which there were not past fiue or six hundred Englishmen.

These departing in good order of battell out of Paris, came to Genuille in Beausse, and in a morning earlie, in a great frost, they departed from thence toward the siege; and when they came to a towne called Rowraie, in the lands of Beausse, they perceiued their enimies comming towards them, being to the number of nine or ten thousand of Frenchmen and Scots, of whome were capteins Charles of Cleremont, sonne to the duke of Bourbon then being prisoner in England; sir William Steward constable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of captiuitie, the earle of Perdriake, the lord Iohn Vandosme, the Vidame of Chartes, the lord of Toures, the lord of Lohar, the lord of Eglere, the lord of Beauiew, the bastard Tremoile, and manie other valiant capteins.

Wherefore sir Iohn Fastolfe set all his companie in good order of battell, and pitched stakes before euerie archer, to breake the force of the horssemen. At their backes they set all the wagons and carriages, and within them they tied all their horssemen. In this maner stood they still, abiding the assault of their enimies. The Frenchmen by reason of their great number, thinking themselues sure of the victorie, egerlie set on the Englishmen, which with great force them receiued, and themselues manfullie defended. At length, after long and cruell fight, the Englishmen droue backe and vanquished the proud Frenchmen, & compelled them to flee. In this conflict were slaine the lord William Steward constable of Scotland, and his brother the lord Dorualle, the lord Chauteaubriam, sir Iohn Basgot, and other Frenchmen and Scots, to the number of fiue and twentie hundred, and aboue eleuen hundred taken prisoners, although the French writers affirmed the number lesse.

After this fortunate victorie, sir Iohn Fastolfe, and his companie (hauing lost no one man of anie reputation) with all their cariages, vittels, and prisoners, marched foorth and came to the English campe before Orleance, where they were ioifullie receiued, and highlie commended for the valiancie and worthie prowesse shewed in the battell; the which bicause most part of the cariage was herring and lenton stufte, the Frenchmen called it the battell of herrings. The earle of Suffolke being thus vittelled, continued the siege, and euerie daie almost skirmished with the Frenchmen within, who (at length-being in despaire of all succours) offered to treat, and in conclusion, to saue themselues and the citie from captiuitie of their enimies they deuised to submit the citie, themselues and all theirs vnder the obeisance of Philip duke of Burgognie,⁸ bicause he was extract out of the stocke and bloud roiall of the ancient kings of France, thinking by this means (as they did in deed) to breake or diminish the great amitie betweene the Englishmen and him.

This offer was signified by them vnto the duke of Burgognie, who with thanks certified them againe, that he would gladlie receiue them, if the lord regent would therewith be contented. Herevpon he dispatched messengers to the duke of Bedford, who though some counselled that it should be verie good and necessarie for him to agree to that maner of yeelding; yet he and other thought it neither conuenient nor honourable, that a citie so long besieged by the king of England, should be deliuered vnto anie other prince, than to him, or to his regent, for that might be a verie bad president to other townes in anie like case. Herevpon the regent answered the burgognian ambassadors: that after so long a siege on his part and obstinat a resistance of theirs, he might not receiue rendring and conditions at their appointment. At this answer the duke hoong the groine, as conceiuing that our side should enuie his glorie, or not to be so forward in aduancing his honour as he would have it.

In time of this siege at Orleance (French stories saie) the first weeke of March 1428,⁹ vnto Charles the Dolphin,¹⁰ at Chinon as he was in verie great care and studie how to wrestle against the English nation, by one Peter Badricourt capteine of Vacouleur, (made after marshall of France by the Dolphins creation) was caried a yoong wench of an eightene yeeres old, called Ione Are,¹¹ by name of hir father (a sorie sheeheard) Iames of Are, and Isabell hir mother, brought vp poorelie in their trade of keeping cattell, borne at Domprin (therefore reported by Bale, Ione Domprin) vpon Meuse in Loraine within the diocesse of Thoule. Of fauour was she counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall, an vnderstander of counsels though she were not at them, great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behaiour, the name of Iesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses, humble, obedient, and fasting diuerse daies in the weeke. A person (as their bookes make hir) raised vp by power diuine, onelie for succour to the French estate then deepe in distresse, in whome, for planting a credit the rather, first the companie that toward the Dolphin did conduct hir, through places all dangerous as holden by the English, where she neuer was afore all the waie and by nightertale safelie did she lead: then at the Dolphins sending by her assignement, from saint Katharins church of Fierbois in Touraine (where she neuer had beene and knew not) in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword to be sought out and brought hir, that with fiue floure delices¹² was grauen on both sides, wherewith she fought & did amie slaughters by hir owne hands. On warfar rode she in armour cap a pic & mustered as a man, before hir an ensigne all white, wherin was Iesus Christ painted with a floure delice in his hand.

Vnto the Dolphin into his gallerie when first she was brought, and he shadowing himselfe behind, setting other gaie lords before him to trie hir cunning from all the companie, with a salutation (that indeed marz all the matter) she pickt him out alone, who therevpon had hir to the end of the gallerie, where she held him an houre in secret and priuate talke, that of his priuie chamber was thought verie long, and therefore would haue broken it off; but he made them a sign to let hir saie on. In which (among other) as likelie it was, she set out vnto him the singular feats (forsooth) giuen her to vnderstand by reuelation diuine, that in vertue of that sword shee should atchiue, which were, how with honor and victorie shee would raise the siege at Orleance, set him in state of the crowne of France, and driue the English out of the countrie, thereby he to inioie the kingdom alone. Heerevpon he hartened at full, appointed hir a sufficient armie with absolute power to lead them, and they obedientlie to doo as she had them. Then fell she to worke, and first defeated indeed the siege at Orleance, by and by incourged him to crowne himselfe king of France at Reims, that a little before from the English she had woone. Thus after pursued she manie bold enterprises to our great displeasure a two yeare together, for the time she kept in state vntill she were taken and for hersie and witcherie burned: as in particularities hereafter followeth. But in hir prime time she armed at all points (like a iolie capteine) roade from Poictiers to Blois and there found men of warre, vittels, and munitions, ready to be conueied to Orleance.

Heere was it knowne that the Englishmen kept not so diligent watch as they had beene accustomed to doo, and therefore this maid (with other French capteins) comming forward in the dead time of night, and in a great raine and thunder entred into the citie with all their vittels, artillerie and other necessarie prouisions. The next daie the Englishmen boldlie assaulted the towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles so, as no great feat worthie of memorie chanced that daie betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Englishmen, wherypon the bastard of Orleance gaue knowledge to the duke of Alanson,¹³ in what danger the towne stood without his present helpe, who comming within two leagues of the citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they should be readie the next daie to receiue him.

This accordingle was accomplished: for the Englishmen willinglie suffered him and his armie also to enter, supposing that it should be for their aduantage to haue so great a multitude to enter the citie, whereby their vittels (whereof they within had great scarsitie) might the sooner be consumed. On the next daie in the morning, the Frenchmen altogether issued out of the towne, woone by assault the bastile of saint Lou,¹⁴ and set it on fire. And after they likewise assaulted the tower at the bridge foot, which was manfullie defended. But the Frenchmen (more in number) at length tooke it, yer the lord Talbot could come to the succours, in the which William Gladesdale the capteine was slaine, with the lord Moolins, and lord Poinings also.

The Frenchmen puffed vp with this good lucke, fetched a compasse about, and in good order of battell marched toward the bastile, which was in the keeping of the lord Talbot: the which vpon the enimies approach, like a capteine without all fear or dread of that great multitude, issued foorth againt them, and gaue them so sharpe an incounter, that they not able to withstand his puissance, fled (like sheepe before the wolfe) againe into the citie, with great loss of men and small artillerie. Of Englishmen were lost in the two Bastiles, to the number of six hundred persons, or thereabout, though the French writers multiplie this number of hundred to thousands, as their maner is.

The earle of Suffolke, the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and other capteins assembled together in councell, and after causes shewed to and fro, it was amongst them determined to leaue their fortresses and bastiles, and to assmble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the daie, to see if the Frenchmen would issue foorth to fight with them. This conclusion taken was accordingle executed: but when the Frenchmen durst not once come foorth to shew their heads, the Englishmen set fire of their lodgings, and departed in good order of Battell from Orleance. The next daie, which was the eight daie of Maie, the earle of Suffolke rode to Iargeaux with foure hundred Englishmen, and the lord Talbot with an other companie returned to Mehun. And after he had fortified that towne, he went to the towne of Lauall, and woone it, together with the castell, sore punishing the townsmen for the cankered obstinacie against them.

Thus when the Englishmen had seuered themselues into garrisons, the duke of Alanson, the bastard of Orleance, Ione le Pusell,¹⁵ the lord Gawcourt, and diuerse other capteins of the

Frenchmen, came the twelwe daie of Iune, before the town of Iargeaux, where the earle of Suffolke and his two brethren sojourned, & gaue to the towne so fierce an assault on three parts, that Pointon de Sentrailes, perceiuing an other part void of defendants, scaled the wals on that side, and without diffidultie tooke the towne, and slue sir Alexander Poole, brother to the erle, and manie other, to the number of two hundred. But the Frenchmen gained not much thereby, for they lost three hundred good men and more. Of the Englishmen fortie were taken, with the earle and his other brother named Iohn.

The Frenchmen, as they returned to Orleance, fell at variance for their prisoners, and slue them all, sauing the earle and his brother. Shortlie after, the same French armie came to Mehun, where they tooke the tower at the bridge foot, and put therein a garrison. From thence they remooued to Baugencie, and constreined them that were within the towne to yeeld. vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. At the same place there came to the duke of Alanson, the new constable Arthur of Britaine, and with him the lord Dalbret, and other. Also after this the earle of Vandosme came to them, so that by the dailie repaire of such as assembled together to strengthen the French part, they were in all to the number betweene twentie and three and twentie thousand men.

All which being once joined in one armie, shortlie after fought with the lord Talbot (who had with him not past six thousand men) neere vnto a village in Beausse called Pataie: at which battell the charge was giuen by the French so vpon a sudden, that the Englishmen had not leisure to put themselues in arraie, after they had put vp their stakes before their archers, so that there was no remedie but to fight at aduenture. This battell continued by the space of three long houres; for the Englishmen, though they were ouerpressed with multitude of their enimies, yet they neuer fled backe one foot, till their capteine the lord Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so taken.

Then their hearts began to faint, and they fled in which flight were slaine aboue twelue hundred and fortie taken, of whome the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Rampston were cheefe. Diuerse archers, after they had shot all their arrowes, hauing onelie their swords, defended themselues and with helpe of some of thei horsemen came safe to Mehun. This ouerthrow, and speciallie the taking of the lord Talbot, did not so much reioise the Frenchmen; but it did as much abash the Englishmen: so that immediatlie therevpon, the townes of Ienuile, Mehun, Fort, and diuerse other, returned from the English part, and became French. From this battell departed without anie stroke striken sir Iohn Fastolfe, the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter. But for doubt of misdealing at this brunt, the duke of Bedford tooke from him the image of saint George, and his garter; though afterward by meanes of freends, and apparant causes of good excuse, the same were to him againe deliuered against the mind of the lord Talbot.

Charles the Dolphin that called himselfe French K.¹⁶ perceiuing fortune to smile thus vpon him, assembled a great power, and determined to conquer the citie of Reimes that he might be there sacred,¹⁷ crowned, and annointed, according to the custome of his progenitours, that all men might judge that he was by all lawes and decrees a just and lawfull king. In his waie thitherwards he besieged the citie of Auxerre, the citzens whereof compounded with him to yeeld, if they were not rescued within certeine dates. From thence he came before Trois, and after twelue daies siege had that citie deliuered vnto him by composition, that the capteine sir Philip Hall (with his people and moouables) might depart in safetie. After that Trois was yeelded, the communalitie of Chaalons rebelled against sir Iohn Aubemond their capteine, and constreined him to deliuer the towne vpon like composition. In semblable manner did they of Reimes, desiring him to giue safe conduct to all the Englishmen safelie to depart. When Reimes was thus become French, the foresaid Charles the Dolphin in presence of the dukes of Lorraine and Barre, and of all the noble men of his faction, was sacred there king of France by the name of Charles the seauenth, with all rites and ceremonies thereto belonging. They of Auxerre, when the terme of their appointment was expired submitted themselues to him; and so likewise did all the cities and townes adioining.

The duke of Bedford aduertised of all these doings, assembled his power about him and hauing together ten thousand good Englishmen (beside Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike fashion, and passing thorough Brie to Monstreau fault Yonne, sent by his herald Bedford, letters to the French king, signifieng to him; that where he had (contrarie to the finall conclusion accorded

betweene his noble brother K. Henrie the fift, & king Charles the sixt, father to him that was the vsurper) by allurement of a deuclish witch,¹⁸ taken vpon him the name, title, & dignitie of the king of France; and further had by murther, stealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violentlie gotten, and wrongfullie kept diuerse cities and townes belonging to the king of England his nephue; for prooue thereof he was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the countrie of Brie, by dint of sword and stroke of battell to prooue his writing and cause true, willing his enimie to choose the place, and in the same he would giue him battell.

The new French king being come from Reimes to Dampmartine, studieng how to compass them of Paris, was halfe abashed at this message. But yet to set a good countenance on the matter, he answered the hearld, that he would sooner seeke his maister, than his maister should need to pursue him. The duke of Bedford hearing this answer, marched toward the king, and pitched his field in a strong place. The French king, though at the first he meant to haue abidden battell; yet when he vnderstood that the duke was equall to him in number of people, he changed his purpose, and turned with his armie a little out of the waie. The duke of Bedford, perceiuing his faint courage, followed him by the hils and dales, till he came to a town not far from Senlis, where he found the French king and his armie lodged; wherefore he ordered his battels like an expert cheefteine in martiall science, setting the archers before, and himselfe with the noblemen in the maine battell, and put the Normans on both sides for wings. The French king also ordered his battels with the aduise of his capteins.

Thus these two armies laie two daies and two nights either in sight of other, without anie great dooing, except a few skirmishes, wherein the dukes light horssemen did verie valiantlie. At length in the dead of the night (as priuillie as might be) the French king brake vp his campe, and fled to Braie. The duke of Bedford had much adoo to staie his people in the morning from pursuit of the French armie; but for that he mistrusted the Parisiens, he would not depart farre from that citie, and so returned thither againe.

In this season pope Martin the fift of that name, meaning to subdue the Bohemers that dissented from the church of Rome in matters of religion, appointed Henrie Beaufort Bishop of Winchester & cardinall of saint Eusebie to be his legat in an armie that should inuade the kingdome of Boheme, and to bring a power of men with him out of England. And because the warre touched religion, he licenced the cardinall to take the tenth part of eurie spirtuall dignitie, benefice, and promotion.

This matter was opened in the parlement house, and assented to: wherevpon the bishop gathered the monie, and assembled foure thousand men & aboue, not without great grudge of the people, which dailie were with tallages and aids wearied and sore burdened. As this bishop was come to Douer readie to passe the seas ouer into Flanders, the duke of Glocester hauing receiued letters from the duke of Bedford, conteining an earnest request to releuee him with some speedie aid of men of warre, was constreined to write vnto the bishop of Winchester, willing him in time of such need, when all stood vpon losse or gaine, to passe with all his armie toward the duke of Bedford, to assist him against his aduersaries; which thing doone, and to his honour atchiued, he might performe his iourne against the vngratious Bohemers. The cardinall (though not well contented with this countermand) yet least he should run into the note of infamie, if he refused to aid the regent of France in so great a cause, passed ouer with his power, and brought the same vnto his coosine to the citie of Paris.

About the same season, the French king, in hope to be receiued into the townes of Campaigne and Beauuois (by reason of the fauour and good will which the inhabitants bare towards him) was come with an armie towards Campaigne. Whereof the duke of Bedford being aduertised, and hauing now his host augmented with the new supplie, which the cardinall had of late brought vnto him, marched forward with great speed toward the place where he vnderstood the French king was lodged: and comming to Senlis, he perceiued how his enimies were incamped vpon the mount Pilioll, betweene Senlis and Campaigne.

Here might either armie behold the other: wherevpon for the auoiding of dangers that might insue, the campos were trenched, and the battels pitched, and the fields ordered as though they should haue tried the matter by battell: but nothing was doone except with skirmishes, in the which the Normans sore vexed the Frenchmen; and therefore receiued great commendations and

praises of the lord regent: who vndoubtedlie determined to haue giuen battell to his enimies if the would haue abidden it. But after the armies had thus lien ether in sight of other, for the space of two days together, the French king not determining to aduenture in an open battell the whole chance of the game, least he might thereby receiue a perpetuall checkmate, in the night season remooued his campe, and fled to Crespie, though his number was double to the English armie. The duke of Bedford, seeing that the French king was thus cowardlie recoiled with all his power and armie, returned againe to Paris, euer suspecting the deceitfull faith of the Parisiens.

The bishop of Winchester, after that the French king was retreated backe, went into Boheme, and there did somewhat, though shortlie after without anie great praise or gaine he returned into England, more glad of his comming backe than of his aduancing forward. Anon after the pope vnlegated him, and set an other in his place, wherewith he was nothing contented. On the sixt daie of Nouember, being the daie of saint Leonard, king Henrie in the eight yeare of his reigne was at Westminster with all pompe and honour crowned king of this realme of England. In the same yere the French king was receiued into the towne of Campaigne, and shortlie after were the townes of Senlis and Beauuois rendered to him. And the lord Longueall tooke by stelth the castell of Aumarle, and slue all the Englishmen within it.

Also about the same time, the Frenchmen recouered castell Gaillard foorth of the Englishmens hands, where the lord Barbason was found in a dungeon, inclosed within a great grate of iron like to a little chamber, and foorthwith they brake open the gate: but Barbason would not come foorth: because he had giuen his faith and promise to one Kingston that was capteine of that fortresse for the king of England, to be true prisoner, vntil the Frenchmen had sent to the same. Kingston (that was departed vpon such couenants as they were agreed vpon at the deliuerie of that fortresse) willing him to come backe againe vpon safe conduct. Which at their earnest request he did, and withall discharged the lord Barbason of his oth; and so then he came foorth, and remained at his libertie, to the great reiosing of the Frenchmen, which iudged that he had bene rather dead than aliue all that time of his imprisonment.

About the same time also the French king sought by all meanes possible to breake the amitie betwixt the realme of England, and the house of Burgognie. Whereof the duke of Bedford hauing intelligence, thought it stood him vpon the more earnestlie to looke to his charge; and namelie as it were an anchorhold, he determined to prouide that he might defend and safelie keepe the duchie of Normandie, and therefore appointing the bishop of Terrowen and Elie, named Lewes of Lutzenburgh,¹⁹ chancellor for king Henrie of the realme of France, to remaine at Paris vpon the defense of that citie, with a conuenient number of Englishmen, he departed into Normandie, and comming to Rone, called a parlement there of the three estates of the duchie, in the which he declared manie things vnto them, touching the happie life, and great freedome which they might be assured to injoy, so long as they continued vnder the English obeisance: and therefore he exhorted them to abide constant in their allegiance, faith, and promise made and sworne to his noble brother king Henrie the fift.

Whilist the duke of Bedford was busie to reteine the Normans in their due obedience, the French king departed from Senlis; and comming to the towne of saint Denis, found in maner desolate, so that he entered there without resistance, and lodged his armie at Mount Martyr and Amberuilliers, neere vnto the citie of Paris; and from thence sent Iohn duke of Alanson, and his sorceresse Ione la Pusell, with three thousand light horssmen to assault the citie, and followed himselfe, in hope to get it either by force or treatie. But the English capteins euerie one keeping his ward and place assigned, so manfullie defended themselues, their walles and towers with the assistance of the Parisiens, that they repelled the Frenchmen, and threw downe Ione their great goddessse into the bottome of the town ditch, where she lay behind the backe of an asse sore hurt in the leg, till the time that she (all filthie with mire and durt) was drawne out by Guischard of Thienbrone, seruant of the duke of Alanson.

The French king perceiuing that he could not preuaile in this enterprise, left the dead bodies behind him, and taking with him the wounded capteins, returned into Berrie. But in the meane waie, the inhabitants of Laignie submitted themselues vnto him. The duke of Bedford being in Normandie, hearing of this sudden attempt, with all hast possible came to Paris, where he gaue manie great thanks, with high commendations vnto the capteins, souldiers and citizens for their

assured fidelitie, great hardinesse & manlie dooing. Which his gentle words so encouraged the harts of the Parisiens, that they sware, promised and concluded, to be freends for euer to the king of England, and his freends, and enimies alwaies to his foes and aduersaries, making proclamation by this stile: "Freends to K. Henrie, freends to the Parisiens; Enimies to England, enimies to Paris." Marie whether this was vttered from their harts, it is hard so to saie, for the sequeale of their acts seemed to proue the contrarie.

Soon after these dooings, came to Paris with a great companie Philip duke of Burgognie, and then vpon long consultation had for the recouerie of their losses, it was agreed that the duke of Bedford should raise an armie, & that the duke of Burgognie should be his deputie, and tarie at Paris for the defense of the citie. The duke of Bedford then without any great resistance recouered againe the towne of saint Denis, with diuerse other fortresses. And after this he sent the bastard of Clarence to laie seige to the castell of Torsie, the which (notwithstanding the great strength therof) after six moneths siege, was rendered vp into his hands. During the siege of this castell, sir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure hundred Englishmen departed from Gourneie in Normandie, and rode by Beauuois, spoiling and wasting the countrie to the suburbes of Cleremont. Whereof the earle of that towne hauing aduertisement, assembled all the men of warre of the garrisons adioining, and with the same set forward to fight with the Englishmen, whom he found in a strict place neere to Beauuois.

The earle of Cleremont, perceiuing that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reason of the strength, came downe on foot with all his companie, and fiercelie set on the Englishmen: but by the terrible shot of the English archers, the Frenchmen in the end were constrained to flee; and the Englishmen perceiuing the matter, streight leapt on horsebacke and followed the chase. In the which were taken two hundred prisoners, and thrise as manie slaine. The earle escaped by the swiftnesse of his horse. At the same season the earle of Suffolke besieging the towne of Aumarle (whereof was capteine the lord of Rambures) after foure and twentie great assaults, had the towne and castell simplie to him rendred. Thus by little and little the Englishmen recouered manie townes which before they had lost. Howbeit about the verie same time, the Frenchmen stale the towne of Lauall, by treason wrought by a miller, which keeping a mill that ioined to the wall, suffered the French to passe through his mill into the towne. Shortlie after also sir Steuen de Vignouilles, surnamed la Hire, tooke by scaling the towne of Louiers in Normandie. The Englishmen in the cold moneth of December besieged the towne of Laignie in the which was the Pusell, and diuerse other good capteins.

[In the moneth of Maie 1430, with a valiant man in feats of armes on the duke of Burgognions side, one Franquet and his band of three hundred souldiers, making all towards the maintenance of the siege, the Pusell Ione and a foure hundred with hir did meet. In great courage and force did she and hir people sundrie times assaile him, but he with his (though much vnder in number) by meanes of his archers in good order set, did so hardilie withstand them, that for the first and second push she rather lost than wan? Wherat this captinesse striken into a fretting chafe, called out in all hast the garrison of Laignie, and from other the forts thereabout, who thicke and threefold came downe with might and maine, in armour and number so far exceeding Franquets, that though they had doone hir much hurt in hir horsemen; yet by the verie multitude were they oppressed, most in hir furie put to the sword; & as for to Franquet that worthie capteine himselfe, hir rage not appeased, till out of hand she had his head stroken off; contrarie to all manhood (but she was a woman, if she were that) & contrarie to common right & law of amres. The man for his merits was verie much lamented, and she by hir malice then found of what spirit she was.]

After this the duke of Bourgognie accompanied with the earles of Arundell, and Suffolke, and the lord Iohn of Lutzenburgh besieged the towne of Campiegne with a great puissance. This towne was well walled, manned and vittelled, so that the besiegers were constrained to cast trenches, and make mines, for otherwise they saw not how to compasse their purpose. In the meane time it happened in the night of the Ascension of our lord, that Poiton de Saintreiles, Ione la Pusell, and fiue or six hundred men of armes issued out by the bridge toward Mondedier, intending to set fire in the tents and lodgings of the lord Bawdo de Noielle.

In this yeare of our Lord, among diuerse notable men of learning and knowledge, one Richard Fleming, English borne, a doctor of diuinitie professed in Oxford, did flourish: who by

the prouidence of God grew in such fauour with this king Henrie the sixt, & the nobles neere & about him, that he was preferred to the bishops see of Lincolne. This man founded Lincolne college in Oxford, in which vniuersitie he had been a profitable student. Diuerse bookes he wrote (as the vniuersitie librarie dooth beare witnesse) whereof these following haue beene seene vnder their names and titles; to wit: A protestation against the Spaniards, the Frenchmen, and the Scots, made in the generall councell holden at Sens: one booke of the Etymologie of England; besides diuerse other treatises, as Gesner reporteth Ex bibliotheca Oxonii, aforesaid.]

At the verie same time that Campeigne was besieged (as before is said) sir Iohn of Lutzenburgh, with eight other gentlemen, chanced to be neere vnto the lodging of the said lord Bawdo, where the espied the Frenchmen, which began to cut downe tents, ouerthrow pauillions, & kill men in their beds: wherevpon they with all speed assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgognions, and couragiously set on the Frenchmen, and in the end beat them backe into the towne, so that they fled so fast that one letted another, as they would haue entered. In the chase and pursute was the Pusell taken, with diuerse other, besides those that were slaine, which were no small number. Diuerse were hurt also on both parts. Among the Englishmen, sir Iohn Montgomerie had his arme broken, and sir Iohn Steward was shot into the thigh with a quarell.

[As before ye haue heard somewhat of this damsels strange beginning and proceedings, so sith the ending of all such miraclemongers dooth (for the most part) plainelie decipher the vertue and power that they worke, by hir shall ye be aduertised what at last became of hir; cast your opinions as ye haue cause. Of hir louers (the Frenchmen) reporteth one, how in Campeigne thus besieged, Guillamme de Flaue the capteine hauing sold hir aforehand to the lord of Lutzenburgh,²⁰ vnder colour of hasting hir with a band out of the towne towards their king, for him with speed to come and leaue the siege there, so gotten hir foorth he shut the gates after hir, when anon by the Burgognians set vpon and ouermatcht in the conflict she was taken: marie yet (all things accounted) to no small maruell how it could come so to passe, had she beene of any deuotion or of true beleefe, and no false miscreant, but all holie as she made it. For earlie that morning she gat hir to saint Iameses church, confessed hir, and receiued hir maker (as the booke termes it) and after setting hir selfe to a piller, manie of the townesmen that with a fiue or six score of their children stood about there to see hir, vnto them, "(quod she) Good children and my deere freends, I tell you plaine one hath sold me. I am betraied and shortlie shall be deliuered to death; I beseech you praie to God for me, for I shall neuer haue more power to doo seruice either to the king or to the realme of France againe."

Saith another booke, she was intrapt by a Picard capteine of Soissons, who sold that citie to the duke of Burgonie, and he then put it ouer into the hands of the lord of Lutzenburgh, so by that meanes the Burgognians approached and besieged Campeigne, for succour whereof as damsell Ione with hir capteins from Laignie was thither come, and dailie to the English gaue manie a hot skirmish, so happened it one a daie in an outsallie that she made by a Picard of the lord of Lutzenburghs band, in the fiercest of hir fight she was taken, and by him by and by to his lord persented, who sold hir ouer againe to the English, who for witchcraft and sorcerie burnt hir at Rone. Tillet telleth it thus, that she was caught at Campeigne by one of the earle of Ligneis soldiers, from him had to Beaureuoir castell, where kept a three months, she was after for ten thousand pounds in monie and three hundred pounds rent (all Turnois) sold into the English hands.

In which for hir pranks so vncouth and suspicious, the lord regent by Peter Chauchon bishop of Beauuois (in whose diocese she was taken) caused hir life and beleefe, after order of law to be inquired vpon and examined. Wherein found though a virgin, yet first shamefullie reiecting hir sex abominable in acts and apparell to haue counterfeit mankind, and then all damnable faithlesse, to be a pernicious instrument to hostilitie and bloudshed in diuelish witchcraft and sorcerie, sentence accordinglie was pronounced against hir. Howbeit vpon humble confession of hir iniquities with a countefeit contrition pretending a carefull sorow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that from thencefoorth she should cast off hir vnnaturall wearing of mans abilliments, and keepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abiure hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie, and haue life and leasure in perpetuall prison to bewaile hir misdeeds. Which to performe (according to the maner of abiuration) a solemne oth verie gladlie she tooke.

But herein (God helpe vs) she fullie afore possess of the feend, not able to hold hir in anie towardnesse of grace, falling streight waie into hir former abominations (and yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might) stake not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and (vnmarried as she was) to be with child. For triall, the lord regents lenitie gaue hir nine monehts staie, at the end wherof she found herein as false as wicked in the rest, an eight daies after, vpon a further definitiue sentence declared against hir to be relapse and a renouncer of hir oth and repentance, was she therevpon deliuered ouer to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone, in the selfe same steed²¹ where now saint Michaels church stands, hir ashes afterward without the towne wals shaken into the wind. Now recounting altogether, hir pastorall bringing vp, rude without any vertuous instruction, hir campestrall conuersation with wicked spirits, whome in hir first salutation to Charles the Dolphin, she vttered to be our Ladie, saint Katharine, and saint Annes, that in this behalfe came and gaue hir commandements from God hir maker, as she kept hir fathers lambs in the fields (where saints in warres among christen men were (be we sure) neuer so parciall patrons or partners to maintenance of horrible slaughters, rapines, and bloudshed) hereto hir murtherous mind in killing of Franquet hir owne prisoner, hir two yeares continuance in hir abominations and deadlie mischiefe without anie hir trauell or motion betweene the princes for peace, hir relapse at last & falling againe into hir abiured iniquities, by hir virginie (if it were anie) by hir holie words, hir fasting and praiers what they might be, sith satan (after S. Paule) can change himselfe into an angell of light, the deeplier to deceiue.

These matters may verie righfullie denounce vnto all the world hir execrable abominations, and well iustifie the iudgement she had, and the execution she was put to for the same. A thing yet (God wot²²) verie smallie shadowed, and lesse holpen²³ by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whose dignitie abroad foulie spotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degree of a right christen prince (as he called himselfe) for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his sacred estate, as dealing in diuelish practises with misbeleeuers and witches. Which maladie he full sorilie salued (like one that to kill the strong sent of onions would cheaw a cloue of garlike) so a six and twentie yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whose mandat directed to his three delegats, the bishops of Paris, Reimes, and Constance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in presence of Ione²⁴ (the pusels mother) Iohn and Peter hir brethren, the seuen and twentieth daie of Nouember 1455, the validitie and goodnesse of the processe and sentence vpon hir was called in question, and in great solemnitie sit vpon.

Wherein the cause was so sincerelie canuassed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Iulie 1456, a quite contrarie sentence was there declared ; of effect, that this Ione (forsooth) was a damsell diuine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counsell and witcherie practises with hir; the processe, judgement, and condemnation against hir all wrong and iniurious. And for iustification and remembrance aswell of hir innocencie in life and death, as also of the sinceritie of their later sentence, a new crosse in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillets is she further likened to Debora, Iahell, and Iudith, and vnto Romane Clelia compared by Polydor, that shames not somewhat also to carpe at hir judgment, and much pitieth hir paine. But what puritie or regard of deoution or conscience is in these writers trow yee, who make no consideration of hir heinous enormities, or else any difference betweene one stirred vp by mercie diuine, or naturall loue, and a damnable sorcerer suborned by satan? And thus much of this gentle Ione, and of hir good oratours that haue said so well for hir: now iudge as ye list.]²⁵

ENDNOTES

- [¹ 1428.]
- [² Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury.]
- [³ Jean, count of Dunois, illegitimate son of Louis or Orleans.]
- [⁴ Immediately.]
- [⁵ Henry V.]
- [⁶ Etienne de Vignolles, commonly known as La Hire, a captain of mercenaries.]
- [⁷ Since.]
- [⁸ Burgundy.]
- [⁹ 1428 is an Old Style date, the equivalent of New Style 1429.]
- [¹⁰ Dauphin.]
- [¹¹ Joan's name in the French manuscripts is spelled variously-Darc, Dare, Tarc, Day, and so forth.]
- [¹² Fleur-de-lis.]
- [¹³ The duke of Alencon, a prince of the blood royal. See note on pp. 59-60.]
- [¹⁴ St. Loup.]
- [¹⁵ Joan la Pucelle (Joan the Maid).]
- [¹⁶ King.]
- [¹⁷ Consecrated.]
- [¹⁸ Joan.]
- [¹⁹ Louis of Luxembourg.]
- [²⁰ John of Luxembourg.]
- [²¹ Place.]
- [²² Knows.]
- [²³ Helped.]
- [²⁴ Obviously a mistake. Joan's mother's name was Isabelle Romee.]
- [²⁵ Literally, judge for yourself, or judge as you wish.]