DEEDS OF HENRY THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND: A TRANSLATION OF
HENRICI QUINTI ANGLIAE REGIS GESTA

CHAPTER ONE

The most serene prince, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, Henry the fifth after the conquest, was crowned at Westminster, on Sunday, April the ninth, 1413. Although he began to rule a youth in age but an old man in maturity, as the true elect of God, knowing those things which are above, he studied to embrace with all devotion whatever could effect the increasing honor of God, the expansion of the church, the liberty of his country, and the peace and tranquillity of the world, and especially of the two kingdoms of England and France, as very closely joined together, which for a long and lamentable time, not without great and deplorable shedding of human blood, had bothered each other by mutual war.

And while these most sacred thoughts were filling the royal mind, God Himself, who is the examiner of hearts, and in whose hand are the hearts of kings, that at once vexation might give discernment, and that, in the five of opinion, the king marked him out to be struck by the sword,
tribulation, His elect might be proved, permitted an enemy to rise against him, a certain John of Oldcastle, a knight, one of the most esteemed of his tenants-in-chief. And this man, renowned among the people, proud in heart, brave in spirit, but weak in virtue, rose up not only against the king but against the church universal. For to such an extent had the Wycliffian disease poisoned him, that, reviving almost all the heresies, which, to the subversion of the state and of both swords, for a long time that false prophet of damnable memory, John Wycliff, had brought back from ancient paganism under the colors of new terms, he became a sort of leader and captain in a revolution of the people, which a pestilence of this sort had spread through the several parts of England. And he was not afraid to attack the royal sublimity with a deadly poison of this sort, namely: clever snares of words. But the just and merciful God, who allows no one to be tempted beyond his power, but gives always to his chosen a happy result in trial, not only renders the heart of the king unmovable, but also, like an antitoxin, armed him well against so traitorous a virus. For the king reproved that reviver of such crime and poured upon him now oil, now wine, so that, if in any way he could have done it, he would have killed off the ulcers of poisonous presumption. But when at last the seditious man could be turned back neither by flattery nor by terror, nor by persuasion could be swerved from his obstinate and damnable opinion, the king marked him out to be struck by the sword,
first the spiritual, then the temporal, him whom neither
tender words nor harsh threats could wean away from the
numerous crimes which he had thought up. And, immediately,
the help of the royal power, or rather on the king's
initiative, Lord Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, of
blessed memory, a man of high family, of profound genius, a
noble defender of the church, whom neither prosperity could
lift up nor adversity cast down and than whom no one in the
battle of Christ against seditious men of this sort was found
more strenuous in the days of old, condemned as a heretic
the afore mentioned traitor to God and to man in the following
month of September in London, convicted by his own confession,
ney by violent and obstinate assertion, and delivered him up
to the secular arm for further punishment according to the
laws of the kingdom.

But the pity of the merciful king for the afore-
mentioned apostate soldier delayed the sentence both of death
and of fire under the hope of restoring the lost sheep from
the sin of his error, to the path of truth from which the
doctrines of perverse men had led his folly, and ordered him
thrust into chains for a while in the Tower of London. But,
within the bounds of October, freed from the chains, that
recreant, under promise that he would recant his heretical
opinions and stand trial by the church, held in custody until
an ecclesiastical court could be summoned, broke prison and
escaped.
And further conspiring in caves and out-of-the-way places with his comrades, as before against the power of both swords, after the sacred observance of the Lord’s nativity when he was on earth, just after the angels’ song, peace to men of good will, and when all of upright faith were filled with gladness and exultation over the festival of the sacred one, and they were not thinking of any such thing, the king wished to celebrate Epiphany with the greater part of the spiritual and temporal leaders of his kingdom at the manor of Eltham, just as he had celebrated Christmas, that men of bloodthirsty and incredible perfidy planned a secret plot to make an assault on the king and his leading men at night, that all might not fail to be propitious for death by the sword. But the treachery of the satellite of Satan was ascertained, and his plans were thwarted; thus God snatched the innocent from the hands of the impious. Until then, however, that ingenious one was unwilling to desist, but for accomplishing his nefarious plan he had been busying himself as before and was trying to spread twofold discord to men farther on, in both the temporal and spiritual kingdom. On the following day when the king had betaken himself to his palace at Westminster, the same horn of perfidy with his underlings, who from almost every part of England were under obligation to fly to him without pay, thereupon proposed that the field be taken between them during the night, hard by the city, near the sanctuary of Saint Augustine, about a thousand
paces from the palace, just as if he could incite his king and liege lord to a settling of difficulties between themselves and to a combat in the open field. Oh astonishing, strange, and amazing insanity! which plotted at the same time against Christ and against His Kingdom; it must be punished more severely than the madness of the son of the Israelitish woman; nay even more severely than that of Dathan and Abiron. But, by God's will, this third treachery was discovered by the regular guards and the watches throughout the city of London, and it was learned how many such inexplicable pestilence had made unsound of mind throughout England. The king came to the field that night, whence indeed his adversary after due warning disappeared, and certain of his followers, who since morning had come from different directions, believing that he had come to the field, and also others of his sect who had been seized first, were sentenced to hanging and to burning, and certain others to hanging only, for they were found guilty on one or the other charge: either of high treason or of blasphemy. But Oldcastle, surrendered to Satan from youth to old age, hid himself away in caves and refuges, and kept from the sight of men, like a second Cain, a wanderer and a vagabond over the earth. The summary account of his condemnation is found with the sentence in the register of the Archbishop. When indeed our king with his faithful people had taken a stand against the hostile wiles of the above mentioned son of darkness, in calm starlight on the field aforesaid, suddenly to our sight
it seemed as if the heavens were laid bare to send forth a
brilliant star, which passed swiftly through the inclining of
the heavens between us and the north, and which in a large
wave of light was descending in length more than a twofold
arch, according to the judgment of man. Concerning the signi-
ficance of this many people talked much. But I who write,
wishing to relegate all to the heavens, leave to God, the
author of nature and the governor of the elements, these fore-
bodings. It was seriously believed by many that the light of
the faith had appeared to us, and the throbbing of the fire of
vengeance to the adversary.

Nature indeed created this enemy and subverter of
the church a man of lowly rank. Out of this the murder and
rapine in Wales promoted him to knighthood, and finally a
blandishing fortune called him by marriage to the barony of
Cobham. Thence indeed, inflated with swelling of the will to
power, from inordinate desire he wished to be made from great,
greater; from rich, richer; from underling, general. That he
might bring forth under cover of sanctity the intentions of
his corrupt besenesse in an act, detesting crimes of others but
not caring about his own, he tried, with Satan as a leader, at
once to arm the lay hand to the spoil of the church, and to
the ground even from the time of the death of Queen Anne,
corross rulers in heaven and on earth, so that his own power
might increase. But God did not wish it, in very truth He
smote the transgressor suddenly in His wrath; for, not deserv-
ing he fell from the heights into the depth, he went from
eminent domain into slavery, and from a secure public position into a semblance of death; who from associating with the presuming, he so easily changed into a beast. Oldcastle, to be sure, condemned these same tyrannies and all insolence, but, nevertheless, no one could be equally harsh or more tyrannical.

In this case it might be clear on the one hand that God scourges the sons whom he receives, and on the other hand he roots out the trees he sees to be sterile. For He scourged the king through him and scourged him through the king. That He might consume the one (Oldcastle); and that He might consummate the power of the other (Henry V).

CHAPTER TWO

Accordingly among these tempests and straits of temptation, hitherto the kingly mind stood unmoved and could not be changed, indeed, adhering to his first very sacred intention of enlarging the church and increasing the peace of his domains; first, he undertook to found three monasteries, one of the order, etc., in honor, etc., the second of the order, etc., in honor, etc., near his manor of Shen, which leveled to the ground even from the time of the death of Queen Anne, he continually planned to rebuild better, more sumptuous, and far more magnificent than it had been before.

And from thence solemn embassies were sent over to the most illustrious prince, Sigismund, King of Hungary,
emperor elect, than whom none could be found to labor more strenuously towards the information and liberation of the church, from gloomy prisons in which for many years past this horrid schism had held it captive, notwithstanding the sighs of many Christians at the cruel tyranny. Moreover similar embassies were sent to the King of Aragon and other Christian princes, and he drew up alliances and treaties with them. The texts of these alliances you will find in the book of the royal papers and records. Meantime while solemn notes and embassies were being exchanged between the two kingdoms of England and France for perpetual peace, at length, when our king had employed many embassies of this kind and also had investigated the situation very accurately but in vain, because the French view, consistently holding to its own position, which it assumed to be law, could not be turned in the direction of peace by any equitable or just means without great injury to the crown of England and the perpetual disinheriting of the same, in certain of the best parts of our interest in that kingdom of his, although he was willing to withdraw from a noble and notable section in order to restore peace; seeing no remedy or means through which he could come to his rights, he hastened to express his final judgment, deciding to show his power with the aid of his just sword, and to seek to get back by the use of innocent power (sword) what the guilty and unjust violence of the French had been trying for a long period of time to usurp and retain. On account of this he called to-
gether both a navy and an army, and brought together every-thing which seemed necessary to protect himself and to attack the enemy. Nearly all except his most intimate advisers were kept in ignorance as to the destination of the expedition, and he concluded to cross into Normandy for the recovery first of that duchy, which had been entirely under his authority from the time of the first conquest of William, although for a long time it had been held back by the violence of the French. And when at the Abbey of Tichfeld, not far from the port of Southampton, upon the arrival of his army and in a private council of the kingdom he had delayed a while, he ordered to be written down, under the letters and seal of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the signature of a notary, the contracts and agreements long since entered into between the most serene highness, King of England, Henry the Fourth, his father, and certain of the major princes of France, concerning the divine law and the conquest of the Duchy of Aquitaine, from which against their own oaths, signatures, and seals, they had rashly withdrawn. And he sent concerning these writings to the general council and to the aforementioned Sigismund, the emperor, and to other Catholic princes, to the end that all Christendom might know how great injuries French duplicity had done him, that though he was unwillingly and reluctant to do it, he was compelled to raise flags against the rebels. You will find the text of this transcript in another book among the royal records and papers.

And while in his castle at Porchester he was waiting
for the carrying out of his plans, lo, God, wishing to test the constancy of his chosen, allowed him again to be stricken and buffeted, even by another hammer of dire revolution. For our adversary, the Devil, who always envies every good purpose, entered in triumph into the heart of certain ones who were almost at his side; namely, in the lords, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, his actual kindred; Henry, Lord Scrope, more intimate with him, and than whom there has scarcely been a third in the kingdom more important in the royal secrets; and, besides, Thomas Gray, a knight, famous and noble if he had not been stained by this disgrace of treachery. And the cruel madness of these and their mad cruelty, corrupted by a desire for ruling, but more particularly by the suggestion of promises or rewards from the French, not only conspired against the baggage of the proposed expedition but against the life of the king in a brutally cruel and inhuman fashion. But He who keeps His place above the cherubim and looks into the deeps, and knows what are the idle thoughts of men, quickly freed the righteous from the ungodly, revealed the iniquity of Judas and the treason of the evil ones through the lord of the Dead Sea, the Earl of March, whose innocence they tried in this deadly plan. They immediately and quietly on account of this among the other lords throughout the kingdom, as if called to council, were brought into the same camp and then into the port of Southampton, on the following Monday, the fifth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1415, sentence for the confess-
ion was borne in public, the said lords, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, and Thomas Grey were beheaded. And the aforesaid Henry Scrop, because the more familiar in censoring the great, on account of the ignominy of his dishonor, was dragged through the midst of the town, brought to the place of punishment, and killed.

CHAPTER THREE

And while many of the king's most faithful (friends) wished him to withdraw from his purpose of thus going to France, both on account of similar secret treasons, and indeed chiefly because of the madness of the beforementioned Lord John of Oldecastle and his accomplices, concerning whose insurrection gossip began to spread dissension in the king's absence; the king, nevertheless, the unsuited and magnanimous prince who truly was led by the spirit of God, did not wish to be turned from his earlier plan, but by arrangements of the joint council, certain of his most faithful were appointed to come and go with him to any place whatever, as comrades, where he was afraid of treachery or insurrection of this kind, with sufficient power for the furtherance of peace and the repression of evil. On Wednesday, the seventh of August, he went down to the sea in a small boat from his castle at Porchester. Boarding the vessel, he made his invocation of the Trinity between the part of Southampton and Portsmouth; and immediately there was raised a perfectly vigorous green branch in the middle of the
mast, that it might show at once his promptitude of destroying and give a signal, to the flotilla scattered over the sea, of coming to him more quickly than they had been able to.

And when on the next Sunday almost all had come; the wind blowing gently, he placed all sails to the wind, to about 1500 boats, not counting about a hundred which turned back. And when we left the coast of the island of Wight behind, swans were seen swimming about the boats, which in the opinion of all were thought to presage happy auspices for the prospective project. And on the thirteenth of August, about the fifth hour in the afternoon, the king entered the mouth of the Seine River, which flows down from Paris through Rouen and Harfleur, and fixed anchor near a town called Hicouque, about three miles from Harfleur, where he intended to disembark. And immediately the banner of council was displayed, and, the captains assembling, a council was held; he issued the edict through all the boats that no one, under punishment of death, might disembark before the king, but they might make themselves ready for disembarking with him early in the morning, lest perchance if it were done otherwise, through rudeness of the English, not foreseeing danger, they might unsuitably land earlier than he, might scatter about for booty, and might leave the descent of the King exceedingly unattended.

And when tomorrow's day had dawned, viz. Wednesday on the Vigil of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, the sun showed a beautiful dawn, between the sixth and the seventh hour; under cover of the night and before daybreak the king
sent forth his noble relative, a soldier, Lord John Holland, and also were fortified by ditches and walls that the Earl of Huntingdon, with certain cavalry scouts for exploring the land and a site for his finding refuge; the king with the greater part of the army on the vessels, applied himself to disembarking in little boats and skiffs, and at once sought the mountain nearest Harfleur, having a forest on one side, not of great trees, but cut over on the slope of the valley towards the river Seine, and on the other side little farms, castles, and apple orchards to shelter himself and the army, until the rest of his people and the horses could be brought from the boats, and other necessities could be brought forth.

The seashore and place of our landing was strewn with large rocks, liable to crush our ships, and other smaller stones, handy in self defense or for attacks on an enemy, if they had wished to resist our landing. On the opposite side of the seashore, between us and the land, there were deep ditches filled with water, and also very compact walls of earth to the rear of these and towards the land, supplied with hiding places and bulwarks for defense, after the manner of tower walls or castles, and between this same ditch and the land was placed an opening of only a cubit's width for the entrance or exit of one man. The place from that entrance of the cliffs of the sea, where no one without extreme difficulty could make an ascent, and continuously to the sea towards Harfleur, even about half a mile beyond, was guarded after this fashion with stones which the shore of the river supplied,
and also were fortified by ditches and walls that the industry of the French had provided. But through their slowness, folly, or at least recklessness, it was entirely undefended by men, where inferior human judgment, the resisting of a few, if they had at least the hearts of men, might bravely have repulsed a band like ours for a long time. On the seacoast indeed the entrance was very difficult, on account of the ditches and trenches into which the river flowed and backed up, and on account of the narrow passages, in which the obstinate resistance of only a few people would have sufficed to withstand the aggression of many thousands.

CHAPTER FOUR

When on Sunday, August seventeenth, everything necessary for the journey had been brought from the boats and when, meanwhile, the foresight of the king had announced to the army, among other highly honored laws, that under penalty of death they make no further fires than were made in the beginning, and that the temples of the devout and sacred with their goods might be saved intact, and that no one lay his hand on a woman, not even in the office of priest or minister of the Gospel, unless bravely armed either with force or making an attack, he moved towards the village of Harfleur, with his army placed in triple lines, and openly showed himself to the town above the high bank at one side in his middle line,
the remaining lines were drawn up from behind for wings at
the sides. From the other side, indeed, he could not yet
come, on account of the tide of the river at one side of the
town, and the agreeable flowing of the rivers through the
valley from the other.

The town is situated in the end of the valley upon
the bank of the Seine, through which the salt water flowed
through the middle of the town and ran back for a mile or more.
Moreover the pleasant river flows down through the middle
valley, filling the ditches in good depth and width, at the
foot of the walls of part of the valley, and in that part
where the king showed himself, even to the neighboring side
of the Seine, which makes a division below the wall, through
the center of the town, in one entrance of the river and two
collateral beds of small winding rivers, closing or opening
for all or part at the pleasure of the inhabitants. Under the
walls two water wheels are turned by the force of the entering
water, serving for grinding food for the city and the commons.
After the water wheels have been turned, the stream from the
bed of the small rivers sink again into the torrent, and, the
channel being full, it flows rapidly through the middle of the
town into the harbor. Part of the town was situated opposite
the king, but fortified by a double ditch, the interior of
which is of unestimated depth and adequate width. The town
indeed is not at all ordinary, but intensely beautiful,
protected and surrounded by external angular walls, and on
that account, following the master Aegedius, difficult to
the attack but easy and safe for resisting, constructed with
high and symmetrical towers, and other lower intermediate
fortifications, having three gates for entrance and exit, one
from that side where the king should himself, and two from the
opposite side; both apices were protected from our departure
by the leading around of the water in the beforementioned
ditches.

Before the entrance of this part, if you please,
the skillfulness of the enemy constructed one very strong
fortification, which we call a "barbican", on commonly, "a
bulwerke", and that on the king's side was the strongest and
greatest of them, protected on the outside by huge and rounded
tree trunks fixed in circumference and bound with fetters,
almost to the height of the wall of the town. From the inside
to be sure they could attack with debris, dirt, and sticks
collected in caves and dens for the "reception" of their
enemies, and through the fissures and port holes by means of
their cannon, which in our vulgar tongue we call "Gunnys",
also weapons, engines for hurling, and other offensive machines.
The structure of it was circular, enclosing more than a stone's
throw in diameter, by which our people in England are in the
habit of determining distance. That was surrounded by water
of great depth and, where it was narrower, of the width of
two spears, having a bridge for entrance and exit towards the
village, and a little wooden bridge towards the outside, which
could be put down and drawn back at the will of the enemy as often as it seemed expedient to them to attack us. Within, the town is truly supplied with very beautiful buildings, situated close together, and solely adorned with a single parish church.

The harbor, indeed, for the reception of ships, which takes ships right into the middle of the town, is fortified with enclosing walls, and each side of the hollow above the walls of the town is defended with occasional but adequate towers, in whose entrance are two beautiful towers, between which the water flows and backs up; one of these is very high and extremely tall, doubly armed on the top and in the middle; and the other, lower, is armed at the top only with chains, with the system of chains between them to prevent ships' going in and out at will. The foresight of the enemy had previously furnished this entrance and a large portion of the wall on the side which was open, free of ships on the stream, with stakes and large trees, thicker than a man's thigh, fixed in a great mass, one end towards the town within, and the other towards the river without, so that, if our ships should come up the stream to make an attack through the harbor, or an assault should be forced upon the walls, on seeing the stakes they would either draw back, or not caring for their own safety, or the stakes having been effectively concealed by the river, suddenly they might be dashed upon them and might suffer something akin to shipwreck.
CHAPTER FIVE

When, as has been said, on the aforementioned Sabbath, our king appeared before the town, and located his army in the camps, gardens, orchards, and other places near at hand, as military science demands, he entered into a consultation to determine how strong a blockade could be maintained from all sides, and how, among other things, scouts could be sent out to get food for the men and beasts, to sustain the army, as well as how the daily and nightly watches should be most properly arranged, on account of the plots and schemes of the enemy. On the next Monday, from another part of the town, which hitherto had been free from the enemy, and to us inaccessible on account of the rivers, as said before, prohibiting it, the Lord ....... of Guccourt, a Frenchman, entered, with about three hundred lances, who was said to have been sent to guard the town on behalf of the French.

On the following night, according to appointed plan, the king sent the illustrious prince, Lord Thomas, Duke of Clarence, his elder brother, a soldier not less in discipline of arms than in dislike for fame, with part of the army as employment as a guard from that part whose passage was about nine or ten miles in circuit, on account of the inaccessibility of the way and the danger of the valley, and especially through that valley in which Harfleur was. The passage was
not open there because they had heard of our ascent into the
first part of the town; the bridges were broken down; and they
stopped the crossing of the river because it ran through the
middle of the valley into the town, and thus, from that, the
water rose, upon our approach, over all the meadows of the
valley right on to the ditches below the walls at least, and
there less than to the extent of the height of a man's thigh,
having a width a fourth more than that of the Thames River of
London.

And that night, the aforementioned duke captured
on his march certain of the enemy's teams and wagons with
canon and ammunition and also missiles and engines for hur-
ning, in great abundance, which were thought to have come
from Rouen in defence of the town. And on Monday night, just
before the clear dawn, he showed himself at the ridge of the
mountain from the side in front of the town, not without fear
and quaking on the part of the inhabitants.

CHAPTER SIX

A blockade having been arranged on the seaside by
means of his boats, and on the side of the valley and of the
pleasant river between the small boats, serving as well for
the mutual approach of the king and the duke and the divided
army, if it should be necessary, our king, who sought not war
but peace, so that he might prepare his taking hold of greater
work with the shield of innocence, according to the law of the
twentieth Deuteronomy, offered peace to the besieged if they
would open their doors to him and return to him freely and
without violence, as they ought to, that town, the noble and
hereditary portion of the inheritance of his crown of England,
and of his Duchy of Normandy.

But when his offer was spurned and thought little of,
they hastened to fortify and to defend the town against him.
Our king, as if unwillingly urged to battle, called upon God
as a witness of the accuses of him blameless, and enumerating
to them the penal edicts of the proclaimed law, which would be
enforced on rebellious peoples if thus hardened they persist
too far; wishing, nevertheless, that first he might be able
to provide more carefully for less attack and punishment,
through which, both the vexation of the enemy and the protec-
tion of his own men, if, perchance, the rebellion of the
adversaries could be changed before he should proceed against
them to harsher measures, he put off sleep; sleepless nights
and days he passed until what time his suitable and ready
machines and cannon were under the walls, beneath the enemy's
attacking, and he might hurl them into the face of the town,
and also into the walls, the gates, and towers of the same,
and before them he might raise his fortifications and defenses
against the hurling and offensives of the enemy and from the
high, thick floor which had been thus constructed and adjusted
by carpenter work and iron tools, so that when the higher end
might be dragged downwards by them, the lower might elevate
itself even into view of the town, the place of striking having been designated, the cannon from under these might pour forth stones from the force of ignited powder.

Moreover, he caused trenches to be dug from each side of the fortification, by which, both from the earth dug out and thrown out and with suitable bundles, both those who were protected who were serving the cannon and machines as well as those who in daily and nightly watches had been assigned to guard the same against the attacks of the enemy. Furthermore, he caused similar protections to be built for those, who day and night were watching opposite the aforementioned very strong fortress, lest the enemy break out.

And those, who were assigned to this guard, dug daily and continuously, throwing up earth towards the enemy's fortification, and they did not cease until they finally came to the opposite side of the enemy, to the side at least nearer than they could go otherwise on account of water.

In the meanwhile our king with his cannon and machines, thus, as has been said, attacked the fortification and walls and towers on all sides, at least where the enemy's adverse cannon and engines for hurling held out against us, for several days without stopping, so that it was greatly shattered by the force and fury of the rocks from the same side of the fortification, the walls, and the towers, from which the enemy made their attack; the bulwarks were demolished, and they were disarmed; and the very beautiful buildings
almost as far as the center of the town were either entirely fallen or threatened with inevitable ruin, or were at least damaged by loose irregular structure.

Among these various troubles of fighting and defending, I am not entirely silent concerning the praise of the enemy; they were armed throughout the aforesaid fortifications, walls, and towers as long as they could be, and not through the ruins, enclosures, and shattered orifices after the disarmament, and also from other places where no places of refuge were thought to be, men in ambush did what they could to the harming and inflicting of loss upon the cannon, engines for hurling, and machines. They ruined a large number of our cannon and fortifications during the day from the walls and the towers; during the night firewood was brought, and large jars were filled with earth, mud, sand, or rocks, above the fortification and the walls, and also bundles were brought together in the mud; they armed themselves again within the abandoned walls, with the earth and mud, and with other aids. Moreover, they closed the hamlets and hiding places in this manner with clay, earth, and mire in great thickness, so that the stones of our cannon, when they did fall down through them or on them, might be absorbed by these things, lest appearing to be shut in strongly in the hiding places or the hamlets, they might suffer injury, or destruction by the sudden and unexpected violence of the stones or the fragments of them. Moreover, they had jars filled with dry powder,
sulphur, and live sand for throwing into our eyes, if it were possible that an assault could be made; and they also had vessels of maddening powder, olive oil, and burning fat for the combustion and consumption of our forces, when they did ascend the walls for the assault; the king had prepared for hostile stratagem on the walls. And the besieged people, so far as human wisdom goes, could not have resisted our attacks more prudently or wisely than they had.

While this was going on, the king planned to have an attack made through the mines and in the subterranean passages, a screen having been prepared, dug under the walls from the side of the Duke of Clarence. But this work, contrary to the doctrine of master Agedius, was begun in sight of the enemy, because of the nearby mountains and other causes it was not possible to do otherwise, and through dejection and other adroit reverses of the enemy's skill, by diligence they had been deluded a second time; nothing favorable had offered to this third beginning, unless perchance, either excited by fear of being imprisoned they might give up the town more quickly, or by scattering thus there could be made an assault and an ascension of the walls in the sparing of human bloodshed, and possibly it was an opportunity for the greater good. Moreover, our king caused bundles ten feet in length to be prepared and to be carried through the army for refilling the ditches on his side, and the encampment and wooden fortification to the height of the walls, and even ladders and other apparatus for the assault, besides those which
he had brought with him. But also on the side of the Duke of Clarence they had prepared this kind of bundle and had brought them together in huge piles for refilling the ditches on that side. From the safe conjectures of the enemy, concerning the burning of these and also of our people, when similarly they were in the ditches, by the force of the powders both burned and ready on the walls, he rendered that plan ineffective; they have served likewise in our bulwarks in the hinge of the mountain against hostile throwings, under which they more often jeered at the adverse violence of our missiles.

In the meantime our watch, which was disposed, as said above, at the task of excavation, regained the ditch outside the walls, and discharged weapons in the engines at the guards, and rocks at the foundation, so that they might keep them away from the walls, and by various other scourges under that defense they overthrew the craft of the enemy, thus this ditch which was thought to be first in their great fortification was made last to those shut up in the fortress.

Among these various anxieties, because of the division of the army and the very difficult access of that part which was with the king to the remaining part which was with the Duke of Clarence, because except by means of boats or by an extremely dangerous circuit it was strongly in blockade from that side, on account of the sallies of the enemy, if they might come up, because there that place was nearer and more accessible to their hurried approach, the same duke, according
to the doctrine of master Aegedius, and by order of the king, caused a ditch of good depth and width to be dug between him and the enemy, and the earth thrown out, following the same master Aegedius, between us and them, then he began to strengthen this ditch with huge trees and fastened stakes, among which in certain places stones from the cannon and weapons from the hurling engines and bows might be able to drive out the enemy in their great and efficient defense, and further injure the enemy, if they would come. Indeed, the directors of the work having been assigned, he caused this ditch to be constructed through the troop of the shield bearer and archers; he assigned the certain feet of the lancers to any place whatever, and certain ones to any part, of the arch whatever, until the work was completely finished.

CHAPTER SEVEN

And after these deeds and the hostile anxieties, holy and merciful God, wishing to test the patience of our king and of his Christ, in addition to the deaths of several other of the nobles of his army, took to Himself in death one of his most loving and beloved, namely: the Lord Richard courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, who was a man noble by nature, of large stature, of excellent disposition, and no less of the finest eloquence and learning, than any other distinguished with very renowned endowments of nature; he was thought to be like royalty because of enjoying the favor of all. He fell
sick on Thursday, the tenth of September, from a flux of
blood, and the following Sunday, in the presence of the king,
after the cleansing of his feet after extreme unction and
after the closing of his eyes by the proper hands, amidst the
compassion and tears of many, he released the spirit from the
body, which soon our king from tender love sent across into
England, to be entombed with honor in the royal sepulchre at
Westminster.

The same day it happened that the royal mind could
be roused sufficiently; for our adversaries, who had been said
by the guard to be most brave and powerful, made a sally upon
our guard which was in front of them; and from our inattention
and inactivity they set fire to the fortifications. But at
last, God willing, the fire was extinguished, and the enemy
fled before severly harming our men. Nevertheless, the enemy
was rushing upon us, sleeping and unprepared, because beyond
our guards we could not have watched better.

And because good things are neighbors to evil things,
and because pleasant things generally succeed bitter things,
on the morrow our God has recorded and has bestowed on us the
palm of victory of the same fort, because he has made known
the conceit of the French, always most invincible. For our
guard was watched over by the active opponent, and undaunted
soldier however youthful, the aforementioned John Holland,
Earl of Huntingdon, and in a fight held that afternoon with
the French breaking in upon the guard but put to flight, and
at last a raging fire thrown in by means of an arrow and also laid about by the industry and the hand of man to that part which before had been beaten down by the rocks of the cannon, and on that account it caught fire easier, our continually repeating the fire by burning powder through that ditch which was between them and the fortification, and with the long bundles ordered before by the kingly zeal, he caused to be refilled under the cover and silence of the night, and they did recover the stronger part of the fortification. And immediately the force, sent in at the earl's command, burned through the middle that part where the greater strength of the French was, and the French themselves, struggling in that place against it and doing enough to extinguish the fire, fought there continually, until at last with the force of arms, of weapons, and of fires their strength was dissipated, and from ours for that reason those remaining fled to the place below the walls, retreated into the garrison of wood, stone, earth and mire, possibly by ingenuity selecting an entrance, lest the natives make an attack upon them through the same, to their great confusion and no small consolation of ours. However much our diligence from beneath towards the extinction of the raging fire did labor as it could, for two or three days the blaze could not be wholly suppressed; and for fifteen days after, the steam from the mire could not be completely stopped.
A parley was held on the following day with Lord Ralph of Gaucourt, of whom we have spoken, who was taking the place of captain, and with the more influential of the town council, that if they would call to mind the punishment in Deuteronomy, they would deliver the village from the harshness of a longer war on death; but the terms were rejected; when the king saw the attacked not to be conquered in a tight place by the light-armed, he advised them to proceed to harsher means against the tribe of stiff-necked people, which neither blandishing flattery nor consuming severity could soften.

Towards night he caused to be proclaimed through the middle lines, by a trumpet, that all, the sailors as well as the others, prepare themselves immediately after the assigning of their captain and early in the following morning for the assault and scaling of the walls, which so far the attacks of our cannon had rendered fitter to protect us, but very much less fitted to the enemy for resistance, nay even rather quite liable to ruin them. Towards night he began on them more what is usual to disaster with stones, so that it might keep them awake and through the consequent sleepiness on the morrow he might return to conquering.

But God Himself, gracious and merciful to His people, sparing a shedding of blood, which in the assault of
the walls would certainly have been shed, turned aside our swords and struck terror into our enemy, who, rightly crush-
ed in spirit, on account of the destruction of the before-
mentioned fortress, terrified also at hearing of the assau-
st so suddenly brought on, and certainly both on account of the punishment of the law of Deuteronomy, if a fortified town was gained from them resisting, and troubled over the scourge of stones, and almost desperate over having help from the French, whom they had expected long since, having been promised before, that night they entered into a conference with the king, that if he would deign to defer the assau-
and would refrain from covering the region with stones, they would turn over the town to him, both they and theirs, unless by eleven o'clock of the following Sunday the French king, or the Dauphin, his first born, securing that pledge, should break up the blockade and free them.

This pleasant proposition having been admitted, which, nevertheless, displeased the greed of many, especially of those who, after the deaths, and blows of the preceding days, were only proposing to proceed to the spoils; the day following, namely, Wednesday the eighteenth day of the said month of September, the outline of the agreement was made between the ambassadors for the side of the king, with the before-mentioned acting for the captain and the leaders of the town, protected by the mutual swearing of oaths on Christ's body, which the reverend father, Benedict, Lord-Bishop of
Bangor, had brought out of the royal tents for this purpose, with the whole royal chapel in procession in copes, at the king's command, up to the walls, and twenty-four hostages; nobles and prominent men were exchanged; one knight having been sent on behalf of the town, according to the agreement, to announce this affair to the French king or the Dauphin, warlike furies put an end to hostile attacks on both sides, stopped that day and hour.

And the same day there died in that siege a soldier of the best and most worthy name, Lord Michael Pool, Earl of Suffolk, leaving behind on the field a young successor of thirty seven brave, daring, and agile among all his associates. And when neither at the appointed hour on the following Sunday, nor sooner, the king of France, the Dauphin, nor any other whatever showed himself to raise the siege, our king immediately mounted his chair of state, his regal saddle, under a golden butterfly canopy and fine linen on the ridge of the mountain before the town, surrounded by illustrious men, his princes and nobles, and the more cultivated appearing in great numbers; Gilbert Humfrville, a knight, extended upon a spear at their right side his helmet crowned with a triumphal wreath. There came from the town to his presence their indeed before-mentioned Lord Ralph of Guecourt, with those people following him who before had taken the oath of preserving the covenant, and he handed over the keys of the city, himself likewise; and the citizens
were at his service. The keys having been received thence, by royal order, through the Earl Marshal, the king promised Lord Ralph of Gaucourt, notwithstanding all that he and his following had done against God and all justice, their city, in attempting to hold the noble portion of his inheritance from him; nevertheless, because they had submitted themselves, to his grace, however tardily, they should not pass completely without favor. In fact he said he was willing to turn aside from the plan he had adopted.

Then he sent him with his comrades and the hostages, who, being present, had been led to his tents, the total number being sixty six, and at the next dinner he had them with elegance and dined them magnificently enough, dividing them after the dinner and intrusting them to his assuredly faithful as keepers. Soon after giving and receiving the keys, the standards of Saint George and the king were placed above the gates of the town, and the other flags were put down; the king placed his illustrious paternal uncle, Lord Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, in command, the keys having been delivered into the custody of the captain of the town. He entered the town on the morrow with his more intimate followers for seeing the town and also the people, and camped there; he caused the women with small means and little babies to be separated from those who had sworn faith to him and from others who were to be ransomed. On the following day he sent them from the town to the interior parts of France wherever they wished to go (they
numbered about two thousand), who with much lamenting, loneliness, and tears, because they had lost their customary dwelling place, however unjustly they had held it, he caused them to be conducted by an armed force beyond the lines of our army, lest by our plunderers, who indulge more in spoils than in pity, and who do not regard the tears of the innocent if only they may have plunder, they should be molested on the way. Thus indeed the sojourners have been commended to the mercy of God, where before they were thinking themselves settled inhabitants.

CHAPTER NINE

The following day, Friday, the king permitted the before mentioned Lord Ralph of Guencourt to go with many of the captives from the town, there were about sixty soldiers together with the citizens, and more than two hundred other of noble birth, almost all aristocracy from that part of Normandy, as far as the marais of Picardy. Indeed he sent them away with that intention, that perhaps through their motions and means peace could be restored more speedily from revolution, under indenture and agreements, steadfast oaths and other solemnities, that they would return and give themselves up as did the faithful captives at Calais, on the feast of St. Martin, in the winter, they being in the dominion of the king, either his lieutenants or special deputies, certain other conditions being appended, which along with other
battle on the morrow. It found no one hindering its march when it proceeded on the morrow. While we were crossing through the walled town of Peronne, which we were leaving near at hand on our left, we learned that the cavalry of the French army was advancing toward us from the town, so that we perchance would cross over under a hostile and harmful barrage; but after fighting with our cavalry they quickly fled, entering the town again.

After we crossed about a mile through the town we came upon roads greatly worn by the French army, as if they had gone before us in many thousands. Then we who were a remnant, to say nothing of powers, fearing the battle imminent, raised hearts and eyes to heaven, exclaiming with voices of deepest consideration that our God would have compassion on us and turn aside from us by His ineffable pity the violence of the French.

CHAPTER TWELVE

We withdrew thence on our way to the River of Swords, leaving on the following Tuesday the walled town of about a league’s distance to the left. And when on the following day, namely Wednesday, we were on the descent of the valley towards the said River of Swords, it was announced to the king through scouts and cavalry forerunners, that the adversary’s power on the other side of the river was many thousands, as though at a league to our right. Therefore,
we crossed through the river immediately where we could, and when we reached the opening of the mountain on the other side, we saw an abominable phalanx of the French emerge higher up the valley about a mile from us, who, drawn up in battle line, and to our consideration the band was an incomparable multitude, took a stand just more than half a mile opposite us, filling a very broad field, just like a vast multitude of locusts, having the small valley between us and them.

In the meanwhile our king animated his army very excessively and undauntedly, and stationed them in lines and wings, as if they were coming together immediately in battle. And then every single one who had not cleared his conscience before by confession, took up the arms of penitence, and there was not then a scarcity, unless only a scarcity of priests. Among the rest whom I then noticed talking, a certain Walter Hungerford, a soldier, was pronouncing the curse of enmity upon the countenance of the king, because he held to that small company which he had there, ten thousand of the better archers of England whom he desired to be with him. To whom the king said, "You talk like a fool, because through the God of Heaven, on whose favor I am relying, and in whom is my firm home of victory, I should be unwilling to have, even if I could, one more than I have. For this which I have is the people of God and which He deems worthy to have in this place. But do you not believe," he went on, "the Omnipotent with this humble few can conquer the opposing arrogance of the French,
who pride themselves in their numbers and in their own power?" as if he were saying everything is possible for us, and he has not been able. And in my judgment, through the true justice of God, nothing unfavorable could happen to a son of such great confidence; just as nothing happened to Judas Maccabeus until he lost his confidence, and until he fell into diffidence and thence deservedly into ruin.

When through the scout the enemies stationed opposite had seen and considered our condition and numbers, they drew themselves together to the plain beyond a certain forest which was close to the left between us and them, in our direct path towards Calais. Our king, guessing that they were either thus going around the forest so that through that way they might come to him or by another way go around the grove through a more remote neighborhood and surround us on all sides, immediately removed his battle line and drew them up continuously in opposition to them.

When finally after considerable delays we were almost in the west, the French, as though not feeling that war was about to be waged, as was fitting about nightfall, seized the farm houses and provisions, planning to rest close by until morning. Where we, moreover, were until daybreak, darkness had hindered us and them; there on the plain we remained, we heard the adversary’s conversation, and everyone, as is the custom, calling to comrade, attendant, and friend, possibly moving about in such a great multitude; and our men began to do exactly the same; the king ordered silence
through the whole army, under penalty of loss of horse and harness if he should transgress in so doing, and to keep the right ear downwards in listening, as he wished; he who presumed to violate the royal edict would be without hope of forgiveness from punishment. Immediately, he turned away silently to the town near at hand, where we had but very few houses and gardens and orchards for our recreation, and heavy rain fell almost all night.

While our adversaries were considering the taciturnity and silence of our men, thinking our few men smitten by fear and that perhaps they intended flight during the night, placed fires and strong guards through the passages. As was said, thus they thought themselves secure from us, because that night they had staked our king and their nobles under a cast of a die.

And the next day, namely Friday, on the feast of Saints Crispin and Crispianus, the twenty-fifth day of October, the French at dawn placed themselves in battle-line by companies and phalanxes and took their stand before us in terrifying large numbers in the fore-mentioned field, named Agincourt, through which was our passage to Calais; and they stationed companies of knights in many hundreds on each side of their front line to break up our line and spoil the bravery of our archers. That first infantry line of all their nobles and most select, which in the forest of lances and ponderous multitude of shining helmets and the cavalry at the
sides, was estimated to contain more than thirty times all of ours. But their rear line and wings, which were in our estimation an almost countless multitude, of the company and phalanx, were all on horses, as if prepared for flight rather than for a blockade.

In the meanwhile our king had arrayed himself on the plain, after praising God and hearing mass, not long after his rest, and he had drawn up in all smallness but one battle formation, placing his front line, which the Duke of York commanded, as a wing at the right, and the rear, over which the Lord of Camoys was in command, as a wing at the left, and had intermixed companies of his archers with each one of the battle lines, and had made them drive wooden stakes in front of them, as had been arranged before the cavalry attack. The shrewdness of the enemy, perceiving this through scouts coming among us, whether on some pretext or from some other cause I do not know, God knows, held itself at a distance opposite us, nor approach toward us.

When much of the day had been consumed in delay of this kind, and each army had remained where it was, and had not moved either foot, the king, seeing that hostile multitude put off the attack which he had awaited from them, and they held ground directly opposite our line of march, so that it would shatter our order, our spirits might be dismayed by the fear of their great number, they might be a hindrance to our passage, however you will have it, might await many allies who
perhaps were on the way, or, at least, knowing our scarcity of provisions they might conquer us by hunger whom they would not dare to conquer by the sword; our king resolved to move towards them, sending for the baggage of the army so that it might be at the rear of the battle, that they might not be as plunder for the enemy, which, along with the solemn priests industriously offering up prayers for them and theirs in the beforementioned farm houses, where he had been sheltered the night before, he had stationed to await right on to the end of the battle, and toward which from almost all sides the French plunderers were looking, proposing to invade them immediately when they saw both armies in conflict, and into the rear line of which, where from the inactivity of the king's dependents they were conveyers for the king, thus as soon as the battle was begun, they fell upon it, stealing valuable treasure of the king, the sword and crown among other things along with all the domestic utensils.

Nevertheless, after the king had thought almost all of the baggage of this sort had gone to the rear, in the name of Jesus, to whom is bowed every knee of Heaven, of earth, and of the infernal region; and of the glorious Virgin; and to Saint George, he advanced toward the enemy, and the enemy advanced toward him.

In fact at that time and as long as the adversity of the battle lasted, I, who write, sitting on a horse among the retainers at the rear of the battle, and other priests
who were present, humbled our souls before God, and bethought
ourselves of * * * * * * * * which at that time
the church was collecting, said in our hearts, "Be mindful of
us Lord! Our enemy has been assembled, and is glorying in
their valor. Destroy their bravery and ruin them, so that
they may know that it is not other who fights for us but You,
our God!" With fear and trembling we pleaded unto Heaven with
our eyes, that God would have compassion upon us and the
crown of England, and that the prayers and tears which he (the
king) had poured out, and which at that time in its customary
services likewise the church of England was pouring forth
for us, and that He would not give leave to go through, but
would admit to the depth of his mercy, and the devotion of
our king begun toward that divine worship, the development of
the church and the peace of the kingdoms would not allow to
be suppressed by enemies but rather for the future would
cause to be exalted by the exhibition of his munificent mercy,
and also from those dangerous events, even as from others, he
would mercifully set free.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

When thence the hatred of the enemy had come near,
the French cavalry stationed on the wing made sallies on our
archers on each side of our army; but quickly, by the will of
God, in a shower of arrows they were compelled to draw back
of God, crying out in agony of spirit, so that, moreover, it
and to flee to the rear lines, the very few excepted who rushed among the archers and trees not without wounds and slaughter; very many excepted were stopped thus in their flight, horses and horsemen alike, by the fixing of the stakes and the sharpness of the weapons.

Indeed the hostile catapults which were at the rear and on the sides of the armed men, after the first attack, but very soon after, in which they injured very few, withdrew because of the strength of our bowmen.

When the armed men had made an almost mutual approach on each side, the wings of both battle lines, namely, of ours and of the enemy, got mixed up in the trees which were on both sides of the army. The French nobles who had completely approached in front before, so that they had come near the conjunction, either from fear of missiles, whose severity was creeping upon them at the sides and through the visors of their helmets, or that they might more readily penetrate our strength to our standards, divided themselves into three parties, invading our battle line in three places where there were standards, and in the first confusion of lances they attacked our men with such fierceness that they almost compelled them to draw back the length of a lance. Then indeed those of us who enlisted for priests to the soldiers, beholding this, fell prostrate in the face of our contemplation before the throne of the supreme mercy of God, crying out in agony of spirit, so that, moreover, it
might be recorded that our God spared us and the crown of England by the mercy of His supreme kindness from this cruel furnace and fearful death, unseen by us. God has not forgotten the prayers of the multitude and the eloquence of the English, in whom, as is believed by the pious, our men quickly resumed their strength, and resisting bravely repulsed the enemy, until they recovered the ground they had lost. Then the battle became perilously heated, and our archers pierced and thrust the points of the weapons through the sides, continually renewing the battle. And when the arrows had been used up, axes, stakes, swords, and points of scattered lances having been snatched up, they overthrew, broke up, and pierced the enemy. For the powerful and merciful God, who always is marvellous in His works, who has wished to make His mercy prevail with us, to whom it was pleasing that the crown of England, under our gracious king, His knight, and with these few numbers should remain as invincible as formerly, as soon as the lines were joined and the battle was begun, increased power to our men, which before scarcity of provisions had weakened and lessened, took fear away from them, and made their heart fearless. Never did it seem to our older men that the English attacked their enemy more boldly, intrepidly, or willingly. Even the righteous Judge Himself, who wished to pierce through the arrogant multitude of the enemy, with an avenging thunderbolt, has cast them away from His countenance, has destroyed
their power, bow, shield, sword, and war. Nor was it ever seen in previous time, of which Chronicle or History speaks, so many very choice and very strong soldiers resisted so slowly, in such disorder and confusion, or so unlike men. For fear and trembling took possession of them; and some of them, as the report was in the army, even of the more noble of them, who retreated from them that day more than ten times. None were without their captives to bring back, almost all without distinction of persons, as they had been struck to the earth, either by their own people or by other people following them. I know not from what secret decision of God, they were given unto death without interrup-
tion. For God struck them also with that incurable plague. Even when their encounter in battle was ended they fell at the front, so great was the undisciplined violence and pressure of the rear multitude, because the living fell over the dead, and others also falling over the living were killed; and so in three places where the bravery and line of our standards was, so great a congestion of dead and falling oppressors was collected that our men climbed over the heaps, which had got higher than the height of a tall man, and with swords, axes, and other weapons of offense cut the throats of the enemies falling toward them.

When at length after two or three hours this first strength had been pierced through and worn out, and the rest were driven into flight, our men began to scatter
those heaps, and to separate the living from the dead, intending to save them for ransom by legal purchase. But behold, immediately, it is not known in what rage of God, a clamor was made that the later cavalry force of the enemy in an incomparable and fresh multitude was restoring their position and line to come again upon our reduced and worn out soldiers. The captives, without respect of persons, except the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon and a few other illustrious men who were in the royal line, and a very few others, either of their captives or of other followers, were slain by swords, lest they might be to our ruin in the coming battle.

But after a very short time the enemy, at the will of God, having tasted the bitterness of missiles, and our king approaching against them, left to us the field of slaughter with chariots and many other conveyances filled with provisions weapons, lances, and bows.

And when thus, in the judgment of God, the bravery of the nations had been put to flight and the severity of the war had been finished, we returned, possessed of victory, through crowds, dikes, and heaps of the slain, in fact we saw and we examined, but not without grief and tears of many, because so many distinguished and valiant soldiers, if God had been with them, would have thus sought for us, thoroughly unwilling, such deaths, and would thus have destroyed and foolishly ended the glory and honor of His worship. And if that sight were one of compunction and pity for us, passing
foreigners, how much more weeping and wailing on the part of the native people, expecting and looking for a different a defeated and disarmed soldiery of the region! And indeed I believe not a heart of flesh but of stone, if it had looked upon and considered so many bitter wounds and dire deaths of Christians, but would have been dissolved and redissolved in tears in the face of their grief. And they indeed, no matter how illustrious or notable they were, in our retreat being robbed first by the English pirates, did not have anything beyond what was necessary for concealing nature, more than nature had given them for a covering at birth.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

If only those people of the Franks would quickly come to peace and unity with the English, and turn from injustice and their very bad ways, in which they are said to be led away and involved, lest that saying of the prophet might be cast as a reproach upon them, "God, the just judge, brave and patient, is He never angry through separate days? Unless you will be turned back, He will brandish His sword, He has stretched His bow and has prepared it, and in that He has prepared utensils of death." And unless they come to their senses soon, they know what follows. "Behold He meditates on the injustice, He has conceived grief, and has produced iniquity, He has uncovered a pool and has dug it up and has reached into the pitfall which He has made. His
grief will be turned upon His head, and His iniquity will descend into His whirlpool; for God is merciful and long suffering, but when He shall have consumed the remedies of mercy and long life, He is an austere avenger, and He withdraws the power of brave men countless times whom justice does not follow. This He makes clear to the multitude of our enemy—He had disposed of all who are indifferent through our scarcity in the contest for justice, either by flight or loss by the sword.

Almost the exact number of those bearing the sword was more than sixty thousand, where our small band did not exceed six thousand fighting men. From which number lay dead the dukes of Bar, Brabant, and Alençon, five counts, barons and knights banneret more than ninety, whose names are written in the book of records, and also more than fifty thousand knights according to their own exact computation, and more than four or five thousand other nobles, almost the entire nobility of the French military service.

Captured from the remaining number were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Richmond, Vendusme, and Eu, and not to speak of that very valiant knight, Lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, with but few other nobles. There was great joy among our people and a great miracle, because from our entire scarcity houses were not found on the plain for more than nine or ten persons, besides the illustrious and very wise prince, Lord Edward, Duke of York, and Lord
Michael, Earl of Suffolk, an active youth, and two more recently distinguished knights who were slain in the line of battle. Indeed Humphrey, our Duke of Glocester, younger brother of the king, a vigorous prince, exactly as he gave, he received in part; he was severely wounded in the king’s line, and no wonder, among so many very violently agitated swords, lances, and axes; nevertheless, very soon after he reached Calais, he recovered, praise God! Therefore, our England has reason to rejoice and reason to grieve; concerning which it may rejoice on account of the victory gained and the saving of its men; concerning which it may grieve from compassion at the death of Christians. May it not be that our people were ascribing the triumph to the characteristic renown or bravery, but may they ascribe it to God alone, from whom comes every victory, lest the Lord be angry with our ingratitude, and turn from us his victorious hand, which God forbid. May our England strive to please God without ceasing, to eradicate heresies, and errors with other seditions and cases of injustice, and in hymns, confessions, and songs more fully and perfectly than before confess and praise God because he has wrought wonders in Israel and has given victory to His Christ; and may she pour out petitions, prayers, and tears in the sight of the most kind God, that He may preserve our most victorious king and his desire and devotion to the increase of the church and the peace of his kingdoms through the long time of His omnipotence as a shield
to us, that He protect him, visit him, and defend him. And we shall sing at the same time that song which the church sings every year: "Thine is the power, Thine the kingdom, O Lord, Thou art above all peoples. Give peace, O Lord, in our days".

When our aforementioned king at the end of the battle, out of sympathy had spent the night in the same place where he found refuge on the preceding night, on the morrow took the route towards Calais through that mound of bloodshed and patriotism where the strength of France had fallen. And on Thursday, on the eve of the saints of Simon and Jude, he reached Calais; and on the Sabbath day after the ceremony of Saint Martin, when the aforementioned Lord Ralph of Gaucourt, and other captives, had come from Harfleur, just as they should from agreement, he returned with his captives through the port of Dover into England.

And our serenity does not recollect that ever has any prince ruled his people more conscientiously, more strenuously, more kindly on the way, or any who carried himself more like a man on the field; in very truth there is not found in the chronicles or annals of kings any whom our antiquity remembers, that ever any king of England accomplished so much in so short a time and came back home to his people with so great and glorious triumph. To God alone be the honor and the glory forever and ever! Amen.
Dauphin, with great bravery, in warlike fashion attacked the earl, at not far away from the city of Mantes. One day, they came together with horrible conflict; between brave men dire conflict grew powerful; horses and riders were stretched to the ground; finally glorious triumph came to the English and miserable death to their adversaries. The noble earl, with his group of followers remained victor, to be extolled with encomia worthy of praise.

But after a little there came to Rouen, sent by Charles, King of France, and Philip, Duke of Burgundy, notable ambassadors, seeking favor for themselves and wishing after the work of mature deliberation to avoid the difficulties of war, and they took pains to call back outlawed peace. After many conferences and conversations between them and the king and his followers, the royal discretion, lest he should remain a cause of discord or of war, or lest he seem to refuse to sign the treaty agreed on, decided and arranged with them, that from his part a notable embassy of noble men should be sent toward the aforementioned Charles and the Duke of Burgundy without delay, that he might be at the head of so important an embassy, that the Earl of Warwick of praiseworthy nobility was chosen and designated, and circumspect persons, prelates and clerics, and secular lords and magnates of honorable reputation were added, who at once started on their journey to the aforementioned Duke of Burgundy. After this
embassy had been honorably received by the duke, they proceeded to treat for coming together in a truce and matters of union and peace. Soon, as convenient time permitted, both sides began to enter into conference of daily labor and anxiety over the chief points in the treaty. After negotiating very conscientiously for a long time, they went as far as the authority permitted to them regarding future peace allowed; a final agreement by matrimonial alliance between the king of England and Katherine was consummated and later was finally drawn up and concluded. And that the points and agreements might be strengthened by royal words and the affirmation of oaths, it was agreed that, on a day fixed by assent of both sides, the king of England should come in person to the city of Troyes into the presence of the aforementioned King Charles, with such a company of warriors as to him seemed expedient. And in addition to this the bridges of Charenton and Nogent, by which the royal army could cross the rivers, were delivered into the custody of the English. And so they fixed a day for the king's arrival beyond which, if the king himself did not arrive at Troyes, just as agreed upon, all the stipulations would become void of any force. The Earl of Warwick, having considered and prudently accepted all the separate points which the treaty involved, set out with great speed and reached the king, to whom he explained everything, just as it had been arranged in the treaty. The king, thinking himself satisfied with
the conclusions of this character, was anxious, not so much for peace, as that opportunity for just war should collect his armies; on the eighth day of May the king with his men, leaving Pontoise, and dividing his very strong army into three main sections and two wings, just as he was accustomed by ordinary practice to do, went towards the city of Troyes. And having crossed through the town of Provence and a certain town which they call Nogent-sur-Seine, he began after these labors of the journey to approach rather close to the city of Troyes; and after notice of the king’s approach had been had, the Duke of Burgundy with a laudable company of magnates and nobles, along with the prominent people of the city, went out to meet the king, received him with due honor, and accompanied the king with his men into the city of Troyes, and even to the palace of King Charles. For in the meeting of these princes and in the respective actions of the same, such moderate behavior was observed in each, that observable superiority seemed to be ascribed to neither of them. After such a meeting as has been described was over, now with the king present, the ordinary care of each side hastened to put that into effect which the magnates and diplomats from the councils of the princes, having first obtained sufficient authority, had arranged, as was said, by dint of mature deliberation. Therefore, in the church of the cathedral of Saint Peter at Troyes on the twentieth day of the said May the convention of the princes was
solemnized. There was present the king of England with his noble princes, Thomas, Duke of Clarence, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, with bishops, earls, barons, knights, and numerous other nobles. Isabella was present, the consort of Charles, and with her, Katherine, their daughter, along with the prince, the Duke of Burgundy and bishops, prelates, magnates, and others of their side in great abundance.

And after all these had gathered here, the articles of the treaty, which had been previously drawn up, were read; and these each side ratified and affirmed not only by means of the royal word, but by means of the royal seal and oaths. Between the king and the aforementioned Katherine marriage settlements were drawn up; and of her from this time on the king undertook the care and the custody. And he also decreed that she was to be treated like his queen, with immense honor, saving her virginity even up to the time of the solemnization of the marriage contract. The articles of the treaty of peace word for word:

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, heir of France, and lord of Ireland, to perpetual memory, although treaties celebrated and various, for renewing peace between the kings of France and England, for rooting out the causes of contention between our progenitors of famous memory and those of our father, King Charles of France of most serene memory, have been made, yet we have so far found that they have not borne the fruit of peace expected from
them. We, nevertheless, considering sincerely in the deliberation of our conscience what irreparable wrongs, what enormous injury, and what universal and incurable distress the deplorable division between the aforementioned kingdom has wrought hitherto, not only upon them, but also, sad to relate! our whole church militant; recently with the aforementioned most serene prince we have resumed treating for peace, finally after very many conferences and deliberations, (He, moreover, who promises peace to men of good will) having made our desires effective between that most serene prince Charles, our very dear father, and ourselves, in the same most desirable negotiation for peace, it has been decided and agreed after the manner which follows:

In the first place, because through a marriage contract, for the good of the said peace, entered into between us and our beloved consort, Katherine, daughter of the said most serene prince, our father, and our very dear mother, Isabella, his consort, the father and mother themselves brought it about for us, on that account we shall cherish and revere the same as father and mother, as they ought to be cherished and revered, such and so great a prince and princess, may before all other temporal persons in the world.

Furthermore, that we shall not disturb nor disquiet or hinder out beforehand very dear father from holding and possessing as long as he shall live, that which he possesses...
and holds at present, namely: the crown and royal dignity of France, and the rents, fruits, and profits of the same for supporting his status and the needs of the kingdom. And that our beforementioned most dear mother is to hold as long as she may live the status and dignity of queen, according to the fashion of the beforementioned kingdom, together with parts of the beforementioned rents and profits coming and belonging to her.

Item, it has agreed that our beforementioned wife, Katherine, shall receive and have a dowry in the kingdom of England, just as queens hitherto have become accustomed to receive and have, up to the sum of forty thousand scuta per annum, two of which are always worth one English noble.

Item it is agreed that we, the aforementioned King Henry, by ways, means and fashions, as far as we can without transgression or breaking the oath given by us to observe the laws and customs, rights and privileges of our aforementioned kingdom of England, shall labor and provide that the beforementioned Katherine, our consort, as quickly as possible shall be made in every way secure of receiving and having in our beforementioned dowry of forty thousand scuta, two of which are always worth a noble, etc.

Item, it is agreed that if it should happen that our said consort Katherine should out live us, she shall receive and have from the kingdom of France, immediately at
the time of our decease, a dowry to the sum of twenty thousand francs annually, out of and from the lands, places, and dominions, assigned for the dowry of Blanche of famous memory, once the consort of Philip of France of famous memory, the grandfather of our beforementioned very beloved father.

Item, it is agreed that immediately after the death of our aforesaid very dear father of France, and immediately thereafter the crown and kingdom of France, with all their rights and perquisites, shall belong to us, King Henry, aforesaid, and to his heirs forever.

Item, that in consideration of the fact that our aforesaid very dear father is bound very much and hindered by adverse illness, which we sorrowfully recall to such an extent that he can not properly in his own person direct or have time for pending affairs of his kingdom, therefore, for the whole life of our beforementioned very dear father, the power and authority to rule over and control the commonwealth of the beforementioned realm of France, with the advice of nobles and wise men of the same beforementioned kingdom, obedient to our beforementioned father, who properly love and honor said kingdom, shall be and remain with us, the beforementioned King Henry, to such an extent as we from now on can rule and govern it through our own powers and those of others of the beforementioned nobles we shall see fit to select for this purpose. And by this power and authority to rule thus in the hands of us,
King Henry, we shall labor and strive for that which can be done efficiently, diligently, and faithfully for the honor of God and for that of our before mentioned very dear father and mother, not only for the public good of the aforementioned kingdom, but also for the kingdom itself with the help and aid of princes, magnates, and nobles, and of the said kingdom.

Item, to the best of our ability that the rights of parliament of France be kept and observed in everything due to its authority and control in all the particular places, subject to our said father now and for the future.

Item, that we, so far as we can, will look out for and console all the peers, and the noble cities, towns, communities, and private persons, subject to our before-mentioned father, now and in the future, in their rights, customs, privileges, monopolies, liberties, and franchises now enjoyed by them or due them in all the places of our said father, now and in the future.

Item, that we, the aforementioned King Henry, will labor diligently and faithfully as far as we can, and will endeavor that full justice be administered and be had in the said kingdom of France, according to the laws and the rights and customs of the said kingdom, without distinction of persons; and we shall keep, foster, and defend the same against all violence and any oppressions.

Item, it is agreed that we, the aforementioned
King Henry, as far as we can, will provide and see to it that for the carrying out both of the rights of parliament and those of separate districts, persons proper, useful, and suitable shall be chosen to minister stewardship and everything else which looks for the governance of the domain and all other functions in the beforementioned kingdom of France for the good, just, peaceable, and tranquil governance of said kingdom, to the ministration of the duties committed to them, and that these persons be such as ought to be assigned and chosen for these things according to the laws and rights of the said kingdom.

Item, that we, the aforementioned King Henry, shall labor as we can, and as soon as this can be done properly, to the making and placing in obedience to our said father various and sundry cities, towns, castles, places, countries, and persons under the rule of France, obedient to our said father, and the rebels who hold in any part of the same allegiance to him commonly described as the Dauphin or the Arkagnass.

Item, to finish out more properly these agreements, that we may more properly control the princes and magnates, both spiritual and temporal, they shall give an oath to our father after the following fashion: First, that they will obey us, the aforementioned King Henry and our commands and mandates humbly and properly in all matters concerning the beforementioned kingdom, and they will grant us the
right and power to govern, rule, and control said state, and many other oaths, statutes and ordinances to the number of twenty two beyond those just recited, which brevity of time does not allow us to write down. In faith and testimony to all the above various and sundry artifices we cause these presents to be confirmed by our great seal. Given in the cathedral church of the Blessed Peter at Troyes on the Twenty-first day of May in the one thousand four hundred and twentieth year of the incarnation of the Lord, end of our reign the eighth.

After the aforementioned articles, as described before, had been confirmed and the separate details had been looked after by keen foresight, the royal cares settled upon and fixed as the day for the solemnization of so great assasrament the feast of the Blessed Trinity, that is to say the second of June, and on this day in the cathedral church of Troyes, which had been a sort of parish church for the king, to make him feel at home, the reverend bishop graced the chains of imperial alliance with such a solemnization as was proper. For the offspring of a king was married to a king, a star to the sun, splendor to radiance, dawning to mid-day, spring to summer, gold to jasper, light to brightness, etc. To tell the truth about the royal ornaments, in the presence of princes, magnates, and innumerable people, about the solemnity of so great a marriage ceremony, and about the other delights and solemn
glories of the wedding would demand a style of longer narration. Nay, perchance an expert pen might deviate from the path of truth. This, nevertheless, the discretion of the reader will take notice of, both because of the quality of the time and other circumstances taken into consideration, everything about this wedding was completed properly. On the fourth day of June, that is the second day after the nuptials were celebrated, the king called back his army into the fields, and towards the city of Sens, just drawing off the horde of the rebellion, with unimpeded despatch he hurried, and surrounded the aforesaid rebellious city on the seventh day of the aforesaid month with the girdle of siege; and on the tenth day of the said month they surrendered the power into the hands of the memorable King Charles through the valor of the king of the English, now his son-in-law. Other fortifications also were taken at this same time, whose names do not occur, but to the siege of the town and castle of Montreau, on the sixteenth day of June, the royal magnanimity applied itself, and the Duke of Burgundy, assigned to the custody of it by the king, raged the more violently against those besieged because he knew that his father had there been surrounded and killed by treacherous fraud. And on the twenty third day of the same month the guards were put to flight, and the city was taken, and the aforementioned Duke of Burgundy, seeking his buried father and finding him in his military tunic and leggings in his tomb, armed, smitten with the pangs of bitter grief,
delay? The faithful and prudent king, weighing carefully with himself that the severity of the affliction very likely would not cease this side of death, in daily confession, in bestowing of alms, and in expectation of death, disposed himself. For three days, however, before his death he was constantly talking with the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter and with other intimate friends, brought to his presence. "It is certain," he said, "according to the decision of the Saviour I shall not be able to escape death, already imminent, because I am human." If, therefore, I have ruled during the time of my reign otherwise than I should, or if I may have done anything unjustly to anyone whom I thought to be my enemy, I humbly beg pardon. For good services especially given to me in these wars, I give you and your fellow soldiers thanks, for which, if death had not anticipated my intention, I proposed to give everybody proper rewards according to his merits. To my brother, the Duke of Bedford I decree the custody and rule of France and the Duky of Normandy until my son arrives at years of discretion. Let my brother, the Duke of Gloucester, be the protector and defender of England. I wish and decree that my uncle, Duke of Exeter, and my uncle Henry, Bishop of Winchester, along with the Earl of Warwick be charged with the governance of my son, and may merciful God sprinkle the latter with the dew of supernal benediction." After this in a long conversation, with wonderful prudence, he told princes and magnates
standing near how to conduct themselves in every political situation. His will first properly made in England, and other testamentary codicils of his final desire, he showed them, in which he left great sums to pay for his own debts, as well as those of his father, and sums to be laid out in payment of his family servants. And after this he was unwilling to mingle himself and his senses in mundane affairs. Now the eternal salvation of the departing spirit disturbed the king. Now to the reward of eternal blessedness he directed his way. Finally, indeed, between so many and so great deeds of pious contemplation, he received the sacraments of extreme unction, both of the body and of the blood of the Lord in the humility of a contrite heart and a penitent spirit. And when he was laboring at the end, these words, "You lie, you lie! my lot is with the Lord Jesus Christ," as if he boldly addressed an evil spirit in these words. Then drawing his last breath, devoutly embracing the image of the crucifix, "Into you hands, O Lord, you release this life," cried out with a mighty cry, and ended perfectly and very devotedly, inside the aforementioned castle, on the last day of August in the tenth year of his reign.

Now the royal apartments were wet with plaintive tears; the palaces were resounding with lamentations; the disturbed hearts were indulging in lament; the stings of sighing grapes were piercing the vitals; now biting sorrows were stirring the languid hearts; the cheeks were drowned
in a deluge of tears, the abyss of bitter weeping; the springs of the eyes boiled over with the bitterness of dire grief; nothing was left which was enough to comfort those lamenting; there is nothing which is adequate to remove the groaning invasions of lamentations. The English exclaimed, "Now the tower of our bravery has been overthrown by the tempestuous revilings of bitter death; the sea of pitiless death has absorbed the mountain from whence came our aid; our joys, consolations, and dancings, along with our king and our protector, leader and director have been buried." The French, indeed, especially the Parisians, were touched with no less grief of hearts, wounded with no less a wound, since they scarcely had anybody else who could pluck their feet out of the net; "O horrors!" they wail, "justice has died along with the just prince." And when in the midst of their groans they were exchanging such words abundant tears, beating of the breast and wringing of the hands were the very true signs of anxious and unfeigned grief. But when in the midst of such sighs, groans, and lamentations no remedy for such trouble could be found, let us turn to the funeral observances. Soon after the departure of his noble spirit, the royal body, embalmed with herbs, wrapped with linen cloth very securely waxed, and in a multiple wrapping of heavy webs, as the custom in such a matter was requisite and customary, inclosed in a wooden box lined with cloth, as seemed suitable, thus inclosed he was laid at rest. Then the funeral car, clothed
in somber outer garments, and noble horses, decked with trappings of the same black sort were arrayed and assigned to draw him. They placed the body to be venerated in a car, and they energetically constructed an image of tall stature, counterfeited to the resemblance of the king, clothed in precious royal garments, in the right hand a scepter, and wearing a crown on the head. The King of Scots, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Exeter, and princes and magnates wearing funeral robes prepared to follow the car, stationed themselves near; and in England every day and all night services, masses, vigils, and other observances were observed in funeral solemnity. And when after a few days they had come to the city of Rouen, the more prominent noble burgesses, clothed in similar black, carrying great candles in their hands, their faces shedding copious rivers of tears, came to meet the honored body. And after this and all other ceremonies, which should have been performed, the Dukes of Bedford and of Burgundy, deputed to the government of France and Normandy, remained in the city. The queen, and the king of Scots, the Duke of Exeter, and other earls and barons and noble knights conducted the royal body to England. And because sad complaint and sorrowful grief (afflicted) the English, who scarcely bore up against the vehemence of their sorrow, etc. (sic) For England lamented the dead as a kingdom laments her king and magnificent protector; as a widow her husband; as a
sister her brother; and as a mother her son. After many
terrific observances and mournful celebrations the body of
the king was brought to Westminster, and in that place after
masses, obsequies, and many other very devoted observances,
in the sepulchers of the kings it was given honorable
burial. And may his soul rejoice to become a co-citizen
and co-heir of the celestial citizens.

End of the Deeds of the King.

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