

After Agincourt



A selection of contemporary sources
for teaching the second half of the
Hundred Years War at A-level

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Introduction

'It's unusual to see someone reading about what happened after Agincourt.'. A simple comment made to me by the shop assistant in Waterstones as I was buying Helen Castor's book *Joan of Arc*, but one which I would soon realise was more than just small talk.

Over the next year, as I read more and more about the Hundred Years War, I came to realise that the shop assistant had been right. The period after the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 is relatively neglected. Juliet Barker says in the Preface to her book *Conquest*, a narrative of post-Agincourt events, 'it seems extraordinary to me that the history of this fascinating period has been so neglected,' and her book is an attempt to fill this gap. This post-Agincourt gap is possibly, in England at least, the result of the fact that after 1429 the war didn't go well for the English though in addition the amount of available primary source material is nowhere near as accessible as before 1415 or after 1453.

It is, therefore, the aim of this resource to begin to fill the gap of primary source material for this period of the Hundred Years War, and make it available to A-level teachers for use in the classroom. The hours and hours of searching for the 30 sources provided here proved to me how hard it would be for teachers (and even more so students!) to resource this topic, so the hope is that these sources will prove helpful. Also contained in the first few pages is a beginner's guide for those who are new to teaching the period with a brief historical introduction and suggested further reading.

The sources found here have been collated particularly with A-level coursework classes in mind. Having said that, it is hoped they will be useful for OCR's England, 1377-1455 and Edexcel's 1399-1509 units.

An outline of 1415 to 1453

1415-28 English success: conquest

Two years after the Agincourt campaign, Henry V began his second campaign, this time with the aim of conquering Normandy entirely. This systematic conquest began on 1 August 1417 and despite strong resistance, particularly at the siege of Rouen, by the summer of 1419 the majority of Normandy was in his hands. Henry was further boosted when the Duke of Burgundy was murdered by the Armagnacs, causing the Burgundians (who had the sick Charles VI in their protection) to ally with the English. As a result, the Treaty of Troyes was agreed in 1420. This declared Henry heir and regent of Charles VI. In 1422, however, Henry V died of dysentery, just seven weeks before the death of Charles VI – which would have made him king of France. Both crowns then fell to his nine-month old son Henry VI who was under the protection of his uncle, the Duke of Bedford. The Duke of Bedford managed to continue English success, particularly at the Battle of Verneuil in 1424, which extended English territory even further.

1429-35 The French fight back



The English advance ended in May 1429 when the French, inspired by Joan of Arc, raised the Siege of Orleans. The French then inflicted another defeat at the Battle of Patay before the Dauphin was crowned Charles VII at Reims in July 1429. The English avoided further defeats by holding on to Paris and then capturing and executing Joan of Arc in 1431. This restoration of English power enabled Henry VI's own coronation in Paris in 1431, but English luck ran out when the popular Duke of Bedford died in 1435. A week later, the Duke of Burgundy swapped sides, leaving England fighting against both France and Burgundy.

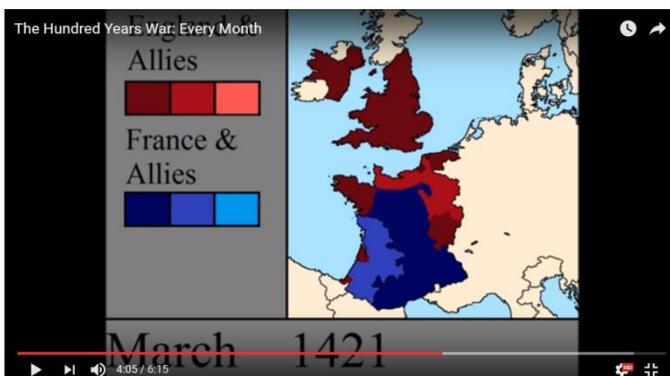
1436-53 English defeat

Due to a massive military effort on the part of the English, and limited involvement from Charles VII and the Duke of Burgundy, the English managed to avoid defeat and actually recovered much of what they had lost, including Harfleur in 1440. In the early 1440s, soldiers continued to be sent to fight, but the English crown was now facing increasing financial difficulties. As a result the Truce of Tours was agreed in 1444. The surrender of Maine in 1445 was a sign that Henry VI was not as interested in maintaining English power in France (and not as able) as his father had been. While he cut military spending, the French increased their preparations, particularly their artillery. Subsequently, when Charles declared war again in 1449, much English-held territory was rapidly taken. The French use of artillery meant that Normandy was largely recaptured by 1450, signified by the French victory at the Battle of Formigny. Aquitaine was taken in 1453, when the city of Bordeaux surrendered after the Battle of Castillon. Calais remained as the only English territory in France.

Timeline of key events:

1415	Henry V invades, takes Harfleur and wins battle of AGINCOURT (25 October)
1417-19	Henry takes Normandy. After murder of Duke of Burgundy on 10 Sept 1419 by the Armagnacs (now led by the Dauphin Charles [VII]), Henry is supported by the Burgundians who control the mad king Charles VI.
1420	Treaty of Troyes makes Henry heir and regent to Charles VI, but he dies before Charles in 1422, so it is the baby Henry VI who becomes King of France and England.
1424	John, Duke of Bedford wins victory over Charles VII's Franco-Scottish army at VERNEUIL (16 or 17 August), and invades Maine and Anjou. English domination at its greatest extent until 1429.
1429	Joan of Arc raises the siege of Orleans and leads to the fall of most areas outside Normandy and Paris to Charles VII.
1431	Henry VI is crowned King of France in Paris.
1435	Burgundians defect to Charles VII at the Congress of Arras.
1436	English lose Paris to Charles VII.
1444	Truce of Tours between Henry VI and Charles VII. Henry marries Margaret of Anjou.
1449	Charles VII invades Normandy claiming English have broken the truce by taking Fougères in Brittany (24 March 1449). They are defeated at the battle of FORMIGNY (15 April 1450). By August 1450, all of Normandy is lost.
1453	English retake Bordeaux but are then defeated at battle of CASTILLON (17 July). Only Calais left in English hands.

Map of key events:



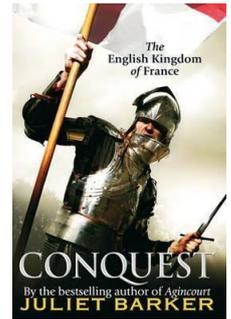
Who had what land during the Hundred Years War involves the use of many maps. Battles and treaties constantly changed the political landscape of France. The best way to see this is through a 'timelapse' map of France available on YouTube. This incredibly useful resource can be shown all at once, or paused at relevant points. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0NuWx34sRw4>

Further reading

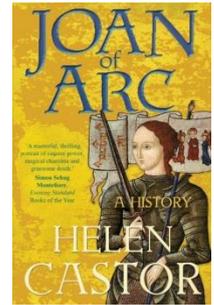
Narrative histories

Two excellent books provide a broad sweep of the period in highly accessible narrative styles.

First, Juliet Barker's follow-up to the bestseller *Agincourt* is *Conquest*. At 400 pages, it is a thorough study of the English conquest of France after Agincourt. The style is accessible to keen A-level readers and does a very good job of untangling the many relationships and characters involved in the war. The book also contains a very useful timeline and bibliography.

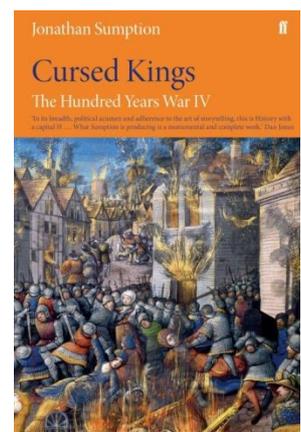
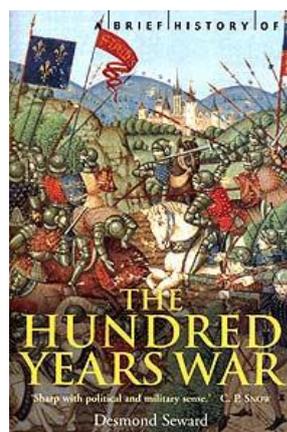
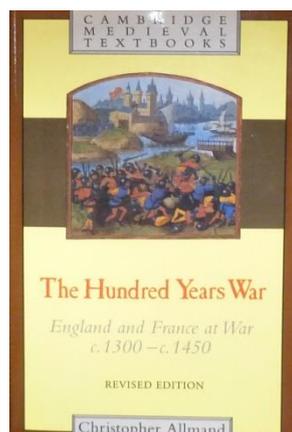
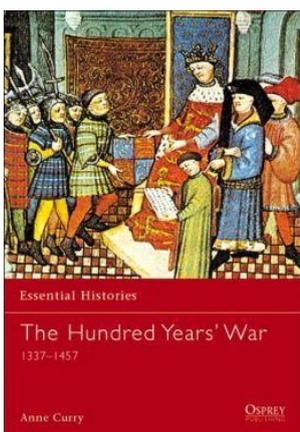


The second narrative is *Joan of Arc* by Helen Castor. Although this inevitably provides a more focused look at one individual, it still provides a broad sweep of the time period as a whole. The end of the war is not covered in as much detail as 'Conquest' here, but the depth of information regarding Joan of Arc's time in the war would be very useful for a study of the maid specifically.



Reference books

1. Anne Curry's guide *The Hundred Years War*, published as part of the Osprey series, provides an excellent introduction to the war as a whole. At 92 pages it is the shortest of the suggested books and it is highly concise in style. The excellent maps, family trees and photographs included in this text make it almost essential reading for any study of the war.
2. A different approach is taken in Christopher Allmand's *The Hundred Years War* which, after a brief account of the war, divides into topics ranging from leadership and artillery to recruitment and taxation. This thematic approach is very useful to dip into when looking for answers to more narrowly focused questions.
3. Desmond Seward's *The Hundred Years War: the English in France 1337-1453*, is part of Penguin's popular Brief Histories series. This acts as a cross between a reference book and a narrative account, as the war is divided into time periods. This would be most useful for picking out individual chapters when studying a specific time within the war.
4. The most detailed recent study of the Hundred Years War is Jonathan Sumption's five-volume epic. Four volumes have so far been published. Volume 5 will cover the war from 1422.



The sources

1) Parliament Rolls



Eight of the 30 sources are from the vast collection of rolls from the English parliament. These rolls record the meetings of parliament throughout the Hundred Years War. They contain many insights into the situation in France, from the descriptions of the success of leaders like Henry V and the Duke of Bedford, to the despair at the economic situation towards the end of the war. Although this insight is obviously one-sided, the discussions can be remarkably honest, and therefore very useful.

Availability

The rolls are held by The Parliamentary Archives [<https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/parliamentary-archives>] but are also available online using the searchable database 'British History Online'. Although most of the material is free there is a subscription fee for some content. [<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>]

2) Chronicles

Probably the largest, but most challenging, resource available to Hundred Years War historians, are the many chronicles written at the time. These can provide unparalleled insights into battles and contemporary opinions of leaders. Many of the chroniclers were closely connected to royal courts and often fought at battles themselves. Every chronicle comes with a strong warning, however. Each writer has his own motive, and often he is writing for a specific royal audience. In addition to this, different chronicles often appear to corroborate each other, with near identical accounts of the same event. In many cases this is simply because they were in the habit of copying information from each other! Below are brief biographies of the three chroniclers featured in this resource:



Enguerrand de Monstrelet (c.1395-1453) The major chronicler for the second half of the Hundred Years War, Monstrelet has seven extracts from his chronicle featured in this resource. He was a Burgundian writing for a Burgundian audience. Indeed he presented his chronicle to the Duke of Burgundy in 1447 and received a payment of 50 ecus. As a result, his account should be treated with caution for his views were heavily influenced by the Burgundian stance. He writes in praise of the English from 1420, but in praise of Charles VII by the end of the war, when Burgundy had changed sides. Monstrelet had various military and political roles during the war and as a result he was present at many of the events he describes, such as the capture of Joan of Arc. In the introduction to his chronicle he also explains how he took information from 'nobles and others, and also by kings of arms, heralds and pursuivants worthy of belief who were present at the events'. He was keen to write about chivalric actions, of 'great feats of arms and other matters worthy of record', and his focus on key individuals in battles often reflects this aim. From 1444, his chronicle was carried on by an anonymous author who attempted to write in the same style (sources 28-30).

Jean de Wavrin (1398-1474) Like Monstrelet, Wavrin was a Burgundian. He was a member of the court of the Duke of Burgundy. Much of his writing appears to support that of Monstrelet but is in fact merely copying him. Wavrin fought at the Battle of Agincourt for the French but for the English in the Battle of Verneuil, and it is this military experience which is of most use to historians.

Gilles le Bouvier (1386-1455) He was a French herald at the court of the future Charles VII and wrote a biography of him, *Chronicle of King Charles VII*. Unlike the other two chroniclers, therefore, he follows the French line throughout his writings, and his aim is to praise Charles VII as the sole cause of French success.

Availability

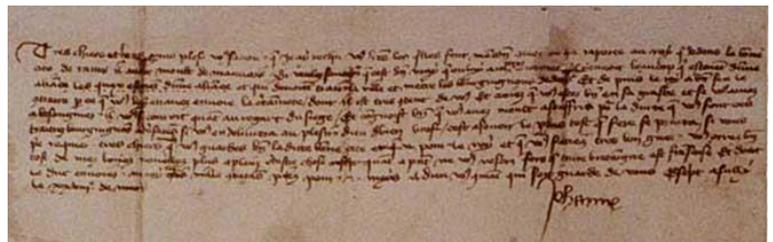
A fully searchable version of Monstrelet's chronicle is available through Google Books. This resource, however, uses the excellent translation found in *Contemporary Chronicles of the Hundred Years War* by Peter Edmund Thompson. Although this was produced by the Folio Society in 1966, second-hand copies are fairly easy to obtain.

3) Letters

Most of the letters selected here were either sent by the English to the French or by Joan of Arc around the time of the Siege of Orleans. These letters provide a valuable insight, not necessarily into what each participant was thinking, but what each participant wanted others to think they were thinking. Therefore, like the chronicles, they were propaganda, used as part of the war effort.

Availability

A huge number of letters sent by Joan of Arc survive and can be found online [see http://archive.joan-of-arc.org/joanofarc_letters.html]



Some other source materials

Music and poetry This resource scratches the surface of this vast area of study with two examples. Both have been selected to show the emotional elation and despair of war and the human impact of the Hundred Years War.

Trial and Nullification of Joan of Arc The trial of 1431 and French retrial, or nullification, which aimed to assess whether the original verdict was correct under church law, are a vast resource for Joan's role in the war and are available in their entirety online at www.stjoan-center.com/Trials/

The administration of war When medieval soldiers fought for England they left a paper trail behind them. Indentures, Muster Rolls and Retinue Rolls were used to record those who had taken part in French campaigns. This huge database of information has not been used here but is fully available free of charge at www.medievalsoldier.org

Vigiles du roi Charles VII Though pictures have not been used directly in this resource, they can be excellent sources for the understanding of fighting styles and equipment. Most are illustrations from contemporary chronicles, a good selection of which can be found at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Vigiles_du_roi_Charles_VII

PART 1

1415-28 English success:conquest



The death of Charles VI, Vigiles du roi Charles VII

Two years after the Agincourt campaign, Henry V began his second campaign, this time with the aim of conquering Normandy entirely. This systematic conquest began on 1 August 1417 and despite strong resistance, particularly at the siege of Rouen, by the summer of 1419 the majority of Normandy was in his hands. Henry was further boosted when the Duke of Burgundy was murdered by the Armagnacs causing the Burgundians (who had the sick Charles VI in their protection) to ally with the English. As a result, the Treaty of Troyes was agreed in 1420. This declared Henry heir and regent of Charles VI. In 1422, however, Henry V died of dysentery, just seven weeks before the death of Charles VI – which would have made him king of France. Both crowns then fell to his nine-month old son Henry VI who was under the protection of his uncle, the Duke of Bedford. The Duke of Bedford managed to continue English success, particularly at the Battle of Verneuil in 1424 which extended English territory even further.

1. HENRY V'S TRIUMPHANT RETURN, 1415 *The Agincourt Carol, early fifteenth century*
The Battle of Agincourt quickly became a part of England's national identity. This carol was probably written shortly after Henry's return, to celebrate the English triumph and give thanks to God. It is important to remember that the memory of Agincourt would live on, in the minds of the English, for the rest of the Hundred Years War. (Reading the carol aloud helps in its understanding!)

Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria!
(Give thanks, England, to God for victory!)
[repeated after each verse]

Owre Kyng went forth to Normandy
With grace and myght of chyvalry
Ther God for hym wrought marvelusly;
Wherefore Englonde may call and cry:

He [sette sege](#), forsothe to say,
To [Harflu](#) towne with ryal aray;
That toune he wan and made afray
That Fraunce shal rewe tyl domesday.

Then went hym forth, owre king comely,
In Agincourt feld he faught manly;
Ther grace of God most marvelsuly,
He had both feld and victory.

Ther lordys, erles and barone
Were slayne and taken and that full soon,
Ans summe were brought into Lundone
With joye and blisse and gret renone.

Almighty God he keep owre kyng,
His peple, and alle his well-wyllyng,
And give them grace wythoute endyng;
Then may we call and savely syng:

2. HENRY BEGINS HIS SECOND CAMPAIGN *Parliament Roll, March 1416*

The battle at Agincourt may have been won, but the war certainly hadn't. The following opening of Parliament in March 1416 outlines the successes Henry had achieved (note the biblical links), but also his motivations for continuing the war and the need for further taxation to fund it.

2. And then the same chancellor, at the command of the king, declared the reason for the summons of the said parliament, and took as his theme: 'He hath opened for you a way.' Whereupon he cited many good and notable authorities in affirmation and elucidation of his theme, and among other things, he said, that when a good enterprise has been well begun, and properly and diligently pursued, a noble and desirable result will inevitably follow; for as the wise man says: 'He who begins well has achieved half of his end.' And as regards the enterprise which our most sovereign lord, by the advice and assent of all the estates and commons of the realm, has recently undertaken in order to recover the rights of his crown overseas – that is, when our same most sovereign lord, within a short time after his most noble arrival near the town of Harfleur, had laid siege to it, the same town was surrendered to him; and afterwards on leaving there by land for his town of Calais, as a result of his most outstanding courage, with a small number of his men who were severely weakened from lack of food, encountered a very large army and a great number of soldiers from France, accompanied by men from the adjoining regions, and fought with them, until God from his bountiful mercy gave the victory to him and the enemy had been killed and defeated - the aforesaid enterprise, by that noble beginning has been and is truly and justly clearly determined and approved by God the Almighty.

3. And moreover he said that, in order to provide the wherewithal for the due and appropriate continuation of the same enterprise, so honourably begun [*col. b*] our said most sovereign lord has now called upon his lords and the commons of his realm in order to have their good and wise counsel and aid on this matter, which when fully implemented will lead to a good and desirable result, with God's grace, to the perpetual honour, peace and profit of the realm.

The expediting of the payment of the tenth and fifteenth granted to the king at the last parliament. Be it remembered that whereas, at the parliament held at Westminster on Monday after the feast of All Saints last [4 November 1415], the commons of the realm of England who had come to the said parliament, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal who were assembled there, granted to our most sovereign lord the king, on 12 November, in the same parliament, a whole fifteenth and a whole tenth, to be levied on the laity in the customary manner on the feast of St Martin in the winter, 11 November next; the commons of the said realm who have come to this parliament – considering that the war is continuing, and in the absence of peace or a truce because of the purposeful resistance of the enemy, and on account of the great and entire affection which they have for our lord the king – by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal who are assembled in this present parliament held at Westminster on 16 March in the third year of the reign of our said lord the king, wish and grant that the said fifteenth and tenth, which ought to be levied and paid on the feast of St Martin, should be thus levied and paid to our same [*col. b*] said lord the king on the forthcoming feast of Whitsun [7 June 1416], in the accustomed terms and manner.

3. SIEGE OF ROUEN, 1418-19 *The Siege of Rouen Poem* In 1417 Henry's second invasion began, but this time his aim was conquest. One of the crucial moments in this campaign was the capture of the capital of Normandy, Rouen. The defences of the city were strong, so the English had little choice but to besiege the city and starve its inhabitants into submission. The siege lasted six months, during which time the starving people of Rouen sent some of the poorest out of the city to save food. These people had to live in a ditch between their city and the surrounding English. The following extract from the poem, written by an English eyewitness, shows well the suffering that took place and the human cost of war. On the left is the original, on the right a modern translation.

Of pore pepylle there were put owte,
 And nought as moche as a clowte
 But the clothys in there backe,
 To kepe them from rayne I wotte.
 The wedyr was unto them a payne,
 For alle that tyme stode moste by rayne.
 There men myght se grete pytte,
 A chylde of ij yere or iij
 Go a boutte to begge hyt brede.
 Fadyr and modyr bothe were dede.
 Undyr sum the watyr stode;
 Yet lay they cryng aftyr foode.
 And sum stovyn unto the dethe,
 And sum stoppyde of ther brethe,
 Sum crokyd in the kneys,
 And sum alle so lene as any treys,
 And wemmen holdyn in hyr armys
 Dede chyldryn in hyr barmys,
 And the chyldryn sokyng in ther pappe
 With yn a dede woman lappe.
 There men myght fynde and see fulle
 ryfe
 By twyne ij ded on lyyng on lyve,
 And he not wetyng of there dethe,
 Soo prevely they yelde uppe hyr brethe
 Withoutyn calle or cry,
 As they hadde slepte soo dyd they dy.
 Thes were the syghtys of dyfferauns,
 That one of joye and [th]at other of
 penaunce,
 As helle and hevyn ben partyd a to,
 That one of welle and [th]at othyr of wo.
 There ne was noo man, I undyr stonde,
 That sawe that but hys herte wolde
 change,
 And he consyderyd that syght
 He wolde be pensyffe and no thyng lyght.
 There myght men lerne alle there lyve,
 What was a-gayne ryght for to stryve.
 For when hyt lay in there lotte
 They were fulle cruelle, God hyt wote,
 And marcy wolde they non have,
 Nede causyd them aftyr for to crave.
 And yet for alle hyr wyckyd wylle
 Mercy they were takyn tylle.

Of poor people there were put out,
 And nought as much as a clout
 But the clothes on their back,
 To keep them from rain and wotte.
 The weather was to them a pain,
 For all that time stood most by rain.
 There men might see great pity,
 A child of 2 years or 3
 Going about to beg for bread,
 Father and mother both were dead.
 Under some the water stood.
 Yet lay they crying after food;
 And some starving to the death,
 And some stopped of their breath,
 Some crooked in the knees,
 And some so lean as any trees,
 And women holding in their arms,
 Dead children in their barmys,
 And the children soaking in their pappe,
 Within a dead woman's lap.
 There men might find and see full rife,
 Between 2 dead or living or life,
 And he not waiting for their death,
 So prevely they yield up her breath
 Without call or cry,
 As they had slept so they did die.
 These were the sights of dyfferauns,
 That one of joy and that other of
 penance,
 As hell and heaven have been parted
 too,
 That one of well and that other of woe.
 There never was a man, I understand,
 That saw that but his heart would
 change,
 And he considered that sight
 He would be pensive and nothing light.
 There might men learn all their lives,
 What was again right for to strive.
 For when it lay in their lot
 They were fully cruel, God hyt wote,
 And mercy would they not have,
 Need caused them after to crave.
 And yet for all her wicked will
 Mercy they were taken tylle.

4. HENRY'S SUCCESS IN NORMANDY *Parliament Roll, October 1419* By the opening of Parliament in October 1419 it was clear that Henry's campaign was going very well. Here, the military successes are outlined as well as the reasons for continuing the war.

And especially with regard to the recovery and restoration of the lordships and possessions overseas pertaining to his crown of England, which have been wrongly withheld and occupied by his adversary of France; and how our said sovereign lord, before the start of any war, often made solemn requests to his said adversary through his ambassadors by peaceful means. Yet, notwithstanding the rejection of these overtures of his, and also the glorious victory over the French people at Agincourt, and the gain and conquest of many cities, castles and lordships in the duchy of Normandy, which formed part of his rightful demand, which God in his merciful grace has granted him, he still attended to the negotiations for peace, and strove after it several times through his ambassadors, and ultimately in his own person, following the advice of the prophet, 'Seek peace and pursue it'. And whereas he would have been content in those discussions with a little, considering his great claim and demand, the said opposing party still did not wish to agree to any reasonable solution; and thus through necessity, and not by desire, our said sovereign lord went about his recovery by means of war, trusting fully in God on that matter, for 'Necessity causes war and not desire'. And my said lord the chancellor took as his theme, 'Let us not be weary in well-doing.

And he said furthermore that, considering how our same said sovereign lord has hitherto had very great and serious difficulties and misfortunes in recovering his said right, [col. b] and if the war were now to be discontinued, which God forbid, most dangerous injuries and wrongs would ensue; and as this cannot be continued without considerable financial aid and reinforcements of manpower, then let such aid and reinforcements as are suitable and praiseworthy, for the honour and security of the king, his people and the realm, be provided and ordained through the best advice and application of this assembly, so that he can feel that his people here look upon him and his estate at present with love and complete affection, and through which peace without end may shortly be brought about between the said realms by the grace of Almighty God; to His pleasure and glory, and to the perpetual advantage, peace and prosperity of all the realm of England.

5. HENRY V AND CHARLES VI UNITE *The Treaty of Troyes 1420* The famous agreement between Henry V and Charles VI naming Henry as regent and heir to the French crown. A high-point of English success in the Hundred Years War and the result of Henry's second campaign in France. (The treaty makes 33 points, of which four are included below)

Charles; by the grace of God King of France, to all our baillis, seneschals, provosts, and other heads of our justice or their lieutenants, greeting. We make known how by final agreement a perpetual peace is this day made and sworn in this our town of Troyes by us and our very dear and beloved son, Henry, King of England, heir and Regent, for us and himself, of France, the crowns of France and England, as well by his union with our well-beloved daughter, Katherine, as by several points and articles made, granted and passed by each party faithfully for the well-being and prosperity of ourselves and our subjects, and for the security of our dominions ; by means of which peace every one of our subjects and those of our said son shall henceforth be able to meet, traffic, and work with each other as well beyond sea as on this side.

6. After our death [Charles VI], and from that time forward, the crown and kingdom of France, with all their rights and appurtenances, shall be vested permanently in our son [son-in-law], King Henry [of England], and his heirs.

7.....The power and authority to govern and to control the public affairs of the said kingdom shall, during our lifetime, be vested in our son, King Henry, with the advice of the nobles and wise men who are obedient to us, and who have consideration for the advancement and honour of the said kingdom....

24.....[It is agreed] that the two kingdoms shall be governed from the time that our said son, or any of his heirs shall assume the crown, not divided between different kings at the same time, but under one person who shall be king and sovereign lord of both kingdoms; observing all pledges and all other things to each kingdom its rights, liberties or customs, usages and laws, not submitting in any manner one kingdom to the other.

29. In consideration of the frightful and astounding crimes and misdeeds committed against the kingdom of France by Charles, the said Dauphin, it is agreed that we, our son Henry, and also our very dear son Philip, duke of Burgundy, will never treat for peace or amity with the said Charles. All and every one of the things above written, we, Charles, King of France, for ourselves and our heirs in so far as it can effect them, without fraud or evil design have promised and do promise, have sworn and do swear on the word of a king, and upon the holy gospels of God, personally touched by us, to accomplish and observe, and make our subjects accomplish and observe, and also that neither we nor our heirs shall ever go contrary to the things above-mentioned, or any of them in any manner or fashion that may be, in judgment or out of judgment, directly or indirectly, or by any manner of excuse whatever.

And in order that all these things, and the articles above-mentioned, may be firm and stable continually and for ever we have caused our seal to be put to these presents, given in our town of Troyes the 21st day of the month of May in the year 1420, and of our reign the forty-fifth. Sealed at Paris under our seal, ordained in the absence of the great [seal]. Thus signed by King Charles and his grand council.

6. ENGLISH JOY AT THE TREATY OF TROYES *Parliament Roll, December 1420* At the opening of Parliament in December 1420 there was great praise for Henry V, for achieving peace in England and France. Such kingly praise was not unusual, but Henry's list of achievements here seems impressive and, again, clear biblical links are made.

...we people of England have a very special reason and cause for honouring and thanking Almighty God for the considerable grace, victory and achievement which he has indeed granted and shown to the king our said sovereign lord, both in the suppression of the Welsh rebellion in his youth, and then in the destruction and crushing of heresies and Lollardy here within the kingdom, as well as in the recovery of the ancient rights pertaining to his crown of England overseas in the parts of France, and also in the welcome conclusion of peace and unity between him, on behalf of his kingdom of England, and his former adversary of France, on behalf of him and his kingdom of France, which has been made and agreed to the glorious pleasure of God and the undoubted advantage and perpetual happiness of all this kingdom of England. And he took as his theme: 'David took advice' - adding to this that because our said sovereign lord was busy in the said parts overseas, making good the situation there and working for the greater security of himself and his lieges of England, so that he could still not come to England – although his personal presence is greatly, and has for long been, desired here...

7. HENRY V DIES, 1422 **Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique de France*** In August 1422 Henry died, probably of dysentery. The following account shows Henry's attempt at a smooth transition of power as well as an assessment of his achievements in France. The direct quotations that Monstrelet uses are obviously questionable, as was his knowledge of Henry's age. This leaves us to question the accuracy of what else he says here.

Then Henry, knowing that he was suffering from a mortal illness, sent for his brother the Duke of Bedford, his uncle the Earl of Warwick, Sir Lewis Robsart and three or four others whom he trusted most of all those about him, and told them pitifully that he knew it was his creator's pleasure that he should now leave this world. He then addressed the Duke of Bedford saying: 'Dear brother John, I beseech you on the loyalty and love you have always shown me, to show the same loyalty and consideration to my fair son Henry your nephew. And I further charge you that, whatever errors you may make, you do not so long as you live suffer any treaty to be made with our enemy Charles de Valois, and in no circumstances allow the duchy of Normandy to be restored to him. If our fair brother of Burgundy should wish to undertake the regency of this realm of France, I advise you to grant it to him, but if he refuses it then take it on yourself. To you, fair uncle of Exeter, I hand sole regency of the kingdom of England, for I know you can govern it well, and I beseech you not to return to France on any pretext whatever. I further require you to be guardian in all respects of my fair son your nephew, and ask you on the love you have always borne me to pay frequent visits to see him. Your dear cousin of Warwick I wish to act as his tutor, remaining always with him to bring him up according to the rank for which he is destined - for I know no one I would more readily ask.'

'I further entreat you as earnestly as I know how that you should not for any reason enter into disagreement with our fair brother of Burgundy – and this you must expressly recommend to our brother Humphrey - for if there was any ill will between you (which God forbid) the affairs of this realm, which are at present in a very healthy state, would soon worsen. Take care not to set at liberty our fair cousin of Orleans, the Comte d'Eu, the Seigneur de Gaucourt or Guichard de Sisay until such time as our fair son has come of age. In other things do what seems best to you.'

After he had spoken these words and others in the same vein, the lords who were present, their hearts full of grief, replied on their honour that they would carry out everything that he had ordered, and anything else that they knew would please him, and to the best of their ability they would never do otherwise. They were all overcome with sorrow to see to what straits he was reduced, and shortly afterwards some of them left the room. Sir Hugh de Launay, who had been sent to the king's presence by the Duke of Burgundy, when he had spoken with the king, also left and returned to the duke.

Shortly afterwards the king sent for his physicians and earnestly begged them to tell him what they thought of his condition and how long he might expect to live. They hesitated before replying and then, to give him some hope, they told him that it depended on God whether he would be restored to health. He was not satisfied with this answer and again asked them to tell him the truth. The doctors then discussed the matter among themselves and then one of them, kneeling by the king's bed, said to him: 'My lord, think now of your soul, for it is our opinion that unless God wills it otherwise you cannot live more than two hours.' The king then sent for his confessor, for other members of his family, and for priests whom he ordered to recite the seven penitential psalms. When they got to the *Benigne fac, Domine* and reached the words *muri Hierusalem* he stopped them, and said that he had always intended before he died, and as soon as he had established order in the kingdom of France, to set out on the conquest of Jerusalem, if it had been his Creator's pleasure to allow him to live long enough. When he had said this he made them finish the psalms, and shortly afterwards, in the time allowed by his physicians, he gave up the ghost on the last day of August...

Thus ended the life of King Henry in the flower of his days, for when he passed from life into death he was only about 40 years old. He was very wise and capable in everything he undertook, and he had an iron will. In the seven or eight years during which he ruled in France he made greater conquests than any before him for many years past. He was so feared by his princes and captains that there was no one, however close or dear to him, who was not afraid to go against his orders, especially those of his own kingdom of England. Everyone under his rule, in France and England alike, whatever his rank, was reduced to this same state of obedience. The chief reason for this was that anyone who thwarted his will and disobeyed his orders was most cruelly punished and received no mercy.

8. TWO KINGS CROWNED, 1422 **Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique de France*** With the death of Henry V, and then Charles VI, came the fulfilment of the Treaty of Troyes – Henry, King of England and France. At the same time, however, Charles VI's son was also crowned (he was crowned a second time at Reims in 1429 fulfilling Joan of Arc's prophecy). The foundations were now laid for the remainder of the war.

[Henry VI of England...]

When the [funeral] ceremonies were duly completed, the three estates of the realm of England met together in full assembly, to decide on the succession to the throne. In the end they elected the only son of the late King Henry as king, although he was only sixteen [nine!] months old, and submitted themselves to his obedience in spite of his tender age. They granted him immediately a royal establishment, the Earl of Warwick with some others agreeing to accept guardianship of the young king.

[...and France!]

...Then Berry, king-of-arms, attended by several heralds and pursuivants, cried over the grave: 'May God have pity and mercy on the soul of this most noble and excellent prince, Charles, King of France, and the sixth of his name, our natural sovereign lord!' Then immediately shouted again: 'May God grant long life to Henry, by the grace of God King of France and of England, our sovereign lord!' Then the king-of-arms repeated the same cry again. This done, the sergeants-at-arms raised again their maces with the fleur-de-lis upon them, and shouted with one voice: 'Long live the king! Long live the king!'

[The rival French crown - Charles VII]

After the death of King Charles of France, his only son Charles the dauphin, Duc de Touraine, on the advice of the princes had himself crowned and made King of France in the city of Poitiers. From that day he was called King of France, as was his father before him, by all those in his party.

9. BATTLE OF VERNEUIL 1424 *Jean de Wavrin's Chronicle Recueil des Croniques* Wavrin fought at both the Battle of Agincourt and the Battle of Verneuil, which makes him a very useful chronicler when comparing battles. As a Burgundian he was on the French side at Agincourt but the English side at Verneuil. Here he describes in vivid detail how and why the English were successful.

On the following morning, when it was time, the Duke of Bedford the Regent took the field in very good order, and rode until he passed the woods near to Verneuil; and when he found himself in the plain, he saw the town and all the power of the French ranged and put in order of battle, which was a very fine thing to see, without doubt I who am the author of this work have never seen a finer company, nor any place where there were so many nobles as there were there, nor better ordered, or showing greater appearance of wanting to fight. I saw the assembly at Agincourt, where there were many more princes and people, and also that of Cravant, which was a very pretty affair; but the assembly at Verneuil was certainly the most formidable of all and the best fought of them all.

Now to return to our subject, the Duke of Bedford and his princes, seeing their enemies awaiting them on foot and drawn up in battle formation, rode forward a little; then when they seemed to be near enough to the front line of the enemy, the regent commanded his forces, on pain of death, to dismount, each one, and he ordered that all the archers were to be supplied with pointed stakes to put in front of them, according to the English custom, when they came to the attack and struggle, which command was carried out as it was ordered. Then it was proclaimed on behalf of the King of France and of England that all horses should be coupled and tied together, and the pages and yeomen on their backs, and the waggons a little to one side... [Henry VI was, of course in the English eyes King of France and England and the order was issued in his name by the Duke of Bedford as Regent of France.] There were appointed to guard the baggage and horses 2,000 archers, so that their army could not be attacked from the rear nor thrown into any confusion. Then after these orders had been made, the English raised a great shout and began to march forward in good order, the archers on the two wings. On the other side the French had known since the previous evening that they would be attacked on the morrow. When the day had come, they knew in truth that the English were approaching, since they perceived them from afar by the dust raised by their men and horses, and were also informed by their spies and skirmishes whom they had on the field; then at once without delay they put themselves in order for fighting without forming a vanguard or rear-guard... except that they appointed a certain number of horsemen ... for the purpose of dashing into their enemies from the rear or across them or otherwise, so as to their greatest advantage they might be able to do them damage; while the rest, all on foot, as has been said, ranged themselves in a single company. Then they began to march proudly towards their enemies, with their lances lowered; and when this attitude was seen by the English they ran very vigorously against them. At the onset there was a great noise and shout with a tumultuous clamour of trumpets and clarions; one side cried "St Denis" and the other side cried "St George". The shouting was so horrible that there was no man so brave or assured but that he feared death; they began to strike with axes and lunge with lances, then they put hands to their swords, with which they gave each other great blows and deadly strokes. The English archers, and the Scots who were with the French, began to shoot against each other so cruelly that it was horrible to look at them, for they bought death with full force to those whom they attacked. After the shooting parties attacked each other furiously, hand to hand. This battle was on Thursday, 17th August beginning about two o'clock in the afternoon ...

Many a capture and many a rescue was made there, and much blood was shed and it was a great horror and irreparable pity to see Christians destroy one another thus... the blood of the dead spread upon the ground, and that of the wounded ran in great streams about the field. This battle lasted about three-quarters of an hour, very terrible and bloody, and it was not then in the memory of man to have seen two such mighty parties fighting for such a space of time evenly without being able to tell to whom the loss or the victory would turn... The French who, as I have said, had been appointed before the battle to remain on horseback to attack the English from the

rear or on the flank, in order to break their formation and throw them into disarray, came to attack the rear, expecting to enter without resistance, making a great shout as they did so. But they found their barriers and resistance, that is the horses and waggons of their enemies coupled together by the halters and horses' tails, and they also found there 2,000 archers of good courage who repelled them vigorously and put them to a flight. The French did not gain any other profit there than to snatch up what they were able to take, such as baggage and horses, killing the pages and yeoman who were mounted on them and guarding them.

The French applied themselves so vigorously to this work that I truly believe the English would not have been able to withstand them or endure much longer if it had not been for the misfortune and ill luck which now struck the French. According to what I can understand, and I have since then heard several express the same opinion, the 2,000 English archers who, as I have said, had repulsed the French on horseback... when they saw their enemies flee, gathered strength and were a great cause of victory. For seeing the conflict so evenly fought, they, fresh and new as they were, raised a wonderful shout and came wheeling round in front of their army, where at their coming they began to inflict great punishment on the French, who were much tired with fighting, and, much amazed by this new attack, they began a little to lose heart and to fall back. The English on the contrary, seeing that now was the time for it, exerted themselves, all at once regaining their strength, and fought so well that in many places they broke through the French line with this thrust and pushed in shouting 'St George', beginning to kill and put cruelly to death all those whom they could reach without any pity, which was done without much shedding of blood.

10. THE ROLE OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD AT VERNIEUL 1424 **Jean de Wavrin's Chronicle *Recueil des Croniques*** The following two extracts show the Burgundian chronicler Wavrin's opinion on the role of the Duke of Bedford. First, during the battle itself, and later in holding the English victory by taking the town itself. Here Bedford has been made absolutely central to the English success in France in the mid-1420s.

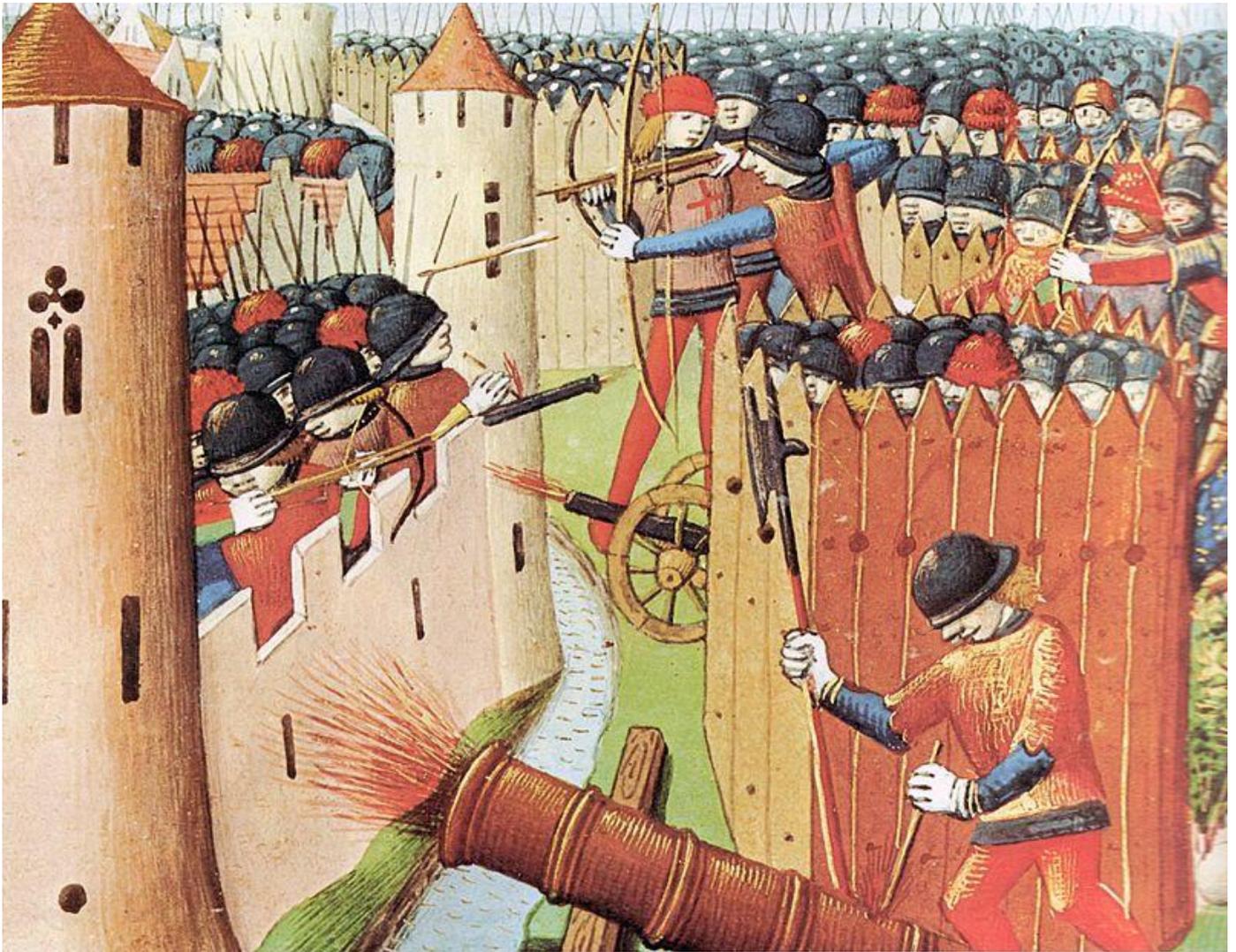
Just at this time the battle very fell and cruel, so that there was no one who did not try to the utmost valour and strength. I the author know truly that that day the earl of Salisbury sustained the greatest burden, notwithstanding that his force wavered greatly and had much to do to maintain his position. Certainly if it had not been for the skill and great valour and conduct of his single person amongst the valiant men who fought under his banner very vigorously, following his example, there is no doubt that the issue, which was in great uncertainty, would have gone very badly for the English, for never in all this war did the French fight more valiantly. Elsewhere the Duke of Bedford, as I have heard tell, for I could not see nor understand the whole, since I was sufficiently busy defending myself, did that day wonderful deeds of arms, and killed many a man, for with an axe he held in his two hands he reached no one whom he did not fell, since he was great in body and large in limbs, wise and brave in arms. But he was very greatly harassed by the Scots, especially the Earl of Douglas and his followers, so much so that no one knew what to think and could not imagine how the struggle would end for the French, who had half as many men again as the English, fought only to win.

After this glorious victory which the English obtained against these French, the Duke of Bedford gathered round him all his princes and barons, and in great humility gave thanks to his creator, with eyes turned towards Heaven and hands joined, for good success which He had sent. And as soon as the dead were despoiled by the yeomen and archers, who took away from them all that was of value, my lord the regent went away to camp for the night around the town of Verneuil. He had a very good watch kept about his army and good scouts appointed so that nothing untoward could happen to them, and to guard against his enemies gathering themselves together and coming to attack the camp of his men, to do him damage.

Then after my lord the regent had taken possession of the town Verneuil, and had refurnished it well with fresh men, victuals, and artillery, he departed in triumph and in very great joy, and returned to Normandy with his prisoners.

PART 2

1429-35 The French fight back



The Siege of Orleans, Vigiles du roi Charles VII

The English advance ended in May 1429 when the French, inspired by Joan of Arc, raised the Siege of Orleans. The French then inflicted another defeat at the Battle of Patay before the Dauphin was crowned Charles VII, at Reims in July 1429. The English avoided further defeats by holding on to Paris and then capturing and killing Joan of Arc in 1431. This restoration of English power enabled Henry VI's own coronation in Paris in 1431, but English luck ran out when the popular Duke of Bedford died in 1435. A week later the Duke of Burgundy swapped sides, leaving England fighting both France and Burgundy.

11. ARRIVAL OF JOAN OF ARC **Transcript of the nullification trial of Joan of Arc, 1456**

The French fight-back began with the arrival of Joan of Arc. The following extract from her retrial by the French in 1456 (some 25 years after her death), outlines her arrival at the Dauphin's court and her subsequent march to the English Siege of Orleans. As the retrial was aimed to show her Christian character, it is inevitable that the witness here, Jean, The Bastard of Orleans, is keen to emphasise the divine elements of her leadership. He was present with her as she entered the siege.

I think that Jeanne was sent by God, and that her behaviour in war was a fact divine rather than human. Many reasons make me think so.

I was at Orleans, then besieged by the English, when the report spread that a young girl, commonly called the Maid, had just passed through Gien, going to the noble Dauphin, with the avowed intention of raising the siege of Orleans and conducting the Dauphin to Reims for his anointing. I was then entrusted with the care of the town of Orleans and was Lieutenant-General of the King in affairs of war. In order to be better informed on the subject of this young girl, I sent to the King the Sieur de Villars, Seneschal of Beaucaire, and Janet de Tilly, who was afterwards Bailly of Vermandois.

They returned from the King, and reported to me publicly, in presence of all the people of Orleans [assembled] to know the truth, that they had seen the Maid arrive at Chinon. They said that the King at first had no wish to listen to her: she even remained two days, waiting, until she was permitted to present herself before him, although she persisted in saying that she was come to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct the Dauphin to Reims, in order that he might be consecrated; she at once asked for men, arms and horses.

Three weeks or a month elapsed, during which the King had her examined by Clergy, Prelates, and Doctors in Theology, as to her words and deeds, in order to know if he might receive her with safety. Then the King assembled an army to conduct to Orleans a convoy of supplies. Hearing the opinion of the Clergy and Prelates that there was no evil in this Maid, the King sent her to Blois... The convoy came, with Jeanne in good order, by way of the Sologne, to the Loire, facing the Church of Saint Loup. But the English were there in great number: and the army escorting the convoy did not appear to me, nor to the other captains, in sufficient force to resist them and to ensure the entrance of the convoy on that side. It was necessary to load the convoy on boats, which were procured with difficulty. But to reach Orleans it was necessary to sail against the stream, and the wind was altogether contrary.

Then Jeanne said to me : 'Are you the Bastard of Orleans?' 'Yes,' I answered; 'and I am very glad of your coming!' 'Is it you who said I was to come on this side [of the river], and that I should not go direct to the side where Talbot and the English are?' 'Yes, and those more wise than I are of the same opinion, for our greater success and safety.' 'In God's Name,' she then said, 'the counsel of My Lord is safer and wiser than yours. You thought to deceive me, and it is yourselves who are deceived, for I bring you better assistance than has ever come to any general or town whatsoever the assistance of the King of Heaven. This assistance does not come from me, but from God Himself, Who, at the prayers of Saint Louis and Saint Charlemagne, has had compassion on the town of Orleans, and will not suffer the enemy to hold at the same time the Duke and his town!'

At that moment, the wind, being contrary, and thereby preventing the boats going up the river and reaching Orleans, turned all at once and became favourable. They stretched the sails; and I ordered the boats to the town, which I entered. We passed before the Church of Saint Loup in spite of the English. From that time I put good hope in her, even more than before. I had begged her to cross the river and to enter the town, where many were longing for her. She had made a difficulty about it, not wishing, she said, to abandon her army or her followers who were duly confessed, penitent, and of good will; and on their account she refused to come. Thereupon, I went in search of the captains who had charge of the convoy and the army, and besought them,

for the welfare of the King, to allow Jeanne to enter Orleans at once, and that they should go up the river they and the army to Blois, where they should cross the Loire so as to return to Orleans, for there was no nearer place of crossing. They consented; and Jeanne then came with me. She had in her hand a banner, white in colour, on which was an image of Our Lord holding in His Hand a lily. La Hire crossed the Loire at the same time as she, and entered the city with her and ourselves. All this was much more the work of God than of man: the sudden change of wind immediately Jeanne had announced it; the bringing in of the convoy of supplies in spite of the English, who were in much greater force than all the King's army; and the statement of Jeanne that she had seen Saint Louis and Saint Charles the Great praying God for the safety of the King and of the City.

12. THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS Letter from Joan of Arc to the English, 22 March 1429
Before Joan's full intervention, she sent the following letter to the English commanding them to end the siege. She describes her carrying out of the will of God in third person.

Jesus, Mary

King of England, render account to the King of Heaven of your royal blood. Return the keys of all the good cities which you have seized, to the Maid. She is sent by God to reclaim the royal blood, and is fully prepared to make peace, if you will give her satisfaction; that is, you must render justice, and pay back all that you have taken.

King of England, if you do not do these things, I am the commander of the military; and in whatever place I shall find your men in France, I will make them flee the country, whether they wish to or not; and if they will not obey, the Maid will have them all killed. She comes sent by the King of Heaven, body for body, to take you out of France, and the Maid promises and certifies to you that if you do not leave France she and her troops will raise a mighty outcry as has not been heard in France in a thousand years. And believe that the King of Heaven has sent her so much power that you will not be able to harm her or her brave army.

To you, archers, noble companions in arms, and all people who are before Orleans, I say to you in God's name, go home to your own country; if you do not do so, beware of the Maid, and of the damages you will suffer. Do not attempt to remain, for you have no rights in France from God, the King of Heaven, and the Son of the Virgin Mary. It is Charles, the rightful heir, to whom God has given France, who will shortly enter Paris in a grand company. If you do not believe the news written of God and the Maid, then in whatever place we may find you, we will soon see who has the better right, God or you.

William de la Pole, Count of Suffolk, Sir John Talbot, and Thomas, Lord Scales, lieutenants of the Duke of Bedford, who calls himself regent of the King of France for the King of England, make a response, if you wish to make peace over the city of Orleans! If you do not do so, you will always recall the damages which will attend you.

Duke of Bedford, who call yourself regent of France for the King of England, the Maid asks you not to make her destroy you. If you do not render her satisfaction, she and the French will perform the greatest feat ever done in the name of Christianity.

Done on the Tuesday of Holy Week (March 22, 1429). HEAR THE WORDS OF GOD AND THE MAID.

13. JOAN OF ARC ENDS THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS **Transcript of the nullification trial of Joan of Arc, 1456** The Bastard of Orleans continues his evidence here by explaining Joan's role in the ending of the siege through an English retreat. He makes it clear that he believes this French turn of fortunes was all down to her. Not all chroniclers from the time shared this view.

Another circumstance made me think these deeds were the work of God. I wished to go towards the army which had turned back on Blois and which was marching to the relief of Orleans; Jeanne would not wait for them nor consent that I should go to meet them: she wished to summon the English to raise the siege at once on pain of being themselves attacked. She did, in fact, summon them by a letter which she wrote to them in French, in which she told them, in very simple terms, that they were to retire from the siege and return to England, or else she would bring against them a great attack, which would force them to retreat. Her letter was sent to Lord Talbot. From that hour, the English who, up to that time, could, I affirm, with two hundred of their men, have put to rout 800 or 1,000 of ours were unable, with all their power, to resist 400 or 500 French ; they had to be driven into their forts, where they took refuge, and from whence they dared not come forth...

..The next day, early in the morning, the English came out of their camp and placed themselves in order of battle. At this sight, Jeanne got up and put on a light coat of mail; she forbade the English to be attacked or in any way molested but [gave orders] that they should be allowed to depart, which they did, without any pursuit. From that moment the town was delivered. After the deliverance of Orleans, the Maid, with myself and the other captains, went to seek the King at the Castle of Loches, praying him to attack immediately the towns and the camps on the Loire, Mehun, Beaugency, Jargeau, in order to make his consecration at Reims more free and sure. This she besought the King often, in the most urgent manner, to hasten, without longer delay. The King used the greatest haste possible, and sent, for this purpose, the Duke d'Alencon, myself and other captains, as well as Jeanne, to reduce these towns and camps. All were reduced in a few days thanks alone, as I believe, to the intervention of the Maid.

14. BATTLE OF PATAY 18 JUNE 1429 **Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique de France***
Often described as the French equivalent of Agincourt, the Battle of Patay was another major success inspired by Joan of Arc, and a major failure for the English longbowmen. Unlike previous battles, the longbow was unable to inflict much damage (as explained below), and the French caught the English unprepared for battle.

The French leaders asked Joan the Maid what should be done and what orders she thought they ought to give. She replied that she was certain their old enemies the English were coming to offer battle, and that in God's name they should go and oppose them bravely; they could not fail thus to conquer the enemy. When someone asked her where they were to be found, she said: 'Ride forward boldly, we shall be guided to them.'

Then the army was drawn up in marching order and started to advance, while some three or four score of their most experienced warriors were sent ahead on the best horses to find where the enemy were. They rode for some days [hours], and on a Saturday came to within a mile or so of a large village called Patay, when their scouts startled a stag which ran straight towards the English army just then being formed up of those coming from Paris and those who had left Beaugency and other places around Orleans. When they saw this stag come dashing through the midst of the armed camp, the English set up a shout, not knowing their enemies were so close. But the noise revealed their whereabouts to the French, who shortly moved up within sight of them. Some riders were sent back to the captains to tell them to march straight ahead in battle order, because now was the time to be ready. Final preparations were hurriedly made, and they rode forward till they came within sight of their old enemies.

The English now knew that the French were at hand, and made their own preparations for battle. Some wanted to take up their positions on foot near a hedge in order to prevent a surprise attack from the rear. Others, however, were not satisfied with this kind of strategy, and said they would find more advantageous ground; they turned round and retreated six or seven hundred yards from their former position, which was full of hedges and undergrowth. The French, who preferred to fight on open ground, nearly all dismounted from their horses and continued on foot, their vanguard impatient to attack the English, because they had lately found them to be ill prepared in defence. With a sudden hold onslaught they caught them before they could form up in any order, while Sir John Fastolf and the bastard of Thian, both knights, and their men, who had not dismounted, took flight across the open country to save their lives.

Meanwhile the English who were fighting on foot were soon surrounded on all sides, since they had no time to make their customary defences of sharp stakes stuck in the ground. They were unable to inflict much damage on the French and were soon completely beaten. Some eighteen hundred English were left dead on the field, and a hundred or more taken prisoner, among them Lords Scales, Talbot and Hungerford, Sir Thomas Rempstone and several more. Among the dead were a certain number of the leaders, the rest were men of middling or low degree – the sort who are always brought from their own country to die in France.

The battle was over by two o'clock in the afternoon. All the French captains gathered together to give humble and devout thanks to their creator, and all the army celebrated their victory. On the next day they and other French from round about returned to Orleans with all their prisoners and the booty they had taken from the English dead. They were welcomed with open arms by the people of that town, and special acclaim was given to Joan the Maid, because of whom, it seemed, their enemies had lost their will to resist and King Charles would be restored to his kingdom. She accompanied the princes and captains to the king, who was delighted at their return and received them with great honour. A council was held shortly afterwards, at which it was decided to summon as many fighting men as possible from the lands Charles held, so that they could pursue their enemies and drive them out of the country.

15. THE FRENCH ARE INSPIRED BY JOAN Joan of Arc's letter to the inhabitants of Tournai, 25 June 1429 After inspiring French victories at Orleans and Patay, Joan summarises her successes in this letter to the people of Tournai. At the same time, she is appealing to their sense of French loyalty for the upcoming coronation of Charles VII. It appears the French were uniting again.

Jesus, Mary

Noble loyal Frenchmen of the town of Tournai, the Maiden informs you of the tidings from here: that in eight days she has driven the English out of all the places they held on the River Loire, by assault and otherwise, where there were many killed and captured; and she has defeated them in battle. And know that the Earl of Suffolk, La Pole his brother, Lord Talbot, Lord Scales, and my lord John Fastolf and many knights and commanders have been captured and the Earl of Suffolk's brother and Glasdale are dead. Stand fast loyal Frenchmen, I pray you. And [crossed-out word] I pray and request you to be ready to come to the anointing of the noble king Charles at Rheims, where we will be soon. And come to us when you learn that we are approaching. I commend you to God; may God watch over you and grant you grace so that you can maintain the good cause of the Kingdom of France.

Written at Gien the 25th day of June.

To the loyal Frenchmen of the town of Tournai.

16. ENGLISH REINFORCEMENTS SENT FOR –Agreement made between Henry VI and Cardinal Beaufort at Rochester, 1 July 1429 A sign of how desperate the situation had become for the English is the following agreement, which orders Cardinal Beaufort to divert his soldiers from a planned ‘crusade’ in Bohemia, to instead help out the Duke of Bedford with the growing problems in France. In return, the king agreed to pay the wages of the soldiers. Joan of Arc had inspired French success and it was starting to cost the English dear.

First, although the king by the advice of his said council has granted his license to the said cardinal to take out of his realm of England the king’s subjects of the same to the number of 250 spears and 2,500 bows to accompany him to the realm of Bohemia for the reduction or conquest of the heretics there who intend to subvert the Christian faith; nevertheless for as much as it is thought by the king and his council that considering divers great and grievous reverses and fortunes of war which have happened very recently, since the time of the said license, to the king’s subjects, and the great jeopardy in which stand my lord of Bedford his uncle and the remnant of his true subjects in the realm of France, and the same realm is likely to be lost and subverted unless speedy and undelayed provision of help and relief from this realm of England be disposed and sent thither, and that therefore the service of the men of arms and archers who have indented with the said cardinal is in all ways necessary and essential to the king. The said cardinal considering the things rehearsed above, for the most singular love, zeal, and tenderness that he bears to the security, welfare, and prosperity of the king, and of all his lands and subjects, and in especial of my lord of Bedford, of the realm of France, and of the king’s subjects there, has consented to the contents of the following articles, that is to say:

That my said lord the cardinal has assented to go in his person and also lead his retinue that he has of the king’s subjects of this land, into the realm of France to my said lord of Bedford, and there to abide and, to the utmost of his power, to make all his same retinue abide and serve the king in his wars in his realm of France, for the term of half a year, for which they have agreed with him... The king offers and shall make to our said holy father notable and sufficient security or repayment of the whole sum to which the said wages amount...

17. BEDFORD'S RESPONSE TO FRENCH SUCCESS **Letter from the Duke of Bedford to Charles VII, 7 August 1429** The French turn of fortune, brought about by Joan of Arc, forced the Duke of Bedford to seek peace with Charles VII. He hoped to achieve this through the threat of further war.

We John of Lancaster, regent of France and duke of Bedford, make known to you Charles de Valois, who were wont to style yourself Dauphin of Vienne, but at present without cause call yourself king, for wrongfully do you make attempts against the crown and dominion of the very high, most excellent and renowned prince Henry, by the grace of God true and natural lord of the kingdoms of France and England,—deceiving the simple people by your telling them you come to give peace and security, which is not the fact, nor can it be done by the means you have pursued and are now following to seduce and abuse ignorant people, with the aid of superstitious and damnable persons, such as a woman of a disorderly and infamous life, and dissolute manners, dressed in the clothes of a man, together with an apostate and seditious mendicant friar, as we have been informed, both of whom are, according to holy Scripture, abominable in the sight of God. You have also gained possession, by force of arms, of the country of Champagne[of which Rheims is the provincial seat] and of several towns and castles appertaining to my said lord the king, the inhabitants of which you have induced to perjure themselves by breaking the peace which had been most solemnly sworn to by the then kings of France and England, the great barons, peers, prelates, and three estates of the realm.

We, to defend and guard the right of our said lord the king, and to repulse you from his territories, by the aid of the All-Powerful, have taken the field in person, and with the means God has given us, as you may have heard, shall pursue you from place to place in the hope of meeting you, which we have never yet done. As we most earnestly and heartily desire a final end to the war, we summon and require of you, if you be a prince desirous of gaining honour, to take compassion on the poor people, who have, on your account, been so long and so grievously harassed, that an end may be put to their afflictions, by terminating this war. Choose, therefore, in this country of Brie, where we both are, and not very distant from each other, any competent place for us to meet, and having fixed on a day, appear there with the abandoned woman, the apostate monk, and all your perjured allies, and such force as you may please to bring, when we will, with God's pleasure, personally meet you in the name and as the representative of my lord the king.

Should it then please you to make any proposals respecting peace, we will do everything that may be expected from a catholic prince, for we are always inclined to conclude a solid peace, not such a false and treacherous one as that of Montereau-faut-Yonne, when, through your connivance, that most horrid and disgraceful murder was committed contrary to every law of chivalry and honour, on the person of our late very dear and well-beloved father duke John of Burgundy, whose soul may God receive! By means of this peace so wickedly violated by you, upwards of one hundred nobles have deserted your realm, as may be clearly shown by the letters patent under your hand and seal, by which you have absolutely and unreservedly acquitted them of every oath of loyalty, fealty and subjection. However, if from the iniquity and malice of mankind peace cannot be obtained, we may each of us then with our swords defend the cause of our quarrel before God, as our judge, and to whom and none other will my said lord refer it. We therefore most humbly supplicate the Almighty, as knowing the right of my lord in this matter, that he would dispose the hearts of this people so that they may remain in peace without further oppressions; and such ought to be the object of all Christian kings and princes in regard to their subjects.

We, therefore, without using more arguments or longer delay, make known our proposals to you, which should you refuse, and should further murders and mischiefs be, through your fault, committed by a continuation of the war, we call God to witness, and protest before him and the world, that we are no way the cause, and that we have done and do our duty. We therefore profess our willingness to consent to a solid and reasonable peace, and, should that be rejected,

then to resort to open combat becoming princes, when no other means can accommodate their differences. In testimony whereof, we have had these presents sealed with our seal.

Given at Montereau-faut-Yonne the 7th day of August, in the year of Grace 1429. Signed by my lord the regent of France and duke of Bedford."

18. BEDFORD'S SUCCESS IN FRANCE Parliament Roll of 1433 Despite the many English losses in the late 1420s and early 1430s, this record of the meeting of parliament in 1433 summarises very positively the successes of Bedford in France since 1422, as part of a petition to try to keep him in England to sort out domestic problems.

...my lord of Bedford, on account of the love and true affection which he had for the king, and for the latter's honour and well-being, still remained there in great jeopardy and personal danger; and as a noble and undoubted knight, took the defence and keeping of the rule and governance of the king's obedience and country there upon himself, which otherwise would most likely have been lost and would have fallen from the king's hands, which God forbid; and through his great wisdom and valour, with long and continuous personal labour, peril and danger, he has nobly done his duty towards retaining its tenure until the present time, to the utmost of his ability; and as often as the matter required it, he has subjected his person to the deed and to the danger of war as the poorest knight or gentleman who was there in the king's service, and undertaken many great and noble deeds worthy to be held in remembrance forever; and in particular the battle of Verneuil, which was the greatest deed undertaken by Englishmen in our time, save for the battle of Agincourt, in which battle of Verneuil the best knights were slain and killed both from the king's enemies of the same country and from Scotland, and from other foreign nations who were there assisting and helping the king's enemies. And in addition, my said lord of Bedford has at various times and on many occasions taken to the field in person, being prepared to fight and do battle with the king's enemies who were also in the field if they would have remained there; whose noble and knightly courage and valour is known to be such that he cannot avoid or forbear risking his own life if the king's enemies attack the area he is in, which is seen to put him at great risk, considering how great a treasure his person is to the king and both his realms...

19. CONGRESS OF ARRAS 1435 *Jean de Wavrin's Chronicle Recueil des Croniques* The Congress was an attempt, after the death of the Duke of Bedford, to again achieve peace. Little was agreed, but importantly the Duke of Burgundy changed sides, now favouring the French. This broke the agreements from the Treaty of Troyes (source 5) and changed English fortunes in France for the rest of the war.

... the parties gathered at the place of conference for several days, and the delegations drafted several days, and the delegations drafted several treaties and put them forward, but these were very difficult and different from one another. Those who represented King Charles insisted that that King of England must stop and desist from calling himself King of France any more, conceding that on certain conditions he would be granted the duchies of Guienne and Normandy; but those who represented King Henry would not agree to this at all so they parted ill contented and went away to their lodgings.

So on the 5th September, after taking leave of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, the Cardinal of Winchester led the entire English delegation out of Arras without having reached any agreement with the French... And they suspected what in fact was to happen soon afterwards, that is to say that King Charles and the Duke of Burgundy were growing cordial towards each other. For they perceived even before their departure that those two parties had a great liking for one another... Soon after the departure of the English Ambassadors from the town of Arras... the French and the Burgundians met together in conference at the accustomed place where they had a great discussion together about various matters... and they agreed to make final peace between King Charles on the one hand and Duke Philip of Burgundy on the other.

20. THE ENGLISH RESPOND TO THE CONGRESS OF ARRAS Parliament Roll 1435 As the following extract from the Parliament Roll outlines, the English had to decide between surrendering or continuing the war. The decision to continue fighting (for now) meant that the Crown would have to foot a hefty bill. The following payments are for garrisoning Calais alone.

And now our aforesaid lord king has learned from the report of faithful men that the aforesaid duke of Burgundy has made peace with his aforesaid enemy of France and has striven to have all men adhere to the same enemy against our said lord king. Thus it seems that our same lord king must either accept the trifling and derisory offers made by the said enemy and renounce the name, rank, title and honour of king of France, or else be willing to defend with force of arms his said realm of France, and his rights and lordships there and in his duchy of Normandy: therefore, so that our same lord king might be advised concerning the foregoing and other matters necessary and appropriate for the defence of his said realm of England by the wise discretions of the prelates, nobles and commons themselves, he has caused the said present parliament to be summoned with the assent of his council.

And the said duke [of Gloucester] will receive for their wages 2s. for his said lieutenant, 12*d.* for the said marshal, and 8*d.* a day for each of the other foot men-at-arms, and 6*d.* a day for each of the said archers, and the customary regard and a half for the said lieutenant and marshal during the aforesaid term; and the aforesaid duke will also receive £104 14s. 8*d.* a year during the aforesaid time for the costs and charges which he must bear each year, both for his said lieutenaunt and other officers, and otherwise. And 40 crossbowmen, five carpenters and fifteen masons will also remain in the said town during the said time at the expense of our said lord the king, in addition to the makers of artillery and other officers and recipients of pensions who are at present in the same town, who will similarly be under the command of the aforesaid duke. And of those concerned with the safeguard of the aforesaid castle of Calais, only the lieutenant of the said duke will be mounted. And the duke himself will have five foot men-at-arms and 20 foot archers for the safeguard of the said castle of Calais during the said time; and he will receive for their wages 2s. a day for himself, or for the said lieutenant, 8*d.* a day for each of the other said men-a-arms, 6*d.* a day for each of the said foot archers, and 100s. a quarter for himself or for his said lieutenaunt as a special regard. And for the safeguard of the aforesaid tower of Rysbank the said duke will have [*col. b*] his lieutenant and another man-at-arms at the customary wages of war, and the customary regard and a half; and sixteen armed men or crossbowmen; each receiving 8*d.* daily for his wages and 2*d.* daily as a regard. And the said tower will be supplied with artillery, canons and sufficient powder for them at the expense of our aforesaid sovereign lord the king: provided always that the aforesaid duke will take for his said wages for the said custody from our lord the king at least up to the sum of 100 marks a year...

PART 3

1436-53 English defeat



Surrender of Bordeaux, Vigiles du roi Charles VII

Due to a massive military effort on the part of the English, and limited involvement from Charles VII and the Duke of Burgundy, the English managed to avoid defeat and actually recovered much of what they had lost, including Harfleur in 1440. In the early 1440s, soldiers continued to be sent to fight, but the English Crown was now facing increasing financial difficulties. As a result, the Truce of Tours was agreed in 1444. The surrender of Maine in 1445 was a sign that Henry VI was not as interested in maintaining English power in France (and not as able) as his father had been. While he cut military spending, the French increased their preparations, particularly their artillery. Subsequently, when Charles declared war again in 1449, much English-held territory was rapidly taken. The French use of artillery meant that Normandy was largely recaptured by 1450, signified by the Battle of Formigny. Aquitaine was taken in 1453, when the city of Bordeaux surrendered after the Battle of Castillon. Calais remained as the only English territory in France.

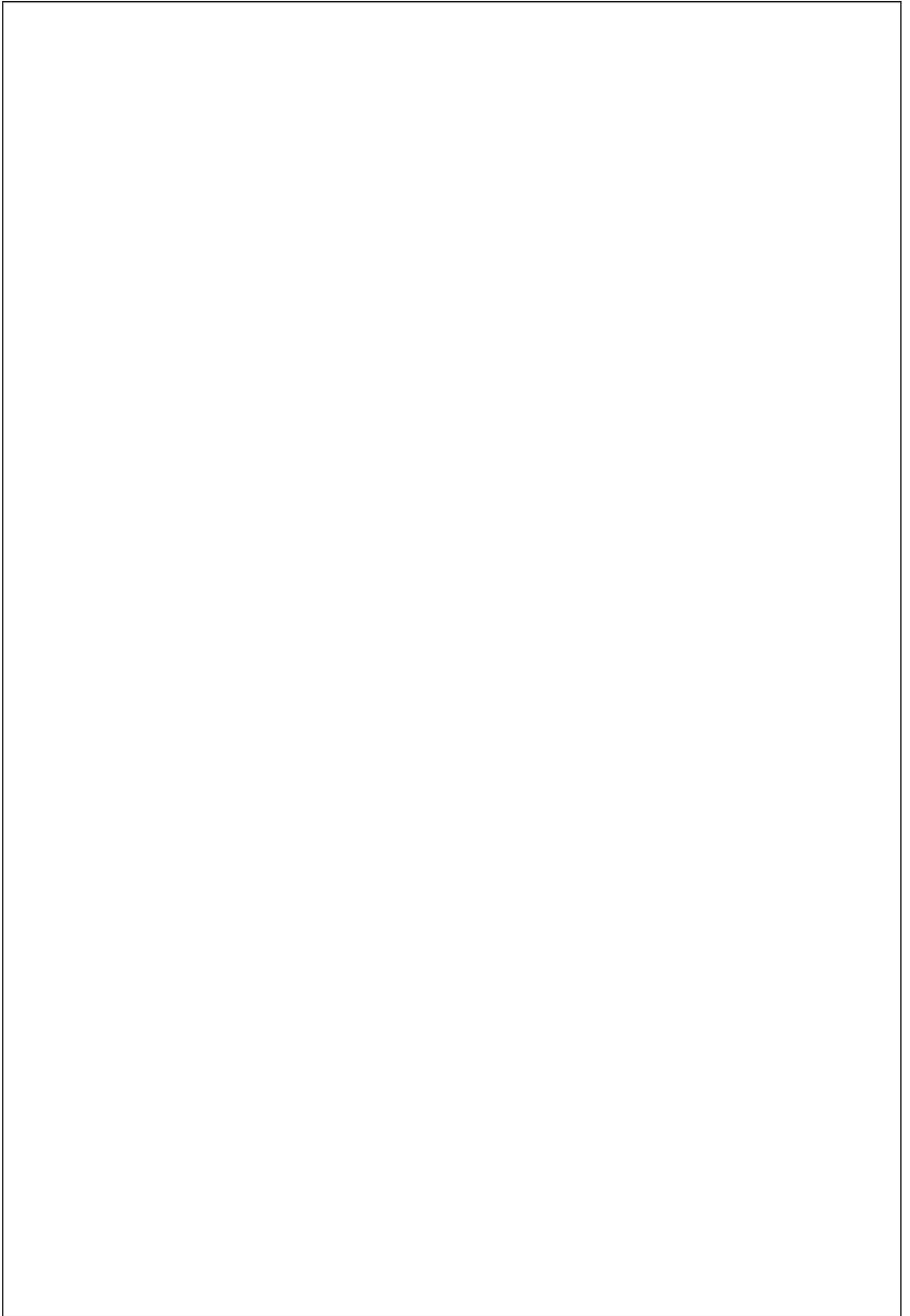
21. ENGLISH FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES Parliament Roll 1437 By 1437, the financial cracks were starting to appear, as this extract shows. The Duke of Gloucester had not received the payments outlined in Source 20, and as a result feared the fall of Calais. Henry VI appears weak in relation to his uncle (Gloucester), who is prepared to die in defence of the town.

Be it remembered that on Monday 25 February Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, kneeling before the king in the presence of the lords spiritual and temporal assembled in this parliament, humbly beseeched the king to consider: how it had recently pleased the king of his noble grace to appoint the said duke to be his captain of the town of Calais and of the marches there; and thereupon appointed a certain number of soldiers to dwell continually in the said town and in the other fortresses in the said marches for the safe-keeping of them, as fully appears, as he says, in indentures between the king and the aforesaid duke: and to consider in addition that it is now the case that because good and proper provision has not been made, nor is made even now, for payment to be made to the said soldiers for their wages, the same soldiers desert and daily leave the aforesaid town and marches to seek their livelihood elsewhere; so that by their departure it is very probable that that town and those marches will fall into decay and ruin in a short time.

Because of this, the aforesaid duke humbly beseeched the king that if it should happen that things should turn out badly in the said town and marches, which God forbid, no fault or negligence should be placed in or blamed on the said duke, or on the aforesaid soldiers as a result, for as he says, he is the one person who has always desired, and will always desire as long as he lives, the king's honour and profit and the protection of the aforesaid town and marches to such a degree that he himself will always be ready in his own person to live and die for their defence; and he beseeched the king that this his supplication should be enacted as his excuse towards the king in future.

22. Henry VI'S CHARACTER Henry VI – Latin Treatise by John Blacman Written by Henry VI's personal chaplain in the 1470s after Henry's death in 1471, the following source explores his character. Even though his religiosity is bound to be highlighted here, it gives a good insight into Henry's priorities, which were certainly not the war in France.

It is written that we are to praise no man before his death, but that in the end shall be the exposing of his works.... I have therefore thought fit to treat of some matters to the praise of God and of the serene prince King Henry VI now deceased....He was a simple man, without any crook of craft or untruth, as is plain to all. With none did he deal craftily, nor even would say an untrue word to any, but framed his speech always to speak truth....Against the pest of avarice with which so many are infected and diseased, even princes of the earth, this king Henry of whom we speak was most wary and alert... to the confusion of avarice he was very bountiful with his gifts, as his former servants bore witness.... The same prince when in the end he lost both the realms, England and France, which he had ruled before, along with all his wealth and goods, endured it with no broken spirit but with a calm mind, making light of all temporal things, if he might but gain Christ and things eternal.... He also customarily wore a long gown with a rolled hood like a townsman, and a full coat reaching below his knees, with shoes, boots and foot-gear wholly black, rejecting expressly all curious fashion of clothing... to confirm his notable devotion to God, many who yet survive and were once of his household say that he was wont almost at every moment to raise his eyes heavenward like a denizen of heaven or one rapt, being for the time not conscious of himself or of those about him, as if he were a man in a trance or on the verge of heaven....



23. HENRY SURRENDERS MAINE Letter sent from Henry VI to Charles VII, 22 December 1445 In 1444, as part of the Treaty of Tours between England and France, Henry VI gave up the county of Maine. Despite his apparent reluctance to do this, it was a sign of the desperate situation the English now faced, and the willingness of its king to compromise.

To the most high and powerful prince, our very dear uncle of France [Charles VII].

Most high and powerful prince, our very dear uncle, knowing that you would be very glad that we should make deliverance of the city and town of Le Mans, and all that we have and hold within the county of Maine, to the most high and powerful prince and our very dear father and uncle, the King of Sicily and Charles of Anjou, his brother (as by your subjects and ambassadors at this time sent to us has been more fully said and explained), who have most affectionately upon your part required us so to do, and moreover informed us that it appeared to you that this was one of the best means to arrive at the blessing of a peace between us and you; wishing effectually to prove the greatest desire and affection which we have to attain unto the said blessing of peace... favouring also our most dear and well beloved companion the queen who has also requested us to do this many times.

Dated at Windsor, the xxij day of December, in the year one thousand cccc and forty five

Thus signed Henry

24. ENGLISH PANIC THAT FRANCE IS SLIPPING AWAY -The credence of the Duke of Somerset, presented to the parliament, Parliament Roll, February 1449 By 1449, the Duke of Somerset, now in charge of English France, was in despair at the military situation they were facing. In this plea to parliament, the situation is explained to Henry VI, with a request for immediate action. The appeal in the third section, to not let a century's worth of English blood go to waste, was a last-gasp attempt to maintain English power in France.

It is not unknown to your great discretions, that our sovereign Lord not long ago, committed the governance of the country now in his realm of France and Duchy of Normandy, to the high and mighty Prince, my Lord of Somerset. The prince in his notable wisdom, seeing by experience the great continual and daily dangers, that there be done by the adversaries [the French]; - seeing also the very likelihood within short time of intolerable hurt, unless a suitable and quick remedy be found here: he sent my Lord Hastings Chancellor of France, and me in his company, with letters of Credence to our sovereign Lord; to let his Highness have knowledge of the doubtful and dangerous disposition of that country; the Credence, as his highness has commanded, as well as I can, I shall open to your wisdoms.

Our Credence contains principally three things. The first is to show the great power, furnished with all manner of equipment of war, of the adverse party [the French]; they daily fortify, repair and stuff all their garrisons within the frontiers of the King's lands, armed in great numbers against the tenor of the truce; doing murders innumerable, taking the King's subjects prisoners, as [if] it were plain war, with other great and lamentable injuries, as open robberies, oppressions and pillories without number; of which offences they have been summoned and commanded by my said Lord of Somerset to make cease, and repair them after the tenor of truce, but neither remedy nor reasonable answer may as yet be had. Therefore it may be presupposed, by their terrible deeds and contrarious disposition, that their intention is not to proceed effectually to any good conclusion of peace.

Also the King's uncle has commanded throughout all his land; that all nobles prepare them to be ready horsed, armed and in all wise clothed as men of arms, within 15 days warning; upon pain of forfeiture of all their livelihood; the number of those men is great and inestimable.

Also the King's uncle has commanded for this to be known in every parish of his land under the same pain of forfeiture, that every thirty men furnish a man horsed and armed with a long bow, or a cross bow; and charged expressly that they do no other labours but exercise them to their said bows and harness; the number of which men so clothed and prepared, as it is said by credible persons, who should have good knowledge, exceeds forty thousand men. *This is the first part of our credence.*

The second part is, to show that if the war should fall, as God defends, the country of Normandy is in no way self sufficient to resist against the great power of the French, for many great considerations. First, for there is no place in the King's land able, neither in reparations, ordinance nor in any manner [of] artillery; places are in such ruin that though they were stuffed with men and ordinance, they are so ruinous that they are unable to be defended and kept; the reparations and ordinance to be given sufficiently, would draw to inestimable costs.

Also at the last grant of the aid in Normandy, it was openly proposed by three estates there, that the general poverty of the country was so great, that it was impossible for them to bear any more hereafter such charges as they have borne so far; wherefore they desired to have the number of men of war made less, or else to show to the King's Highness, that there might be good for England to bear the same charges: for of necessity they said, they must be spared for certain years of such payments, or else they must be constrained to go their way and forsake their country, and suffer the land to be abandoned to the French, the which God ever defend. *This is the second part of our Credence.*

The third part is, to remember that the final term of the last truce approaches fast, for as your wisdoms have well in mind, this shall last now not 4 months. Therefore, it is thought high time to begin your provision for the safeguard of that noble land. Therefore my Lord of Somerset most humbly seeks the King's highness, tenderly prays to all my lords his councillors and heartily wills all your wisdoms to have that noble land in your good and special remembrance, calling to your mind the great, inestimable and infinite cost and effusion of good and blood that this land has borne and suffered for that land's sake. The shameful loss, the which God ever defend, should not only cause irreparable hurt of the common profit, but also a lasting spite and perpetual denigration in the fame and renown of this noble realm. Therefore, lest his silence in this matter might in any way be told hereafter, my Lord of Somerset, for his acquittal, gave us commandment to open this Credence on his behalf, to the King's highness or to who it pleased His Grace to command to hear us. Therefore, by his commandment you have benignly heard us, as we have in the name of my said Lord of Somerset, in the most humble ways, sought the King's highness and prayed to all my lords in this parliament assembled. Likewise, tenderly, we desire all your wisdom that now represents all the commons of this land, that you weigh all the considerations of this Credence in your great discretion, and to help to provide aid, remedies and brief expedition, as the merits of the matter requires.

25. THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK IS ACCUSED OF SIDING WITH THE FRENCH Parliament Roll, 1449 The Duke of Suffolk had spent his adult life participating in the Hundred Years War. He was seriously wounded at the Siege of Harfleur, he was a commander at the Siege of Orleans, he was a prisoner of Charles VII for three years and he helped to organise the marriage of Henry VI to Margaret of Anjou. By the late 1440s, he had risen to be the power behind Henry's throne and was largely responsible for the English foreign policy towards France. When things started to go wrong, he was the inevitable target. He was arrested, imprisoned and impeached in Parliament as this extract shows. Another sign of the desperate situation now facing the English in France.

And seeing that daily since then from every part of England there has come to them a great rumour and common talk that this realm of England is about to be sold to the king's enemy of France, his uncle, and that the latter, as it is said, prepares himself to come and enter this land with all the might he can muster to put the king's person in jeopardy and danger, and to do with him and his realm as he pleases, which God forbid, and that this is effected and plotted by the labour of the said duke of Suffolk, as it is said; and in proof of this, where the king has committed the keepership of Wallingford castle to the said duke, he has fortified it and repaired it, and also filled it with guns, gunpowder and other instruments of war, and with sufficient victuals, as it is said, so that if this armed force should enter this realm they might have a place of refuge and of assistance there until the time they might achieve their evil purpose; which matter the said speaker on behalf of all his fellows prayed the said chancellor and lords to put before the king, and that it might please his highness to commit the said duke to the Tower during this said court of parliament, until the time that he might declare himself concerning the said matter, and concerning other things that shall be put to him; for it is thought by all their wisdoms that they have declared sufficient suspicion of treason against the said duke in particular for him to be committed into custody; upon which desire the said duke was committed into custody in the Tower.

23. V. Also, the said duke of Suffolk, being retained in your service in your wages of war in your said realm of France and duchy of Normandy, and trusted there by you and all your councillors to know the secret affairs of your council there, and the provision of your armies, the defence and keeping of your towns, fortresses and places, installations, provisions and ordnance of war arranged for you in the same regions; he, knowing all such secret affairs, and being a follower of your said great enemy, calling himself king of France, has often and on many occasions falsely and traitorously disclosed and made known to him and to his captains and leaders of his war, your enemies, the secrets, decisions and arrangements of your said council, the provisions for armies, defence, the keeping of towns, fortresses, places, installations and ordnance; whereby your said great adversary and enemies have gained and taken by the means of this his treason and treachery very many lordships, towns, castles, fortresses and places within your said realm of France and duchy of Normandy, and prevented you and the captains of your wars there conquering, keeping and attaining your rightful inheritance there.

26. DEFEAT IN NORMANDY: BATTLE OF FORMIGNY, 1350 **Gilles le Bouvier's *Le Recouvrement de Normandie*** Despite the French build-up of artillery, the battle that signified the end of English rule in Normandy was a very traditional one, requiring mobility. Here the chronicler appears to be more interested in name-dropping than giving an in-depth account of the battle. The imbalanced nature of his casualty figures appears deliberately to flatter the French.

[The French] rode so hard that on the fifteenth of April they came up with the English in a field near a village named Formigny, between Carentan and Bayeux.

And when the English saw and perceived them, they put themselves in order of battle, and sent very hastily for Matthew Gough, who left that morning to go to Bayeux, and he immediately returned. And then the French and the English were the one in presence of the other for the space of three hours, skirmishing. And in the mean time the English made large holes and trenches with their daggers and swords before them, in order that the French and their horses should stumble if they attacked them. And at the distance of a long bowshot behind the English there was a little river, with a great abundance of gardens full of various trees, as apples, pears, elms, and other trees; and they encamped in this place because they could not be attacked in the rear.

And in the meantime the lord of Richmond, Constable of France, the lord of Laval, the lord of Loheac, marshal of France, the lord Orval, the marshal of Bretagne, the lord of Saint-Severe, and many others set out from Trevieres, where they had slept that night, and joined them, to the number of three hundred lances, and the archers. And when the English saw them come, they left the field, and the troops marched and came to the river to place it behind them; for they were afraid of the constable's company, who had slept that night at a village named Trevieres, and had put himself in order of battle upon the arrival of the said English at a windmill above Formigny. And then marched the troops of the lord of Clermont and his company, in which were from five to six hundred lances and the archers, and they charged the said English, as did also those of the constable, who crossed the said river by the high road to Formigny, near the village, by a ford and a little bridge of stone. And there they attacked the English on both sides very bravely, so that in the end they discomfited them close by the said river.

And there they were killed, by the report of the heralds who were there, and of the priests and good people who buried them, three thousand seven hundred and seventy-four English. And there were taken prisoners messire Thomas Kyriel, messire Henry Norbery, Jennequin Vasquier, and many others to the number of fourteen hundred. Matthew Gough fled and went to Bayeux, and the like did messire Robert Ver, who went to Caen. The said English were buried in fourteen trenches. On this day only five or six of the French were slain. They behaved themselves exceedingly well, for they were not in all, by the reports of the heralds who were there. And therefore wise men say that the grace of God was the cause of the victory of the French, and of those who were under the standard of the lord of Clermont.

27. THE SIEGE OF CHERBOURG, 1450 **Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique de France***
Despite the more traditional methods employed at the Battle of Formigny, the key to the French reconquest of northern France in just over a year was the tactics and weaponry employed during sieges. The siege of Cherbourg, discussed here, highlights well the importance of the artillery in achieving the surrender of besieged towns.

The siege of Cherbourg was begun under the direction of the Comte de Richemont, the Constable of France, who commanded a large force of lords, knights and squires, and was carried on with great valour on the part of all the French. The besieged were severely harried by the trenches, mines and other methods of attack, though the French lost a knight and a squire from Brittany; they were Sir Pregent de Coetivy, Seigneur de Retz, who was killed by a cannon shot – a great loss to the king, for he was one of the most renowned and valiant kings in France, rich in wisdom and experience – and Tuddual le Bourgeois, Bailiff of Troyes, of great courage on foot or horseback and highly reputed for his skill in the arts of war, who was killed by a shot from a culverin.

The town received such a heavy battering from cannons and bombards that the like had never been seen before. There were even bombards situated on the sea shore between high and low tide, which was loaded with boulders; although they were under water when the tide was in, they were covered over with greased skins so that the sea did no harm to their powder, and as soon as the tide went out the cannoneers removed the coverings and continued firing into the town, to the great astonishment of the English, who had never seen anything like it. Four bombards and one cannon burst while firing at the town, and great deeds of bravery were performed on sea and land, but more to the detriment of the English than in their cause.

Because of all this the English governor, Thomas Gonville, esquire, who had a thousand fighting men under his command, asked for a treaty with the constable and it was granted.

28. CHARLES VII'S MILITARY BUILD UP, 1450 **Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique de France*** A clear account of the strength of the French after five years of military build-up. Both the army and its equipment are explained here, as well as the artillery and its organisation by the Bureau brothers. These, combined with the leadership of Charles VII, resulted in the complete reconquest of northern France.

If I were to mention all the valiant men and all the gallant actions of this reconquest of Normandy, there would be no end to my writing. But I must nevertheless make some mention of the chief features of the campaign for the benefit of those who in future times will wish to read of them.

In the first place the King of France organised his army campaign, and in particular his men-at-arms, in most admirable fashion. He equipped his fighting-men and archers with good, sound clothing and armour – the men-at-arms in cuirasses, greaves, light helmets called salades, silver-hilted swords, and a lance for their pages; each also had three horses, one for himself, one for his page and one for his servant, who was equipped with a salade, a brigandine or corslet, a jacket or haubergeon, a battle-axe or a halberd. Each man-at-arms had two archers on horseback, also equipped with brigandines, greaves and salads, mostly decorated with silver, though some had stout jackets and haubergeons. All these soldiers were paid regularly each month, and during the campaign none of them would dare to make any prisoners or ransom any horse or other beast, unless they belonged to the English or their allies, nor to seize provisions anywhere without paying for them, again unless they were in the possession of the English engaged in warfare, for they could lawfully seize only these latter....

The king had similarly made provision concerning artillery for his defence and for attacking towns and fortresses. Never in living memory had there been such an assemblage of large bombards, heavy cannon, veuglaires, serpentines, mortars, culverins and ribaudekins and these were amply provisioned with powder, protective coverings known as cats, a great number of carts to transport them, and everything else necessary for the capture of towns and castles, and well provided with men to operate them all. They all received their pay daily, and were placed under the command of master Jean Bureau, treasurer of France, and Jasper Bureau, his brother, master of the artillery. These two men endured great dangers and hardships throughout the campaign, for they were very attentive to their duty. It was an inspiring sight to see how they organised the bulwarks, trenches, ditches and mines at every siege that was laid during the campaign. Indeed, there was not a single besieged town or fortress that surrendered which would not have fallen to the skill of these assailants, if it had not been for the clemency of the king, who insisted on a treaty of surrender to avoid the spilling of blood and the destruction of his towns....

Thus King Charles of France, the seventh of his name, had by the grace of God chiefly, and also by the skill and wisdom of his knights and counsellors and soldiers of all ranks, regained his duchy of Normandy which had been occupied for thirty years by his ancient enemies the English.

29. DEFEAT IN AQUITAINE: BATTLE OF CASTILLON, 1453 **Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique de France*** With Normandy back in French hands, the king turned his attention to Aquitaine. This last major battle of the Hundred Years War highlights well the difference that had grown between the two armies. The organised French, using new artillery methods, defeated old Lord Talbot and the English, who were relying on more traditional fighting techniques and inaccurate intelligence.

On 13th July the French laid siege to Castillon-sur-Dordogne in Pèrigord, which was held by the English. The Seigneurs de Lohéac and Jalogne, Marshals of France, were sent to conduct the siege, along with many other lords, barons, knights, squires, captains and combatants, to the number of sixteen to eighteen hundred men-at-arms and archers. The king's artillery, both heavy and light, was also sent there under the charge of Jean Bureau, and his brother Jasper Bureau, master of the royal artillery; their company consisted of seven hundred gunners, whom the brothers instructed to dig trenches round the field containing the artillery, before the siege was begun.

When Talbot heard of this he immediately left Bordeaux in haste with eight hundred to a thousand English horse, attended by some of the most valiant lords and knights in the whole realm of England and from the Bordelais, and following by from four to six thousand English on foot. Talbot and his men arrived before Castillon soon after dawn on Wednesday 17th July. When the French heard that he had come they withdrew into the field surrounded by ditches, but Talbot caught up with some of the foot-archers before they could enter it; these they attacked, killing some five or six score [score = 20, so 100 to 120]. At this stage the French made increased efforts to get into the enclosure as the English marched towards them, fully expecting them to flee and abandon the siege. While waiting for the rest of his foot-soldiers to come on, Talbot had a cask of wine set up for the refreshment of his men; meanwhile the French were able to enter the enclosure from various sides and re-establish their ranks, and the gunners set up their culverins and ribaudekins on the dykes facing the English.

The besieged within Castillon had found means to inform Talbot that if he marched quickly to their relief the French would flee. On his arrival, however, he was astonished to find that the French had prepared an entrenched artillery camp.

Talbot and his men now marched right up to the barrier, expecting to make an entry into the field; but they found themselves courageously opposed by a body of valiant men, well tried in war, which was surprising after the information they had received. Talbot was riding a small hackney, and remained in the saddle because of his age [86 or 87], but he ordered all the other riders to dismount. As they arrived the English marched under eight banners, those of England, Saint George, the Trinity, Lord Talbot and four others skilfully executed.

The attack then began, with great show of valour and hard fighting on each side, and lasted for a full hour. At this point the Duke of Brittany's men were sent for to relieve the French who had laboured to defend the barriers. When they arrived, the French, who had fought all day and with renewed courage at the sight of these reinforcements, were able with the help of God and their own skill to turn the English back, and the Bretons fell upon them and trampled all their banners underfoot. In the camp there was such noise of culverins and ribaudekins being loaded that the English were forced to flee. Many, however, were killed in the field, and Lord Talbot's hackney was struck down by a shot from a culverin and he was killed where he lay beneath the horse. Also among the slain was his son.

30. SURRENDER OF BORDEAUX AND THE ROLE OF CHARLES VII, 1453 **Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique de France*** The final nail in the coffin of English France was the taking of Bordeaux. Here the chronicler takes this opportunity to praise Charles VII for all the French had achieved in the last three years.

When the English found themselves being seriously affected by lack of provisions they began to take alarm, particularly since reports were reaching them of the loss of one place after another to the King of France, and they sent a request for reasonable terms of capitulation. The king was ready to listen for two reasons, firstly because he was always prepared to render good for evil, and secondly because he could envisage the slaughter that might follow and he wanted to improve relationships. He was therefore glad to make an agreement with the English on the following terms: the city of Bordeaux was to be made over to him; all its inhabitants were to remain his loyal and obedient subjects and take an oath never to rebel against the French crown, in recognition that the King of France was their sovereign lord. The English were allowed to leave by sea for England, or for Calais if they preferred. Since some of the barons in the city and surrounding lands had treacherously visited England to seek help against the oath of loyalty they had made to the king the previous year, so that they had to expend great labour and expense in reconquering the territory, some twenty of these persons were banished from the Bordelais. This treaty was signed on the seventeenth day of October.

The king had worked for this conclusion with all his strength and all his resources, as well as his intelligence. For after the help of God, it was his own skill in leadership, the gentle welcome he gave to those who returned to his obedience and the encouragement he gave to his men as he went about that enabled him to regain peacefully the mastery of his lands. All his Vassals and all his allies served him in the same spirit with the same vigour, behaving always as though the King's cause was their personal interest, and they and their heirs deserved the utmost praise.