

**LA PRINSE ET MORT DU ROY  
RICHART D'ANGLETERRE**

**by Jehan Creton**

(composed 1399–1402)

Complete verse text plus prose section,  
with a facing-page translation

**EPISTLES AND *BALLADES***

**by Jehan Creton**

with a facing-page translation

## THE CAPTURE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND

**[fo. 2r.] Figure I: Creton makes obeisance to Jean de  
Montaigu, the first owner of H.**

### **§1 Lines 1–68. Creton arrives in England and accompanies King Richard to Ireland.**

When cold Winter has taken his leave<sup>1</sup> and Spring clothes the world in green again, and when bushes and flowers bloom in profusion in the fields, and birds sing sweetly for joy, you can hear the song of the nightingale which makes the hearts of lovers happy and carefree.

Five days before the first day of May,<sup>2</sup> when every man should cast aside sorrow and sadness, a knight<sup>3</sup> whom I dearly loved, said tenderly to me,

‘My friend, I fondly beg that you will willingly accompany me to England; I wish to go there, and that right soon.’

[fo. 2v.] I replied,

‘Sire, fear not, you may command me, I am ready to bend my will to yours.’

The knight thanked me one hundredfold, saying,

‘Brother, we should certainly leave soon; for certain we should make haste.’

<sup>1</sup> Line 1. *Au departir de la froide saison*. Placing the action of a poem in a rustic setting, in springtime, is a commonplace of OF literature. *Supra*, Introduction, pp. 33–34.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 9, 25. *Cinq jours devant le premier jour de may ... en l’an mil quatre cens un mains*. 26 April 1399.

<sup>3</sup> Line 11. *Un chevalier*. In fact, Creton tells us later, p. 197, ll. 13–15, that Charles VI had sent them to accompany King Richard to Ireland. There is no merit in the unsubstantiated suggestion that the knight – a completely passive figure if he even existed – was the disputatious Pierre de Craon. See M. Bennett, *Richard II and the Revolution of 1399* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1999), p. 148 nn. 100, 101; also pp. 76, 136–137.

## LA PRINSE ET MORT DU ROY RICHART D'ANGLETERRE

[fo. 2r.] **Figure I: Creton makes obeisance to Jean de  
Montaigu, the first owner of H.**

### §1 Lines 1–68. Creton arrives in England and accompanies King Richard to Ireland.

Au departir de la froide saison,  
 Que printemps a fait reparacion  
 De verdure,<sup>1</sup>\* et qu'au<sup>2</sup> champs maint buisson  
     Voit on flourir 4  
 Et les oyseaulx doucement resjoir,  
 Le roussinol peut on<sup>3</sup> chanter oïr,  
 Qui maint amant fait souvent devenir  
     Joyeux et gay.\* 8  
 Cinq jours devant<sup>4</sup> le premier jour de may –  
 Que chascun doit laisser dueil et esmay –  
 Un chevalier, que de bon cuer amay,  
     Moult doucement 12  
 Me dit: 'Amy, je vous pri\* chierement  
 'Qu'en Albion vueilliez joyeusement  
 'Avecques moy venir; prochainement<sup>5</sup>  
     'Y<sup>6</sup> vueil aler.' 16  
 [fo. 2v.] Je respondi: 'Monseigneur, commander  
 'Povez sur moy, je sui prest d'encliner  
 'Ma voulenté a vostre bon penser,<sup>7</sup>  
     'N'en doutez ja.' 20  
 Le chevalier cent foiz me mercia,  
 Disant: 'Frere, certes il convendra<sup>8</sup>  
 'Bien brief<sup>9</sup> partir, car<sup>10</sup> haster nous fauldra,  
     'Soiez certains.' 24

<sup>1</sup> AD de la verdure

<sup>2</sup> LA quaux

<sup>3</sup> L len

<sup>4</sup> ACD avant

<sup>5</sup> AD car briefment

<sup>6</sup> LB gy

<sup>7</sup> L plaisir B plaisir  
penser

<sup>8</sup> L disant certes il nous  
convendra

<sup>9</sup> L briefment

<sup>10</sup> AD et

This was in the year fourteen hundred less one, that full of joy we left Paris, riding all day long, without delay until we came to London. There we took lodging one Wednesday, in time for our repast. Many a knight could be seen leaving the town, for good King Richard had set out with the Steward;<sup>4</sup> he rode hard, for his aim was to cross the salty sea,<sup>5</sup> on account of the troubles and vexations that his mortal foes in Ireland had caused him. They had killed many of his closest friends,<sup>6</sup> which meant that the King would never rest until [fo. 3r.] he had taken ample vengeance on McMurrrough,<sup>7</sup> who calls himself king and lord of Ireland (where there is scarcely any meadow or open land).

Therefore the King urges his men to press forward, so that it can soon be reported that he is come to the port of Milford Haven which is richly provisioned. There we remained in joy and pleasure for ten whole days awaiting a north wind that we might depart. The sound of many minstrels playing trumpets day and night could be heard, men-at-arms coming from all parts to load the ships with

<sup>4</sup> Line 34. *l'estuart*. Sir Thomas Percy; see *ODNB*, s.v. 'Percy, Thomas, earl of Worcester (c.1343–1403)'. Creton twice explains that he was the King's *grant maistre d'ostel*, ll. 989–990; p. 191, ll. 25–26. Sir Thomas was brother to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, l. 1655 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Lines 37–456. *il estoit de passer enuieux / la mer salee ... / ... sur le roy fu yrez / Nostre Seigneur*. Creton's account of Richard in Ireland is plagiarized by the author of the *Chronique de la traïson et mort de Richart Deux*, ed. Williams, pp. 27–33: *La beissiez maint chly partir ... quil nest barge ne nef qui sur la mer peust durer*. The *Traïson's* account is a very clumsy rendering of verse into prose.

<sup>6</sup> Lines 41–42. *Grant quantité de ses amis parfaiz / Avoient fait mourir*. These friends included the fourth earl of March who was among those murdered at Kenlys, Leinster, in July 1398, *infra*, l. 354. This was at least one reason for Richard's second Irish expedition. See A. Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 244.

<sup>7</sup> Line 46. For Art McMurrrough, king of Leinster, see *ODNB*, s.v. 'Mac Murchadha, Art Caomhánach [Art Kavanagh MacMurrrough]; called Art Mór Mac Murchadha] (d. 1416/17)'.

Ce fu en l'an mil quatre cens un mains Que de Paris, chascun de joie plains,* Nous partismes, chevauchant soirs et mains Sans atargier	28
Jusqu'a <sup>11</sup> Londres. La nous convint <sup>12</sup> logier Un mercredi a heure <sup>13</sup> de mengier. La povoit on vëoir maint chevalier Faire depart	32
De la ville, car le bon roy Richart Estoit partiz avecques l'estuuart. De chevauchier au matin et au tart Fu moult songneux,	36
Car il estoit de passer envïeux La mer salee, pour les despiz et deulx Qu'en Ymbernie <sup>14</sup> ses enemis morteulx* Li orent faiz.	40
Grant quantité* de ses amis parfaiz Avoient fait mourir, sique jamaiz Ne vouloit estre a repoz në a paix, Jusques a tant	44
[fo. 3r.] Qu'il eüst prins <sup>15</sup> vengeance souffisant De Maquemore, qui se dit excellent Roy et seigneur d'Ymbernie la grant Et dë Illande <sup>16</sup>	48
(Ou gueres n'a de plainne ne de lande.) Pour ce le roy souventesfoiz <sup>17</sup> commande De s'avancier et que tantost on mande Qu'il vient au port	52
De Milleforde, ou il a bel apport. <sup>18</sup> La feumes nous <sup>19</sup> en joie et en depport Dix jours entiers atendant le vent nort Pour nous partir.	56
Mainte trompette y povoit <sup>20</sup> on oïr De jour, de nuit menestrelz <sup>21</sup> retentir, De toutes parts gendarmes survenir <sup>22</sup> Chargier vaisseaulx	60

<sup>11</sup> AB jusques a  
<sup>12</sup> AD vimmes  
<sup>13</sup> B a le heure  
<sup>14</sup> H ymberne  
ABD ybernie  
<sup>15</sup> B prise

<sup>16</sup> HLBC et dillande  
AD et de yrlande  
<sup>17</sup> AD assez souvent  
<sup>18</sup> A ou il y a bel port  
D ou il a bel port  
<sup>19</sup> AD la mer passa

<sup>20</sup> C on y povoit  
<sup>21</sup> AD et jour et nuit  
menestriers  
<sup>22</sup> AD de venir

bread and wine, cows and calves, salt meat and many casks of water, and to hoist fine horses on board; no man failed to prepare his baggage. Good King Richard took leave of the ladies<sup>8</sup> and set off in fine array on the eleventh day.

## §2 Lines 69–120. Richard arrives in Waterford and moves on to Kilkenny.

Then without further delay the sailors hoisted sail, with such address that within two days we could see the tower of Waterford<sup>9</sup> [fo. 3v.] in Ireland. The people I saw were ill-favoured and wretched; some were ragged, others girt with a rope, some lived in holes in the ground, others in hovels. They were made to carry great burdens and to wade into the water up to their waists for the speedy unloading of the barges,<sup>10</sup> as the King and his men were already in the town, where he was well received by the common people and the merchants.

Six days later the King and his Englishmen took to the field.<sup>11</sup> They rode in closed ranks, bold and unafraid, as far as Kilkenny, eighty miles<sup>12</sup> into the country and close to the enemy. There the

<sup>8</sup> Line 66. *aux dames*. Queen Isabella was not amongst these ladies, Richard having left her at Windsor. *Infia*, p. 307, ll. 23–24, *tu partis d'elle a Windesore pour aler en ton voyage d'Yrlande*.

<sup>9</sup> Line 72. *Waterforde*. Richard and his army arrived there on 1 June. See *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions*, ed. M.D. Legge (Oxford, 1941), no. 286.

<sup>10</sup> Line 79. *les barges*. In the fourteenth century barges were sea-going vessels having oars as well as masts; thus they were not dependent on the wind. Creton is using the term loosely here, as *supra* ll. 55–56 he says they waited ten days for the wind. See Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, pp. 33–34, 71–76.

<sup>11</sup> Lines 85–445. This part of Creton's account, translated into English and in places much abbreviated, is borrowed by Raphael Holinshed 'out of a French pamphlet that belongeth to master John Dee', i.e. L. See Holinshed, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 850–851.

<sup>12</sup> Line 90. *Quatrevingt milles*. Kilkenny is thirty-two miles north of Waterford.

De pain, de vin, de vaches et<sup>23</sup> de veaulx,  
 De char salee et d'eau mains tonneaulx,  
 Chevaux guinder<sup>24</sup>\* qui furent bons et beaulx;  
 Chascun pour soy 64  
 N'oublia pas d'apprester son arroy.  
 La print congié aux<sup>25</sup> dames le bon roy  
 Et se parti en gracieux conroy  
 L'onziesme jour. 68

**§2 Lines 69–120. Richard arrives in Waterford and moves on to Kilkenny.**

Lors maronniers<sup>26</sup> sans plus faire sejour  
 Leverent hault leurs voiles, par tel tour  
 Qu'avant deux jours on apperceut la tour\*  
 De Watreforde 72  
 [fo. 3v.] En Irlande, ou gens vi<sup>27</sup> laide et orde,  
 L'un desciré, l'autre<sup>28</sup> ceint d'une corde;  
 L'un ot un trou, l'autre avoit<sup>29</sup>\* une borde  
 Pour demourer. 76  
 La leur fist on de grans fardeaulx porter,  
 Et dedans l'eau jusques aux rains entrer  
 Pour deschargier les barges de la mer  
 Hastivement, 80  
 Car ja le roy<sup>30</sup> avecques<sup>31</sup> de sa gent  
 Dedens la ville estoit, ou doucement  
 Fu recueilliz<sup>32</sup> de la menue gent  
 Et des marchans. 84  
 Six<sup>33</sup> jours après se mist le roy aux<sup>34</sup> champs  
 Avec<sup>35</sup> Angloiz, qui furent chevauchans  
 Serrement,<sup>36</sup> non pas comme meschans  
 Nē esbahiz, 88  
 A Kilkigny, bien avant ou païs  
 Quatre vins mile, et pres des ennemis.  
 La fu le roy avecques ses amis  
 Quatorze jours, 92

<sup>23</sup> C no et  
<sup>24</sup> HLC wuidier  
 AD guinder B *line omitted*  
<sup>25</sup> C des  
<sup>26</sup> LAD mariniers  
<sup>27</sup> L vil

<sup>28</sup> D et lautre  
<sup>29</sup> AD et lautre ot  
<sup>30</sup> A car le bon roy [bon  
*at line end*] D car le roy  
<sup>31</sup> B avec de la gent  
<sup>32</sup> LB recueilli

<sup>33</sup> B dix  
<sup>34</sup> BC au  
<sup>35</sup> AD avecques  
<sup>36</sup> HC serrement

King and his friends spent fourteen days awaiting reinforcement from the earl of Rutland,<sup>13</sup> who henceforth led a life of evil doing and deceit.

On setting out every man was victualled as well as he could be with bread, wine and wheat. Very early in the morning of St John's Eve<sup>14</sup> [fo. 4r.] the King set out, heading straight for McMurrough, who refused to bend the knee to him, rather did he declare himself rightful king of Ireland and said that war would dog Richard's steps; he would defend his country with his last breath, Richard was wrong to want to wrest it from him. Thereupon the King set out to hunt him through the rocky, barren places, for he lived in the woods. He lived that way in all seasons and had with him – it was said – 3,000 men, so bold and resourceful that I never saw the like before; it seemed to me that they had very little fear of the English.

**§3 Lines 121–184. Henry of Monmouth is knighted. The Irish refuse to join battle; Richard attempts to burn them out.**

The king's entire army drew up in good order where the tall trees began and every man made himself ready, for at that moment they thought that they would join battle.

<sup>13</sup> Lines 93–94. *conte ... / De Rotelant*. Rutland was Richard's cousin and his favourite, *infra*, ll. 433–434. He was granted the office of Constable in 1397, in succession to the duke of Gloucester and created duke of Aumale, one of Gloucester's titles, in the same year; he was degraded in the first parliament of Henry IV. He died on the field of Agincourt in 1415. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Edward [Edward of Langley, Edward of York], second duke of York (c.1373–1415)'. Creton consistently brands him a traitor.

<sup>14</sup> Line 99. 23 June, the vigil of St John the Baptist's Day. The Baptist was one of Richard's patron saints. See Saul, *Richard II*, p. 309; D. Gordon, L. Monnas, and C. Elam (eds), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, 1997), pp. 119–122. If this date is correct, subsequent details about the length of the campaign against McMurrough are inaccurate.



En atendant du conte le secours De Rotelant, qui depuis tout son cours En malfaisant et en estranges tours <sup>37</sup>	
A demené.	96
Au departir <sup>38</sup> chascun fu ordonné Au mieulx qu'il pot de pain, de vin, de blé. La veille droit de Saint Jehan d'Esté	
Tresbien matin	100
[fo. 4r.] Parti le roy, tenant le droit chemin Vers Maquemore, qui ne vult estre enclin N'obeissant a lui a quelque fin,	
Ains se disoit	104
D'Ibernië estre roy et par <sup>39</sup> droit, Et que de guerre jamaiz ne lui fauldroit; Jusqu'a <sup>40</sup> la mort son <sup>41</sup> pais deffendrait	
Avec <sup>42*</sup> sa terre,	108
Disant que a tort la lui vouloit conquerre. Et lors le roy fist aprester son erre Es haulx deserts pour le trouver et querre,	
Car sa maison	112
Estoit es bois. C'est sa convecion <sup>43</sup> D'y demourer en quelconque saison, Et la dedens avoit – ce disoit on –	
Avecques lui	116
Trois mil hommes qui furent moult hardi Et si apers, c'onques telz gens ne vy; D'Angloiz trop pou estoient esbahi,* Ce me sembla.	120

**§3 Lines 121–184. Henry of Monmouth is knighted. The Irish refuse to join battle; Richard attempts to burn them out.**

A l'entree des haulx bois s'assembla Tout l'ost du roy, et chascun s'ordonna Tresbien et bel, car pour l'eure on cuida Bataille avoir,	124
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<sup>37</sup> AD en traison en mal  
et en faulx tours

<sup>38</sup> B au [de *superscript*]  
partir

<sup>39</sup> AD a

<sup>40</sup> B jusques a

<sup>41</sup> H son LB le

<sup>42</sup> H avec LB et

<sup>43</sup> AD condicion

However, the Irish kept out of sight at this time; I know this to be true. Then the King commanded that everything round about should be burned, [fo. 4v.] the decision was taken that everything should be set alight, to lessen the grip of the Irish; many villages and houses were burned.

While this was being done, the King – who bears leopards<sup>15</sup> on his arms – had the men drawn up in ranks, and pennons and standards hoisted. Then with great good will and without unpleasantness he had the son of the duke of Lancaster<sup>16</sup> sent for; he was a fine, handsome young man. Thereupon he made him a knight,<sup>17</sup> saying to him, 'Fair cousin, may you henceforth be valiant and brave, for you will be of little worth if you do not fight and win.'

**[fo. 5r.] Figure II: King Richard knights Henry of Monmouth.**

To heap more honours on him and to increase his well-being and pleasure, in order that he might remember this day for a long time to come, the King created more knights, eight or ten of them, but as to their names,<sup>18</sup> I truly know nothing. I was not much concerned with them or anything about them, considering that Grief, Torment and Care had entirely taken up residence in my heart, and that Regret had robbed me of Joy; why this was, I would never say. Thus did I ride with them and watch everything they did, so that

<sup>15</sup> Lines 133–134. *le roy – qui les liepars / Porte en blason*. In heraldic terms leopards are lions passant guardant – walking, looking at the viewer – as in the royal arms of England. See E.E. Dorling, *Leopards of England and Other Papers on Heraldry* (London, 1912), pp. 1–37. In his first *ballade*, p. 311, l. 26, Creton refers to Richard himself as *le liepart*, as does Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. de Queux and Raynaud, V, no. 1059, p. 350, l. 5, and VII, no. 1390, p. 244, l. 15. Deschamps also refers to the English as *le liepart*, I, no. 26, p. 106, l. 9, and no. 168, p. 300 l. 20.

<sup>16</sup> Line 138. *Le filz au duc de Lanclastre*. Henry of Monmouth, eldest son of Henry Lancaster and the future Henry V. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Henry V (1386–1422)'.

<sup>17</sup> Figure II. It can be seen under magnification that the King's face is not a portrait; he is unbearded. Cf. Figures VIII, XI–XV.

<sup>18</sup> Lines 149–150. *comment / Leurs nons feurent, pas ne sçay vrayement*. But Creton tells us *infra*, p. 187, ll. 20–22, and note, that one of the new knights was the son of the countess of Salisbury. It seems likely that Humphrey, son of the late duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, son of the duke of Norfolk, whom Richard had taken to Ireland along with Henry of Monmouth, were also knighted with him. See G.E.C. Cockayne (ed.), *Complete Peerage*, 12 vols (London, 1910–1959), s.v. 'Humphrey of Buckingham'; *ODNB*, s.v. 'Mowbray, Thomas, second earl of Nottingham (1385–1405)'.

Maiz les Yrlois ne se firent point <sup>44</sup> veoir A ceste foiz, je le sçay bien de veoir. Lors commanda le roy de tout ardoir La environ,	128
[fo. 4v.] De feux <sup>45</sup> bouter fu la conclusion Pour amendrir la dominacion Des Irlandoiz; maint village et maison La furent ars.	132
En ce faisant le roy – qui les liepars Porte en blason – fist rens de toutes pars Faire, et tantost panons et estandars En hault lever.	136
Après fist il de vray cuer sans amer Le filz au duc de Lanclastre mander, Qui estoit bel et jeune bacheler Et avenant,	140
Et puis le fist chevalier, en disant: 'Mon beau cousin, soiez preu et vaillant 'Desoremaiz, car pou avez vaillant 'Sans conquerir.'	144

**[fo. 5r.] Figure II: King Richard knights Henry of Monmouth.**

Et pour le plus honorer et cherir En accroissant son bien <sup>46</sup> et son plaisir, Affin telle qu'il en eust souvenir Plus longuement,	148
En fist d'autres .viii. ou dix. Maiz comment Leurs nons feurent, pas ne sçay vrayement, Car de leur fait ne m'en <sup>47</sup> chaloit granment* Ne d'eulx aussi,	152
Veu qu'en mon cuer Dueil, Ennuy et Soussi <sup>48</sup> Avoient fait, et de tous poins choisi, Leur mension, et Desir* dessaisi M'avoit de Joie;	156
Pour quoy c'estoit jamaiz ne le diroie. <sup>49</sup> En cel <sup>50</sup> estat avec <sup>51</sup> eulx chevauchioie, Et tous leurs faiz assez je regardoie, <sup>52</sup> A la fin <sup>53</sup> tele	160

<sup>44</sup> L *no* point

<sup>45</sup> LAD feu

<sup>46</sup> AD beau

<sup>47</sup> ACD me

<sup>48</sup> AD veu qua mon cuer  
ennuy dueil et soussi

<sup>49</sup> AD jamais je ne diroie

<sup>50</sup> LABD tel

<sup>51</sup> D avecques

<sup>52</sup> D regarderoye

<sup>53</sup> LB affin

[fo. 5v.] in time to come I could relate what happened, and how cold-hearted high treason soon ensued, as you will hear.<sup>19</sup>

But before that you will hear of the victory enjoyed by the King who remained with his men, encamped in tents facing the woods. Everyone was preparing to move on, when two thousand and five hundred good men living thereabouts came to cut down the trees, both tall and low-growing, for there were no roads; no one, no matter how many bold and brave men he had, could ever get through, so dangerous are the woods. And do you know that in many places the woods are so deep that, if a man does not take care to watch where he steps, he will sink in up to his waist or be swallowed up altogether? For this reason none can catch the Irish, it is their refuge.

**§4 Lines 185–320. The Irish harass the English troops who endure starvation. McMurrough's uncle pleads for mercy and the earl of Gloucester is sent to parley with McMurrough.**

Thus we got through the woods cautiously, as the Irish were very afraid of our arrows. They screamed and shouted so loudly that I think

<sup>19</sup> Line 164. *Com vous orrez*, 'as you will hear'. This is the first reference to listeners, rather than readers of this work, which is peppered with similar expressions, e.g. l. 1066, *or vous diray du roy*; p. 201, l. 5–6, *comme vous avez oj devant*; l. 3184, *comme vous orrez cy compter*. Unlike Froissart, who wrote for readers also, Creton's work seems to have been primarily intended to be read aloud. See Bratu, '«Or vous dirai»', p. 343. Also, *supra*, Introduction, pp. 26–27.

[fo. 5v.] Qu'en aucun temps j'en sceüsse<sup>54</sup> nouvelle  
 Dire, et comment la traïson mortele  
 Bien tost après s'ensuy<sup>55</sup> moult cruele,  
 Com vous orrez. 164  
 Maiz la conquete avant dire m'orrez  
 Que le roy fist, qui estoit demourez  
 Devant les boiz, aux tentes et aux trez,<sup>56</sup>  
 Avec<sup>57</sup> ses gens. 168  
 De deslogier fu chascun diligens  
 Quant les bons homs, bien .ii.<sup>m</sup> et cinq cens,  
 Qui ou pais estoient residens,  
 Furent venus 172  
 Pour abatre des boiz grans et menus,<sup>58</sup>  
 Car de<sup>59</sup> chemins adonc n'y avoit nulz;  
 N'oncques maiz<sup>60</sup> homs,\* tant feust<sup>61</sup> de gens pourveuz,<sup>62</sup>  
 Hardiz ne preux, 176  
 N'y pot passer, tant sont boiz<sup>63</sup> pereilleux.\*  
 Et savez vous comment en plusieurs lieux  
 Fait si parfont, que<sup>64</sup> qui n'est bien songneux  
 De regarder 180  
 Ou l'en<sup>65</sup> marche, il y fault enfondrer<sup>66</sup>  
 Jusques aux<sup>67</sup> rains, ou tout dedens entrer?  
 Et pour ce nulz ne les puet atrapper,  
 C'est leur retrait. 184

**§4 Lines 185–320. The Irish harass the English troops who endure starvation. McMurrough's uncle pleads for mercy and the earl of Gloucester is sent to parley with McMurrough.**

Ainsi les bois passames tout a trait,  
 Car les Irloiz doubtoient moult le trait.  
 La menoient<sup>68</sup> tel crierie<sup>69</sup> et tel brait,  
 Qu'a mon advis<sup>70</sup> 188

<sup>54</sup> AD je sceusse B jen  
 faïsse [sceuſse *superscript*]  
<sup>55</sup> A sensuivit  
<sup>56</sup> AD es tentes et es trez  
<sup>57</sup> AD avecques  
<sup>58</sup> D des boiz et des  
 [grans *superscript*] menus  
<sup>59</sup> L des  
<sup>60</sup> L nuls

<sup>61</sup> B fust C fu  
<sup>62</sup> AD pourvus  
<sup>63</sup> HLBC tant sont les  
 boiz AD si sont les boiz  
<sup>64</sup> AC car  
<sup>65</sup> AD en [no le]  
<sup>66</sup> D enfondrer  
 enfondrer  
<sup>67</sup> B au

<sup>68</sup> H *originally read*  
 demenoient; de *has been*  
*almost erased*  
 L demenerent  
<sup>69</sup> AD la demenoient tel  
 cry BC la demenoient tel  
 crierie  
<sup>70</sup> B admis

[fo. 6r.] you would have heard them a good league off. They were almost beside themselves with anguish on account of the archers who were often face to face with them. The Irish made many attacks on the vanguard and dealt out so many blows with their spears that they struck right through coats of mail and plates of armour. They killed many of the English when they went foraging, without waiting for the standard to be raised,<sup>20</sup> for the native horses speed more swiftly over hill and vale than does a leaping stag. This is why they inflicted great harm on the King's men; his brave design was to subdue into servitude such men, who were little more than savages.

And then McMurrough's own craven uncle came one day to beg mercy from the King and to fall at his feet; he had a halter round his neck and bore a naked spear,<sup>21</sup> there were many others wearing this livery, naked, barefoot, unkempt and close to death. [fo. 6v.] When the King saw them he was minded to be merciful, saying,

'Friends, in short I pardon the injuries which you have done me, provided that every man swears that henceforth he will be true to me.'

Willingly they all grant his demand. When this had been done, he

<sup>20</sup> Line 199. *l'eure de l'estendart* = 'the raising of the standard' (literally = 'the time of the standard').

<sup>21</sup> Lines 213–215. *La hart au col, tenant nue l'espee / ... Nuz et deschaux*. Having a halter around their necks, barefoot and stripped to their linens were symbols of defeat and submission; soldiers would also hand over their weapons. Froissart describes the capitulation of the town of Calais to Edward III in similar terms. See Jean Froissart, *Chroniques ... premier livre*, ed. G.T. Diller (Geneva, 1972), pp. 841–844. In ll. 1009–1011, *infra*, Creton describes in this way the deserters from Richard's army arriving in Lancaster's camp.

[fo. 6r.] On les eust bien<sup>71</sup> d'une grant lieue oÿs.  
 A pou de dueil n'esragoient<sup>72</sup>\* tous<sup>73</sup> vifs  
 Pour les archiers, qui souvent viz a viz  
 D'entr'eulx<sup>74</sup> estoient. 192  
 L'avangarde moult souvent assailloient,  
 Et de dardes si grans cops ilz<sup>75</sup> gettoient  
 Que haubergons<sup>76</sup> et les plates perçoient  
 De part en part. 196  
 D'Angloiz firent beaucoup morir<sup>77</sup> a part  
 Quant en fourrage aloient quelque part  
 Sans atendre l'eure de<sup>78</sup> l'estendart,  
 Car<sup>79</sup> mons et vaulx 200  
 Courent plus tost du país les chevaulx  
 Que cerf ne fait quant il a fait grans saulx.<sup>80</sup>  
 C'est ce par quoy ilz<sup>81</sup> firent foison maulx  
 Et grant<sup>82</sup> dommage 204  
 Aux<sup>83</sup> gens du roy, qui ot<sup>84</sup> fier le courage,  
 Veü que telz gens, qui sont presque sauvage,  
 Vot soubzmettre du tout en<sup>85</sup> son servage  
 Et conquerir. 208  
 Et de fait vint pour mercy requerir  
 L'oncle propre Maquemore cheir  
 Aux piez du roy, car paour ot de mourir,  
 Une journee 212  
 La hart au<sup>86</sup> col,\* tenant nue l'espee;  
 D'autres y vy foison<sup>87</sup> de sa livree,  
 Nuz<sup>88</sup> et deschaulx comme gent diffamee  
 Preste<sup>89</sup> de mort. 216  
 [fo. 6v.] Lors quant le roy les vit, il ot remort  
 De paciencie, disant: 'Amis,<sup>90</sup> au fort  
 'Les maulx qu'avez vers moy faiz et le tort  
 'Je<sup>91</sup> vous pardonne, 220  
 'Maiz que sa foy chascun<sup>92</sup> me jure et donne,  
 'Que desoremaiz\* serez vraie gent bonne.'  
 De tresbon cuer chascun lui abandonne  
 La<sup>93</sup> sa demande. 224

71 AD *no* bien  
 72 D narragoient  
 73 B tout  
 74 LB deulx  
 75 L il  
 76 HBC haubergon  
 L haubregon  
 AD hauberions  
 77 AD mourir beaucoup

78 L et  
 79 A par  
 80 AD qun cherf ne fait  
 quant il fait ses grans saulx  
 81 C il  
 82 H grant *superscript*  
 LB *no* grant  
 83 B au  
 84 L ont

85 B a  
 86 LCD ou  
 87 A pluseurs  
 88 H nulz  
 89 AD et pres  
 90 B ainz  
 91 H je vous LB *no* je  
 92 ACD chascun sa foy  
 93 H la sa LB *no* la

sent to McMurrrough – who claimed to be king of Ireland (where there are many woods and little open land) – saying that if he were to come to him, a rope around his neck, like his uncle, he would grant him clemency and give him land and castles in another part of the country. McMurrrough told the King's messengers that he would not comply, not for all the gold here or overseas, rather he would carry war and torment to him. He knew very well that the English had scarcely a thing to eat, for even if one were to go mad in the attempt, one would not have found a pennyworth of food to buy, unless one had brought it along.

The army had to remain like this for eleven days, without finding anything [fo. 7r.] except a little oats, and not much of that, for the horses, who were often bedded in the fields, frozen in the wind and rain; many died of hunger, men too, big and small. You could not begin to comprehend the suffering endured by the English, who failed to get the better of McMurrrough; he made them suffer greatly again from starvation. One day I saw for certain sure that four or six men had only one loaf between them; some men ate no bread for five whole days.



Quant ce fu fait, a Maquemore mande –  
 Qui se disoit seigneur et roy d'Irlande  
 (Ou<sup>94</sup> maint boiz a et pou y a de lande) –  
 Que s'il vouloit 228  
 Vers lui venir, la hart ou<sup>95</sup> col tout droit  
 Comme son oncle, a mercy le prendroit,  
 Et qu'assez terre et chasteaux lui donroit  
 Ailleurs que la. 232  
 Aux gens du roy Maquemore dit a  
 Que pour<sup>96</sup> tout l'or dela mer ne<sup>97</sup> deça  
 Ne le feroit, ains guerre lui fera  
 Et encombrier. 236  
 Trop<sup>98</sup> bien savoit que gueres a mengier  
 N'orent Engloiz, car qui deust enragier,<sup>99</sup>  
 Trouvé n'eust pas qui<sup>100</sup> vaulsist un denier  
 A acheter, 240  
 S'il<sup>101</sup> ne l'avoit o lui fait apporter.  
 En cest estat faillu l'ost sejourner  
 Bien .xi. jours, sans nulle riens\* trouver  
 Fors seulement 244  
 [fo. 7r.] Avoines vers un<sup>102</sup> pou, non pas granment,  
 Pour les chevaux, qui estoient souvent  
 Logiez aux champs, a la pluie et au vent,  
 Tous morfonduz; 248  
 De famine en y<sup>103</sup> ot maints<sup>104</sup> perdus,  
 D'ommes aussi, grans, petis et menus.  
 La grant paine croire ne pourroit nulz  
 Ne le meschief 252  
 Qu'orent Engloiz, qui ne porent a chief  
 De Maquemore venir; ains de rechief  
 Leur faisoit moult de painez<sup>105\*</sup> et de grief  
 Avoir de fain. 256  
 Tel jour y vy – je<sup>106</sup> le sçay bien<sup>107</sup> certain –  
 Que quatre ou six n'avoient q'un seul pain;  
 De telz y ot qui n'en mengerent grain  
 Cinq jours entiers. 260

94 A o  
 95 A au  
 96 C par  
 97 L et  
 98 AD car

99 D arragier  
 100 D que  
 101 AD sy  
 102 AD no un  
 103 B no y

104 C moult  
 105 LBC paine  
 106 B sy  
 107 LACD de B no bien

Which men were these? Knights and squires. As for myself I would rather have been penniless in Poitiers or Paris, for in that place was no Delight or Laughter, but in their stead Hardship, Suffering and Danger; Grief took the honoured place of Joy.

The army would not have stayed there any longer for anything, but then three ships rode the waves from Dublin, where there was abundance of supplies and food.

**[fo. 7v.] Figure III: Three ships arrive from Dublin.**

Men fought to get hold of some of it, they jumped into the water as if it were straw. Everyone paid out his penny or his halfpenny, some on drink, others on food; everything was plundered without delay. More than a thousand men were drunk that day, seeing that the wines were from Alsace and also from Spain, a fine country; there were many punches and blows traded.

Nevertheless the King set out early the next morning directly towards Dublin, ignoring the harassment from the enemy. [fo. 8r.] Then McMurrough sent to the King a beggar, who announced that McMurrough wanted to be his friend and to plead for mercy with clasped hands;

Voire, quelz<sup>108</sup> gens? Chevaliers, escuiers.<sup>109</sup>  
 Quant est de moy, j'eusse bien<sup>110</sup> volentiers  
 Voulu estre sans argent a Poitiers  
 Ou a Paris, 264  
 Car la n'avoit Esbatement<sup>111</sup> ne Ris,  
 Maiz en ce lieu<sup>112</sup> Travail, Painne et Perilz;  
 Dueil pour Joie y estoit bien serviz  
 Et honnoure. 268  
 Pour<sup>113</sup> riens ne feust la l'ost plus demourez,  
 Maiz cependent par la mer vint .iii. nef<sup>114</sup>  
 De Duveline, ou il y ot assez  
 Biens et vitaille. 272

**[fo. 7v.] Figure III: Three ships arrive from Dublin.**

Pour en avoir y ot souvent<sup>115</sup> bataille,  
 Dedens la mer entroient comme en paille.  
 Chascun pour soy y emploia sa maille  
 Ou son denier, 276  
 Les uns en boire, les autres en mengier,  
 Tout fu rifl e sans gueres attargier.  
 D'ivres<sup>116</sup> y ot – je croy – plus d'un millier  
 Celle journee, 280  
 Veu que d'Osoie si<sup>117</sup> estoit la vinee\*  
 Et d'Espaigne, qui est bonne contree;  
 Par eulx fu la mainte buffe donnee  
 Et maint tatin. 284  
 Non obstant ce, l'andemain a<sup>118</sup> matin  
 Le roy parti,<sup>119</sup> tenant le droit chemin  
 A Duveline maugr e tout le hutin  
 Des ennemis, 288  
 [fo. 8r.] Quant Maquemoire vers le roy a tramis  
 Un mendiant, disant que ses amis\*  
 Vouloit<sup>120</sup> estre et lui crier mercis  
 A jointes mains; 292

<sup>108</sup> D que

<sup>109</sup> B et escuiers

<sup>110</sup> A moult

<sup>111</sup> AD nesbatement

<sup>112</sup> L en cellui B en tel

<sup>113</sup> D plus

<sup>114</sup> AD par la vint trois  
 grans nef<sup>s</sup>

<sup>115</sup> C souvent y ot

<sup>116</sup> C divers

<sup>117</sup> HBC *no* si AD dosoie

si L dosoie en

<sup>118</sup> LC au AD bien

<sup>119</sup> AD nous partismes

<sup>120</sup> L vouloient

lieu

also that the King should send to him a loyal and trustworthy lord to negotiate peace, so that their enmity, which for long had been pitiless, might be brought to an end. This news gladdened many hearts in the King's army, for everyone wanted peace. He asked his Council for their advice, and what would be the best thing to do. They quickly agreed that, considering his good name and reputation, the earl of Gloucester<sup>22</sup> – an honourable man – should go and should spell out to McMurrough the great injury he has done to the King and what this amounts to. Gloucester took his leave of the King and led off the rearguard, of which he was captain. There were 200 lancers – I tell you – and 1,000 archers, I never saw better. I went with them, for I wanted to see<sup>23</sup> [fo. 8v.] the prestige, estate, strength and power of McMurrough, and how the earl would do his duty to find peace.

### §5 Lines 321–388. The meeting between Gloucester and McMurrough.

I saw McMurrough ride down the hillside between two woods, quite some way from the sea, and there were a great number of Irishmen with him, more than I can reckon.

<sup>22</sup> Lines 304–305. *le conte / De Glocestre*. Thomas Despenser, earl of Gloucester. He initially deserted Richard and threw in his lot with Lancaster, however, he was executed for his part in the Epiphany Rising of January 1400. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Despenser, Thomas, second Lord Despenser (1373–1400)'.  
<sup>23</sup> Lines 315–316. *Comme celui / Qui vouloit voir* = 'for I wanted to see'. See *Chrestomathie de la langue française au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. P. Rickard (Cambridge, 1976) no. 8, p. 71, l. 65 and note.

Ou que vers lui vueille envoyer<sup>121</sup> au mains  
 Aucun seigneur, qui soit<sup>122\*</sup> vraiz et certains,<sup>123</sup>  
 Pour traittir paix, sique tout soit estains  
 Le courroux d'eulx, 296  
 Qui longuement avoit esté crueulx.  
 Ces nouvelles en firent mains<sup>124</sup> joieux  
 En l'ost du roy, car chascun envïeux  
 Fu de repos. 300  
 A son conseil demanda leur propos  
 Et qu'i\* seroit bon de faire. A briefz<sup>125</sup> mos  
 Furent d'accort, pour<sup>126</sup> le bon nom et los  
 Qu'avoit le conte<sup>127</sup> 304  
 De Glocestre – qui oncques n'ama honte –  
 Quë il iroit, maiz que bien lui raconte  
 Le grant outrage et a combien ce monte  
 Ce qu'il a fait. 308  
 Present le roy,\* se parti et de fait  
 L'arriere garde, de quoy il estoit fait  
 Cappitaine, enmena<sup>128</sup> tout a fait  
 Avecques lui. 312  
 Deux cens lances furent – bien vous affi –  
 Et mile archiers, oncques meilleurs ne vy.  
 Avecques eulx alay, comme celui  
 Qui vouloit voir 316  
 [fo. 8v.] L'onneur, l'estat, la force et<sup>129</sup> le pouvoir  
 De Maquemore, et coment<sup>130</sup> son devoir  
 Vouloit faire pour bonne paix avoir  
 Et confermer. 320

**§5 Lines 321–388. The meeting between Gloucester and McMurrough.**

Entre deux bois assez loing de la mer  
 Maquemore la montaigne avaler  
 Vy, et d'Irloiz – que pas ne sçay nombrer<sup>131</sup> –  
 Y ot foison. 324

121 C envers	126 AD que pour bon	129 C <i>no</i> et
122 H soient ABCD soit	nom [ <i>no</i> le]	130 B come
123 L aucuns seigneurs	127 H <u>quavoit le conte</u>	131 H nombrer
qui soient bien certains	LB quot le conte	AD nommer B <del>nommer</del>
124 A moult	128 L amena B æ [en	nombrer
125 C deulx	<i>superscript</i> ] mena	

He had a very fine horse, with neither saddle nor pommel, which they said had cost him 400 cows, there being little money in that country; for this reason they are accustomed just to barter with animals. The horse galloped more swiftly downhill than ever did I see any hare, stag, sheep or other animal, I tell you this for certain. In McMurrough's right hand he carried a spear which was long and stout and which he could launch with telling effect; you can see his portrait painted right here, just the way he looked.<sup>24</sup>

**[fo. 9r.] Figure IV: McMurrough gallops downhill out of the woods.**

But his people were held back in front of the wood, like a look-out. The meeting between the two of them took place near a stream. There stood McMurrough, a fine-looking man: he was tall and very quick on his feet; as you can see he was strong, fierce and warlike, and a man of action. He and the earl talked about the situation; the earl said how McMurrough had several times inflicted harm and mischief on the King, and how all those had forsworn their oath who cruelly killed the noble earl of March<sup>25</sup> without benefit of law.

<sup>24</sup> Lines 339–340. *Sa semblance ... / Veez pourtraite*. A reference to Figure IV, at the head of fo. 9r. See also ll. 339–340, endnote.

<sup>25</sup> Line 354. *le conte de la Marche*. Roger Mortimer, earl of March, killed in July 1398, *supra*, ll. 41–42, note. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Mortimer, Roger, fourth earl of March and sixth earl of Ulster (1374–1398)'.

Un cheval ot sans sele nē arçon  
 Qui lui<sup>132</sup> avoit cousté – ce disoit on –  
 Quatre cens vaches, tant estoit bel et bon,  
 Car pou d'argent 328  
 A ou païs; pour<sup>133</sup> ce communement<sup>134</sup>  
 Marchandent eulx a bestes seulement.  
 En descendant couroit si asprement  
 Qu'a mon advis, 332  
 Oncques maiz jour de ma vie ne vis  
 Courre si tost lievre, cerf ne brebis  
 N'autre<sup>135\*</sup> beste – pour certain le vous dis –  
 Comme il faisoit. 336  
 En sa main dextre une darde portoit  
 Grant<sup>136</sup> et longue, de quoy molt bien gettoit,  
 Sa semblance, ainsi comme il estoit,<sup>137</sup>  
 Vëez\* pourtraite\* 340

**[fo. 9r.] Figure IV: McMurrough gallops downhill out of the woods.**

Ycy endroit. Maiz sa gent fu retraite  
 Devant<sup>138</sup> le boiz commē<sup>139</sup> une escharguete,  
 Et d'eulx deux la fu l'assemblee faite<sup>140\*</sup>  
 Pres d'un ruissel. 344  
 La se maintint Maquemore assez<sup>141</sup> bel,  
 Grans homs<sup>142</sup> estoit, a merveilhez ysel;  
 A veue d'ueil sembloit fort, fier<sup>143</sup> et fel  
 Et homs de fait. 348  
 Lui et le conte parlerent de leur fait,  
 En racontant\* le mal et le mesfait  
 Que Maquemoire avoit vers le roy fait<sup>144</sup>  
 Par plusieurs foiz, 352  
 Et comment tous parjurerent leurs foyz  
 Quant le conte de la Marche courtoiz  
 Firent mourir, sans jugement ne loiz  
 A grant meschief. 356

132 B que ly	137 AD sa semblance tout	deux fu lassemblee la faite
133 C par	ainsy quil estoit	C de eux deux fu la
134 H communent	138 AD devers	141 H asselz
L ABCD communement	139 L les boiz sicomme	142 L grant homme
135 H nautre B autre	140 HB [no et] deulx deux	143 AD fier fort
136 C grande	L et deulx deux AD deulx	144 L lines 350–351 omitted

[fo. 9v.] They then talked on and repeated what had been said, but came to no agreement; their leave-taking was short and abrupt.

They went their separate ways, and the earl went back to King Richard, for he was very impatient to tell him what he has done and his innermost thoughts: how all McMurrough wants is to treat for mercy, being assured beforehand that he will be pardoned unconditionally, without any other punishment or imprisonment, or otherwise he will never make peace for as long as he lives; and will resolve to get the upper hand, if he wants to.

These words were not pleasing to the King, whose face paled with anger, it seemed to me. In great wrath he swore by St Edward<sup>26</sup> that he would never leave Ireland until he captured him, dead or alive. Alas! He knew nothing of the great harm and deadly actions that were being directed against him by those from whom he expected support at all times. [fo. 10r.] And Fortune, who rules the world contrariwise, intended to cut short his course, turning his joy into grief in a very short time.

<sup>26</sup>Line 377. *Saint Edouart*. Richard had a particular veneration for Edward the Confessor. See Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 311–316; Gordon and others (eds), *Regal Image of Richard II*, pp. 115–118. During Richard's reign the Confessor rather than Edward I, came to be seen as 'the Royal Ancestor ... the dynastic counterpart of St Louis'. See Mathew, *Court of Richard II*, pp. 21, 36.



[fo. 9v.] Puis parlerent assez et de rechief,  
 Maiz d'accorder ne vindrent pas a chief;  
 Le congié fu d'eulx<sup>145</sup> assez prompt et brief  
 Et le depart. 360  
 Chascun se mist en<sup>146</sup> son chemin a part  
 Et le conte devers le roy Richart  
 S'en<sup>147</sup> retourna, car moult lui estoit tart\*  
 De raconter 364  
 Trestout son fait et son subtil<sup>148</sup> penser:  
 Et comment riens ne peut<sup>149</sup> en lui trouver  
 Fors seulement qu'il veult mercy crier,  
 Voire comment 368  
 Qu'il soit certain<sup>150</sup> d'avoir paiz ligement<sup>151</sup>  
 Sans autre grief nē emprisonnement,  
 Ou ja accort n'en fera autrement  
 Jour de sa vie; 372  
 Et qu'i cuidra avoir bon, si l'envie.\*  
 Ceste parole ne fu pas au roy lie;  
 La face en ot de mautalent palie,  
 Ce me sembla. 376  
 Par grant couroux Saint Edouart jura  
 Que jamaiz jour ne se departira  
 D'Imbernie, jusqu'a<sup>152</sup> tant qu'il l'avra<sup>153</sup>  
 Ou vif ou mort. 380  
 Las! Le grant mal ne le mortel effort  
 Ne savoit pas qu'i lui sourdoit a fort  
 Par ceulx de qui il atendoit confort  
 Trestous les jours. 384  
 [fo. 10r.] Et Fortune, qui fait tout au rebours,  
 Ne volt souffrir qu'il eust plus guere cours,  
 Ains lui tourna ses joies en doulours  
 En bien pou d'eure. 388

<sup>145</sup> L deulx fu

<sup>146</sup> C a

<sup>147</sup> AD se

<sup>148</sup> AD de trestout son  
 fait et soubtilz

<sup>149</sup> AD pot B pust

<sup>150</sup> ACD certains

<sup>151</sup> AD ligerement

<sup>152</sup> B jusques a

<sup>153</sup> A quil ara

**§6 Lines 389–624. Richard advances on Dublin. The earl of Rutland arrives. Six weeks of bad weather ensue, then news of Henry Lancaster's invasion is received. Salisbury is sent to Conway, Creton goes too.**

The army struck camp without delay, for nothing worth a fig could be found to eat there at that time. Thus we marched directly to Dublin,<sup>27</sup> a fine town situated by the sea. There was such an abundance of goods and gear that throughout the King's army, it was said, no flesh nor fish was henceforth expensive, no bread, wheat, nor wine, nor other provision. I know full well that there were more than 30,000 men there; all their misfortunes were quite forgotten, and their great suffering also. We were there for more than two weeks, as happy as fish in water. Dublin was the foremost town in Ireland for provisions.

The King could not forget McMurrough. He had three parties of his men made up to hunt for him. He urged them [fo. 10v.] to do their utmost, saying that he would willingly give 100 marks of fine gold to whoever captures him – everyone bears this in mind, as it sounds very good – and should they be unable to catch him, Jesus granting him health, when autumn comes and the trees are stripped

<sup>27</sup> Line 393. *Duveline*. The army arrived there by 1 July. Johnston, 'Richard II's departure from Ireland', p. 789 n. 3.

**§6 Lines 389–624. Richard advances on Dublin. The earl of Rutland arrives. Six weeks of bad weather ensue, then news of Henry Lancaster's invasion is received. Salisbury is sent to Conway, Creton goes too.**

L'ost desloga sans plus faire demeure,  
 Car de mengier qui vaulsist une meure\*  
 N'eüst on pas trouvé la a celle heure.  
 Pour ce tout droit 392  
 A Duveline alames,<sup>154</sup> qui estoit  
 Bonne ville, car<sup>155</sup> sur la mer s'ëoit.  
 De marchandise et de biens y avoit  
 Si grant foison, 396  
 Que par<sup>156</sup> tout l'ost du roy – ce disoit on –  
 Oncques plus chier n'en fu<sup>157</sup> char ne poisson,  
 Pain, blé ne vin<sup>158</sup> n'ë autre garnison.  
 Si<sup>159</sup> sçay je assez, 400  
 Que trente mile estoient ilz<sup>160</sup> passez  
 Qui furent la et entour sejournez;  
 Trestous leurs maulx furent tost oubliez  
 Et leur grief painne. 404  
 Nous y fusmez assez plus de quinzaine  
 Aises<sup>161</sup> du<sup>162</sup> corps comme poisson en Saine;\*  
 D'Illande estoit la ville souveraine  
 Pour marchander. 408  
 Le roy ne pot Maquemore oublier.  
 De ses gens fist bien et bel<sup>163</sup> ordonner  
 Trois parties pour le querre et trouver  
 Et leur pria 412  
 [fo. 10v.] De bien faire, disant: qui l'amenra,  
 Cent mars d'or fin de bon cuer lui donra –  
 Chascun pour soy ce mot pas<sup>164</sup> n'oublia,  
 Car tresbien sonne – 416  
 Et s'on ne peut atrapper<sup>165</sup> sa personne,  
 Maiz que Jhesus bonne santé lui donne,  
 Et que le temps si<sup>166</sup> soit passé d'autonne<sup>167\*</sup>  
 Que desvestus 420

<sup>154</sup> H alames C sen alla  
<sup>155</sup> AD tresbonne ville et  
<sup>156</sup> HLB pour  
<sup>157</sup> L ne fu pain A ne fu  
 char

<sup>158</sup> L ne char ne ble  
 AD ne pain ne vin  
<sup>159</sup> L se AD ce  
<sup>160</sup> ACD il  
<sup>161</sup> AD aise  
<sup>162</sup> A en

<sup>163</sup> AD bel et bien  
<sup>164</sup> C pas ce mot  
<sup>165</sup> AD oublier  
<sup>166</sup> HLBC no si A le  
 temps si soit D si *superscript*  
<sup>167</sup> L de autompne

of leaves, the King will have all the woods, great and small, burned down; thus will McMurrrough be caught – I think – and not otherwise.

On this very day<sup>28</sup> the false earl of Rutland arrived with his men in one hundred barges fitted out nobly for war. At this time he was Constable of England and duke of Aumale (where he has fine estates). He could ask anything he wanted of the King for – so help me God – there was no man in the world whom he loved more: brother, uncle or cousin, young or old. The King was very joyful and heartened at his coming. Several times he asked him:

‘Constable, where have you tarried so long? Why have you not come to us sooner?’

[fo. 11r.] He made his excuses boldly in front of everyone. The King was happy because he was humble and gentle towards him, even although he had done the opposite of what he said he had done, which earned him many curses.

Thus<sup>29</sup> did we spend six weeks<sup>30</sup> in Dublin in transports of delight, without hearing reliable news from England, for no matter what risks were run, shipping could not make port safely. The wind was so unfavourable from all directions and the storms at sea so violent<sup>31</sup> that I thought Our Lord was angry with the King, for

<sup>28</sup> Line 425. *ce jour mesmes*. This would place Rutland's arrival in mid July, which is difficult to believe, since he would certainly have had information about Lancaster's invasion by this date and could scarcely have concealed it.

<sup>29</sup> Lines 446–744. This passage is also in Holinshed, *Chronicles*, II, p. 844, again much abbreviated. See *supra*, ll. 85–445 and note. The marginal note reads: ‘out of master Dees French booke’.

<sup>30</sup> Line 448. *Bien six sepmaines*. This is impossible on any chronology. *Supra*, Introduction, p. 36 n. 145.

<sup>31</sup> Line 454. *tempeste si outtrez*. *Supra*, Introduction, pp. 38; 40 n. 159, for the importance of this detail.

Seront arbres et<sup>168</sup> de leurs fueilles nuz,  
 Ardre fera les boiz grans et menuz;  
 Sique – je croy – qu'ainsi<sup>169</sup> sera tenuz  
 Non autrement. 424

Ce jour mesmes<sup>170</sup> arriva proprement  
 De Roteland le faulx<sup>171</sup> conte et sa gent,  
 A cent barges garnies grandement  
 Tout pour la guerre. 428

Connestable estoit<sup>172</sup> lors d'Angleterre  
 Et duc d'Aumarle (ou il a<sup>173</sup> belle terre).  
 Tout ce qu'il vot au roy pot bien<sup>174</sup> requerre,  
 Car<sup>175</sup> – se<sup>176</sup> m'ait\* Dieux – 432

Ou monde n'ot homme qu'il amast mieulx,  
 Frere ne oncle, cousin jeune ne vieulx;  
 De sa venue ot le cuer moult joieux  
 Et asseuré. 436

Par<sup>177</sup> pluseurs foiz lui a il demandé:  
 'Connestable, ou avez demouré  
 'Si longuement? Que n'estes arrivé  
 'Plus tost a nous?' 440

[fo. 11r.] Il s'excusa haultement<sup>178</sup> devant tous.  
 Content en fu le roy, car humble<sup>179</sup> et doulx  
 Estoit vers lui, non obstant qu'a rebous<sup>180\*</sup>  
 De ce qu'ot<sup>181</sup> dit 444

Avoit fait, dont pluseurs<sup>182</sup> foiz fu maudit.  
 Ainsi fumes en joie et en delit<sup>183</sup>  
 A Duveline, ou tresgracieux fit,  
 Bien six sepmaines 448

Sans point oïr de<sup>184</sup> nouvelles certaines<sup>185</sup>  
 D'Angleterre, car pour perilz ne<sup>186</sup> paines  
 C'on entreprinst<sup>187</sup> n'y<sup>188</sup> porent venir saines  
 Barges ne nefz. 452

Tant fu le vent contraire de tous lez<sup>189</sup>  
 Et en la mer tempeste si outrez  
 Qu'a mon cuider sur le roy fu yrez  
 Nostre Seigneur, 456

168 C *no* et169 C ainsi [*no* que]

170 D meismes

171 H faulx *superscript*LBC *no* faulx

172 H cestoit

173 B il y a

174 AD pot bien au roy

C peut

175 AD *no* car

176 L si

177 H pars

178 L humblement

179 H humble [*erasure*] et

180 A quaurebours

181 B ~~que~~ que ot

182 C maintez

183 AD deduit

184 H de *superscript*LBC *no* de

185 L oïr nouvelles bien

certaines

186 L et

187 D nentrepreist

188 AD ne

189 H lez

meanwhile the duke<sup>32</sup> captured the greater part of England so unaccountably that I never heard of anything worse in my life; you will hear the tale, provided I do not wander off the point.

A little later the sea was calmed. When it pleased the King who governs all down here, there came a barge which drew tears from many eyes. Those on board related to the King how the duke had had his Treasurer<sup>33</sup> executed [fo. 11v.] and how, when he first arrived on his estates, he had the noble Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>34</sup> preach to people, saying,

‘“Good people, listen all to me. You know how the King unjustly and without cause banished<sup>35</sup> your lord Henry; for this reason I have won a judgement from the Holy Father, who is our benefactor: all those who help him – be certain of this – will have remission of all the sins with which they have been sullied since the time of their baptism. And here is the papal bull<sup>36</sup> that the Pope in the holy city of Rome has sent me for you all, good friends.

<sup>32</sup> Line 458. *le duc*. Henry, duke of Lancaster, the future Henry IV. See *ODNB*, s.v. ‘Henry IV [known as Henry Bolingbroke](1367–1413)’; also Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*.

<sup>33</sup> Line 468. *Son tresorier*. William le Scrope was executed at Bristol on 29 July, by which date, Richard had certainly left Dublin and was probably back in England. William le Scrope had been Chamberlain of the Household, but resigned the post to his younger brother Stephen (*infra*, l. 850, note) on becoming Treasurer of England in 1398. See C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King’s Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360–1413* (New Haven, CT, 1986), pp. 71–72; also *ODNB*, s.v. ‘Scrope, William, earl of Wiltshire (1351?–1399)’.

<sup>34</sup> Line 471. *l’arcevesque de Cantorbrie*. Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, was impeached of treason in 1397 and sentenced to exile. His brother Richard, earl of Arundel, was also imprisoned and executed (cf. *infra*, l. 1633, note). Thomas joined forces with Henry Lancaster in Paris and returned to England with him in 1399. He was definitely hostile to Richard. See *ODNB*, s.v. ‘Arundel [Fitzalan], Thomas (1353–1414)’, also Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 377–378.

<sup>35</sup> Lines 474–475. *le roy banny / A ... vostre seigneur Henry*. On 16 September 1398 Richard stopped the trial by combat which was about to take place between Henry Lancaster and Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, each accusing the other of plotting against the King. Both were banished. See Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, pp. 114–115.

<sup>36</sup> Line 485. *la bulle scéellee*. No other source tells this story, which cannot be verified. John Stow copies it from Creton. See Stow, *Chronicles of England*, p. 532, ‘Lancaster ... had caused Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, to preach againste King Richarde, who also shewed a Bull procured from Rome, promising remission of sinnes to all those whiche should ayde the sayde Henry, in conquering of his enimies, and after their death, to be placed in Paradise ...’.

Car entandiz<sup>190</sup> la partie greigneur  
 D'Engleterre prist le duc par faveur  
 Si estrange, oncques<sup>191</sup> ne vy<sup>192</sup> pïeur  
 Jour de ma vie; 460  
 Et vous l'orrez, maiz que je ne devie.  
 Un pou après la mer fu apaisie.  
 Quant au roy pleut<sup>193</sup>, qui<sup>194\*</sup> tout ça jus maistrie,  
 Vint arriver 464  
 Une barge qui mains yeulx fist<sup>195</sup> plourer.  
 Ceulx de<sup>196</sup> dedens voudrent au roy compter  
 Comment<sup>197</sup> le duc avoit fait decoler  
 Son tresorier, 468  
 [fo. 11v.] Et comment, quant il arriva premier  
 En son païs, il fist aux gens<sup>198</sup> preschier  
 L'arcevesque de Cantorbie fier<sup>199</sup>  
 Disant ainsi: 472  
 'Mes bonnes gens, entendez tous ici.  
 'Vous savez bien coment le roy banny  
 'A a grant<sup>200</sup> tort vostre seigneur Henry  
 'Et sans raison. 476  
 'Et pour ce j'ay fait impetracion  
 'Au Saint Pere, qui est nostre patron:  
 'Que trestous ceulx avront<sup>201</sup> remission  
 'De leurs pechiez, 480  
 'De quoy oncques ilz furent entachiez<sup>202</sup>  
 'Depuis l'eure qu'ilz furent baptisiez,  
 'Qui lui aideront\* – tous certains en soiez –  
 'Celle journee. 484  
 'Et ves en ci<sup>203</sup> la bulle sèellee<sup>204</sup>  
 'Que le Pape de Romme la louee  
 'M'a envoiee<sup>205\*</sup> et pour<sup>206</sup> vous tous donnee,  
 'Mes bons amis. 488

<sup>190</sup> A en ce temps D en  
 temps la diz partie

<sup>191</sup> ACD quoncqes

<sup>192</sup> AD noy [no ne]

<sup>193</sup> L plot

<sup>194</sup> H que

<sup>195</sup> AD qui fist mains

<sup>196</sup> B no de

<sup>197</sup> L comme

<sup>198</sup> A au roy B aux g-  
 gens C illec

<sup>199</sup> B cantorbie fier ~~disant~~

<sup>200</sup> L moult grant [only

one a in LACD]

<sup>201</sup> B que trestous ~~avront~~

ceulx avront

<sup>202</sup> L de quoy ilz furent  
 en leur vie entachiez C il

furent

<sup>203</sup> AD et veez en ycy

LB et veesent cy

<sup>204</sup> ACD scellee

<sup>205</sup> HACD envoie

LB envoiee

<sup>206</sup> C par

**[fo. 12r.] Figure V: The Archbishop of Canterbury, holding the papal bull, preaches from the pulpit.**

Help him then to defeat his enemies and you will be with those who are in Paradise when you die.”

‘Then you could have seen young and old, weak and strong, start to murmur and with one accord, with no heed to right or wrong, rise up in rebellion, thinking that what they had been told was the truth. They all believed it to be true, for such people have scarcely any sense or knowledge. The archbishop thought up this scheme because no one dared to join the rebellion, for everyone feared your anger, dear Sire. [fo. 12v.] When the sermon was finished they started fleeing to the duke, to overthrow and destroy you and ravage your country in several ways: capturing towns and castles in his name, subjecting young and old to his sway; certainly nothing that can be carried away is left for the poor. For God’s sake, make haste, Sire, to thwart his criminal plans, that is my advice.’

The King’s face grew pale with anger and he said:

‘Come here, my friends. Good God, does this man intend to take my country from me?’

He had the young men and elders of his Council brought together to decide on the best response to these events. They agreed one



**[fo. 12r.] Figure V: The Archbishop of Canterbury, holding the papal bull, preaches from the pulpit.**

‘Vuelliez <sup>207</sup> lui donc aidier ses ennemis	
‘A conquerre, <sup>208</sup> et vous en serez mis	
‘Avecques ceulx qui sont en Paradis	
‘Après la mort.’	492
‘Lors veïssiez* jeune, viel, feble et fort	
‘Murmure faire et par commun accort,	
‘Sans regarder ne le droit ne le tort,	
‘Eulx esmouvoir,	496
‘Cuidant que ce c’on leur fist assavoir	
‘Feust verité. Tous le crurent <sup>209</sup> de <sup>210</sup> voir,	
‘Car de sens n’ont gueres ne de savoir,	
‘De telz y a.	500
‘L’arcevesque ce conseil cy trouva	
‘Pour ce que nulz esmouvoir ne s’oza,	
‘Car un chascun le courroulx redoubta	
‘De vous, chier Sire. <sup>211</sup>	504
[fo. 12v.] ‘Ce sermon fait, commencerent a fuire	
‘Devers le duc pour vous confondre et nuire,	
‘Vostre païs en conquerant destruire	
‘De plusieurs biens:	508
‘Villes, chasteaulx prenant comme pour siens,	
‘A lui soubzmet jeunes et anciens;	
‘Aux povres gens certes ne laissent <sup>212</sup> riens	
‘C’on <sup>213</sup> puist porter.	512
‘Pour Dieu, Sire, pensez de vous haster,	
‘Affin que tost lui <sup>214</sup> puissiez destourner	
‘Son emprise, qui trop fait a blasmer,	
‘Ce m’est advis.’	516
Le roy en ot de maltalent le viz	
Descoulouré, disant: ‘Vien ça, amis.	
‘Me veult cest homme oster de mon païs,	
‘Biau* Sire <sup>215</sup> Dieux?’	520
Assembler fist les jeunes et les vieulx	
De son conseil pour regarder le mieulx	
De cest affaire. Or fu leur accort tieulx	
Un samedi,	524

<sup>207</sup> C veilles

<sup>208</sup> B [a in left margin]

conquerre

<sup>209</sup> B les ~~en~~ crurent

<sup>210</sup> AD pour

<sup>211</sup> H chier LB no chier

AD de chier vous sire

<sup>212</sup> B laisse

<sup>213</sup> C com

<sup>214</sup> A vous D len

<sup>215</sup> L beaulx sires

Saturday to set sail the following Monday without any further delay. When the duke of Aumale<sup>37</sup> heard that they were to leave, an evil thought entered his mind: he decided secretly that if he could, he would arrange otherwise.

He came in private to the King to undo [fo. 13r.] what all the others had done, saying,

'Sire, may it please you, I have never heard such bad faith. Do not make haste to depart, it would be much better to take time to gather shipping, for we do not have a hundred barges.<sup>38</sup> How can we set out, considering that in the sea here are rocks like mountains, and the sea-bed is dangerous? Come, it would be much better to send the earl of Salisbury<sup>39</sup> over there. He will hold the field against the duke and carry battle to him; he will have all the Welsh to fight him. Meanwhile we will go by land to Waterford. There you will send for shipping from all ports, so that, weak and strong, all your army can make the crossing. You will soon see your enemies captured and killed or defeated; be assured and confident of this.'

The King believed him more than all his friends, the other advice was completely overthrown by his.

<sup>37</sup> Line 527. *le duc d'Ammarlë*. Rutland, *supra*, ll. 93–94, note.

<sup>38</sup> Lines 540–541. *nous n'avons / Pas cent barges*. The hundred barges with which Rutland arrive six weeks earlier, ll. 425–428, had presumably been discharged.

<sup>39</sup> Line 546. *De Salsebery le conte*. The earl of Salisbury was one of Richard's staunchest friends, losing his life in the Epiphany Rising. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Montagu [Montacute] John, third earl of Salisbury (c.1350–1400)'.

D'entrer en mer le plus prouchain lundi  
 Sans atendre plus long jour ne demy.  
 Et quant le duc d'Ammarlê entendi  
 Le partement, 528  
 D'un<sup>216</sup> malice s'advisa, coyement  
 Pensant: s'il peut, il fera<sup>217</sup> autrement.  
 Au roy s'en vint<sup>218</sup> assez secretement  
 Pour tout desfaire<sup>219</sup> 532  
 [fo. 13r.] Ce que trestous avoient<sup>220</sup> peü faire,  
 Disant: 'Sire, ne vous vueille desplaire,  
 'Car oncques maiz n'oy<sup>221</sup> de tel affaire  
 'Si bien mentir. 536  
 'Ne vous hastez ja si de vous partir,<sup>222</sup>  
 'Il vault trop mieulx c'on face avant venir  
 'Du navire trestout par<sup>223</sup> bon loysir,  
 'Car nous n'avons 540  
 'Pas cent barges. Comment nous en yrons,  
 'Veü qu'en la mer les<sup>224</sup> roches par grans mons  
 'Sont cy endroit, s'est<sup>225</sup> perilleux li<sup>226</sup> fons?\*'  
 'Maiz venez sa,<sup>227</sup> 544  
 'Il vault trop mieulx envoyer par dela  
 'De Salsebery le conte, qui tenra  
 'Contre le duc les champs et lui fera  
 'Assez de guerre; 548  
 'Tous les Galoiz avra pour le conquerre.  
 'Et entendiz<sup>228</sup> nous en yrons par terre  
 'A Watreforde. La envoieerez querre  
 'Par tous les pors 552  
 'Du navire, sique febles et fors  
 'Puissent passer et tout vostre ost alors.  
 'Voz ennemis verrez tost<sup>229</sup> prins et<sup>230</sup> mors  
 'Ou desconfiz; 556  
 'De tout cecy soiez<sup>231</sup> certains et fiz.'  
 Le roy le crut plus que tous ses amis,  
 L'autre conseil fu desfait et desmis  
 Tout par<sup>232</sup> le sien. 560

<sup>216</sup> C dune<sup>217</sup> D sera<sup>218</sup> B vient<sup>219</sup> H tout desfaire LB *no*

tout

<sup>220</sup> A si avoient<sup>221</sup> A noy jamais D nouy[jamais *superscript*]<sup>222</sup> A si de partir<sup>223</sup> C pour<sup>224</sup> H le<sup>225</sup> HLBC et sest AD et

sont

<sup>226</sup> LB le<sup>227</sup> B eÿ ca<sup>228</sup> D en temps [dis*superscript*]<sup>229</sup> AD tous<sup>230</sup> LCD ou<sup>231</sup> H soie [z *added later*]<sup>232</sup> AD pour

[fo. 13v.] This displeased some of the elders who loved the King sincerely. They said:

'Delay in our situation is not a good idea, dear Sire.'

Nothing that was said to him did any good, his true friends found no cause to rejoice, their hearts were full of sorrow and anger. Without further discussion the King had the earl of Salisbury sent for and said,

'Cousin, you must cross to England and challenge the duke's mad undertaking, his men must be put to death or captured. Find out how he has stirred up my country and raised it against me.'

The earl replied,

'Sire, by my faith I shall do this, so that – I believe – you will soon hear of the fighting, or I will die in the attempt.'

'This I know, cousin,' said the King. 'And I will make haste to come across as soon as I can, for I shall have no rest so long as the false traitor<sup>40</sup> who has played such a trick on me remains alive. [fo. 14r.] If I can hold him in my grasp, I will make him die such a death that they will talk about it as far away as Turkey<sup>41</sup> for years to come.'

<sup>40</sup> Line 586. *le faulx traitour*. Henry Lancaster.

<sup>41</sup> Line 591. *Turquie* was probably simply chosen for the rhyme, but might be an oblique reference to the annihilation of the crusading forces led by Philip the Bold's son – John of Nevers, later John the Fearless, see below ll. 3611–3612 and note – by the Turks at Nicopolis on 25 September 1396; see J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom* (London, 1972), pp. 204–207.

[fo. 13v.] Il en despleut<sup>233</sup> a aucun ancïen  
 Qui de vray cuer amoient le roy bien,  
 Disant: 'L'atendre<sup>234</sup> en tel cas ne vault rien  
 'Certes, chier<sup>235</sup> Sire.' 564  
 Riens ne<sup>236</sup> valu chose qu'on<sup>237</sup> lui peust dire,  
 Ses bons amis s'en<sup>238</sup> tindrent bien de rire  
 Et en orent au cuer grant dueil et ire.  
 Sans plus parler 568  
 De Salsebery fist le conte mander,  
 Disant: 'Cousin, il vous en fault aler  
 'En Engleterre et au<sup>239</sup> duc resister  
 'Sa folle emprinse, 572  
 'Et que sa gent soit mise a mort ou prinse.\*  
 'Et si sachiez comment ne<sup>240</sup> par quel<sup>241</sup> guise  
 'Il a<sup>242</sup> ma terre ainsi troublee<sup>243</sup> et mise<sup>244</sup>  
 'Encontre moy.' 576  
 Le conte dist: 'Monseigneur, par ma foy  
 'Je le feray, telement que – je croy –  
 'En pou de temps vous en orrez l'effroy  
 'Ou je mourray 580  
 'En la paine.' 'Beau cousin, bien le sçay,'<sup>245</sup>  
 Ce dit le roy: 'Et je m'avanceray  
 'D'oultre passer au plus tost que pourray,  
 'Car jamaiz jour 584  
 'De ma vie n'avray bien ne sejour,  
 'Jusques a tant que le faulx traïtour,  
 'Qui maintenant m'a joué d'un tel tour,  
 'Sera en vie. 588  
 [fo. 14r.] 'Se je le puis tenir en ma baillie,  
 'Par tele<sup>246</sup> mort lui feray perdre vie,<sup>247</sup>  
 'Qu'on en parlera\* jusques en la Turquie  
 Bien longuement.' 592

233 A il despleut moult  
 D il despleut [moult  
*superscript*]  
 234 AD lentendre  
 235 H chier  
 236 AD ny  
 237 H quon

238 L se  
 239 D le  
 240 L et  
 241 A no quel  
 242 AD ara  
 243 H trouble [e added  
*later*]

244 B il a ma te terre  
 troubler mise  
 245 AD bien beau cousin  
 le scay B bien leschay [al  
*superscript*] le scay  
 246 B tel  
 247 LAD la vie

The earl soon had his men and vessels made ready to depart. He took his loyal leave of the King and begged him to follow as soon as possible. The King swore on holy relics that he would set sail within six days,<sup>42</sup> whatever happened. Then the earl, who was very eager to set out to fight for the cause of King Richard, begged me to cross with him to provide diversion and singing and I agreed willingly; my companion and I sailed over the sea with him.

Now it happened that the earl landed at Conway,<sup>43</sup> a fine strong town, I tell you;

**[fo. 14v.] Figure VI: Salisbury's ships arrive at Conway.**

it was in Wales. There we learned of the duke's cruel behaviour, such as was unheard of anywhere. They told us that he had already taken the greater part of England, and captured towns and castles, dismissed office-holders and made new appointments everywhere in his own name; all those who displeased him he had had killed, without granting pardon as a lord should.

<sup>42</sup> Line 599. *Ainçoiç six jours*. This would be the absolute minimum, given the time necessary for the march to Waterford.

<sup>43</sup> Line 610. *Comūay*. Creton is the only source for Salisbury's activities at Conway, or indeed for his presence there.

Le conte fist appareillier sa gent  
 Et ses vaisseaulx pour partir promptement.<sup>248</sup>  
 Au roy congié prist bien et sagement  
 Et lui pria 596  
 De s'avancier au plus tost qu'il pourra.  
 Le roy sur<sup>249</sup> sains lui enconvença:<sup>250</sup>  
 Ainçoiz six jours en la mer entrera  
 Coment qu'il soit. 600  
 Lors le conte, qui grant desir avoit  
 De se<sup>251</sup> partir pour deffendre le droit  
 Du roy Richart, assez prié m'avoit  
 D'oultre passer 604  
 Avecques lui, pour rire et pour chanter,<sup>252</sup>  
 Et je m'y volz de bon cuer accorder;  
 Mon compaignon et moy dela la mer  
 Avecques lui 608  
 En alames. Or advint<sup>253</sup> il ainsi  
 Qu'a Cornüay le conte descendi  
 En une<sup>254</sup> ville qui est – je vous affi –  
 Moult forte et<sup>255</sup> belle; 612

[fo. 14v.] **Figure VI: Salisbury's ships arrive at Conway.**

En Gales fu. La oymes nouvelle  
 De l'emprise du duc, qui fu cruelle,  
 Oncques – je croy – on ne parla<sup>256</sup> de telle  
 En nul país. 616  
 Car on nous dist qu'il avoit ja conquis  
 D'Angleterre la plus grant part et pris  
 Villes, chasteaulx, officiers<sup>257</sup> desmis,  
 Et en son nom 620  
 Faisoit<sup>258</sup> par tout autre institucion;  
 Tous ceulx qu'il ot en<sup>259</sup> indignacion  
 Faisoit mourir sans leur fere pardon  
 Comme seigneur. 624

248 L proprement  
 249 L sus  
 250 H enconvenca  
 LABCD enconvenca  
 251 B soy  
 252 AD pour rire et  
 chanter

253 B advient  
 254 H en [une *superscript*]  
 LABCD *no* en  
 255 H moult forte et  
 LBC *no* moult  
 256 B parle  
 257 ABCD et officiers

258 HLBC faire  
 AD faisoit  
 259 H ot en

**§7 Lines 625–76. Salisbury raises 40,000 Welshmen and men of Cheshire for the King.**

When the earl heard these bad tidings, it was no surprise that he was struck with fear, [fo. 15r.] for the duke had already managed to win over most of the English nobles; we were told that he had 60,000 men eager to fight. The earl immediately called to arms the Welsh and the men of Cheshire: he said how all good men, archers and others, if they valued their life, should rally to him in support of King Richard, who loved them dearly. They were eager to do this, thinking for sure that the King had arrived at Conway. I know for certain that within four days<sup>44</sup> there were 40,000 men drilling and mustering in the fields; they all sincerely wanted to fight against the enemies of King Richard, who was valiant and brave all his life long.

Then the earl, filled with great grief and distress, rode out to meet them, swearing in the name of Jesus, who hung on the Cross for us, that within three days he would grasp the duke and his supporters so tightly in his power that they would no longer go around sacking the country.

<sup>44</sup>Line 642. *Avant qu'il feust .iiii. jours.* There is no way of checking this.



**§7 Lines 625–676. Salisbury raises 40,000 Welshmen and men of Cheshire for the King.**

Quant le conte oÿ celle douleur  
 Ce ne fu pas merveilles<sup>260\*</sup> s'il ot peur<sup>261</sup>  
 Car des nobles la partie greigneur  
 Dë Engleterre<sup>262</sup> 628  
 [fo. 15r.] Avoit le duc desja sceu bien<sup>263</sup> acquerre;  
 Soixante mil desirans tous la guerre  
 Estoient<sup>264</sup> bien, ce nous fist on<sup>265</sup> acroirre.  
 Lors promptement 632  
 Le conte fist faire son mandement  
 Parmy Gales et par Cestre: comment  
 Tous gentilz homs, archiers et autre gent  
 Tost sur leur<sup>266</sup> vie 636  
 Vinsent<sup>267</sup> a<sup>268</sup> lui pour tenir la partie  
 Du roy<sup>269</sup> Richart, qui ne les haoit mie.\*  
 De ce faire orent tresgrant envie,  
 Cuidant pour vray 640  
 Qu'arrivé feust\* le roy a Cornüay.  
 Avant qu'il feust .iiii. jours – bien le sçay –  
 Quarante mil furent faisant assay  
 Et moustre aux champs, 644  
 Qui de vray cuer furent tous desirans<sup>270</sup>  
 D'avoir bataille a tous les malveillans  
 Du roy Richart, qui fu preux et vaillans,  
 Tant qu'il dura. 648  
 Lors le conte, qui assez endura  
 Paine et travail, vers eulx tous s'en ala,  
 Jurant: Jhesus, qui pour nous se laissa  
 Pendre en la croix, 652  
 Avant qu'il soit acompli des jours trois,  
 Tendra le duc et ses gens si estrois<sup>271</sup>  
 Que plus avant<sup>272</sup> n'yront a celle foiz  
 Gastant<sup>273</sup> pais. 656

260 AD merveille

261 BD paour

262 *all mss* dengleterre

263 AD pour bien C bien

sceu

264 H estoient ~~estoeie~~ bien265 B *no* on D on*superscript*266 H leur LB *no* leur

267 LB venissent

268 AD vers

269 H roy *superscript*

270 A qui aussy furent

tous de vray desirans D qui

[ausy *superscript*] furent tous

de vray desirans

271 L destrois

272 B *no* avant

273 ACD gastans

[fo. 15v.] A little later the earl found his men gathered together in the fields. He addressed them, saying,

‘Good people, let us take pains to avenge King Richard before he comes, that he might forever be pleased with us. As for me, I do not intend to take my ease or rest until I have done my utmost against those who are so wicked and cruel towards him. Let us leave this place and carry the fight to them. God will help us if we work hard to attack them, for our belief is that every man must maintain what is right all his life long; God expressly commands us in several places to do this.’

**§8 Lines 677–708. Having learned that Richard is not at Conway, the Welsh refuse to fight.**

On hearing that the King was not there, the Welsh were all disheartened and afraid and many whispered one to the other: they thought that the King had died and feared the awful cruelty of the duke of Lancaster and his men. [fo. 16r.] They were not happy with the earl, and said:

‘Sire, you may be sure that we will advance no further at the present time, since the King is not here. And would you know why?’

[fo. 15v.] Un pou après le conte ses amis  
 Trouva aux champs trestous ensemble mis.  
 A eulx parla, disant: 'Par bon advis,  
 'Mes bonnes gens, 660  
 'Soions<sup>274</sup> trestous de vengier diligens  
 'Le roy Richart, qui est yci absens,  
 'Afin tele qu'il soit de nous contens  
 'A tousjors maiz. 664  
 'Quant est de moy, je ne pense jamaiz  
 'A reposer nē a prendre relaiz,  
 'Jusques a tant qu'aray fait mes essaiz  
 'Encontre ceulx 668  
 'Qui sont vers lui si felons et crueulx.  
 'Partons d'ici et alons tost<sup>275</sup> sur eulx,  
 'Dieux nous aidra se nous somez songneulx  
 'D'eulx assaillir, 672  
 'Car selon ce<sup>276</sup> nostre loy soustenir  
 'Doit un chascun le droit jusqu'au<sup>277</sup> mourir;  
 'Dieux le commande expressement<sup>278</sup> tenir  
 'En plusieurs cas.' 676

**§8 Lines 677–708. Having learned that Richard is not at Conway, the Welsh refuse to fight.**

Quant les Galoiz entendirent que pas  
 N'estoit le roy la, ilz furent tous mas,  
 L'un a<sup>279</sup> l'autre murmurant a<sup>280</sup> grant<sup>281</sup> tas,  
 Plains de frēeur, 680  
 Cuidant<sup>282</sup> le roy estre mort a douleur  
 Et<sup>283</sup> recraingnant l'orrible et grant rigeur  
 Du duc, qui fu de Lencastre seigneur,  
 Et de sa gent. 684  
 [fo. 16r.] Pas ne furent du conte bien content,  
 Disant:<sup>284</sup> 'Sire, sachiez<sup>285</sup> certainement  
 'Nous n'iron plus avant quant a present,  
 'Puis que le roy 688

274 L soyes  
 275 C tous  
 276 B ce en-ee [nostre  
*superscript*] loy

277 ACD jusqua  
 B jusques au  
 278 D et expressement  
 279 C no a  
 280 AD par

281 ACD grans  
 282 LABCD cuidans  
 283 A en  
 284 LB disans  
 285 C saches

Here is the duke who subjects all to his will. This fills us with fear and dread, for we believe that the King is dead, since he did not arrive with you. Had he been here – by fair means or foul – each one of us would have been eager to fight his enemies, but for now we will not advance with you.’

The earl almost lost his wits, so great was his wrath. He wept hot tears, it was most distressing to see his plight.

‘Alas!’ he said. ‘What shame is mine today. Death, come to me, tarry not, strike me down; I hate my life. Alas! The King will think that I have betrayed him.’

### §9 Lines 709–52. The Welsh desert Salisbury.

Lamenting thus, he said:

‘My friends, may Jesus Christ forgive you, come with me – I beg you – and we will hold the field [fo. 16v.] for King Richard who will be here within four and a half days. He told me when I left Ireland that he would set sail before the end of the week; he swore this on his life.<sup>45</sup> Messeigneurs – I beg you – let us be diligent.’

<sup>45</sup> Lines 715–718. *Car il me dist ... / ... la sepmaine acomplie*. Creton is referring back to ll. 598–600.

'N'est pas ici, et savez vous<sup>286</sup> pour quoy?  
 'Veci<sup>287</sup> le duc qui soubzmet tout a soy,  
 'La quele chose nous est tresgrant effroy  
     'Et desconfort, 692  
 'Car nous pensons bien que le roy soit<sup>288</sup> mort,  
 'Puis qu'avec<sup>289</sup> vous n'est arrivé a<sup>290</sup> port.  
 'S'il feust ici – feust a droit ou a tort –  
     'Chascun de nous 696  
 'Fust d'assaillir ses<sup>291</sup> ennemis jaloux,  
 'Maiz nous n'irons pas ore<sup>292</sup> aveque vous.'  
 Le conte en ot au<sup>293</sup> cuer si grant courroux  
     Qu'a pou de dueil 700  
 N'issi du sens, plourant, la<sup>294</sup> larme a l'ueil;  
 Grant pitié fu de vëoir son accueil.  
 'Helas!' dist il: 'Quel honte je recueil<sup>295</sup>  
     'Ceste journee. 704  
 'Mort, vien a moy, ne fay plus demouree;  
 'Fay moy mourir, je hes ma destinee.  
 'Las! Or cuidra le roy qu'en ma pensee  
     'Ait traïson.' 708

**§9 Lines 709–752. The Welsh desert Salisbury.**

Ce dueil faisant, disoit: 'My\* compaignon,<sup>296</sup>  
 'Que<sup>297</sup> Jhesucrist vous face vray pardon.  
 'Venez o<sup>298</sup> moy, si serons champïon,  
     'Je vous en pri,<sup>299</sup> 712  
 [fo. 16v.] 'Du roy Richart, le quel sera icy  
 'Avant qu'il soit .iiii.<sup>300</sup> jours et demy.  
 'Car il me dist, quant je me departi  
     'Dë Ibernie<sup>301</sup> 716  
 'Qu'il enterroit en la mer sur sa vie,  
 'Avant qu'il feust la sepmaine acomplie;  
 'De nous partir, Messeigneurs, je vous prie,<sup>302</sup>  
     'Soions songneux.' 720

286 A bien  
 287 LC vez ci  
 288 A si soit  
 289 AD quavecques  
 290 A au  
 291 C les  
 292 ACD ores

293 C ou  
 294 D no la  
 295 B line omitted  
 296 A ce dueil faisant en  
 lamentacion D ce dueil  
 faisant amy compaignon  
 297 A dist

298 B a  
 299 B empy  
 300 B troiz  
 301 ABD dybernie  
 302 B en prie

It was to no avail. They remained faint-hearted and dejected. Many of them wanted to flee to join the duke, as they feared for their lives, but the earl kept them fourteen days in the field, awaiting the arrival of King Richard. The earl kept saying to himself:

‘It seems to me, my lord, that your delay means that you will keep no part of England. God in Paradise, what can this mean? I believe you have been betrayed, since I hear no news of you in word or deed. Alas! These men are afraid, they fear the duke’s enmity. They will leave me; they are an unknowing and ignorant people.’

[fo. 17r.] Thus did the good earl turn things over in his mind in the field as he rode along with these men, who very shortly all deserted him; some went directly to the duke, others returned to Wales. Thus they left the earl alone in the field with only his own men, who were fewer than one hundred, I think. He made great lamentation, saying sorrowfully,

‘We should retreat, for our affairs are going very badly.’

Riens n'y<sup>303</sup> valu. Comme gens paoureux  
 Demourerent tous<sup>304</sup> merencolieux.  
 Grant partie en y ot d'envieux  
     D'eulx en four 724  
 Devers le duc, pour paour qu'ont<sup>305</sup> de mourir,  
 Maiz le conte les fist aux champs tenir  
 Quatorze jours, atendant le venir  
     Du roy Richart. 728  
 Par maintez foiz dist le bon conte a part:  
 'D'Angleterre arrez petite part,  
 'Mon<sup>306</sup> droit Seigneur, quant demourez si tart,  
     'Ce m'est advis. 732  
 'Que peut ce estre, vray Dieu de Paradiz?  
 'Certes je croy que vous estes traÿs,  
 'Quant de vous n'oy, nē en faiz nē en diz,  
     'Nouvelle vraie. 736  
 'Helas! Je voy que ceste gent s'esmaie  
 'De peur qu'ilz<sup>307</sup> ont que le duc ne les haie.  
 'Il<sup>308</sup> me lairont; ce ne sont que gens<sup>309</sup> laie  
     'Et non saichans.\* 740  
 [fo. 17r.] Ainsi disoit a lui mesmes aux champs  
 Le bon conte, qui estoit chevauchans  
 Avecques eulx, les quelx en pou de temps  
     Tous le laisserent;<sup>310</sup> 744  
 Les uns au duc tout droit si s'en alerent,  
 Et les autres en Gales retournerent.  
 Le conte ainsi enmy les champs planterent  
     Seul fors sa gent, 748  
 Qui ne furent pas – ce cuide je<sup>311</sup> – un cent.  
 Grant dueil faisoit, disant piteusement:  
 'Retraions nous, car trop va malement  
     'Nostrē<sup>312</sup> emprise.' 752

<sup>303</sup> B ne  
<sup>304</sup> H demourerent  
 comme tous A demourerent  
 la tous  
<sup>305</sup> L no quant

<sup>306</sup> D moult  
<sup>307</sup> C quil  
<sup>308</sup> LABD ilz  
<sup>309</sup> LABCD gent

<sup>310</sup> H tous le laisserent  
 LBC no tous  
<sup>311</sup> L no je  
<sup>312</sup> AD la myenne

**§10 Lines 753–824. Salisbury withdraws on Conway. Richard arrives at Milford Haven; dressed as a priest he leaves his army and rides to Conway.**

Thus does the earl hate himself, for he can plainly see that he has neither killed nor captured the duke's men; his heart fills with deep shame. Without further delay the enemy advanced, for they had learned that the earl had mustered his forces to attack them in strength. The duke was happy at this: he wanted nothing so much as to go to war against those who would defend or serve King Richard. He made his way as directly as he could towards the earl, who retreated on Conway, [fo. 17v.] full of grief, fear and despair. This made me very sad, for I loved him dearly, because he sincerely loved the French, and in all he did was modest, gentle and chivalrous,<sup>46</sup> and had the reputation of being loyal at all times and a worthy man. He dispensed generous and liberal gifts, was bold and fierce as a lion, wrote *ballades* and songs, *rondeaux* and *lais*; and yet he was a lay person. Nevertheless all his actions were so full of grace that to my mind no fellow countryman ever had so many God-given gifts as he. May his soul for ever be with the saints in Paradise, for he was thereafter

<sup>46</sup> Lines 773–786. This reads like a eulogy, a funeral oration. *Supra*, Introduction, pp. 25, 29. For a discussion of the knightly ideal in the fourteenth century, see Mathew, *Court of Richard II*, pp. 114–128.



**§10 Lines 753–824. Salisbury withdraws on Conway.  
Richard arrives at Milford Haven; dressed as a priest he  
leaves his army and rides to Conway.**

Le conte ainsi sa vie moult desprise,  
Car il voit bien qu'il n'a ne mort ne prise  
Les gens du duc; ce forment<sup>313</sup> li atise  
    Au cuer despit. 756

Les ennemis sans plus faire respit  
S'avancerent, car on leur avoit dit  
Que le conte son assamblee<sup>314</sup> fist  
    Pour encontre eulx 760

Venir a fort. Le duc en fu joyeux:  
De nulle rien n'estoit<sup>315</sup> si desireux  
Fors seulement de combatre a tous ceulx,  
    Qui deffendre\* 764

Le roy<sup>316</sup> Richart vouloient ou atendre.  
Son chemin fist le plus droit qu'il pot prendre  
Devers le conte, le quel s'en<sup>317</sup> ala rendre  
    A Cornüay, 768

[fo. 17v.] Plain de doulour, de tristresse et d'esmay.  
Grant mal m'en fist certes, car je l'amay  
Parfaitement, pour<sup>318</sup> ce que de cuer vray  
    Amoit François, 772

Et si estoit humble, doulz et courtoiz  
En tous ses faiz, et de chascun la voiz  
Avoit d'estre loyal en tous endroiz  
    Et bien preudoms. 776

Moult largement donnoit et de preulx dons,  
Hardi estoit et fier comme lions,  
Et si faisoit balades et chançons,  
    Rondeaulx et laiz 780

Tresbien et bel; si n'estoit il que homs lais.  
Non obstant ce<sup>319</sup> estoient tous ses faiz  
Si gracieux que – je croy – que jamaiz  
    De son pais 784

N'istra homme ou Dieux ait tant biens<sup>320</sup> mis,  
Comme en celui. Son ame en Paradis  
Puist estre mise avec les sains toudiz,  
    Car laidement 788

<sup>313</sup> D ce forment *repeated*

<sup>314</sup> H assamble [e *added*  
*later*]

<sup>315</sup> A estoit

<sup>316</sup> A roy *repeated*

<sup>317</sup> C se

<sup>318</sup> C par

<sup>319</sup> B *ey* [*sy superscript*]

<sup>320</sup> AD de biens C *de*  
biens

fouly killed,<sup>47</sup> suffering a martyr's death, while he loyally upheld what was righteous and true; you will hear how, if God spares me.

But before that I want to tell you about the arrival of King Richard, which was too long delayed, for he waited 18 days<sup>48</sup> after our departure from Ireland; [fo. 18r.] this was very great foolishness. May Jesus Christ curse in mind and body the man who contrived this,<sup>49</sup> for well did he show his love for the King who loved him so.

The King issued orders throughout his army for the barges and ships to be loaded up and for all men capable of bearing arms to embark.

**Figure VII: King Richard's fleet leaves for Wales, one of the ships bearing his sunburst badge on her sail.**

Thus King Richard crossed the sea<sup>50</sup> in a short time, for the weather was fine and clear and the wind favourable, so that he arrived at Milford Haven within two days. He did not linger there, in the light of the weeping and wailing of the poor people and the intense grief that everyone felt. [fo. 18v.] Then he decided that he would leave his army, at midnight without saying a word, accompanied by only a few people, for he did not want to attract attention. He dressed right there in a borrowed garment, like a poor priest;<sup>51</sup> he was afraid of being recognized by his enemies. Alas! He thought that the earl [of Salisbury] was still holding the field with his men; thus, sad and melancholy, he rode swiftly towards him.

<sup>47</sup> Lines 788–792. Salisbury's death is reported at ll. 3189–3197.

<sup>48</sup> Line 795. *.xviii. jours*. This is the sort of detail that Creton might have committed to memory. Although he considered it an impossibly long time, and therefore evidence of Rutland's treachery, it is an entirely plausible period into which to fit the march to Waterford, some activity in South Wales, and the arduous journey from Milford to Conway.

<sup>49</sup> Line 798. *Par qui ce fu*. Rutland is meant.

<sup>50</sup> *one of the ships bearing his sunburst badge*. Figure VII. Saul, *Richard II*, p. 440. Also, Gordon and others (eds), *Regal Image of Richard II*, pp. 13, 118, 177.

<sup>51</sup> Line 818. *Comme un prestre qui a pou de menus*. Creton, 'Translation of a French Metrical History', ed. Webb, p. 77, translates 'like a poor priest of the Minors'. However, Webb himself says, p. 77, note w, 'Franciscans wore grey cassocks and cowls', while six of the miniatures show Richard wearing a red cassock and black cowl. F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, 10 vols (Paris, 1881–1902), s.v. '*menu*' = *petite monnaie*.

L'ont fait mourir depuis a grant tourment Comme martir, maintenant loyaulment Raison et droit; vous orrez bien comment Se Dieux me gart.	792
Maiz la venue avant du roy Richart Vous vueil compter, quil* fu pour lui trop tart, Car .xviii. jours après <sup>321</sup> nostre depart Dē Ybernie <sup>322</sup>	796
[fo. 18r.] Demoura il; ce fu trop grant folie. Par qui ce fu, Jhesucrist le maudie Et confonde du corps et de la vie, Car bien monstra	800
L'amour qu'il ot au roy, qui tant l'ama. Par tout son ost de chargier <sup>323</sup> commanda Barges et nefz, et d'entrer qui pourra Armes porter.	804

**Figure VII: King Richard's fleet leaves for Wales, one of the ships bearing his sunburst badge on her sail.**

Ainsi passa le roy Richart la mer En pou de temps, car l'air fu bel et cler Et le vent bon, qui le fist arriver Avant deux jours	808
A Milleforde. La ne fist pas sejours, Veu le meschief, <sup>324</sup> les plaintes et les plours Des povres gens, et les mortelz doulours Que chascun ot.	812
[fo. 18v.] Lors s'avisa que, sans dire nul mot, Se partiroit a minuit <sup>325</sup> de son ost A pou de gent, <sup>326</sup> car pour rien il ne vot Estre aperçus.	816
De robe estrange fu la endroit vestus Comme un prestre qui a pou de menus, Pour la doubte qu'il ot d'estre congneuz De ses nuisans.	820
Las! Il cuidoit que le conte les champs Tenist encores avec <sup>327</sup> ses combatans; Pour ce vers lui estoit fort chevauchans, Triste et pensis.	824

<sup>321</sup> A car dix et huit apres

<sup>322</sup> B dybernie

<sup>323</sup> AD deschargier

<sup>324</sup> AD les meschiezf

<sup>325</sup> HLABD mienuit

C minuit

<sup>326</sup> LAD gens

<sup>327</sup> D avecques

### §11 Lines 825–56. Those who rode with Richard from Milford Haven to Conway are named.

Now you should know the names of the friends who were with him as he rode: I saw there the duke of Exeter<sup>52</sup> – his brother – and also the good duke of Surrey<sup>53</sup> who was loyal and true to the end; the fearless earl of Gloucester<sup>54</sup> was with them.

There were three bishops, two of whom did not behave with integrity, and you will hear how; but first I want to tell you their names. One was bishop of St David's<sup>55</sup> and the other bishop of Carlisle; he was the least bad of them, for he never sought to flee the King or change sides, [fo. 19r.] whatever was said to him. The third was bishop of Lincoln,<sup>56</sup> he would not give a rotten pear for what they did, for he was brother german to the duke [of Lancaster] and thought that he could always make his peace with him.

Of laymen there were two knights, gracious and noble, well versed in arms: the first was called Stephen Scrope,<sup>57</sup> the other Ferriby,<sup>58</sup> who was young and dashing. Also with them was Janico,<sup>59</sup> who was said to be a first-rate soldier, undertaking great feats of arms, so people said.

<sup>52</sup> Line 827. *Le duc d'Excestre – son frere*. John Holland, duke of Exeter, was half-brother to Richard and brother-in-law to Henry Lancaster, whose sister Elizabeth was his wife. Cf. *infra*, ll. 3199–3202. He was executed after the Epiphany Rising. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Holland, John, first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (c.1352–1400)'.

<sup>53</sup> Line 829. *le ... duc de Soudray*. Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey, was the son of Thomas Holland, brother of John Holland, duke of Exeter. He was nephew to Richard and to the duke of Exeter. He was executed after the Epiphany Rising. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Holland [Holand], Thomas, sixth earl of Kent and duke of Surrey (c.1374–1400)'.

<sup>54</sup> Line 831. *de Clocestre le conte*. See *supra*, ll. 304–305 and note.

<sup>55</sup> Line 837. *evesque de Saint David et sire / De Gerlic*. Guy de Mohun remained bishop of St David's until his death in 1407. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Mohun [Mone], Guy (d. 1407)'. For Thomas Merk, bishop of Carlisle, see *ODNB*, s.v. 'Merk [Merke], Thomas (d. 1409/10)'. The *Traison's* account of Merk's speech in defence of Richard at the Deposition Parliament has been described as 'fanciful'. See Palmer, 'French Chronicles', 61:2 (1979), pp. 411–412.

<sup>56</sup> Line 842. *evesque de Nicole*. Henry Beaufort, bishop of Lincoln, son of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford, was half-brother to Henry Lancaster. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Beaufort, Henry [called the Cardinal of England] (1375?–1447)'.

<sup>57</sup> Line 850. *Estienne Scroup*. Sir Stephen le Scrope was younger brother of William, earl of Wiltshire. Cf. *supra*, l. 468, note. He went on to serve Henry IV after the deposition. Except at l. 1190, when they call him *Steven*, every time **HLBC** mention *Estienne Scroup*, **AD** call him *Guillaume*.

<sup>58</sup> Line 851. *Ferbric*. William Ferriby, King's Clerk, remained loyal to Richard, and was executed for his part in the Epiphany Rising. See Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 225.

<sup>59</sup> Line 853. *Jenico*. Janico Dartasso, a Navarrese soldier of fortune in the service of the English crown. See S. Walker, *Political Culture in Later Medieval England: Essays* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 115–135; also *ODNB*, s.v. 'Dartasso, Janico (d. 1426)'.

**§11 Lines 825–856. Those who rode with Richard from Milford Haven to Conway are named.**

Or est raison que sachiez ses amis,  
 Qui avec<sup>328</sup> lui estoient aux champs mis:  
 Le duc d'Excestre<sup>329</sup> – son frere – je l'i<sup>330</sup> vis,  
 Et s'avisay 828  
 Avecques lui le bon duc de Soudray,  
 Qui fu loyal<sup>331</sup> jusqu'a<sup>332</sup> la mort et vray;  
 Et de Clocestre le conte sans esmay  
 Fu avec<sup>333</sup> eulx. 832  
 Trois evesques y ot, de quoy les deux  
 Ne firent<sup>334</sup> pas comme gens<sup>335</sup> gracieux,  
 Et vous l'orrez; maiz avant les noms<sup>336</sup> d'eulx  
 Je vous vueil dire. 836  
 L'un fu evesque de Saint David<sup>337</sup> et sire  
 De Gerlic l'autre; ce fu d'eulx le mains pire,  
 Car du bon roy ne s'en<sup>338</sup> volt oncques fuire,<sup>339</sup>  
 Ne pour parole 840  
 [fo. 19r.] Qu'on lui en<sup>340</sup> dist oncques n'en<sup>341</sup> changea colle.  
 Le tiers si<sup>342</sup> fu evesque de Nicole,  
 Qui n'acontoit pas une poire mole  
 A tous leurs faiz, 844  
 Car il estoit frere germain parfaiz  
 Du duc, pensant que bien feroit sa paix  
 Tousjours a lui. La avoit de<sup>343</sup> gens laiz  
 Deux chevaliers 848  
 Tresgracieux en armes, preux et fiers:  
 Estienne<sup>344</sup> Scroup fu nommé li primiers,<sup>345</sup>  
 L'autre Ferbric, qui fu joins et ligiers.  
 Et si estoit 852  
 Avecques eulx Jenico,<sup>346</sup> q'on tenoit  
 Pour bon routier, car il entreprenoit  
 De tresgrans<sup>347</sup> faiz, ainsi comme on<sup>348</sup> disoit  
 Comunement. 856

328 D avecques

329 B de cestre

330 ABCD le

331 C qui loial fu

332 B jusques a

333 AD avecques

334 B furent

335 C gent

336 AD le nom

337 AD damide

338 B no sen

339 B fire fuire

340 LB no en

341 AD ne

342 B no si

343 LB des

344 AD guillaume

345 B le premiers

346 AD jenier

347 B no tres

348 C que lon

**§12 Lines 857–944. Richard and Salisbury meet at Conway, where the King learns that he has no army in Wales.**

Thus the King went off that very night with just 13 companions. He rode hard for he wanted to meet up quickly with the earl of Salisbury: humiliated and ashamed, the earl considered himself worthless, because the duke overthrows all obstacles in his path, wherever he goes.

The King rode unrecognized and so hard that he arrived at Conway (where there are many slate roofs) at day-break.<sup>60</sup>

**[fo. 19v.] Figure VIII: King Richard, in black cowl, meets Salisbury and other companions at Conway.**

When the King and the earl met there was great sorrow instead of joy: tears, laments and sighs, groans and grief went on and on. It was certainly most distressing to see their faces and how they behaved when they met.

The earl's face was pale with fatigue. He told the King how badly things had gone for him, how he had mustered his troops when he landed in England,<sup>61</sup> and how he had immediately called up the men of Cheshire, the Manxmen and the Welsh; they all wanted to destroy their enemies. [fo. 20r.]

<sup>60</sup> Lines 866–868. *a Cornūay ... / ... arriva ... / Au point du jour*. This of course was impossible. It reveals Creton's ignorance of the geography of Wales and helps to explain why he could not understand how it took Richard so long to reach Conway. Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p. 141, estimates that Richard would have 'needed a week to reach Conway'. They could perhaps have ridden thirty miles a day. Creton insists on his own timescale, saying *infra*, l. 1257, that Richard had left his army *avant hier*, 'the day before yesterday'.

<sup>61</sup> Line 880. *En Engleterre*. At Conway, in Wales. *Supra*, l. 610.

**§12 Lines 857–944. Richard and Salisbury meet at Conway, where the King learns that he has no army in Wales.**

Ainsi le roy s'en ala seulement  
 Lui quatorziesme celle nuit proprement.  
 Fort chevaucha desirant briefvement<sup>349</sup>  
     Trouver le conte 860  
 De Salsebery, qui ne tenoit maiz conte  
 De sa vie pour le despit et honte  
 Qu'il ot du duc, qui ainsi tout<sup>350</sup> surmonte,  
     Quel<sup>351</sup> part qu'il voise.\* 864  
 Tant chevaucha le roy sans faire noise  
 Qu'a Cornüay (ou il a mainte ardoise  
 Sur<sup>352</sup> les maisons) arriva, qui qu'en poise,  
     Au point du jour. 868

**[fo. 19v.] Figure VIII: King Richard, in black cowl, meets Salisbury and other companions at Conway.**

A l'assambler du roy et du contour  
 En lieu de joie y ot moult grant douleur:  
 Pleurs, plains,<sup>353</sup> suspirs n'y<sup>354</sup> firent pas sejour,  
     Gemirs ne dueil. 872  
 Certes c'estoit grant pitié a voir<sup>355</sup> d'ueil  
 Leur contenance<sup>356</sup> et leur mortel acueil.<sup>357</sup>  
 Le conte avoit la face de sonmueil<sup>358</sup>  
     Descouloree. 876  
 Au roy conta sa dure destinee  
 Et comment<sup>359</sup> fait avoit son assemblee,  
 Quant descendu fu de la mer sallee  
     En Engleterre, 880  
 Et qu'il avoit tantost envoié querre  
 Les Cessiers, Mans et les Galoiz par terre,  
 Qui de vray cuer vouloient bien conquerre<sup>360</sup>  
     Leurs annemis. 884

349 L de briefment

350 C tout ainsi

351 AD quelque

352 L sus

353 C plains pleurs

354 A ne

355 B veue

356 C ordonnance

357 L lines 873–874

transposed

358 B de son mireil

descouil

359 B come

360 H qui de vray cuer  
 vouloient bien conquerre  
 LABCD qui de bon cuer  
 vouloient aler querre

‘There were forty thousand of them gathered together. I repeated to them time and again,

‘“Friends, let us advance. The King has sent me here to lead you. Rest assured that I will never leave you until I die.”’

‘But I could not prevail upon them, for when he saw his chance, everyone left; some went to the duke, others came in this direction. Because they did not see you right here, they thought that you were surely dead across the surging sea. Thus I remained alone in the field where I had held them for almost two weeks. Alas! He who kept you back in Ireland has very little love for you. All is lost, unless God, who hung on the Cross, intervenes; for sure I believe that money has betrayed us.’

The King’s sorrow was so great that you would not have believed a third, or a fourth, part of it, however loyal you were. His mortal suffering and his anger were no small matter, and he said over and over again:

‘Sweet and glorious God – who hung on the Cross for us – if I have sinned greatly against Thee, [fo. 20v.] I clasp my hands and beg for mercy. Grant not that I lose my country and my life at the hands of these disloyal and jealous traitors who would drive me



[fo. 20r.] ‘Quarante mil furent ensemble mis.  
 ‘La leur di je souvent: “Mes bons amis,  
 ‘“Alons avant, le roy m’a cy tramis  
 ‘“Pour vous conduire. 888  
 ‘“Sachiez de<sup>361</sup> vray, jusqu’a tant que je muyre  
 ‘“Ne vous laray.” Maiz je ne les<sup>362</sup> poz duire,  
 ‘Qu’un<sup>363</sup> chascun, quant il vit sa queue luire,<sup>364\*</sup>  
 ‘Si s’en ala: 892  
 ‘Les uns au duc, les autres par deça,  
 ‘Pour ce que point ne vous virent droit la,  
 ‘Pensant<sup>365</sup> que mort feussiez pour vray<sup>366</sup> dela  
 ‘La mer haultaine. 896  
 ‘Ainsi tout seul demouray en la plaine,<sup>367</sup>  
 ‘Quant je les oz tenuz pres de quinzaine  
 ‘Parmi les champs. Hellas! Trop pou vous aime\*  
 ‘Qui tant tenu 900  
 ‘En Ybernie vous a.<sup>368</sup> Tout est perdu  
 ‘Se Dieu n’en pense, qui en croix fu pendu;  
 ‘Certes je croy que nous sommes vendu  
 ‘A fins<sup>369</sup> deniers.’ 904  
 Le roy en ot tel dueil qu’a quart n’a tiers<sup>370</sup>  
 Ne le croiroit homme, tant soit entiers.  
 Son mortel mal ne fu mie ligiers  
 Ne son courroux, 908  
 Disant souvent: ‘Glorieux Dieux et doulx –  
 ‘Qui vous laissastes crucefier pour nous –  
 ‘Se<sup>371</sup> par pechié ay trop mesfait vers vous,  
 ‘Merci vous crie<sup>372</sup> 912  
 [fo. 20v.] ‘A jointes mains, et ne consentez<sup>373</sup> mie  
 ‘Que je perde<sup>374</sup> mon païs ne<sup>375</sup> ma vie  
 ‘Par ces felons traîtres, plains<sup>376</sup> d’envie,  
 ‘Qui hors bouter 916

361 AD pour	369 H a fin LACD a fins	373 L ne vous consentez
362 B le	B affin	[no et]
363 L que	370 L quau quart nau	374 D perde
364 C queue <del>vif</del> luire	tiers	375 LAD et
365 L pensans	371 C si	376 L felons qui sont
366 C voir	372 B merci vous crie a	tresplains
367 L paine	<del>jointes mains et ne</del>	
368 AD vous a en ybernie	<del>consentes mie</del>	

B en ybernie vous ~~es~~ a

out and disinherit me.

'Alas! I know not what they want of me; to the best of my ability I have supported justice and the law. I truly appeal to our sovereign King, who sits on high and sees afar, that my poor heart wants everyone who is alive now, has been, and is to come, to know what is in my mind and what I want. If I have been merciless and inflexible in maintaining the law, that is only right, for the King must be resolute and decisive and remain steadfast; he must punish wrong-doers and remain fair at all times. Alas! Because I have followed these principles to the best of my ability for three, nay eight and ten years,<sup>62</sup> these people persecute me. Gracious God, I promise Thee truly and respectfully that, as well as I could, I never allowed harm to be done to anyone who did not deserve it. [fo. 21r.] Have mercy on me, poor, wretched King, for I know for sure that I am undone if Thou dost not help me now.'

<sup>62</sup> Lines 934–935. *des ans troiz / Voir .viii. et .x.* Creton knew that Richard had been on the throne for twenty-two years, *infra*, l. 1771, *l'espasse de bien .xxii. ans*. An amendment has therefore been made to l. 935, changing *ou* to *et* – the numbers are a total and not alternatives – which must have been what Creton originally wrote. The numbers add up to twenty-one, which is almost twenty-two. Numbers were not Creton's strong point. *Supra*, Introduction, p. 31.

'Ainsi me vuellent et moy<sup>377</sup> deshireter.  
 'Las! Je ne sai qu'on\* me veult demander;  
 'A mon povoir ay je voulu garder  
     'Justice et droit. 920  
 'Le souverain\* roy, qui hault siet et loing voit,  
 'En appelle a tesmoing cy endroit  
 'Si vrayement, que mon las cuer voudroit  
     'Que trestous ceulx 924  
 'Qui ont esté, sont et seront morteulx,  
 'Sceüssent bien ma pensee et mes<sup>378</sup> veulx.  
 'Se j'ay esté en droit gardant crueux,  
     'Non<sup>379</sup> variable, 928  
 'Raison le veult, car fermë et estable<sup>380</sup>  
 'Doit estre roy et tenir soy<sup>381</sup> notable,  
 'Pugnr les maulx et estre veritable  
     'En tous endroiz. 932  
 'Las! Et pour ce qu'ay ensuy<sup>382</sup> ces<sup>383</sup> droiz  
 'A mon povoir passé a des ans troiz,  
 'Voir<sup>384</sup> .viii. et .x., me tiennent si destroiz  
     'Ces gens ici. 936  
 'Glorieux Dieux, d'umble cuer te depri<sup>385</sup>  
 'Si vrayement, c'onques ne consenti  
 'Faire nul mal, qui ne l'ot deservi,  
     'A mon povoir. 940  
 [fo. 21r.] 'Vueillez de moy, povre, las roy,<sup>386</sup> avoir  
 'Misericorde, car je sçay bien de voir  
 'Que perdu<sup>387</sup> sui, se ne me daingniez voir  
     'Prouchainement.' 944

377 C me  
 378 C mon  
 379 B ~~nat~~ non

380 AD tresferme et  
 estable L ferme et bien  
 estable  
 381 AD sens  
 382 AD ensuivy B suy

383 C les  
 384 *all mss* voire .viii ou .x  
 385 L cuer je te pri  
 386 B povre ~~roy~~ las roy  
 387 L perdu

**§13 Lines 945–1028. Rutland engineers the defection of Richard's army from Milford Haven; the men plunder the King's treasure as they leave. The English are robbed in turn by the Welsh.**

Now I will tell you how the Constable,<sup>63</sup> who commanded the King's army, wrongfully went off without waiting for him and took all his men with him. This was a great sin, for no one esteemed him henceforth. This is not surprising, since up until now no man of noble rank had done such a thing as wanting to overthrow his rightful lord.

As the Constable schemed to fulfil his aim, on the very night that the King left the port at midnight, disquiet and commotion arose in the ranks, and men cried out:

'The King is fleeing without saying a word.'

The Constable was overjoyed at this, for really he had not been able to find a way to leave. But when he saw that the army was in turmoil, he said loudly enough for everyone to hear:

'Let us go, we are all doomed since Monseigneur had fled to save himself.'

[fo. 21v.] He swiftly had trumpets sounded and commanded that every man should be ready to leave immediately, since he does not know if the King is coming back.

<sup>63</sup> Line 946. *le connestable*. Rutland.

**§13 Lines 945–1028. Rutland engineers the defection of Richard's army from Milford Haven; the men plunder the King's treasure as they leave. The English are robbed in turn by the Welsh.**

Or vous vueil dire la maniere comment  
 Le connestable, qui gouverna sa gent,  
 Sans l'atendre s'en ala laidement  
 Et enmena 948  
 Toutes ses gens, dont trop fort mesprins a,  
 Car oncques puis arme\* ne le pris.  
 Et ce n'est pas merveilles, car pieça  
 On ne vit faire 952  
 Homme tel fait, qui feust de noble affaire,  
 Com de vouloir son droit seigneur desfaire.  
 Lui desirant tout son vouloir<sup>388</sup> parfaire,  
 Icelle<sup>389</sup> nuit 956  
 Que le bon roy se parti a minuit  
 Du port de mer, la murmure et le<sup>390</sup> bruit  
 Leva en l'ost, criant: 'Le roy s'en fuit  
 'Sans dire mot.' 960  
 Le connestable alors grant joie en ot,  
 Car bonnement trouver voie ne pot  
 Pour s'en aler. Maiz quant il vit que l'ost  
 Fu esmeüz, 964  
 Il dit si hault que bien fu entenduz:  
 'Alons nous ent, nous sommes tous perdez,  
 'Quant Monseigneur s'en est ainsi fouyus\*  
 'Soy garentir.' 968  
 [fo. 21v.] Promptement fist trompetes retentir  
 Et commanda que chascun de partir  
 Fust tantost prest, puis que le revenir  
 Ne sct du roy. 972

<sup>388</sup> C desir

<sup>389</sup> AD la propre

<sup>390</sup> L no le

Then there was incredible uproar, ships were discharged and carts loaded; everyone soon got his baggage ready for going away. The King's treasure<sup>64</sup> was all carried off: gowns, jewels, fine gold and shining silver, many good horses of foreign breed, many precious stones of great worth, many splendid cloaks and many whole ermine furs, much splendid foreign cloth of gold, and many lengths of cramoisy.

Sir Thomas Percy<sup>65</sup> was absolute master over all these things. He was the King's Steward – in French that is *maître d'hôtel* – and had served the King for many years. The Constable and he put their heads together. A short time later they [all] went from there and headed straight through Wales, but the Welsh saw their treacherous behaviour and [fo. 22r.] accosted them in strength, one thousand here, two thousand there. They shouted out repeatedly:

'Wretched traitors, by God's will you will advance no further here and you will give up all the jewels that you are carrying off as booty, for the King did not give them to you.'

Thus were the English plundered by the Welsh. They took back the baggage and all the armour, gold and silver, jewels, precious stones and cloth of gold.

<sup>64</sup> Line 977. *L'avoit du roy*. Sumptuous clothing figures largely amongst Richard's treasure. Creton uses *maint(e)* six times in ll. 977–984, underlining the bulk of the wealth, while he also stresses its exotic nature: *d'oultre la mer, precieuse, riche et chiere, d'estrange maniere*. See Stratford (ed.), *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, pp. 111–115.

<sup>65</sup> Line 986. *Sir Thomas de Persi*. *Supra*, l. 34, note.

La avoit il moult merueilleux desroy,  
 Nes estrangier et chargier<sup>391</sup> le charroy;  
 Chascun bien tost apresta son arroy<sup>392</sup>  
 Pour s'en aler. 976  
 L'avoir du roy tout en firent mener:  
 Robes, joyaux, or fin et argent cler,  
 Maint bon cheval, qui fu d'oultre la mer,<sup>393</sup>  
 Et mainte pierre 980  
 Precieuse, qui fu moult riche<sup>394</sup> et chiere,  
 Maint bon mantel et mainte ermine entiere,  
 Maint bon drap d'or et d'estrange maniere,  
 Maint cramoisi. 984  
 De tout ce fu gouverneur sans nul si  
 Un qui ot nom Sir<sup>395</sup> Thomas de Persi.  
 Estuuart<sup>396</sup> fu du roy, le quel servi  
 L'ot<sup>397</sup> longuement: 988  
 C'est a dire en françoiz proprement  
 Le grant maistre d'ostel principaument.  
 Le connestable et lui leur parlement  
 Ensemble firent. 992  
 Un pou après de la se departirent\*  
 Et leur chemin droit<sup>398</sup> parmi Galles prirent,<sup>399</sup>  
 Maiz les Galoiz, qui leur traison virent,  
 Au devant d'eulx 996  
 [fo. 22r.] Vindrent a fort – cy un millier cy deux –  
 Disant<sup>400</sup> souvent: 'Traïtires<sup>401</sup> maleureux,  
 'Par cy avant n'irés plus – se<sup>402</sup> m'ait Dieux –  
 'Et si lairés 1000  
 'Tous les joyaux qu'en larrecin portez,  
 'Car le roy pas ne les vous a donnez.'<sup>403</sup>  
 Ainsi furent Engloiz tous destroussez  
 Par les Galoiz: 1004  
 Le cariage et trestout le harnoiz,  
 Or et argent, joyaux, pierres, orfroiz  
 Retindrent eulx. Lors furent bien destroiz  
 Et courrouciez 1008

<sup>391</sup> L en trousser males et  
 chargier AD nes  
 deschargier et chargier  
<sup>392</sup> L *lines* 974–975  
*transposed*  
<sup>393</sup> A qui furent doultre  
 mer

<sup>394</sup> B moult ~~chie~~ riche  
<sup>395</sup> *all mss* sire  
<sup>396</sup> A estiware  
<sup>397</sup> AD moult [*no lot*]  
<sup>398</sup> H droit *superscript*  
 BC *no* droit  
<sup>399</sup> AD tindrent

<sup>400</sup> ACD disans  
<sup>401</sup> C traïteres  
<sup>402</sup> L si  
<sup>403</sup> B ne vous les [*a*  
*superscript*] donnez

Then were the English maddened and in torment, for a thousand of them were stripped of their clothing<sup>66</sup> and sent to the duke wearing only their doublets, a white stick in their hands and nothing on their feet; moreover the man who was not better equipped than this had to say whence he came and where he was going, and pay his due – willy-nilly – or be killed. And if you think this is too hard to believe, it is not, for the Welsh were of one mind, having pity for the great wrong and outrage that the English had meted out to the King. Alas! What were the English thinking? God will pay them back one day, for if someone knowingly does wrong to another, [fo. 22v.] it is commonly seen that God will dole him out great punishment, for God is powerful over all who are, and have been.

**§14 Lines 1029–1172. The English are harassed by the Welsh; Rutland joins Henry Lancaster. Richard sends the dukes of Exeter and Surrey from Conway to treat with Lancaster at Chester.**

This is how the English were attacked by the Welsh, who showed them no mercy; they were routed and rode in groups of ten, twenty, forty or a hundred. They had to leave the treasure, for countless Welshmen emerged from the mountains, and things went very badly for them,

<sup>66</sup> Lines 1009–1011. *despoulliez*. Confirmed by *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions*, ed. Legge, no. 381. *En pourpoint ... / Un blanc baston en leurs mains et nuz piéz*. The English deserters were robbed of their clothing and made to carry a white stick (cut from the hedgerow and peeled of its bark). See G. Di Stefano, *Dictionnaire des locutions en moyen français* (Montreal, 1991), s.v. 'baton', *le baston blanc, signe de reddition, d'humiliation*. Cf. description *supra*, ll. 213–215, of McMurrough's uncle begging for mercy.



Englez, car mil en y ot despoulliez  
 Qui au duc furent en pourpoint envoiez,  
 Un blanc baston en leurs<sup>404</sup> mains et nuz piez,  
 Car qui n'estoit 1012  
 Davantaige montez, la lui failloit  
 Dire dont vient nē ou aler vouloit,  
 Et son truage paier – fu tort, fu<sup>405</sup> droit –  
 Ou estre mort. 1016  
 Et s'il sembloit a aucun que trop fort  
 Feüst a croire, non est, car d'un accort  
 Furent, aians pitié du tresgrant tort  
 Et de l'outrage 1020  
 Qu'au roy firent Engloiz.<sup>406</sup> Las! Quel courage!<sup>407</sup>  
 Dieux une foiz leur en rendra paiage,  
 Car qui mal fait a autruy ne dommage  
 A essiant, 1024  
 [fo. 22v.] On voit souvent avenir que tresgrant  
 Pugnición en prent Dieux, car puissant  
 Est sur<sup>408</sup> tous ceulx<sup>409</sup> qui ores sont vivant  
 Et ont esté.<sup>410</sup> 1028

**§14 Lines 1029–1172. The English are harassed by the Welsh; Rutland joins Henry Lancaster. Richard sends the dukes of Exeter and Surrey from Conway to treat with Lancaster at Chester.**

Vecy<sup>411</sup> comment<sup>412</sup> Engloiz furent tasté  
 Par les Galoiz, qui d'eulx n'orent pitié,  
 En chevauchant<sup>413</sup> comme gent<sup>414</sup> desrouté,  
 Cy dix, cy vint, 1032  
 Cy quarante, cy cent. La leur convint  
 Laisser l'avoir,<sup>415</sup> car des montaignes<sup>416</sup> vint  
 De ces Galoiz sans nombre, et si advint  
 Trop mal pour eulx, 1036

<sup>404</sup> D leur  
<sup>405</sup> LC ou  
<sup>406</sup> L quangois firent au  
 roy AD quau roy firent [no  
 engloiz]

<sup>407</sup> AD las quel meschant  
 courage [D meschant  
*superscript*]  
<sup>408</sup> L sus  
<sup>409</sup> C no ceulx  
<sup>410</sup> L line 1028 omitted  
<sup>411</sup> LC vez cy

<sup>412</sup> B comme  
<sup>413</sup> H en chevauchant  
 LABCD ilz chevauchioient  
<sup>414</sup> A gens  
<sup>415</sup> H laisser lavoir  
 LABCD laisser leur proye  
<sup>416</sup> C de montaigne

since out of two or three roads, they had chosen the most dangerous and the narrowest. God made them happy to go that way where there were great heaps of rocks and stones, so that they found it difficult to ride. This was told me a week later.<sup>67</sup>

Thus the English lost all their booty, seeing that the Welsh, who were bold, daring, strong and high-spirited men of action, followed hot on their heels; certainly to my mind this was a very good thing. I do not know where the English then retreated or made tracks to, but I tell you that [fo. 23r.] within a month I saw the Constable in duke Henry's army. The lord Percy, formerly Steward of noble King Richard, was there too, wearing the duke's badge.<sup>68</sup> Also I was told that they had come directly and as fast as they could to him, along with five hundred other naked men whom the Welsh had stripped to their doublets and beaten, as you have heard already, if you remember.

Now I will tell you about the King<sup>69</sup> who remained at Conway weeping tears of dismay. He said,

'My lords, in the name of God in Paradise, counsel me, for it is in time of need that a man often sees who his friends are.'

<sup>67</sup> Lines 1043–1044. *on le me conta / huit jours après*. Presumably when the messenger arrived from Milford Haven, *infra*, ll. 1261–1284.

<sup>68</sup> Line 1058. *l'ordre du duc*. This was likely to have been the Lancastrian collar of esses, which Richard himself had sometimes worn as a sign of affection for his uncle, John of Gaunt. See D. Fletcher, 'The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: Its origins and transformations down the centuries', in J.L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1997), pp. 191–204. Also Saul, *Richard II*, p. 242.

<sup>69</sup> Line 1066. *Or vous diray du roy*. Chapter 14 (§14) is relatively long, comprising 36 quatrains. This seems the natural place to have started a new chapter, as the scene shifts from the army to the King at Conway.

Car des chemins<sup>417</sup> – ou de trois ou de deux –  
 Avoient pris tout le plus perilleux  
 Et le mains large.<sup>418</sup> Dieux les fist eüreux  
 D'aler par la, 1040  
 Car de roches et de pierres y a  
 Grant quantité, si c'on y<sup>419</sup> chevaucha  
 A mesaise, car on le me<sup>420</sup> conta<sup>421</sup>  
 Huit<sup>422</sup> jours après. 1044  
 Ensi perdirent tout leur pillage Anglez,  
 Veu que Galoiz les suïrent<sup>423</sup> de pres  
 Comme hardiz, estourdiz,\* fors<sup>424</sup> et frez  
 Et gens de fait; 1048  
 Certez ce fu a mon vueil trop bien<sup>425</sup> fait.  
 Je ne sçay pas ou Englez leur retrait<sup>426</sup>  
 Alors firent, ne<sup>427</sup> ou ilz firent trait,<sup>428</sup>  
 Maiz je vous di 1052  
 [fo. 23r.] Qu'avant un mois le connestable vi  
 En l'ost du duc c'on<sup>429</sup> appellë Henry.  
 Et si estoit li sires<sup>430</sup> de Persi,  
 Qui estuuart<sup>431</sup> 1056  
 Avoit esté du noble roy Richart,  
 Portant l'ordre du duc. Et d'autre part  
 On me dit bien qu'au matin et au tart  
 Furent venus, 1060  
 Tout droit a lui et des autres, tous nus  
 Plus de cinq cens, que Galoiz desvestus  
 En leurs pourpains orent<sup>432</sup> et bien batus,  
 Com<sup>433</sup> vous avez 1064  
 Devant oÿ, se<sup>434</sup> retenu l'avez.  
 Or vous diray du roy, qui demourez  
 A Cornüay estoit tous<sup>435</sup> esplourez  
 Et esbahiz, 1068  
 Disant: 'Seigneurs, pour Dieu de Paradiz  
 'Conseillez moy selon ce<sup>436</sup> vostre advis,  
 'Car au besoing voit li homs ses amis  
 'Communement.' 1072

<sup>417</sup> H chimins  
 LABCD chemins

<sup>418</sup> AD et les mains larges

<sup>419</sup> A sy comme il B sy  
 com il D sy com y

<sup>420</sup> B me le

<sup>421</sup> AD a grant meschief

on le me raconta

<sup>422</sup> ACD dix

<sup>423</sup> AD sy les suivoyent  
 L les suivirent

<sup>424</sup> B fors estourdiz

<sup>425</sup> ACD tresbien

<sup>426</sup> L attrait

<sup>427</sup> D no ne

<sup>428</sup> A furent retrait

D furent trait

<sup>429</sup> C que len

<sup>430</sup> L le sire

<sup>431</sup> B qui estuuart ~~avoit~~

~~este~~

<sup>432</sup> B eurent

<sup>433</sup> AD comme

<sup>434</sup> C si

<sup>435</sup> ACD tout

<sup>436</sup> A cy selon D no ce

The duke of Exeter spoke first, for he was the King's brother, saying that the best thing would be to send with all speed to the duke to find out what he wants to do, or what is his wish.

'Why does he want to seize your kingdom, your person and your treasure and does he want to be [fo. 23v.] King of England and her sovereign lord, Prince of Wales and lord of Chester?'

Thus spoke the noble duke of Exeter to his brother.

'And he should be told that he was banished<sup>70</sup> with his father's approval, so that he should consider carefully what he is going to do. It would be a great disgrace for all time if his rightful King were overthrown by him or his actions; he would never outlive such shame all the days of his life. He should be told that all living kings, nobles and knights would hate him, and rightfully so, and that over all the world he would be called the veritable Mirror of Treason if he sought to destroy and overthrow his lord. He should follow the example of his father who all his life long was virtuous and honourable, only ever wanting to be loyal to you and abhor treachery.

<sup>70</sup> Lines 1085–1086. *par l'accort son pere / Fu hors banny*. Lancaster's banishment has already been mentioned in the archbishop's sermon, *supra*, ll. 474–475. *Son pere* = John of Gaunt.

Le duc de Excestre<sup>437</sup> parla premierement,  
 Car frere fu<sup>438</sup> du roy, disant: comment  
 Il seroit bon d'envoier promptement  
 Au duc savoir 1076  
 Qu'il veult fere, ne<sup>439</sup> quel est<sup>440</sup> son vouloir,  
 'Ne a quel cause il veult prenre et avoir<sup>441</sup>  
 'Vostre royaume, vostre corps, vostre avoir,  
 'Ne s'il veult estre 1080  
 [fo. 23v.] 'D'Engleterre<sup>442</sup> roy et souverain maistre,  
 'De Galles prince et droit sire<sup>443</sup> de Cestre.'  
 Ainsi disoit le noble duc<sup>444</sup> d'Excestre  
 A son beau<sup>445</sup> frere.\* 1084  
 'Et c'on lui die\* que par l'accort son pere  
 'Fu hors banny,<sup>446</sup> sique bien considere  
 'Ce<sup>447</sup> qu'il fera, car trop grant vitupere  
 'A tousjours maiz 1088  
 'Seroit pour lui,<sup>448</sup> s'il failloit que desfaiz  
 'Feust son droit roy par<sup>449</sup> lui ne par<sup>450</sup> ses faiz;  
 'Celle honte ne recouvroit<sup>451</sup> jamaiz  
 'Jour de sa vie. 1092  
 'Et comment<sup>452</sup> tous les roys qui sont en vie,  
 'Toute noblesse et chevallerie<sup>453</sup>  
 'Sur lui avroient desplaisir<sup>454</sup> et envie  
 'Et a bon droit, 1096  
 'Et que par tout le monde on<sup>455</sup> diroit\*  
 'De traïson le droit mirouer seroit,  
 'Se<sup>456</sup> son seigneur destruire ainsi<sup>457</sup> vouloit  
 'Et tout<sup>458</sup> desfaire. 1100  
 'Et qu'yl prende<sup>459</sup> a son pere exemplaire,  
 'Qui son vivant fu doulz et debonnaire,  
 'Në oncques jour<sup>460</sup> ne volt penser ne faire  
 'Fors loyauté 1104

<sup>437</sup> H de cexcestre  
 LACD dexcestre B de cestre  
<sup>438</sup> H car frere frere fu  
 B no fu  
<sup>439</sup> L et B no ne  
<sup>440</sup> B est *superscript*  
<sup>441</sup> H veult prenre L aussi  
 il veult avoir B il veult orez  
 avoir  
<sup>442</sup> H dengleterre  
<sup>443</sup> B sires

<sup>444</sup> H le noble duc L le  
 tresbon duc ABCD le bon  
 duc  
<sup>445</sup> H beau LB no beau  
 AD au roy son frere  
<sup>446</sup> ACD banniz  
<sup>447</sup> L et  
<sup>448</sup> C no lui  
<sup>449</sup> LBC pour  
<sup>450</sup> LBC pour  
<sup>451</sup> ABD recouvroit  
<sup>452</sup> B come

<sup>453</sup> AD la chevallerie  
 [D la *superscript*] B de  
 chevallerie [no et]  
<sup>454</sup> B des plaisirs  
<sup>455</sup> AD len  
<sup>456</sup> C si  
<sup>457</sup> ABD ainsy destruire  
<sup>458</sup> H tout C puis  
<sup>459</sup> AD preigne  
<sup>460</sup> AD noncques nul  
 jour

‘All these things should be told him; that his family had never been accused [fo. 24r.] of any treason or violent crime – it would be a very bad thing if he disgraced his lineage by his present conduct – that God hates and despises the man who supports treachery in any form – that is our law, taught us by Holy Church – and that the duke can enter into possession of his estates again,<sup>71</sup> provided that he at least comes and begs mercy of you for your honour’s sake. If he will not consent to come, someone who is able must give you different advice; if it pleases you, this is what he will be told. Let us consider who will go to him, for we should make haste, with no further delay, if you agree with what I have said. On the other hand if someone can offer better advice, let him give it for Our Lord God’s sake, for there should be no bias amongst us; we are few in number and the duke is merciless and cruel – as you can see – and ill-disposed towards us.’

Then the King replied piteously:

‘Brother you speak the truth, you have found a good solution. [fo. 24v.] As for me, I do not think we could have taken better counsel. Cousins and loyal friends, every one of you must say what he thinks,

<sup>71</sup> Line 1117. *Et que sa terre ... toute reprenne*. When John of Gaunt died, 3 February 1399, Henry being in exile, Richard extended his term of exile from ten years to life; his Lancastrian inheritance fell forfeit to the Crown. Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, pp. 121–122.

'Encontre vous<sup>461</sup> et haïr<sup>462</sup> faulseté.  
 'Trestous ces faiz lui soient bien conté,  
 'Et c'onques<sup>463</sup> maiz riens ne fu reprové  
     'A son lignage 1108  
 [fo. 24r.] 'Ou il eüst traïson nē outrage –  
 'Sique pour<sup>464</sup> lui seroit trop grant dommage,  
 'S'il fourlignoit ainsi a son parage  
     'Par ceste emprise – 1112  
 'Et comment<sup>465</sup> Dieux<sup>466</sup> het celui<sup>467</sup> et desprise  
 'Qui faulceté maintient en nulle guise –  
 'C'est<sup>468</sup> nostre loy, sicomme Sainte Eglise  
     'Le nous ensengne – 1116  
 'Et que sa terre ainsi<sup>469</sup> toute reprenge,  
 'Maiz que vers vous au moins a mercy viengne<sup>470</sup>  
 'Pour vostre honneur. Et se<sup>471</sup> venir n'y<sup>472</sup> daigne,  
     'Il convendra 1120  
 'Autre conseil adviser qui pourra;  
 'Se bon vous semble, ainsi on lui dira.  
 'Et regardons<sup>473</sup> qui devers lui ira,  
     'Car le haster 1124  
 'Nous est besoing sans plus gueres tarder,  
 'Voire maiz que vous vueilliez accorder  
 'Ce que j'ay dit. Ou qui pourra<sup>474</sup> trouver  
     'Conseil meilleur, 1128  
 'Si le die pour Dieu, Nostre Seigneur,  
 'Car entre nous ne doit avoir faveur;  
 'Nous sommes pou, et si est la rigueur  
     'Du duc crueuse – 1132  
 'Comme vous veez<sup>475\*</sup> – et pour nous perilleuse.'  
 Lors respondi le roy de voix piteuse:  
 'Vous dites voir,<sup>476</sup> beau frere, gracieuse  
     'Voie avez quis, 1136  
 [fo. 24v.] 'Car quant a moy, il ne m'est pas<sup>477</sup> advis  
 'Que par nous feust nul meilleur conseil pris.  
 'Mes beaux cousins et mes loyaulx amis,  
     'Chascun en die 1140

461 L tous  
 462 A haït  
 463 AD oncques  
 464 A par  
 465 B come  
 466 ACD dieu  
 467 C ait cil

468 L et  
 469 AD aussy  
 470 H mercy A no au  
 moins B a ~~mercy~~ mercy  
 viengne C a mercy en  
 viengne  
 471 C si

472 ABD ne  
 473 A or regardez  
 474 H ou qui [erasure]  
 pourra C ou quil pourra  
 475 L vez  
 476 AD vray  
 477 B pas *superscript*

I beg you, for God's sake, as our honour and our lives are at stake. May Jesus Christ curse duke Henry who mortally hates us and does us great wrong. Now let us consider whether we are in agreement and if everyone will agree with this.'

Then they all said:

'Yes, for there is no better course of action in the world. If someone is suffering, he has to seek a cure; if he acts before the time is right, there is a danger that he will die or the suffering remain.'

Thus – as I tell you – they agreed there and then to send someone to duke Henry.

Now it came about that the duke of Exeter was chosen by them, for no better man could have been found to speak so wisely nor deal with such an important matter. The good King had his cousin – [fo. 25r] the duke of Surrey<sup>72</sup> – go with him. In the morning they took leave of the King, who earnestly begged them to take the shortest route and to relate to duke Henry<sup>73</sup> all that you have heard spoken of here, so that they can win from him submission or peace.

<sup>72</sup> Line 1165. *duc de Soudray*. *Supra*, I, 329, note. The English chroniclers name only Exeter. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, II, p. 856, quotes 'out of master Dee's book', i.e. **L**: 'By some writers it should seeme, not onelie the duke of Excester, but also the duke of Surrie were sent unto duke Henrie from King Richard, and that duke Henrie staided them both, and would not suffer them to returne to the King againe ... .'

<sup>73</sup> Line 1157. *Henri*. *Supra*, Introduction, p. 31.



‘Son bon semblant, pour Dieu je vous en prie,<sup>478</sup>  
 ‘Veu qu’il touche nostre honneur et no\* vie,  
 ‘Car duc<sup>479</sup> Henry – que<sup>480</sup> Jhesucrist maudie –  
     ‘Nous het a mort, 1144  
 ‘Et si a il certes vers nous grant tort.  
 ‘Or regardons se<sup>481</sup> nous sommes d’accort,  
 ‘Et se<sup>482</sup> chascun de vous a cest accort  
     ‘Tenir se veult.’ 1148  
 Lors dirent tous: ‘Oil, car on ne peut  
 ‘Ou monde mieulx trouver.<sup>483</sup> Veu qui se deult,  
 ‘Querir lui fault remede; et s’il s’esmeut  
     ‘Ains qu’il soit heure, 1152  
 ‘En peril est que la mort n’en enqueure,  
 ‘Ou que le blasme tout ne lui en demeure.’  
 Ainsi d’accort furent ilz a<sup>484</sup> celle heure –  
     Com<sup>485</sup> je vous di – 1156  
 Pour envoier devers le duc Henri.  
 Or advint il que par eulx fu choisi  
 Le duc d’Excestre, car on eust bien failli  
     La a trouver<sup>486</sup> 1160  
 Homme qui sceust si sagement parler,  
 Nē<sup>487</sup> un grant fait prononcier et conter.  
 Avecques lui fist le bon<sup>488</sup> roy aler  
     Son beau cousin, 1164  
 [fo. 25r.] Qui estoit duc<sup>489</sup> de Soudray. Le matin  
 Partirent eulx<sup>490</sup> du roy, le quel de fin  
 Cuer leur pria de abregier le<sup>491</sup> chemin  
     Et de bien faire, 1168  
 Et que tresbien lui comptent tout<sup>492</sup> l’affaire,  
 Que<sup>493</sup> cy devant avez oÿ retraire,  
 Affin telle que de lui puissent<sup>494</sup> traire  
     Accort ou paix. 1172

478 B empirie

479 AD le duc

480 LB qui

481 BC sy

482 AD que C si

483 L no trouver

484 C il en

485 AD comme

486 B la a trouver homme

487 C ou

488 A lui vult du bon

D lui vult le bon

489 AD no duc

490 AD ilz

491 LAD leur

492 C no tout

493 AD quy

494 B luy p-oit [puissent

*superscript*]

**Figure IX: Exeter and Surrey ride out on their embassy to Lancaster.**

**§15 Lines 1173–1244. Richard remains at Conway with a small retinue. Creton discourses on Fortune and her role in men's lives.**

Thus they left the King, but had little opportunity to return, for duke Henry kept a tight hold of them, as you will hear [fo. 25v.] later.

Bathed in tears, the King remained at Conway, where he had with him only two or three of his closest friends;<sup>74</sup> they were sad, downhearted and in distress. The courtly earl of Salisbury was there and the tall and upright bishop of Carlisle, and with them was Ferriby who was not unthreatened, for the duke hated him; I do not know why, but Ferriby feared him greatly, to my mind. With them was another of their good friends, whom I heard called Sir Stephen Scrope; I often saw him with the King in those days. My companion and I were there too; we all feared greatly for our safety, as we were right to do, as you can see.<sup>75</sup> And I want you to know in truth that neither our number nor our strength was great,

<sup>74</sup> Line 1179. *ses amis privez*. These have all been named already in Chapter 11, ll. 825–856.

<sup>75</sup> Lines 1196–1199. These four lines are present only in **AD**, which do not have the miniatures. They were omitted in **HLBC** because l. 1196, *Comme on peut voir*, refers to a miniature that was not subsequently included. There are two reasons for this: the subject would have been the same as Figure VIII, and Figure IX is on the recto of this folio. Omitting l. 1196 meant leaving out the other three lines of the quatrain.

**Figure IX: Exeter and Surrey ride out on their embassy to Lancaster.**

**§15 Lines 1173–1244. Richard remains at Conway with a small retinue. Creton discourses on Fortune and her role in men’s lives.**

Ainsi du roy se partirent<sup>495</sup> eulx, maiz  
 Du retourner n’orent<sup>496</sup> pas grant relaiz,  
 Car duc Henry les tint bien aux abais,  
 Com<sup>497</sup> vous orrez 1176  
 [fo. 25v.] Ici après. Or estoit demourez  
 A Cornüay le roy tous<sup>498</sup> esplourez,  
 Ou il n’ot maiz de ses amis<sup>499</sup> privez  
 Que deux ou trois 1180  
 Avecques lui, tristes, mas et destroiz.  
 Le conte y fu de Salseberi courtoiz,  
 Et de Guerlille l’evesque grans et droiz,  
 Et si estoit<sup>500</sup> 1184  
 Avecques eulx<sup>501</sup> Ferbric, qui pas n’estoit  
 Bien aseür, car le duc le haioit;  
 Ne sçay pour quoy, maiz moult le<sup>502</sup> redoubtoit,  
 Ce m’est advis. 1188  
 Encor y ot un<sup>503</sup> de leurs<sup>504</sup> bons amis,  
 Messire Estienne Scroup nommer<sup>505</sup> l’oÿs;  
 Par maintes foiz avec<sup>506</sup> le roy le viz  
 En ce temps la.<sup>507</sup> 1192  
 Mon compaignon et moy fumes<sup>508</sup> droit la;  
 Chascun pour soy moult forment s’esmaya,  
 Car la raison assez s’i enclina,  
 Comme on peut voir. 1196  
 Et si vueil bien que vous sachiez de voir  
 Que le nombre de nous ne le pover  
 Ne fu pas grant, bien le povez<sup>509</sup> savoir,<sup>510</sup>  
 Et<sup>511</sup> vraiment 1200

495 AD departirent [D de  
*superscript*] D no eulx  
 496 C neurent  
 497 AD comme  
 498 ACD tout  
 499 L no amis B sens ses  
 amis  
 500 B sy ~~test~~ estoit  
 501 D ceulx  
 502 B no le  
 503 AD lun  
 504 C ses  
 505 AD sire steven scroup  
 ainsy nommer  
 506 B avecques  
 507 B ~~ey~~ en ce temps la  
 508 L feumes  
 509 AD pover  
 510 HLBC lines 1196–  
 1199 omitted; these lines are in  
 AD  
 511 AD car

and certainly there were only sixteen of us all included, nobles and others.

Now see the distress, suffering and pain – considering his might, wealth and high standing – of King Richard, who was such a great lord. He was beset by injustice and treachery, [fo. 26r.] and by Fortune,<sup>76</sup> who at all times has the strength and sway to undo those whom she wants to, like a cruel and powerful ruler who is also very fickle and impetuous; for she is so merciless that she never had any wish to stop acting like this. And when she wants to work according to her nature, which is often bad for some people, one simply has to put up with it – for good or ill – as no one can resist what she wants to hand out. She makes some laugh, others sing, and then tumbles them back down into distress and anguish. Sometimes like a hypocrite she calls herself a mother, but then is cruel and malevolent; she does not consider whether a man be king or prince, it is all one to her. I reveal her to be like this, for she has allowed one of the most powerful kings in Christendom – as everyone says – to keep from among all his possessions, only a scanty measure. She sets one man up and pulls the other down; her way of working is capricious. There is nothing good in her, and thus the man

<sup>76</sup> Line 1209 *Et par Fortune*. H has a heading *Fortune* in the left margin.

ll. 1209–1244 comprise a long interjection on the mutability of Fortune, a common theme in OF to MidF literature. For Christine de Pizan's view on the role of Fortune, see C. Taylor, "Weep thou for me in France", pp. 213–214. For Deschamps, see G.M. Cropp and A. Hanham, 'Richard II from donkey to royal martyr: Perceptions of Eustache Deschamps and contemporary French writers', *Parergon*, 24 (2007), pp. 132–133. For Chartier, see J.M. Ferrier, 'The theme of Fortune in the writings of Alain Chartier', in F. Whitehead, A.H. Diverres, and F.E. Sutcliffe (eds), *Medieval Miscellany Presented to Eugène Vinaver* (Manchester, 1965), pp. 124–135.

Nous ne fumes que .xvi. seulement,  
 A compter tout, nobles et autre gent.<sup>512</sup>  
 Or regardez quel meschief, quel tourment  
 Ne quel douleur, 1204  
 Veu la force, l'avoir<sup>513</sup> et la grandeur  
 Du roy Richart, qui fu si grant seigneur,  
 Lui estre ainsi demené<sup>514\*</sup> par faveur  
 Et traïson 1208  
 [fo. 26r.] Et par Fortune, qui en toute saison  
 A la puissance et dominacion  
 De desfaire ceulx qu'i lui<sup>515</sup> semble bon  
 Comme crueuse 1212  
 Et maïstresse puissant et orgueilleuse,  
 Et moult changable et moult<sup>516</sup> impetueuse;  
 Car d'arrester, tant est elle ennuieuse,  
 Nul lieu n'a cure. 1216  
 Et quant ouvrer veult selon sa nature,  
 Qui est souvent pour aucunes gens dure –  
 Soit bien ou mal – il convient c'on l'endure,  
 Car resister 1220  
 Ne peut nul<sup>517</sup> contre ce qu'elle veult donner.  
 Les uns fait rire, les autres fait chanter,<sup>518</sup>  
 Et puis les fait en doulours<sup>519</sup> retourner  
 Et en misere. 1224  
 Aucunesfoiz fainttement se dist mere,<sup>520</sup>  
 Maiz en<sup>521</sup> present est crueuse<sup>522</sup> et amere;  
 A roy n'a prince<sup>523</sup> en<sup>524</sup> riens ne considere,  
 Tout lui est un. 1228  
 Bien la monstre, car des puissans roys l'un  
 Des crestiens – sicomme dit chascun\* –  
 De tous<sup>525</sup> ses biens reprendre q'un desjun<sup>526</sup>  
 N'a elle fait. 1232  
 Elle fait l'un et l'autre elle desfait;  
 C'est un droit songe certes que de son fait.  
 En elle n'a nulle riens de parfait,<sup>527</sup>  
 Et pour ce nulz, 1236

512 L autrement  
 513 C l'avoir la force  
 514 ACD demoure  
 515 L de faire ceulx qui a  
 lui B de faire ceulx qui ly  
 AD de desfaire ceulx a qui  
 [D a *superscript*]

516 H moult *superscript*  
 LABCD *no* moult  
 517 ACD nulz  
 518 B et les autres chanter  
 519 LACD douleur  
 520 B se destmere  
 destueure

521 A a  
 522 B est ~~en~~ crueuse  
 523 B a prince  
 524 LC a AD na B ne  
 525 AD *no* tous  
 526 B qui desum  
 527 B ~~soit~~ parfait

[fo. 26v.] who is wise and resolved to stand firm, would pay no heed to her foolish and fluctuating virtues, for we came completely naked into the world<sup>77</sup> – poor, wretched and quite destitute – and we will return to the earth, be we prince, king, earl or whoever.

### §16 Lines 1245–1292. Richard learns of Rutland's defection and the theft of his treasure.

I do not want to talk any more about Fortune at the moment, for a wise man would only want her gifts in moderation. I want to come now to the end of the story of King Richard who, humiliated by Fortune and betrayed, was alone at Conway – as I have already said – full of sadness, grief and dismay.

He and the earl [of Salisbury] said<sup>78</sup> – for I know this well – that they should send to the men whom the King had left the day before yesterday<sup>79</sup> at the port [of Milford Haven], for them to come straight there without delay. However, by chance a messenger arrived who stopped someone going, for he told the King what the Constable<sup>80</sup> had done, [fo. 27r.] which did not paint him in a good light, considering that the messenger said without a lie that he appeared to be disloyal to him.

<sup>77</sup> Lines 1239–1240. *nous vinmes tous nus / En cestui monde.* Job 1:21.

<sup>78</sup> Lines 1255–1258. *Lui et le conte dirent ... / Que d'envoier / Devers ses gens, qu'il laissa avant hier / Au port de mer, seroit tresgrant mestier.* This report of Creton's deserves credence and seems to disprove the suggestion that Richard disbanded the army himself, or ordered it to disband after his departure.

<sup>79</sup> Line 1257. *avant hier.* *Supra*, ll. 866–868, note.

<sup>80</sup> Lines 1263–1264. *le fait ... / Du conestable.* For Rutland's desertion, *supra*, ll. 945–1065.

[fo. 26v.] S'il estoit sage<sup>528</sup> et d'endurer pourvez,  
 De ses foles et muables vertus  
 Ne tenroit<sup>529</sup> compte, car nous vinmes tous nus  
 En cestui<sup>530</sup> monde – 1240  
 Povres, chaitifs et de trestout<sup>531</sup>\* bien<sup>532</sup> monde –  
 Et si convient qu'en la terre parfonde  
 Tous retournons, soit prince, roy<sup>533</sup> ou conte,  
 Ou qui<sup>534</sup> qu'il soit. 1244

**§16 Lines 1245–1292. Richard learns of Rutland's defection and the theft of his treasure.**

De Fortune parler plus cy endroit<sup>535</sup>  
 Quant a present ne vueil, car qui seroit  
 Saiges, ses biens pas ne convoiteroit  
 Fors par raison. 1248  
 Or vueil venir<sup>536</sup> a la conclusïon  
 Du roy Richart, qui par desrïson  
 De Fortune avecques Traïson,  
 A Cornüay 1252  
 Estoit<sup>537</sup> tout seul – comme devant dit ay –  
 Plain de tristresse et de dueil<sup>538</sup> et d'esmay.  
 Lui et le conte dirent – car bien le say –  
 Que d'envoier<sup>539</sup> 1256  
 Devers ses gens, qu'il laissa avant hier  
 Au port de mer, seroit tresgrant mestier,  
 Affin telle que sans plus atargier  
 Vinsent droit la. 1260  
 Maiz cependant d'aventure<sup>540</sup> arriva  
 Un chevaucheur qui l'aler destourna,  
 Car au bon roy trestout le fait compta  
 Du connestable, 1264  
 [fo. 27r.] Qui n'estoit pas pour lui trop<sup>541</sup> honorable,  
 Veü qu'il disoit sans mençonge ne fable  
 Quë il estoit<sup>542</sup> par semblant variable  
 Par devers lui, 1268

528 ABCD sages	535 H <u>plus cy endroit</u>	tristresse de douleur et
529 C tenoit	C plus parler cy endroit	desmay
530 C ce	<sup>536</sup> B or vueil [venir <i>in left</i>	<sup>539</sup> C demourer
531 H tout LC trestout	<i>margin</i> ]	<sup>540</sup> H <u>cependant</u>
AD tout	<sup>537</sup> B <u>estoit</u> estoit <i>in left</i>	<u>daventure</u>
<sup>532</sup> B tous biens	<i>margin</i>	LABCD <u>daventure</u>
533 AC retourmions soit	<sup>538</sup> H plain de tristresse et	cependant
roy prince	<u>de dueil et desmay</u>	<sup>541</sup> AD trop pour luy
<sup>534</sup> LA quel D quil	LABCD plain de	<sup>542</sup> A nestoit

As soon as the King had left Milford Haven and the Constable had heard of this, he left there, and the Steward had no wish to stay behind.

'Rather did he have all your treasure which remained on board ship packed up, and then they [all] went away. But the Welsh, who were strong and bold, followed hot on their heels; they re-captured all your treasure and killed very many of the English. Those who escaped went straight to the duke; thus in truth it is told me, dear Sire.'

When the King had let him tell everything he had to say, you may know that he did not feel like laughing, for on all sides affliction and suffering came at him in a steady stream.

'Virgin Mary,<sup>81</sup> sovereign Queen, who bore Jesus without sin,' thus said the King, 'Fortune deals very severely with me.'

### **§17 Lines 1293–1316. Richard deplores the treachery of those who have betrayed him.**

[fo. 27v.] **T**hen he said,

'Earl of Salisbury, how shall we deal with the duke and his people, who have the power to treat us so cruelly? Alas! They have failed in their duty to us if this man is telling the truth, given that we have always strived to behave well towards them all.

<sup>81</sup>Line 1289. *Vierge Marie*. Richard had a personal devotion to the Virgin Mary. See Gordon and others (eds), *Regal Image of Richard II*, pp. 123–124. Also *infra*, p. 197, l. 5 n. 137.



Et qu'aussi tost que le roy fu parti  
 De Milleforde, et qu'il en ot oÿ  
 Les nouvelles, de la se departi  
 Pour s'en aler, 1272  
 Et l'estuuart ne volt pas demourer  
 Derriere li. 'Ains fist l'avoir troussez  
 'Qui encores estoit dedens la mer,  
 'Et puis après 1276  
 'S'en alerent.\* Maiz les Galoiz de pres  
 'Les suïrent,<sup>543</sup> qui furent fors et frez;  
 'Tout vostre avoir retindrent eulx et tres  
 'Grant quantité 1280  
 'En tuerent. Maiz<sup>544</sup> ceulx qui eschapé  
 'Furent de la, tout droit s'en sont alé  
 'Devers le duc; ainsi m'est<sup>545</sup> il conté  
 'Pour vray,<sup>546</sup> chier Sire.' 1284  
 Et quant le roy lui ot tout laissié dire,  
 Sachiez de vray qu'il n'ot<sup>547</sup> pas fain de rire,  
 Car de tous lez lui venoit<sup>548</sup> tire a tire  
 Meschief et paine.\* 1288  
 'Vierge Marie, roÿne souveraine,  
 'Qui de Jhesus enfantas pure et saine,'  
 Ce dist le roy: 'Fortune<sup>549</sup> me demaine  
 Trop durement.' 1292

**§17 Lines 1293–1316. Richard deplors the treachery of those who have betrayed him.**

[fo. 27v.] Lors dist: 'Conte<sup>550</sup> de Salsebri, comment  
 'Chevrons nous du duc et de sa gent,  
 'Qui nous maine<sup>551</sup> si doloureusement  
 'Par son povoir? 1296  
 'Helas! Ilz<sup>552</sup> n'ont pas bien fait leur devoir  
 'Par devers nous, se<sup>553</sup> cest homme dit voir,  
 'Veu que tousjours de force et de povoir  
 'Avons bien fait 1300

<sup>543</sup> LA suivirent  
<sup>544</sup> L et  
<sup>545</sup> B my est  
<sup>546</sup> H pour vray  
 ACD certes  
<sup>547</sup> L na

<sup>548</sup> H lui venoit [erasure]  
 A luy venoient  
<sup>549</sup> H fotune  
<sup>550</sup> H dist [erasure] conte  
 L ABCD dist au conte

<sup>551</sup> H nous [erasure]  
 maine L ABCD nous  
 demaine  
<sup>552</sup> C il  
<sup>553</sup> B sy

And if their loyalty is suspect, God will see that and know how to punish the sinner's transgression; He is the true judge. For I know that when the Flood comes and He sits in judgement, evil-doers will find no protection or deliverance, rather will they reap what they have sown and will be condemned out of God's own mouth into everlasting Hell; that is our Law. Therefore we place our trust entirely in Him; it is often said that when arms speak, the laws are silent.<sup>82</sup>

Then the earl said,

'By my faith, Monseigneur, you speak the truth.'

### §18 Lines 1317–1388. Richard moves from Conway to Beaumaris to Caernarvon.

Then they agreed that they would remain no longer at Conway, for they were very afraid, and rightly so. [fo. 28r.] They went directly to Beaumaris,<sup>83</sup> which was ten miles from Conway – it is a castle that could not be taken in two years, providing always that there was enough food and also a stout garrison – one of its sides faces the fields, the other the sea; St Edward had it built, so I heard it said by the English.

The King decided not to remain long there, rather he felt that

<sup>82</sup> Line 1314. *Force n'a loy*. In the right-hand margin of **H** has been written in a contemporary hand *Inter arma silent leges*. For the source of this in Cicero's *Oratio pro Milone*, see C.T. Lewis and C. Short (eds), *Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), s.v. '*sileo*, II'. Creton quotes the proverb again, I. 2054.

<sup>83</sup> Lines 1321–1329. *A Beaumarey s'en alerent ... / ... Saint Edouart le fist ... fonder*. Beaumaris on Anglesey was one of ten royal castles built over twenty years from 1277 by Edward I – not the Confessor – with a view to subduing North Wales. See Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works*, I, p. 293. All the Welsh castles mentioned by Creton, with the exception of Holt, a lordship castle, and Chester, an earlier royal castle, were part of this castle-building programme. For a photograph of Beaumaris Castle, see Biggs, *Three Armies in Britain*, p. 162.

'A eulx trestous. Et s'ilz<sup>554</sup> ne sont parfait  
 'En loyauté, Dieux verra bien leur fait,  
 'Qui du pecheur scet pugnir le mesfait;  
 'C'est le droit juge. 1304  
 'Car je sçay bien, quant le jour du deluge  
 'Sera venu et qu'il tendra son juge,\*  
 'Que les mauvaiz n'aront point de reffuge  
 'Ne de respit, 1308  
 'Ains trouveront ce qu'avront<sup>555</sup> fait et dit,  
 'Et lors seront de sa bouche maudit  
 'En l'infernal paine, sicomme on<sup>556</sup> dit;  
 'C'est nostre loy. 1312  
 'Pour ce du tout nous attendons a soy,  
 'Et si dist on souvent: "Force n'a loy."\*  
 Lors dist le conte: 'Monseigneur, par ma foy  
 'Vous<sup>557</sup> dites vray.' 1316

**§18 Lines 1317–1388. Richard moves from Conway to Beaumaris to Caernarvon.**

La furent ilz<sup>558</sup> d'accort qu'a Cornüay  
 Ne feroient<sup>559</sup> plus sejour<sup>560</sup> ne delay,  
 Car ilz<sup>561</sup> orent<sup>562</sup> grant peur et grant esmay  
 Et a bon droit. 1320  
 [fo. 28r.] A Beaumarey s'en alerent tout droit,  
 Qui a<sup>563</sup> dix mille de Cornüay estoit –  
 C'est un chastel que prendre on ne pourroit  
 Pas en deux<sup>564</sup> ans, 1324  
 Maiz qu'ilz<sup>565</sup> eussent vitaille pour ce temps,  
 Et qu'il y<sup>566</sup> eust aucuns bons deffendans –  
 L'un des costez si est assis aux champs,  
 L'autre en la mer; 1328  
 Saint Edouart le fist faire et fonder,  
 Ainsi l'oÿ a<sup>567</sup> Engloiz recorder.  
 Le roy cy<sup>568</sup> fu qui n'y<sup>569</sup> volt demourer  
 Pas longuement, 1332

554 LACD sil B sy  
 555 H quavront fait B ce  
 quen tout fait  
 556 C si com len  
 557 H vou  
 558 AD eulx C il

559 C feirent  
 560 B ce jour  
 561 C il  
 562 A eurent  
 563 B qui ~~ja~~ a  
 564 L .x.

565 C quil  
 566 B no y  
 567 H loy ~~eust~~ a L loy aux  
 568 LACD y  
 569 D ne

he and his people would be safer at Caernarvon.<sup>84</sup> The town and castle are very fine and well fortified; on one side there are ample woods for hunting, on the other the mighty sea. There the King stayed, his face often losing all colour as he bewailed his cruel fate and cursed the hour and the day that he ever crossed the salty sea to Ireland, repeating often,

‘Gracious Virgin Mary, help me, I beg you for mercy, for never have I deserved [fo. 28v.] to be hounded thus by the duke or by my own people, who have for no reason grown to hate me and falsely betrayed me, as you can see. Alas! And when the true story is known in sweet France, certainly I hope that the heart of my father-in-law<sup>85</sup> will be gripped with bitter pain, for it will be a great insult to him – and to all mortal kings – on account of the outrage, torment and reduced state I am in; I am deserted by those who have always been with me. Now they have turned against me, I know not why. Alas! Such bad faith will be held against them for all time, for as long

<sup>84</sup> Line 1334. *Kamarnan*. For Caernarvon Castle, see *ibid.* I, pp. 369–395, especially p. 370. The detail points to Creton having accompanied Richard. Photographs of Caernarvon, Conway, Rhuddlan, and Flint Castles may be seen in G. Dodd, ‘The road to Richard II’s downfall’, in G. Dodd (ed.), *The Reign of Richard II* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2000), pp. 111–114.

<sup>85</sup> Line 1356. Richard had married Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI of France in 1396. See Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*, pp. 168–175; also *ODNB*, s.v. ‘Isabella [Isabella of France] (1389–1409)’.

Ains lui sembla que plus seïrement  
 A Karnarvan seroit lui et sa gent –  
 Ville et chastel y a tresbel et gent  
 Et forte place – 1336  
 A l'un des lez<sup>570</sup> foison<sup>571</sup> bois pour la chace,  
 Et d'autre part la haulte mer y passe.  
 La fu le roy qui ot souvent la face  
 Descoulouree, 1340  
 En regretant sa dure destinee,  
 Et<sup>572</sup> maudissant et l'eure et la journee  
 C'oncques avoit passé la mer sallee  
 En Ybernie, 1344  
 Disant souvent: 'Douce<sup>573</sup> Vierge Marie,  
 'Secourez moy, Dame, mercy vous crie  
 'Si vraiment, c'oncques jour de ma vie  
 'Ne deservy 1348  
 [fo. 28v.] 'Envers le duc de me<sup>574</sup> chacier ainsi  
 'Në a mes gens, les quelx m'ont enhaÿ  
 'Sans desserte et faulcement traÿ,  
 'Comme on peut voir; 1352  
 'Chascun le scet et peut apercevoir.  
 'Elas! Et quant on<sup>575</sup> en sara le voir  
 'En douce France, certainement j'esperoï\*  
 'Que mon beau pere 1356  
 'Si en avra au cuer douleur amere,  
 'Car ce<sup>576</sup> sera pour lui grant vitupere –  
 'Voire et pour<sup>577</sup> tous les roiz<sup>578</sup> qui nez de mere  
 'Sont au jour d'uy – 1360  
 'Veu l'oultrage et le tresgrant ennuy,<sup>579</sup>  
 'La povreté et le point ou je suy;  
 'Et que par ceulx<sup>580</sup> ainsi je me deffuy  
 'Qui ont esté 1364  
 'Tousjours<sup>581</sup> a moy. Or sont ilz<sup>582</sup> retourné;  
 'Ne say pour quoy. Helas! Quel faulseté  
 'A tousjours maiz leur sera reprouvé,  
 'Tant que le monde 1368

570 AD leez  
 571 C force  
 572 H et *superscript* LBC no  
 et A en  
 573 AD glorieuse  
 574 B moy

575 C len  
 576 A et sy D ce ce  
 577 C par  
 578 H le [s *superscript*] roiz  
 A le roys  
 579 B ennuy envy

580 A eulx  
 581 B tous les jours  
 582 D il

as the world remains and the waters continue to roll; these past events count against them grievously.

'God in the Highest, who died on the Cross for us, may the beams of Thy radiant eyes shine upon me, for none other than Thou canst [fo. 29r.] help me at this pass. And if I have to lose my country or my life, I will have to take it in good part if that is the will of Dame Fortune, for everything must happen as she commands.'

Thus did King Richard repeat these words, sighing piteously, so that I shed tears more than a hundred times; there is no beating heart so hard nor so obdurate that would not have wept, considering the attacks made upon him.

**§19 Lines 1389–1436. Richard returns from Caernarvon to Conway; his regrets for Queen Isabella.**

Yet there was worse to come, for there were no provisions in his castles to which he had withdrawn and only straw for a bed. He slept there four or six nights, really you would not have found a halfpenny-worth of food or anything else there. Certainly I dare not recount the King's great distress; he did not remain long at Caernarvon, for he had little rest there, in the light of

'Sera durant, et que la mer parfonde  
 'Pourra getter<sup>583</sup> ne<sup>584</sup> maree<sup>585</sup> nē onde;  
 'Car ce fait cy a trop grant mal redonde  
     'Pour eulx trestous. 1372  
 'Glorieux Dieux, qui morustes pour nous  
 'Pendant en croix, de voz yeulx beaulx et doulx  
 'Vueilliez me<sup>586</sup> voir, car nul autre que vous  
     'Si ne me peut 1376  
 [fo. 29r.] 'A ce besoing aidier. Et si m'estuet<sup>587</sup>  
 'Perdre ma terre ou<sup>588</sup> ma vie, il estuet  
 'Tout prendre en gré se<sup>589</sup> Fortune le veult,  
     'Car autrement 1380  
 'Ne peut estre qu'a son commandement.'  
 Ainsi disoit le roy Richart souvent  
 En souppirant du<sup>590</sup> cuer piteusement,  
     Tant que par m'ame\* 1384  
 Plus de cent foiz en gettay mainte larme;  
 N'il<sup>591</sup> n'est vivant<sup>592</sup> si dur cuer ne si ferme  
 Qui n'en eüst plouré, veu le diffame  
     C'on<sup>593</sup> lui faisoit. 1388

**§19 Lines 1389–1436. Richard returns from Caernarvon to Conway; his regrets for Queen Isabella.**

Encore<sup>594\*</sup> y a trop pis, car il n'avoit  
 En ses<sup>595</sup> chasteaulx, la ou retrait s'estoit,<sup>596</sup>  
 Garnison nulle, ne couchier ne savoit  
     Fors qu'en<sup>597</sup> la paille. 1392  
 Quatre ou six nuis y coucha il sans faille,  
 Car vrayement qui vaulsist une maille  
 Ne eüst<sup>598</sup> on pas la trouvé<sup>599</sup> de vitaille  
     Ne d'autre chose. 1396  
 Le grant meschief<sup>600</sup> certes dire je n'ose  
 Que le roy ot, qui ne fu<sup>601</sup> pas<sup>602</sup> grant pose  
 A Karnavan, car<sup>603</sup> petit y repose,  
     Consideré 1400

583 A sus getter  
 584 AD *no* ne  
 585 L riviere  
 586 L moy  
 587 C me sieut  
 588 AD et ou  
 589 C si  
 590 L de  
 591 A il [*no* ne]

592 H vivant LABCD ou  
 monde  
 593 C com  
 594 HBC encores L encor  
 AD encore  
 595 B ces  
 596 B ou il retrait estoit  
 C ou il se retraoit  
 597 L en A que

598 ABD neust  
 599 AD pas trouve la B la  
 pas trouve C ~~trouve~~ on  
 trouve la pas  
 600 H le grant meschief  
 LABCD la grant misere  
 601 LC fit  
 602 B *no* pas  
 603 A *no* car

his suffering and penury.

He returned to Conway. He missed his wife greatly, saying, 'My beloved [fo. 29v.] wife,<sup>86</sup> may Jesus Christ curse the man who has separated us so shamefully; he has no love for us. I expire with grief, my fair sister, my bride and my heart's desire, when I cannot feast my eyes on you. There is such pain and grief in my heart that I am often near to despair. Alas! Isabella, virtuous daughter of France, you were wont to be my joy, my hope and my comfort.

'Now I can see that through the work of Fortune, who has killed many a man, I must part from you to our great disadvantage. Thus my heart grieves with such intense pain that I am in danger of expiring at any moment – and this is not surprising considering that I have fallen so low from so great a height – and of losing my joy, my comfort and my wife. I can see that no one hesitates to wound or betray me. Alas! Everyone attacks or abuses me. God, [fo. 30r.] who is in His Heaven above, be praised.'

Thus said the King, weeping piteously, for he could do no more at that time.

<sup>86</sup> Lines 1404–1416. *M'amie ... / ... Et mon confort*. Queen Isabella is a little girl of not quite ten years. On her marriage to Richard in 1396, her trousseau included not only the costly jewels and plate appropriate for a queen, but also *les pouppees de ladite dame*, the child-bride's dolls. See Stratford (ed.), *Richard II and the English Royal Treasure*, p. 396, J 27. Creton has the King address her thus again, *infra* ll. 2233–2234.



Le mal qu'il ot et la grant povreté.  
 A Cornüay s'en est il<sup>604</sup> retourné,  
 Ou<sup>605</sup> il a moult sa femme regreté,  
 Disant: 'M'amie 1404  
 [fo. 29v.] 'Et ma compaigne, Jhesucrist le maudie  
 'Qui de nous deux fait telle departie  
 'Et si honteuse; il ne nous aime mie.  
 'J'en muir<sup>606</sup> de dueil,<sup>607</sup> 1408  
 'Ma belle suer, ma dame et tout<sup>608</sup> mon vueil,<sup>609</sup>  
 'Quant voir ne puis vostre plaisant accueil.  
 'Dedens mon cuer tant de doulour recueil  
 'Et de grevance 1412  
 'Que souvent sui pres de desesperance.<sup>610</sup>  
 'Las! Ysabel, droite fille de France,  
 'Vous souliez estre ma joie et<sup>611</sup> m'esperance  
 'Et mon confort. 1416  
 'Or voy je bien que par le grant effort  
 'De Fortune, qui a maint homme mort,  
 'M'estuet de vous eslongier<sup>612</sup> a grant tort,  
 'Par quoy j'endure 1420  
 'Au cuer souvent une doulour si dure,  
 'Que jour et nuit je sui en aventure  
 'De recevoir la mort amere et sure –  
 'Et ce n'est pas 1424  
 'De merveilles, considéré le cas  
 'De moy, qui sui cheut de si hault si bas –  
 'Et de perdre ma joie et mon soulas  
 'Et ma compaigne. 1428  
 'Et si voy bien qu'il<sup>613</sup> n'est nul qui se faigne  
 'De me<sup>614</sup> faire desplaisir et engaigne.  
 'Elas! Chascun me mort ou<sup>615</sup> me dehaigne.  
 'Or en soit Dieux 1432  
 [fo. 30r.] 'Loé, qui est la sus en ses sains<sup>616</sup> cieulx.'  
 Ainsi disoit<sup>617</sup> le roy plourant des yeulx  
 Piteusement, car il ne pouvoit mieulx  
 En ce temps la. 1436

604 B il *superscript*

605 C la ou

606 C meurs

607 B de ~~deu~~ dueil

608 H tout *superscript* B no  
 tout

609 L *line 1409 omitted*

610 L desperance B ~~desp~~  
 desesperance

611 AD *no et*

612 AD aloingnier

613 H bien quil

614 LB moy

615 C et

616 C haulz

617 B disant

**§20 Lines 1437–1512. Exeter delivers Richard's message to Lancaster at Chester.**

Now I shall tell you how the duke dealt with the King's brother, who went to him along with the duke of Surrey, who loved King Richard steadfastly, so much so that he endured great suffering and met an ignoble death hereafter,<sup>87</sup> as you will soon hear, if God spares me.

The two dukes rode all day long until they came to Chester, which the duke [of Lancaster] had captured without fighting, through his skill and judgement; they both entered. They were accompanied by very many people, who thought that they were unwilling to serve the King, and had come to beg mercy of Henry, duke of Lancaster; but it was great folly to think so, for they would not have abandoned the King for all the gold in England.

They were led swiftly to duke Henry, directly to the castle (which was skilfully built); he had great joy and gladness in his heart when he saw them. [fo. 30v.] He pretended<sup>88</sup> to give them a very warm welcome, and then said to the duke of Exeter:

'Now, brother-in-law,<sup>89</sup> without demur, I beg you, give me your news.'

'Brother-in-law, the news is not good for Monseigneur; it is bad and uncertain, which makes me anguished and despondent.'

<sup>87</sup> Lines 1441–1442. *laidement / En reçut mort depuis*. Surrey's death is reported *infra*, ll. 3185–3192.

<sup>88</sup> Line 1461. *par semblance*. Hypocrisy is one of the charges Creton lays against Henry Lancaster. See also *infra*, l. 3256.

<sup>89</sup> Line 1463. Exeter was Lancaster's brother-in-law, *supra*, l. 827, note.

**§20 Lines 1437–1512. Exeter delivers Richard’s message to Lancaster at Chester.**

Or vous diray<sup>618</sup> comment<sup>619</sup> le duc ouvra  
 Du frere au roy, qui devers lui ala  
 Avec le duc de Soudray, qui ama  
     Tresloyaument 1440  
 Le roy Richart, et tant que laidement  
 En reçut mort depuis a grant tourment,  
 Com<sup>620</sup> vous orrez assez prouchainement,  
     Se Dieux me gart. 1444  
 Tant chevaucherent les deux ducs main et tart  
 Qu’a Cestre vindrent, que le duc de sa part  
 Avoit prise<sup>621</sup> sans assault, par<sup>622</sup> son art  
     Et par son sens; 1448  
 Ilz entrerent entré eulx deux dedens.<sup>623</sup>  
 Avecques eulx y ot grant foison gens,<sup>624</sup>  
 Cuidant<sup>625</sup> qu’ilz feussent de servir le roy lens,  
     Et qu’a Henry, 1452  
 Duc de Lancastre, vinsent<sup>626</sup> crier mercy;  
 Maiz grant follie<sup>627</sup> les<sup>628</sup> fist penser ainsi,  
 Car pour tout l’or d’Engleterre guerpi  
     Ne l’eussent pas. 1456  
 Au duc Henry furent menez le pas,  
 Droit ou<sup>629</sup> chastel (qui fu fait a<sup>630</sup> compas);  
 Au cuer en ot grant joie et grant soulas,  
     Quant il les vit. 1460  
 [fo. 30v.] Tresbonne chiere par semblance leur fist<sup>631</sup>  
 Et puis après au duc d’Excestre<sup>632</sup>\* dit:  
 ‘Or ça, beau frere, sans plus de contredit,  
     ‘De voz nouvelles, 1464  
 ‘Je vous suppli, que vous me diez<sup>633</sup> quelles  
 ‘Ilz<sup>634</sup> sont.’ ‘Beau frere, y<sup>635</sup> ne sont pas\* trop belles  
 ‘Pour Monseigneur; ains sont laidez<sup>636</sup> et felles,  
     ‘Dont moult doulant 1468

618 H diray LBC vueil  
 dire

619 B come

620 AD comme

621 L avoit ja prise

622 AD de

623 B ilz entre [rent

*superscript*] eulx deux dedens

[*erent in left margin. Beginning*

*of word lost in binding*]

624 AB de gens

625 LB cuidans

626 LABD venissent

627 D *no follie, cross in left*

*margin*

628 A le

629 CD au

630 A par C au

631 B chiere ~~leur fist~~ par

semblance leur fist

632 H duc de [x

*superscript*] cestre

LABCD duc dexcestre

633 A dictes

634 AD y

635 LA ilz

636 H laide [*z added later*]

**Figure X: Exeter and Surrey make obeisance to Lancaster at Chester.**

Then he told him most seriously all that you have heard already when they left the King: [fo. 31r.] that it will be a very great wrong if he betrays his loyalty to his lord in this manner, and that he was banished at the request and with the consent of his own father – he should think carefully about all these things – and how all mortal kings will be shamed and insulted by his behaviour, and that he will be hated by his friends; that all who love honour, loyalty, virtue and worthy deeds will be his enemies. He will bring great shame on his lineage for all time to come if he commits such an outrage, considering that he ought to be a wise and moderate lord: but if it happens that his rightful King is disinherited – either by his resignation or by use of force – he will be compared to Ganelon,<sup>90</sup> who in his day committed many acts of treason, which led to the deaths of many good knights; he should therefore for God's sake beware of this comparison. He will get back his estates and his wealth, provided that he henceforth does his duty, and the King will gladly pardon

<sup>90</sup> Line 1492. *Guenelon*. Ganelon was the traitor of the *Chanson de Roland*, who betrayed Charlemagne's army to the Saracens, leading to the death of Roland and his companions.

**Figure X: Exeter and Surrey make obeisance to Lancaster at Chester.**

'Sui et marry.' Et lors lui va comptant\*  
 Tressagement tout ce qu'icy<sup>637</sup> devant  
 Avez oÿ, quant ilz furent partant  
 D'avec<sup>638</sup> le roy: 1472  
 [fo. 31r.] Et que<sup>639</sup> pour lui sera trop grant desroy,  
 S'a son seigneur ainsi faulse sa foy,  
 Et<sup>640\*</sup> que banniz par le vueil et ottroy<sup>641</sup>  
 De son bon<sup>642</sup> pere 1476  
 Fu – sique bien tout ce<sup>643</sup> fait considere –  
 Et comment<sup>644</sup> a tous les roiz nez de mere  
 Fera grant honte et tresgrant<sup>645\*</sup> vitupere,  
 Et que haiz 1480  
 Sera de ceulx qui sont ses bons amis;  
 Et que tous ceulx seront ses ennemis  
 Qui aymeront honneur, loyauté, pris<sup>646</sup>  
 Et vasselaige. 1484  
 Et qu'il fera grant honte a son lignage  
 A tousjours maiz, s'il fait un tel oultrage,  
 Veu qu'il doit estre un grant seigneur et saige  
 Et attrepé: 1488  
 Maiz s'ainsi est que de sa volenté  
 Ou de force, par lui<sup>647</sup> desherité  
 Soit son droit roy, il sera<sup>648</sup> comparé  
 A Guenelon, 1492  
 Qui a<sup>649</sup> son temps fist mainte traïson,  
 Par quoy moururent maint chevalier et bon;  
 Sique pour Dieu ceste<sup>650</sup> comparaison<sup>651</sup>  
 Ne vueille avoir. 1496  
 Et qu'il avra<sup>652</sup> sa terre et son avoir,  
 Maiz qu'il face desoremaiz son devoir,  
 Et que le roy de bon cuer et vouloir  
 Lui pardonra 1500

637 C tout que cy

638 B avec

639 AD sique

640 H et

641 L lottroy

642 A no bon

643 C le

644 B comme

645 H tresgrant L moult

grant ABD grant

C tresgrant

646 A honneur et loyaulte

et pris B loyaulte honneur

pris D honneur loyaulte et

pris

647 C par force de luy

648 D se sera

649 ABD en

650 AD telle

651 B comparacion

652 A qui ara

[fo. 31v.] all the wrongs that he has done him.

Thus did the duke of Exeter tell him what he had to say and dared to talk quite boldly to him, for he had married Lancaster's sister and thus was of his family. The noble duke of Exeter added:

'I beg you, brother-in-law, grant us your swift response, wholly or in part, for Monseigneur awaits us, and he is not in a good situation.'

**§21 Lines 1513–1544. Lancaster refuses to let Exeter and Surrey return to Richard.**

Then said duke Henry:

'You have explained everything to me very well, but you will not go back today, nor yet in a week's time, if Christ grants me health and joy. It would not be sensible for me to send you straight back, you are not paid messengers,<sup>91</sup> and Monseigneur was not wise in sending you here. Could he not find other messengers apart from the two of you? It is not very clever to send here men of such eminent rank.'

Thus did the duke stand in their way, but his brother-in-law kept urging him to grant them leave to go, [fo. 32r.] saying,

'Sire, the King may think that it is treason that keeps us here; we will never in our lives be able to survive such shame.'

<sup>91</sup> Lines 1517–1524. Creton was not present to witness the dukes' reception by Lancaster. These words attributed to him might well reflect the poet's own opinion.

[fo. 31v.] Trestout l'outraige et ce que fait lui a.\*  
 Ainsi le duc d'Excestre<sup>653</sup> lui compta  
 Tresbien et bel son fait, et si osa  
 Bien hardiment<sup>654</sup> 1504  
 Parler a lui, car sa suer proprement<sup>655</sup>  
 Ot espousee et si fu son parent.  
 Encor lui dist le duc d'Excestre gent:  
 'Je vous supplie, 1508  
 'Mon beau<sup>656</sup> frere, que promptement baillie  
 'Nous soit response du tout ou en partie,  
 'Car Monseigneur nous attent, qui n'est mie  
 'En tresbon point.'<sup>657</sup> 1512

**§21 Lines 1513–1544. Lancaster refuses to let Exeter and Surrey return to Richard.**

Lors dist le duc Henry: 'Moult<sup>658</sup> bien a point  
 'Le m'avez dit, maiz meshuy<sup>659</sup> n'irez point  
 'Ne de sepmaine, se Jhesucrist me doint\*  
 'Santé et joie. 1516  
 'Raison n'est pas<sup>660</sup> que si tost vous renvoie.<sup>661</sup>  
 'Vous n'estes pas messagiers pour monnoie,  
 'Et Monseigneur, qui icy vous<sup>662</sup> envoie,  
 'N'est pas bien saige. 1520  
 'Ne pouvoit il trouver autre messaige  
 'Que de vous deux? C'est petit vasselage  
 'De gens qui sont de si treshault parage  
 'Cy envoyer.' 1524  
 Ainsi les volt<sup>663</sup> le duc contralier,  
 Maiz son beau frere ne cessoit de prier  
 Qu'il leur vouldist le congié ottroyer  
 Pour en aler, 1528  
 [fo. 32r.] Disant: 'Sire, le roy pourra penser  
 'Que traïson nous fait cy demourer;  
 'Celle<sup>664</sup> honte ne<sup>665</sup> pourrons recouvrer  
 'Jamaiz nul jour. 1532

<sup>653</sup> H duc de [x *added later*] cestre  
<sup>654</sup> H hardement  
 L hardiment  
 ABCD hardiement  
<sup>655</sup> B **promptement**  
 proprement

<sup>656</sup> C bon  
<sup>657</sup> C *no point*  
<sup>658</sup> AD trop  
<sup>659</sup> B huy  
<sup>660</sup> H **pas** LBC mie  
<sup>661</sup> AC envoye

<sup>662</sup> H qu [i *added later*] cy  
 vous B qui vous cy  
<sup>663</sup> C veult  
<sup>664</sup> A telle  
<sup>665</sup> C nous

Therefore, in God's name, we beg you with true love, brother-in-law, let us go, for honour's sake, lest disgrace attach itself to us.'

Then said the duke (who was as bold as a lion):

'Do not speak any more of this, brother-in-law; when the time is right we will send you back to the King. And keep away from me, for I swear to you by my faith that however much you bother me, you will not escape from me within a month.'

**§22 Lines 1545–1764. The castle of Holt is surrendered to Lancaster. The Archbishop of Canterbury suggests a ruse to capture Richard and the earl of Northumberland is sent to Conway to carry it out; the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan surrender to him. Richard suspects that Exeter has met with trouble.**

Thus did the two dukes remain with sorrow in their hearts, considering that duke Henry was angry with them at that time. They wanted to be with the King, who remains alone with no one to help him. Thus they both often weep, but they just had to put up with everything, heartache and joy. Duke Henry made them separate: he made his brother-in-law – the duke of Exeter – stay with him, [fo. 32v.] and he had the good duke of Surrey imprisoned in Chester Castle (where there are many fine windows and many high walls.



'Sique pour Dieu, beau frere, et<sup>666</sup> pour honnour,  
 'Afin tele que n'ayons deshonnour,  
 'Laissez nous ent aler, par<sup>667</sup> vraie amour  
 'Vous en prions.' 1536  
 Lors dist le duc (qui fu fiers com<sup>668</sup> lions):  
 'N'en parlez<sup>669</sup> plus, beau frere; quant saisons  
 'Il en sera, bien vous renvoierons<sup>670</sup>  
 'Devers le roy. 1540  
 'Et ne vous veez\* plus ycy<sup>671</sup> devant moy,  
 'Car je vous jure<sup>672</sup> et promet par ma foy  
 'Que de<sup>673</sup> cest<sup>674</sup> mois premier pour<sup>675</sup> quelque ennoy<sup>676</sup>  
 'Ne m'eschapez.'<sup>677</sup> 1544

**§22 Lines 1545–1764. The castle of Holt is surrendered to Lancaster. The Archbishop of Canterbury suggests a ruse to capture Richard and the earl of Northumberland is sent to Conway to carry it out; the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan surrender to him. Richard suspects that Exeter has met with trouble.**

Ainsi furent les deux ducs demourez,  
 Qui au cuer orent<sup>678</sup> du desplaisir assez,  
 Considerant<sup>679</sup> que le duc fu yrez  
 A eulx pour l'eure, 1548  
 Et<sup>680</sup> regretant le roy qui seul demeure  
 Sans ame avoir qui l'aide<sup>681</sup> ou<sup>682</sup> sequeure.  
 Ainsi chascun des deux ducs souvent pleure,  
 Maiz tout souffrir 1552  
 Leur convenoit plaisir et<sup>683</sup> desplaisir.  
 Le duc Henry les fist en deux partir:  
 Avec<sup>684</sup> lui fist son beau frere tenir,  
 Le duc d'Excestre, 1556  
 [fo. 32v.] Et le bon duc de Souldray fist il<sup>685</sup> mettre  
 Et enfermer ens ou chastel de Cestre<sup>686</sup>  
 (Ou il y a mainte belle<sup>687</sup> fenestre  
 Et maint hault mur. 1560

666 L no et  
 667 C pour  
 668 AD comme  
 669 H parelez  
 670 L vous en remenrons  
 B vous envoierons  
 671 L vez plus ycy B veez  
 ey plus ycy C voiez plus yci  
 672 A no jure

673 C no de  
 674 AD ce  
 675 C par  
 676 L esmoy  
 677 L neschapperez D ne  
 meschappez  
 678 C eurent  
 679 LACD considerans  
 680 AD en

681 AD luy aide  
 682 L et  
 683 AD ou  
 684 B avecques  
 685 A il fist  
 686 AD dexcestre  
 687 AD bonne

It reminded me of the castle of Namur<sup>92</sup> when I saw it, it is so high and forbidding); the duke did not feel very safe there, and rightly so.

Six miles from the town there was another castle called Holt,<sup>93</sup> perched high on a rock. The duke of Lancaster approached it at the head of his army. The people inside were so afraid that they did not know what to do, even although they knew for sure that the duke could not lay a finger on them, for the castle is so strong and solid that I do not think it could have been taken by force in ten years, considering the rock on which it was sited and that there was a very stout garrison of good men. There were a hundred choice men-of-arms installed within by King Richard, but they failed [fo. 33r.] to guard the narrow entrance passage where one had to ascend carefully, step by step. Wretched and afraid, they surrendered it to the duke, who was very happy to enter, for there were more than one hundred thousand marks sterling in gold which King Richard had amassed in that place. There was also a great store of other precious things: by St Mor, I heard it said

<sup>92</sup> Line 1561. It was only in 1421 that Namur became part of the duchy of Burgundy, when Philip the Good – grandson of Philip the Bold – purchased the county. See Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 18. Creton probably chose Namur – which has no bearing on his account – simply for the rhyme.

<sup>93</sup> Line 1566. *Hoult*. Holt, ten miles upstream of Chester on the Dee, and belonging to the earls of Arundel, fell forfeit to the Crown on the execution of the fourth earl in 1397. See Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works*, I, pp. 334–345. Richard housed there the treasury of his new principality of Chester. See R.R. Davies, 'Richard II and the principality of Chester', in F.R.H. du Boulay and C.M. Barron (eds), *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971), pp. 270–272. Also *infra*, l. 1633, note.

Il me souvint<sup>688</sup> du chastel de Namur,  
 Quant je le vi, tant est il hault et dur;)
   
La ne fu pas le bon duc trop assureur,  
 Et a bon droit. 1564  
 A .vi. mile de la ville y avoit  
 Un autre fort, que Hoult<sup>689</sup> on appelloit,  
 Sur<sup>690</sup> une roche moult hault assis estoit.  
 En ce pendant<sup>691\*</sup> 1568  
 Ala le duc a tout son ost devant.  
 Ceulx de<sup>692</sup> dedens orent pour si tresgrant<sup>693</sup>  
 Qu'il<sup>694</sup> ne sorent<sup>695</sup> que faire, non obstant  
 Que pour certain 1572  
 Savoient bien que le duc un seul grain  
 Ne les povoit grever ne soir ne main,  
 Car le chastel est si fort et si sain  
 Qu'a mon advis 1576  
 On ne l'eust pas par force en dix ans prins\*  
 Veu la montaigne ou il estoit assis,  
 Et si estoit tresgrandement garnis  
 De bonnes gens. 1580  
 Cent hommes d'armes y<sup>696</sup> avoit il dedens,  
 Voire d'eslite et garnis de grant<sup>697</sup> sens  
 De par le roy Richart, maiz diligens  
 Ne furent pas 1584  
 [fo. 33r.] De bien garder l'entree ne<sup>698</sup> le pas,  
 Qui est estroite, et si faut pas pour pas  
 Aler a pié amont.<sup>699</sup> Maiz comme las  
 Et pouereux 1588  
 Le rendirent au duc, qui fu soigneux  
 D'entrer dedens plus c'onques maiz joyeux,  
 Car il y ot cent mile mars<sup>700</sup> et mieulx  
 D'esterlins d'or, 1592  
 Que le bon roy Richart la en tresor  
 Faisoit garder. Et si avoit encor  
 D'autres joyaulx grant foison: par Saint Mor  
 J'oÿ conter 1596

688 LBC souvient  
 689 B que h [ou *written over*  
*other letters*] It [hoult *also at*  
*line end*]

690 L sus

691 ACD et ce pendant

692 LBD *no de*

693 LA paour si grant  
 B pour sy [tres *superscript*]  
 grant

694 LAB quilz

695 A noserent B ne

sceurent D ne sorerent

696 B *no y*

697 ACD grans

698 H *ne*

699 AD amont a pie

700 H mar [s *added later*]

that the total there was worth an estimated two hundred thousand marks in gold; duke Henry had it all taken away with him.

Thus was Holt surrendered – as I tell you – and all King Richard's treasure stolen, and yet there were artillery pieces defending it, and provisions – bread, wine, sweet water and cattle – enough for six years. Such people were not worth a straw, for without joining battle or putting up a defence they immediately gave it up to duke Henry; please God that he would have had them all hanged.

He did not want to linger there, but rather returned [fo. 33v.] directly to Chester, where he summoned all the members of his Council and asked each man to say what seemed to be the best way to proceed.

The Archbishop of Canterbury replied before anyone else and said:

'My lords, King Richard has retreated to Wales, where there are many perilous mountains, which waggons and baggage cannot traverse. On the other side is the sea (where many sardines<sup>94</sup> can be caught); you cannot get your army near him. You should send someone to him to swear and promise that you want lasting peace between you, provided that he pledges to call a Parliament where the

<sup>94</sup> Lines 1623–1624. *ou maintez ales / Peut on peschier*. It is unlikely that sardines were caught off the coast of North Wales. Creton needed a rhyme ending in *-ales*.

Qu'a deux cens mille mars d'or estimer<sup>701</sup>  
 Povoit on bien, ce<sup>702</sup> qu'on pot la trouver;  
 Le duc Henry en<sup>703</sup> fist tout enmener<sup>704</sup>  
 Avecques lui. 1600  
 Ainsi fu Hoult rendus<sup>705</sup> – com<sup>706</sup> je vous di –  
 Et tout l'avoir du roy Richart saisi,  
 Si estoit il d'artillerie\* garny  
 Et de vitaille: 1604  
 De pain, de vin, d'eaue douce et d'aumaille,<sup>707</sup>  
 Bien pour six ans. Telz<sup>708</sup> gens pas une paille<sup>709</sup>  
 Ne valent mie,<sup>710</sup> car sans faire bataille  
 Nē eulx deffendre 1608  
 Au duc Henry tantost le<sup>711</sup> voldrent rendre;  
 Pleust ore<sup>712</sup> a Dieu qu'il les eust tous faiz<sup>713</sup> pendre.  
 La ne volt il pas longuement atendre,<sup>714</sup>  
 Ains retourna 1612  
 [fo. 33v.] Tout droit a Cestre, ou trestous ceulx manda<sup>715</sup>  
 De son conseil,<sup>716</sup> et lors il<sup>717</sup> leur pria  
 Que chascun die ce qu'il lui semblera  
 Bon estre fait. 1616  
 L'archevesque<sup>718</sup> de Cantorbie a fait  
 Par devant tous la response, et<sup>719</sup> de fait  
 Dist: 'Beaux Seigneurs, le roy Richart retrait<sup>720</sup>  
 'Si est<sup>721</sup> en Gales, 1620  
 'Ou il y a maintes montaignes males,  
 'Par ou ne peut passer charroy ne males.  
 'D'autre part est la mer (ou<sup>722</sup> maintez ales  
 'Peut on peschier;) 1624  
 'De lui vostre ost ne pourrez<sup>723</sup> aprouchier.  
 'Maiz il convient devers lui envoier  
 'Et li jurer et enconvenancier  
 'Que bonne paix 1628  
 'Voulez avoir a<sup>724</sup> lui a tousjours maiz,  
 'Maiz qu'il vueille jurer que par lui faiz  
 'Un Parlement sera, ou les mauvaiz  
 'Seront pugnis – 1632

701 L a estimer

702 B lor

703 B le

704 LB amener

705 L rendu

706 A comme

707 C douce et aimable

708 AD telles

709 LAD maille

710 AD pas

711 B trestout [le

*superscript*]

712 ACD ores

713 ABCD fait

714 B longuement ~~ains~~

~~retourna~~ actendre

715 B demanda

716 H conseil

717 AD moult

718 AD lors larchevesque

719 AD *no* et

720 B le [*mark of omission*]

richart retrait [*roy at line end*]

721 L si sest

722 A en

723 LB pourroit

724 B o

malefactors – those who had his uncles<sup>95</sup> put to death – will be punished; thus you will be henceforth good friends and you will humbly beg mercy of him. And he should set a suitable date in some place where everyone – clerk or lay, knight, priest or nun – can see him. [fo. 34r.] Otherwise you will not be able to capture him, since whatever we do he can set sail at any time to escape, for I have heard it said that he has had shipping impressed at Conway. Thus my advice is that you need to reflect on this; now say what you think, Messeigneurs and friends.'

Then everyone said:

'By God in Paradise, I never heard better advice than his.'

Then duke Henry said:

'The old earl of Northumberland<sup>96</sup> – my cousin – will be a good mediator and accomplish this. I command him to set out very early tomorrow<sup>97</sup> morning and not to return for whatever reason until he brings the King, by fair means or foul. He should have with him 400 lancers and one thousand archers, who will do their job well, for more than anything else I wish to capture him.'

Then he said to the earl:

'Cousin, have a care to depart and accomplish your task, for you can give me no greater pleasure

<sup>95</sup> Line 1633. *ses oncles*. Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, of whom only Gloucester was Richard's uncle. Creton is more exact at ll. 1875–1876. For Gloucester, see *ODNB*, s.v. 'Thomas [Thomas of Woodstock], duke of Gloucester (1355–1397)'; for Arundel, *ODNB*, s.v. 'Fitzalan, Richard, fourth earl of Arundel, and ninth earl of Surrey (1346–1397)'. Creton is referring to the arrest of the two peers on charges of treason in 1397, Gloucester dying while imprisoned in Calais, and Arundel being executed after a summary trial. See Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 377–379. Their sons are mentioned *infra*, p. 203, ll. 13–16.

<sup>96</sup> Line 1655. *Northomberlant*. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Percy, Henry, first earl of Northumberland (1341–1408)'. Northumberland was 57 years old – *ancien* – at this time. The Figures XI, XII and XIII show him as a jaunty figure with white hair and beard. Although Creton was not in Lancaster's camp when Northumberland alone was sent to parley with Richard, he was with Richard at Conway when the earl arrived. Creton contradicts the official *Record and Process*, which states that Archbishop Arundel went with Northumberland. The archbishop was known to be hostile to Richard, *supra*, l. 471, note, and thus was a most unlikely messenger for Lancaster to have sent to protest his good intentions. See Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, pp. 142–143; also Introduction, *supra*, p. 23.

<sup>97</sup> Line 1657. *demain* = 'tomorrow'. Usk, an eye-witness, dates this 14 August. See Usk, *Chronicle*, ed. Given-Wilson, p. 58.

'Par qui ses oncles furent a la mort mis –  
 'Ainsi serez desoremaiz bons amis,  
 'Et lui crierez<sup>725</sup> treshumblement mercis.<sup>726</sup>  
 'Et qu'il ordonne 1636  
 'Telle journee qui lui semblera bonne  
 'Et en tel lieu, que chascune personne,  
 'Soit clerc ou lay, chevalier, prestre<sup>727</sup> ou monne,<sup>728\*</sup>  
 'Le<sup>729</sup> puisse voir. 1640  
 [fo. 34r.] 'Car autrement ne le<sup>730</sup> povez avoir,  
 'Veu qu'il a<sup>731</sup> bien maugré nous<sup>732</sup> le povoir  
 'D'entrer en mer au matin et au soir<sup>733</sup>  
 'Pour s'en aler, 1644  
 'Car il a fait du<sup>734</sup> navire arrester  
 'A Cornüay – je l'ay ouÿ compter –  
 'Siqu'il vous fault sur ce fait aviser,  
 'Ce m'est advis; 1648  
 'Or en ditez,<sup>735</sup> Messeigneurs et amis.'  
 Lors<sup>736</sup> dit chascun: 'Oncques<sup>737</sup> maiz je n'oÿs  
 'Meilleur conseil par Dieu de Paradis  
 'Comme le sien.<sup>738</sup> 1652  
 Le duc Henry dist lors: 'Tresbel et bien  
 'Fera le fait et sera bon moyen  
 'Northomberlant, le conté ancien,  
 'Mon beau cousin. 1656  
 'Je lo qu'il parte demain au plus matin  
 'Sans retourner<sup>739</sup> jamaiz a quelque fin,  
 'Jusques a tant que<sup>740</sup> par paix ou hutin<sup>741</sup>  
 'Le roy amaine. 1660  
 'Et qu'avec<sup>742\*</sup> lui .iiii.<sup>c</sup> lances maine<sup>743</sup>  
 'Et mil archiers qui prenront<sup>744</sup> asez paine,  
 'Car je<sup>745</sup> desir plus que chose mondaine  
 'A le tenir.' 1664  
 Lors dist au conte: 'Beau cousin, de partir  
 'Soiez songneux et de bien acomplir  
 'Vostre emprise, car nul plus grant plaisir  
 'Ne me povez 1668

725 C cries

726 HLB *line 1635 omitted*

727 AD prestre chevalier

728 LABD moine

729 L la

730 L les

731 B a *superscript*

732 B vous

733 C le matin et le soir

734 A le D de

735 D dees

736 C or

737 H oncques

C quonques

738 B comme ~~les~~ le sien

739 A arrester D *no*

retourner

740 B *no* que

741 B ou par hutin

742 HB et avecques L et  
avec AD et quavec C et  
que avecques

743 A deux cens lances il  
maine D deux cens lances  
maine

744 AD pourront

745 A jay

[fo. 34v.] in the world. In the name of God, make haste, and I shall stay at Chester until you return or I hear news of you that makes my heart swell with joy.'

'God grant that my news may be such,' said the earl. 'By sound judgement or trick, I shall bring him.'

Thus the earl left without delay. He took the most direct route to Conway, worrying how he can capture the King. He and his men rode hard until they arrived at a very strong castle called Flint.<sup>98</sup> He demanded that those within surrender it to him in the name of duke Henry, or they will all be killed without clemency or pardon. Fearing for their lives, they opened the gate to him; he had King Richard's people ejected and set a large portion of his own men to guard it. It was in this castle called Flint that the King was captured, as you will hear tell later.

Now Northumberland had his men make haste, and went directly from there to Rhuddlan,<sup>99</sup> where he found the going rough and difficult, with many hills and large boulders. [fo. 35r.] He passed through them as well as he could, to his great satisfaction. He sent to the constable<sup>100</sup> of the castle, who was an old knight, to tell

<sup>98</sup> Line 1683. *Flint*. The castle, fifteen miles from Chester, was built on a rocky outcrop rising from the marshes of the River Dee. The sea has receded now, but in the Middle Ages the river rose at high tide to lap the castle walls. See Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works*, I, pp. 308–318.

<sup>99</sup> Line 1697. *Rothelant*. Rhuddlan Castle is a further eighteen miles on from Flint, and built on the canalized River Clwyd. It is almost three miles from the sea, so that when Creton says that *la mer salee / Vient es fossez*, ll. 1719–1720, he means that the river flooded the moat at high tide. Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works*, I, pp. 318–327.

<sup>100</sup> Line 1703. *chastellain*. Messham, 'Henry Coneway, Knight', p. 36, is of the opinion that Creton is too harsh in calling the constable a coward – *cowart*, l. 1726: nothing would have been served by defending Rhuddlan for the King, since Northumberland would have called up reinforcements from Lancaster's army at Chester. However this might be, it remains true that Coneway served his own interests and not those of his sovereign to whom he owed allegiance. Messham gives the impression that Creton has the Archbishop of Canterbury accompany Northumberland, but Creton does not say that.



[fo. 34v.] 'Faire ou<sup>746</sup> monde. Pour Dieu or vous hastez,  
 'Et je seray a Cestre demourez,  
 'Jusques a tant que vous retournerez,<sup>747</sup>  
 'Ou que nouvelle 1672  
 'Aie de vous, qui mon cuer renouvelle  
 'En plaisance.' 'Dieux doint qu'elle soit telle,'  
 Dist le conte. 'Par sens ou par cautelle  
 'Je l'amenray.' 1676  
 Ainsi parti le conte sans delay.  
 Tout au plus droit qu'il pot a Cornüay  
 Prist son chemin, pensant et plain d'esmay  
 Comment pourra 1680  
 Le roi avoir. Ainsi fort chevaucha  
 Lui et ses gens,<sup>748</sup> tant què il arriva<sup>749</sup>  
 A un<sup>750</sup> chastel, que<sup>751</sup> Flint on appella,  
 Qui est moult fort. 1684  
 Dedens manda c'on lui rendist le fort  
 De par le duc Henry, ou tous a mort  
 Seront livrez sans leur<sup>752</sup> faire deport  
 Ne nul respit. 1688  
 Ainsi la porte par paour on ly<sup>753</sup> ouvrit;<sup>754</sup>  
 Les gens du roy Richart hors bouter<sup>755</sup> fist  
 Et de ses gens grant partie y commist<sup>756</sup>  
 Pour le garder. 1692  
 En ce chastel, que Flint m'öez nommer,  
 Fu prins le roy, com<sup>757</sup> vous orrez compter  
 Yci après. Or fist ses gens haster  
 Northomberlant, 1696  
 De la tout droit ala a Rothelant,  
 Ou il trouva chemin fort et pesant,<sup>758</sup>  
 Mainte montaigne et mainte roche grant.  
 A entredeux 1700  
 [fo. 35r.] Oultre passa, le plus bel et le mieulx  
 Qu'il onques<sup>759</sup> pot; alors<sup>760</sup> fu moult joieux.  
 Il envoya au chastellain, qui vieulx  
 Chevalier fu, 1704

746 H ou LABCD en ce

747 C que seres retournez

748 H gens *superscript*

749 A fist tant quil arriva

750 AB en ung

751 B qui

752 L eulx

753 B no ly

754 H ouvrit LB rendit

755 C gecter

756 D *line 1691 is in right*

*margin*

757 AD comme

758 C poisant

759 A que oncques B quil

conques

760 AD adont

him that the castle should immediately be surrendered to him in the duke's name, or he will be hanged without mercy along with all the others there: truly they will not escape the sting of death, not for all the treasure in the kingdom, if they do not yield the castle. Thus does the earl threaten the constable of the castle, whose face was pale with fright, for he had held the castle and its entrance in the King's name for many a day. It is very strongly defended, considering that the salty sea comes up into the ditches, and also it is perched very high on a rock; the walls are stout and wide and fortified with fat towers.<sup>101</sup> But the old keeper was so afraid that he handed over the keys like a coward; and yet King Richard had begged him most courteously [fo. 35v.] to defend it, since it was very richly supplied with wine and wheat, for he had been there recently, and I with him.<sup>102</sup> Thereupon the constable of the castle pledged to the earl that he would surrender it to him, in the name of duke Henry, on condition that he remain governor for life; the earl agreed.

Now it was just ten miles<sup>103</sup> of quite straight road to Conway

<sup>101</sup> Line 1723. *De grosses tours*. Even in their present dilapidated state, the round towers in the walls of Rhuddlan Castle – especially the twin towers of the two gatehouses – are looming and menacing.

<sup>102</sup> Lines 1731–1732. *il y ot esté prouchainement / Et moy o lui*. Creton is saying that Richard made a sortie from Conway to Rhuddlan, before retreating to Conway. Strangely, the *Prinse et mort* does not recount this.

<sup>103</sup> Lines 1739–1740. *dix mile ... / A Cornüay*. Rhuddlan is almost seventeen miles from Conway.

Dire que tost le fort lui fu <sup>761\*</sup> rendu  
 Ou nom du duc, ou il sera pendu –  
 Lui et tous ceulx qui y <sup>762</sup> seront tenu –  
 Sans en avoir <sup>763</sup> 1708  
 Nulle pitié: non pas pour tout l'avoir  
 Du <sup>764</sup> royaulme n'eschapperont <sup>765</sup> pour voir,  
 Que de la mort le morsel recevoir  
 Ne <sup>766</sup> leur en face, 1712  
 S'il <sup>767</sup> ne rendent le chastel et la place.  
 Le conte ainsi le chastelain menace,  
 Le quel en ot de peur toute la face  
 Descoulouree, 1716  
 Car il avoit <sup>768</sup> gardé mainte journee  
 Ou nom de roy le chastel et l'entree,  
 Qui est moult fort, veu que la mer salee  
 Vient es fossez, 1720  
 Et d'autre part est il moult hault troussez  
 Sur une roche, et les murs fors et lez;  
 De grosses tours est il bien reparez.  
 Maiz le viellart 1724  
 Ot si grant paour au matin et au tart  
 Qu'il lui rendi les clefs comme couart;  
 Et si lui ot prié le roy Richart  
 Moult doucement 1728  
 [fo. 35v.] Qu'il le gardast, <sup>769</sup> veu que tresgrandement  
 Estoit garnis de vin et de froument,  
 Car il y ot esté prouchainement,  
 Et moy o lui. 1732  
 Le chastelain au conte la <sup>770</sup> plevy:  
 Ou <sup>771</sup> nom du duc, qu'on appellé Henry,  
 Desoremaiz lui rendi, <sup>772</sup> par tel sy  
 Qu'il demourroit 1736  
 Toute sa vie chastelain la endroit;  
 Le conte en fu d'accort. Or n'y avoit  
 Que dix mile de chemin assez droit  
 A Cornüay, 1740

<sup>761</sup> L fust AD feust  
<sup>762</sup> B no y  
<sup>763</sup> B sans ~~en~~ [en  
*superscript*] avoir  
<sup>764</sup> LABD de ce C de  
 tout ce  
<sup>765</sup> AB neschapperoit

<sup>766</sup> C ni  
<sup>767</sup> LBD silz  
<sup>768</sup> LC lavoit  
<sup>769</sup> H quil regardast  
 LACD quil le gardast B quil  
re [le *superscript*] gardast  
<sup>770</sup> L le

<sup>771</sup> AD quou  
<sup>772</sup> HC lui tendi LB lui  
 rendi AD le tenroit

where the King remained in sorrow and dismay. He knew nothing about the earl's approach, but repeated to himself:

'I know not what this means; glorious God, creator of my life, what can have happened to my brother Exeter? A week ago he went to Chester to reconcile the duke and me; now he has not been able to come back. In truth I believe that they have met with trouble and distress. I know not what to think or say.'

Thus did the King suffer greatly, considering the misfortunes that came upon him thick and fast; nevertheless [fo. 36r.] he rendered thanks to Almighty God.

Now it is right that you know the truth about Northumberland and how he schemed to capture King Richard, for he knew perfectly well that if the King guesses that he has come in strength, he will absolutely refuse to leave his castles.

**§23 Lines 1765–1916. Northumberland leaves most of his men behind as an ambush to capture the King and goes forward with a small party to outline Lancaster's terms to Richard.**

**H**e had his men split into two groups behind some boulders, bristling with catapults. They were keen and willing

Ou le roy fu en dueil et en esmay.  
 De la venue au conte riens de vray  
 Ne savoit il, maiz souvent dist: 'Ne say<sup>773</sup>  
 'Que ce peut<sup>774</sup> estre; 1744  
 'Glorieux Dieux, qui me feïstes<sup>775\*</sup> nestre,  
 'Que peut avoir mon beau frere d'Excestre?  
 'viii.<sup>776</sup> jours y a qu'il est alé<sup>777</sup> a Cestre  
 'Pour accorder 1748  
 'Le duc et moy; or ne scet retourner.  
 'Certes je croy qu'ilz<sup>778</sup> ont a endurer  
 'Paine ou<sup>779</sup> meschief. Je n'en say<sup>780</sup> que<sup>781</sup> penser  
 'Ne què en dire.<sup>782\*</sup> 1752  
 Ainsi le roy estoit a grant martire,  
 Veu le meschief qui sur lui tire a tire  
 Venoit a fort pour le plus desconfire;  
 Maiz non obstant 1756  
 [fo. 36r.] Graces rendoit a Dieu<sup>783</sup> le tout puissant.  
 Or est raison que de Northomberlant  
 Sachiez le<sup>784</sup> vray, et ce qu'ala<sup>785</sup> pensant\*  
 Pour mieulx avoir 1760  
 Le roy Richart, car il sot bien de voir  
 Que, sè il scet sa force et son pouvoir,  
 Pour nulle rien ne se voudra<sup>786</sup> mouvoir  
 De ses chasteaulx. 1764

**§23 Lines 1765–1916. Northumberland leaves most of his men behind as an ambush to capture the King and goes forward with a small party to outline Lancaster's terms to Richard.**

Soubz une roche, qui de grans mangonniaulx  
 Est<sup>787</sup> roide\* et haulte, fist faire .ii. monchiaulx  
 De ses gens, qui furent frez et nouveialx\*  
 Et desirans 1768

<sup>773</sup> A sy ne savoit mais  
 dist comme je scay D ne  
 savoit mes dit ne scay B  
 maiz souvent dist ne ~~say~~ scay  
<sup>774</sup> A peut ce  
<sup>775</sup> HB fistes  
 LACD feistes

<sup>776</sup> B .xx.  
<sup>777</sup> C quil a este  
<sup>778</sup> C quil  
<sup>779</sup> B et  
<sup>780</sup> BC je ne sces  
<sup>781</sup> C quen

<sup>782</sup> HLBC ne quen dire  
 AD jen muir tout dire  
<sup>783</sup> C a dieu rendoit  
<sup>784</sup> A de  
<sup>785</sup> C le voir et que aloit  
<sup>786</sup> C voudroit  
<sup>787</sup> L et

to capture the King as though he were a treacherous tyrant. Alas! Such people! What were they thinking of, when they had held him in great esteem as their rightful lord for twenty-two years, and now wanted to depose and ruin him? It is my view that this is such a cardinal error that they should, for all time, be considered most wicked, and fresh chronicles should be written so that people could see, in greater detail, what they had done and how unworthy they were. Then the earl, who was wise and astute, said to his men:

'Guard well this pass, and I will go across the river with five others, [fo. 36v.] and please God, before tomorrow morning I will say such things to the King – in prose or rhyme – that unless he is a man of steel, I think he will be flushed out; but on pain of death do not move until you see the King or me<sup>104</sup> returning.'

Thus they arranged themselves in good order and the earl went off quietly to Conway to fulfil his pledge.

There is an arm of the sea in front of the town<sup>105</sup> and when the earl got there he sent a herald to King Richard to ask if it were his pleasure that he be granted safe-conduct to come across to tell him how the duke wants to be reconciled with him.

<sup>104</sup> Line 1792. *Le roy ou moy*. **ACD** have *le roy o moy*. Either reading is acceptable: 'the King or me', i.e. they did not travel together, or 'the King with me'.

<sup>105</sup> Line 1797. *Devant la ville un bras de mer y a*. Approaching Conway Castle from the east, Northumberland would have had to cross the estuary of the River Conway, which is very wide where the river flows into Conway Bay. See Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works*, I, p. 337.

D'avoir le roy comme felons tirans.  
 Hellas! Quelz gens! Qu'estoient ilz pensans,  
 Quant par<sup>788</sup> l'espasse de bien .xxii. ans  
 Pour droit seigneur 1772  
 L'orent tenu par grant joie et honneur  
 Et puis après le desfaire a douleur?  
 Il m'est advis que c'est si grant erreur,<sup>789</sup>  
 Qu'a tousjors maiz 1776  
 On les devroit tenir pour tresmauvaiz,  
 Et que croniques nouviaux en feussent faiz,\*  
 Afin qu'on vist plus longuement leurs faiz  
 Et vasselage. 1780  
 Le conte alors, qui fu subtil et saige,  
 Dist a ses gens: 'Gardez bien ce passaige,  
 'Et je m'en voiz par dessus le rivage  
 'Moy le sisisme,<sup>790\*</sup> 1784  
 [fo. 36v.] 'Et se<sup>791</sup> Dieu plaist, ains qu'il soit demain prime,  
 'Au roy diray – ou par prose ou par rime –  
 'Telles nouvelles, s'il n'est plus dur que lime  
 'De fin acier, 1788  
 'Je<sup>792</sup> le feray – ce croy je – deslogier;  
 'Maiz gardez vous sur<sup>793</sup> la mort<sup>794</sup> de bougier,  
 'Jusques a tant que<sup>795</sup> verrez repairier  
 'Le roy ou<sup>796</sup> moy.' 1792  
 Ainsi se mirent en gracieux conroy,<sup>797</sup>  
 Et le conte sans faire nul effroy  
 A Cornüay pour acquittier sa foy  
 Si s'en ala. 1796  
 Devant la ville un bras de mer y a,  
 Maiz quant le conte par devant arriva,  
 Au roy Richart un herault envoya  
 Pour demander 1800  
 S'il lui plaisoit qu'il peust outre passer  
 Par<sup>798</sup> saufconduit pour lui dire et conter  
 Comment le duc veult a lui accorder.  
 Lors le herault 1804

<sup>788</sup> C pour

<sup>789</sup> C crueur

<sup>790</sup> all mss moy sixiesme

<sup>791</sup> C si

<sup>792</sup> B et

<sup>793</sup> L sus

<sup>794</sup> AD mais bien garde

sur la mort [D bien

*superscript*]

<sup>795</sup> AD a ce que [D ad ce

*superscript*]

<sup>796</sup> ACD o

<sup>797</sup> B ainsi se misent

mirent en gracieux ~~conroy~~

conroy

<sup>798</sup> C pour

Then the herald crossed the water and found the King in the castle on high,<sup>106</sup> engulfed in sadness. He said eagerly to him:

'Sire, the honourable earl of Northumberland has sent me here, to tell you how duke Henry wants to have a genuine and speedy peace between you. [fo. 37r.] For the true state of affairs to emerge you will grant him, if you please, safe-conduct and permission to come here, for otherwise he will not dare to set out.'

Then Salisbury, who was there, told King Richard that it would be a good plan to have the earl come there on his own. Then the King said out loud to the herald<sup>107</sup> in his own tongue, that he willingly grants passage to the earl of Northumberland (who was wise and astute). The herald rendered thanks one hundredfold to the King. He descended from the lofty castle, and crossed the water to where the earl had awaited him impatiently. He related to him how King Richard granted him safe-conduct kindly and willingly and begged him to make haste.

Then the earl climbed into a boat and crossed the water. He found King Richard in the castle, the earl of Salisbury and the bishop of Carlisle with him also. He said to the King,

'Sire, duke Henry has sent me here

<sup>106</sup> Lines 1805–1806. *ou chastel en hault / Trouva le roy* ... No other source reports this.

<sup>107</sup> Line 1820. *messaige* = 'messenger'. He is obviously the same person called *un herault*, *supra*, ll. 1799, 1804, and has been translated as 'herald'.



L'eau passa<sup>799</sup> et ou chastel en hault  
 Trouva le roy, qui ot maint<sup>800</sup> dur assault  
 Par<sup>801</sup> tristresse. Lors<sup>802</sup> lui dist de cuer bault:<sup>803</sup>  
 'Sire, le conte 1808  
 'De Northomberlant,\* qui oncques n'ama honte,  
 'M'a cy tramis, afin que je vous conte  
 'Comment<sup>804</sup> le duc Henry paix bonne<sup>805</sup> et prompte  
 'A vous avoir 1812  
 [fo. 37r.] 'Veult. S'il vous plaist, pour le vray mieulx savoir  
 'Vous lui donrez saufconduit et pouvoir  
 'De<sup>806</sup> venir ça, car autrement mouvoir  
 'Ne s'ozeroit.' 1816  
 Salsebery alors, qui la estoit,  
 Au roy Richart dist que tresbon seroit  
 De le fere venir<sup>807</sup> seul<sup>808</sup> la endroit.  
 Lors au messaige 1820  
 Dist tout en<sup>809</sup> hault le roy en son langage:  
 De tresbon cuer ottroye<sup>810</sup> le passage  
 Au conte de Northomberlant, (qui saige  
 Et soubtil fu.) 1824  
 Graces au roy .c. foiz en a rendu.  
 Du hault chastel est en bas<sup>811</sup> descendu,  
 L'eau passa, ou le conte atendu  
 L'ot longuement. 1828  
 La lui<sup>812</sup> conta la maniere comment  
 Le roy Richart tresamoureusement  
 Lui ottroya<sup>813</sup> saufconduit bonnement,  
 Et lui pria 1832  
 De se<sup>814</sup> haster. Lors le conte monta  
 En un vaisel<sup>815</sup> et l'eau outre passa.  
 Le roy Richart ens ou chastel trouva,  
 Et avec<sup>816</sup> lui 1836  
 Trouva le conte de Salsebery  
 Et l'esvesque de Kerlille autresi.<sup>817\*</sup>  
 La<sup>818</sup> dist au roy: 'Sire, le duc Henry  
 'M'a cy tramis, 1840

799 B trouva le roy leau  
 passa  
 800 B moult  
 801 C de  
 802 AD la  
 803 L hault  
 804 B come  
 805 L no bonne

806 C no de  
 807 H de le fere [*erasure*]  
 venir  
 808 C feal  
 809 AD no en  
 810 B lottroie  
 811 C en bas est  
 812 B ja ly

813 AD ottroye  
 814 B soy  
 815 AD un vaisseau  
 [D ung *superscript*]  
 816 C avecque  
 817 LBC aussi  
 818 AD lors

**[fo. 37v.] Figure XI: Northumberland makes obeisance to King Richard at Conway.**

so that there may be peace between the two of you, and that you be henceforth good friends. If it please you, Sire, and if I may be heard, I will tell you what he asks and will tell no lie: that you will be a true judge and have all those whom I shall name here come on the appointed day to Westminster, in the name of justice, to attend the Parliament that you two will cause to be held in good faith: [fo. 38r.] and that the duke will be reinstated as High Steward,<sup>108</sup> as the duke his father had been and all his kin, for more than 100 years. I will name those who will await judgement; it is time, if you please, Sire.'

'Yes, for I wish to know who they are.'

'Sire, know in truth that your brother<sup>109</sup> is the first. The second has not done his duty, it is the duke of Surrey who is in fact imprisoned and locked up in the castle of Chester; I know not how he has offended duke Henry. The others are the earl of Salisbury and the bishop of Carlisle. The fifth – as I understood – I have heard named

<sup>108</sup> Line 1853. *grant juge* (also *juge greigneur*, l. 1881). The office of High Steward (or Seneschal) of England was hereditary in the earls of Leicester, one of John of Gaunt's titles, in right of his first wife. See Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>109</sup> Line 1862. *vostre frere*. Exeter.

**[fo. 37v.] Figure XI: Northumberland makes obeisance to King Richard at Conway.**

‘Afin qu’acort entre vous deux<sup>819</sup> soit mis,  
 ‘Et que soiez desoremaiz bons amis.  
 ‘S’il vous plaist, Sire, et que je soie oÿs,  
     Je vous diray 1844  
 ‘Ce<sup>820</sup> qu’il vous mande, et<sup>821</sup> riens n’en<sup>822</sup> mentiray:  
 ‘Se vous voulez estre bon juge et vray  
 ‘Et trestous ceulx, qu’icy vous nommeray,  
     Faire venir 1848  
 ‘A certain jour pour justice acomplir  
 ‘A Wesmoustre<sup>823</sup> le Parlement ouïr,<sup>824</sup>  
 ‘Que vous ferez entre vous deux tenir  
     Par<sup>825</sup> loyauté: 1852  
 [fo. 38r.] ‘Et que grant juge soit il restitué  
 ‘D’Engleterre, comme l’avoit esté  
 ‘Le duc son pere et tout son parenté  
     Plus de cent ans. 1856  
 ‘Le nom<sup>826</sup> de ceulx qui seront atendants  
 ‘Le jugement vueil dire,<sup>827</sup> il en est temps,  
 ‘S’il vous plaist, Sire.’ ‘Oïl,<sup>828</sup> car desirans<sup>829</sup>  
     Suy de savoir 1860  
 ‘Les quelx ce sont.’ ‘Sire,<sup>830</sup> sachiez de voir  
 ‘Que vostre frere, je vous fay assavoir,  
 ‘Est<sup>831</sup> le premier. Le second son devoir  
     N’a pas bien fait, 1864  
 ‘C’est de Soudray le duc, qui est de fait<sup>832</sup>  
 ‘Mis en prison et ou<sup>833</sup> chastel<sup>834</sup> retrait  
 ‘De Cestre; pas ne sçay qu’il a mesfait  
     Au duc Henry. 1868  
 ‘L’autre est le conte de Salsebery  
 ‘Et l’evesque de Kerlille autresi.<sup>835</sup>  
 ‘Le .v.<sup>c</sup> – sicom<sup>836</sup> je l’entendi –  
     Oÿ nommer 1872

819 AD vous et luy

820 D et

821 H ñe [et *superscript*]  
 LBCD ne A nen

822 B ne

823 LB wemoustier

AD westomoustier

824 B ~~ovr~~ ovrir

825 C pour

826 L le [s *superscript*] nom  
 [s *superscript*]

827 AD le jugement diray

828 AD no oil C oir

829 AD bien fort desirans

[D bien fort *superscript*]

830 B ce sont ~~re~~ sire

831 D et

832 B deffait D ~~deffait~~

833 B au

834 C ou chastel et en  
 prison

835 *all mss* aussi

836 LAD si comme

Monseigneur Maudelyn.<sup>110</sup> These men conspired to advise you to have your uncle<sup>111</sup> killed most treacherously. If they deny this, they must await the judgement of your Parliament, where you will be crowned King and lord in high estate, [fo. 38v.] and duke Henry will be there impartially as High Steward.<sup>112</sup> Those who have sinned or been traitors will be punished; this is what Monseigneur has decided. Certainly, dear Sire, he has no wish to inflict suffering except for good reason.

‘I want to say something else to you: you should swiftly name a day, for well do I know that that is the duke’s greatest wish. He wants only his estates and what is his, he wants nothing of yours, for you are his sole and rightful King, and he reproaches himself for the great wrong he has done you through the evil counsel of the Enemy,<sup>113</sup> who never rests or sleeps. Rather is he ever on the watch to place temptation in Man’s way; he put him up to all this. Thus for the sake of God – who suffered the supreme agony on the Cross for us – show kindness to Monseigneur, who is downcast and in distress, and spare him your wrath this time,

<sup>110</sup> Line 1873. *Monseigneur Madelien*. Richard Maudelyn, one of the King’s clerks. Creton, who had seen him in Ireland, said that he resembled Richard very closely, *infra*, ll. 3147–3158, 3274–3279. He was executed for his part in the Epiphany Rising. See Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 179–181.

<sup>111</sup> Line 1875. *vostre oncle*. The duke of Gloucester, *supra*, l. 1633, note.

<sup>112</sup> Line 1881. *juge greigneur*. *Supra*, l. 1853, note.

<sup>113</sup> Line 1899. *l’ennemi*. The Devil.

'A Monseigneur Madelien. Accorder  
 'Vorent ceulx cy et<sup>837</sup> vous conseil<sup>838</sup> donner  
 'De vostre oncle faire mort endurer  
     'Tresfaulcement. 1876  
 'Et s'ilz<sup>839</sup> dient que non, le jugement  
 'En atendant\* de vostre Parlement,  
 'Ou vous serez couronnez<sup>840</sup> haultement  
     'Roy et seigneur, 1880  
 [fo. 38v.] 'Et la<sup>841</sup> sera comme juge greigneur  
 'Le duc Henry sans penser a faveur.  
 'Ceulx qui aront fait mal,<sup>842</sup> vice ne erreur  
     'Ou traÿson 1884  
 'Seront<sup>843</sup> pugniz;<sup>844</sup> c'est la conclusion  
 'De Monseigneur. Autre<sup>845</sup> desrision  
 'Ne veult faire que<sup>846</sup> par bonne raison,  
     'Certes, chier Sire.<sup>847</sup> 1888  
 'Encor vous vueil une autre chose dire:  
 'Que promptement vueilliez<sup>848</sup> journee eslire,  
 'Car<sup>849</sup> c'est la chose qu'ou<sup>850</sup> monde plus desire,  
     'Je le say bien. 1892  
 'Et si ne veult que sa terre et le sien,  
 'Ne du vostre ne veult il avoir rien,  
 'Car vous estes son droit roy sans moyen,  
     'Et se remort 1896  
 'En conscience du grant mal et du tort  
 'Qu'il vous a fait par le mauvaiz enort  
 'De l'ennemi, qui nulle heure ne dort  
     'Ne ne sommeille. 1900  
 'Ains pour tenter corps humains toudiz<sup>851</sup> veille;  
 'Trestout ce fait lui a mis en l'oreille.  
 'Sique pour Dieu – qui la mort nonpareille  
     'Pendant en croix 1904  
 'Souffry pour nous – vueilliez estre courtoiz  
 'A Monseigneur, qui est mas et destroiz,  
 'Et lui vueilliez pardonner une foiz  
     'Vostre courroux, 1908

837 AD vorent cecy et

838 C conseil vous

839 AD sil

840 LACD couronne

841 C no la

842 C no mal

843 H seron

844 L puny

845 A nautre

846 C ne

847 H chier sire LBC no

chier

848 C veilles

849 L no car

850 ACD quau

851 AC tousjours

[fo. 39r.] and he will most humbly beg mercy of you, on his knees. After this, you will make your way together to London, peacefully like men of the cloth, or if you want to make your own way, you will do so; and then Parliament will be summoned throughout the land.

**§24 Lines 1917–2004. Northumberland withdraws and Richard tells his companions that he will pretend to agree to Lancaster's terms.**

‘You can be certain sure of this. I will swear on the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, consecrated by priestly hand, that duke Henry will most willingly observe everything that I have said, for he pledged it to me on the Host<sup>114</sup> when I took my leave of him lately. Now consider, Sire, what you would do, for I have tarried long.’

Then King Richard said carefully to him:

‘Northumberland, just step aside and before long you will have our reply, so that you can leave soon.’

Then you could have seen Northumberland's party draw away from them. The King and his companions discussed in detail what they had heard the earl recount; at length the King

<sup>114</sup> Lines 1922–1923. *il le me plevy / Sur le corps Dieu*. There is no mention in Creton's account of Lancaster swearing on the Host when he gave Northumberland his instructions. *Supra*, ll. 1653–1674.

[fo. 39r.] 'Et il vendra a mercy devant<sup>852</sup> vous  
 'Treshumblement, a terre les genoulx.  
 'Ce fait,\* après comme beguins<sup>853</sup> et doulx  
 'Vous en yrez 1912  
 'Ensemble a Londres, ou se<sup>854</sup> tenir voulez  
 'Autre chemin que li, vous le prendrez;  
 'Et lors sera<sup>855</sup> le Parlement criez<sup>856</sup>  
 'Par le país. 1916

**§24 Lines 1917–2004. Northumberland withdraws and Richard tells his companions that he will pretend to agree to Lancaster's terms.**

'De tout cecy soiez certains<sup>857</sup> et fis.  
 J'en jureray<sup>858</sup> sur<sup>859</sup> le corps Jhesucris  
 'De main de prestre sacré que tous mes dis  
 'Et tout – ainsi 1920  
 'Comme j'ay dit – tenra<sup>860</sup> le duc Henry  
 'Tresloyaument, car il le<sup>861</sup> me plevy  
 'Sur<sup>862</sup> le corps Dieu, quant je me departi<sup>863</sup>  
 'Derreinement<sup>864</sup> 1924  
 'D'avecques<sup>865</sup> lui. Or regardez comment  
 'Vous voulez faire, Sire, car longuement  
 'Ay demouré.' Lors lui dit sagement  
 Le roy Richart: 1928  
 'Northomberlant, or vous tirez a part,  
 'Et vous arez, ains qu'il soit guerez tart,  
 'De nous responce, afin que le depart  
 'Puissiez tost faire.' 1932  
 Lors<sup>866</sup> veissiez\* les gens ensus<sup>867</sup> d'eulx traire.  
 La parlerent longuement de l'affaire,  
 Qu'il<sup>868</sup> avoient au conte oÿ retraire,  
 Tant que le roy 1936

852 C devers  
 853 AD beguin  
 BC benigns  
 854 C si  
 855 C fera  
 856 C crier  
 857 B certain

858 D jurray  
 859 L sus  
 860 C sera  
 861 B *no* le  
 862 L sus  
 863 L quant de lui me  
 parti

864 C derriereement  
 D derrenierement  
 865 B avecques, *no* de  
 866 A la  
 867 AD en sur  
 868 LAD quilz

[fo. 39v.] said:

‘Messeigneurs, we will give him what he wants, for upon my soul I can see no other way out. All is lost, you can see that as well as I, but I swear to you that the duke will meet a painful and certain death for this, whatever I promise him, considering the outrage and affront that he has caused us. And assuredly no Parliament will be held at Westminster to discuss his demands, for I love you with such a tender heart that were I to die for it, I would not let you appear in Parliament for the duke to have his way with you. For well do I know that he would make you suffer great torment and you would be in mortal danger, considering that some men are spreading false charges against you. Have no fear, despite them you will always be my closest friends, for I have found you loyal and true, without malice.

‘I tell you furthermore that I will enlist the Welshmen and have them gather in secret so that we can find them when we want them, [fo. 40r.] after we have talked to duke Henry. Then we will make our way through Wales, and if he asks why, we will tell him



[fo. 39v.] Dist: 'Beaux Seigneurs, nous lui ferons ottroy,  
 'Car autre tour par m'ame je n'y voy.<sup>869</sup>  
 'Tout est perdu, vous le veez<sup>870\*</sup> comme moy,  
 'Maiz je vous jure 1940  
 'Qu'il en mourra de mort amere et sure,  
 'Quelque chose que je lui asseüre,  
 'Consideré l'oultrage<sup>871</sup> et l'injure<sup>872</sup>  
 'Qu'il nous a fait. 1944  
 'Et ne doubtez que ja Parlement fait  
 'A Wemoustier<sup>873</sup> ne sera de ce fait,  
 'Car je vous ains<sup>874\*</sup> de cuer si tresparfait,  
 'Que pour mourir<sup>875</sup> 1948  
 'Ne vous lairoie en Parlement venir  
 'Contre le duc pour son vueil acomplir.  
 'Car je sçay bien<sup>876</sup> qu'il vous feroit souffrir  
 'Paine moult dure, 1952  
 'Et si seriez en trop grant aventure  
 'De recevoir la mort amere et sure,  
 'Veu que plusieurs font<sup>877</sup> contre vous murmure.  
 'Maiz ne doubtez 1956  
 'Que maugré eulx a tousjours maiz serez  
 'Mes bons amis, de moy les plus privez,  
 'Car je vous ay bons et loyaulx trouvez  
 'Sans mal penser. 1960  
 'Encor vous di que je voudray<sup>878</sup> mander  
 'Gens<sup>879</sup> parmi Galles et les faire assembler  
 'Secretement, et qu'a un jour trouver  
 'Nous les puissons, 1964  
 [fo. 40r.] 'Maiz que parlé au duc Henry aions.  
 'Lors le chemin parmi Galles prenrons,<sup>880</sup>  
 'Et s'il demande pour quoy, nous li dirons  
 'Que de vitaille<sup>881</sup> 1968

869 A par maniere ny voy	875 B que pour mourir <del>ne</del>	878 A encore vous dy que
870 L vez	<del>vous lairoie en parlement</del>	se vouloye H voudray
871 L et loutrage	<del>venir</del>	LBD vouldroye
872 AD et grant injure	876 H bien <i>superscript</i> B no	879 H gens <i>in left margin</i>
B linjure <del>quil nous a fait</del>	bien	LABCD no gens
873 ABD westmonstier	877 AD ont [D ont	880 AD tenrons
874 L aim ACD aime	<i>superscript]</i>	C prenmons
		881 B que de vitaille <del>ne</del>

that there is not a halfpenny worth of provisions out there; his troops have laid waste the country. "In order that<sup>115</sup> we do not run out of food, let us go that way, if you give your assent." This is what we will say to him and I think that he will easily agree; the earl has told us so.

'And when we have come upon our men, we will unfurl our banners in the wind and attack the duke with all speed and with all our strength. For I swear on my life that when they see my colours, they will be filled with such remorse – considering the wrong they have done me – that half of those who have gone over to him will abandon him and come to us, since a noble heart cannot be found lacking. They will remember that they should hold me as their rightful lord as long as I live; then you will see them come straight to us. [fo. 40v.] You know that we are in the right; God will help us, if we all believe. If we are not as many on our side as they, they will then – please God – be keen to join battle, and if it turns out that they are defeated, they will be put to death; I shall have some of them flayed alive. I would not spare them for all the gold in the land, if it pleases God that I stay alive and keep my health.'

<sup>115</sup> Lines 1971–1973. "*Et affin tele qu[e] ... / Se bon vous semble.*" This is direct speech within direct speech. Richard is rehearsing what he will say to Lancaster.

'N'a par dela<sup>882</sup> valissent une maille;  
 'Tout ont gasté ses gens<sup>883</sup> et sa bataille.  
 "'Et affin tele qu'a<sup>884</sup> garnison ne faille,  
 "'Alons par la, 1972  
 "'Se bon vous semble." Ainsi on lui dira,  
 'Et je croy bien qu'il s'i<sup>885</sup> accordera  
 'De tresbon cuer; le conte le nous a  
 'Dit ensement. 1976  
 'Et quant trouvé ensemble arons<sup>886</sup> no<sup>887</sup> gent,\*  
 'Nous desploirons noz banieres au vent,  
 'Et devers lui yrons hastivement  
 'Et par effort. 1980  
 'Car je sçay bien de certain sur ma mort,  
 'Quant ilz verront mes armes, tel remort  
 'Aront au cuer – considerant<sup>888</sup> le tort  
 'Qu'il<sup>889</sup> m'aront<sup>890</sup> fait<sup>891</sup> – 1984  
 'Que la moitié de ceulx, qui se sont trait  
 'Avecques lui, le lairont et de fait  
 'Venront a nous, car bon cuer et parfait  
 'Ne peut mentir. 1988  
 'Et Nature les fera souvenir  
 'Qu'ilz<sup>892</sup> me doivent pour<sup>893</sup> droit<sup>894</sup> seigneur tenir  
 'Tout mon vivant; lors les<sup>895</sup> verrez venir  
 'A nous tout droit. 1992  
 [fo. 40v.] 'Et vous savez que nous avons bon droit;  
 'Dieux nous aidra, se chacun bien le croit.  
 'Se nous ne sommes autant<sup>896</sup> en nostre endroit<sup>897</sup>  
 'Comme ilz seront, 1996  
 'Ja pour cela – se Dieu plaist – ne lairont  
 'Que la<sup>898</sup> bataille n'aient, et se ilz<sup>899</sup> sont  
 'Aucunement desconfiz, ilz<sup>900</sup> seront  
 'A la mort mis; 2000  
 'De telz y a feray<sup>901</sup>\* escorchier tous vifs.  
 'Je n'en prendroi tout<sup>902</sup> l'or de ce<sup>903</sup> país,  
 'S'il plaist a Dieu que je demeure vis  
 'Et en santé.' 2004

882 B na par la dela

883 AC sa gent

884 LB que

885 B se

886 C aions

887 AD noz

888 L considerans

889 LAD quilz

890 C naront

891 B quil maront fait que  
la moitié de ceulx

892 C quil

893 C par

894 AD vray

895 B no les

896 AD tant

897 LD droit

898 AD no la

899 B et silz C et si ilz

900 C il

901 L fray

902 H prendroi [erasure]

tout

903 L cest

**§25 Lines 2005–2076. Northumberland swears on the Host that Lancaster's terms are as they have been related to Richard.**

This is what the King said to them, and the others all agreed, saying, 'Sire, let the earl of Northumberland be sent for, and let us have him swear right away the oath as he offered before; if he does so, we will go along with everything he has said.'

Thus without more ado, the earl was summoned and the King said to him:

'Northumberland, the duke sent you here to make peace between the two of us. If you swear on the Host, which we will have consecrated, that everything you have said is true, [fo. 41r.] with no falsehood about it, and that the duke will honour our agreement as a noble lord should, then we will agree to your terms. For well do I know that you are an honourable man, and would not perjure yourself for the sake of finery, jewels or gifts, for the man who wittingly breaks his oath will know only shame and affront as long as he lives; and at the last he will die in great torment.'

Then the earl replied:

'Monseigneur, have the Host consecrated, and I will swear that there is no falsehood here,

**§25 Lines 2005–2076. Northumberland swears on the Host that Lancaster’s terms are as they have been related to Richard.**

Ainsi le roy leur a dit et conté,  
 Et les autres s’i sont tous<sup>904</sup> accordé,  
 Disant: ‘Sire, le conte soit mandé,  
     ‘De Northomberlant,\* 2008  
 ‘Et qu’on lui face faire tout maintenant  
 ‘Le serement, comme il a dit devant;  
 ‘S’ainsi le fait, nous serons accordant  
     ‘Trestout<sup>905</sup> son dit.’ 2012  
 Lors le conte sans plus de contredit  
 Fu appellez,<sup>906</sup> et le roy lui a dit:  
 ‘Northomberlant, le duc cy vous tramist<sup>907</sup>  
     ‘Pour accorder 2016  
 ‘Nous<sup>908</sup> deux ensemble. Se<sup>909</sup> vous voulez jurer  
 ‘Sur le corps Dieu, que nous ferons sacrer,  
 ‘Que tout le fait, qu’avez voulu compter,  
     ‘Est veritable 2020  
 [fo. 41r.] ‘Sans y avoir pensee favorable  
 ‘Nulle quelconques,<sup>910</sup> maiz fermë et estable<sup>911</sup>  
 ‘Tenir l’accort comme seigneur notable,  
     ‘Nous le ferons. 2024  
 ‘Car je sçay bien que vous estes preudons,  
 ‘Ne pour avoir robes, joyaux ne dons  
 ‘Ne vous<sup>912</sup> voudriez parjurer, car li homs  
     ‘Qui se parjure 2028  
 ‘A esciant, que hontë et injure  
 ‘Ne peut avoir tous le<sup>913</sup> temps quë il dure,  
 ‘Et si convient au derrain qu’il en mure<sup>914\*</sup>  
     ‘A grant douleur.’ 2032  
 Lors respondi le conte:<sup>915</sup> ‘Monseigneur,  
 ‘Faites sacrer le corps Nostre Seigneur.  
 ‘Je jureray qu’il n’a point de faveur  
     ‘En ce fait cy,<sup>916</sup> 2036

904 L tout	911 L et bien estable	sen meure C au derrain il
905 H trostout	912 B <i>no</i> vous	en meure
906 L appelle	913 LBC tout le AD tous	915 B <i>no</i> le conte
907 B vous a transmis	les	916 B <i>ycy</i>
908 B noz	914 HL au derrain quil en	
909 C si	muire AD quau derrenier il	
910 ABCD quelconque	en muire B au derrain qui	

and that the duke will honour our agreement, as you have heard me say.'

All of them devoutly heard Mass. Then the earl, without offering any objection, swore on the Host. Alas! His blood ought to have boiled, for he knew the opposite

**[fo. 41v.] Figure XII: Northumberland kneels  
before the Host.**

to be true. Nevertheless he swore the oath – as you have heard me say – to fulfil his own wish and keep his promise to the duke who had sent him to the King. Thus did the two of them agree: one laid a wicked scheme, and the other was even worse. But the King did the lesser wrong, for it is often said, 'When arms speak, the laws are silent',<sup>116</sup> and he did not swear an oath as the earl did: [fo. 42r.] he will die in supreme disgrace, unless he repents before God, for what he did is worse than all other sins, it seems to me; to my mind, what he did is like nothing else you can ever hear of. And therefore, the man who treads a straight path lives and reigns in great prosperity and peace until Death comes, whom we all expect at any time;

<sup>116</sup> Line 2054. *Force n'a loy. Supra*, l. 1314, note.

'Et que le duc le tenra,<sup>917</sup> tout ensi  
 'Que le m'avez oÿ compter icy.'  
 Chascun d'eulx la<sup>918</sup> devotement oÿ  
 La messe dire. 2040  
 Le conte alors sans plus riens contredire  
 Fist le serement\* sur le corps Nostre Sire.<sup>919</sup>  
 Elas! Le sanc lui devoit bien defrire,  
 Car le<sup>920</sup> contraire 2044

**[fo. 41v.] Figure XII: Northumberland kneels  
 before the Host.**

Savoit il bien. Non obstant volt il faire<sup>921</sup>  
 Le serement – tel que m'oez<sup>922</sup> retraire –  
 Pour acomplir son vouloir et parfaire  
 Ce que promis 20  
 Avoit au duc, qui l'ot au roy tramis.  
 Ainsi firent entr'eulx leur compromis;  
 L'un pensoit mal et l'autre encores pis.  
 Mais quant au roy, 2052  
 Il ne fist pas si grant mal ne desroy,  
 Car on dist bien souvent: 'Force n'a loy,'  
 Et si ne fist serement nē ottroy  
 Comme le conte: 2056  
 [fo. 42r.] Il en mourra une foiz a grant honte,  
 S'a Dieu<sup>923</sup> n'en rent par contriccion<sup>924</sup> conte,  
 Car ce qu'il fist tous autres maulx surmonte,  
 Comme il me semble;<sup>925</sup> 2060  
 A ce fait ci<sup>926</sup> nul autre ne ressemble,  
 Quant vous l'arez oÿ trestout<sup>927</sup> ensemble,  
 Ce m'est advis. Et pour<sup>928</sup> ce, qui<sup>929</sup> bien amble  
 Droit et avant, 2064  
 Il regne et vit<sup>930</sup> en prosperité grant  
 Et dominē en paix,<sup>931</sup> jusques a tant  
 Que la mort vient, que chascun atendant  
 Est<sup>932</sup> a toute heure, 2068

917 B le duc tendra  
 918 A sy a  
 919 B ~~me~~ nostresire  
 920 B de  
 921 C voulsit faire  
 922 B que vous moes  
 923 C si a dieu

924 AD nen fait par  
 confession  
 925 H il me semble LBC  
 [no comme] ce me semble  
 926 B no ci  
 927 AC trestous  
 928 C par

929 L que  
 930 C il vit en regne  
 931 B et [donne contraction  
 mark above] en paix  
 [demeure at line end]  
 932 C et

the great are undone and the poor gobbled up. Nothing can withstand his blows, he leaves a very bad taste in one's mouth. Now please God that Death carries us off in such a way that in Heaven we may see His face and His beaming eyes, and may He be benevolent and well disposed towards us on the Last Day.

**§26 Lines 2077–2136. Richard leaves Conway for Rhuddlan.**

To return to our main story: the earl begged the King to make haste, saying,

‘Sire, let us ride, I beg you, for well do I know that the duke is most anxious to learn that we have peace.’

Alas! The King had no inkling of the harm or the earl's wish [fo. 42v.] to deceive him in the manner laid out before you here. The King said to him:

‘It is time to set out, whenever you will, but I command you to go on ahead to Rhuddlan, and have dinner prepared there.’

‘It is as you wish,’ the earl replied, and set off; King Richard followed soon after him.

The earl rode hard until he caught sight of all his men behind the boulders,<sup>117</sup> and then he was well pleased, for he could see that they were taking care to guard the defile. He told them

<sup>117</sup> Lines 2096–2097. *Toutes ses gens / Soubz la montaigne. Supra*, ll. 1765–1767.



Qui defait grans et petis tout<sup>933</sup> deveure.  
 Devant ses cops<sup>934</sup> nulle riens ne demeure,  
 C'est un morsel qui trop mauvaiz saveure.  
 Or vueille Dieux 2072  
 Qu'elle nous preigne en tel<sup>935</sup> point, qu'es<sup>936</sup> sains cieulx  
 Puiissons vëoir sa face et ses doulx yeulx,  
 Et que<sup>937</sup> vers<sup>938</sup> nous vueille estre doulz et pieulx<sup>939</sup>  
 Au jour darnier.<sup>940</sup> 2076

**§26 Lines 2077–2136. Richard leaves Conway for Rhuddlan.**

Pour revenir a nostre fait premier:  
 Le conte au roy pria de s'avanchier,  
 Disant: 'Sire, pensons de chevauchier,  
 Je vous en prie,<sup>941</sup> 2080  
 'Car je sçay bien que le duc grant envie  
 'A de savoir se la paix est bastie.'  
 Elas! Le roy le mal ne savoit mie  
 Ne le vouloir 2084  
 [fo .42v.] Qu'avoit le conte, qui le volt decevoir  
 En la maniere que cy<sup>942</sup> poez vëoir.<sup>943</sup>  
 Le roy lui dist: 'Il<sup>944</sup> est temps de mouvoir,  
 'Quant vous vouldrez, 2088  
 'Maiz je<sup>945</sup> lo bien<sup>946</sup> que devant en alez  
 'A Rotelant, et que la aprestez  
 'Soit le disner.' 'Ainsi que vous vouldrez,'  
 Lui respondi 2092  
 Alors le conte, et de la se parti;  
 Le roy Richart assez tost le sivy.<sup>947</sup>  
 Fort chevaucha le conte, tant<sup>948</sup> qu'il vy  
 Toutes ses gens 2096  
 Soubz la montaigne, et lors fu il contens,  
 Car il vit bien qu'ilz<sup>949</sup> furent diligens  
 Du<sup>950</sup> pas garder\* par<sup>951</sup> bon conroy et sens.  
 Si leur conta 2100

933 CD tous

934 L corps B *no* cops

935 B *no* tel

936 D que

937 B *no* que

938 AD lors

939 AD piteux

940 AD derreiner

941 D je vous empirer

942 AD ycy

943 L *no* veoir

944 C *no* il

945 B *no* je

946 AD *no* bien

947 LABD suivi C suy

948 D tant *superscript*

949 C quil

950 C le

951 B car

all that had happened and how he had schemed, and that the King will soon be upon them. They were all full of joy at this, for their desire to capture their lord was very great.

Then the King left Conway to go to Rhuddlan. He crossed the broad stretch of water then rode four miles further on until he ascended the boulders<sup>118</sup> where the earl [and his men] were hidden. [fo. 43r.] The King was astounded when he saw them, saying,

'I am betrayed! What can this mean? God in Paradise, help me.'

Then they were recognized by their pennons which were seen fluttering, and the King said,

'I think it is the earl, who got us to agree by swearing an oath.'

Then were they all plunged into bitter fear: I would rather have been in France, for I saw them close to despair, and rightly so. It was no surprise that they were all in anguish, for even had they fled, none could have escaped there, but would have been taken or captured.

If you listen to me, I will tell you how the King had come so close to Northumberland's men that it was much further to return to the town than to descend the boulders; the sea beat upon them and on the other side the way was impassable due to the rocky ground.

<sup>118</sup> Lines 2111–2136. *la roche ... la rochaille*. Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p. 148, is of the opinion that Creton's description of the site of the ambush paints it as being much wilder than it was.

Trestout le fait et comment<sup>952</sup> exploita,  
 Et que le roy tantost<sup>953</sup> a eulx vendra.  
 Un chascun d'eulx grant joie en demena,  
 Car le desir 2104  
 Qu'ilz<sup>954</sup> avoient de leur seigneur tenir  
 Estoit moult grant. Après se volt partir  
 De Cornüay le roy et s'en venir<sup>955</sup>  
 A Rotelant. 2108  
 L'eau passa, qui fu moult large<sup>956</sup> et grant,  
 Puis chevaucha .iiii. miles avant,  
 Tant qu'a<sup>957\*</sup> la roche, ou le conte au pendant  
 Estoit tapis, 2112  
 [fo. 43r.] Monta le roy, qui fu moult<sup>958</sup> esbahis  
 Quant il les vit, disant: 'Je suy traÿs!  
 'Que puet ce estre? Vray Dieu de Paradis,  
 'Vueilliez me aidier.'<sup>959</sup> 2116  
 Lors aux panons qu'on vëoit balloier  
 Furent congneuz, disant: 'A mon cuidier  
 'C'est le conte, qui nous a fait traittier  
 'Sur sa fiance.' 2120  
 Lors<sup>960</sup> furent tous en amere doubtaunce:  
 J'eusse voulu bien alors estre<sup>961</sup> en France,  
 Car je les vy pres de desesperance  
 Et a bon droit. 2124  
 On ne doit<sup>962</sup> estre esbahis se<sup>963</sup> destroit  
 Estoiënt tous, car nulz d'eulx ne pouvoit  
 Pour bien fuoir eschapper la endroit,  
 Que retenus 2128  
 Ne feust<sup>964</sup> ou prins. Mais que soie entendus,  
 Je vous diray comment<sup>965</sup> le roy venus  
 Fu si pres d'eulx, qu'il y avoit trop plus  
 A retourner 2132  
 Jusqu'a<sup>966\*</sup> la ville que<sup>967</sup> la roche avaler,  
 A la quelle batoit la haulte mer;  
 D'autre costé on ne pouvoit passer  
 Pour la rochaille. 2136

952 B come  
 953 C tantost le roy  
 954 B quil  
 955 C de cornuay et  
 tantost sen venir  
 956 B moult larg large  
 C laide  
 957 LAC que BD que a

958 AD moult fu [D fu  
*superscript*]  
 959 AD vueilliez moy  
 aidier B veuilles moy adier  
 C veilles maider  
 960 AD la  
 961 AD bien voulu estre  
 lors

962 C disoit  
 963 L sa A sen C si  
 964 B fussent  
 965 B come  
 966 B jusques a  
 967 L qua

**§27 Lines 2137–2204. Richard falls into Northumberland's ambush and is brought by him to Rhuddlan.**

Thus they had to carry on, come what may, or be killed amongst the press of the earl's men who were wearing chain-mail, as you can see.<sup>119</sup> [fo. 43v.] Then the King gave way to such grief that I felt sorry for his plight. He kept saying:

'Blessed God, what distress and affliction come upon me! Now I can see clearly that this man is taking me to the duke, who has little love for us. Virgin Mary, sovereign Queen, pity me, for in truth I know that I am lost if you do not keep me safe.'

Thus spoke the King, who had no power there, for we numbered only twenty or twenty-two, it seemed to me.

Everyone descended the steep boulders; this displeased the King greatly, and he kept saying to Salisbury:<sup>120</sup>

'Now I can see that I am dead and done for, since duke Henry hates me very much. Alas! Why did we believe the earl's word? Certainly it was very foolish of us. But it is too late; may Jesus – in whom I believe – help us.'

As he spoke we had to come within a bowshot of Northumberland's men. Then the earl came and kneeled down,<sup>121</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Line 2140. *A veue d'ueil* = 'as you can see'. Refers to Figure XIII, top of fo. 44r., although the reference is at the top of fo. 43v. *A veue d'ueil*, l. 347, refers to Figure IV. The subject of Figure XIII is Northumberland addressing the King, ll. 2167–2173. Despite being singular, *qui fu armé de maille* refers to Northumberland's *gens*, plural, and not to the earl himself. He is wearing a surcoat so that only his legs are visible, whereas the miniature is crammed on both sides with soldiers in armour. Creton is using *gens* (plural) as if it were *gent* (singular), *supra*, ll. 73–75, endnote. *Des gens* (two syllables) gives the correct syllable count, *de la gent* (three syllables) does not.

<sup>120</sup> Lines 2156–2164. *Et a Salsebery / Disoît ... Jhesus ... / Nous vueille aidier*. This is AD's reading, HLBC read *Et Salsbery / lui dist*. This speech belongs to Richard: it feels quite shocking to introduce the thoughts of a person of lower rank at this critical point; Salisbury's feelings find their place, *infra*, p. 201, ll. 22–23. The switch may have been made because in AD's reading *Salsebery* has to be swallowed in two syllables. *Supra*, l. 222, endnote.

<sup>121</sup> Lines 2167–2168. *agenouillier / Trestout a terre*. But Figure XIII shows Northumberland on his feet, addressing the King freely, not kneeling in a position of submission.

**§27 Lines 2137–2204. Richard falls into Northumberland's ambush and is brought by him to Rhuddlan.**

Ainsi convint passer, vaille que vaille,  
 Ou estre mort tout parmy la bataille  
 Des gens\* du conte, qui fu armé de maille  
 A veue d'ueil. 2140  
 [fo. 43v.] La demenoit le roy si tresgrant dueil  
 Que pitié fu de veoir son accueil,  
 Disant souvent: 'Vray Dieu, que je<sup>968</sup> recueil  
 'Meschief et paine.\* 2144  
 'Or voy je bien que cest homme m'enmaine  
 'Devers le duc, qui guerres ne nous aime.  
 'Vierge Marie, royne souveraine,  
 'Vueilliez<sup>969</sup> avoir 2148  
 'De moy pitié, car je sçay bien de voir  
 'Que perdu<sup>970</sup> sui, se ne me daigniez voir.'  
 Ainsi disoit le roy, qui nul pouvoir  
 N'avoit droit la, 2152  
 Car nous ne fumes<sup>971</sup> que vint – ce me sembla –  
 Ou vint et deux.<sup>972</sup> Chascun si<sup>973</sup> devala  
 La haulte roche, qui au roy moult<sup>974</sup> greva,  
 Et a Salsebery<sup>975</sup> 2156  
 Disoit<sup>976</sup> souvent, comme tout<sup>977</sup> esbahi:  
 'Or voy je bien que mort sui sans nul si,  
 'Car trop me het certes le duc Henry.  
 'Elas! Pour quoy 2160  
 'Avons nous cru le conte sur<sup>978</sup> sa foy?  
 'Certes pour nous a esté grant desroy.  
 'Maiz c'est trop tart;<sup>979</sup> Jhesus<sup>980</sup> – en qui je croy –  
 'Nous vueille aidier.' 2164  
 Ainsi parlant,\* nous convint aprochier  
 D'eulx sicomme au trait<sup>981</sup> d'un bon archier.  
 Lors le conte se vint<sup>982</sup> agenoillier  
 Trestout a terre, 2168

968 B *no* je

969 B vueilles

970 L perdu

971 L nous nestiens

972 L .xxii.

973 LABCD se

974 C qui moult le roy

975 HLBC et salsebery

976 HLBC lui dist

977 B tous

978 L sus

979 D *no* tart

980 H jhesus

981 B ~~a tout~~ au trait

982 B vient

**[fo. 44r.] Figure XIII: King Richard is ambushed by Northumberland.**

saying to the King:

'Be not displeased, my rightful Lord, I was coming to fetch you for your better safety, since the countryside is unsettled because of the fighting, as you know.'

Then said the King:

'I would have gone without all the men whom you have brought here; it seems to me that this is not what you promised me. You told me that you had been sent with five others. In the name of God in Paradise, you have behaved very badly, [fo. 44v.] considering the oath that you swore. It seems that you, who have made this move here, are lacking in loyalty. Know you that I shall return to Conway, which I left today.'

Then the earl said:

'Monseigneur, you accuse me of dishonour, but I swear to you on the body of Jesus who died on the Cross for all of us, since you are held here by me, I shall take you to duke Henry as directly as I can, for I want you to know that I promised him ten days ago that I would bring you.'

Then he had bread and wine brought and offered them himself to the King, who dared not refuse the earl's commands, considering his strong position. Then they remounted and made their way directly to Rhuddlan; they dined excellently in that strong castle.

**[fo. 44r.] Figure XIII: King Richard is ambushed by Northumberland.**

Disant au roy: 'Je vous aloie querre,  
 'Mon droit Seigneur – ne vous vueille desplere –  
 'Car le paÿs est esmeu pour la guerre –  
 'Com<sup>983</sup> vous savez – 2172  
 'Affin que mieulx soiez asseurez.'  
 Lors dist le roy: 'Je feusse bien alez  
 'Sans tant de gens<sup>984</sup> qu'icy<sup>985</sup> mandé avez;  
 'Il m'est advis 2176  
 'Que ce n'est pas ce<sup>986</sup> que m'avez promis.  
 'Vous me deïstes<sup>987</sup> qu'on vous avoit tramis  
 'Vous sixiesme. Par Dieu de Paradis  
 'C'est tresmal fait, 2180  
 [fo. 44v.] 'Consideré le serement<sup>988</sup> qu'avez<sup>989</sup> fait.  
 'Il semble advis que n'estes<sup>990</sup> pas parfait  
 'En loyaulté, qui avez tel retrait  
 'Fait cy entour. 2184  
 'Sachiez de vray que je feray retour  
 'A Cornüay, dont sui parti<sup>991</sup> ce jour.'  
 Lors dist le conte: 'Monseigneur, deshonnour<sup>992\*</sup>  
 'Me mettez sus, 2188  
 'Maiz je vous jure par le corps de Jhesus,  
 'Qui pour nous tous<sup>993</sup> fu en la croix pendus:  
 'Puis que de moy estes icy tenus,  
 'Je vous menray<sup>994</sup> 2192  
 'Au duc Henry le<sup>995</sup> plus droit que pourray,  
 'Car je vueil bien que vous sachiez de vray  
 'Qu'il a dix jours qu'ainsi promis li ay.'  
 Lors apporter 2196  
 Fist pain et vin; lui mesmes presenter  
 Le volt au roy, qui n'osa refuser  
 Ce que le conte voloit<sup>996</sup> la commander,<sup>997</sup>  
 Consideré 2200  
 Sa puissance. Après sont remonté,  
 A Rotelant tout droit s'en sont alé;  
 Ou fort chastel furent ilz<sup>998</sup> bien disné  
 Et grandement. 2204

983 AD comme

984 AD *no* de gens

985 B cy

986 B *no* ce

987 AD vous nous disiez

988 L *serement*

989 B que vous avez

990 AD ne soyez

991 B donc parti suy

D dont je suis parti

992 H deshonneur

LABCD deshonnour

993 B *no* tous

994 B je vous m. au duc

995 B au

996 B volut

997 AD ce quil vouloit la  
 endroit commander

998 AD fusmes nous

B furent il

**§28 Lines 2205–2268. Northumberland takes Richard to Flint. The King apostrophizes Queen Isabella and her father, Charles VI of France.**

After dinner Northumberland (who was most assiduous) ordered a man to ride straight to Chester, [fo. 45r.] for duke Henry was there, awaiting the earl amidst the throng of his men. He was greatly apprehensive about the long delay, for he knew nothing about what the earl had done: that he and his men were bringing the King from Rhuddlan.

Immediately after dinner, without further delay, we dropped down to Flint, which had been surrendered to the duke without a fight. It was in this castle that he came the next day to capture King Richard and all those who were with him, as you will hear in a very short time. Alas! You can well imagine the King's lamentations that night when he was alone, for he had plenty to lament about, considering that he could see his enemies on all sides eager to deal him a tyrant's death. That night he loudly grieved for his wife – the daughter of the King of France – saying:

'My sweetheart,<sup>122</sup> my sister, I bid you farewell. It is on account of my love for you that I have come to this pass, for never did I deserve to be so foully undone

<sup>122</sup> Lines 2233–2234. *Mon tresdoulz cuer*. *Supra*, l. 1404–1416, note.



**§28 Lines 2205–2268. Northumberland takes Richard to Flint. The King apostrophizes Queen Isabella and her father, Charles VI of France.**

Aprés disner fist ordonner<sup>999</sup> sa gent  
 Northomberlant (qui fu moult diligent)  
 De chevauchier a Cestre droitement,  
 Car la estoit 2208  
 [fo. 45r.] Le duc Henry, qui le conte atendoit  
 Avec ses gens, dont grant foison avoit.  
 De sa demeure moult fort<sup>1000</sup> s'esbaïssoit,  
 Car riens ne sçot 2212  
 De la besogne que le conte fait ot:  
 Comment<sup>1001</sup> le roy<sup>1002</sup> amenoit en<sup>1003</sup> son ost  
 De Rotelant. Aprés disner tantost  
 Sans plus attendre 2216  
 Nous en vinmes<sup>1004</sup> tout droit a Flint descendre,  
 Qui au duc fu rendus<sup>1005</sup> sans le deffendre,  
 Ou quel chastel vint<sup>1006</sup> il l'endemain prendre  
 Le roy Richart – 2220  
 Com<sup>1007</sup> vous orrez ains qu'il soit gueres tart –  
 Et trestous<sup>1008</sup> ceulx qui furent de sa part.  
 Helas! Le dueil qu'il fist la nuit a part  
 Trop bien pourrez<sup>1009</sup> 2224  
 Considerer, car il avoit assez  
 De quoy le faire, veu que de tous costez  
 Ses ennemis vëoit tous apretez  
 Et desirans 2228  
 De le faire mourir comme tirans.  
 Ceste nuit la fu forment regretans  
 Sa compaignie – la fille au roy des Frans –  
 Disant ainsi: 2232  
 'Mon tresdoulz cuer, ma suer, adieu<sup>1010</sup> vous<sup>1011</sup> di,  
 'Pour vostre amour suy demourez<sup>1012</sup> ainsi,  
 'Car a mes gens oncques ne deservy  
 'De me<sup>1013</sup> destruire 2236

999 AD appareillier	1004 B venimes	1009 LAD povez
1000 B <i>no</i> fort	1005 L rendu	1010 A ainsy a dieu [ <i>no</i> ma
1001 B come	1006 B vient	suer]
1002 C le roy <i>superscript</i>	1007 AD comme	1011 H vou
1003 L a <i>partially erased</i> [ <i>no</i>	1008 A et a trestous D et	1012 ACD demene
en]	de trestous	1013 B moy

[fo. 45v.] by my subjects. But if it be Christ's pleasure that I should die, may He lead my soul into Paradise, for I can no longer escape or flee.

'Alas! Father-in-law – King of France – I shall never see you again. I leave you your daughter amongst these wicked and dishonest people; this almost fills me with despair, for she was my joy and my delight. Please God that you will swiftly seek revenge once you know what has happened, lest reproaches be heaped upon you. The matter concerns you; may you attend to it soon. Alas! I have no ships, men or money to enable me to send a messenger to you just now. Were I still at Conway I would go to you. Now it is too late. Alas! Why did we believe Northumberland who has handed us over to the wolves? I fear that we will all die, for these people are pitiless; may God confound them, body and soul.'

Thus spoke King Richard to Salisbury, [fo. 46r.] who expressed great sorrow – I never saw greater – and the bishop of Carlisle also. None of the others slept at all that night.

[fo. 45v.] 'Si laidement. Maiz s'il plaist que je<sup>1014</sup> muire  
 'A Jhesucrist, m'ame vueille conduire  
 'En Paradiz, car eschapper ne fuire  
 'Je ne puis maiz. 2240  
 'Elas! Beau pere de France, jamaiz  
 'Ne vous verray. Vostre fille vous laiz  
 'Entre ces<sup>1015</sup> gens,<sup>1016</sup> qui sont faulx et mauvaiz  
 'Et sans fiance, 2244  
 'Par quoy je sui pres de desesperance,  
 'Car elle estoit ma joieuse plaisance.<sup>1017</sup>  
 'Or vueille Dieux q'une foiz la vengeance  
 'En vueilliez prendre, 2248  
 'Sceü<sup>1018</sup> le fait,\* sans longuement atendre,  
 'Afin que nulz ne<sup>1019</sup> vous en puist reprendre.  
 'Le fait vous touche; or y vueilliez<sup>1020</sup> entendre  
 'Prouchainement. 2252  
 'Elas! Je n'ay vaisseaulx, gens nē argent  
 'Pour envoier devers vous en present,  
 'S'a Cornüay feusse encor vrayement<sup>1021</sup>  
 'J'alaisse a vous. 2256  
 'Or<sup>1022</sup> est trop tart. Las!<sup>1023</sup> Pour quoy creumes nous  
 'Northomberlant, qui en la main des lousps  
 'Nous a livrez? Je me doubte que tous  
 'Ne soions mors, 2260  
 'Car ces gens<sup>1024</sup> cy n'ont en eulx nul remors;  
 'Dieux leur confonde les ames et les corps.<sup>1025</sup>  
 Ainsi disoit le roy Richart alors  
 A Salsebery, 2264  
 [fo. 46r.] Qui faisoit dueil – onques greigneur ne vy –  
 Et l'evesque de Kerlille autresi.<sup>1026\*</sup>  
 Tous les autres chacun pas ne dormy  
 Celle nuit la. 2268

1014 B jen  
 1015 AD telz  
 1016 B no gens  
 1017 AD ma seule  
 souffisance C majeure  
 esperance [plaisance  
*superscript*]

1018 B selon  
 1019 L nul de  
 1020 B vueilles  
 1021 B vrayment  
 1022 L il  
 1023 C et

1024 H cels gens LACD  
 ces gens B telz gent  
 1025 H les corps C ~~esp~~  
 corps  
 1026 LBC quierlille aussi

**§29 Lines 2269–2295. Northumberland apprises Lancaster of Richard's presence at Flint. Creton informs his readers that he will now change to writing in prose.**

Overnight Northumberland reported to duke Henry that he was bringing the King; the messenger arrived at Chester just as day broke. He told duke Henry all that had happened with King Richard, who was presently at Flint. The duke's heart leapt with joy at the news, and rightly so, for that was what he wanted most in the whole world. His army was camped out all over the fields around Chester. Then he had it announced that each man should immediately make ready to go where he led; the English had many trumpets sounded.

Now, I will tell you about the King's capture, without having to find words that rhyme. And in order better to render the words spoken when the two of them met – for I recall them perfectly well, it seems to me – I will convey them in prose, for it seems that sometimes we add too many words [fo. 46v.] to what we are writing about. Now may it please God, who made us in His likeness, to punish all those who committed this outrage.

**§29 Lines 2269–2295. Northumberland apprises  
Lancaster of Richard’s presence at Flint. Creton informs  
his readers that he will now change to writing in prose.**

Northomberlant au duc Henry manda  
Trestoute\* nuit que le roy amena;  
Le chevaucheur<sup>1027</sup> droit<sup>1028</sup> a Cestre arriva  
    Au point du jour. 2272  
Au duc Henry compta trestout le tour  
Du roy Richard,<sup>1029</sup> qui a Flint fist sejour.  
Au cuer en ot grant joie et grant baudour  
    Et a bon droit, 2276  
Car<sup>1030</sup> en ce monde<sup>1031</sup> plus riens ne desiroit.  
Autour de Cestre<sup>1032</sup> trestout son ost estoit  
Logié aux<sup>1033</sup> champs qui grant païs tenoit.  
    Lors fist crier 2280  
Q’un<sup>1034</sup> chacun feust tantost prest pour aler<sup>1035</sup>  
Avecques lui, ou les voudra<sup>1036</sup> mener;  
Mainte trompette firent Englés sonner  
    Et retentir. 2284  
Or vous vueil dire sans plus rime querir  
Du roy la prinse. Et pour mieulx acomplir  
Les paroles qu’ilz dirent au<sup>1037</sup> venir  
    Eulx deux ensemble – 2288  
Car retenues les ay bien, ce me semble<sup>1038</sup> –  
Si les diray en prose, car il semble  
Aucunesfoiz qu’on adjouste ou assemble  
    Trop de langaige 2292  
[fo. 46v.] A la matiere de<sup>1039</sup> quoy on fait ouvrage.<sup>1040</sup>  
Or vueille Dieux, qui nous fist a s’image,  
    Pugnir tous ceulx qui firent tel<sup>1041</sup> oultrage. 2295

1027 AD chevalier	1032 H autour [erasure]	1037 B a
1028 H droit <i>superscript</i>	cestre LABCD autour de	1038 L line 2289 omitted
ABCD no droit	cestre	1039 AD par
1029 B du roy <del>re</del> richart	1033 C au	1040 AD oultrage
1030 L no car	1034 L que	1041 LCD cel
1031 H en [erasure] monde	1035 B pour en aler	
LABCD en ce monde	1036 AD voudroit	

### §30 Lancaster leaves Chester and descends on Flint with his army.

In this part [you will hear of] the sorrow and suffering endured by King Richard, who was in the castle of Flint awaiting the arrival of the duke of Lancaster.

He left Chester on Tuesday 22 August 1399<sup>123</sup> with all his army, estimated by several knights and squires at more than 100,000 men, arrayed for battle and riding along the seashore,<sup>124</sup> full of joy and pleasure and eager for the capture of their natural and rightful lord, King Richard.

On the said Tuesday he got up early, attended by suffering, sadness and sorrow: by lamentations, tears and groans. He heard Mass very devoutly, as a good Christian should, with his true friends the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle, Sir Stephen Scrope and one other knight named Ferriby; they all refused to abandon or desert the King, whatever hardship or ill fortune befell him. Also with them was the son of the countess of Salisbury<sup>125</sup> whom King Richard had knighted in Ireland along with the eldest son of the duke of Lancaster and several others, as I have told you in the first part of this work.

There too was Janico,<sup>126</sup> a Gascon squire, who certainly demonstrated the true love [fo. 47r.] he bore King Richard, for despite threats from knights or squires, or any request whatever, he would not take off the badge of his lord the King – the hart<sup>127</sup> – saying:

<sup>123</sup> Page 187, lines 6–7. *le mardi .xxii.<sup>e</sup> jour d'aoust*. An impossible date in 1399, see Palmer, 'French Chronicles', 61:2 (1979), p. 420. Perhaps Creton's date here should be Friday 15 August; this would fit with Richard celebrating the feast of the Assumption, 15 August, at Flint on that day, *infra*, p. 197, l. 5, and note. To the known sources for the date of Richard's capture should be added: WAM, Book 1 (Liber Niger Quaternus), fo. 86v.: 'in vigilia assumptionis Beate Marie [14 August] captus est et se submisit ordinacioni prelatorum et procerum Anglie'. Richard seems already to have been in Chester on 16–17 August, see Clarke, *Fourteenth-Century Studies*, p. 71 n. 1.

<sup>124</sup> Page 187, line 10. *parmi la greve de la mer*. Flint is about fifteen miles from the sea. Henry's army is riding along the marshes of the River Dee, which are several miles wide at this point.

<sup>125</sup> Page 187, line 20–21. *un qui fu filz de la contesse de Salsebery*. Salisbury had married before 1383 Maud Francis, widow of 1. John Aubrey, and 2. Sir Alan Buxhull. By the latter she had a posthumous son, Alan. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Buxhull, Sir Alan (1323?–1381)', and 'Montagu [née Fraunceys]', Maud, countess of Salisbury (d.1424)'. See *supra*, ll. 149–150.

<sup>126</sup> Page 187, line 24. *Genico*. *Supra*, l. 853, note.

<sup>127</sup> Page 187, lines 27–28. *la devise ... le roy ... le cerf*. Richard's badge of the white hart, first distributed by him at Smithfield in 1390, is thought to have been derived from his mother, Princess Joan of Kent. See Gordon and others (eds), *Regal Image of Richard II*, pp. 100–102, 169; Saul, *Richard II*, p. 440.

**§30 Lancaster leaves Chester and descends on Flint with his army.**

En ceste partie, des affliccions et douleurs esuelles le roy Richart estoit ou chastel de Flint atendant la venue du duc de Lancastre.

Le quel se parti de la ville de Cestre le mardi .xxii.<sup>e</sup> jour d'aoust en l'an de l'incarnacion NostreSeigneur mil .ccc iii<sup>xx</sup>.xix.,<sup>1042</sup> a toute sa puissance, la quele j'oÿ estimer<sup>1043</sup> a plusieurs chevaliers et escuiers a cent mille hommes<sup>1044</sup> passez, ordonnez comme pour entrer en bataille,<sup>1045</sup> chevauchant<sup>1046</sup> parmi la greve de la mer a grant joie et a<sup>1047</sup> grant dillectacion de plaisir, et<sup>1048</sup> aussi desirant<sup>1049</sup> la prinse de leur droit et naturel seigneur, le roy Richart.

Le quel se leva le dit mardi bien matin acompaignié de douleurs, de tristesses, d'affliccions: de plains, de pleurs et de gemisemens, oÿ la messe moult<sup>1050</sup> devotement comme vray<sup>1051</sup> catholique\* avecques ses bons amis,<sup>1052</sup> le conte de Salsebery, l'evesque de Kerlille, Messire Estienne Scroup<sup>1053</sup> et un<sup>1054</sup> autre chevalier appellé Ferbric; les quelx, pour adversité nulle ne pour<sup>1055</sup> fortune quelconques que le dit roy eust, ne le voudrent laissier ne relenquir. Encores avoit avecques eulx un<sup>1056</sup> qui fu filz de la contesse de Salsebery, le quel le roy Richart avoit fait nouvel<sup>1057</sup> chevalier en Irlande avecques le filz ainsné du duc de Lancastre et avec plusieurs autres, comme je vous ay dit es premieres parties de ceste matiere.

Et si estoit<sup>1058</sup> Genico, un<sup>1059</sup> escuier gascon, le quel monstra bien la vraie amour [fo. 47r.] qu'il avoit au roy Richart, car oncques, pour<sup>1060</sup> menaces de chevaliers ne escuiers<sup>1061</sup> ne pour priere nulle quelconques, ne volt oster la devise de son seigneur le roy – c'est assavoir le cerf – disant:

<sup>1042</sup> LC mil .ccc iii<sup>xx</sup> et  
xix.  
<sup>1043</sup> B laquelle ja  
roy estimoit [joy *superscript*]  
estimer  
<sup>1044</sup> H homme C no  
hommes  
<sup>1045</sup> C comme a entre en  
bataille  
<sup>1046</sup> L chevauchans

<sup>1047</sup> L no a  
<sup>1048</sup> L no et  
<sup>1049</sup> H aussi disirant  
L ainsi desirans  
<sup>1050</sup> C no moult  
<sup>1051</sup> C bon  
<sup>1052</sup> B bons ar amis  
<sup>1053</sup> AD guillaume  
seroup  
<sup>1054</sup> D une

<sup>1055</sup> B par  
<sup>1056</sup> A ung avec eulx  
B avecques [eulx *superscript*]  
ung  
<sup>1057</sup> L no nouvel  
<sup>1058</sup> L et si y estoit  
<sup>1059</sup> A genier  
<sup>1060</sup> BC par  
<sup>1061</sup> LBC descuiers

'God forbid that for any man I take off the badge of my rightful lord, unless he himself tells me to.'

And so it was that the duke of Lancaster heard about it and had him taken in shame and disgrace to Chester Castle, where he expected from day to day to lose his head, for that was what people were generally saying. And yet he did not die – as I heard since – but I can assure you that he was the last man in England wearing the badge of King Richard. Thus did he truly show that he would not change sides lightly, nor was he of the English race.

As for their race and character,<sup>128</sup> they do change sides lightly, always ranging themselves with the strongest and most powerful, without regard to right, law, reason or justice. And this is not only nowadays, but they have deposed and killed their king and lord several times,<sup>129</sup> as you can learn from various chronicles and histories.

In order not to digress too much from the matter I am discussing, I do not wish to write further about their character and condition for now, but to return to King Richard. Having heard Mass, he climbed up onto the castle walls, which are wide and broad, and watched the duke of Lancaster coming along the seashore<sup>130</sup> with all his men, wonderfully great in number, expressing such joy and satisfaction that you could hear within the castle the sound of their instruments: [fo. 47v.] horns, bugles and trumpets. And then the King commended himself to the blessed protection of Our Lord and all the saints in Paradise, saying:

### §31 Richard foresees his coming death.

'Alas! Now I can see that the end of my days draws near, since I must be delivered into the hands of my enemies, who mortally hate me, without my deserving it.

<sup>128</sup> Page 189, line 10. *la generacion et nature d'eux*. **D** has a heading in a contemporary hand in the left-hand margin: *la condicion des Angloiz*.

<sup>129</sup> Page 189, lines 13. *plusieurs foiz ont ilz ... destruit leur roy*. An exaggeration; the parallel is with the deposition of Edward II in 1327. See M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307–1399* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 88–96.

<sup>130</sup> Page 189, line 19. *la greve de la mer*. In fact the Dee marshes. *Supra*, l. 1683, note.



‘Ja Dieu ne plaise que pour homme mortel je oste l’ordre de mon droit<sup>1062</sup> seigneur, se li<sup>1063</sup> propre ne le commande.’<sup>1064</sup>

Et tant que le duc de Lanclastre le sçot, le quel le fist mener<sup>1065</sup> hon- teusement et vilainement ou chastel de Cestre, attendant de jour en jour que on lui trenchast la teste, car c’estoit la commune renommee du peuple. Et toutesvoies il n’en moru pas – sicomme j’ay oy<sup>1066</sup> dire depuis – maiz je vous sçay<sup>1067</sup> bien a dire que il<sup>1068</sup> fu le derrenier portant l’ordre du<sup>1069</sup> roy Richart en Engleterre. Et la monstra il bien qu’il n’estoit pas favorable de legier ne de leur generacion extrait.

Et<sup>1070</sup> quant est de la generacion et nature d’eulx, ilz sont favorables de legier, eulx tenant<sup>1071</sup> tousjours au plus fort<sup>1072</sup> et<sup>1073</sup> au mieulx<sup>1074</sup> parant<sup>1075</sup> sans garder droit,<sup>1076</sup> loy, raison ne justice. Et ce n’est pas de<sup>1077</sup> maintenant, car plusieurs foiz ont ilz deffait et destruit<sup>1078</sup> leur roy et seigneur, comme on le peut savoir par plusieurs ystoires<sup>1079</sup> et croniques.

Et affin que je ne m’alongne<sup>1080</sup> pas trop de la matiere que j’ay ouverte, de leur nature ne de leur condicion, ne vueil plus parler pour le present, maiz retourner au roy Richart.<sup>1081</sup> Le quel, la messe oïe, monta sur<sup>1082</sup> les murs du dit chastel, qui sont<sup>1083</sup> grans et larges par dedens, regardant venir parmy la greve de la mer le duc de Lanclastre a tout son ost qui estoit merveilleusement grant, demenant tele<sup>1084</sup> joie et consolacion, que jusques au dit chastel on ouoit le son et bruit<sup>1085</sup> de leurs instrumens: [fo. 47v.] cors, buisines<sup>1086</sup> et trompetes. Et lors se recommanda<sup>1087</sup> en la<sup>1088</sup> sainte garde de<sup>1089</sup> Nostre Seigneur et de tous les<sup>1090</sup> sains de Paradis, disant en telle maniere:

**§31 Richard foresees his coming death.**

‘Helas! Or voy je bien que la fin de mes jours aproche, puis qu’il fault que je soie livre<sup>1091</sup> es<sup>1092</sup> mains de mes ennemis, les quelz me heent<sup>1093</sup> a mort, et sans l’avoir desservi.

1062 B mon seigneur droit	1074 L plus	les murs qui sont B qui soie
1063 B se loy ly	1075 AD au plus parant et	sont
1064 AD ne le me	au plus fort B apparent	1084 B no tele
commande	1076 B sans garder loy	1085 AD bruyt et son
1065 B le quel fist le fist	droit	1086 B cors et buisines
mettre	1077 B nest [pas	1087 C commanda
1066 AD joy	superscript] de	1088 AB a la C en sa
1067 C fay	1078 C no et destruit	1089 L no de
1068 AD se	1079 H ystoieres	1090 C ses
1069 D lordre richart en	1080 LA mesloingne	1091 L livre
eng du	1081 B no richart	1092 C entre les [no livre
1070 AD car	1082 L sus	es]
1071 LABCD tenans	1083 AD la messe ouye ou	1093 C heet
1072 B fors	dit chastel de flint monta sur	
1073 C no et		

Earl of Northumberland, you should certainly be hugely afraid that Our Lord God will take revenge for the sin you committed when you so shamefully forswore Him to draw us from Conway, where we were completely safe. May God now repay you for this.'

### §32 Lancaster takes Richard into his custody at Flint. He guarantees the safety of Creton and his companion.

Thus spoke King Richard to the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle and the two knights – Sir Stephen Scrope and Ferriby – weeping softly on the castle walls and giving vent to great sorrow; certainly I believe that no one in this mortal world – be he Jew or Saracen – having seen the five of them together, would not have been filled with pity and compassion.

Lamenting thus, they saw a great number of men leaving duke Henry's army and spurring on towards the castle to find out what King Richard was doing. In this first party were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Percy and the earl of Rutland,<sup>131</sup> from whom duke Henry had taken the office of Constable of England and the duchy of Aumale, which he had previously held of King Richard. But I firmly believe that he did this under a pretext and to throw sand in people's eyes, lest they think Rutland knew anything about the affair or the betrayal, rather than otherwise.

And yet I know not whether he did have any inkling of it, but [fo. 48r.] I do know for sure that he and Sir Thomas Percy, who had been the King's Steward – that is to say in French *grant maistre d'ostel* – left the port of Milford Haven and took with them the King's men and his treasure, of which they were robbed in Wales, as I told you previously.<sup>132</sup> They joined the duke – as it appears – for they were among the first coming to the castle of Flint, wearing duke Henry's badge,<sup>133</sup> not the hart.

<sup>131</sup> Page 191, lines 17–22. *le conte de Rotelant ... du fait ne de la traïyson*. Another Constable was appointed (*infra*, ll. 2709–2711, 2759–2772) after Lancaster was elected as the new King. Rutland was deprived of his ducal title in the first parliament of Henry IV. See Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, pp. 159–160, and n. 9. These two events happened before the Epiphany Rising, thus a wish to blind the country to Rutland's role in betraying it – *du fait ne de la traïyson*, p. 191, ll. 22 – could not have been Lancaster's motive for the degradation.

<sup>132</sup> Page 191, line 28. *comme je vous ay dit devant*. *Supra*, ll. 945–1065.

<sup>133</sup> Page 191, lines 30. *L'ordre du duc Henry*. Probably the Lancasterian collar of esses. *Supra*, l. 1058, note.

Certe, conte de Northomberlant, vous devez avoir grant peur et freur<sup>1094</sup> au cuer que Nostre Sire<sup>1095</sup> Dieux ne preingne vengeance du pechié que vous feistes, quant vous le parjurastes ainsi villainement pour nous atraire hors de Cornüay, ou nous estions bien assureur. Or vous en vueille Dieux rendre<sup>1096</sup> le guerredon!

### §32 Lancaster takes Richard into his custody at Flint. He guarantees the safety of Creton and his companion.

Ainsi disoit le roy Richart au conte de Salsebery, a l'evesque de Kerlille et aux deux chevaliers – Sire Estienne Scroup<sup>1097</sup> et Ferbric – plourant moult<sup>1098</sup> tendrement et demenant grant dueil sur<sup>1099</sup> les diz murs du chastel; et tel que<sup>1100</sup> certes je croy qu'en ce mortel monde n'a creature quelconque<sup>1101</sup> – soit Juif ou Sarrasin – les avoir<sup>1102</sup> veuz eulx cinq ensemble, qui n'en eust eu<sup>1103</sup> grant pitié et compacion au cuer.

Ce dueil faisant, virent departir de l'ost du duc Henry grant quantité de gens chevauchant<sup>1104</sup> a force d'esperons devers le chastel pour savoir que le roy Richart<sup>1105</sup> faisoit. En ceste premiere compaignie estoit l'arcevesque de Cantorbie, Messire Thomas de Persi et le conte de Rotelant, au quel le duc Henry avoit osté la possession de la connestablie d'Angleterre et la duchie d'Aumarle, qu'il tenoit par avant de par le roy Richart. Maiz je croy<sup>1106</sup> fermement qu'il lui osta plus par ficcion et pour aveugler le monde, afin telle c'on ne cuidast mie qu'il sceut riens du fait ne de la trayson que autrement.<sup>1107</sup>

Et toutesvoies ne say je<sup>1108</sup> pas s'il en<sup>1109</sup> savoit riens, maiz [fo. 48r.] je say bien<sup>1110</sup> tout certain<sup>1111</sup> que lui et Messire Thomas de Persi, le quel avoit esté estuuart du roy – c'est a dire en françoiz grant maistre d'ostel – se partirent du port de Mileforde et enmenerent<sup>1112</sup> ses gens et son avoir, par quoy ilz<sup>1113</sup> furent destroussez en Galles, comme je vous ay dit<sup>1114</sup> devant. Et s'en alerent devers le duc<sup>1115</sup> – comme il appert – car ilz<sup>1116</sup> vindrent ou<sup>1117</sup> chastel de Flint tous des<sup>1118</sup> premiers, portant l'ordre<sup>1119</sup> du duc Henry, non pas le<sup>1120</sup> cerf.

<sup>1094</sup> AD et grant freur

<sup>1095</sup> LACD  
nostresaigneur

<sup>1096</sup> A donner D no

rendre

<sup>1097</sup> AD guillaume

seroup

<sup>1098</sup> H moult

<sup>1099</sup> L sus

<sup>1100</sup> B no que

<sup>1101</sup> L quelconques

<sup>1102</sup> L avoit

<sup>1103</sup> B quil en eust [eu  
*superscript*]

<sup>1104</sup> L ABCD

chevauchans

<sup>1105</sup> AD no richart

<sup>1106</sup> AD cuide

<sup>1107</sup> AD no que

autrement

<sup>1108</sup> AD je ne scay

<sup>1109</sup> B ne

<sup>1110</sup> B no bien

<sup>1111</sup> H je say bien tout  
certain que A de certain

<sup>1112</sup> B amenerent

<sup>1113</sup> C pourquoy ils

<sup>1114</sup> H no ay

<sup>1115</sup> C le duc henry

<sup>1116</sup> C il

<sup>1117</sup> B au

<sup>1118</sup> A les

<sup>1119</sup> LB portans

C portant ordre

<sup>1120</sup> A de

The archbishop entered first and the others after him; they climbed up to the keep. Then the King came down from the walls and they made most humble obeisance, kneeling before him. The King made them rise to their feet and drew the archbishop aside; they spoke together for a long time. I know not what they said, but the earl of Salisbury told me later that the archbishop had comforted the King most tenderly, saying that he should not be afraid and that no bodily harm would befall him. At this point the earl of Rutland spoke no word to the King, rather kept as far from him as he could, as though he were ashamed to be seen in his presence.

The party remounted and returned to duke Henry, who was coming up fast, for between the town of Chester and the castle of Flint there are only ten short miles<sup>134</sup> – round about five French leagues, or so – and there is no hedge or bush between the two, but merely the seashore<sup>135</sup> and the high rocks and boulders on the other side. And know for sure that they made a fine sight, for they were very well arrayed and so great in number, that it seems to me I had never seen so many men together. The principal commander of duke Henry's army was Sir Henry Percy<sup>136</sup> [fo. 48v.] whom they say is the foremost knight of England.

The King climbed back up onto the walls and saw that the army was only two bowshots from the castle. Then he lamented loudly again – and the others with him – uttering many heart-rending regrets for his wife, Isabella of France. He praised Our Lord Jesus Christ, saying,

'Dear Lord God, I commend myself to Thy blessed protection and beg that Thou wilt forgive me all my sins, since it is Thy pleasure that I be delivered into the hands of mine enemies. If they kill me, I will accept my death with meekness, as Thou didst for the sake of us all.'

<sup>134</sup> Page 193, line 13. *dix mille petites*. Flint is almost fifteen miles from Chester.

<sup>135</sup> Page 193, lines 15–16. *la greve de la mer ... et les hautes roches ... d'autre costé*. Looking upstream towards Chester, Richard and his party had the broad estuary on their left hand and the mountainous interior on their right.

<sup>136</sup> Page 193, line 19–20. *Messire Henry de Persi*. Hotspur, son of the earl of Northumberland. He ultimately rebelled against Henry IV and was killed at the Battle of Shrewsbury, 1403. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Percy, Sir Henry [called Henry Hotspur] (1364–1403)'.

L'arcevesque entra le premier et<sup>1121</sup> les autres après; ilz monterent ou donjon. Lors le roy descendi des murs, au quel ilz<sup>1122</sup> firent tres-grant<sup>1123</sup> reverence agenouilliez a terre. Le roy les fist lever et tira l'arcevesque a part, et parlerent moult longuement ensemble. Qu'ilz<sup>1124</sup> dirent je ne sçay pas, maiz le conte de Salsebery me dist après qu'il l'avoit<sup>1125</sup> reconforté moult doucement, disant qu'il ne<sup>1126</sup> feust esbahis<sup>1127</sup> et qu'il n'aroit nul mal de son corps. Le conte de Rotelant ne parla point<sup>1128</sup> a celle heure au roy, ains<sup>1129</sup> s'alongnoit<sup>1130</sup> de lui<sup>1131</sup> le plus qu'il pouvoit, ainsi comme<sup>1132</sup> s'il<sup>1133</sup> eust esté honteux de se<sup>1134</sup> voir devant lui.<sup>1135</sup>

Ilz remonterent a cheval et s'en retournerent<sup>1136</sup> au devant du duc Henry, le quel aprochoit fort, car entre la ville de Cestre et le chastel n'a que dix mille petites<sup>1137</sup> – qui valent cinq lieues françoises ou environ – et n'y a haie ne<sup>1138</sup> buisson nul entredeux, fors la greve de<sup>1139</sup> la mer seulement et les haultes roches et montaignes d'autre costé. Et sachiez de certain qu'il les faisoit bel voir venir, car ilz estoient tres-bien ordonnez et si grant quantité que – tant qu'a<sup>1140</sup> moy – je ne vis oncques tant de gens<sup>1141</sup> ensemble, ce m'est advis. De tout l'ost du duc estoit principal capitaine Messire Henry de Persi, qu'ilz<sup>1142</sup> [fo. 48v.] tiennent pour le meilleur chevalier d'Engleterre.

Le roy remonta sur<sup>1143</sup> les murs et vit que l'ost estoit a deux trais d'arc pres<sup>1144</sup> du chastel. Alors demena grant dueil de rechief<sup>1145</sup> – et les autres qui estoient avecques lui – faisant<sup>1146</sup> moult de piteux regrés de sa compaignie, Ysabel de France, et loua<sup>1147</sup> Nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist, disant:

'Beau Sire Dieux,<sup>1148</sup> je me recommande en<sup>1149</sup> ta sainte garde, et te crié mercy que tu me vueilles pardonner tous mes<sup>1150</sup> pechiez, puis qu'il te plaist que je<sup>1151</sup> soie livrez<sup>1152</sup> es<sup>1153</sup> mains de mes ennemis. Et s'il<sup>1154</sup> me font morir, je prendray la mort en pasiance, comme tu le<sup>1155</sup> prins\* pour nous tous.'

1121 ACD le premier  
dedans et  
1122 C il  
1123 C grant  
1124 C quil  
1125 H quil lavoit B quilz  
lavoient  
1126 H quil ne  
1127 L esbahy  
1128 L pas  
1129 L mais  
1130 LB sesloingnoit  
1131 B ly  
1132 A que

1133 B no sil  
1134 B soy  
1135 B ly  
1136 C et allerent [no sen]  
1137 L .x. milles bien  
petites  
1138 L no ne  
1139 L et  
1140 A quant a  
1141 D oncques ~~tant~~ [tant  
*superscript*]  
1142 C quil  
1143 L sus  
1144 AD no pres

1145 C no de rechief  
1146 C faisoient  
1147 C voua  
1148 H dieux *superscript* L  
no dieux B beaux sire pere  
1149 L a  
1150 B mes *superscript*  
1151 B no je  
1152 L livre  
1153 C entre les  
1154 LD silz  
1155 AD no le BC la

As he thus spoke, the army approached the castle and surrounded it in fine array, as far as the waters permitted. Then the earl of Northumberland went up to duke Henry, who was assembled with his men at the foot of the castle rock. They conferred for a considerable time and decided that the duke would not enter the castle until the King had dined, because he was fasting; thus the earl returned to the castle. When the table was prepared, the King sat down to dinner and had the bishop of Carlisle, the earl of Salisbury and the two knights – Sir Stephen Scrope and Ferriby – sit down, saying thus:

‘My good, true and loyal friends, since you are in mortal danger for being loyal, be seated with me.’

Meanwhile a great number of knights, squires and archers detached themselves from duke Henry’s army and came to the castle, eager to see their King, not for any good that they wished him, but on account of their great desire to put him to death. They went to see him dine and gave it to be understood [fo. 49r.] throughout the castle that, as soon as the duke came, all those who were with the King – bar none – would lose their heads; and they said furthermore that they knew not whether the King would be spared or not.

When this news was heard, fear struck into everyone’s heart, for Nature teaches every creature to fear death above all things. As for me, I do not think that I was ever so afraid as I was then, considering the utter contempt they showed and their total disregard for law, right or loyalty. And because Nature compelled me to fear death, my companion and I approached Lancaster Herald, who had come to the castle along with a great number of men to see the King. I begged him that for the love of Our Lord he would help us save our lives, and that he would please take us to duke Henry, his master; he replied that he would do so most willingly.

Ainsi disant, aproucha l'ost du chastel et l'environna tout jusques a la mer par tresbelle<sup>1156</sup> ordonnance. Lors ala le conte de Northomberlant devers le duc Henry, le quel estoit rengié avecques ses gens au pié des montaignes. Ilz parlerent assez longuement ensemble et conclurent qu'il<sup>1157</sup> n'entreroit<sup>1158</sup> point ou<sup>1159</sup> chastel, jusques a tant que le roy eust disné, pour la cause de ce<sup>1160</sup> qu'il jeu-noit;<sup>1161</sup> ainsi le conte retourna ou<sup>1162</sup> dit chastel. La table mise, le roy s'assist au disner et fist asseoir l'evesque de Kerlille, le conte<sup>1163</sup> de Salsebery et les deux chevaliers – Sire Estienne Scroup<sup>1164</sup> et Ferbric – disant en telle maniere:

'Mes bons, vrais et<sup>1165</sup> loyaulx\* amis, estant<sup>1166</sup> en peril de mort pour loyauté maintenir,<sup>1167</sup> sées vous avecques moy.'

Cependant se departirent grant quantité de chevaliers, d'escuiers et d'archiers<sup>1168</sup> de l'ost du duc Henry et vindrent ou dit chastel, desirans<sup>1169</sup> a<sup>1170</sup> veoir leur roy,<sup>1171</sup> non pas<sup>1172</sup> pour bien qu'ilz lui voulsissent, maiz pour<sup>1173</sup> la grant ardeur qu'ilz avoient de le destruire et faire morir. Ilz l'alerent voir disner et publierent [fo. 49r.] par tout le chastel que, tantost que le duc seroit venus, tous ceulx qui estoient avecques luy<sup>1174</sup> – sans nul excepter – avoient les<sup>1175</sup> testes tranchees; et encores disoient ilz que on ne savoit<sup>1176</sup> mie se<sup>1177</sup> le roy eschaperoit<sup>1178</sup> ou non.

Ces nouvelles oÿes, un chascun pour soy ot grant paour et grant freeur au cuer, car Nature ensengne a toute creature craindre et redoubter<sup>1179</sup> la mort plus que nule autre chose. Et<sup>1180</sup> tant qu'a moy, je<sup>1181</sup> ne cuide mie que jamaiz j'aie<sup>1182</sup> si grant paour comme j'euz pour l'eure, consideré la grant desrision d'eulx et le non voloir<sup>1183</sup> entendre droit, raison ne loyauté.<sup>1184</sup> Et pour ce que Nature me contraingnoit d'avoir freeur de la mort, mon compaignon et moy advisames Lancastre le herault, le quel avec<sup>1185</sup> grant quantité de gens estoit venu<sup>1186</sup> ou<sup>1187</sup> dit chastel devers le roy. Si lui priay que pour l'amour de Nostre Seigneur il nous aidast a sauver la vie, et qu'il lui pleust de<sup>1188</sup> nous mener devers le duc Henry, son maistre; lors nous respondi qu'il le feroit tresvolentiers.

1156 C no tres	1167 B no maintenir	1178 L en eschaperoit
1157 D quilz	1168 L et escuriers et	1179 C no et redoubter
1158 B nentreroient	archiers	1180 L en
1159 C au	1169 C desirant	1181 AD certes je
1160 AD no de ce	1170 L de C no a	1182 A je aye eu D je aye
1161 H <u>jeunoit</u>	1171 L no leur roy	plus
1162 ABD au	1172 AD mye	1183 L et non voulans
1163 AD et le conte	1173 AD par	1184 AD loyaute ne raison
1164 AD messire	1174 L avecques le roy	1185 C avoit
guillaume seroup	1175 B aroient le	1186 ACD venus
1165 B no et	1176 C quilz ne savoient	1187 AD au
1166 LACD estans	1177 C si	1188 C no de

The King sat a very long time at table, not that he ate much, but because he knew well that as soon as he had eaten, the duke would come to fetch him to take him away or to have him killed; also he was left a long time at table because he was fasting for Our Lady.<sup>137</sup> After he had dined, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Northumberland went to fetch the duke of Lancaster, who left his men splendidly arrayed in front of the castle and came to the King, with nine or eleven of the greatest lords who were of his company.

[fo. 49v.] At the entrance to the castle, Lancaster Herald took us to the duke. Kneeling before him, the said herald told him in English that we were French, that the King [of France] had sent us to Ireland with King Richard, as a diversion and to see the country, and that for God's sake he wished to have our lives spared. Then replied the duke to us in French:

'Be not afraid of anything you see, my sons,<sup>138</sup> but stay close to me and I will keep you safe.'

This reply fell most joyfully on our ears.

Then the duke entered the castle, wearing all his armour except for his helmet, as you can see in this picture.<sup>139</sup> Then the King, who had dined in the keep, was made to come down and meet duke Henry who, as soon as he caught sight of him, bowed low to the ground; as they approached one another he bowed a second time, with his hat in his hand. And then the King took off his cowl and spoke first, addressing the duke thus:

<sup>137</sup> Page 197, line 5. *il jeunoit les marseces*. *Marseche(s)* is commonly attested as meaning 'feast of the Annunciation'. But Lady Day is 25 March and this is August. Creton probably means the feast of the Assumption, 15 August. Richard had an especial veneration for the Virgin Mary, and would naturally celebrate this day. See Sherborne, *War, Politics and Culture*, p. 149 n. 57.

<sup>138</sup> Page 197, line 17. *Mes enfans*. *Supra*, Introduction, p. 27.

<sup>139</sup> Page 197, line 21. *comme vous povez veoir en ceste ystoire*. A reference to Figure XIV, at the head of fo. 50r., showing Lancaster making obeisance to Richard.



Le roy fu a table moult longuement, non mie<sup>1189</sup> pour chose qu'il mengast gueres, maiz pour ce qu'il savoit bien que, tantost qu'il avroit disné, le duc<sup>1190</sup> le venroit<sup>1191</sup> querre pour l'enmener<sup>1192</sup> ou pour le faire mourir; et aussi<sup>1193</sup> ilz<sup>1194</sup> le laisserent longuement a table, pour la cause de ce qu'il<sup>1195</sup> jeunoit les marseces.<sup>1196</sup> Après ce qu'il ot disné, l'archevesque de Cantorbie et le conte de Northomberlant alerent querre<sup>1197</sup> le duc de Lancastrre, le quel se parti d'avecques ses gens, qui estoient rengez par tresbelle ordonnance devant le chastel, et s'en vint, lui .x.<sup>c</sup> ou lui .xii.<sup>c</sup><sup>1198</sup> des plus grans seigneurs qui estoient avecques lui, devers le roy.

[fo. 49v.] A l'entree<sup>1199</sup> du chastel nous mena Lancastrre le herault devant le duc.<sup>1200</sup> Agenoilliez a terre lui dist<sup>1201\*</sup> le dit herault en langage englesch que nous estions de France, et que le roy nous avoit envoié<sup>1202</sup> avecques le roy Richart en Irlande pour esbatre et pour veoir le país, et que pour Dieu il nous vouldist sauver la vie. Et lors nous respondi le duc en françoiz:

'Mes enfans, n'aiez paour ne freeur de chose que vous voiez, et vous tenez pres de moy, et je vous garantiray la vie.'

Ceste response nous fu<sup>1203</sup> moult joieuse a oÿr.<sup>1204</sup>

Aprés entra le duc ou chastel, armé de toutes pieces excepté de bacinet, comme<sup>1205</sup> vous pavez veoir en ceste ystoire.<sup>1206</sup> Lors fist on descendre le roy, qui avoit<sup>1207</sup> disné ou dongon, et venir a l'encontre du duc Henry le quel, de si loing qu'il l'avisa,<sup>1208</sup> s'enclina assez bas a tere;<sup>1209</sup> et en aprouchant l'un de l'autre, il s'enclina la seconde foiz, son chapel en sa<sup>1210</sup> main. Et lors le roy osta son chapperon et parla premier,<sup>1211</sup> disant en telle maniere:

1189 H mie *superscript*  
LB no mie

1190 C que le duc

1191 C viendroit

1192 B lamener

1193 AD ainsy

1194 B no ilz

1195 A pour cause de quil

B pour ce quil D pour cause de ce quil

1196 H marseces AD  
marseches B marchesses

1197 C querir

1198 B ly disieme ou ly

.xi.<sup>c</sup>

1199 B lentre

1200 AD le duc henry

1201 *all mss* et lui dist

1202 LACD envoyes

1203 B fust

1204 B a joye [*no oÿr*]

1205 C ainsi comme

1206 A no comme vous

pavez veoir en ceste ystoire

1207 C ot

1208 B quil advisa

1209 B no a tere

1210 LBC la

1211 L premiers AD le premier

**[fo. 50r.] Figure XIV: Lancaster makes obeisance to King Richard at Flint.**

**§33 Lancaster meets the King at Flint; their exact words are reported.**

‘Fair cousin of Lancaster, you are most welcome.’

Then duke Henry replied, bowing low to the ground:

‘Monseigneur, I have come sooner than you asked; I will tell you the reason why. Your people regularly say that for twenty or twenty-two years you have ruled them very badly and with an iron hand, such that they are not happy. But please God I will help you to govern them better than they have been ruled in the past.’

Then King Richard replied:

‘Fair cousin of Lancaster, since that is your wish, it is our wish too.’

And know for sure [fo. 50v.] that these are the very words that they exchanged with nothing taken out or added, for I heard them quite clearly. Also the earl of Salisbury repeated them to me in French, along with another old knight – one of duke Henry’s councillors – who told me as we were riding to Chester that Merlin and Bede<sup>140</sup> had foretold in their lifetime the capture and death of the King; were I in his castle he would show me their prophecy as I had seen it happening. He said:

**§34 The prophecy of Merlin and Bede.**

‘There will be a king in England who will reign between 20 and 22 years in great majesty and power. He will be allied and connected to the people of France; the said king will be undone in the north of the country, in a three-cornered place.’

The knight told me that thus it was written in a book of his.

<sup>140</sup> Page 199, lines 20–21. *avoient Merlin et Bede prophesisé*. Creton is typical of his time in invoking their joint testimony. Cf Christine de Pizan, *Diuié de Jehanne d’Arc*, ed. A.J. Kennedy and K. Varty (Oxford, 1977), p. 34, ll. 241–248. Also Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. de Queux and Raynaud, I, no. 26, p. 106, l. 6; VI, no. 1200, p. 185, l. 18; and Cropp and Hanham, ‘Richard II from donkey to royal martyr’, pp. 111–117. Like most prophecies, those in the *Prinse et mort* came to light after the event. See Strohm, *England’s Empty Throne*, pp. 6–8.

**[fo. 50r.] Figure XIV: Lancaster makes obeisance to King Richard at Flint.**

**§33 Lancaster meets the King at Flint; their exact words are reported.**

‘Beau cousin de Lancastre, vous soiez le tresbienvenu.<sup>1212</sup> Lors respondi le duc Henry, encliné assés bas a terre:<sup>1213</sup> ‘Monseigneur, je sui venu<sup>1214</sup> plus tost que vous<sup>1215</sup> ne m’avez mandé; la raison pour quoy, je le vous diray. La commune renommee de vostre peuple si est telle: que vous<sup>1216</sup> les avez par l’espace de .xx. ou .xxii.<sup>1217</sup> ans tresmauvaisement et tresrigoreusement gouvernez, et tant qu’ilz n’en sont pas bien content.<sup>1218</sup> Maiz s’il plaist a Nostre Seigneur, je le<sup>1219</sup> vous aideray a gouverner mieulx<sup>1220</sup> qu’il n’a<sup>1221</sup> esté gouverné<sup>1222</sup> le<sup>1223</sup> temps passé.’

Le roy Richart lui respondi alors:

‘Beau cousin de Lancastre, puis qu’il vous plaist, il nous plaist bien.<sup>1224</sup>

Et sachiez de certain<sup>1225</sup> [fo. 50v.] que ce sont les propres paroles qu’ilz dirent eulx deux ensemble, sans y riens prendre ne adjouster, car je les oy et entendy assez bien. Et si le mes<sup>1226</sup>\* recorda le conte de Salsebery en françoiz et un autre ancien chevalier,<sup>1227</sup> qui estoit des conseillers du duc Henry, le quel me dist en chevauchant a Cestre que la prise du roy et la destruccion avoient<sup>1228</sup> Merlin et Bede prophecisé<sup>1229</sup> des leur vivant; et que se j’estoie en son chastel, il le<sup>1230</sup> me monsteroit en la forme et maniere<sup>1231</sup> comme je l’avoie veu advenir, disant ainsi:

**§34 The prophecy of Merlin and Bede.**

‘Il aura un roy en Albie,\* le quel regnera l’espace de<sup>1232</sup> .xx. a<sup>1233</sup> .xxii. ans en grant honneur et en grant puissance. Et sera alié et adjoint<sup>1234</sup> avecques ceulx de Gaule; le quel roy sera desfait es parties du nort en une place triangle.’

Ainsi me<sup>1235</sup> dist le chevalier qu’il estoit escript<sup>1236</sup> en un sien<sup>1237</sup> livre.

1212 ACD tres bienvenus	1222 LACD gouvernez	1230 B no le
1213 AD a la terre	1223 L du	1231 AD no et maniere
1214 ACD venus	1224 B no il nous plaist	B et la maniere
1215 B no vous	bien	1232 C no l'espace de
1216 AD no vous	1225 C no de certain	1233 ABC ou D ou de
1217 BCD ou de .xxii.	1226 LACD les me B me	1234 ACD aliez et ajoints
1218 LB comptens	les	1235 A ainsi le me
1219 AD desormais je les	1227 B chevalier ancien	1236 C estoit ainsi escript
1220 C mielx a gouverner	1228 B avoit	1237 C son
1221 A quilz nont	1229 L prophetie	

He identified the three-cornered place as the town of Conway, and in this he was right, for I can tell you that it is triangular, as if it had been measured exactly. The King was completely undone in the said town of Conway, for the earl of Northumberland drew him out – as you have already heard – by means of the agreement that he made with him; since then the King was powerless.

Thus did the said knight hold this prophecy to be true and lent it great credence, for their character is such in their country that they believe wholeheartedly in prophecies, ghosts and spells and have great recourse to them. But it seems to me that this is not a good thing, but is rather a great lapse of faith.

### §35 Richard leaves Flint in Lancaster's custody.

[fo. 51r.] **A**s you have heard, duke Henry came to the castle and spoke to the King, to the bishop of Carlisle and to the two knights – Sir Stephen Scrope and Ferriby – but he did not speak to the earl of Salisbury. Rather did he have a knight say to him:

‘Earl of Salisbury,<sup>141</sup> you can be sure that, for as much as you would not consent to speak to Monseigneur the duke of Lancaster when he and you were in Paris last Christmas, he will not speak to you.’

Then the earl of Salisbury was very afraid and his heart filled with dread, for he could see<sup>142</sup> that the duke mortally hated him.

Duke Henry said in a fierce and merciless voice:  
‘Bring the King's horses.’

And then two sorry nags, scarcely worth 40 francs, were brought to him. The King mounted on one and the earl of Salisbury on the other. Everyone got on horseback and we left the castle of Flint around two hours after midday.

<sup>141</sup> Page 201, line 18. *Conte de Salsebery. Supra*, Introduction, pp. 24–25.

<sup>142</sup> Page 201, line 23. *il vëoit bien que le duc le haioit mortelemen*. This was Salisbury's realization that he was in poor standing with Lancaster. *Supra*, ll. 2156–2164 and note.

La place triangle, il l'aproprioit<sup>1238</sup> a la ville de Cornüay, et de ce avoit il<sup>1239</sup> tresbonne raison, car je vous say<sup>1240</sup> bien a dire qu'elle est en triangle, comme<sup>1241</sup> se<sup>1242</sup> elle eust esté<sup>1243</sup> ainsi<sup>1244</sup> compassee par vraie et<sup>1245</sup> juste mesure. En la dicte ville de Cornüay fu le roy assez des-fait, car le conte de Northomberlant le tira hors<sup>1246</sup> – comme vous avez oÿ devant – par le traittié qu'il fist a lui; et depuis n'ot nulle puissance.

Ainsi tenoit le dit chevalier ceste prophecie vraie et y adjoustoit grant foy,<sup>1247</sup> car il<sup>1248</sup> sont\* de telle nature en leur pays que en proph-ecies,<sup>1249</sup> en fanthomes<sup>1250</sup> et<sup>1251</sup> sorceries croient tresparfaitement et en usent tresvolentiers.<sup>1252</sup> Maiz il m'est advis que ce n'est pas bien fait, ains est<sup>1253</sup> grant faulte de creance.

**§35 Richard leaves Flint in Lancaster's custody.**

[fo. 51r.] Ainsi comme vous avez oÿ, vint le duc Henry ou chastel et parla au roy, a l'evesque de Kerlille et aux deux<sup>1254</sup> chevaliers – Sire Estienne Scroup<sup>1255</sup> et Ferbric – maiz au conte de Salsebery ne parla il point. Ains lui fist dire par<sup>1256</sup> un chevalier en telle maniere:

'Conte de Salsebery, sachiez de certain que, nyent plus que vous ne<sup>1257</sup> daignastes parler a Monseigneur le duc<sup>1258</sup> de Lancastre, quant lui et vous<sup>1259</sup> estiez a Paris au Noël derreinerement passé, il ne parlera a vous.'

Lors fu le conte moult<sup>1260</sup> esbahi et ot<sup>1261</sup> grant paour et<sup>1262</sup> freur au cuer, car il veoit bien que le duc le haioit mortelement.

Le quel duc Henry dist moult hault d'une<sup>1263</sup> voix fiere et crueuse:  
'Amenez les chevaulx du roy.'

Et lors on lui admena deux petis chevaulx, qui<sup>1264</sup> ne valoient mie .xl. frans. Le roy monta sur l'un, et le conte de Salsebery<sup>1265</sup> sur l'autre. Chascun monta a cheval, et partismes du dit chastel de Flint environ deux heures après<sup>1266</sup> midi.

1238 ABD approprioit  
1239 L no il  
1240 C fay  
1241 H comme  
1242 C si  
1243 C estee  
1244 L no ainsi  
1245 B no et  
1246 AD dehors  
1247 ABD foy et creance  
C foy et certain  
1248 ABD ilz

1249 L et aussi ceulx du  
pays en fanthomes et  
sorceries croient tres  
parfaitement [no car ...  
prophecies]  
1250 H en fanthoimes  
A et fanthomes  
1251 AD et en  
1252 AD volentiers  
1253 B no est  
1254 C no deux  
1255 AD guillaume  
seroup C estienne de scroup

1256 C pour  
1257 L no ne  
1258 AD no le duc  
1259 C vous et lui  
1260 AD bien  
1261 A et en ot  
1262 L no paour et  
1263 AD et dune  
1264 AD les queieux  
1265 H sasebery  
1266 C empres

**§36 Richard is taken to Chester by Lancaster. From now on Creton is forbidden to speak to him.**

Duke Henry captured King Richard, his lord – in the way that you have heard – and brought him with great rejoicing to Chester, whence he had set off that morning. And you should know that you could scarcely have heard the voice of God thundering, on account of the great noise and crashing sounds made by their instruments – horns, bugles and trumpets – so much so that they made the whole seashore resound.

Thus did the duke enter the town of Chester and the common people bowed down low before him, praising Our Lord; they called after their King, as if to mock him. The duke took him straight to the castle, which is very fine and strong, and made him take up his quarters in the keep. Then he handed him into the custody of the sons of the duke of Gloucester<sup>143</sup> [fo. 51v.] and the earl of Arundel, who hated him more than any man alive, for King Richard had had their fathers killed. There the King saw his brother – the duke of Exeter – but neither dared nor was able to speak to him.

Soon afterwards the duke sat down to dinner and had the Archbishop of Canterbury sit above him; below him at some distance were seated the duke of Exeter – brother to King Richard – the earl of Westmorland,<sup>144</sup> the earl of Rutland, the earl of Northumberland and Sir Thomas Percy. All these were seated at duke Henry's table, and the King remained in the tower with his close friends, the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle and the two knights. And from that time onwards we were not able to see him, except out in the country as we rode. And we were forbidden to speak to him any more or to any of the others.

<sup>143</sup> Page 203, lines 13–14. *au filz du duc de Clocestre et au filz au conte d'Arundel. Supra*, l. 1633, note. Humphrey Plantagenet, earl of Buckingham, only son of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester. His triumph over Richard was short-lived, as he died on the march to London and was buried at Waltham Abbey, Essex. See Cockayne (ed.), *Complete Peerage*, s.v. 'Humphrey of Buckingham'. For Arundel's son, see *ODNB*, s.v. 'Fitzalan, Thomas, fifth earl of Arundel and tenth earl of Surrey (1381–1415)'.

<sup>144</sup> Page 203, lines 20–21. *le conte de Westmerland*. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Neville, Ralph, first earl of Westmorland (c.1364–1425)'.

**§36 Richard is taken to Chester by Lancaster. From now on Creton is forbidden to speak to him.**

En la forme et maniere que vous avez oÿ, prist le duc Henry le roy Richart – son seigneur<sup>1267</sup> – et l'enmena<sup>1268</sup> a Cestre, dont il estoit partis<sup>1269</sup> le matin, a grant joie et a grant consolacion. Et sachiez que a grant paine eust on<sup>1270</sup> oÿ Dieu tonnant,<sup>1271</sup> pour le grant bruit et son de leurs instrumens – cors, buisines et trompetes – et tant qu'ilz<sup>1272</sup> en faisoient retentir toute la greve de la mer.

Ainsi entra le duc dedens la ville de Cestre, au quel le commun peuple<sup>1273</sup> fist tresgrant reverence, en<sup>1274</sup> loant Nostre Seigneur.<sup>1275</sup> et criant après leur roy ainsi comme<sup>1276</sup> par mocquerie. Le duc l'enmena tout droit ou chastel, le quel est moult bel et moult fort, et le fist logier ou dongon. Et lors le bailla en garde au filz du<sup>1277</sup> duc de Clocestre et au [fo. 51v.] filz au<sup>1278</sup> conte d'Aron del, les quelx le haioient<sup>1279</sup> plus que tous les hommes du monde, car le roy Richart avoit fait morir leurs peres. La vit il son frere, le duc d'Excestre, maiz il n'osa ne ne pot parler a lui.

Tantost après s'assist le duc au disner et<sup>1280</sup> fist asseoir au dessus<sup>1281</sup> de lui l'archevesque de Cantorbie et au dessoubz assez loing<sup>1282</sup> le duc d'Excestre – frere du roy Richart – le conte de Westmerland,<sup>1283</sup> le conte de Rotelant, le conte de Northomberland et Messire Thomas de Persi. Tous ceulx furent assiz a la table du duc Henry, et le roy demoura en la tour avecques ses bons amis, le conte de Salsebery, l'evesque de Kerlille et les deux chevaliers. Et de la en avant nous ne le poions voir, se ce<sup>1284</sup> n'estoit aux champs en chevauchant. Et nous fist on<sup>1285</sup> deffendre que nous ne parlissons plus<sup>1286</sup> a lui ne a nulz<sup>1287</sup> des autres.

1267 L *no* son seigneur  
 1268 L lamena  
 1269 L parti  
 1270 AB on *superscript*  
 1271 B tonner  
 1272 C quil  
 1273 B le peuple  
 1274 A et  
 1275 B nostresire

1276 H comme *superscript*  
 LB *no* comme  
 1277 D au  
 1278 B du  
 1279 C hairent  
 1280 L seoir C *no* et fist  
 asseoir  
 1281 C au dessoubz  
 1282 L et au dessoubz de  
 la assez loing AC et au

dessoubz et assez loing de  
 luy D et au dessoubz assez  
 loing de luy  
 1283 AD merland  
 1284 L *no* ce  
 1285 B nous en fist [on  
*superscript*]  
 1286 B *no* plus  
 1287 L nul

**§37 Lancaster sets off from Chester to take Richard to London. At Lichfield Richard attempts unsuccessfully to escape.**

Duke Henry remained three days at Chester and held a great Council. They decided that since the King had been captured he had too many men, and thirty to forty thousand men<sup>145</sup> would be enough to take the King to London; otherwise the country would be quite devastated, since it had been extensively despoiled when they came. Thus the duke had most of his men withdraw, and left Chester on the fourth day after the King's capture, and took the direct road to London.

He arrived at Lichfield<sup>146</sup> – a very pretty little town – and there poor King Richard attempted to escape from them by night; he slid down into a garden through the window of a stout tower where he had been lodged. But I think that it was not Our Lord's will [fo. 52r.] that he escape, for he was seen and very roughly cast back into the tower. And from then on – at all hours of the night – ten or twelve armed men guarded him without sleeping.

**§38 A deputation from London demands that Richard be summarily executed. He and Lancaster continue via Coventry and St Albans. Near London, Lancaster hands the King over to the mayor and a large number of liverymen.**

Now it came about that the citizens of London<sup>147</sup> heard the news of the capture of their rightful lord – King Richard – and set out in most prestigious company; that is to say that five or six of the greatest merchants – governors of the city – rode out as fast as they could to meet duke Henry.

<sup>145</sup> Page 205, lines 6–7. *trente a quarante mille hommes*. An impossibly large number for a much reduced portion of Lancaster's army.

<sup>146</sup> Page 205, line 12. *Licfeild*. John Pallays and John Seymour, esquires of the household, tried to rescue Richard at Lichfield. See Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 225.

<sup>147</sup> Page 205, line 25. *ceulx de Londres*. For the role of the citizens of London in the deposition of Richard, see M. McKisack, 'London and the succession to the Crown during the Middle Ages', in R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, and R.W. Southern (eds), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F.M. Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 84–85.



**§37 Lancaster sets off from Chester to take Richard to London. At Lichfield Richard attempts unsuccessfully to escape.**

Le duc Henry demoura .iii. jours a Cestre et tint moult<sup>1288</sup> grant conseil. Ilz<sup>1289</sup> conclurent<sup>1290</sup> qu'il<sup>1291</sup> avoit trop grant quantité de gens, puis que le roy estoit pris, et que ce seroit assez de trente a quarante mille hommes pour mener le dit roy<sup>1292</sup> a Londres, et que autrement<sup>1293</sup> le país seroit trop grevé, veu que<sup>1294</sup> tresgrandement avoit esté gasté au venir. Ainsi fist<sup>1295</sup> le duc retraire la plus grant partie de ses gens,<sup>1296</sup> et parti de la ville de Cestre le .iiii.<sup>c</sup> jour après la prise, et prist le droit chemin a Londres.

Il arriva a Liceflit<sup>1297</sup> – une tresbelle petite ville<sup>1298</sup> – et la leur cuida le povre roy Richart<sup>1299</sup> eschaper par nuit, et se laissa couler en un jardinage<sup>1300</sup> parmy une fenestre d'une grosse tour, ou ilz l'avoient logié. Maiz je croy qu'il ne plaisoit pas [fó. 52r.] a Nostre Seigneur qu'il eschapist, car il fu aperceuz<sup>1301</sup> et fu moult vilainement reboutez<sup>1302</sup> dedens la tour. Et de la en avant – a toutes les heures de la nuit – il avoit .x. ou .xii. hommes armez, qui le gardoient sans point dormir.

**§38 A deputation from London demands that Richard be summarily executed. He and Lancaster continue via Coventry and St Albans. Near London, Lancaster hands the King over to the mayor and a large number of liverymen.**

Or advint il ainsi que ceulx de Londres oyrent les nouvelles de la prinse de leur droit seigneur – le roy Richart – les quelx se partirent a tresbelle compaignie: c'est assavoir .v. ou .vi.<sup>1303</sup> des plus grans bourgeois – gouverneurs<sup>1304</sup> de la dicte ville – vindrent<sup>1305</sup> a force d'esperon a l'encontre du duc<sup>1306</sup> Henry.

1288 AD <i>no</i> moult	1295 B le fist	1301 LB apparceu
1289 D il	1296 LC sa gent	1302 LACD reboute
1290 H conclurent	1297 HL lueflit	1303 AD cinq ou six cens
1291 D quilz	1298 AD une petite ville	1304 A <i>no</i> gouverneurs
1292 AD pour le mener	tresbelle	C bourgeois de
B pour mener le roy	1299 AD <i>no</i> richart	gouverneurs
1293 C et ou que le país	1300 AD couler a terre en	1305 D ilz vindrent
1294 B <i>que</i> superscript	gardinage	1306 L du dit henry

And you may know that I heard it said by several knights and squires that, as soon as they met the duke they demanded on behalf of the citizens of London that King Richard – their rightful lord – and all those who were captured with him should be beheaded, without being taken on any further. Duke Henry would not grant this request and excused himself as reasonably as he could, saying,

‘Messeigneurs, we would be in deep disgrace for all time if we put the King to death like that. But we will take him to London and there he will be judged by Parliament.’

The duke left Lichfield and rode on with all his army until he came to Coventry, which is a very fair town. But before they could arrive there, the Welsh<sup>148</sup> inflicted great injury and mischief on him, killing and robbing many of his men. Sometimes they set the English quarters on fire; certainly this filled me with great joy. The English were not able to capture any of them, except by chance. And when they could catch [fo. 52v.] any of them, they tied them with ropes to the tails of their horses and dragged them along the rough and stony roads; thus did they inflict a cruel and painful death on them.

The duke crossed their hills as quickly and as best he could; he reached the town of Coventry and stayed two days there. Then he moved on to St Albans, a very fine town with a beautiful abbey, and thence straight to London.<sup>149</sup> When he was about five or six miles from the city, the mayor accompanied by a very great number of liverymen<sup>150</sup> – each trade arrayed in their particular striped garments, and bearing arms – came to meet duke Henry, with great numbers of instruments and trumpets playing, and manifesting great joy and pleasure; a sword was borne in front of the mayor, as before the King.

<sup>148</sup> Page 207, line 12. *les Galoiz*. If this were true, the Welsh were some way from home.

<sup>149</sup> Page 207, line 24. *de la tout droit a Londres*. The detailed itinerary provided by the Monk of Evesham is to be preferred, although Creton has correctly given the main halting-places on the route to London. See *Chronicles of the Revolution*, ed. Given-Wilson, p. 130; for further information, see *ibid.* p. 40 and n. 58.

<sup>150</sup> Page 207, lines 26–27. *communes – ordonnez et vestus chascun mestier par soy de divers draps royez*. The striped garments are livery. In Figure XV, an attempt has been made to portray their gowns as striped, although they should have been of two colours. See G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, 4th edn (London, 1963; originally published 1908), p. 191. *Communes* has been translated here as ‘liverymen’, as it was the prosperous employer groups of a craft who wore the distinctive livery. See C.M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200–1500* (Oxford, 2004), p. 214.

Et sachiez que j'oÿ recorder a plusieurs chevaliers et escuiers que, tantost qu'ilz furent arrivés devers le duc, ilz lui requirent de par la commune<sup>1307</sup> de Londres que a leur droit seigneur – le roy Richart – on tranchast la teste, et a<sup>1308</sup> tous ceulx qui estoient pris avecques lui, sans le<sup>1309</sup> mener plus avant. La quelle requeste le duc<sup>1310</sup> Henry ne vost faire ne accorder, et s'excusa le plus sagement qu'il pot, disant:<sup>1311</sup> 'Beaux Seigneurs, ce seroit trop grant vitupere a tousjours maiz<sup>1312</sup> pour nous, se<sup>1313</sup> nous le faisons ainsi mourir. Maiz nous le menrons a Londres, et la sera jugié par le<sup>1314</sup> Parlement.'

Le duc se parti de Liceflit<sup>1315</sup> et chevaucha tant a<sup>1316</sup> tout son ost qu'il arriva a Covimtry, qui est tresbonne ville. Maiz ains qu'ilz<sup>1317</sup> y<sup>1318</sup> peussent<sup>1319</sup> venir, lui<sup>1320</sup> firent les Galoiz moult de dommaiges et de despit,<sup>1321</sup> et tuerent<sup>1322</sup> grant quantité de sa gent<sup>1323</sup> et destrousserent. Aucunesfoiz venoient ilz bouter<sup>1324</sup> le feu ou les Anglois estoient logiez, et certes j'en avoie tresgrant<sup>1325</sup> joie. Et si n'estoient pas en la puissance des Engloiz d'en prendre nulz<sup>1327</sup> se<sup>1328</sup> d'aventure non. Et quant ilz en povoient aucuns [fo. 52v.] atraper, ilz les lioient<sup>1329</sup> de cordes a la queue<sup>1330</sup> de leurs chevaux et les traynoient parmy les chemins plains de pierres;<sup>1331</sup> ainsi les faisoient mourir mauvasement et a grant paine.

Le duc passa leurs montaignes au plus tost et au de mieulx qu'il pot, et arriva en<sup>1332</sup> la dicte<sup>1333</sup> ville Covimtry, et y<sup>1334</sup> sejourna deux jours. Après s'en ala a Saint Alban, ou il a tresbonne ville et belle abbaie, et<sup>1335</sup> de la<sup>1336</sup> tout droit a Londres. Quant il aproucha a .v. ou a<sup>1337</sup> .vi. mille pres de la dicte ville, le maire acompaignié de tresgrant quantité de communes – ordonnez<sup>1338</sup> et vestus chascun mestier<sup>1339</sup> par<sup>1340</sup> soy de divers draps royez, et armez – vindrent a l'encontre du duc<sup>1341</sup> Henry, a grant quantité d'instrumens et de trompetes, demenant<sup>1342</sup> grant joie et grant<sup>1343</sup> consolacion; et la portoit on l'espee devant le dit maire comme devant le roy.

1307 B le commun AD *no*  
de par la commune de  
londres  
1308 D *no* a  
1309 LACD les  
1310 B la quelle ~~le duc~~  
requeste le duc  
1311 C en disant  
1312 L *no* maiz  
1313 C si  
1314 AD *no* le  
1315 AD lirefil  
1316 L o  
1317 AD quil

1318 B *no* y  
1319 AD peust C puissent  
1320 C leur  
1321 C et grant despit  
1322 H tuerent  
1323 AD ses gens  
1324 B ilz et boutoient  
1325 C grant  
1326 C *no* si  
1327 C un  
1328 C si  
1329 B *no* les D lyent  
1330 L aux queues  
1331 A plains despines

1332 L a  
1333 C *no* dicte  
1334 AD la  
1335 B *no* et  
1336 B la *superscript*  
1337 D *no* a  
1338 B ordonnee  
1339 B *no* mestier  
1340 C pour  
1341 ACD du dit duc  
1342 L demenans  
1343 B *no* grant

When they met, they greeted the King and then duke Henry; they made much greater reverence to him than to the King, shouting out in their own tongue in an awesome voice:

'Long live the good duke of Lancaster!'

And they said one to the other that God had revealed a miracle to them when He sent them the said duke, and how he had conquered all of England in less than a month; and that the man who could prevail like that ought to be King. And for this they most devoutly praised and thanked Our Lord, saying that it was His will, for otherwise the duke could not have done it. These foolish and credulous men also said that he would conquer a large part of [fo. 53r.] the world, and were already comparing him to Alexander the Great.<sup>151</sup>

As they thus talked and cast their minds forward, they came to within two miles of the city, and there the whole company stopped, all together. Then said duke Henry to the liverymen of London in a ringing voice:

'Messeigneurs, here is your King. Make up your minds what you want to do with him.'

And they replied loudly:

'We want him to be taken to Westminster.'

Thus he handed him over to them. At that point the duke reminded me of Pilate,<sup>152</sup> who had Our Lord Jesus Christ scourged at the stake and then led before the multitude of the Jews, saying,

'Messeigneurs, here is your King.'

And they replied:

'Let Him be crucified.'

Then did Pilate wash his hands and say:

'I am innocent of the blood of this just man' and handed Our Lord over to them. In the same way did duke Henry behave when he handed over his rightful lord to the liverymen of London so that, should they have him killed, he could say:

'I am innocent of this deed.'

<sup>151</sup> Page 209, line 12. *Alixandre le Grant*. One of the Nine Worthies. *Infra*, p. 327, ll. 4–6, note.

<sup>152</sup> Page 209, lines 19–20. *me souvint il de Pilate*. Matthew 27:22–24, 26.

A l'assambler le saluerent et le duc Henry après, au quel ilz firent trop plus grant reverence qu'ilz n'avoient fait au roy,<sup>1344</sup> criant<sup>1345</sup> en leur langage d'une haulte voix et espoventable: 'Vive le bon duc de Lancastre!'

Et disoient<sup>1346</sup> l'un a l'autre que Dieux leur avoit monstré<sup>1347</sup> beau miracle,<sup>1348</sup> quant il<sup>1349</sup> leur avoit envoié le dit duc,<sup>1350</sup> et comment<sup>1351</sup> il avoit conquis tout le royaume d'Engleterre en<sup>1352</sup> moins d'un moys; et que bien devoit estre roy, qui ainsi savoit conquerir. Et en looient et gracioient<sup>1353</sup> Nostre Seigneur moult devotement, disant que c'estoit sa volenté, et que autrement ne l'eust il peu avoir fait.<sup>1354</sup> Encores disoient les foles et incredules<sup>1355</sup> gens qu'il conquerroit une des grans<sup>1356</sup> parties du [fo. 53r.] monde, et le<sup>1357</sup> comparoient desja a Alixandre le Grant.

Ainsi disant et monopolant, aproucherent de la ville sicomme a deux mile,<sup>1358</sup> et la s'arresta<sup>1359</sup> tout l'ost d'une partie et d'autre. Lors dist le duc Henry moult hault aux communes<sup>1360</sup> de la dicte<sup>1361</sup> ville:

'Beaux Seigneurs, veyc vostre roy. Regardez que vous en volez faire.'<sup>1362</sup>

Et<sup>1363</sup> ilz respondirent a haute voix:

'Nous voulons<sup>1364</sup> qu'il soit mené a Wemoustre.'<sup>1365</sup>

Et ainsi il<sup>1366</sup> [le] leur delivra. A celle heure me souvint il<sup>1367</sup> de Pilate, le quel fist battre Nostre Seigneur<sup>1368</sup> Jhesucrist a l'estache, et après le fist mener devant le turbe<sup>1369</sup> des Juifs, disant: 'Beaux Seigneurs, veyc vostre roy.'

Les quelz respondirent:

'Nous voulons qu'il soit crucifié.'

Alors Pilate en lava ses mains, disant:

'Je sui innocent du sanc juste.'

Et ainsi leur delivra<sup>1370</sup> Nostre Seigneur. Assez semblablement fist le duc Henry, quant son droit seigneur livra au turbe<sup>1371</sup> de Londres, afin telle que, s'ilz<sup>1372</sup> le faisoient mourir, qu'il peust<sup>1373</sup> dire:

'Je sui innocent de ce fait icy.'<sup>1374</sup>

1344 AD a leur roy	1355 AD les foles et	1364 B nous vous voulons
1345 L crians	mauvaises et incredules	1365 L wemoustier
1346 B disant	1356 AD plus grandes	ABD westmoustier
1347 B avoit fait monstre	1357 A la	1366 B no il
1348 AD beaux miracles	1358 B lieues mille	1367 A no il
1349 C ilz	1359 B et la s-- se arresta	1368 C saulveur
1350 L le dit duc henry	C et dela sarresta	1369 AD le cure
1351 B et communement	1360 AD aux dictes	1370 B et ainsi delivra
comment	communes	delivra
1352 D a	1361 AD no dicte	1371 AD aux turbes
1353 L loerent et	1362 A or regardez que	B livra <del>et</del> [au <i>superscript</i> ]
gracioient C loient	vous en ferez ne voulez faire	turbe
H gracioient	D or regardez que vous en	1372 D sil
1354 AD neust il peu faire	feriez ou voulez faire	1373 B puist
ne avoit fait	1363 AD no et	1374 C cy

**[fo. 53v.] Figure XV: Lancaster hands King Richard over to the liverymen of London.**

**§39 King Richard is taken to Westminster. Lancaster goes to St Paul's and then to St John's Priory, Clerkenwell.**

Thus did the liverymen of London take their King to Westminster.<sup>153</sup> The duke went round the city to enter by the main gate, in order to pass along their great thoroughfare called Cheapside. He entered the city at the hour of Vespers and came directly to St Paul's. The people shouted after him in the streets: 'Long live the good duke of Lancaster!'

And they called blessings down upon him in their own tongue, expressing such great joy and exultation that I believe they would not have voiced greater had Our Lord God descended amongst them.

The duke dismounted at St Paul's and went to pray, fully armed, at the high altar. Then he turned away to his father's tomb,<sup>154</sup> which is quite near the said altar; you should know that it is a very richly ornamented sepulchre. There he wept most bitterly, as he had not seen it since [fo. 54r.] his father had been laid in it.

He remained five or six days at St Paul's, then left and went to St John's Priory,<sup>155</sup> a hospice of the Knights' Templar, which is outside the city of London.

**§40 Creton and his companion return to France.**

When we had seen and thought about these things, which filled my heart with grief and pain, and also since I was eager to leave their country, my companion and I went to duke Henry and begged him to grant us safe-conduct to come back to France; this he did right willingly.

<sup>153</sup> Page 211, lines 5–6. *Ainsi enmenerent les comunes ... leur roy a Wemoustre*. Professor Strohm writes of 'a variant version of Creton's account of Richard's humiliation at the hands of Henry IV in London', *England's Empty Throne*, pp. 23–24 n. 52. This is the *Chronique de la traïson et mort*, ed. Williams, pp. 63–64, 215; see also Palmer, 'French Chronicles', 61:1 (1978), p. 181, no. 33.

<sup>154</sup> Page 211, line 16. *le tumbel de son pere*. *Supra*, I, 1117, note.

<sup>155</sup> Page 211, line 21. *Saint Jehan de Jherusalem – hospital de Templiers*. St John's Priory, Clerkenwell was the chief house in England of the Knights Hospitaller. See *Victoria History of the Counties of England: Middlesex*, I, pp. 193ff.

**[fo. 53v.] Figure XV: Lancaster hands King Richard over to the liverymen of London.**

**§39 King Richard is taken to Westminster. Lancaster goes to St Paul's and then to St John's Priory, Clerkenwell.**

Ainsi enmenerent les comunes et le turbe de Londres leur roy a Wemoustre.<sup>1375</sup> Et le duc<sup>1376</sup> tourna<sup>1377\*</sup> autour de<sup>1378</sup> la ville pour entrer par la maistre porte de Londres, affin telle qu'il passast par la grant rue qu'ilz appellent la Chipstrate.<sup>1379</sup> Il entra dedens la ville a heure de vespres et s'en vint tout droit a Saint Pol. La crioit le peuple après lui par les rues:

'Vive le bon duc de Lencastre!'<sup>1380</sup> Et le benissoient en leur langaige, demenant<sup>1381</sup> grant joie et consolacion, et telle que je croy que se Nostre Sire<sup>1382</sup> Dieux feust descenduz<sup>1383</sup> entre eulx,<sup>1384</sup> ilz ne l'eussent<sup>1385</sup> pas fait plus grant.

Il descendi a Saint Pol et ala tout armé<sup>1386</sup> devant le maistre autel faire ses oroisons. Après retourna par le tumbel de son pere, qui est<sup>1387</sup> assez pres du dit autel; et sachiez que c'est une tresriche sepulture.<sup>1388</sup> La ploura il moult fort, car il ne l'avoit veue<sup>1389</sup> depuis que [fo. 54r.] son pere y avoit esté mis.

Il demoura a Saint Pol .v. ou .vi. jours. Après se parti<sup>1390</sup> et s'en ala a Saint Jehan de Jherusalem – hospital de Templiers – qui est hors de la ville<sup>1391</sup> de Londres.

**§40 Creton and his companion return to France.**

Ces choses veues et considerees, les quelles me faisoient moult de mal et de douleur au cuer, et aussi moy desirant estre hors de leur país, alasmes devers le dit duc Henry<sup>1392</sup> mon compaignon et moy, en lui suppliant qu'il nous vouldist ottroier saufconduit pour revenir en France, le quel le<sup>1393</sup> nous ottroya volentiers.

1375 L wemoustier	1381 L demenans	1388 H sepulture
ABD westmoustier	1382 AD se nostreseigneur	LB sepulcre
1376 B no et C et le roy	C si nostre sire	1389 H lavovait veue
1377 H tourna	1383 L descendu	LABCD lavoit veu
ACD tournoya	1384 B <del>encontre</del> entre	1390 C et puis party
1378 C no de	eulx C fu desetuz <del>mortelz</del>	1391 AD la dicte ville
1379 HL la thipstrate AD	entreux	1392 B le [dit <i>superscript</i> ]
le choistrate B le tipstrate	1385 B neussent	duc [henry <i>superscript</i> ]
C chipstrate	1386 AD tout droit arme	1393 L il B no le
1380 H dalencastre	1387 B est <i>superscript</i>	
LABCD de lencastre		

Thus we left duke Henry and rode until we came to Dover. We crossed the sea and arrived at Calais, where we scarcely lingered, for I was most anxious to reach France.

And then shortly afterwards, considering their rebellions, wickedness, betrayals and mockery of their rightful lord – King Richard – I wrote a *ballade*, which begins thus:

**§41 Lines 2296–2334. Imprecatory *ballade*, cursing Lancaster.**

**O**h, Henry, who for the present are the ruler of the land of King Richard, who was so powerful, whom you cast aside and expelled and whose treasure you stole and took for yourself, who are the image of treachery. Now everyone knows that never was man so falsely betrayed as you betrayed your King; you cannot hide this. You had him condemned in an arbitrary ruling; for this, on the Last Day you will forfeit body and soul.

For falsely and furtively, being banished, [fo. 54v.] you stole his country without issuing a challenge. It certainly seems to me that this was not a worthy thing for you to do, considering that he was abroad fighting his enemies in Ireland, where he received many painful blows from the Irish, who are as fierce as lions. He knighted your eldest son.<sup>156</sup> Alas! You forgot to reward him. This is a great sin of which the whole world holds you guilty; for this, on the Last Day you will forfeit body and soul.

<sup>156</sup> Line 2314. *Ton filz ainsné y fist chevalier*. Creton is going over events so far: the campaign in Ireland, *supra*, ll. 69–609, 793–809; Henry of Monmouth being knighted, *supra*, ll. 137–144; and Northumberland tricking Richard, *supra*, ll. 1653–2120.



Ainsi partismes nous du duc Henry et chevauchasmes tant que nous vinmes a Douvre. Nous passasmes la mer et arrivasmes a Calais, en la quelle ville nous n'arrestames gueres, car quant a moy, j'avoye grant desir d'estre en France.<sup>1394</sup>\*

Et lors<sup>1395</sup> un pou après,<sup>1396</sup> consideré les rebellions, les maulx, les traïsons et derisions<sup>1397</sup> qu'ilz avoient fait a leur droit seigneur – le roy Richart – j'en fiz une<sup>1398</sup> balade, la quelle se commence en tele maniere:

**§41 Lines 2296–2334. Imprecatory ballade, cursing Lancaster.\***

O tu, Henry, qui as en gouvernance	2296
Pour le present la terre et le pais	
Du roy Richart, qui tant ot <sup>1399</sup> de puissance,	
Le quel tu as hors bouté <sup>1400</sup> et demis	
Et tous ses biens apropriez et mis <sup>1401</sup> *	2300
A toy, qui es <sup>1402</sup> mirouer de <sup>1403</sup> traïsons.	
Or scet chascun c'onques maiz trahis <sup>1404</sup> homs	
Si faulcement ne fu, comme tu as	
Trahi ton roy; celer ne le peus pas.	2304
Jugier l'as <sup>1405</sup> fait par jugement infame;	
Tu en perdras en la fin corps et ame.	
Car faulcement, sans mander deffiance,	
En larrecin, toy estant fourbanis,	2308
[fo. 54v.] Luy as emblé sa terre. Grant vaillance	
N'est pas a toy – certes ce m'est advis –	
Veü qu'il estoit hors sur ses ennemis	
En Irlande, ou mains durs horions	2312
Receut d'Irlois, <sup>1406</sup> qui sont fiers <sup>1407</sup> com lions.	
Ton filz ainsné y fist <sup>1408</sup> chevalier. Las!	
Le guerredon a lui rendre oublias. <sup>1409</sup>	
C'est grant pechié, tout le monde t'en blasme;	2316
Tu en perdras en <sup>1410</sup> la fin corps et ame.	

1394 HLBC *no* ainsi  
partismes...en france  
[paragraph wholly missing]  
1395 AD *no* et lors  
1396 C apres moy revenu  
en france [*no* et lors un pou  
apres]

1397 AD et les derisions  
1398 B *no* une  
1399 AD ot tant  
1400 AD boute hors  
1401 C *line* 2300 *omitted*  
1402 H *es*  
1403 D et

1404 H trahis  
1405 B la  
1406 C du bois  
1407 C durs fiers  
1408 B est fust  
1409 C oublie as  
1410 BC a

For you did not keep faith with him, as you had sworn and promised to do, when treacherously and in the name of reconciliation you sent to him Northumberland, who swore on the Host that you would be his friend. Therefore before the time was right the King left his castles and quietly made his way towards you. Alas! You carried him off in shame and humiliation; for this, on the Last Day you will forfeit body and soul.

Princes and kings, knights and barons, French, Flemings, Germans and Bretons ought to attack you immediately, for you have committed the most horrid crime of any man: this is an ignoble distinction for you; for this, on the Last Day you will forfeit body and soul.

**§42 Lines 2335–2361. Creton rails against the English.**

[fo. 55r.] **W**hen I had finished my *ballade* I was no longer so very sick as I had been, and angry at the great injury that I had seen the English do: overthrowing their lord like traitors and usurpers; please God, may every tyrant work swiftly for their destruction. I think this would win salvation for all those who quickly and eagerly attacked them. For they are so steeped in evil, in falsehood and in wrong – in

Car a ly n'as tenu foy n'aliance,  
 Comme juré l'avoies<sup>1411</sup> et promis,  
 Quant faintement et<sup>1412</sup> en nom d'assurance 2320  
 Northomberlant par toy lui fu tramis,  
 En promettant sur le<sup>1413</sup> corps Dieu qu'amis<sup>1414</sup>  
 Tu lui seroies, et que c'estoit raisons.  
 Ainsi le roy, ains qu'il en feust saisons, 2324  
 De ses chasteaulx wida, et hault et bas  
 Vers toy s'en vint treshumblement. Helas!  
 Honteusement l'enmenas<sup>1415</sup> a diffame;  
 Tu en perdras en la fin corps et ame. 2328

Princes et roys, chevaliers et barons,  
 François, Flamencs, Alemans et Bretons  
 Deveroient\* courre sur<sup>1416</sup> toy plus que le pas,  
 Car tu as fait le plus horrible cas 2332  
 C'onques fist homs: c'est pour toy laide fame;  
 Tu en perdras en la fin corps et ame.

**§42 Lines 2235–2361. Creton rails against the English.**

[fo. 55r.] Quant j'oz<sup>1417</sup> achevé ma balade,  
 Je ne fui maiz<sup>1418</sup> si tresmalade 2336  
 Que j'avoie esté par devant  
 De courroux, et pour<sup>1419</sup> le mal grant  
 Que je leur avoie veu faire:  
 De leur seigneur ainsi defaire 2340  
 Comme traîtres et tirans;  
 Plust a Dieu que chascun tirans  
 Fust brief a leur destrucion.  
 Ce seroit la salvacion – 2344  
 Ce cuide je<sup>1420</sup> – pour<sup>1421</sup> trestous ceulx,  
 Qui de bon cuer courir sur<sup>1422</sup> eulx  
 Yroient et de volenté.  
 Car ilz sont en mal si enté, 2348

<sup>1411</sup> B avoies

<sup>1412</sup> AD *no* et

<sup>1413</sup> B *no* le C par le

<sup>1414</sup> B que ~~enemis~~ amis

<sup>1415</sup> L lamenas

<sup>1416</sup> L sus

<sup>1417</sup> B je oyz

<sup>1418</sup> L pas

<sup>1419</sup> C par

<sup>1420</sup> A cuidroy je

D cuidoye [*no* je]

<sup>1421</sup> C par

<sup>1422</sup> L sus

word and deed – that I firmly believe that there is no race beneath the heavens that is like theirs, considering their actions, which are not worthy or virtuous according to law and justice. But if I err in saying this, forgive me, for I have seen the evil in them that makes me speak so.

**§43 Lines 2362–2376. Back in France, Creton expresses a wish to know how events concluded.**

[fo. 55v.] **A**s you have heard, I had returned from their country quite short of money and finery, and I often thought that – at whatever cost – I needed to know the end of the business that they had started, concerning their King whom they were holding in shameful imprisonment at Westminster; this redounded to their discredit, and always will, for as long as they live. Certainly they will never have any honour, at least among faithful people, considering their very many acts of wrongdoing.

En faulceté et en oultrage –  
 En fait, en dit et en langage –  
 Que certes je croy fermement  
 Qu'il n'a desoubz le fiermament<sup>1423</sup> 2352  
 Generacion qui ressemble  
 A la leur – sicomme il me semble –  
 Voire consideré leur fais,  
 Qui ne sont loyaulx ne parfaiz 2356  
 Selon droit, raison et justice,  
 Ce<sup>1424</sup> m'est advis. Maiz se je vice<sup>1425\*</sup>  
 A le<sup>1426</sup> dire, pardonnez le<sup>1427</sup> moy,  
 Car j'ay veu<sup>1428</sup> en eulx le desroy, 2360  
 Qui m'en<sup>1429</sup> fait si avant parler.

**§43 Lines 2362–2376. Back in France, Creton expresses a wish to know how events concluded.**

[fo. 55v] Ainsi qu'avez oy compter,<sup>1430</sup>  
 Fui<sup>1431</sup> de leur païs revenus,<sup>1432</sup> 2364  
 D'argent et de robe assez nus,<sup>1433</sup>  
 Et pensay<sup>1434</sup> souvent en mon cuer  
 Qu'il me failloit – a quelque fuer –  
 Savoir la fin de leur affaire,  
 Et comment il<sup>1435</sup> vorent<sup>1436</sup> parfaire 2368  
 Ce qu'il<sup>1437</sup> avoient entrepris  
 De leur roy, qu'ilz tenoient pris  
 A Wemoustre<sup>1438</sup> commë infame;  
 Ce fu pour eulx moult laide fame 2372  
 Et sera, tant qu'ilz vivront.<sup>1439</sup>  
 Certes jamaiz honneur n'aront,  
 Au moins entre les gens loyaulx,  
 Consideré leurs tresgrans maulx. 2376

1423 B firamment  
 1424 B que ce *superscript*  
 1425 L se jay vice AD se  
 vice [no je] B se je veisce C si  
 je veisce vice  
 1426 A a le dire  
 1427 LA pardonnez moy

1428 H je veu LACD jay  
 veu B je vy  
 1429 C me  
 1430 C oy parler compter  
 1431 ABD suis  
 1432 L revenu  
 1433 L nu

1434 B pense  
 1435 LABCD ilz  
 1436 LB voudrent  
 1437 LABD ce quilz  
 1438 LC wemoustier  
 ABD westmonstier  
 1439 BCD vivront

**§44 Lines 2377–2412. Creton meets a clerk returned from England, who takes up Richard's story.**

Thus I remained a long time in Paris, ignorant of what they were doing with their lord and King, whom they held imprisoned in shame and suffering for many a long day – this was a great crime – until a clerk whom duke Henry had taken with him when he left Paris, returned, sad and dejected, on account of the great wickedness he had witnessed there. He had remembered it all quite clearly, for he related it to me when he came back from there, [fo. 56r.] saying that he would not accept all the wealth in England, were he obliged to spend his life there in return, so great is the English hatred of the French.

Then he told me how they had most wrongfully imprisoned their King at Westminster, when duke Henry arrived latterly in London. The duke went directly to St Paul's and then to St John's, a Templar hospice a short way outside the walls. It was his pleasure to remain there a full two weeks,<sup>157</sup> without leaving; then he went off to his estates in the county of Hereford. This is what the clerk told me; he was there and could observe all their disloyal deeds and conduct.

<sup>157</sup> Line 2405. *Quinze jours*. Creton says that Lancaster stayed five or six days at St Paul's, *supra*, p. 211, l. 20, but gives no indication of how long he remained at St John's Priory, *supra*, p. 211, ll. 21.

**§44 Lines 2377–2412. Creton meets a clerk returned from England, who takes up Richard's story.**

Ainsi demouray longuement  
 A Paris, sans savoir comment  
 Ilz firent du roy, leur seigneur,  
 Qu'ilz tindrent a honte et douleur 2380  
 Moult longuement en leur prison –  
 Dont ilz firent grant mesprison –  
 Tant q'un clerc, que le duc Henry  
 En avoit mené avec ly, 2384  
 Quant il se parti de Paris,  
 Retourna tristes et maris  
 Pour le grant mal qu'il y ot veu.  
 Le quel assez bien retenu 2388  
 L'avoit, car il le<sup>1440</sup> me compta,<sup>1441</sup>  
 Quant retournez fu par deça,  
 [fo. 56r.] Disant qu'il ne voroit<sup>1442</sup> avoir  
 D'Engleterre pas<sup>1443</sup> tout l'avoir, 2392  
 Et qu'il y dust user sa vie,  
 Tant ont ilz sur Françoisz envie.  
 Après me dist comment<sup>1444</sup> le roy  
 Avoient mis par grant desroy 2396  
 A Wemoustre<sup>1445</sup> et enfermé,  
 Quant le duc Henry arivé  
 Fu a Londres nouvellement.  
 A Saint Pol ala droitement 2400  
 Et puis a Saint Jehan après,  
 Qui est hors des murs assez pres:  
 Un<sup>1446</sup> hospital des Templiers.  
 La fu le duc moult volentiers 2404  
 Quinze jours tous plains sans partir;  
 Après s'en volt il departir  
 Et s'en ala en<sup>1447</sup> sa conté  
 De Harford. Tout ainsi conté 2408  
 Le m'a le clerc qui y estoit,  
 Et qui asez bien regardoit  
 Trestous leurs faiz et leur covine,  
 Qui n'estoient pas en plevine.<sup>1448</sup> 2412

<sup>1440</sup> L *no* le<sup>1441</sup> L recompta<sup>1442</sup> L vaulroit<sup>1443</sup> C *no* pas<sup>1444</sup> LBC comme<sup>1445</sup> LC wemoustier

ABD westmonstier

<sup>1446</sup> *all mss* cest un<sup>1447</sup> LC a<sup>1448</sup> B en leur plevine

**§45 Lines 2413–2424. The date is to be set for the Deposition Parliament.**

The duke remained in the said county for three weeks and then came back to London, for the commons had summoned him. Then he was told that the date for Parliament should be set. This pleased [fo. 56v.] duke Henry greatly and he readily agreed; it was his dearest wish, for he knew perfectly well that the King would be deposed and that he would be made King.

**§46 Lines 2425–2444. The Deposition Parliament meets.**

Duke Henry had his men called to attend, and they were swift to obey. I am profoundly amazed that God could suffer the evil that was in their thoughts.

As I heard it, it was on the first Wednesday of October<sup>158</sup> that they all gathered. Alas! King Richard had few friends in that company, for they all wanted to depose him without delay. So they did, but I truly believe that they will pay dearly for it, as the righteous Judge in Heaven above, familiar with their words and deeds, will punish them in time, even if they meet with no other punishment.

<sup>158</sup> Lines 2431–2432. *le premier mercredi / D'ottobre*. The correct date is Monday 6 October. See Saul, *Richard II*, p. 423.



**§45 Lines 2413–2424. The date is to be set for the Deposition Parliament.**

En<sup>1449</sup> la ditte conté se tint  
 Trois sepmaines et puis revint  
 A Londres, car le commun mandé  
 L'avoit.<sup>1450</sup> La ly fu commandé<sup>1451</sup> 2416  
 Que la journee fust eslitte  
 Du Parlement. Ce moult delitte  
 [fo. 56v.] Le duc Henry, et sans atendre  
 Il y vot de bon cuer entendre, 2420  
 Car c'estoit son plus grant plaisir,  
 Pour ce qu'il sçot bien sans mentir  
 Que le roy y seroit desfait,  
 Et què il<sup>1452</sup> y seroit roy fait. 2424

**§46 Lines 2425–2444. The Deposition Parliament meets.**

Ainsi fist asambler ses gens,  
 Qui furent asez diligens  
 A son mandement et conseil.  
 Certes trop fort je me merveil<sup>1453</sup> 2428  
 Comment<sup>1454</sup> Dieux souffrir leur pouvoit  
 Le mal que chascun la pensoit.  
 Ce fu le premier mercredi  
 D'ottobre – sicomme l'entendi<sup>1455</sup> – 2432  
 Qu'ilz<sup>1456</sup> furent tous ensemble mis.  
 Las!<sup>1457</sup> Le roy Richart pou d'amis  
 Avoit en celle compaignie,  
 Car ilz avoient tous envie 2436  
 De le desfaire\* assez<sup>1458</sup> briefment.  
 Si firent il,<sup>1459</sup> maiz vraiment  
 Je croy qu'ilz le comparront chier,  
 Car le juste<sup>1460</sup> et vray justichier, 2440  
 Qui est la sus en Paradis  
 Connoisant leurs faiz et leurs dis,\*  
 Une foiz les en pugnira,  
 S'autre pugnission n'y a. 2444

1449 B et en	1453 A je mesmerveil	1457 L lors BC la
1450 AD <i>no</i> lavoit	1454 B come	1458 H <u>desfaire assez</u>
1451 A la et luy a	1455 H ABCD je lentendi	L ABCD de le faire mourir
commande	L <i>no</i> je	<sup>1459</sup> L ABCD ilz
<sup>1452</sup> B et quil	<sup>1456</sup> AD qui BC quil	<sup>1460</sup> BC <del>vray</del> juste

**[fo. 57r.] Figure XVI: The Deposition Parliament. The empty throne, with Lords Spiritual on the left and Lords Temporal on the right.**

**§47 Lines 2445–2478. Those present at the Deposition Parliament.**

Thus there gathered on an evil day at Westminster, outside the city of London – this was no lie – firstly all the prelates: archbishops and bishops. Alas! What were they thinking? What was in their hearts? They must have been mad to agree to such a Parliament.

After the dukes in the first rank were marquesses, earls and knights: squires, archers and several degrees of men, who were neither great-hearted nor high-minded, [fo. 57v.] but false and disloyal traitors; there were so many of them that I hardly dare tell you. First to enter the hall were leading citizens who had previously – as I heard – had the throne made ready in magnificent state, for they hoped to elect another King; this they did, to their shame, as you will hear later.

**[fo. 57r.] Figure XVI: The Deposition Parliament. The empty throne, with Lords Spiritual on the left and Lords Temporal on the right.**

**§47 Lines 2445–2478. Those present at the Deposition Parliament.**

Ainsi firent leur asamblee,  
 Qui estoit<sup>1461</sup> de mal<sup>1462</sup> enpensee,  
 A Wemoustre,<sup>1463</sup> hors de<sup>1464</sup> la ville  
 De Londres – ce ne fu<sup>1465</sup> pas guille\* – 2448  
 Premièrement tous les<sup>1466</sup> prelas:  
 Archevesques, evesques. Las!  
 Quelle<sup>1467</sup> pensee? Quel courage?  
 Bien avoient au cuer la rage 2452  
 De consentir tel Parlement.  
 Après les ducs premierement  
 Marquis, contes et chevaliers:  
 Escuiers, varlés et archiers 2456  
 Et plusieurs manieres de gens,  
 Qui n'estoient nobles ne gens  
 [fo. 57v.] Mais traîtres faulx et felons;  
 La estoient par si grans mons 2460  
 Qu'a paine l'oseroie dire.<sup>1468</sup>  
 En la sale sans contredire  
 Entrerent les maieurs devant,  
 Les quelx avoient<sup>1469</sup> par avant 2464  
 Fait – sicomme j'ouÿ compter –  
 Le siege royal aprester  
 Par tresgracieuse ordonnance,  
 Car ilz<sup>1470</sup> avoient esperance 2468  
 D'eslire la un autre roy;  
 Si firent ilz par grant desroy,  
 Comme vous orrez cy après.

<sup>1461</sup> AD est [D *cross in left margin*]  
<sup>1462</sup> A de tout mal  
<sup>1463</sup> L wemoustier  
 ABD westmoustier

<sup>1464</sup> HLBCD *no de*  
 A hors de  
<sup>1465</sup> *all mss* ce nest  
<sup>1466</sup> B le

<sup>1467</sup> HABCD quel  
 L quelle  
<sup>1468</sup> B le sarocie je dire  
<sup>1469</sup> B avoient **avoie**  
<sup>1470</sup> B car il

Seated round the throne and near to it were the prelates, more than six in number. On the other side all the lords – of high, middle and lesser rank – were seated in fine order; never did I hear tell of such.

### §48 Lines 2479–2528. Creton names the peers present at the Deposition Parliament

Duke Henry was seated foremost, and nearest to him the duke of York,<sup>159</sup> his cousin – who was not well disposed towards his nephew, King Richard. Next on the same side sat the duke of Aumale<sup>160</sup> – son of the duke of York – [fo. 58r.] and then the good duke of Surrey,<sup>161</sup> who remained loyal and true. Next to him sat the duke of Exeter, who could not have been happy, since he could see in front of him the means of deposing the King, his brother german; this was the will of everyone there that day.

Also on this side was one named the Marquess<sup>162</sup> – he was lord of extensive lands – and then the earl of Arundel<sup>163</sup> (who was young and fleet of foot.) The earl of Norfolk<sup>164</sup> was not left out of the tally, neither was the earl of March.<sup>165</sup> From another region came

<sup>159</sup> Line 2481. *Le duc de Iorc – son beau cousin*. The duke of York was uncle to both Richard and Lancaster. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Edmund [Edmund of Langley], first duke of York (1341–1402)'.  
<sup>160</sup> Line 2485. *Le duc d'Aumarle*. The earl of Rutland, *supra*, ll. 93–94, note.

<sup>161</sup> Lines 2487–2489. *Le ... duc de Soulbray / ... le duc d'Excestre*. *Supra*, ll. 829, 827, notes. They had been separated from Richard after Lancaster detained them in Chester.

<sup>162</sup> Line 2497. *le Marquis*. John Beaufort was half-brother to Henry Lancaster. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Beaufort, John, marquess of Dorset and marquess of Somerset (c.1371–1410)'.  
<sup>163</sup> Line 2499. *le conte d'Arundel*. For the fifth earl of Arundel whom Lancaster had guard the King at Chester, *supra*, p. 203, l. 14, note.

<sup>164</sup> Line 2501. *de Norevic le conte*. Thomas Mowbray, elder son of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, did not succeed to the dukedom. His father had been banished along with Henry Lancaster in 1398, and had died in exile in the previous month, *supra*, ll. 474–475, note. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Mowbray, Thomas, first duke of Norfolk (1366–1399)'. Young Thomas was taken to Ireland by Richard and was probably knighted along with Henry of Monmouth, *supra*, ll. 149–150. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Mowbray, Thomas, second earl of Nottingham (1385–1405)'.  
<sup>165</sup> Line 2503. [*le conte*] *de la Marche*. This is unlikely, as he was just a child (b. 1391). See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Mortimer, Edmund, fifth earl of March and seventh earl of Ulster (1391–1425)'. He was the son of the earl of March mentioned *supra*, l. 354.

Entour le dit siege asez pres 2472  
 Estoient les prelas assis,  
 De quoy il y avoit plus de sis.  
 D'autre costé tous les seigneurs –  
 Grans, moyens, petiz et meneurs<sup>1471</sup> – 2476  
 Assiz par ordonnance belle;  
 Oncques n'oÿ parler de telle.

**§48 Lines 2479–2528. Creton names the peers present at the Deposition Parliament.**

Premiers sëoit le duc Henry,  
 Et puis tout au plus pres de ly 2480  
 Le duc d'iorc<sup>1472</sup> – son beau cousin –  
 Qui n'avoit pas le cuer trop fin  
 Vers son nepveu, le roy Richart.<sup>1473</sup>  
 Après de ceste mesme part 2484  
 Le duc d'Aumarle se sëoit,  
 Qui filz au duc d'iorc<sup>1474</sup> estoit,  
 [fo. 58r.] Et puis le bon duc de Souldray,  
 Qui fu tousjours loyal et vray. 2488  
 Après sëoit le duc d'Excestre,  
 Qui ne devoit pas joyeux estre,  
 Car il vëoit<sup>1475</sup> devant ly faire  
 L'apareil pour le roy desfaire, 2492  
 Qui estoit son frere germain;  
 De ce faire au soir et au main  
 Avoient tous grant voulenté.  
 Après estoit de ce costé 2496  
 Un autre qui ot non le Marquis –  
 Seigneur estoit de grant païs –  
 Et puis le conte d'Arondel,  
 Qui est<sup>1476</sup> asez jeune et ysnel. 2500  
 Après de Norevic<sup>1477\*</sup> le conte  
 Ne fu pas oublié ou<sup>1478</sup> compte,  
 Aussi ne fu cil<sup>1479</sup> de la Marche.  
 Après y ot d'une autre marche 2504

<sup>1471</sup> C menuz  
<sup>1472</sup> all mss diorc  
<sup>1473</sup> B le [mark of omission]  
 richart [roy at line end]

<sup>1474</sup> all mss diorc  
<sup>1475</sup> A voyoit  
<sup>1476</sup> B estoit  
<sup>1477</sup> all mss norvic

<sup>1478</sup> A au  
<sup>1479</sup> B no cil

one who was the earl of Stafford,<sup>166</sup> who did not like being at peace with his lord, King Richard. Also seated on this side was a peer whom I heard called earl and baron Pembroke,<sup>167</sup> and right near him sat the earl of Salisbury, who remained loyal to the end, so much did he bear a tender love for the King; [fo. 58v.] the earl of Umestat<sup>168</sup> was there, so I heard.

All the other earls, lords and the greatest of the land were of that assembly, all wishing and planning to elect another King: in fine array were the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland,<sup>169</sup> on their feet all day, and for the better accomplishment of the part they had to play, they often fell to their knees; I know not why.

### §49 Lines 2529–2549. The Archbishop of Canterbury's sermon.

Then the Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>170</sup> stood up and preached before the people in Latin: *Habuit Jacob benedictionem a patre suo*,<sup>171</sup> how Jacob had received the blessing instead of Esau, even though Esau was the elder son of Isaac; that is true.

<sup>166</sup> Line 2505. *le conte de Stanforde*. Thomas, earl of Stafford, died at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. See Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, pp. 225–227.

<sup>167</sup> Line 2510. *Conte de Panebroc*. There was no earl of Pembroke in 1399.

<sup>168</sup> Line 2515. *le conte d'Umestat*. Creton, 'Translation of a French Metrical History', ed. Webb, p. 194 n. i., suggests Edward de Courtenay, earl of Devon (1377–1419), called 'the blind earl'. See Cockayne (ed.), *Complete Peerage*, s.v. 'Edward (de Courtenay), Earl of Devon'.

<sup>169</sup> Lines 2524–2525. *le conte de Westmerland*. *Supra*, p. 203, ll. 20–21, note.

<sup>170</sup> Lines 2529–2530. *L'archevesque ... / De Cantorbie*. *Supra*, l. 471, note.

<sup>171</sup> Lines 2532–2536. *Habuit Jacob benedictionem a patre suo ... Filz d' Isaac*. Genesis 27:27–29. This text bears no relationship to the theme of the archbishop's sermon reported in the Rolls of Parliament and by the chroniclers.

Un qui fu<sup>1480</sup> conte de Stanforde,<sup>1481</sup>  
 Le quel n'aimoit<sup>1482</sup> pas la concorde  
 De son seigneur, le roy Richart.  
 Encor<sup>1483</sup> s'ëoit de ceste part 2508  
 Un que j'ouÿ asés nommer  
 Conte de Panebroc et ber,  
 Et tout au plus pres de cely<sup>1484</sup>  
 Sist le conte de Salsebery<sup>1485</sup> 2512  
 Qui fu loyal jusqu'a<sup>1486</sup> la fin,\*  
 Tant ama le roy de cuer fin;  
 [fo. 58v.] Le conte d'Umestat y fu,  
 Sicomme je l'ay entendu. 2516  
 Tous<sup>1487</sup> autres contes et seigneurs,  
 Et du royaume les greigneurs,  
 Estoient a celle assamblee,  
 Aians volenté et pensee 2520  
 D'eslire la un autre roy:  
 La estoient<sup>1488</sup> par bel aroy  
 Le conte de Northomberlant  
 Et le conte de Westmerland 2524  
 Toute jour\* en estant sans soir,  
 Et pour mieulx faire leur devoir  
 S'agenoilloient moult souvent;  
 Je ne say pour quoy ne comment. 2528

**§49 Lines 2529–2549. The Archbishop of Canterbury's sermon.**

L'archevesque après se leva  
 De Cantorbie et sermonna<sup>1489</sup>  
 Devant tout le peuple en latin,  
 Et pourposa jusqu'en<sup>1490</sup> la fin 2532  
*Habuit Jacob benedictionem a patre suo.*<sup>1491</sup>  
 Comment<sup>1492</sup> Jacob avoit eü  
 Benison en lieu d'Esau,  
 Non obstant qu'il estoit l'ainné  
 Filz de Isaac,<sup>1493\*</sup> c'est<sup>1494</sup> verité. 2536

1480 C *no* fu

1481 AD scaforde

1482 C navoit

1483 A encore

1484 LABD cellui C li

1485 C salsbery

1486 AB jusques a

D jusques en

1487 B tou [s *written over* t]

es

1488 L et la estoit

1489 H sermonna

1490 B jusques en C

jusqua [*no* en] D jusqua en

1491 A *no* suo

1492 B comme

1493 HLB disant

ACD disaac

1494 B ceste

Alas! What a text for a sermon! He preached it in order to demonstrate, in conclusion, that King Richard should have no share [fo. 59r.] in the kingdom of England, and that the prince<sup>172</sup> should have had the realm and the land. These people had completely forgotten that they had all – great and small – acknowledged King Richard as their rightful King and lord for twenty-two years; subsequently in an arbitrary judgement they deposed him by common accord.

**§50 Lines 2550–2578. A document is read out which claims that Richard has resigned the throne.**

When the archbishop had finished his sermon in Latin, a lawyer<sup>173</sup> who was also a notary and a very learned scholar got up and asked for silence. He began to read aloud a document which said that Richard – formerly King of England – had in another place, confessed, freely and without use of force, that he was neither capable nor worthy: wise, circumspect nor benevolent enough to rule; he wanted to relinquish the crown into the hands of another worthy man who was nobler and wiser than he. This is what they agreed to have been said – rightly or wrongly – [fo. 59v.] by King Richard, unlawfully imprisoned in London.

<sup>172</sup> Line 2543. *le prince*. Henry Lancaster.

<sup>173</sup> Line 2552. *Un juriste*. Sir William Thirning. See Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility*, p. 222; H.G. Richardson, 'Richard II's last Parliament', *English Historical Review*, 52 (1937), pp. 40, 42–43.



Elas! Quel tiexste de sermon!  
 Pour monstrer en conclusïon  
 Le faisoit que le roy Richart  
 Ne devoit avoir nulle part 2540  
 [fo. 59r.] A la couronne\* d'Engleterre,  
 Et que le royaume et la terre  
 Deüst le prince avoir eüue.  
 Ceste gent<sup>1495</sup> bien desconneüue 2544  
 Estoit, quant par<sup>1496</sup> vint et deux ans  
 L'avoient tous – petiz et grans –  
 Tenu pour droit roy et seigneur;  
 Et puis après<sup>1497</sup> par grant erreur 2548  
 L'ont par commun accort desfait.

**§50 Lines 2550–2578. A document is read out which claims that Richard has resigned the throne.**

Quant l'archevesque ot parfait  
 Son sermon en latin langaige,  
 Un juriste, qui fu moult saige 2552  
 Docteur et si estoit notaire,  
 Se leva et fist les gens taire.  
 Car il commencha haultement  
 A lire la un instrument, 2556  
 Qui contenoit comment<sup>1498</sup> Richart –  
 Jadiz roy d'Engleterre – a part  
 Avoit coneu et confessé  
 Sans force, de<sup>1499</sup> sa volenté 2560  
 Qu'il n'estoit ydoine ne digne:  
 Saige ne<sup>1500</sup> prudent ne benigne  
 Pour la couronne gouverner,  
 Et qu'il la vouloit resiner 2564  
 En la main d'un autre pseudomme,  
 Qui fust noble et plus sage homme  
 Qu'il n'estoit. Ainsi par accort  
 Firent dire – fust droit ou<sup>1501</sup> tort – 2568  
 [fo. 59v.] Au roy Richart en la prison  
 De Londres par grant mesprison.

<sup>1495</sup> B *no* gent

<sup>1496</sup> A *no* par

<sup>1497</sup> C *empres*

<sup>1498</sup> BC *comme*

<sup>1499</sup> ACD *et de*

<sup>1500</sup> C *no* ne

<sup>1501</sup> AD *fust*

And then in this said Parliament the document was read before them all; the witnesses were bishops and abbots who swore – I know this well – that the document was completely genuine. Now look here! What testimony! No man ever heard such dishonesty.

**§51 Lines 2579–2642. Lancaster is elected as the new King.**

After the reading of the document all were silent. Then the archbishop got to his feet and continued his sermon, basing it on the aforesaid document; he spoke so loudly that he could be heard clearly:

‘Since King Richard – formerly King of England – in his own words and of his own free will has admitted and confessed that he is not fit, suitable nor wise enough to rule his kingdom, we should take thought and elect another King.’

Alas! Messeigneurs, what madness! [fo. 60r.] They were judge and one side of the argument. This was done neither legally nor loyally, for there were only three or four men there on the side of the former King; they would not have dared for anything to contradict what the others did and said.

Et puis en ce<sup>1502</sup> dit Parlement  
 Lurent devant tous l'instrument, 2572  
 De quoy les tesmoings si<sup>1503\*</sup> estoient<sup>1504</sup>  
 Evesques, abbés,<sup>1505</sup> qui disoient  
 Et tesmoingnoient – bien le say –  
 Que l'instrument estoit tout vray. 2576  
 Or regardez! Quel tesmongnage!  
 Oncques n'ouÿ homs tel oultrage.

**§51 Lines 2579–2642. Lancaster is elected as the new King.**

Après la lecture parfaite  
 De l'instrument, sillance faite 2580  
 Fu par tout. Et puis se leva  
 L'archevesque et repris a  
 Son sermon, prenant fondement  
 Sur le devant dit instrument, 2584  
 Disant si hault que bien l'ouÿ  
 Le peuple: 'Puis qu'il est ensi,  
 'Et que le roy Richart – jadiz  
 'Roy d'Engleterre – par ses diz 2588  
 'Et de sa bonne volenté  
 'A reconnu et confessé  
 'Qu'il n'est pas asés souffisant,  
 'Convenable ne bien saichant 2592  
 'Pour le royaume gouverner,  
 'Il seroit tresbon d'avisier  
 'Et d'eslire un autre roy.'  
 Elas! Beaux Seigneurs, quel desroy! 2596  
 [fo. 60r.] Ilz furent la juge et partie.  
 Ce n'estoit<sup>1506</sup> pas chose partie  
 Justement ne de loyal<sup>1507</sup> droit,  
 Car il n'y avoit la endroit 2600  
 Homme pour<sup>1508</sup> le roy ansien  
 Que trois ou quatre, qui<sup>1509</sup> pour rien  
 N'eüssent osé contredire  
 Tout ce qu'ilz<sup>1510</sup> voudrent faire et dire. 2604

<sup>1502</sup> B ce *superscript*  
<sup>1503</sup> HLABD no si  
<sup>1504</sup> C lines 2572–2573  
 omitted

<sup>1505</sup> C no abbes  
<sup>1506</sup> C nest  
<sup>1507</sup> A leal  
<sup>1508</sup> B par

<sup>1509</sup> C que  
<sup>1510</sup> C quil

This was completely wrong, for they all concluded – great and small, without being of two or three opinions – that they wanted another King, who could do his duty better than King Richard had done.

When the archbishop had finished explaining in English what he wanted and what was in his heart, and the people had replied to what they had heard, he began to ask one by one:<sup>174</sup>

‘Do you want the duke of York to be your King?’

They all replied:

‘No indeed.’

‘Would you then have his elder son, the duke of Aumale?’

‘Let no one talk to us any more of him,’ they replied in a loud voice.

Once again he asked: [fo. 60v.]

‘Do you want to have his younger son?’<sup>175</sup>

‘Indeed no, in truth,’ they said.

He asked them about many others, but the people did not grasp at any of those he named. Then the archbishop stopped and was silent for a long time. Then he asked in a loud voice:

‘Do you want the duke of Lancaster?’

‘Yes! We want none other,’ they all replied, so loudly that – as it was told to me – it seemed a wonder to relate.

Afterwards they praised Jesus Christ, as it is contained in Holy Writ.

<sup>174</sup> Line 2617. *Il commencha interroger*. Creton made this up and most of what follows.

<sup>175</sup> Lines 2627–2628. *son filz ... / Maisné*. Richard of York, executed in 1415 for his part in a plot against Henry V. See *ODNB*, s.v. ‘Richard [Richard of Conisborough], earl of Cambridge (1385–1415)’.

Ce fu moult grant desrision,<sup>1511</sup>  
 Car ilz<sup>1512</sup> firent conclusion  
 Tous ensemble – grans et petiz,  
 Sans estre en deux n'en<sup>1513</sup> trois partiz – 2608  
 Qu'ilz<sup>1514</sup> vouloient<sup>1515</sup> un roy avoir,  
 Qui seut mieulx faire son devoir<sup>1516</sup>  
 Que le roy Richart n'avoit fait.  
 Et quant l'archevesque ot parfait 2612  
 Et pardit en englés langaige  
 Sa volenté et son couraige,  
 Et le peuple ot respondu  
 Selon ce qu'orent entendu, 2616  
 Il commença interroger<sup>1517\*</sup>  
 Et chascun par soy demander:  
 'Voulez vous que<sup>1518</sup> soit vostre roy  
 'Le duc de Iorc<sup>1519</sup> par bon aroy?' 2620  
 Ilz<sup>1520</sup> respondirent tous: 'Nenil!'  
 'Voulez vous donc avoir son fil  
 'Ainsné, qui est duc de Aumarle?'<sup>1521</sup>  
 'De cely<sup>1522</sup> plus nulz ne nous parle,' 2624  
 Respondirent a haute voix.  
 Encor<sup>1523</sup> demanda une fois:  
 [fo. 60v.] 'Voulez vous<sup>1524</sup> donc son filz avoir  
 'Maisné?' Ilz dirent: <sup>1525</sup> 'Nenil, voir!' 2628  
 D'autres asez leur demanda,  
 Maiz le peuple ne s'ajecta<sup>1526</sup>  
 A nul de ceulz qu'il ot nommés.  
 Et lors l'archevesque arestés 2632  
 Est<sup>1527</sup> sans parler moult<sup>1528</sup> longuement.  
 Après demanda haultement:  
 'Voulez vous<sup>1529</sup> le duc de Lencastre?'  
 'Ouil! Nous ne voulons nul autre,' 2636  
 Respondirent eulx<sup>1530</sup> tous ensemble  
 De si haulte voix qu'il me semble –  
 Selon ce que j'ouï compter –  
 Grant merveilles a recorder.<sup>1531</sup> 2640  
 Après louerent<sup>1532</sup> Jhesucrist,  
 Sicomme contient leur escript.

1511 C desasion

1512 C il

1513 B ou en

1514 BC quil

1515 C voldrent

1516 C no devoir

1517 AD a interroger

1518 B voules [vous

*superscript*] quil

1519 *all mss* diorc

1520 C il

1521 *all mss* daumarle

1522 LABCD cellui

1523 LA encore

1524 B no vous

1525 L no ilz dirent

1526 LABD sarresta

1527 AD fu

1528 C trop

1529 D no vous

1530 A ilz

1531 C raconter

1532 AD louoyent

**§52 Lines 2643–2660. The election of the new King is confirmed.**

When the bishops and prelates, who omitted to do the right thing, along with the foremost lords – who forfeited their honour on the day of that election – heard the questions answered without dispute, they then like false and frenzied traitors, along with the others: knights, squires, villeins, archers and the whole body of the commons, said implacably [fo. 61r.] that the man who did not agree with them deserved to die.

And thus the spurious, false and wicked questions were asked three times; it will be held against them for ever as an evil sin.

**§53 Lines 2661–2682. Lancaster accepts the crown.**

Then they wrote these things down in documents: letters, charters and deeds, in the presence of all those in the hall, which was neither squalid nor dirty but very richly decorated in a fitting manner. The archbishops<sup>176</sup> rose together – it seemed to me – and went directly to the duke, who had now been elected by all the Commons. They both fell to their knees and said:

<sup>176</sup> Line 2668. *Les archevesques*. Creton has only mentioned Canterbury so far. The Archbishop of York was Richard Scrope, executed in 1405 for rebelling against Henry IV. See Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, pp. 267–270.

**§52 Lines 2643–2660. The election of the new King is confirmed.**

Quant les evesques et prelas,  
 Qui de bien fere furent las, 2644  
 Avecques des<sup>1533</sup> plus grans seigneurs –  
 Les quelx perdirent moult d'onneurs  
 Le jour de ceste elexiōn –  
 Orent l'interrogasiōn\* 2648  
 Accordee sans contredire,  
 Comme felons faux et plains d'ire,  
 Et tous les autres: chevaliers,  
 Escuiers, villains et archiers, 2652  
 Et toute la communauté,  
 Ilz dirent tous par cruauté  
 [fo. 61r.] Qu'il estoit bien digne de mort  
 Cellui qui n'yert<sup>1534</sup>\* de cest accord. 2656  
 Et ensi par trois foiz fu faite  
 L'interrogasiōn contrefaite,  
 Faulce et plaine de malice;  
 A tousjours leur sera lait vice.\* 2660

**§53 Lines 2661–2682. Lancaster accepts the crown.**

Après en firent instrumens:  
 Lettres, chartres, burles, presens  
 Tous ceulx\* qui furent en la<sup>1535</sup> salle,  
 Qui n'estoit villaine ne salle, 2664  
 Ains fu moult richement paree  
 Par maniere bien ordonnee.  
 Se leverent tous deux ensemble  
 Les archevesques – ce me semble – 2668  
 Et alerent au duc tout droit,  
 Qui ja roy<sup>1536</sup> esleü estoit  
 De par tout le peuple commun.  
 A genoulx se mirent chascun 2672

<sup>1533</sup> C les  
<sup>1534</sup> AD est [no ne]

<sup>1535</sup> AD sa  
<sup>1536</sup> B qui [a *superscript*]

‘The great lords who are here, and also the prelates, in good order elect you and nominate you as King. Decide whether you accept.’

Then duke Henry who was on his knees at that moment, with sound judgement got up and said to them all that he accepted the crown, since it was God’s will.

### **§54 Lines 2683–2748. Ceremonial of making Lancaster King. He ascends the throne.**

[fo. 61v.] Then he himself questioned everyone<sup>177</sup> and asked if it was their will. They replied:

‘Yes, in truth,’ tremendously loudly.

This stirred him so much that he immediately accepted the crown of England.

The archbishops, both kneeling on the ground, took great pains to read aloud the rite and everything the new King was bound to observe. With many ceremonies and cultish practices they placed a cross upon his head and over his whole body, as the custom is there. Both archbishops kissed him and they then picked up the magnificent ring<sup>178</sup> worn by their Kings,

<sup>177</sup> Lines 2683–2748. The coronation ceremony is described in Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, pp. 147–154. A contemporary account is given in Creton, ‘Translation of a French Metrical History’, ed. Webb, pp. 275–281.

<sup>178</sup> Lines 2703–2704. *l’anel / Du royaume*. Richard is said to have given his signet to Henry in token of his wish for him to succeed him. See Bennett, *Richard II*, pp. 178–179. It was given to Lancaster at his coronation; Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, p. 151.



Ambedeux<sup>1537</sup> en disant<sup>1538</sup> ainsi:\*  
 'Les souverains prinches qui sont cy  
 'Et les prelas par bel aroy  
 'T'eslisent et t'appellent roy; 2676  
 'Regarde se tu t'y consens.'  
 Lors le duc Henry par grant sens,  
 Qui estoit pour l'eure<sup>1539</sup> a genoulx,  
 Se leva et dist devant tous 2680  
 Qu'il aceptoit la royauté,\*  
 Puis que Dieux l'avoit ordonné.

**§54 Lines 2683–2748. Ceremonial of making Lancaster King. He ascends the throne.**

[fo. 61v.] Après tous les interroga  
 Ly mesmes et leur demanda 2684  
 Se c'estoit ainsi<sup>1540</sup> leur vouloir.  
 Ilz respondirent: 'Ouil, voir!'  
 Si hault que ce fu grant merveille.  
 Ce ly mist la pusse en l'oreille,\* 2688  
 Telement que sans plus atendre  
 Il volt accepter et entendre<sup>1541</sup>  
 A la couronne d'Engleterre.  
 Les archevesques, qui a terre 2692  
 Furent agenoilliez tous deux,  
 De lire<sup>1542</sup> estoient<sup>1543</sup>\* moult soigneux  
 Le mistere et tout ce a quoy  
 Estoit tenu le nouvel roy. 2696  
 Et par maintes serymonies,  
 Ofices et ydolatries  
 Ly metoient croix sur la<sup>1544</sup> teste  
 Et sur tout le corps par grant feste, 2700  
 Comme ilz<sup>1545</sup> ont<sup>1546</sup> acoustumé la.<sup>1547</sup>  
 Lors les archevesques baisa\*  
 Tous deux, et puis prindrent l'anel  
 Du royaume,<sup>1548</sup> qui est bon et bel, 2704

<sup>1537</sup> HBC deulx L deulx  
 humblement A ambedeulx  
 D [ambe *in left margin*] deulx  
<sup>1538</sup> L disans  
<sup>1539</sup> A pour lors C par  
 leure  
<sup>1540</sup> AD aussy

<sup>1541</sup> H entendre L  
 atendre B accepter et  
 actendre al[tresi] entendre  
<sup>1542</sup> D deslire  
<sup>1543</sup> H estoient  
 ACD furent  
<sup>1544</sup> AD sa

<sup>1545</sup> B il  
<sup>1546</sup> CD *no* ont  
<sup>1547</sup> A comme la  
 coutume est la  
<sup>1548</sup> B ~~anel~~ du royaulme

with which it is their custom to marry their Kings; they say that this is the law. They both carried it to the Constable – Lord Percy,<sup>179</sup> a noble knight – [fo. 62r.] and when he had possession of the ring he showed it round to those present; then he kneeled down and placed the ring in marriage on the King's finger. But I would not give a farthing for this rite, since it was performed without law or justice; I am not saying that this would not be an honourable ceremony had it been done as it should be done. The Constable kissed the King on the lips as a proper conclusion to what they were doing; I know not what this means.

The two archbishops immediately came back to the King, who was splendidly attired, and led him by the arms to the richly decorated throne which stood near there. The King kneeled before it and prayed. Then like a second Solomon he addressed everyone there, most particularly the prelates [fo. 62v.] and then the great lords, in Latin and English.

<sup>179</sup> Lines 2709–2711. *conestable ... le sire de Persi*. The earl of Northumberland, *supra*, l. 1655, note. It seems likely that Creton did not realize that this was Northumberland.

De quoy ilz ont acoustumé  
 Que leurs roys<sup>1549</sup> soient<sup>1550</sup> espousé,  
 Qui est – ce dient – propre droit.  
 Entr'eulx le porterent tout<sup>1551</sup> droit 2708  
 A celui qui fu connestable,  
 Qu'ilz<sup>1552</sup> tiennent chevalier notable –  
 [fo. 62r.] Ce fu le sire de Persi –  
 Et quant de l'anel fu saisi, 2712  
 Il le monstra generaument  
 A ceulx<sup>1553</sup> qui furent la present;  
 Et puis après s'agenoilla  
 Et ou doit du roy imposa<sup>1554</sup> 2716  
 Le dit anel par espousaille.  
 Maiz je n'en donroie une maille,  
 Puis que sans droit et sans justice  
 Est fait et formé tel office; 2720  
 Je ne dy<sup>1555</sup> pas que ce ne soit<sup>1556</sup>  
 Digne chose, qui le<sup>1557</sup> feroit  
 Ainsi c'on<sup>1558</sup> doit tel chose faire.  
 Et pour<sup>1559</sup> leur euvre mieulx parfaire 2724  
 Le roy baisa parmi la<sup>1560</sup> bouche  
 Le connestable;\* a<sup>1561</sup> quoy touche<sup>1562</sup>  
 Ce mistere je ne say<sup>1563</sup> pas. 2728  
 Les deux archevesques le pas  
 Revindrent par devers le roy,  
 Qui estoit en tresbel aroy,  
 Et l'ont<sup>1564</sup> droit par les<sup>1565</sup> bras mené<sup>1566</sup> 2732  
 Au siege royal qui paré  
 Estoit richement pres de la.  
 Le roy devant s'agenoilla  
 Et fist dedens ses oroisons.  
 Après comme tressaiges homs 2736  
 Parla a tous en general,  
 Aux prelas par especial  
 [fo. 62v.] Et aux plus grans seigneurs après  
 En latin langage et englés. 2740

1549 A leur roy  
 1550 A sy soit D soit  
 1551 AD *no* tout  
 1552 B quil  
 1553 B a ~~tous~~ ceulx  
 1554 L si posa

1555 B je ne dy ~~ne dy~~ pas  
 1556 AD que ne seroit  
 1557 D ne  
 1558 BCD com  
 1559 C par  
 1560 AD sa

1561 L et a  
 1562 H touche  
 1563 H fay LABCD say  
 1564 L *no* lont  
 1565 ABD le  
 1566 L lont mene

When he had finished what he had to say, with no dissenting voice raised, he took his seat on the throne. Alas! King Richard was deprived of it for good, so much did they hate him; but please God, they will do the same to the one whom they have placed on it.

**§55 Lines 2749–2772. The new Constable is confirmed in office.**

**H**e sat on the throne without speaking for a long time and made no sound, for everyone there was praying devoutly for the prosperity, authority, peace and health of the new King whom they had elected.

When everyone there had finished praying, the Constable, who was not yet established or confirmed in his office – where there should be no sin – was summoned publicly; he kneeled humbly before Henry and the lords. He was there elected [fo. 63r.] Constable by the greatest in the land without opposition, and then Henry gave into his hands the golden staff, which should incline him to worthy deeds at all times, if he intends to do his duty.

Maiz quant il ot finé son dit  
 Sans ce<sup>1567</sup> que nulz ly contredit,  
 Ou royal siege s'est assis.<sup>1568</sup>  
 Las! Le roy Richart desaisis 2744  
 En fu la pour toute sa vie,  
 Tant avoient sur ly envie;  
 Maiz se<sup>1569</sup> Dieu plaist, ainsi feront  
 De celui qu'inposé<sup>1570</sup> y<sup>1571</sup> ont. 2748

**§55 Lines 2749–2772. The new Constable is confirmed in office.**

Ou dit siege moult longuement  
 Fu assis sans nul parlement  
 Faire et sans noise nesune,  
 Car entandis<sup>1572</sup> estoit chascune 2752  
 Personne la en oroyson,  
 Priant par grant devoision  
 Pour la bonne prosperité,  
 Gouvernement, paix et santé 2756  
 Du roy nouvel qu'i<sup>1573</sup> orent fait.  
 Et quant chascun la ot parfait  
 Ses oroisons, le connestable,  
 Qui n'estoit pas encore estable 2760  
 N'e ferme ou devant dit office –  
 Au<sup>1574</sup> quel ne doit avoir nul vice –  
 Fu appellé generaument;  
 A genoux se mist humblement 2764  
 Devant Henry et les seigneurs.  
 La fu esleü des greigneurs<sup>1575</sup>  
 [fo. 63r.] Connestable sans contredit,  
 Et lors Henry au devant dit 2768  
 Connestable bailla en sa<sup>1576</sup> main  
 Le baston d'or,<sup>1577</sup> qui soir et main  
 Le doit a prouesce esmouvoir,  
 S'il veult bien faire son devoir. 2772

<sup>1567</sup> B *no ce*  
<sup>1568</sup> BD ou royal [*mark of omission*] sest assis [*siege at line end*]  
<sup>1569</sup> C *si*

<sup>1570</sup> L qui pose D qui impose  
<sup>1571</sup> C *no y*  
<sup>1572</sup> D en temps dis  
<sup>1573</sup> LA quilz

<sup>1574</sup> AD ou  
<sup>1575</sup> AD seigneurs  
<sup>1576</sup> C la  
<sup>1577</sup> AD *no dor*

**§56 Lines 2773–2794. High officers of state are elected.**

Afterwards everyone there elected a new Marshal<sup>180</sup> and then they all in good form swore allegiance to Henry and paid homage to him. Afterwards they elected a very wise man as Chancellor,<sup>181</sup> and having done this they installed the Keeper of the Privy Seal;<sup>182</sup> they ended by filling a great number of other offices.

Next the archbishop rose to his feet and recited several Latin rites, urging them to pray loyally for the prosperity of the King and of his kingdom; he repeated this in English. When he finished what he had to say, they all of high and low degree sat down as one man.

**§57 Lines 2795–2832. Lancaster's eldest son is made Prince of Wales. 13 October is set for the coronation of the new King.**

[fo. 63v.] Then duke Henry got to his feet. His eldest son kneeled down humbly in front of him; he created him Prince of Wales<sup>183</sup> in the presence of everyone there, and granted him the land. But I think he will have to fight for it if he wants to possess it, for the Welsh would not recognize him as their lord at any price – I think – on account of the pain,

<sup>180</sup> Line 2774. *nouvel mareschal*. Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland. *Supra*, p. 203, ll. 20–21, note.

<sup>181</sup> Line 2779. *chancelier*. John Scarle, Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal under Richard II, continued in his office under Henry IV. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Scarle, John (d. 1403)'. Also, S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361–1399* (Oxford, 1990), p. 145.

<sup>182</sup> Lines 2782–2784. *La garde du sœel privé; / D'autres offices ... / Fivent eulx*. Richard Clifford, Keeper of the Privy Seal, also served both Richard and Henry. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Clifford, Richard (d. 1421)'. The other office-holders are listed in Creton, 'Translation of a French Metrical History', ed. Webb, p. 204 n. v.

<sup>183</sup> Lines 2796–2799. *Son filz aisé ... / Prince de Galles*. Henry of Monmouth, the future Henry V. *Supra*, l. 138, note. He was created both Prince of Wales and duke of Lancaster.

**§56 Lines 2773–2794. High officers of state are elected.**

Après trestous en general  
 Eslurent<sup>1578</sup> nouvel mareschal,  
 Et puis par tresbelle ordonnance  
 Jurerent ferme foy, fiance<sup>1579</sup> 2776  
 A Henry en faisant hommage.  
 Et lors esleurent<sup>1580</sup> un tressage  
 Homme, qui chancelier fu fait,  
 Et quant ilz<sup>1581</sup> orent ce parfait, 2780  
 Encor ont ilz institué<sup>1582</sup>  
 La garde du sëel<sup>1583</sup> privé;  
 D'autres offices grant foisson  
 Firent eulx en conclusion. 2784  
 L'archevesque après se leva  
 Et a tous haultement dit a  
 Plusieurs misteres en latin,  
 Eulx esmouvant<sup>1584</sup> que<sup>1585</sup> de<sup>1586</sup> cuer fin\* 2788  
 Prient pour la prosperité  
 Du roy et de sa royaulté;\*  
 En englés après<sup>1587</sup> leur a dit.  
 Et quant il ot parfait<sup>1588</sup> son dit, 2792  
 Tous en general sont assis,  
 Uns et autres, grans et petiz.

**§57 Lines 2795–2832. Lancaster's eldest son is made Prince of Wales. 13 October is set for the coronation of the new King.**

[fo. 63v.] Lors se leva le duc Henry.  
 Son filz aisé par devant ly 2796  
 Se mist humblement a genoulx;  
 Prince de Galles devant tous  
 Le fist et ly donna la terre.  
 Maiz je cuide bien que conquerre 2800  
 Ly<sup>1589</sup> faudra, s'il le<sup>1590</sup> veult avoir,  
 Car les Galloiz<sup>1591</sup> pour nul avoir  
 Ne le tenroient a seigneur –  
 Ce cuide je – pour la douleur, 2804

1578 AD eslirent  
 1579 L et fiance  
 1580 AD eslirent  
 1581 B il  
 1582 B il constitue

1583 L seau  
 1584 B esmouvans  
 1585 C no que  
 1586 H le LABCD de  
 1587 C empres

1588 AD parfait ot  
 1589 C le  
 1590 LAC la  
 1591 AD car certes gales

the grief and the great disgrace that the English under his father had heaped on King Richard. Then everyone individually swore allegiance, loyalty, help and comfort to the said prince, as they had to the duke. He made his second son duke of Lancaster<sup>184</sup> unconditionally; everyone was very happy at that.

Afterwards all the prelates, dukes, princes, earls – it seems to me – and the whole body of the Commons bowed their heads before the duke with most profound reverence, as a sign of their submission to him. And then by common accord and without dispute – as I heard it said – [fo. 64r.] they chose as duke Henry's coronation day St Edward's day, 13 October; they were very impatient at such a long delay.

They did nothing else that day, except to say that anyone who does not greatly rejoice over the election will perhaps lose his head.

<sup>184</sup> Lines 2812–2813. *Son second filz ... / Duc de Lencastre*. This is not correct, *supra*, ll. 2796–2799, note. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Thomas [Thomas of Lancaster], duke of Clarence (1387–1421)'.



Le mal et le<sup>1592</sup> grant vittupere,  
 Que les Englois avec<sup>1593</sup> son pere  
 Avoient fait au roy Richart.  
 La jurerent chascun a part 2808  
 Au dit prince foy, loyauté,  
 Aide, confort et<sup>1594</sup> fëaulté,\*  
 Comme ilz avoient au duc fait.  
 Son second filz fist il de fait 2812  
 Duc de Lencastre ligement;<sup>1595</sup>  
 Chascun en fu asés content.  
 Après tous les prelas ensemble,  
 Ducs, princes, contes<sup>1596</sup> – ce<sup>1597</sup> me semble – 2816  
 Et tout le commun<sup>1598</sup> en la fin  
 Saluerent<sup>1599</sup> de chief enclin  
 Le duc par tresgrant reverence,  
 Monstrant<sup>1600</sup> signe d'obedience.<sup>1601</sup> 2820  
 Et puis tous par commun accort  
 Eslurent<sup>1602</sup> sans point de discort  
 Pour le duc Henry couronner –  
 Sicomme j'ay oÿ compter<sup>1603</sup> – 2824  
 [fo. 64r.] Le propre jour Saint Edouart,  
 .xiii.<sup>c</sup> d'octobre;<sup>1604</sup> moult tart  
 Leur estoit de si long<sup>1605</sup> sejour.\*  
 Autre rien ne firent ce jour, 2828  
 Fors tant qu'en<sup>1606</sup> la conclusion  
 Dirent: qui<sup>1607</sup> de l'elexsion<sup>1608</sup>\*  
 Au<sup>1609</sup> fort ne se resjouira,  
 Espoir decapitez sera. 2832

1592 L la  
 1593 B anglois ont avec  
 1594 HLACD no et B et  
*superscript*  
 1595 AD ligierement  
 1596 C contes princes  
 1597 C si  
 1598 C et dont le  
 commun

1599 H salurent  
 LABCD saluerent  
 1600 L monstrans  
 1601 H dobedience  
 C dobeissance  
 1602 ACD eslirent  
 1603 C line 2824 omitted  
 1604 L .xiii.<sup>c</sup> jour  
 doctobre

1605 LC loing  
 1606 LB que  
 1607 L que  
 1608 H lelexsion  
 L lelection A qui ~~delection~~  
 de lelection B qui de [le  
*superscript*] lection D qui  
 delection delection  
 1609 AD a

**§58 Lines 2833–2932. Lancaster creates forty-five new knights. He is crowned and a feast follows.**

As you have heard – and as he who heard the whole affair and what Parliament did related to me – the former King was deposed without justification, unlawfully and with no half measures; it will be held against them for ever as an evil sin.

When they had done the deed and deposed good King Richard and shut him up in their prison – and this was a great wrong – very early on the following Sunday nearest the coronation Henry summoned the greatest lords of England to come to the Court in London. And in order to win for himself praise and honour he dubbed a great number of knights in the presence of them all. Thus was it told me by him who was there, and who gave the number as [fo. 64v.] forty-five, neither more nor less; you can be sure – as he said – that his younger son<sup>185</sup> was the first. Then he had a mind to ride through London on this very day, without staying any longer at Court, and the new knights, well arrayed, all rode together with him.

Thus did that day pass and the Wednesday arrived when – as I told you before – he was to be crowned. So he was, and in order

<sup>185</sup> Line 2856. *Son filz maisné*. As well as Thomas of Lancaster, his other two younger sons were among the new knights. Some of these are named in Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, p. 148 n. 42.

**§58 Lines 2833–2932. Lancaster creates forty-five new knights. He is crowned and a feast follows.**

Ainsi com<sup>1610\*</sup> vous avez ouÿ –  
 Et que<sup>1611</sup> celui, qui tout<sup>1612</sup> ouÿ  
 Le fait et le Parlement faire,  
 M'a voulu compter\* et retraire – 2836  
 Fu desfait le roy ancien  
 Sans droit, sans loy et sans moyen,  
 Sans raison, sans<sup>1613</sup> vraie justice;  
 A tousjours leur sera lait vice. 2840  
 Et quant ilz<sup>1614</sup> orent ce parfait  
 Et le bon roy Richart desfait  
 Et enfermé en leur prison – 2844  
 Dont ilz firent grant mesprison –  
 Le dimenche après plus prouchain  
 Du couronnement asés main,  
 A la court de Londres mander  
 Fist Henry et la assembler 2848  
 Les plus grans seigneurs d'Engleterre.  
 Et pour los et honneur aquerre  
 Fist devant tous<sup>1615</sup> grant quantité  
 De chevaliers. Ainsi compté 2852  
 Le m'a celui qui y estoit,  
 Et qui pour le nombre afermoit  
 [fo. 64v.] Quarente et cinq, ne plus ne mains;  
 Son filz maisné – soiez certains 2856  
 Sicomme il dist – fu le premier.  
 Après s'en volt il chevauchier  
 Parmi Londres ce propre jour  
 Sans faire a la court plus sejour, 2860  
 Et estoit en sa compaignie  
 La nouvelle chevalerie  
 Tout ensamble, bien ordonnee.  
 Ainsi passa ceste journee, 2864  
 Tant que ce vint le mercredi –  
 Qu'isi<sup>1616</sup> devant pieça vous di –  
 Qu'il<sup>1617</sup> devoit couronne porter.  
 Si fist il, et pour deporter 2868

<sup>1610</sup> H ABCD comme  
 L com  
<sup>1611</sup> C qui  
<sup>1612</sup> C tant

<sup>1613</sup> L et  
<sup>1614</sup> D et quilz  
<sup>1615</sup> B fist [devant  
*superscript*] tous

<sup>1616</sup> L que cy  
<sup>1617</sup> L no il

to celebrate the coronation more fully, four dukes ritually carried above his head a rich pall of cloth of gold. The duke of York was first and then the good duke of Surrey, who did not do it sincerely, for he loved King Richard and was always of his party, whatever they made him do. To complete their work of destruction, the duke of Aumale<sup>186</sup> was the third, who carried out the task willingly, for he was not loyal, as you will hear below; [fo. 65r.] the fourth knew what he was doing and was called the duke of Gloucester.<sup>187</sup> These four dukes – rightly or wrongly – by common assent bore the pall above their King, who was handsomely accoutred.

And when he was crowned King they returned to the Court where dinner was very richly prepared; this is how it was. After duke Henry the Archbishop of Canterbury was seated first at the royal table, have no fear of that. The duke occupied the very middle of the table which was conspicuously raised up two and a half feet higher than the two ends, as he who was present told me; he said that the middle part of the table was two arms' lengths<sup>188</sup> long or more. Furthermore he told me that several new bishops, neither true nor loyal

<sup>186</sup> Lines 2881–2884. *Le duc d'Aumarle ... / ... n'estoit pas bien loyal / Comme vous orrez cy aval*. Creton usually calls him earl of Rutland; *supra*, ll. 93–94. He is referring forward here to Rutland's supposed betrayal of the Epiphany Rising, *infra*, ll. 3052–3106.

<sup>187</sup> Line 2886. *duc de Glocestre*. There was no duke of Gloucester at this time. Thomas of Woodstock had died at Calais in 1397, and his son, Humphrey, died on the march from Chester to London. Henry IV's fourth son, Humphrey, became duke of Gloucester, but only under his brother in 1414. Creton might have meant Thomas Despenser, earl of Gloucester, who was with Richard in Ireland; *supra*, ll. 304–305, note.

<sup>188</sup> Line 2905. *braces*. *OED*, s.v. 'brace' = the distance between the fingertips with arms extended. For a man almost 6 feet tall, this is roughly 5 feet 9 inches (175 centimetres).

Et honnourer plus haultement  
 Le devant dit couronnement  
 Li porterent dessus sa teste  
 Quatre ducs par mistere et feste 2872  
 Un riche paille a or batu.  
 Le duc de Iorc<sup>1618</sup> le premier fu  
 Et puis le bon duc de<sup>1619</sup> Souldray,<sup>1620</sup>  
 Qui ne le fist pas de cuer vray, 2876  
 Car il amoit le roy Richart  
 Et si fu tousjours de sa part,  
 Quelque chose c'on li fist faire.  
 Et<sup>1621</sup> pour leur massacre parfaire 2880  
 Le duc d'Aumarle fu le tiers,  
 Qui l'euvre faisoit volentiers,  
 Car il n'estoit pas bien loyal,<sup>1622</sup>  
 Comme vous orrez cy aval; 2884  
 [fo. 65r.] Le quatriesme sot bien son estre  
 Et fu nommé duc de Clocestre.  
 Ces quatre ducs – fust droit ou tort –  
 Porterent par commun accord 2888  
 Le paille par dessus leur<sup>1623</sup> roy,  
 Qui estoit en tresbel aroy.  
 Et quant il fu roy couronné  
 A la court s'en sont retourné, 2892  
 Ou le disner moult richement  
 Fu apresté; vecy<sup>1624</sup> comment.  
 L'archevesque de Cantorbie  
 Fu le premier – n'en doutez mie – 2896  
 A la table royale assis  
 Après le duc Henry. Saisis<sup>1625</sup>  
 Fu droit du<sup>1626</sup> milieu de la table,  
 Qui estoit par feste\* notable 2900  
 Plus haulte deux piez et demi  
 Que les deux bous – comme celi  
 Le me dit qui present estoit;  
 La longueur – sicomme<sup>1627</sup> il disoit – 2904  
 Estoit de deux braces ou plus.  
 Encor me dist il du<sup>1628</sup> surplus  
 Que plusieurs evesques nouveiaux,  
 Qui n'estoient vrais ne loyaux, 2908

<sup>1618</sup> *all mss* diorc<sup>1619</sup> C *no* de<sup>1620</sup> D *line 2875 repeated**then scored out*<sup>1621</sup> B *no* et<sup>1622</sup> H loyal L loyl<sup>1623</sup> AD le<sup>1624</sup> L veez cy<sup>1625</sup> H saisiss L assis

B sassis C cest sis

<sup>1626</sup> LA ou<sup>1627</sup> AD comme [*no* si]<sup>1628</sup> B de

but unjustly appointed, were also sitting at the King's table.

His elder son, in fine array, who was made Prince of Wales, was holding in his hand [fo. 65v.] a sword for jousting; but I heard no man say what this means. He was on his father's right hand, and next to him was a knight who was holding the sceptre capped with a cross. To the left – as I believe – was the new Constable who displayed the Constable's sword in front of the table; it was meant for administering justice. But at that time neither the Constable nor his sword were functioning as they should, for without restraint and with neither rhyme nor reason, but full of wickedness, evil and disloyalty, they persisted in their behaviour, as their actions reveal.

**§59 Lines 2933–2984. The feast continues and homage is paid to Henry. The King's Champion enters.**

The new Marshal was there, standing in front of Henry and holding the royal sceptre; he was the earl of Westmorland. Next the earl of Warwick,<sup>189</sup> whom they hold in very high esteem, was bread-bearer for the day. The great cup-bearer

<sup>189</sup> Line 2937. *de Wewewic le conte*. Thomas Beauchamp, twelfth earl of Warwick. Along with Gloucester and Arundel, Warwick was one of the Lords Appellant of 1388, accused of treason in 1397. Having confessed, Warwick was pardoned and exiled to the Isle of Man, whence he was recalled after Richard's deposition. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Beauchamp, Thomas, twelfth earl of Warwick (1337 × 1339–1401)'.

Maiz faiz sans droit et sans raison, Estoient en conclusion Assis a la table du roy. Son filz aisé par <sup>1629</sup> bel aroy,	2912
Qui prince de Galles fu fait, Tenoit la en sa main de fait [fo. 65v.] Une espee pour le tournoy; Maiz a nul homme <sup>1630</sup> dire n'oy	2916
Que senefie ce mistere. A la destre estoit de son pere, Et tout au plus pres de celi Un chevalier y avoit qui	2920
Tenoit le ceptre de la croix. A senestre – comme <sup>1631</sup> je le <sup>1632</sup> croix – Estoit le nouvel conestable, Et tenoit la devant la <sup>1633</sup> table	2924
L'espee de conestablie, <sup>1634</sup> Qui fu pour justice estable. Maiz pour lors nē <sup>1635</sup> ouvrerent pas, Car <sup>1636</sup> sans mesure et sans compas	2928
Comme gens plains d'iniquité, De mal et de desloyaulté Persevererent en leur euve, Comme la l'euve <sup>1637</sup> le <sup>1638</sup> descuevre.	2932

**§59 Lines 2933–2984. The feast continues and homage is paid to Henry. The King's Champion enters.**

La fu le nouvel mareschal, Qui tenoit le ceptre royal Par devant Henry en estant; Contē estoit de Westmerlant.	2936
Après de Werewic <sup>1639*</sup> le conte, De quoy ilz tiennent moult grant compte, Fu ce propre jour panetier. Et si estoit grant bouteillier	2940

1629 C pour  
1630 L a nulluy  
1631 L com  
1632 ACD *no* le

1633 L le  
1634 B conestable  
1635 LACD nen  
1636 L mais

1637 LAD comme la veue  
B comme leur oeuvre  
1638 AD *no* le  
1639 *all mss* werwic

was the earl of Arundel<sup>190</sup> (who is young and fleet of foot). The Marquis carved at dinner; that was how they arranged things.

[fo. 66r.] The duke of Aumale served him with wine, but before the duke's table was cleared, the Steward,<sup>191</sup> the Marshal and the Constable rode into the hall; they remained there in front of the table until it was cleared. And to honour the duke even more, a knight called Thomas Dymock<sup>192</sup> entered the hall on a mailed horse, well armed and ready for battle, and said: if there be any man – of high or low degree – who maintained that King Henry was not lord and rightful King of all England, then he challenged him to fight to the death. No man reacted to this. He rode three or four times around the hall, offering himself for combat, as he had said.

After dinner the greatest lords of England, without demur, together paid homage to duke Henry. But some there were who did not act [fo. 66v.] with a sincere heart, rather had they already plotted

<sup>190</sup> Line 2941. *conte d'Arundel*. For Thomas Fitzalan, fifth earl of Arundel, *supra*, p. 203, ll. 13–14, note.

<sup>191</sup> Lines 2948–2949. *le seneschal / Le mareschal, le connestable*. Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester; Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland; Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland.

<sup>192</sup> Line 2954. *Thomas de Noth*. Sir Thomas Dymoke. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Dymoke [Dymmok] family (*per. c.* 1340–*c.* 1580)'. In **L**, a contemporary cursive hand has written in the left margin: *dymmoc*.



Un qui fu conte d'Arondel,  
 (Qui est<sup>1640</sup> assez jeune et ysnel.)  
 Le Marquis trancha<sup>1641</sup> au<sup>1642</sup> disner;  
 Ainsi le voldrent ordonner. 2944  
 [fo. 66r.] Le duc d'Aumarle le servi  
 De vin, maiz ains<sup>1643</sup> que deservi  
 Fust le duc, vindrent a cheval  
 En la sale le seneschal, 2948  
 Le mareschal, le connestable;  
 La se tindrent devant la table,  
 Jusqu'a<sup>1644</sup> tant c'on volt deservir.  
 Et pour le mieulx a gré servir<sup>1645</sup> 2952  
 Un chevalier, qui fu nommé  
 Thommas de Noth,<sup>1646</sup> tresbien armé  
 Comme pour combatre en bataille,  
 Sur un cheval, armé de maille, 2956  
 Entra en la sale disant:  
 S'il estoit nul – petit ne grant –  
 Qui vouldist maintenir ne dire  
 Que le roy<sup>1647</sup> Henry ne fust sire 2960  
 Et droit roy de toute Engleterre,  
 Qu'il le vouloit d'armes requerre;  
 Voire quelles? Tout a oultrance.  
 La n'ot<sup>1648</sup> nul homme qui a ce\* 2964  
 Respondist ne mot ne demy.  
 Ainsi chevaucha tout parmy  
 La sale bien<sup>1649</sup> trois tours ou quatre  
 Desirant se<sup>1650</sup> vouloir combatre, 2968  
 Comme il demonstroit par son dit.  
 Après disner sans contredit  
 Les plus grans seigneurs tous ensemble  
 D'Engleterre – comme il me semble – 2972  
 Firent au duc Henry hommaige.  
 Maiz les aucuns de bon courage  
 [fo. 66v.] Ne le<sup>1651</sup> firent pas vrayement,  
 Ains avoient secretement 2976

1640 L fu  
 1641 H tranch  
 1642 C a  
 1643 A no ains  
 1644 B jusques a

1645 L *line 2952* et apres  
 veissies venir  
 1646 L *dymmoc in left*  
*margin*  
 1647 C duc

1648 C *no not*  
 1649 AC *no bien C* pour  
 trois  
 1650 A de C le  
 1651 AD les

to kill him, since he had this day had himself wrongly crowned by force of arms. They planned to have a great feast day arranged this coming Christmas at Windsor Castle (which is very strong and fine).

### §60 Lines 2985–3050. The plot to kill Henry.

Thus was the feast day arranged, but those who schemed to carry out their plot planned to joust against all-comers, of high and low degree: there was the good duke of Surrey, who was always loyal and true to his lord, King Richard; Salisbury was on his side. Those two organized the jousting against all-comers – and I esteem them much for this – so that under cover of the feast day they could bring in there many men-at-arms to achieve their ends: their dearest wish was to kill duke Henry as they had undertaken to do. But subsequently they were captured [fo. 67r.] and shamefully put to death, for the treacherous duke of Aumale<sup>193</sup> betrayed them, in which he did great wrong: he was of their party

<sup>193</sup> Line 3006. *duc d'Aumaille* (also at ll. 3063, 3074, 3102). He was earl of Rutland only at this date. *Supra*, p. 191, ll. 17–22, note.

Ja pieça maciné sa mort,  
 Pour ce que<sup>1652</sup> par<sup>1653</sup> force et a tort<sup>1654</sup>  
 S'estoit fait ce jour couronner.  
 La voldrent ensemble ordonner 2980  
 Q'une grant<sup>1655</sup> feste se feroit  
 Au Noël prouchain qui venoit  
 A Windesore le chastel  
 (Qui est molt fort et si est bel.) 2984

**§60 Lines 2985–3050. The plot to kill Henry.**

Ainsi fu la feste ordonnee,  
 Mais ceulx, qui avoient pensee  
 D'achever leur euvre et parfaire,  
 Vorent<sup>1656</sup> la une emprise faire 2988  
 De joster contre tous venans,  
 Uns et autres, petiz et grans:  
 Ce fu le bon duc de Souldray,  
 Qui fu tousjours loyal et vray 2992  
 A son seigneur, le roy Richart;  
 Salsebery<sup>1657</sup> fu de sa part.  
 Ces deux firent<sup>1658</sup> de jouste<sup>1659</sup> enprise  
 Contre tous – dont moult je les prise – 2996  
 Afin telle que desoubz l'ombre  
 De la feste<sup>1660</sup> peüssent nombre  
 De gens d'armes la amener<sup>1661</sup>  
 Pour mieulx leur vouloir<sup>1662</sup> achever: 3000  
 Car c'estoit leur plus grant desir  
 Du duc Henry\* faire mourir,  
 Comme ilz avoient entrepris.<sup>1663</sup>  
 Maiz ilz en furent depuis pris 3004  
 [fo. 67r.] Et mis a mort villainement,  
 Car duc<sup>1664</sup> d'Aumarlle faulcement  
 Les trahi, dont il ot grant tort:  
 Si estoit il<sup>1665</sup> de leur accort 3008

1652 C parce que

1653 AD a

1654 B a ~~tors~~ tort

1655 AD que tres grant

1656 LB voudrent

1657 C salsbery

1658 L furent

1659 AD joster

1660 L de lemprise

1661 AD enmener

1662 AD couvine [no leur

vouloir] [D couvine

*superscript*]

1663 AD avoient fait

entrepris B lavoient

1664 A car le duc

1665 A estoient ilz

and had sworn faith and loyalty to them and that he would help in any way to make their plot succeed. The duke of Exeter also knew all about their plans and was in league with them; he had reason to be, as he was brother german to good King Richard, the former King whom they had unanimously deposed and deprived of the fair crown of England. Therefore no one should be surprised that they wanted to do their duty to place King Richard – who ought to be King of England for all of his life – back in possession of his kingdom and of his lands.

You will hear how the duke of Surrey and the earl of Salisbury, in order better to carry out their scheme in secret, laid their plans to ensure the success of their plot. They had big carts made and planned to place many men inside, [fo. 67v.] well equipped and well armed, who would be driven there covered up, as if they were suits of armour for the tourney, in order that they might more easily enter Windsor Castle, where the duke was said still to be. The men were commanded and told that as soon as they saw their masters, they should do their duty

Et avoit juré avecque<sup>1666\*</sup> eulx  
 Foy, loyaulté et qu'en<sup>1667</sup> tous lieux  
 Aideroit ceste euvre parfaire.<sup>1668</sup>  
 Encor.<sup>1669</sup> savoit tout cest affaire 3012  
 Et estoit de leur aliance  
 Le duc d'Excestre, qui a ce  
 Faire avoit<sup>1670</sup> cause soir et main,  
 Car il estoit frere germain 3016  
 Du bon roy Richart ancien,  
 Qu'il<sup>1671</sup> avoient<sup>1672\*</sup> sans nul moyen  
 Desfait et osté la couronne  
 D'Engleterre, qui est moult bonne. 3020  
 Et pour ce nulz ne doit avoir  
 Merveilles, se iceulx<sup>1673</sup> leur devoir  
 Vouloient faire de remettre  
 Le roy Richart – qui devoit estre 3024  
 Tout son vivant roy d'Engleterre –  
 En son royaume et en sa terre.  
 Maiz pour faire secretement  
 Mieulx leur fait,<sup>1674</sup> vous orrez<sup>1675</sup> comment 3028  
 Le duc<sup>1676</sup> de Souldray et le conte  
 De Salsebery<sup>1677\*</sup> firent leur conte  
 D'achever ceste<sup>1678</sup> euvre et parfaire.  
 Ilz firent grans charrettes faire 3032  
 Et pourpenserent que dedens  
 Mettroient grant foison de gens  
 [fo. 67v.] Bien abilliés et bien armés,  
 Qui seroient couvers menés<sup>1679</sup> 3036  
 En lieu de harnoiz a jouter,  
 Afin qu'ilz peussent mieulx<sup>1680</sup> entrer  
 Ens ou chastel de Windesore,  
 Ou le duc devoit estre encore. 3040  
 Leur estoit commandé et dit  
 Que tantost, sans nul contredit,  
 Qu'ilz<sup>1681</sup> pourroient aperchevoir  
 Leurs seigneurs, chascun son<sup>1682</sup> devoir 3044

<sup>1666</sup> HADC avecques  
 LB avec  
<sup>1667</sup> L en [no que]  
<sup>1668</sup> LA a parfaire  
<sup>1669</sup> A encore  
<sup>1670</sup> C no avoit  
<sup>1671</sup> LABCD quilz  
<sup>1672</sup> H avoient

<sup>1673</sup> L si ceulx B se iceulx  
 ceulx de  
<sup>1674</sup> B leur vous fait  
<sup>1675</sup> H vous [orrez  
*superscript*] LAD diray B no  
 orrez C dire  
<sup>1676</sup> B [que in left margin]  
 le duc

<sup>1677</sup> C salsbery  
<sup>1678</sup> L leur [no ceste]  
<sup>1679</sup> L couvers et menez  
<sup>1680</sup> B quil mielx y  
 peussent  
<sup>1681</sup> B quil  
<sup>1682</sup> B no son C leur

by killing those who were guarding the doors; and while they were doing that, their masters would hasten towards duke Henry and put him to death, without showing him any mercy.

### §61 Lines 3051–3100. Rutland betrays the plot.

Their scheme was suspended at this point while Christmas approached, when the duke went to stay at Windsor to judge at the festivities that were going to take place. And then the duke of Surrey and the earl of Salisbury wrote a letter<sup>194</sup> which dealt solely with carrying out the plot. They had it taken to London by a trustworthy man, straight to the earl of Rutland,<sup>195</sup> (who was duke of Aumale at that time): begging him [fo. 68r.] to be ready to come to them to carry out their plot as they had vowed together; and that he bring all his men with him, so that should there be anyone ready to oppose them, they can kill them or capture and put them to death without delay.

But when the duke of Aumale saw in the letter the commands to which he was held

<sup>194</sup> Line 3056. *une lettre*. One letter, singular, becomes plural, *les firent porter*, l. 3060; *Des lettres*, ll. 3076, 3093; and *les lettres*, l. 3085. It reverts to one letter, *sa lettre*, l. 3105. It has been translated as one letter throughout. The whole story of how the conspiracy was revealed bears a general resemblance to the account in the *Traïson*, although the *Traïson* does not rely on the *Prinse et mort* at this point. It is presumably the story that had currency in France at the time. See *Chronicque de la traïson et mort*, ed. Williams, pp. 80–82.

<sup>195</sup> Line 3062. *conte de Rotellant*, / (*Qui estoit duc d'Aumarlle lors*). L. 3063 is an unfortunate way of filling up the couplet, as Rutland was no longer duke of Aumale at this time. *Supra*, p. 191, ll. 17–22, and note.

Feïst de tuer les portiers,  
 Qui les fors gardoient<sup>1683</sup> entiers,<sup>1684</sup>  
 Et ainsi celle euvre faisant,  
 Yroient leurs seigneurs courant 3048  
 Au<sup>1685</sup> duc Henry pour mettre a mort  
 Sans li faire plus long<sup>1686</sup> deport.

**§61 Lines 3051–3100. Rutland betrays the plot.**

En ce point leur fait s'arresta,  
 Tant que le<sup>1687</sup> Noël aproucha, 3052  
 Que le duc s'en ala logier  
 A Windesore pour jugier  
 De<sup>1688</sup> la feste qui devoit<sup>1689</sup> estre.  
 Et lors escriprent une lettre 3056  
 Le duc de Souldray et le conte  
 De Salsebery, qui ne tint<sup>1690</sup> compte  
 De riens fors de<sup>1691</sup> l'euvre achever.  
 A Londres les<sup>1692</sup> firent porter 3060  
 Par un homme qui fu saichant,  
 Droit au conte de Rotellant,  
 (Qui estoit duc d'Aumarille lors):  
 En ly suppliant que ses corps\* 3064  
 [fo. 68r.] Fust tout prest de venir vers eulx  
 Pour acomplir l'euvre et les<sup>1693</sup> veulx  
 Qu'ilz avoient promis ensemble;  
 Et que toutes ses gens ensemble 3068  
 Face venir avecques lui,  
 Afin que, s'il y a nulluy<sup>1694</sup>  
 Qui se vueille contre eulx deffendre,  
 Qu'ilz<sup>1695</sup> les puissent<sup>1696</sup> tuer ou prendre 3072  
 Et mettre a mort sans nul respit.  
 Maiz quant le duc d'Aumarle vit  
 Le mandement et contenu  
 Des lettres, ou il fu tenu 3076

1683 L le fort gardent  
 1684 H tous entiers LB  
 tous entiers ACD no tous  
 1685 C a  
 1686 LAD loing

1687 B no le  
 1688 B se  
 1689 L doit  
 1690 B tient  
 1691 B no de

1692 A la D le  
 1693 C le  
 1694 B nulle envy  
 1695 B qui C quil  
 1696 B puisse

by his promise and by his pledged word, he pretended to be very eager to set off at top speed to obey the summons that the lords had sent him. Alas! He was not without blame: he never will be, for he does not appear so, since he carried the lords' letter to the old duke of York – his father – sparing the lords nothing. He knew for sure that the duke – his father – did not love them or King Richard; rather was he of duke Henry's party having sworn liege homage to him.

When the duke of York saw what was in the letter and what its aim was, he frowned angrily [fo. 68v.] and had a great number of men brought to him, saying,

'Take my son to the King, so that he can relate to him the great crime that is planned against him; it was thought up in an evil hour.'

### **§62 Lines 3101–3130. Henry escapes.**

The duke of Aumale left his father and went down hastily to Windsor; he gave his letter to duke Henry and revealed the whole plot to him. But the duke did not believe him, until that very day the mayor came with all speed from London and confirmed the plot from beginning to end.



Par sa promesse et foy baillie,<sup>1697</sup>  
 Faintement monstra grant envie  
 De partir bien hastivement  
 Pour obeir au mandement, 3080  
 Que les seigneurs ly orent fait.  
 Elas! Il n'estoit pas parfait:  
 Jamaiz ne<sup>1698</sup> sera, qu'i<sup>1699</sup> n'y pere,\*  
 Car au viel duc de Iorc<sup>1700</sup> – son pere – 3084  
 Les lettres des seigneurs porta,  
 Ne de riens ne les deporta.  
 Si savoit il bien pour<sup>1701</sup> certain  
 Que le duc – son pere – un seul grain 3088  
 N'amoit eulx ne le roy Richart;  
 Ains estoit de l'accort et part  
 Du duc Henry par lige hommage.  
 Et quant il ot veu le langage 3092  
 Des lettres et toute la maniere,  
 Par mautalent fronsa la<sup>1702</sup> chiere  
 [fo. 68v.] Et fist asambler foison gens,  
 Disant: 'Soiez tost<sup>1703</sup> diligens 3096  
 'De mener mon filz vers<sup>1704</sup> le roy  
 'Pour ly compter le grant desroy,  
 'Qui est contre ly pourpensé;  
 'Mal orent le fait enpensé!'<sup>1705</sup> 3100

**§62 Lines 3101–3130. Henry escapes.**

**D**e son pere se desparti  
 Le duc d'Aumarle, en tel parti  
 Quë hastivement sans atendre 3104  
 A Windesore ala descendre;  
 Sa lettre au duc Henry bailla  
 Et tout le fait ly aferma.  
 Maiz le duc ne le creoit<sup>1706</sup> pas,  
 Quant de Londres plus que le pas 3108  
 Vint le maire ce propre jour  
 Sans gueres faire<sup>1707</sup> de sejour,  
 Qui lui aferma de rechief<sup>1708</sup>  
 Trestout le fait de chief en chief. 3112

1697 L bailliee A bailliee  
 1698 H ne BC ny [B y  
*written over e*]  
 1699 AB quil  
 1700 *all mss* diorc

1701 AD de  
 1702 AD froissa sa  
 1703 L tous  
 1704 C *no* vers  
 1705 L pourpense

1706 L crut D croit  
 1707 B faire gueres  
 1708 B aferma ~~de p~~  
 derrechief

When Henry heard this, he would not have waited there longer at any price. He quickly mounted on horseback for fear that he would be overthrown that day by his enemies. He set out on the road to London, he and the mayor with his men. They made great haste, but before they could arrive in London, those who wanted to kill him were already inside [fo. 69r.] Windsor Castle to carry out their plot. But when they discovered that the duke had left, they were very unhappy that they had not captured him and that he had thus escaped.

**§63 Lines 3131–3158. The rebel lords move to Cirencester. They put it about that King Richard is free; his chaplain Maudelyn is to impersonate him.**

They retreated from Windsor and went to Cirencester – a town that is quite near there – where they had a very large force of their men-at-arms: they all wanted to use their bodies and their weapons to restore King Richard, who in justice should be King for all of his life. They drew their men up in good order for riding; with them were many archers and they said that good King Richard had escaped from prison and was there with them.

Et quant Henry l'a entendu,<sup>1709</sup>  
 Pour riens n'eust<sup>1710</sup> plus la<sup>1711</sup> attendu.<sup>1712</sup>  
 A cheval bien tost est monté,  
 De peur qu'il ne fust surmonté, 3116  
 Ce jour la de ses ennemis.  
 Ou<sup>1713</sup> chemin de Londres s'est mis,  
 Lui et le maire avec ses gens.  
 D'eulx haster furent deligens, 3120  
 Maiz ains qu'ilz<sup>1714</sup> peüssent venir  
 A Londres, ceulx qui grant desir  
 Avoient de le<sup>1715</sup> mettre a mort,  
 Estoiēt ja dedens le fort 3124  
 [fo. 69r.] De<sup>1716</sup> Windesore bien avant  
 Pour acomplir leur fait. Maiz quant  
 Ilz sorent<sup>1717</sup> que le duc estoit  
 Partiz, ilz furent moult destroit, 3128  
 Quant ne l'avoient atrapé,  
 Et qu'ensi estoit eschappé.

**§63 Lines 3131–3158. The rebel lords move to Cirencester. They put it about that King Richard is free; his chaplain Maudelyn is to impersonate him.**

De Windesore sont retrais  
 Et a Surestre se sont trais – 3132  
 Une ville qui<sup>1718</sup> est asés pres  
 De la – ou ilz avoient tres  
 Grant quantité de leur<sup>1719</sup> gens d'armes:  
 Desirant<sup>1720</sup> tous de corps et d'armes 3136  
 A remettre en possession  
 Le roy Richart, qui par raison  
 Devoit estre<sup>1721</sup> son vivant roy.  
 Leur<sup>1722</sup> gens firent mettre en conroy 3140  
 Tresbien<sup>1723</sup> et bel pour chevauchier;  
 Avec eulx avoit maint archier,  
 Disant<sup>1724</sup> que le bon roy Richart  
 Avoit fait de prison depart, 3144

1709 A attendu

1710 C *no* neust1711 A la plus B *no* plus

1712 D entendu

1713 AD au

1714 C quil

1715 B *no* le C les

1716 C a

1717 B sceurent

1718 B une [ville *in left**margin*] qui

1719 ABCD leurs

1720 ABCD desirans

1721 B estre *superscript*

1722 LABCD leurs

1723 C tresbon

1724 L disans

To make this more believable they took along a chaplain, who resembled good King Richard so closely in face, body, actions and words that anyone seeing him would have testified that he was the former King; he was called Maudelyn.<sup>196</sup> [fo. 69v.] I saw him often in Ireland riding through woods and plains with King Richard, his master; never did I see such a handsome priest.

**§64 Lines 3159–3222. The rebel lords attempt to rally the country for King Richard but are defeated in battle. Exeter, Surrey and Salisbury are executed.**

They had the above-named Maudelyn dressed in kingly armour with his helmet sumptuously crowned, so that people would really think that the King was out of prison. They then intended to ride around the country to rally all the friends and allies of King Richard. Alas! They were too late, for without delay duke Henry, who wanted them dead, swiftly sent there so many men, that none of those whom he wished to capture escaped.

<sup>196</sup> Line 3154. *Appellé estoit Madelien. Supra*, l. 1873, note.

Et qu'il estoit la avec eulx.  
 Et pour le faire acroire mieulx  
 Avoient pris un chappellain,  
 Qui ressembloit si de certain 3148  
 Au bon roy Richart de visage,  
 De<sup>1725</sup> corps, de fait et de langage,  
 Qu'il n'est homme qui le veïst,<sup>1726</sup>  
 Qui ne certifiast et dist 3152  
 Que ce fust le roy ancien;  
 Appellé estoit Madelien.  
 [fo. 69v.] Maintesfoiz le vy en Irllande  
 Chevauchier par bois et par lande 3156  
 Avec le roy Richart, son maistre;  
 Pieça je<sup>1727</sup> ne vy plus<sup>1728</sup> bel prestre.

**§64 Lines 3159–3222. The rebel lords attempt to rally the country for King Richard but are defeated in battle. Exeter, Surrey and Salisbury are executed.**

Le dessus dit firent armer  
 Comme roy, et puis couronner 3160  
 Son hëaulme moult richement,  
 Afin c'on cuidast vraiment  
 Que le roy fust hors de prison.  
 La avoient entension 3164  
 De chevauchier par le païs  
 Pour assembler tous les amis  
 Et aliez du roy Richart.  
 Elas! Ilz le firent trop tart, 3168  
 Car le duc Henry sans atendre,  
 Qui vouloit a leur mort entendre,  
 Hastivement y<sup>1729</sup> envoa  
 Tant de gens, c'oncquez n'eschapa 3172  
 Nulz<sup>1730</sup> de ceulx qu'il<sup>1731</sup> voldrent avoir.

<sup>1725</sup> C que  
<sup>1726</sup> B home quil ne [le  
*superscript*] vist

<sup>1727</sup> AD *no* je  
<sup>1728</sup> L si  
<sup>1729</sup> B il

<sup>1730</sup> LB nul  
<sup>1731</sup> LC quilz

They did their bounden duty to fight them off for a long time, but there were a hundred or more men against ten, as I heard. Those fought like false and frenzied traitors until they gained the upper hand and captured all the rebel lords by force, which was a great shame, for they had to suffer bitter death, as you will hear tell. [fo. 70r.] First of all they beheaded the duke of Exeter, next the good duke of Surrey, who was always loyal and true, and then the earl of Salisbury was not forgotten in this tally; they had these three put to death shamefully and unlawfully.

Afterwards the heads were carried to London amid great rejoicing. They were nailed up on lances on London Bridge, high enough for them to be easily seen. But to tell you the truth, they did not leave the duke of Exeter's head there long; it only stayed there a day and a night, because he was married to duke Henry's sister.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>197</sup> Line 3202. *La suer du duc*. *Supra*, l. 827, note.

Si<sup>1732</sup> firent ilz<sup>1733</sup> bien<sup>1734</sup> leur devoir  
 D'eulx deffendre moult longuement, 3176  
 Maiz contre dix estoient cent  
 Ou plus,<sup>1735</sup> sicomme j'ouÿ dire.  
 Comme felons faulx<sup>1736</sup> et plains d'ire  
 Firent, tant qu'ilz orent la force  
 Et qu'il<sup>1737</sup> les prindrent tous a force, 3180  
 Dont ce fu pitié et dommage,  
 Car la leur convint le passage  
 De la mort amere endurer,  
 Comme vous orrez cy compter. 3184  
 [fo. 70r.] Au duc d'Excestre tout premier  
 Firent eulx<sup>1738</sup> la teste trancher,  
 Après au bon duc de Souldray,  
 Qui fu tousjours loyal et vray, 3188  
 Et puis de Salsebery le conte  
 N'oublierent<sup>1739</sup> pas en ce compte;  
 Ces<sup>1740</sup> trois firent eulx<sup>1741</sup> mettre a mort  
 Villainement et a grant tort.<sup>1742</sup> 3192  
 Après firent porter les testes  
 A Londres, ou on<sup>1743</sup> en fist grans festes.  
 La furent mises sur<sup>1744</sup> le pont  
 A<sup>1745</sup> lances clouees<sup>1746</sup> amont, 3196  
 Si hault c'on les<sup>1747</sup> puet<sup>1748\*</sup> assez voir.  
 Maiz pour vous en dire le voir,  
 Celle qui fu du duc d'Excestre  
 N'y laisserent<sup>1749</sup> pas longtems estre; 3200  
 Pour ce qu'il avoit espousee  
 La suer du<sup>1750</sup> duc, q'une<sup>1751</sup> journee<sup>1752</sup>  
 Et une nuit n'y demoura.

1732 B sil  
 1733 BD no ilz [B il in left  
*margin*]  
 1734 A no bien  
 1735 L no plus  
 1736 C faulx felons  
 1737 LABCD quilz  
 1738 L ilz  
 1739 H noublierent

1740 C les  
 1741 C ilz  
 1742 D et mettre a mort  
 [no a grant tort]  
 1743 AD no on  
 1744 L sus  
 1745 ACD en  
 1746 LB clouees  
 ACD cloues

1747 D le  
 1748 ABCD peust  
 1749 L ne laisserent  
 1750 L au  
 1751 C no que  
 1752 A lines 3201-3202  
*transposed*

Now may God, who suffered death to redeem sinners from the infernal agonies of hell, preserve their souls in heaven, for at all times they were worthy men, loyal and bold, in word, thought and deed; so much so that one could not find three such knights in all England today, for they remained faithful [fo. 70v.] and devoted unto death. But if they were mindful of God and His holy Passion, I understand and believe that they are in Paradise above, for their blood was shed as martyrs<sup>198</sup> loyally defending what was right in all respects.

**§65 Lines 3223–3234. Richard is told the bad news.**

Shortly afterwards good King Richard was told the whole truth of the sorrowful affair, which was distressing for him to hear, and that was no surprise. Weeping he then said,

‘Death, get ready to attack me, no one can help me any longer, since I have lost my friends. Sweetest God, who was hung on the Cross, have mercy on me, for I can live no longer like this.’

<sup>198</sup> Lines 3220–3221. *comme martirs expandus / Fu leur sanc*. Creton has already compared Salisbury to a martyr, *supra*, ll. 788–792.



Or vueille<sup>1753</sup> Dieux, qui endura 3204  
 La mort pour pecheurs rachetter  
 Des infernaux paines d'enfer,  
 Avoir leurs<sup>1754</sup> ames es sains chieulx.  
 Car ilz estoient en tous lieux 3208  
 Loyaulx preudommes et hardis,  
 En fait, en pensee et en dis,<sup>1755</sup>  
 Et tant qu'en trestoute<sup>1756</sup> Engleterre  
 On ne saroit trouver ne querre 3212  
 Au jour d'uy telz trois chevalliers,  
 Car ilz demourent entiers  
 [fo. 70v.] Et loyaulx jusques a la mort.  
 Maiz s'il<sup>1757</sup> orent de Dieu remort<sup>1758</sup> 3216  
 Et de sa<sup>1759</sup> sainte passion,  
 Je croy selon m'entension<sup>1760</sup>  
 Qu'ilz sont en Paradis la sus,  
 Car comme martirs expandus 3220  
 Fu leur sanc<sup>1761</sup> pour maintenir droit  
 Et loyaulte en tout endroit.

**§65 Lines 3223–3234. Richard is told the bad news.**

Un pou après firent savoir  
 Au bon roy Richart tout le voir 3224  
 De la besoingne douloureuse,  
 Qui ly fu a ouïr<sup>1762</sup> piteuse,  
 Dont ce ne fu pas grant<sup>1763</sup> merveille.  
 En plourant dit lors: 'Appereille 3228  
 'Toy, Mort, et me viens sus courir;<sup>1764</sup>  
 'Nulz<sup>1765</sup> ne me puet plus secourir,  
 'Puis que j'ay perdu mes amis.  
 'Tresdoulx Dieux, qui en croix fu mis, 3232  
 'Vueillez avoir de moy merci,  
 'Car vivre ne puis plus ainsi.'

<sup>1753</sup> H vueilliez  
 LABC vueille D vueicille  
<sup>1754</sup> C les  
<sup>1755</sup> L *line 3210 omitted*  
<sup>1756</sup> BC *no tres*  
<sup>1757</sup> LABCD silz

<sup>1758</sup> H dieu [*erasure*]  
 remort  
<sup>1759</sup> A *no sa*  
<sup>1760</sup> H selon [*erasure*]  
 mentension

<sup>1761</sup> H sanc B fait [*no sanc*]  
<sup>1762</sup> C loir  
<sup>1763</sup> L *no grant*  
<sup>1764</sup> A secourir  
<sup>1765</sup> L nul B ~~nulz~~ nulz

**§66 Lines 3235–3266. Richard refuses to eat and dies.**

When the King received this bad news, his heart filled so much with anger that, from that time onwards, he neither ate nor drank, and thus it was that he died, so they say. But really I do not believe that this was so, since some men say that for sure he is still alive and well and [fo. 71r.] shut up in their prison – which is a great crime on their part – even although they had a dead man carried openly through London – this was no lie – with all the honour and ceremony due to a deceased King, saying that it was the body of King Richard, who had died.

Duke Henry made a pretence<sup>199</sup> of mourning, holding in front of him the pall covering the coffin. Behind him walked his kinsmen, in good array; they had no knowledge of King Richard or the crimes that they had committed against him. This will weigh on them in the presence of God on the Last Day, when He will condemn the wicked into the flames of hell which burn for ever.

<sup>199</sup> Line 3256. *par semblance*. *Supra*, l. 1461, note.

**§66 Lines 3235–3266. Richard refuses to eat and dies.**

Après le roy de ces nouvelles,  
 Qui ne furent bonnes<sup>1766</sup> ne<sup>1767</sup> belles, 3236  
 En son cuer print de<sup>1768</sup> courroux tant  
 Que depuis celle<sup>1769</sup> heure en avant  
 Oncques ne menga ne ne<sup>1770</sup> but,  
 Ains convint que la mort reçut, 3240  
 Comme ilz<sup>1771</sup> dient.<sup>1772</sup> Maiz vrayement  
 Je ne le croy pas ensement,  
 Car aucuns dient pour certain  
 Qu'il est encore<sup>1773</sup> vif et sain, 3244  
 [fo. 71r.] Enfermé dedens leur prison –  
 C'est pour eulx grande<sup>1774</sup> mesprison –  
 Non obstant que tout en apert  
 Firent eulx porter descouvert 3248  
 Un homme mort parmi la ville  
 De Londres – ce ne fu<sup>1775</sup>\* pas guille –  
 A telle honneur et<sup>1776</sup> a tel feste  
 Que pour roy mort doit estre faite, 3252  
 En<sup>1777</sup> disant que c'estoit le corps  
 Du roy Richart, qui estoit mors.  
 La faisoit dueil le duc Henry<sup>1778</sup>  
 Par semblance, droit devant ly 3256  
 Tenant le paille du<sup>1779</sup> sarceulx.  
 Après ly aloient tous ceulx  
 De son sanc par belle ordonnance,  
 Sans avoir de ly connoissance 3260  
 Ne des maulx qu'ilz ly<sup>1780</sup> orent faiz.  
 Devant Dieu leur<sup>1781</sup> sera grant<sup>1782</sup> faiz,  
 Quant<sup>1783</sup> ce vendra<sup>1784</sup> au jour derrenier,\*  
 Qu'il voudra les mauvaiz jugier 3264  
 En la flame perpetuelle  
 D'enfer, qui sera inmortelle.

1766 L ne bonnes  
 1767 C et  
 1768 C des  
 1769 C telle  
 1770 D no ne  
 1771 C il  
 1772 L ilz le dient  
 1773 B encor

1774 C grant  
 1775 H fu  
 1776 B no et  
 1777 C no en  
 1778 B le ~~roy~~ henry [duc  
*at line end*  
 1779 D de  
 1780 LB qui lui

1781 B len changed to  
 leur [dots beneath n, ur  
*contraction above*]  
 1782 LB grans  
 1783 D que  
 1784 L quant venra [no ce]

**§67 Lines 3267–3312. Richard's funeral.**

As you hear tell, they carried the body directly to St Paul's in London, honourably and fittingly, as was appropriate for a King. But certainly I do not believe that it was the former King, rather do I believe that it was his chaplain Maudelyn, who resembled him so closely in appearance, breadth, height and build [fo. 71v.] that everyone firmly thought that it was good King Richard.

And if it was him, I pray earnestly and continually to our merciful and benevolent God that He may receive his soul in heaven above, for he hated all vice and evil, as I believe. I saw in him nothing but goodness and his Christian faith; I served him for seven<sup>200</sup> months to the best of my ability, in order that I might in some way merit the gifts he had promised me.

Certainly he was only deposed and betrayed because he faithfully loved the King of France – his father-in-law – with a true heart, as much as any man alive. This was the root of their hatred, even although they alleged that in

<sup>200</sup> Line 3288. *sept mois*. Creton was with Richard from May to August 1399, four months. A palaeographical error is in play here. The original reading would have been *.iiii.* (= *quatre*), the four minims easily mistaken for *.vii.* *Sept* is repeated, *infra*, l. 3678. Similarly **A**'s *ung* (= *un*, four minims) is a misreading of *.iiii.*

§67 Lines 3267–3312. Richard's funeral.

Ainsi com<sup>1785</sup> vous ouez compter,  
 Voldrent le corps mort enporter 3268  
 A Saint Pol de Londres tout droit,  
 Honnorablement et a droit,  
 Comme il appartenoit a<sup>1786</sup> roy.  
 Maiz certainement pas ne croy 3272  
 Que ce<sup>1787</sup> fust le roy ancïen,  
 Ains croy que c'estoit<sup>1788</sup> Madelien,  
 Son chappellain, qui de visage,  
 De grandeur, de long, de corsage<sup>1789</sup> 3276  
 [fo. 71v.] Le ressembloit\* si justement,  
 Que chascun cuidoit fermement  
 Que ce fust le bon roy Richart.  
 Et se<sup>1790</sup> c'estoit il, <sup>1791</sup> main et tart 3280  
 Prie je de vray cuer a Dieu –  
 Qui est misericors et pieu –  
 Qu'il vueille es sains chieulx avoir l'ame  
 De ly, car il haoit tout blasme 3284  
 Et tout vice, par<sup>1792</sup> mon advis.  
 N'oncques en li riens je ne vis  
 Fors foy<sup>1793</sup> cathollique et justice;  
 Si ly<sup>1794</sup> fi je sept<sup>1795</sup> mois service 3288  
 De ce que<sup>1796</sup> je povoy<sup>1797</sup> servir,  
 Pour aucunement deservir  
 Les biens quë il<sup>1799</sup> m'avoit promis.  
 Et certes il<sup>1800</sup> ne fu demis 3292  
 Ne trahy, fors tant seulement  
 Pour ce qu'il amoit loyaument  
 Le roy de France – son beau pere –  
 De vraie amour et singuliere,<sup>1801</sup> 3296  
 Autant qu'omme qui fut<sup>1802</sup> en vie.  
 Ce fu la rachine de<sup>1803</sup> l'envie,\*  
 Non obstant qu'ilz ly<sup>1804</sup> mirent sus  
 Qu'il avoit fait mourir<sup>1805</sup> les ducs – 3300

<sup>1785</sup> H ABCD comme

L com

<sup>1786</sup> A au

<sup>1787</sup> B ce *superscript*

<sup>1788</sup> L feust [no ce]

<sup>1789</sup> B de *eupsaige*

corsage

<sup>1790</sup> C si

<sup>1791</sup> H il *superscript* B no il

C lui

<sup>1792</sup> H par LABCD selon

<sup>1793</sup> B foy *in left margin*

<sup>1794</sup> A luy

<sup>1795</sup> A ung

<sup>1796</sup> B de ~~que~~ ce que C no

ce

<sup>1797</sup> L no je

<sup>1798</sup> LABCD povoye

<sup>1799</sup> B quil

<sup>1800</sup> H et certes il LAB et

je croy quil C et croy je quil

D et se croy quil

<sup>1801</sup> L singulere

B singliere

<sup>1802</sup> L soit

<sup>1803</sup> all mss et

<sup>1804</sup> C le

<sup>1805</sup> B quil avoit [fait *in left margin*] mourir

his folly he had had the dukes – his uncles<sup>201</sup> – foully murdered, and that he was neither wise nor capable enough to rule the kingdom. I could tell you plenty of other things that they say, but certainly I think I have told you [fo. 72r.] the truth as I understand it. If I had to surrender my soul, I would continue to think in this way; being a wicked and capricious race, they have a mortal hatred of the French, if only they dared to show it.

**§68 Lines 3313–3405. Henry sends ambassadors to Charles VI: amongst other things he wants a marriage between Queen Isabella and the Prince of Wales.**

The Commons crowned duke Henry after he had accomplished the greater part of what he wanted and deposed good King Richard. Then he appointed his official ambassadors and messengers (who were very wise) – clerks and laymen – and sent them to Calais bearing letters of credence to the King of France.

The bishop of Durham<sup>202</sup> was of their number – so I heard – and Sir Thomas Percy,<sup>203</sup> who was happy to do his master's bidding; also Sir William Heron,<sup>204</sup> who knew what he was doing.

<sup>201</sup> Lines 3300–3301. *il avoit fait mourir ... / Ses oncles. Supra*, I, 1633, note.

<sup>202</sup> Line 3325. *L'evesque de Dureme*. Walter Skirlaw was bishop of Durham, 1388–1406. See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Skirlawe [Skirlaw], Walter (c.1330–1406)'.  
<sup>203</sup> Line 3327. *de Persi Sire Thommas. Supra*, I, 34, note.

<sup>204</sup> Line 3332. *Guillaume Heron*. William Heron, Lord Say, was Steward of the King's household under Henry IV. See Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 73, 196.

Ses oncles – par son fol outrage,  
 Et qu'il n'estoit prudent ne sage  
 Pour le royaume gouverner. 3304  
 D'autres choses asez compter  
 Vous pourroie que chascun dit,  
 Maiz certes je vous<sup>1806</sup> cuide avoir dit  
 [fo. 72r.] Le vray, comme je puis entendre.  
 Et se devoie<sup>1807</sup> l'ame rendre, 3308  
 S'<sup>1808</sup> demourroy<sup>1809</sup> je<sup>1810</sup> en ceste colle,  
 Car comme gent mauvaise et folle  
 Hënt François mortellement,<sup>1811</sup>  
 S'ilz<sup>1812</sup> osoient monstrar comment. 3312

**§68 Lines 3313–3405. Henry sends ambassadors to Charles VI: amongst other things he wants a marriage between Queen Isabella and the Prince of Wales.**

Après ce que le duc Henry  
 Ot achevé et acompli  
 De son vouloir la plus grant part  
 Et desfait le bon roy Richart, 3316  
 Le fist le commun couronner.  
 Et puis après volt ordonner  
 Ses ambassadeurs et messages  
 Sollempnes, (qui furent moult sages), 3320  
 Et les envoia a Callais:  
 Gens d'eglise avecques<sup>1813</sup> gens lais,  
 Pour venir vers<sup>1814</sup> le roy de France,  
 Apportant<sup>1815</sup> lettres de creance.<sup>1816</sup> 3324  
 L'evesque de Dureme y fu –  
 Ainsi que je l'ay entendu –  
 Et de Persi Sire<sup>1817\*</sup> Thommas,  
 Qui n'estoit travailliés<sup>1818</sup> ne mas<sup>1819</sup> 3328  
 De faire le vouloir son maistre;  
 Avecque<sup>1820</sup> un, qui sot bien son estre,  
 C'on appelle par son droit non  
 Monseigneur<sup>1821</sup> Guillaume Heron. 3332

<sup>1806</sup> L *no* vous  
<sup>1807</sup> H et se je devoie L et  
 se devoie ABD et se je  
 devoie C et si je devoie  
<sup>1808</sup> L *no* si  
<sup>1809</sup> L demourray  
 C demoureray D demourroye

<sup>1810</sup> D *no* je  
<sup>1811</sup> L mortelment  
<sup>1812</sup> AD sil  
<sup>1813</sup> LAD avec  
<sup>1814</sup> L veoir  
<sup>1815</sup> LABCD apportans  
<sup>1816</sup> A recreance

<sup>1817</sup> *all mss* messire  
<sup>1818</sup> LB travaillie  
<sup>1819</sup> C las  
<sup>1820</sup> H avecque [*small*  
*erasure*] ACD avecques  
<sup>1821</sup> L messire

These three came across to justify the crime that their new King had committed against the King of France<sup>205</sup> [fo. 72v.] who had showered him with such great honours when he was unhappily banished from England. The said ambassadors promptly sent a herald (who was wise, cunning and circumspect) to Paris to ask for their safe-conduct, for thus were they instructed by their master when they left.

The herald was made to leave Paris swiftly without a reply, a safe-conduct or a summons, for the King would not suffer them to come to negotiate with him. Rather did he send Master Pierre Blanchet<sup>206</sup> and Henart de Kanbenart<sup>207</sup> to them at Calais to find out what they wanted; these two travelled together. There the English ambassadors greeted them – it seems to me – with much reverence and courtesy, saying that there had been a great revolution in their country, and that they had chosen a new King following the decree and good advice of the Commons of England, without anyone finding fault with that.

<sup>205</sup> Lines 3336–3339, and *infra*, ll. 3374–3375. Lancaster had been well received in France, when he went there on being banished in 1398. See Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, p. 119; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 405–406.

<sup>206</sup> Line 3353. *Pierre Blanchet* was secretary to Charles VI. An editorial note in Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, XVIII, pp. 587–588, contains the instructions given to the bishop of Chartres, Jehan de Hangest, Pierre Blanchet and Gontier Col, when they were sent to speak to the English messengers at Calais.

<sup>207</sup> Lines 3353–3354. *Henart / ... de Kanbenart* was Charles VI's usher of arms. See *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions*, ed. Legge, no. 158.



Ces trois firent lors le passage  
 Pour venir excuser l'oultrage,  
 Que leur<sup>1822</sup> roy nouvel avoit fait  
 Au roy de France, qui de fait<sup>1823</sup> 3336  
 [fo. 72v.] Ly avoit fait si grant honneur,  
 Lui estant banis<sup>1824</sup> a douleur  
 Hors du royaume d'Engleterre.  
 Après envoierent bonne<sup>1825</sup> erre 3340  
 Les diz messages un herault,  
 Qui fu sage, soutif<sup>1826</sup> et caut,  
 A Paris pour<sup>1827</sup> leur saufconduit,  
 Car ainsi furent introduit 3344  
 De leur maistre au departir.  
 Maiz on fist le herault partir  
 Bien brief de Paris sans reponse  
 Et sans saufconduit ou semonse,<sup>1828</sup> 3348  
 Car le roy ne volt pas souffrir  
 Qu'a ly se<sup>1829</sup> venissent<sup>1830</sup> pour<sup>1831</sup> offrir.  
 Ains envoa par devers eulx  
 A Callais pour savoir leurs<sup>1832</sup> veulx 3352  
 Maistre Pierre Blanchet, Henart  
 Qu'aucuns<sup>1833</sup> dient de Kanbenart;<sup>1834\*</sup>  
 Ces deux y alerent ensemble.  
 La leur firent – comme il me semble – 3356  
 Reverence et<sup>1835</sup> honneur moult grant  
 Les messages anglés, disant  
 Que tresgrande mutasion  
 Avoit<sup>1836</sup> eu<sup>1837</sup> en leur région, 3360  
 Et qu'il<sup>1838</sup> avoient fait un roy  
 Tout nouvel<sup>1839</sup> par<sup>1840</sup> le bon arroy  
 Et conseil du peuple commun  
 D'Engleterre, sans ce qu'aucun 3364  
 D'eulx y eust trouvé que redire.<sup>1841</sup>

1822 L le  
 1823 H de [small erasure]  
 fait  
 1824 L bany  
 1825 LB bon  
 1826 L subtil AD soubtis  
 1827 C par  
 1828 AD rponse  
 1829 L sen B se *changed to*  
 sy

1830 ACD vissent  
 1831 LC *no* pour  
 1832 L les  
 1833 H quaucuns L que  
 aucuns ABCD quaucuns  
 1834 L de cambernart  
 AD de vaubernart B que  
 kaubernart C de karbenart  
 1835 C *no* et  
 1836 A avoient

1837 AD eue  
 1838 LABD quilz  
 1839 L nouvel tout  
 1840 BC pour  
 1841 L y eust riens trouve  
 que redire [*no* deulx]

Words could not express [fo. 73r.] the great affection that this King felt towards his cousin – the King of France – so tenderly did he love him and would continue to love him throughout his life; for as long as he lived he would be greatly attached to him, as he had received him most splendidly in his country.

‘And to nurture the love, well-being, peace and health of the two kingdoms this King would like a marriage to be arranged in France – so it seemed to us – between the Queen and his son, the Prince,<sup>208</sup> and between him and another lady of royal blood who conquers his heart: thus great joy and many advantages could fall on the two kingdoms – certainly no Christian in this world could wish for more – and he would like a lasting peace to be announced throughout the two countries.’

<sup>208</sup>Line 3383. *la royne et ... son filz, / Le prince*. Isabella and Henry of Monmouth.

Du quel roy ne savoient<sup>1842</sup> dire  
 [fo. 73r.] Le desir ne<sup>1843</sup> la<sup>1844</sup> grant ardeur  
 D'amour, qu'il avoit sans faveur 3368  
 Au roy de France – son cousin –  
 Tant l'amoit de loyal cuer fin  
 Et aimeroit toute sa vie;  
 Et que, tant qu'il<sup>1845</sup> seroit en vie 3372  
 Se tendroit grandement tenu  
 A ly, car il l'avoit<sup>1846</sup> receu  
 En son pais moult grandement.  
 'Et pour connourir<sup>1847</sup>\* fermement 3376  
 'L'amour et<sup>1848</sup> la tranquillité,  
 'Bien, paix, aliance et santé  
 'Des deux<sup>1849</sup> royaumes tout ensemble  
 'Desire – selon ce<sup>1850</sup> qu'il nous semble – 3380  
 'Que mariage se feïst  
 'En France – comme il nous a dit –  
 'De la royne et de son filz,  
 'Le prince – soiez ent tous fiz<sup>1851</sup> – 3384  
 'Et de ly a une autre dame  
 'Du sanc royal, qui son cuer dame:  
 'Et par<sup>1852</sup> ainsi pourroit venir  
 'Es deux royaumes grant plaisir 3388  
 'Et grant abondance de biens –  
 'Voire trestous les crestiens  
 'De ce monde ne<sup>1853</sup> vouloient<sup>1854</sup> mieulx –  
 'Et que ferme paix en tous lieux 3392  
 'Des deux royaumes fust crie.'

1842 C savoit

1843 LABC et D de

1844 B le

1845 C et tant que il

1846 B avoit [no le]

1847 L renourrir

1848 B de

1849 B de deux C no deux

1850 B no ce

1851 A line 3384 omitted

1852 C pour

1853 HLACD en B ne

1854 LACD vouldroient

B vouloient

But when they had delivered their message to the French, these latter replied, before [fo. 73v.] they left the place, saying:<sup>209</sup>

‘Messeigneurs, God forbid that we give one word in reply to this matter, for it is too important an affair. We are only instructed to report your request and what you say to the King of France, our master.’

**§69 Lines 3406–3494. French ambassadors are sent to Boulogne to hear the English requests and to demand the return of Queen Isabella. She arrives at Calais on 25 July 1401.**

Thus without saying another word the French messengers left the English, who once more showed them prodigious honour and reverence. They returned directly to France, to Paris where the King was; he was most anxious to know the English situation, and how they had deposed King Richard and put him to death.

The messengers made their report to the King in full Council, relating accurately the conduct of the English, and how they humbly begged for a safe-conduct. Then the Council very wisely agreed together – it seems to me – to send

<sup>209</sup> Line 3396. Monstrelet gives a brief account of the handing back of Isabella. See Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, ed. Douët-d’Arcq, I, pp. 32–36.

Maiz quant<sup>1855</sup> ilz orent bien contee  
 Leur raison devant les Franchois,  
 Ilz les<sup>1856</sup> respondirent,\* ainchois 3396  
 [fo. 73v.] Qu'ilz se partissent de la place,  
 Disant:<sup>1857</sup> 'Seigneurs, ja Dieu ne place  
 'Que de ceste matiere yci'<sup>1858</sup>  
 'Respondons ne mot ne demi, 3400  
 'Car c'est une chose trop grant.  
 'Chargez ne<sup>1859</sup> sommez plus avant  
 'Fors seulement de rapporter  
 'Toute vo<sup>1860</sup>\* requeste et parler 3404  
 'Au roy de France, nostre sire.'

**§69 Lines 3406–3494. French ambassadors are sent to Boulogne to hear the English requests and to demand the return of Queen Isabella. She arrives at Calais on 25 July 1401.**

Ainsi sans plus<sup>1861</sup> parler ne dire  
 Se partirent eulx<sup>1862</sup> des Englés,<sup>1863</sup> 3408  
 Qui de rechief leur firent tres  
 Grant honneur et grant reverence.  
 Tout droit retournerent en France  
 A Paris, ou le roy estoit,  
 Qui assez grant desir avoit 3412  
 De savoir des Angloiz le fait,  
 Et comment<sup>1864</sup> ilz orent desfait  
 Le roy Richart et mis a mort.  
 En plain conseil firent rapport 3416  
 Les messages devant le roy,  
 Racomptant par tresbel aroy  
 Des Englés toute la maniere  
 Et comment<sup>1865</sup> par humble priere 3420  
 Desiroient un<sup>1866</sup> saufconduit.  
 Lors le conseil, comme bien duit  
 Et sage, fu d'accort ensemble  
 C'on envoieiroit – ce me semble – 3424

1855 B quant *at line end*

1856 LB ilz leur AD et les A tout vostre

1857 LB disans

1858 L cy [no y]

1859 L nen

1860 HLBCD toute vostre

1861 B no plus

1862 A ilz

1863 H engles

1864 B come

1865 B come

1866 B no un

ambassadors of equal rank to hear their proposition [fo. 74r.] and what the English wanted. They should take pains to enquire about what the English had done; and the English should hand back the Queen with all speed, as they are obliged to do by their pledged word and the seals affixed to the documents drawn up when the marriage was arranged between King Richard and his wife. None of the French should be slow to petition them time and again, otherwise their behaviour will be wicked and disloyal and great harm will ensue in the two countries. They should have only one aim, and hide nothing that is right from the English; they should go directly without delay to Boulogne to hear and know what the English propose.

Thus in February the bishop of Chartres<sup>210</sup> left Paris first along with Monseigneur de Hugueville,<sup>211</sup> stopping nowhere until they came to Boulogne; Master Pierre Blanchet<sup>212</sup> was there, [fo. 74v.] also Master Gontier Col.<sup>213</sup> They had to put up with the rough and the smooth before they could win back the Queen, for

<sup>210</sup> Lines 3452–3453. *L'evêque de Chartres*. Jean de Montaigu, bishop of Chartres, 1390–1406, was brother to Jean de Montaigu, first owner of **H**. *Supra*, Introduction, pp. 2–3 nn. 5 and 6.

<sup>211</sup> Line 3453. *Monseigneur de Hugueville*. Jean de Hangest, sire de Hugueville, a member of the king's council. See Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, pp. 171–173. For a brief biography, see Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, XXI, p. 508. His statement detailing his negotiations in England regarding Isabella's return is printed *ibid.* XVI, pp. 366–373. See also A. Dubois, *Valère Maxime en français à la fin du Moyen Age* (Turnhout, 2016), p. 81.

<sup>212</sup> Line 3456. *Pierre Blanchet*. *Supra*, I, 3353, note.

<sup>213</sup> Line 3457. *Gontier Col*. Secretary to Charles VI. He died at the hands of the Burgundians when they took control of Paris in 1418. See R. Bossuat, L. Pichard, and G.R. de Lage (eds), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age*, new edn (Paris, 1992), s.v. 'Gontier et Pierre Col'. Also Perroy, *La Guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 192.

Messages d'estat tout pareil  
 A eulx, pour ouÿr leur conseil<sup>1867</sup>  
 [fo. 74r.] Et<sup>1868</sup> ce qu'ilz<sup>1869</sup> voudroient requerre.  
 Et qu'il<sup>1870</sup> mettent paine d'enquerre 3428  
 De leur fait et de leur convine;<sup>1871</sup>  
 Et qu'ilz rendent brief la roÿne,  
 Comme<sup>1872</sup> ilz y sont tous obligiés  
 Par leur foy et sēaulx fichiés 3432  
 Aux instrumens qui furent faiz,  
 Quant le mariage parfaiz  
 Fu du roy et de sa compaigne.  
 Et que nesun<sup>1873</sup> d'eulx ne se<sup>1874</sup> faigne 3436  
 De les en sommer bien souvent,  
 Ou qu'ilz seroient autrement  
 Faulx, parjures et desloyaulx,  
 Et qu'il en pourroit trop de mau<sup>x</sup> 3440  
 Avenir es deux reÿons.  
 Ne qu'a autres oppinïons  
 Nulle quelconque<sup>1875</sup> fors a celle  
 N'entendent, et c'on ne<sup>1876</sup> leur celle 3444  
 Riens a dire qui soit de droit;  
 Et qu'il<sup>1877</sup> s'en voient trestout droit  
 A Boulongne sans plus atendre  
 Pour ouÿr, savoir et entendre 3448  
 Ce qu'Englēs<sup>1878</sup> voudront<sup>1879</sup> proposer.  
 Lors partirent sans reposer<sup>1880</sup>  
 De Paris ou mois de fevrier  
 L'evesque de Chartres premier<sup>1881</sup> 3452  
 Et Monseigneur de Hugueville  
 Sans arrester n'a<sup>1882</sup> champ n'a ville,  
 Tant qu'a Boulongne sont venu;  
 Maistre Pierre Blanchet y fu, 3456  
 [fo. 74v.] Aussi fu Maistre Gontier Col.  
 Ceulx endurerent dur et mol  
 Asez, ains qu'ilz peussent ravoïr<sup>1883</sup>  
 La roÿne, car riens de voir 3460

1867 B pour oyr tout leur conseil [no a eulx]

1868 B de

1869 C quil

1870 LACD quilz

1871 H convine

1872 C et comme

1873 B neiz un

1874 C no se

1875 L nulles quelconques

1876 H ne *superscript* B no

ne  
1877 LACD quilz

1878 H quengles

1879 BC voudrent

1880 C arrester

1881 H premier

1882 L a [no ne] B nau

1883 C avoir

in truth the English would make them no concessions, considering that the negotiations lasted twenty months before they repatriated the young Queen; they were always delaying until she would be twelve years old, so that her deeds and words, and anything they could have had her do, could never be undone. But they were entreated and petitioned so often by the French – showing them that they were very wrong to keep her, considering the agreement that was made on her marriage – that the English ordered her passage [to France].

On Tuesday 25 July around six o'clock in the morning, the Queen of England crossed from Dover to Calais; this was in the year 1401, as I understand. She was in splendid company, for she had with her some of the greatest ladies of England. When they had set foot on shore, [fo. 75r.] Hugueville who had crossed with her did not delay. Rather did he report immediately to the ambassadors at Boulogne what had happened, and how she had crossed over, and that the English intended to hand her back, as they had him understand.



Ne leur tenoient les Englois,  
 Veü que l'espace de vint mois  
 Dura la prosecusion,  
 Ains que la restitution 3464  
 Feissent de la jeune roïne;  
 Attendant<sup>1884</sup> toujours le termine  
 Qu'elle eüst douze ans acomplis,  
 Afin que ses faiz et ses dis 3468  
 Et ce qu'ilz ly eussent fait faire,  
 N'eüst on<sup>1885</sup> peu jamais<sup>1886</sup> desfaire.  
 Maiz requis furent si souvent<sup>1887</sup>  
 Et sommés par françoise gent – 3472  
 Eulx demonstrant qu'a tresgrant tort  
 La tenoient,<sup>1888</sup> veü l'accort  
 Qui en fu fait au<sup>1889</sup> mariage –  
 Qu'ilz<sup>1890</sup> ordonnerent son passage. 3476  
 Droit le<sup>1891</sup> mardi .xxv.<sup>mc 1892</sup>  
 Jour de juillet environ prime  
 Passa de Douvres a Callais<sup>1893</sup>  
 La roïne des Englois, mais 3480  
 Ce fu en l'an mil quatre cens  
 Et un – sicomme je l'entens –  
 Tresgrandement acompaignie,<sup>1894</sup>  
 Car elle ot en sa compaignie<sup>1895</sup> 3484  
 Des plus grans dames d'Engleterre.  
 Quant descendus furent a terre,  
 [fo. 75r.] Hugueville, qui fu passés  
 Avecque<sup>1896</sup> elle, ne fu lassés, 3488  
 Ains escript tantost a Boulongne  
 Aux ambassadeurs la besongne  
 Et comment<sup>1897</sup> elle estoit passee,  
 Et qu'ilz avoient tous pensee<sup>1898</sup> 3492  
 De la restituer et rendre,  
 Comme ilz ly orent<sup>1899</sup> fait entendre.

1884 ACD attendans

1885 D on *superscript*

1886 C jamais peu

1887 C line 3471 omitted

1888 ACD retenoient

1889 B en

1890 B quil

1891 A au

1892 ABD le .xxv.<sup>e</sup>

1893 H callais

1894 L accompaigniee

1895 L compaigniee C line

3484 omitted

1896 ACD avecques

1897 B come

1898 H tous **en** pensee

1899 BC ilz lorent

**§70 Lines 3495–3509. Queen Isabella moves from Calais to Leulingham.**

On the following Sunday, the last day of July, without any more obstruction, the Queen left Calais with the English who could not find any more justifiable cause for delay, so much did the French petition them; they led her straight to Leulingham.<sup>214</sup> Right there she was met by those who were in the picture, that is the honest count of St Pol<sup>215</sup> – as everyone says – and with him the French ambassadors who had moved mountains to get her back.

**§71 Lines 3510–3564. The handover of Isabella at Leulingham begins.**

Near Leulingham the Queen entered an elegant pavilion that the English had erected in the valley. The high-born ladies of France approached, greatly wishing [fo. 75v.] to meet her. A little later – as it seems to me – they left there and everyone led the Queen to the chapel of Leulingham (which looks like everyone knows who has seen it).<sup>216</sup>

<sup>214</sup> Line 3502. *Lolingehehen*. Leulingham, midway between Boulogne and Calais, was used at this time for Anglo-French peace conferences and agreements. See Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, I, p. 33 n. 4.

<sup>215</sup> Line 3505. *de Saint Pol le ... conte*. Waleran III of Luxembourg, count of St Pol, 'one of the most powerful of Philip's vassals in Artois', Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 89–90.

<sup>216</sup> Lines 3521–3523. *la chappelle / ... (qui est telle / Que chascun set, qui l'a veüe)*. Creton's energy seems to be flagging here; this is a quite flagrant way of filling out the couplet.

**§70 Lines 3495–3509. Queen Isabella moves from Calais to Leulingham.**

Le dimenche après<sup>1900</sup> derrenier\* jour  
 De juillet, sans plus de sejour, 3496  
 Parti de Callais la roÿne  
 Avec<sup>1901</sup> Englés, qui de termine  
 Ne porent plus par droit trouver,  
 Tant les firent Franchois sommer, 3500  
 Maiz l'amenerent<sup>1902</sup> trestout droit  
 A Lolinghehen.<sup>1903</sup> La endroit  
 Alerent ceulx au devant d'elle,  
 Qui en savoient la nouvelle. 3504  
 Ce fu de Saint Pol le droit conte<sup>1904</sup> –  
 Ainsi que chacun le raconte –  
 Et les embassadeurs de France  
 Avec<sup>1905</sup> lui, qui grant deligence 3508  
 Avoient mis pour la ravoir.

**§71 Lines 3510–3564. The handover of Isabella at Leulingham begins.**

Dessoubz Lolinghehen<sup>1906</sup> pour voir  
 Fu la roÿne descendue<sup>1907</sup>  
 En une tente, que<sup>1908</sup> tendue 3512  
 Orent Englois en la valee  
 Par maniere bien ordonnee.  
 Vindrent devers elle les dames  
 De France, qui de cuer et d'ames 3516  
 [fo. 75v.] La desiroient moult veir.<sup>1909</sup>  
 Un pou après voudrent partir  
 De la – ainsi comme il me semble –  
 Et enmenerent tous<sup>1910</sup> ensemble 3520  
 La roÿne a la chappelle  
 De Lolinghehen<sup>1911</sup> (qui est telle  
 Que chacun scet, qui l'a vetüe).

1900 L *no* apres

1901 C avecques

1902 D la demenerent

1903 L loulynganth

1904 D droit ~~compte~~  
 conte

1905 B avecques

1906 L loulynganth

1907 C *line 3511 omitted*

1908 BC qui

1909 A moult a veir

B veoir

1910 AD tout

1911 L loulynganch

And when she had come they made her enter, in the company of very few people: just the ambassadors of France and England, who had worked hard towards this.

When they were together in the chapel, a knight whom the English hold very dear – Sir Thomas Percy<sup>217</sup> – started speaking and said:

‘King Henry of England, my sovereign lord, wishing the fulfilment of his promise, has unconditionally and freely had the Queen of England brought here to hand her back to her father, the King of France; liberated, quit and free of all bonds of marriage and any other debt, [fo. 76r.] due, or commitment.’

Sir Thomas swore on the perdition of his soul that this was so, and furthermore that she was as pure and undefiled as on the day that she was taken in her litter to King Richard. And if there were anyone anywhere – king, duke, earl: Christian or non-believer: of high or low degree – who disputed this, Sir Thomas would straightway find an Englishman of equal rank to support his case; and would reveal the Queen’s body<sup>218</sup> to the view of any appropriate judges, to show that she was as he said.

<sup>217</sup> Line 3533. *Sire Thommas de Persi. Supra*, l. 34, note.

<sup>218</sup> Line 3564. Percy is offering to have her examined to establish that she is still a virgin, *saine et ... entiere*, l. 3551.

Et quant elle fu<sup>1912</sup> descendue, 3524  
 Ilz la firent entrer dedens  
 Avecques asés pou de gens,  
 Fors les ambassadeurs de France  
 Et d'Engleterre, qui a ce 3528  
 Faire avoient asez mis.  
 Quant ilz furent ensemble mis  
 En la chappelle, un chevalier,  
 Qui d'Engloiz est tenu moult chier – 3532  
 C'est Sire Thommas de Persi –  
 Prinist a parler, disant ainsi:  
 'Le roy Henry, roy d'Engleterre,  
 'Mon souverain seigneur en terre, 3536  
 'Desirant l'acomplissement  
 'De sa<sup>1913</sup> promesse, ligement<sup>1914</sup>  
 'Et de volenté tresaffine,  
 'A cy Madame la roïne 3540  
 'D'Engleterre fait amener  
 'Pour la rendre et restituer  
 'A son pere – le roy de Franche<sup>1915\*</sup> –  
 'Bien deliee, quitte et franche 3544  
 'De tous liens de mariage  
 'Et de trestout autre servage,  
 [fo. 76r.] 'Debte ou obligacion.'  
 Et que sur la dampnacion 3548  
 De son ame ainsi le prenoit,  
 Et oultre plus quë elle<sup>1916</sup> estoit  
 Aussi saine et aussi entiere  
 Qu'au<sup>1917</sup> jour que dedens sa litiere 3552  
 Fu amenee au roy<sup>1918</sup> Richart.  
 Et s'il estoit nul quelque part –  
 Fut\* roy, duc, conte: crestien  
 Ou d'autre estat: grant ou moien – 3556  
 Qui vouldist a ce contredire,  
 Il trouveroit sans plus riens dire,  
 Ne sans<sup>1919</sup> querir plus long<sup>1920</sup> conseil,  
 Un homme d'estat<sup>1921</sup> tout pareil 3560  
 En Engleterre, soustenant  
 Ceste querelle; et par devant  
 Tout bon juge exposerait  
 Son corps,\* que tout ainsi estoit. 3564

1912 AD la fust

1913 LB la

1914 A lyement

1915 LABD france

1916 H que elle C quelle

1917 C qua

1918 L no roy

1919 B no sans

1920 AC loing

1921 B ung [mark of

omission] destat [homme in left margin]

**§72 Lines 3565–3601. The handover is completed and Isabella is back on French soil.**

When he had had his say, the count of St Pol very smartly told him that – Jesus Christ be praised – they all firmly believed him without harbouring any doubts.

Then Sir Thomas Percy, weeping bitterly,<sup>219</sup> took the young Queen by the arms and handed her to the ambassadors there. And also they were given [fo. 76v.] certain letters of quittance which the French had promised; you should know that before the two sides left there, they shed most piteous tears. But when it came for her to leave the chapel, the Queen – whose heart shines with goodness – led out all the English ladies and gentlemen who were expressing their great sorrow in the French pavilions. They agreed to dine together; and so they did, as it seems to me. After the dinner the Queen called for a great quantity of very fine jewels and had them given to the noble English ladies and gentlemen who were weeping in great grief.

<sup>219</sup> Line 3573. *en plourant*. This could refer either to Percy or to Isabella. *Supra*, ll. 349–350, note. At first glance Isabella is the more likely candidate, but the whole English party is described as weeping, *infra*, ll. 3579–3581, 3586–3587, 3595–3597.

**§72 Lines 3565–3601. The handover is completed and Isabella is back on French soil.**

Et quant il ot<sup>1922</sup> dit son vouloir,  
 Tressagement – sachiez<sup>1923</sup> de voir –  
 Le conte de Saint Pol lui dist  
 Que loué en fut Jhesucrist, 3568  
 Et qu'ainsi<sup>1924</sup> le creioient<sup>1925</sup> eux  
 Fermement sans estre doubtieux.  
 Lors Sire Thommas de Persi  
 La jeune roïne saisi 3572  
 Par les bras en plourant moult fort  
 Et la livra<sup>1926</sup> par bon accord  
 Aux<sup>1927</sup> messages qui furent la.  
 Et aussi on leur delivra 3576  
 [fo. 76v.] Certaines lettres de quittance,  
 Qu'avoient promis ceulx de France;  
 Et sachiez que les deux parties,  
 Ains que de la fussent<sup>1928</sup> parties, 3580  
 Plourerent moult piteusement.  
 Maiz quant ce vint<sup>1929</sup> au partement  
 De la chappelle, la roïne –  
 Qui son cuer de<sup>1930</sup> bien enlumine – 3584  
 En admena tous les Englés  
 Et les dames, qui firent<sup>1931</sup> tres  
 Grant douleur<sup>1932\*</sup> aux franchoises tentes.  
 Et si estoient leur<sup>1933</sup> ententes 3588  
 De disner la trestous ensemble;  
 Si firent ilz,<sup>1934</sup> comme<sup>1935</sup> il me semble.  
 Maiz quant ce vint après disner,  
 La roïne fist ordonner 3592  
 De tresbeaux joiaux grant foison,  
 Et les fist presenter par don  
 Aux grans dames et aux seigneurs  
 D'Engleterre, qui de douleurs 3596  
 Et de dueil plouroient<sup>1936</sup> moult fort.

1922 C eust  
 1923 H sachie [z. *squeezed in*  
*later*]  
 1924 C quausi  
 1925 LBC croyent  
 1926 B laissa  
 1927 B au

1928 H fussent  
 1929 B vient  
 1930 A en  
 1931 LB furent *changed to*  
*firent [dot beneath second minim*  
*of u]*  
 1932 *all mss* grant dueil

1933 LACD leurs  
 1934 C il  
 1935 D si comme  
 1936 C plourerent

But the Queen comforted them and bade them farewell; then their lamentations broke out again when she had to take her leave.

**§73 Lines 3602–3712. Isabella returns to Paris. Creton finishes by cursing the English; he wrote the *Prinse et mort* so that the truth of Richard's capture might be known.**

The English and the French then parted, but I know it to be true that before the Queen of England was one league further on, [fo. 77r.] she came across my lord of Burgundy<sup>220</sup> who had come from Boulogne to lay a secret ambush. The count of Nevers,<sup>221</sup> his elder son was there – you can all be sure of that – Monseigneur Antoine<sup>222</sup> was there too; there was also another great lord, the duke of Bourbon.<sup>223</sup>

They were accompanied by 500 lancers on foot, drawn up armed in the fields, so that if the English had changed their plans, or if they had thought to take the Queen away again – because of

<sup>220</sup> Line 3607. *Monseigneur ... de Bourgogne*. Philip the Bold.

<sup>221</sup> Lines 3611. *De Nevers le conte*. Burgundy's elder son, the future John the Fearless.

<sup>222</sup> Line 3613. *Anthoine Monseigneur*, his younger son. For Burgundy's family, see Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 82.

<sup>223</sup> Line 3616. *le duc de Bourbon*. Louis II of Bourbon, brother-in-law to the late Charles V, who had married one of Louis' sisters, Jeanne de Bourbon. Louis was uncle to Charles VI. See also Monfrin, 'Humanisme et traductions', p. 177.



Maiz la roïne reconfort  
 Leur donna et prinst congié d'eulx;  
 Et lors renouvela leurs deulx,<sup>1937</sup>  
 Quant d'avecque<sup>1938</sup> eulx se dust<sup>1939</sup> partir. 3600

**§73 Lines 3602–3712. Isabella returns to Paris. Creton finishes by cursing the English; he wrote the *Prinse et mort* so that the truth of Richard's capture might be known.**

Ainsi se voldrent departir  
 A celle heure Angloiz et Franchois,  
 Maiz je sçay bien<sup>1940</sup> de vray, ainchois<sup>1941</sup> 3604  
 Que la roïne d'Engleterre  
 Fust loings une lieue de terre,  
 [fo. 77r.] Trouva Monseigneur de Bourgongne  
 Qui estoit venu de Boulongne<sup>1942</sup> 3608  
 En enbuche secretement.  
 Avec ly estoient<sup>1943</sup> present  
 De Nevers le conte, son filz  
 Aigné – de ce soiez tous<sup>1944</sup> fiz – 3612  
 Si fu Anthoine Monseigneur;  
 Encor y ot un grant seigneur,  
 C'on appelle<sup>1945</sup> par<sup>1946</sup> son droit non  
 Monseigneur le duc de Bourbon. 3616  
 Ceulx estoient acompaignié  
 De<sup>1947</sup> .v.<sup>c</sup> lances tout<sup>1948</sup> a pié  
 Rengiés sur les champs et armés,  
 Afin que, se<sup>1949</sup> la<sup>1950</sup> voulentés 3620  
 Des Engloiz fust\* mal<sup>1951</sup> retournee,  
 Ou qu'ilz<sup>1952</sup> eüssent eu<sup>1953</sup> pensee  
 De la roïne remener –  
 Pour aucun estrif<sup>1954</sup> ou parler 3624

<sup>1937</sup> B leurs pleurs deulx  
<sup>1938</sup> HACD davecques  
 L daveuc B quant ave  
 davecques  
<sup>1939</sup> H dult L dut  
 ABCD dust  
<sup>1940</sup> AD no bien  
<sup>1941</sup> A que aincois

<sup>1942</sup> B qui estoit [*mark of omission*] de boulongne  
 [venu *in left margin*]  
<sup>1943</sup> A avecques luy estoit  
 B avec luy estoit  
<sup>1944</sup> H ABCD aïsne soiez  
 ent tous fiz [D soies  
*superscript*] L aïsne de ce  
 soyes tout fiz  
<sup>1945</sup> A appelloit

<sup>1946</sup> C pour  
<sup>1947</sup> D a  
<sup>1948</sup> AB tous  
<sup>1949</sup> C si  
<sup>1950</sup> all mss les  
<sup>1951</sup> C fust en mal  
<sup>1952</sup> BC quil  
<sup>1953</sup> LACD eüssent en  
 B eüssent [eu *superscript*] en  
<sup>1954</sup> H estrif C rescript

some dispute between the two sides – everyone would have done his duty to rescue her: and they would have charged the English through hills, plains and valleys until, despite them, the French would have taken the Queen forcibly back to her father, the King of France.

But I want you to see that they did not need to do this, for the English intended to restore [fo. 77v.] her out of England into her own country, with all the jewels she had in her possession when she left France after her marriage. She journeyed through France to Paris, where there were many tears shed and much joy on her arrival.

Now let us pray to God – who meekly let his naked body hang on the Cross to redeem sinners out of the hands of their false enemies in Hell – that He may take speedy revenge on the great evils, ingratitude, outrage and injustice committed by the foul English against their King and Queen; but let this be soon, for I swear in truth to you that I have a great desire to see it done, on account of the evil I have seen amongst them. If everyone knew what they want

Qu'ilz eussent peu entre<sup>1955</sup> eulx avoir –  
 Que chascun de ceulx<sup>1956</sup> leur devoir  
 Eüssent fait de la rescoure:  
 Et qu'ilz eüssent laisié coure 3628  
 Sur Engloiz a fort leurs chevaulx  
 Parmi montaignes, plains et vaux,  
 Tant que par force et maugré eulx  
 L'eüssent ramenee entr'eulx 3632  
 Au roy de France, son beau pere.\*  
 Maiz je vueil bien<sup>1957</sup> qu'il vous apere  
 Qu'ilz n'orent mestier de ce faire,  
 Car les Engloiz voldrent parfaire 3636  
 [fo. 77v.] D'elle la restitucion  
 D'Engleterre en<sup>1958</sup> sa région  
 Et de tous ses joyaulx aussi  
 Qu'elle avoit, quant elle parti 3640  
 De France après son mariage.  
 Et depuis fist elle passage  
 Parmi France jusqu'a<sup>1959</sup> Paris,  
 Ou<sup>1960</sup> maintes larmes et maint<sup>1961</sup> ris 3644  
 Furent geteez<sup>1962\*</sup> pour sa venue.  
 Or prions Dieu – qui sa char nue  
 Leissa humblement en croix<sup>1963</sup> pendre  
 Pour pecheurs rachetter et rendre 3648  
 Hors des mains des faulx ennemis  
 D'enfer, qui ne sont noz amis –  
 Qu'il vueille brief prendre vengeance<sup>1964</sup>  
 Des grans maulx et desconnoissance, 3652  
 De l'oultrage et injuste fait,  
 Que les mauvaiz Engloiz ont fait  
 A leur roy et a leur roÿne;  
 Maiz que ce soit en brief termine, 3656  
 Car je vous jure a dire voir  
 Que je le<sup>1965</sup> desire moult voir  
 Pour le mal que j'ay veu entre eulx.  
 Et se chascun savoit leur<sup>1966</sup> veulx 3660

<sup>1955</sup> B eussent ~~set~~ [peu  
superscript] entre

<sup>1956</sup> H chascun de ceulx

B chascun deulx

<sup>1957</sup> BD no bien

<sup>1958</sup> L en superscript

<sup>1959</sup> B jusques a

<sup>1960</sup> C print [sic]

<sup>1961</sup> LABD mains

<sup>1962</sup> HLCD fu jettee

A furent geteez B fu jecte

<sup>1963</sup> B en croix

humblement

<sup>1964</sup> B vueille [mark of  
omission] prendre vengeance  
[brief at line end]

<sup>1965</sup> C no le

<sup>1966</sup> LACD leurs

and how they hate the French, I think that within three months one would see many ships filled with provisions and supplies carrying battle to them, [fo. 78r.] for these are very wicked people, slow to do good; anyone can clearly see that.

If I have spoken too much about them in any way that causes offence, I humbly beg without bitterness to be pardoned. I swear by God and on my soul that to the best of my ability I have not laid at their door any wrongs that they have not committed, considering that I saw their actions for seven<sup>224</sup> whole months and rode with them in diverse countries and places, in Ireland and England. And the good earl of Salisbury earnestly asked and begged me, when he was captured with King Richard, to spread abroad their crimes and disloyal treachery if I were able to return to France.

I gave him my faithful promise of my own free will, and for this reason I have taken pains to honour the vow I made him in the great distress and danger in which I left him; and also because I know

<sup>224</sup> Line 3678. *sept mois*. For an explanation for this error, *supra*, l. 3288, note.

Et comment<sup>1967</sup> ilz hëent Franchoiz,  
 Je cuide fermement ainchoiz<sup>1968</sup>  
 Que trois mois fussent acomply,  
 C'on verroit maint vaisse<sup>1969</sup> empli<sup>1970</sup> 3664  
 De garnison et de vitaille  
 Pour eulx aler faire bataille,  
 [fo. 78r.] Car ce sont tresmauvaises gens  
 Et de bien faire negligens; 3668  
 Chascun le puet veoir<sup>1971</sup> clerement.  
 Et se parlé trop largement  
 Ay d'eulx, en aucune maniere  
 Qui desplaise, d'umbl<sup>1972</sup> priere 3672  
 Requier, et de cuer sans amer,  
 C'on le me vueille pardonner.  
 Car je prens sur<sup>1973</sup> Dieu et sur<sup>1974</sup> m'ame  
 Qu'a mon pover, mal ne diffame 3676  
 Je n'ay dit d'eulx, qu'ilz n'aient fait,  
 Veu que sept mois entiers<sup>1975</sup> leur fait  
 Vy, et chevauchay<sup>1976</sup> avecque<sup>1977</sup> eulx  
 Par plusieurs contrees et lieux, 3680  
 En Yrlande<sup>1978</sup> et en<sup>1979</sup> Engleterre.  
 Et si me vould moult fort requerre  
 Et prier de bon cuer aussi  
 Le bon<sup>1980</sup> conte de Salsebery, 3684  
 Quant il fu pris avec le roy  
 Richart, que de tout le desroy  
 Et desloyale traïson  
 Voulssisse faire mensïon, 3688  
 Se retourner pover en Franche.  
 Et certes de volenté franche  
 Et de cuer loyal ly<sup>1981</sup> promis,  
 Et pour ceste cause j'ay mis 3692  
 Paine d'acomplir la promesse,  
 Que ly fis en la grant tristesse  
 Et peril, ou je le laissay;  
 Et aussi pour ce que je sçay 3696

1967 LB comme  
 1968 A quaincois  
 1969 H vaisse<sup>l</sup> L mains  
 vaisseaulx  
 1970 L empli  
 1971 H veoir

1972 LBC durable  
 1973 L sus  
 1974 L sus  
 1975 C entiers *superscript*  
 1976 L chevauchie  
 1977 ABD avecques

1978 H yrlande  
 1979 C *no en*  
 1980 L *no bon*  
 1981 C *cy*

[fo. 78v.] for sure that no one could have known the truth about the King's capture, and how he was falsely lured from his fine, strong Welsh castles through concord and negotiation with the earl of Northumberland, as I said before. And so I sincerely beg all who read to the end of this account which I wrote about the English and what they did, to pardon me if I made mistakes in versification, in rhyme or in my prose, for I am not skilled in them.

Amen.

[fo. 78v.] De certain c'on<sup>1982</sup> n'eust<sup>1983</sup> peu savoir  
 De la prise du roy le voir,  
 Et<sup>1984</sup> comment<sup>1985</sup> il fu faulcement<sup>1986</sup>  
 Par traittié et par<sup>1987</sup> parlement 3700  
 Atraiz<sup>1988</sup> hors de ses<sup>1989</sup> forts<sup>1990</sup> chastiaux,  
 Qui sont en Galles bons et biaux,  
 Du conte de Northomberlant,  
 Comme j'ay dit ycy devant. 3704  
 Si prie a tous ceulx<sup>1991</sup> de cuer fin,  
 Qui verront jusques a la fin  
 Ce traittié, que j'ay voulu faire  
 Des Engloiz et de leur affaire, 3708  
 Que se j'ay mespris en rimer,  
 En prose ou en leonimer,  
 C'on m'en<sup>1992</sup> tiengne pour excusé,  
 Car je n'en sui pas bien rusé. 3712  
 Amen.<sup>1993</sup> 3714

1982 B com  
 1983 C con eust [no ne]  
 1984 ACD ne  
 1985 B come  
 1986 B faulcessement  
 1987 C no par  
 1988 L attrait

1989 C no ses  
 1990 H forts *superscript*  
 LB no forts  
 1991 A dieu que  
 1992 AD me [no en]  
 1993 L explicit A amen  
 deo gracias B explicit

lystoire du roy richart  
 dengleterre composee par  
 [blank] creton C deo gracias  
 D deo gracias cy fenist le roy  
 richart deo gracias