

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

Hereditary pretensions of Henry of Lancaster to the crown.—Edmund Mortimer.—Conspiracy against Henry defeated.—Revolt of the Welsh.—Owen Glendower.—Alleged murder of Richard II.—Doubts as to his death at Pontefract.—Statute against the Lollards.—Burnings for heresy.—Hostility of France and Scotland.—Battle of Homildon-hill.—Revolt of the Percies.—Battle of Shrewsbury.—Revolt of Archbishop Scrope, Nottingham, and others.—Rival factions in France.—The King's jealousy of the Prince of Wales.—Henry's death.

THE claim to the crown which Henry of Lancaster made "in his mother tongue," was a well considered form of words. The averment that "the realm was on the point to be undone for default of government and undoing of the good laws," was the true foundation of the deposition which the parliament had pronounced upon Richard. But the legal advisers of Henry took care to introduce a statement of hereditary right:—"I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, because I am descended, by right line of the blood, coming from the good lord King Henry Third." He took the same great seal as Richard, with the single alteration of the name on the legend. The badges of the House of Lancaster,—the crowned and chained antelope, the swan, the red rose, and the columbine,—decorate the illuminated MSS. of the Lancastrian period. The claim of Henry was equivocally put. Richard being deposed, Henry was not the next in the line of inheritance, as the grandson of Edward III. The posterity of Lionel, duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III., had a prior claim to that of the heir of John of Gaunt, the third son. At the time of Richard's deposition, the hereditary claim of the Clarence branch was vested in Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who was the grandson of Philippa, the daughter of Lionel. But he was only ten years of age. In the sermon which the archbishop of Canterbury preached when the parliament deposed Richard and chose Henry, he took for his text, "A man shall reign over my people;" and he descanted on the theme, that when the King of Kings threatened his people, he said, "I will make children to rule over them." Nothing could more distinctly point to the young earl of March. John of Gaunt, when Roger Mortimer, in 1385, was declared pre-

sumptive heir to the throne, asserted that his own son was the true heir, as descended from Edmund Crouchback, the eldest son of Henry III., who was set aside on account of his deformity. This claim by blood from "the good king Henry Third," would have stood Henry of Lancaster in little avail, had he not been known as a man of vigour and ability; at the head of a powerful army; supported by the chief nobles; the favourite of the people. Edmund Mortimer, set aside by the revolution of 1399, died without issue in 1424. He had a sister, Anne, who married the second son of Edmund Langley, duke of York; and in her son arose the pretension to the crown of the house of York. The chronicler, Hall, quaintly, but most justly, said, "What misery, what murder, and what execrable plagues this famous region hath suffered by the division and dissension of the renowned houses of Lancaster and York, my wit cannot comprehend, nor my tongue declare, neither yet my pen fully set forth." This is the tragical story that arises out of the deposition of Richard II. It is a story well known to the English people, for it has been told in the dramatic form by a great historical teacher. History, strictly so called,—the history derived from Rolls and Statutes—must "pale its ineffectual fire" in the sunlight of the poet.

When the deposed Richard hoped that his cousin would be "good lord to him," he hoped for an impossibility. To retain some portion of his state, to be served by an expensive household, to appear in public, would have been fatal to the quiet rule of the house of Lancaster. To permit him to reside abroad would have been dangerous to the safety of the kingdom. The Lords in parliament attempted to meet the difficulty, by a resolution, which was to be kept secret, that it seemed advisable to them that the late king should be put under a safe and secret guard, in a place where no concourse of people might resort to him; and with no attendant who had been familiar to him about his person. When the question was put to the Lords, the earl of Northumberland said, "the king would have his life saved." It is related that, on this occasion, Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle, delivered a speech protesting against the deposition of Richard and the accession of Henry\*. Four days afterwards, the king came to parliament; and it was determined that Richard, late king of England, should be adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, in safe and secret ward.

\* The speech is given by Sir John Hayward, who wrote during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Its authenticity is very doubtful.

froissart truly says, "every man might well consider that he should never come out of prison alive." In the parliament of October, 1399, all the old hatreds and jealousies were revived, in the discussion of the conduct of the lords who had appealed Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick of treason. The most violent disputes took place. The terms, so odious to honourable ears, of "liar" and "traitor," were freely exchanged; and gauntlets were thrown on the floor of the house. The lords appellants lost the honours and the lands which Richard had bestowed on them, for their subserviency. But they escaped all other punishment. The duke of Albemarle (Aumerle) sank down to Earl of Rutland; and the dukes of Exeter and Surrey, Richard's half-brothers, to earls of Huntingdon and Kent. Violent as this parliament was, it wisely sought to restrain future violence. It limited treason to the offences enumerated in the Act of Edward III., in which that chief crime against civil government was taken out of the hands of the king's justices, and "what are treasons" was declared in parliament. It referred the accuser in a case of treason to the courts of law, abolishing those appeals of treason which had been productive of such evil effects. It forbade any delegation of the powers of parliament to a committee. It tried to restrain the quarrels of great nobles, by forbidding any person, except the king, to give liveries to his retainers. All this was indicative that the reign of justice was come back. In less than three months, in a confederacy of nobles, it was determined to attempt the restoration of Richard, and to drive Henry from power. The plot became known to the vigilant king, disclosed to him unwillingly by Rutland, who was one of the confederates. Windsor castle was surprised; but the forewarned Henry was in London levying an army. The conspirators marched to the west, proclaiming king Richard. At Cirencester, they were attacked in their quarters by the burghers; and the earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized and beheaded. The citizens of Bristol, in the same way, secured and executed lord Lumley and lord Despenser. Huntingdon was put to death by the tenants of the duke of Gloucester at Plashy. The popular attachment to Henry was thus signally manifested. There were a few executions under the legal judgment of the courts of law. The insurrection was at the beginning of January. Before the expiration of a month it was stated that the late king had died at Pontefract. The body was conveyed to London, and there shown, with the face exposed, so that those who knew Richard might identify him. The obsequies

of the deposed king were performed in St. Paul's, Henry being present; and the corpse was subsequently interred at Langley. Henry V., upon coming to the throne, caused it to be removed to Westminster Abbey.

During the latter years of the reign of Richard, however distasteful his rule might have been in England, there was a strong attachment to him in Wales. When he sailed from Ireland to meet his enemy, he landed in Wales, confident that he should there find a powerful army. His procrastination alone caused the dispersion of that army. The Statute-book shows how obnoxious was the revolution of 1399 to the Welsh borderers. A parliament was held at Westminster in the second year of Henry's reign, 1400-1, when the Commons complained of the ravages of the Welsh in the countries joining upon the marches of Wales, by carrying off cattle and arresting merchants. Various strong measures were then enacted, quite sufficient in their severe injustice to produce a general revolt. It was not enough to sanction reprisals upon Welsh property and persons; but it was ordained, that no Welshman should be permitted to purchase land in England, and that no "whole Englishman" should be convicted at the suit of any Welshman within Wales, except by the judgment of English justices. To make the separation of the two nations complete, it was also ordained that no Welshman should be thenceforth chosen to be citizen or burgess in any English city or town. The next year, another parliament passed more stringent measures; amongst which it was enacted that no Welshman should bear arms nor defensible armour. The country was in insurrection; the Welsh had found a leader. "It is ordained and stablished that no Englishman married to any Welshwoman of the amity and alliance of Owen of Gleindour, traitor to our sovereign lord, or to any other Welshwoman after the rebellion of the said Owen, shall be put in any office in Wales, or in the marches of the same."

Owen of Gleindour,—or as we now write, Owen Glendower,—was one of the most remarkable men of this period. Claiming descent from the ancient British princes, being the great-grandson of the famous Llewellyn, he might still have remained a peaceful landowner in Wales, but for the deposition of the master whom he had served as an esquire of his household. Educated at one of the Inns of Court in London, he possessed an amount of knowledge which made him regarded as a necromancer by his simple countrymen. His property was contiguous to that of Lord Grey de Ruthyn;

and the Anglo-Norman baron claimed and seized some portion of it. Glendower petitioned the parliament of 1400 for redress. His petition was dismissed by the peers, with the scornful answer, that "they cared not for barefooted rascals." \* He took arms; made Lord Grey his prisoner; and wasted his barony. But the private feud became a national revolt. The mountains again heard the bardic songs, which were applied to the new hero who had arisen to restore the glory of the ancient Britons. Henry thought to stop the popular voice by decreeing that "no waster, rhymer, minstrel, nor vagabond, be any wise sustained in the land of Wales." The Welsh scholars of Oxford and Cambridge departed to their own country, in 1401, to aid the rebellion; and the Welsh labourers employed in England escaped to join their countrymen. Owen Glendower, by the general voice of the people, was declared Prince of Wales. Before the rebellion had attained any very extensive organisation, Harry Percy (Hotspur) and Prince Henry, were engaged in different parts of the country against the insurgents. Henry of Monmouth, in 1401, was in his fourteenth year. His command in Wales could have been only nominal; and we are glad therefore to believe that a letter of this period, addressed in his name to the council, was a mere official communication. The boy is made to say, describing his triumphal progress,—“We caused the whole place to be set on fire.”—“We laid waste a fine and populous country.” This is learning the lessons of chivalry at a very early age. He continued, however, in authority, but was much straitened in his slaughter and burnings for want of money to pay his archers and men-at-arms. In 1402, Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young earl of March, went against Glendower; and his army being utterly routed in Radnorshire he was taken prisoner. The king now determined to go in person, “to check the insolencies and malice of Owen Glendower and other rebels.” His expedition was fruitless. The royal army, in the month of August, was exposed to storms of rain, snow, and hail; and Glendower was alleged to have raised them by his wicked sorcery. That autumn the sagacious Welshman defied all the power of England in his mountain fastnesses. In the succeeding winter, his prisoner, Edmund Mortimer, became his friend and ally. Henry, with that jealousy which formed a part of his character, refused to ransom his “beloved cousin;” and Mortimer consoled himself by marrying the great Welsh chieftain’s daughter. On the 13th of December, 1402, he

\* “Se de scurris nudipedibus non curare.”—Leland.

writes thus to his tenants: “Very dear and well-beloved, I greet you much, and make known to you that Owen Glyndor has raised a quarrel, of which the object is, if King Richard be alive, to restore him to his crown; and if not, that my honoured nephew, who is the right heir to the said crown, shall be king of England, and that the said Owen will assert his right in Wales. And I, seeing and considering that the said quarrel is good and reasonable, have consented to join in it, and to aid and maintain it, and, by the grace of God, to a good end. Amen!”

“If king Richard be alive!” It is nearly three years since king Richard’s body was exposed in St. Paul’s Church—a public act known to all the kingdom—and especially known to all such as Sir Edmund Mortimer. How can a doubt now be raised, “if king Richard be alive?” In six months from the date of this letter, a great host, headed by the Percies, will be looking for Glendower to fight with them against king Henry; and before they meet him in Hateley-field near Shrewsbury, they will denounce the usurping king as a murderer in the following words: “Thou hast caused our sovereign lord and thine, traitorously within the castle of Pomfret, without the consent or judgment of the lords of the realm, by the space of fifteen days and so many nights, with hunger, thirst, and cold, to perish.” How are these contradictions to be solved? For years, Henry had to struggle against two popular beliefs. The first, and the most natural, was that he had put Richard to death. That he died by violence is highly probable. His removal would add much to the safety of his successor; and every opportunity was afforded by his secret imprisonment to effect this removal by the foulest means. Thus Henry was publicly accused by the Percies of having procured Richard’s death by starvation. The duke of Orleans, in 1403, in a letter to Henry, insinuated that he was guilty of the murder, and the king replied: “With regard to that passage in your letter where you speak of the death of our very dear cousin and lord, whom God absolve, saying ‘God knows how it happened and by whom that death was done,’ we know not with what intent such words are used; but if you mean and dare to say that his death was caused by our order, or with our consent, we say that is false, and you will say what is false as often as you shall say so; as the true God knows, whom we call to witness: offering our body against yours in single combat, if you will or dare to prove it.” In an age when the appeals of kings to heaven were occasionally of no more value than “dicers’ oaths,”

this will not go for much. An account from a contemporary states that Sir Pierce Exton, with a band of assassins, entered his prison at Pontefract, and that Richard, seizing a battle-axe, fell bravely fighting with unequal numbers. Some years ago Richard's tomb was opened in Westminster Abbey, and no marks of violence appeared on his skull, on which the contemporary relates that he received his death-wound. Walsingham, the chronicler, affirms as common rumour that Richard died by voluntary starvation. Froissart says, "how Richard died, and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this chronicle." The question is no nearer its solution after four centuries and a half. The other popular belief, the most embarrassing to Henry, was, that Richard had escaped from Pontefract, and was living in Scotland. For several years there were proclamations against those who spread this rumour, and some were punished by death for this offence. The belief gradually passed away from the popular mind; and the chroniclers explain that a man named Serle, a servant to king Richard, having heard that his old master was alive in Scotland, came over from France, persuaded the court-fool to personate the ex-king, and was eventually executed as a traitor for the deception which had entrapped many persons into the confidence that Richard was coming to claim his crown. The fondness for "historic doubts" has revived the belief in our own times. It is stated that Richard's escape from Pontefract is proved by documents in our Record Office; that this escape was effected in connection with the rising of 1400, in which he was proclaimed by the earls who afterwards suffered as traitors; that there are entries in the public accounts of Scotland of expenses for the custody of king Richard of England; and that Richard lived till 1419 in Stirling castle, in a state of mental imbecility.\* The vague and contradictory accounts of the manner of Richard's death by violence give some little sanction to the belief that he was not murdered at all. But if we even accept the explanation, that another body was substituted for Richard's at St. Paul's on the 14th of March, 1400, and that Henry and his court went through the mummerly of his false obsequies, we have still so many difficulties to reconcile that we have little hesitation in believing that the Richard of Stirling castle was an impostor. The French believed in Richard's death when the son of the duke

\* This belief, which was first suggested by Mr. Tytler in his "History of Scotland," is fully acquiesced in by the compiler of the very useful "Annals of England," vol. i. p. 400. 1855.

of Orleans married Isabella in 1406. In the same year the Lords addressed Henry, praying that those might be put to prison who preach and publish that Richard, late king, who is dead, should be in full life; or that "the fool in Scotland" is that king Richard who is dead.

However defective may be the evidence upon which impartial history must condemn or acquit Henry IV. of the murder of Richard II., he must bear the infamy of a political crime of broader and deeper significance. He was the first English king who put men to death by statute for their religious belief. He came to the throne with almost the unanimous support of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Archbishop Arundel was his great upholder; and this primate made Henry his instrument for the destruction of those who had assailed the corruptions of the Church. Henry's father had been a supporter of Wycliffe. The son of John of Gaunt was to be the persecutor of Wycliffe's followers. Henry was carried to the throne with the avowal of popular principles. The lay barons and the Commons were opposed to the pretensions of the Church to be above all inquiry—a dominant and irresponsible power. But Henry knew the strength of a body that, according to an estimate of his time, possessed one-third of the revenues of the kingdom. In the first year of his reign was passed the Statute "De heretico comburendo"—"the first statute and butcherly knife," says Prynne, "that the impeaching prelates procured or had against the poor preachers of Christ's gospel." The fiery persecution of archbishop Arundel was grounded upon these charges:—*"Whereas it is showed to our sovereign lord the king on the behalf of the prelates and the clergy,\* that divers false and perverse people of a certain new sect, of the faith, of the sacraments of the church, and the authority of the same damnably thinking, and against the law of God and of the church usurping the office of preaching, do perversely and maliciously in divers places within the said realm, under the colour of dissembled holiness, preach and teach these days openly and privily divers new doctrines, and wicked heretical and erroneous opinions, contrary to the same faith and blessed determinations of Holy Church; and of such*

\* "The petition and the statute are both in Latin, which is unusual in the laws of this time. In a subsequent petition of the Commons this act is styled 'the statute made in the second year of our majesty's reign, at the request of the prelates and clergy of your kingdom;' which affords a presumption that it had no regular assent of parliament.—Hallam, "Middle Ages," chap. viii. part. iii.

sect and wicked doctrine and opinions they make unlawful conventicles and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write books, they do wickedly instruct and inform people, and as much as they may excite and stir them to sedition and insurrection, and make great strife and division among the people, and other enormities horrible to be heard daily do perpetrate and commit." The "convenient remedy" for such "novelties and excesses" was that none should preach, write, or teach against the faith of Holy Church; that all having in their possession books or writings of such wicked doctrines and opinions should deliver them up, or be arrested and proceeded against by the diocesan; and, finally, that if any persons be before the diocesan charged with such wicked preachings and teachings, and should refuse to abjure, or after abjuration fall into relapse, they should be left to the secular court; and the sheriff of a county, or mayor or bailiffs of a city or borough, after sentence, shall receive the same persons, and every of them, "and them, before the people, do [cause] to be burnt, that such punishment may strike in fear to the minds of other." Vain and detestable law—the parent of abominations that make the slaughters of the feudal ages, perpetrated in the heat and self-defence of battle, appear guiltless by the side of this deliberate wickedness in the name of the religion of mercy! In this hateful career Henry IV. was no impassive tool of the persecuting churchmen. The first victim was William Salter, a London clergyman, who was burnt on the 12th of February, 1401. The stake and the fagot were in full activity, till the Commons shuddered at the atrocities which Englishmen had now first to endure. In the reign of Richard II. the Commons would not permit that the Church should imprison heretics without the king's consent. Now heretics were to be burnt, upon the sole sentence of the ecclesiastical courts. A petition of the Lords in 1406, which we have just referred to, mixes up the charges of heresy against certain preachers and teachers with the charge of publishing rumours that king Richard was alive. This alleged offence was a possible cause of the king's bitterness against them. But it was also set forth in that petition that they stirred and moved the people to take away their temporal possessions from the prelates; and, it was added, "in case that this evil purpose be not resisted by your royal majesty, it is very likely that in process of time they will also excite the people of your kingdom to take away from the lords temporal their possessions and heritages." The Commons, who had also

temporal possessions to lose, did not share this apprehension. They prayed Henry in 1410, that the Statute against the Lollards might be repealed, or even mitigated. He replied, that he wished one more severe had been passed; and to show how practical was his intolerance, he immediately signed a warrant for the burning of John Badby, a Lollard. The Commons deeply resented the temper of the king, and refused to grant a subsidy to be levied yearly without their renewed assent. But, in the reign of Henry V., a noble knight was burnt for heresy; and the "wicked doctrines" were thrown back for another century and a half. In his own good time, He who "remaineth a king for ever" asserts His own laws against the trumpety edicts of earthly kings. The Lollards' dungeon at Lambeth is now a monument of the triumph of the Reformation.

It was with no vague meaning that Shakspeare put into the mouth of Henry IV. the aphorism, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." His reign was a period of continued assault and danger on every side. France and Scotland refused to recognise Henry as the sovereign of England. Their truces, they maintained, were with Richard, and not with an usurper. With France the king was anxiously desirous of peace. But the princes and nobles of France, considering the deposition of Richard as the act of the people, were craving to punish a nation which they held as the most dangerous on earth through its pride and insolence.\* The king of France, subject to partial attacks of insanity, had received a terrible shock by the announcement of the events that had deprived his daughter of her queenly rank. Isabella was conducted back to Calais with ceremonies almost as magnificent as those which had attended her marriage five years before. But Henry, straitened in his finances, did not send back with her the dower which Richard had received. The duke of Orleans was for commencing hostilities against Henry. The duke of Burgundy was more cautious. These rival uncles of the insane king, by their furious discords kept France in a state of disorder and terror, which rendered the government incapable of any great enterprise. Bordeaux, and other parts of Gascony, were still retained by the English government, and these were attacked by the duke of Burgundy. But the people clung to the English rule. In 1400, Henry invaded Scotland. He marched to Edinburgh; and left

\* Froissart.

the usual mark of feudal royalty by burning the city. In 1402, the Scots invaded England. Henry was chasing Glendower in the land of the ancient Britons, and attributing to necromancy the ill success which courage and constancy had prepared for him. The Scottish earl of March, who had abjured his allegiance to his own sovereign, had defeated the invading Scots at Hepburn-moor. The earl of Douglas came with a great army to revenge the loss. They advanced beyond the Tyne, devastating and plundering with more than usual fierceness and rapacity. But the earl of Northumberland, his son Henry Percy, and the earl of March, had collected a large force in their rear, and awaited their return near Wooller. On Holyrood-day, the 14th of September, the Scots took up a strong position on Homildon-hill. The English army was placed on an opposite eminence. Percy commanded a descent into the valley, and as the Scots lined the sides of Homildon-hill, the English archers picked down their men with unerring aim, while Douglas gave no order for advance. At last the Scots charged down the steep, and the English retired a little. Again they halted, and again the deadly shafts flew so sharp and strong that few could stand up against the "iron sleet." The English men-at-arms in this battle drew not a sword. The victory was won by the terrible archers alone. Douglas and many nobles and knights were made prisoners; amongst whom was Murdoc Stewart, the son and heir of the duke of Albany, the regent of Scotland. The earl of Northumberland presented his illustrious prisoners to Henry, at Westminster; when the king exhorted Murdoc to be resigned to his captivity, for he had been taken on the battle-field like a true knight. The notion that Henry demanded the prisoners of Homildon-hill from the captors, that he might deprive them of ransom, is an error which Shakspeare derived from Hall and Holinshed. It is distinctly proved that Henry reserved to the captors all their rights. The revolt of the Percies was possibly accelerated by the refusal of Henry to ransom Sir Edmund Mortimer, whose sister had become the wife of Hotspur. But the probability is, that no sudden impulses of passion excited their resistance to the authority of the man whom they had seated on the throne. The king was so unconscious of having provoked their resentment by any act of his own self-will, that the very army which encountered them at Shrewsbury was led by him, "to give aid and support to his very dear and loyal cousins, the earl of Northumberland and his son Henry, in the expedition which they had honourably com-

menced for him and his realm against his enemies the Scotch." But the Percies had just cause of complaint against the government of Henry, in a matter which involved no jealousy of their power which had advanced him to the throne, as Hume describes the temper of the king. The Percies had incurred great expenses in their resistance to the Scots; and the government of Henry had been unable to reimburse them. There are letters to the king and to the council from the earl of Northumberland, in the summer of 1403, bitterly complaining of the non-payment of large sums due to him. There is a letter of the same period from Henry's son, the prince of Wales, complaining that his soldiers would not remain with him unless they were promptly paid their wages; and an order is made by the king in council, on the 10th of July, 1403, that a thousand pounds should be sent to the prince, to enable him to keep his people together. It is clear that the king was surrounded by financial embarrassments, which affected his own son as much as the Percies. He satisfied the Percies as far as he could by small payments and large promises. They probably saw in these embarrassments a symptom of the weakness of Henry's government, and believed that the revolt of Glendower would enable them, in conjunction with him, to establish a government in which they should have a more supreme power than under the rule of the politic Lancaster. They managed their plans with such caution, that whilst the king was marching towards the north, expecting to join them in Northumberland, Hotspur was marching through Lancashire and Cheshire, proclaiming that Richard was alive. At Burton-upon-Trent, Henry heard the news of the revolt. Within a week, he had fought the battle of Shrewsbury.

The Prince of Wales was on the Welsh borders, and joined his forces to those of his father before the army of Henry entered Shrewsbury on the 20th of July. Hotspur had been joined by Douglas and his Scots; and by his uncle, the earl of Worcester, with a body of Cheshire archers. Glendower was on his march from Carmarthenshire; but the rapid movement of Henry to the west brought the royal troops in the presence of the northern army before the Welsh chieftain could unite his forces with those of his confederates. Under the walls of Shrewsbury lay the insurgents. They retired a short distance to Hateley Field. The solemn defiance of the confederates was sent to Henry during the

\* Henry to the Privy Council. See preface by Sir H. Nicolas to "Privy Council of England."

night, denouncing him and his adherents as "traitors, and subverters of the commonwealth and kingdom, and invaders, oppressors and usurpers, of the rights of the true and direct heir of England and France.

Hateley Field is about three miles from Shrewsbury. It is a plain of no large extent, with a gentle range of hills rising towards the Welsh border. On that plain, where he had fought for his life and his crown, Henry afterwards caused a chapel to be built and endowed, wherein mass might be chanted for the souls of those who died in that battle, and were there interred. The mass is no longer there sung; but there is the little chapel. As we stand upon that quiet plain,—looking upon the eastern Haughmond hill, "the busky hill" of Shakspeare, and listen when "the southern wind doth play the trumpet," the words of the chronicler and the poet linger in our memories; and we think of that terrible hour when "suddenly the trumpets blew, and the king's part cried Saint George! and the adversaries cried Esperancé! Percie! and so, furiously, the armies joined."\* The Northumbrian archers, who had done such terrible execution at Homildon-hill, now drew their bow-strings against their English brothers; and the king's men "fell as the leaves fall on the ground after a frosty night at the approach of winter."† The troops of Henry recoiled before their slaughtering arrows, and before the charge which Percy and Douglas led. The prince of Wales was wounded by an arrow in the face; but the valiant youth continued to fight where the battle was strongest. For three hours the field was contested with an obstinacy that marked the breed of the men who were fighting against each other. "At the last, the king, crying Saint George! Victory! broke the array, and entered into the battle of his enemies, and fought fiercely, and adventured so far into the battle, that the earl Douglas struck him down, and slew Sir Walter Blunt and three others apparelled in the king's suit and clothing."‡ The king was raised, and again "did that day many a valiant feat of arms." Hotspur at length fell; an arrow pierced his brain. His death struck a panic terror into the hearts of his brave followers. The straggling Welsh, who had joined the battle, fled to the woods and hills. The gallant Douglas was taken a prisoner, and few or none of his Scots escaped alive. On that Hateley Field, where about fourteen thousand men were engaged on each side, one half were killed or wounded. The earl of Worcester, the baron of Kenderton, and Sir Richard Vernon were amongst the

\* Hall.

† Walsingham.

‡ Hall.

prisoners delivered to the king. At the market-cross of Shrewsbury, where, a hundred and twenty years before, prince David of Wales had been executed as a traitor, Worcester, Kenderton, and Vernon paid the penalty of their revolt, with the same horrible barbarities that were inflicted, for the first time, upon the brother of Llewellyn. The earl of Northumberland was marching his retainers through Durham, when he received the news of the death of his son and his brother; and of the fatal issue of the sudden revolt of his house. He hurried back to his castle of Warkworth, and disbanded his men. The earl was commanded to appear before the king at York. Henry was too politic to be unnecessarily severe; and the elder Percy escaped, even without a forfeiture.

But, in the midst of this great success, the government of Henry had a constant fight to maintain against numerous enemies. The people of England were subjected to various miseries by the opposition that was raised to the Lancastrian rule. The French landed in Wales, and burnt Tenby. Plymouth was burnt by ships from Brittany. Devonshire was harassed by descents on the coast. Reprisals, of course, took place; and the dwellers on the French shores of the channel had to endure the same sort of visitations. In 1404, Glendower had so successfully asserted his power, that the French government concluded a treaty with him as "Owen, prince of Wales." Henry of Monmouth was doing his duty as the representative of his father in the Welsh borders. On the 11th of March, 1405, he obtained a considerable victory at Grosmont. But this success had no decisive result. The king was again about to enter the Principality with a large force, when a new revolt broke out in the north of England. The earl of Northumberland, the earl of Nottingham, Lord Bardolph, and Scrope, archbishop of York, confederated to place the Earl of March on the throne. He and his brother had been delivered from their honourable imprisonment at Windsor by the skilful device of the widow of Despensers, one of Richard's favorites. They were immediately retaken; and the Duke of York—known by his plots and betrayal of others when Aumerle and Rutland—was accused by the lady, his own sister, of being privy to the plot. The earl of Westmoreland entrapped two of the chief of the northern confederates into his hands—Scrope and Nottingham. The archbishop and the earl were beheaded. Northumberland and Bardolph escaped to Scotland. The execution of the archbishop, which Gascoigne, the chief justice, refused to sanction,—as the lay courts had no juris-

diction over a prelate,—was an offence against the Church, and the pope issued a temporary sentence of excommunication against all who had been concerned in his death. That sentence was afterwards withdrawn. There is a story which, if it rested upon good evidence, would give us a notion that Henry, in addition to his other great talents, possessed a considerable fund of humour. He charged a messenger to deliver the armour of the archbishop to the pope, with these words of the brothers of Joseph: “Lo! this have we found; know now whether it be thy son’s coat or no.” After the execution of Scrope and Nottingham, Henry successfully besieged Prudhoe and Warkworth, the castles of the Earl of Northumberland; and took Berwick, which had been delivered by Northumberland to the Scots. The unhappy Percy and Lord Bardolph wandered about for two years, endeavouring to organise resistance to Henry’s consolidating power. In 1407 there was some discontent in England, through the king’s demand for subsidies; and the Percy and Bardolph then ventured into Northumberland, raised their tenantry, and risked a battle with the sheriff of Yorkshire, Sir Thomas Rokeby, at Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster. Northumberland closed his unhappy career by falling in battle; and Bardolph, after being taken prisoner, died of his wounds.

Thus came to an end the English insurrections against the sovereignty of Henry of Lancaster. He has held the throne for nine years against assaults that would quickly have destroyed one of mere ordinary talent and energy. His most obstinate enemy has been Owen Glendower, a man of proportionate ability and force of character. The great Welshman never yielded. In 1411 he was exempted from Henry the Fourth’s general pardon of the Welsh rebels. In 1416, Henry the Fifth, even after his great triumph of Agincourt, sought to make peace with the unconquered Owen, and to receive him into his allegiance. The circumstances of his death are not recorded. He probably sank into obscurity; and his memory was only preserved in the legends of his countrymen, which told of his wanderings on his native mountains, and his hidings in sea-girt caverns. Owyn’s Cave is still to be seen on the coast of Merioneth. The contest in which he was engaged was held to be a revival of the ancient feud of Briton and Saxon; for in 1431 the Commons prayed that the forfeiture of the Glendower lands might be enforced, for that Owyn Glendower was a traitor, whose success would have been “to the destruction of all English tongue for evermore.”

The connexion of the government of Henry with the quarrels and intrigues in France of the rival dukes of Orleans and Burgundy involves matters of state-policy which have now but little interest. During the reign of the insane king, Charles VI., the kingdom was a prey to their rival factions. Orleans, the brother of the king, was murdered by his cousin of Burgundy in 1407, who justified the deed, and became master of the state. The revolt of his Flemish subjects required his presence, and then the Orleanists declared him a public enemy. But Jean Sans-Peur was for a time too powerful to be put down. The young duke of Orleans, who had been married to Isabella, the widow of Richard II., who died in 1409, took as a second wife the daughter of the count of Armagnac. This count became the chief of the Orleanists, who thenceforward were called the Armagnacs. The young duke of Orleans demanded justice for the death of his father. The duke of Burgundy solicited aid from the king of England, who sent him eight hundred men-at-arms and a thousand bowmen. This assistance turned the scale in favour of Burgundy. But in 1412 the Armagnacs offered better terms to Henry, by agreeing to acknowledge him as duke of Aquitaine. The two factions at last began to consider that their quarrel had become complicated, by the intervention of one who would sacrifice both to regain the ancient power of the English in France. They agreed upon a peace. But Henry sent an army into Normandy under his second son, the duke of Clarence, who ravaged Maine and Anjou, and finally retired to Gascony, having received a large payment as the cost of his expedition.

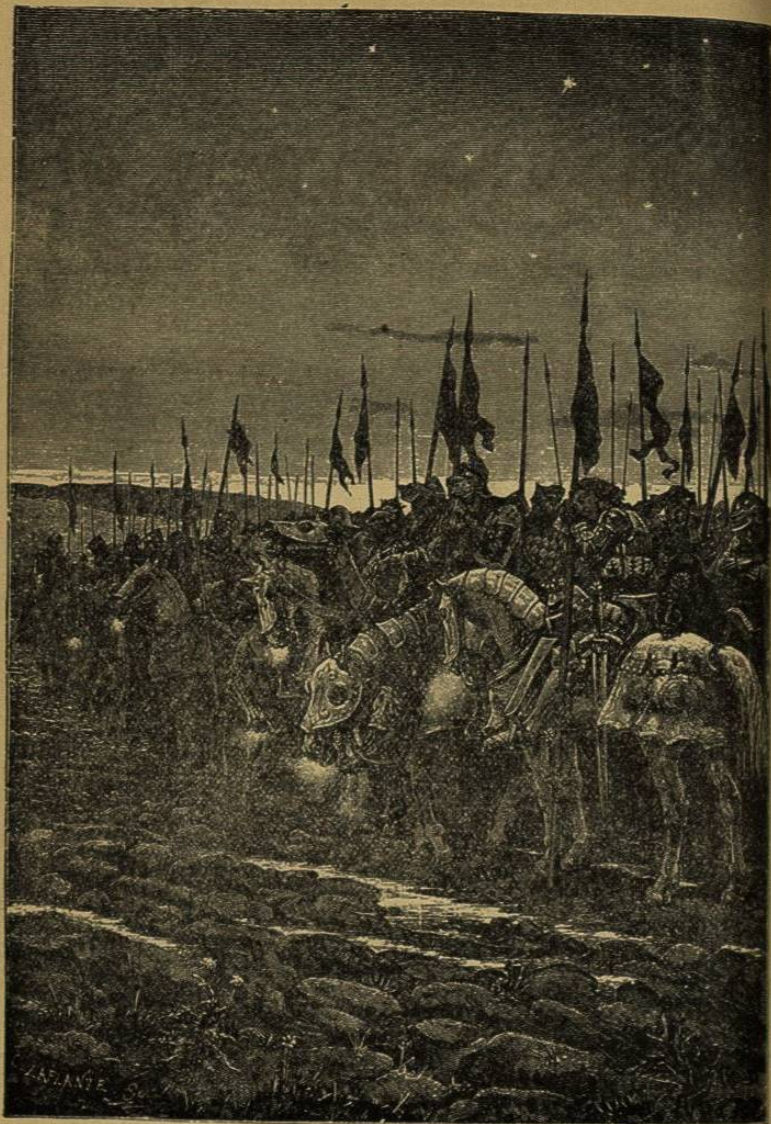
The kingly and parental relations of Henry IV. with the prince of Wales, during the latter years of this reign, have been variously described upon very imperfect information. It is extremely difficult to speak of the character of Henry of Monmouth without taking some colour from the most effective painter of character that all literature has produced. Mr. Hallam says, “The virtues of the prince of Wales are almost invidiously eulogised by those parliaments who treat harshly his father; and these records afford a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the vulgar minds of our chroniclers.” Shakspeare rescued the prince from the imputation of low debauchery, by surrounding him with an atmosphere of wit, and by exhibiting his compunction for mis-spent hours in the midst of his revelries. Here we may leave the consideration of the prince’s private character, without believing that it is much sullied even by the some





ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.
975 Edward the Martyr 978 Ethelred II.	968 Duffus 972 Collenus 973 Kenneth III.	986 Louis V. 987 Hugh Capet 997 Robert	970 Sancho II. 994 Garcia III. 1000 Sancho III.	973 Otto II. 983 Otto III.	972 Benedict VI. 973 Domnus II. 974 Benedict VII. 983 John XIV. 985 John XV. 986 John XVI. 996 Gregory V. 999 Silvester II. 1003 John XVII. 1003 John XVIII. 1009 Sergius IV. 1012 Benedict VIII. 1012 John XIX. 1031 Benedict IX. 1034 Gregory VI. 1047 Clement II. 1048 Damasus II. 1049 Leo IX. 1055 Victor II. 1057 Stephen X. 1059 Nicholas II. 1059 Alexander II. 1063 Gregory VII. 1064 Victor III. 1088 Urban II. 1099 Pascal II.
1016 Edmund Ironside 1017 Canute 1036 Harold 1039 Hardicanute 1041 Edward Confessor	1034 Duncan 1040 Macbeth 1057 Malcolm III. 1057 Malcolm III. 1093 Donald Bane 1094 Duncan 1095 Donald Bane (restored) 1098 Edgar 1107 Alexander I. 1124 David I.	1031 Henry I. 1066 Philip I. 1109 Louis VI. 1137 Louis VII.	1033 Ferdinand I. (Castile) 1035 Garcia IV. (Navarre) 1035 Ramirez I. (Aragon) 1054 Sancho VII. (Navarre) 1054 Peter II. (Aragon) 1060 James I. (Aragon) 1067 Henry I. (Castile) 1067 Henry I. (Aragon) 1066 Sancho I. (Castile) 1072 Alphonso I. (Castile) 1076 Sancho V. (N. and A.) 1094 Peter I. (Nav. and Ar.) 1104 Alphonso I. (N. and A.) 1109 Uraca (Castile) 1126 Alphonso II. (Castile) 1133 Garcia V. (Navarre) 1133 Ramirez II. (Aragon) 1137 Petronilla (Aragon) 1150 Sancho VI. (Navarre) 1150 Sancho II. (Castile)	1084 Conrad II. 1039 Henry III. 1056 Henry IV. 1107 Henry V. 1115 Lothaire 1139 Conrad III. 1153 Frederic I.	1118 Calixtus II. 1119 Calixtus II. 1124 Honorius II. 1130 Innocent II. 1143 Celestine II. 1144 Eugenius III. 1145 Eugenius III. 1153 Anastasius IV. 1154 Adrian IV.
1154 Henry II. 1189 Richard I. 1199 John 1216 Henry III. 1272 Edward I.	1153 Malcolm IV. 1165 William 1214 Alexander II. 1249 Alexander III. 1286 Margaret 1292 John Balliol 1306 Interregnum 1306 Robert I. 1329 David II. 1371 Robert II. 1371 Robert II. 1390 Robert III. 1406 James I.	1180 Philip II. 1223 Louis VIII. 1226 Louis IX. 1270 Philip III. 1285 Philip IV. 1314 Louis X. 1316 Philip V. 1322 Charles IV. 1328 Philip VI. 1350 John 1364 Charles V. 1380 Charles V. 1380 Charles VI.	1158 Alphonso III. (Castile) 1162 Alphonso II. (Aragon) 1190 Sancho VII. (Navarre) 1196 Peter II. (Aragon) CASTILE AND LEON. 1230 Ferdinand III. 1252 Alphonso X. 1284 Sancho IV. 1295 Ferdinand IV. 1312 Alphonso XI. 1350 Pedro 1366 Henry II. 1367 Pedro (restored) 1369 Henry II. (restored) 1379 John I. 1399 Henry III. 1406 John II.	1191 Henry VI. 1209 Otto IV. 1212 Frederic II. 1251 Conrad IV. 1254 Interregnum 1273 Rodolph 1292 Adolphus 1298 Albert I. 1308 Henry VIII. 1314 Louis V. 1347 Charles IV. Charles IV. 1378 Wenceslaus. 1490 Rupert	1243 Innocent IV. 1254 Alexander IV. 1261 Urban IV. 1265 Clement IV. 1272 Gregory X. 1276 Innocent V. 1276 Adrian V. 1276 John XXI. 1281 Nicolas III. 1281 Martin IV. 1288 Honorius IV. 1288 Nicolas V. 1294 Celestine V. 1295 Boniface VIII. 1303 Benedict XI. 1305 Clement V. 1316 John XXII. 1334 Benedict XII. 1334 Clement VI. 1352 Innocent VI. 1362 Urban V. 1370 Gregory XI. 1378 Urban VI. 1380 Boniface IX. 1406 Innocent VII. 1406 Gregory XII. 1406 Alexander V.

1154 Henry II. 1189 Richard I. 1199 John 1216 Henry III. 1272 Edward I.	1153 Malcolm IV. 1165 William 1214 Alexander II. 1249 Alexander III. 1286 Margaret 1292 John Balliol 1306 Interregnum 1306 Robert I. 1329 David II. 1371 Robert II. 1371 Robert II. 1390 Robert III. 1406 James I.	1180 Philip II. 1223 Louis VIII. 1226 Louis IX. 1270 Philip III. 1285 Philip IV. 1314 Louis X. 1316 Philip V. 1322 Charles IV. 1328 Philip VI. 1350 John 1364 Charles V. 1380 Charles V. 1380 Charles VI.	1158 Alphonso III. (Castile) 1162 Alphonso II. (Aragon) 1190 Sancho VII. (Navarre) 1196 Peter II. (Aragon) CASTILE AND LEON. 1230 Ferdinand III. 1252 Alphonso X. 1284 Sancho IV. 1295 Ferdinand IV. 1312 Alphonso XI. 1350 Pedro 1366 Henry II. 1367 Pedro (restored) 1369 Henry II. (restored) 1379 John I. 1399 Henry III. 1406 John II.	1191 Henry VI. 1209 Otto IV. 1212 Frederic II. 1251 Conrad IV. 1254 Interregnum 1273 Rodolph 1292 Adolphus 1298 Albert I. 1308 Henry VIII. 1314 Louis V. 1347 Charles IV. Charles IV. 1378 Wenceslaus. 1490 Rupert	1243 Innocent IV. 1254 Alexander IV. 1261 Urban IV. 1265 Clement IV. 1272 Gregory X. 1276 Innocent V. 1276 Adrian V. 1276 John XXI. 1281 Nicolas III. 1281 Martin IV. 1288 Honorius IV. 1288 Nicolas V. 1294 Celestine V. 1295 Boniface VIII. 1303 Benedict XI. 1305 Clement V. 1316 John XXII. 1334 Benedict XII. 1334 Clement VI. 1352 Innocent VI. 1362 Urban V. 1370 Gregory XI. 1378 Urban VI. 1380 Boniface IX. 1406 Innocent VII. 1406 Gregory XII. 1406 Alexander V.
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CHARLES KNIGHT.

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