



LIVES AND TIMES

OF THE EARLY

VALOIS QUEENS


CATHERINE BEARNE.



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EARLY VALOIS QUEENS



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CHÂTEAU DE CASTELLUX.
(See pages 17, 18.)

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Lives and Times

of the

Early Valois Queens

Jeanne de Bourgogne - - -

Blanche de Navarre - - -

Jeanne d'Auvergne et de Boulogne

By

Catherine Bearne

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To

THE MEMORY OF MY DEAR MOTHER

MRS. CHARLTON

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED BY

HER LOVING DAUGHTER

CATHERINE

PREFACE

WHILST the histories of the later Queens and Princesses of the House of Valois have been so written and rewritten that their character, appearance, and the principal events of their lives are familiar to most of us, little or nothing is generally known of any who lived before Anne de Bretagne, wife of Louis XII. Details of the lives of the earlier Queens are more difficult to trace; but it seems to me that the information gained by researches into the records of their times, although less copious, is more interesting, as it brings before us a period with which we are less acquainted, and a manner of life at once simpler and more picturesque. That these early Valois Queens were far from being colourless shadows, like the wives of some of the Bourbon and later Valois Kings, is evident to any student of the history of their times. All the three whose eventful lives are recorded in the present volume were powerful and influential; taking part in the most important events of their day.

In the archives and records of France we find

Jeanne de Bourgogne sitting in the Parliament of Paris and voting as a peer of France, decrees of Philippe VI. signed "With the advice and consent of the Queen, our dear wife," ancient chronicles speaking of her unbounded influence over her husband and son, and accounts of money spent in proclamations sent by her orders throughout the kingdom in time of war.

The brilliant figure of Blanche de Navarre appears amidst the strife and confusion of her times, conspicuous for her powerful support of the Navarrais party, the treaties she arranged with the Kings of France and the universal consideration in which she was held.

The life of Jeanne d'Auvergne is characterised not merely by her rich inheritance, splendid alliances, and many misfortunes, but by the strength and wisdom of her government as regent of Burgundy and guardian of her son.

I have gathered the materials for this book from the early chronicles of France and Burgundy and from the works of topographers and historians of later centuries—French, English, Spanish, and Italian. Amongst more recent French authors I am also indebted to the delightful biographies of Philippe le Long, and Mahault, Comtesse d'Artois, by MM. Lehugueur and Richard, to the invaluable "Topographie historique du vieux Paris," by MM. Berty et Tisserand, the "Dissertations sur les enclos de Paris," by M. A. Bonnardot, and "Dissertations sur l'histoire de France," by M. Leber.

To the "Antiquités et recherches" of M. Jean

Maurice I owe the accounts of several curious customs and ceremonies, and to "La France au temps des croisades," by M. le Vicomte de Vaublanc, the description of France and Burgundy in the early part of the fourteenth century, and upon the Hundred Years' War and the Jacquerie I have consulted the fascinating works of the late M. Siméon de Luce. Two or three interesting anecdotes are given by Mde. Celliez in "Les Reines de France," and many picturesque details have been furnished by the accounts of the royal "hostels," or households, given by MM. Laborde and Douet d'Arcq.

With the death of the third Queen of the House of Valois this book ends; but the lives of Jeanne de Bourbon, Isabelle de Bavière and some of their successors may possibly be related in another volume at some future time.

October, 1898.

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LIVES AND TIMES
OF
THE EARLY VALOIS QUEENS

PART I—*JEANNE DE BOURGOGNE*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Princes of the House of Valois—The Salique law.

AMONG the histories of all the mighty nations that, rising amidst the storms and mists which hung over the dissolution of the Roman Empire, grew and developed through the splendour of mediæval times into the light and civilisation of our own, there are none so interesting to trace or so fascinating to follow as that of France.

In picturesque contrast, in romance, in variety of incident, both geographically and historically she

stands alone. The cool breezes of England and Germany sweep over the woods, meadows, and grey-gabled towns of her northern provinces, the burning sun of Italy and Spain shines on the vineyards, orange groves, and white cities of her southern lands. The grandeur of her snowy mountains, rushing torrents, pine forests, and glaciers is not surpassed in Switzerland. The wild storms of the Atlantic and the blue waves of the Mediterranean break on her shores.



JEANNE DE BOURGOGNE.
(From Monument on Tomb.)

The pages of her history repeat the same dramatic contrasts. In the height of heroism and the depth of crime her records seem to surpass those of other nations. Saints and heroes, tyrants and monsters pass before us as we read; scenes of pure unearthly heroism, or of blood and cruelty and licentious depravity present themselves before us.

Godefroy de Bouillon, when he won the crown of Jerusalem but refused to wear it where Christ was crowned with thorns; the death-bed of Saint Louis in the Crusader's camp; the Maid of Orleans with her vision of angels and white banner leading the troops to victory and dying a martyr's death; Bayard, "the good knight without fear and without reproach;" Pierre d'Aubusson, L'Isle Adam, and La Valette, the gallant Grand Masters of the Knights of St. John, the bulwark of Christendom, holding Rhodes and

Malta against the hosts of Mahomet and Solyman ; the holy St. François de Sales and St. Vincent de Paul, the Carmelites in the Terror, the heroes of La Vendée ; and on the other hand the Jacquerie, the murder of the Templars, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the corruption of the court of Louis XV., the oppressive cruelty of the nobles, the horrors and blasphemies of the French Revolution, Marat, Robespierre, Carrier, and their gang of murderers, Napoleon with his bloodstained laurels and sea-girt prison, Europe once at the feet of France, and Paris four times in the hands of foreign conquerors, the Commune sinking in blood and fire, all end in the respectable bourgeois who now represent the French nation, and with their crowd of mediocrities govern and entertain as best they may in the palaces where once the Valois and Bourbon held their magnificent sway. One of the great attractions and aids to the study of French history is the existence of an immense number of delightful chronicles and memoirs which bring its most interesting periods so vividly before us and make us so intimately acquainted with many of its characters, that we almost seem to be transported back to the scenes which they so graphically describe, and to live in the vanished life of those past ages.

Around the princes of the house of Valois there seems to linger a special fascination, somewhat like the halo that has always hung over the Stuarts. Their courts were so brilliant, their adventures so romantic, they themselves so handsome, so distinguished, so charming in the manners with which

they veiled their very reprehensible conduct. In many of the writings of the days of Henri IV. and even Louis XIII., may be discerned a sentiment of attachment and melancholy regret for that brilliant race, in comparison with which many people looked upon the Bourbons as merely a Gascon family, like the Sires d'Albret or the Comtes de Foix. Of course every one knew that they were of the blood of France, but it was long before the grace and beauty and charm of the Valois had faded from the memories and hearts of the people. That race, like the Capétienne, ended with three brothers, who left no heirs. The illegitimate son of the second brother, Charles IX. and Marie Touchet, Charles de Valois, Comte d'Auvergne and Ponthieu and Duc d'Angoulême, was acknowledged and treated with great affection and consideration by his grandmother Catherine dei Medici and the rest of his father's family, whom he strongly resembled. He held a high command in the army, and was a great favourite of his uncle Henri III., to whose care, as a child, he had been left by his father, and whose death was an irreparable blow to him. He was afterwards imprisoned in the Bastille for taking part in a conspiracy against Henri IV., but was liberated after a time and lived until 1649. Louis XIII. was very fond of him, and various amusing and characteristic stories are related of him.¹

It is said that he belonged so entirely to the times of the Valois that he could not adapt himself to the reign of Louis XIII.; that he used to speak of the

¹ The authenticity of these stories, however, cannot be vouched for.

Bourbons as "*des cadets parvenus*;" that his "hôtel" was the sure refuge of all the malefactors in the city, who gave large bribes to his followers to protect them, in consequence of which, whenever the *archers* attempted to penetrate there in search of them they were received with musket shots; that parliament vainly endeavoured to legislate against them, for the King never failed to bring the affair before his council and then the *dossier* was always destroyed: such was the deference and consideration still entertained by the Bourbons for the Valois.

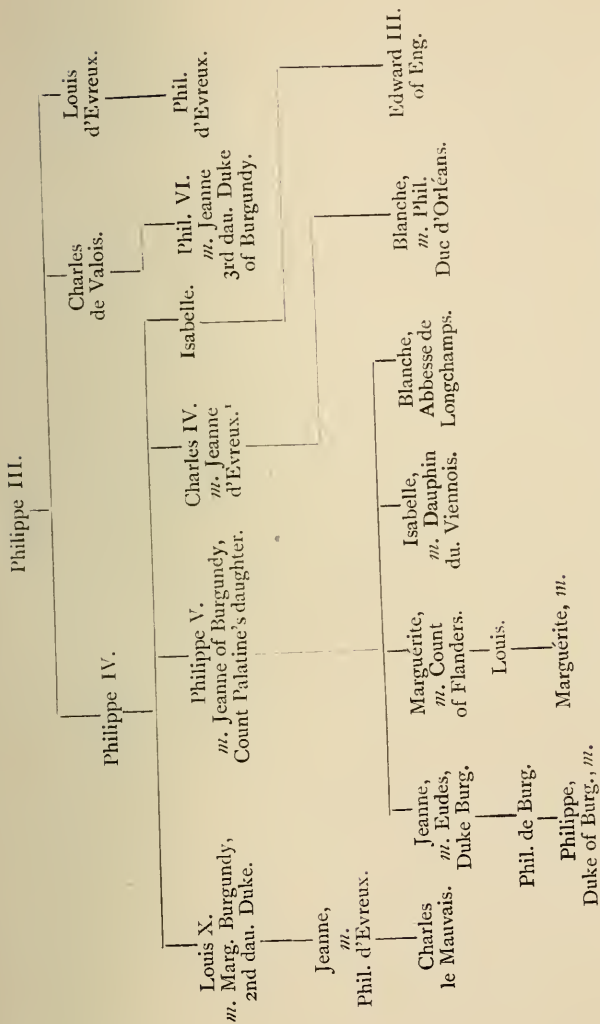
It is also related that on one occasion the *suisse*s of the Hôtel d'Angoulême (rue Pavée-dans-le-marais) had been making large sums of money by selling what they pretended to be the water of the Jordan, to give an abundance of milk to wet nurses. But as it was discovered to be water from the river of the Gobelins, which was not only useless but unwholesome, they were attacked before La Tournelle, and the last of the Valois was so shocked at the pursuits carried on against his followers, that he sent and had the house of the President M. Molé set on fire. The servants of M. le Duc d'Angoulême having barricaded the neighbouring streets so that no help could be obtained, the house was slowly burned without any opposition.

Another time, Louis XIII. having remonstrated with the Duc d'Angoulême because nearly all the false coins circulating in Paris were said to come from his followers, he replied, "Why, I know no more about it than you do. I let one or two rooms in my château of Grosbois to the deacon Merlin, for which he gives

me 7,000 or 8,000 piastres a year, but I never inquired what he did in those rooms ; send the President Molé there to see ;” at which the king could not help laughing. At the age of seventy-two (1644), the Duc d’Angoulême married his second wife, Françoise de Nargonne-Mareuil, who was then a young girl. She lived sixty-nine years after her husband and a hundred and thirty-nine after the king, her father-in-law, and died in 1713. Therefore the daughter-in-law of Charles IX. was living in the eighteenth century, and there must have been a number of people who saw Napoleon in their old age and the daughter-in-law of Charles IX. in their youth.

It is not, however, with the extinction of the house of Valois that this work begins ; on the contrary, what we are now concerned with is its arrival at the summit of power in France when, in the year 1328, the death of the three brothers, Louis X., Philippe V., and Charles IV., without male issue, left the line of Hugh Capet without any direct heir, owing to the uncertain state of the law of succession. The claimants for the throne stood as in the table on the opposite page.

Of the claim of Edward III. of England, as Hume remarks, “ there could not well be imagined a notion weaker or worse grounded.” If the Salique law were to be followed, Philippe, son of Charles de Valois, and grandson of Philippe III., was the undoubted heir. If, on the other hand, there were to be no question of that law, then the legitimate heiress was Jeanne, daughter of Louis X., and failing her and her children, her cousins, the daughters of Philippe V. and Charles IV. Edward was therefore, as Hume



¹ Jeanne d'Evreux was the third wife of Charles IV., but the only one by whom he left any children.

proceeds, "reduced to assert that though his mother, Isabella, was, on account of sex, incapable of succeeding, he himself, who inherited through his mother, was liable to no such objection, and might claim by right of propinquity." Even if this had been the case, instead of being "contrary to the established principles of succession in every country in Europe," the crown would have belonged, not to Edward, but to Charles of Navarre, eldest son of Jeanne, and grandson of Louis X. The crown having for eleven generations, from Hugh Capet to Louis X., descended from father to son in unbroken succession, no question of the kind had ever arisen. Whatever precedent there might be was certainly in favour of the Salique law, which had been practised by the two former races, but the opinion of the country was much divided on the matter. Philippe IV. himself had supported the succession of women in Artois, while the barons had desired that they should be excluded from the fiefs, but should succeed to the crown, and their chief, Charles de Valois had actually supported the claims of Jeanne, daughter of Louis X., his great niece, against that of his nephew, Philippe V., and had taken possession of the palais de la Cité, from which he was driven by the armed citizens of Paris, about a month after the death of Louis X. The usurpation of Philippe V., if usurpation it were, greatly strengthened the precedent, and on his death in 1322, his daughters were in their turn passed over in favour of his brother Charles IV. Still, there was no legal or final settlement of the question. The coronation of Philippe V. had been accomplished by violence,

many people were dissatisfied and considered it an injustice; a strong party of the nobles protested against it; led by Eudes, Duke of Burgundy, uncle of Jeanne, and influenced by her grandmother, the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, who was also the Princess Agnes of France, youngest daughter of St. Louis, revered for her virtues and talents. The uncles of Philippe V. had refused to be present at the ceremony, and the Burgundian party had only yielded to superior force. But it was now absolutely necessary to settle the question once and for ever. Therefore, when the anxiously expected confinement of Queen Jeanne d'Evreux, wife of Charles IV., had resulted in the birth of a daughter, the assembly of nobles was convoked, and having examined the claims of the different candidates, pronounced in favour of Philippe de Valois. The Salique law was not legally and finally established until the next reign, but with the coronation of Philippe VI. and Jeanne de Bourgogne, at Rheims on Trinity Sunday, 28th of May, 1328, began the line of powerful and brilliant monarchs with whose history we are now concerned.

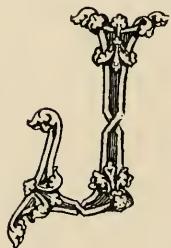


ANCIEN CHÂTEAU DE DIJON.

CHAPTER II

1305

Early history of Burgundy—County—Duchy—Succession of Robert II. —His marriage with Agnes of France—Betrothal and death of Jean—Expedition to Sicily—Death of Philippe III.—Philippe IV. —Embassy to Rome—Will of Robert II.—Châteaux and towns of Burgundy—Betrothal of Marguërite—Birth of Robert—Marriage of Marguërite—Death of Robert II.



LEANNE, wife of Philippe de Valois, was a daughter of the great Capétienne house of Burgundy. On both sides she belonged to the blood royal of France, as her mother, Agnes de France was a daughter of St. Louis, and her father, Robert II., Duke of Burgundy, descended from Robert, a younger son of Robert I. of France, son of Hugues Capet. According to Pliny and Tacitus, the Burgundians, who had established themselves in that part

of the country which is now the duchy of Mecklenburg, were driven across the Elbe by the Gepidæ about 407; and advanced to Autun, where the Emperor Honorius permitted them to settle, on condition that they should defend the Rhine frontier against the Alamands (Germans). Tall, strong, and rough, but less cruel and more peaceful than most of the other barbarians who overran the provinces of the falling Empire of the West, the Burgundians dwelt like brothers with their Roman neighbours, lived in towns, worked as carpenters and blacksmiths, and were ready at the same time to defend themselves if attacked. Their first king, Gundicaire, ruled over the finest part of the province of Gaul. Langeois, the Nivernais, Lyonnais, the ancient Gaul Narbonnaise between the Rhone and the Saône, formed his kingdom and were ruled by his dynasty for a hundred years, until it was overthrown by the sons of Clovis. They formed part of the kingdom of France until the reign of Charlemagne, after whom they were divided into three portions, Cisalpine Burgundy, comprising Provence, Dauphiné, le Comtat, part of Bugey, Bresse, part of Languedoc, and a small portion of Burgundy proper (this was at first the kingdom of Provence), and Transjuran Burgundy, comprising part of Bugey, Savoie and Switzerland up to the Reuss. These were afterwards united with the kingdom of Arles. The third portion was Burgundy proper, or the country bounded by the Jura, the Rhône and the Rhine, which was governed by dukes under the feudal sovereignty of the kings of France. When Raoul,

Duke of Burgundy, ascended the throne of France, he ceded his duchy to his brother, to be held as an hereditary fief of the French crown. In 965 it was given by Hugues Capet to his brother Henri le Grand, who, having no children, left it to his adopted son, Othe Guillaume. But his nephew, Robert, King of France, claimed as next heir, and after some years of strife, Othe agreed to relinquish his claim to the duchy of Burgundy, in consideration of the great domain of Franche Comté, or the county of Burgundy as it was called, being given to him in exchange. Renaud, Count of Burgundy, died about 1144, leaving only an infant daughter, Beatrice, who afterwards married the Emperor Frédéric Barbarossa, and carried the county of Burgundy into the Suabian family. It descended to her fourth son, Otto I., Count Palatine of Burgundy, and his heirs and heiresses, who were Counts and Countesses Palatine of Burgundy.

The duchy of Burgundy was conferred by King Robert on his second son, Henri, who, on succeeding to the crown of France, gave it to his brother Robert. The duchy was made a peerage of France, and the capital fixed at Dijon, where the dukes of the Capétienne house lived and reigned with great magnificence. At the time of the birth of Jeanne, therefore, there existed the county of Burgundy, ruled by Otto IV., who was also Comte d'Artois, through his wife, Mahault, or Matilda, heiress of that province; and the duchy of Burgundy, ruled by Robert II., father of Jeanne, and third son of Hugues IV., who, having lost his two elder sons,

left the inheritance to the eldest surviving one, instead of to Yolande, daughter of Eudes, Comte de Nevers, who was married to Robert de Flandres, Seigneur de Bethune et Tenremonde. They claimed the succession in Yolande's right as daughter of the eldest son of Hugues, but the matter being referred to the King of France, Philippe III., he decided that the will of Duke Hugues should be carried out, and Robert accordingly succeeded to the duchy. Philippe, with whom he was a great favourite, made him Grand Chamberlain of France. The title of King of Thessalonica was also conferred on him, and his marriage was celebrated with the King's sister, the Princess Agnes, to whom he had been betrothed during the lifetime of her father, Louis IX. Agnes of France was the fifth daughter of St. Louis, and brought Robert a splendid dowry of towns and castles. He seems to have been devotedly attached to her, and to have had the greatest confidence in her judgment and talents. Appointed guardian of her children and regent of Burgundy, she ruled her family, the court and the duchy, during the absence of her husband and the minority of her son, like a true daughter of St. Louis and grand-daughter of Blanche de Castille.

Robert II., one of the wisest and most powerful princes of the time, possessed great influence with his brother-in-law Philippe III., whom he constantly aided both by counsel and arms. In the ancient times of the Burgundian kingdom, Beaune had been the capital, but it was transferred to Dijon, when Burgundy was reduced to a duchy. The Dukes of Burgundy, however, still retained their palace at

Beaune, which Duke Robert often visited, having much affection for that town. The Duchess Agnes left a sum of money to found a hospital there. They also possessed the châteaux of Volnay, St. Romain, Pouilly-sur-Saône, and Argilly. Jeanne was the third daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy. Her childhood and early youth, passed in the ancient walled cities and amongst the wooded hills of her father's dominions, were full of romance, tragedy, and stirring scenes. Five sons and four daughters were born to Robert and Agnes, and their alliance was eagerly sought by the greatest nobles and princes. Jean, the eldest, was, when little more than an infant, betrothed to Alix, daughter of Otto, Count Palatine of Burgundy, his cousin in the fourth degree, the Pope's permission to be obtained. Both the children, however, died soon afterwards. In 1282 Duke Robert made an expedition to Sicily to assist Charles I., brother of Philippe III., against his rebellious subjects. He afterwards betrothed his little daughter Jeanne to the Prince of Tarentum, son of Charles of Sicily, but that contract was soon broken, and made way for Jeanne's far more splendid destiny.

The death of Philippe le Hardi in 1285 was the beginning of great calamity to the ducal family of Burgundy. Although credulous and wanting in strength, both of character and intellect, he was upright, kind-hearted, gentle, religious, and had shown them unvarying friendship and kindness. His successor, Philippe IV., nick-named Philippe le Bel, was a lad of seventeen, handsome, cold, taciturn, cunning,

faithless, cruel and vindictive. A Flemish chronicler observes of him that he was devoured by a fever of avarice and cupidity. Some historians say that he was generous and magnificent, devoted to his family, but remorseless to his enemies and tyrannical towards his subjects. In most respects his character was entirely opposite to that of his father, but he appears to have continued his friendly relations with the Burgundian court; for Duke Robert, in 1297, was sent by him on an embassy to Rome, before setting out on which he made a will, dated from his castle at Brézé on the feast of Our Lady, March 25, 1297, in which he makes special provision for each of his children then born, for the regency, and for other matters.

To his eldest son Hugues he leaves the duchy of Burgundy, the county of Châlons, and other lands and possessions on both sides of the Saône.

To his second son Eudes 4,000 livres de rente and the seigneuries of Grignay, Luvenay, Vilaines-en-Devesmes, St. Maart, and others.

Desires that his third son, Louis, should take holy orders, and should have the Château de Gray, and if the Duchess Agnes, who was then *enceinte*, should have a son, he should also take orders.

That his eldest daughter Blanche should have 20,000 livres for her marriage portion; Marguérite, his second daughter, 15,000, and Jeanne, his third daughter, 10,000.

He directs that 10,000 livres left by his father for the succour of the Holy Land, 500 livres which he left himself for the same purpose, because of a vow

made by him to go there in person ; and 600 livres besides, which he had had, also for the same purpose, from the lands of Perron d'Aussonne, Seigneur de Loix, should pass into the hands of his heir, the Duke of Burgundy, to accomplish the journey at the next general crusade. And if he were then too young, or should refuse to undertake the expedition, that the money should be given to Jean de Choiseul or to Liebaut, Seigneur de Boiffremont, so that they might serve in the Holy Land for the space of two years with thirteen knights of the vassals of the duke against the enemies of the Christian Faith.

He desires, should he die on this side of the sea, to be buried at Cîteaux by Duke Hugues his father, or, if beyond the sea, in the burying ground of St. Nicolas of Acre, near his brother, Eudes, Comte de Nevers.

He desires that the Duchess Agnes, his wife, should have the guardianship and government of his heir, the Duke of Burgundy, during his minority, and also of all his other children ; and that she should form a council consisting of Hugues, Bishop of Autun, Jean de Vergy, Seigneur de Fonusus, Liebaut, Seigneur de Boiffremont, his cousins ; and Hugues de Chastel, his knight—of whose advice she should make use. He appointed the Duchess, with these councillors, the Abbots of Cîteaux and St. Benigne, and others, his executors.

To this will he afterwards added codicils, making provision for his two youngest children, Robert and Marie, who were not born at the time of its execution, making some slight alterations in the legacies,

and forbidding the Dukes of Burgundy ever to alienate from the duchy Dijon, Châlons, Beaune, Autun, Brancion, Argilly, Vergy, and a number of other important towns and castles with the fiefs appertaining to them.

It is difficult, under the changed conditions and habits of modern existence, to picture to ourselves the manner of life at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century.¹ When Gaul was still a Roman province, farms and villas were to be seen dotted about the plains, and fertile, cultivated parts of the country, fortified against the incursions of the Gothic and German barbarians. As time went on, these were found to be too much exposed to the increasing attacks of invaders, and strongly fortified castles arose gradually in the dense forests and high above the green valleys of France and Burgundy. The first castles were almost entirely built of wood, and even when they began to be built of stone they were but dark and gloomy prisons, in which security alone was considered, and comfort and convenience did not exist. These castles, picturesque outside and intolerable inside, began to be much improved after the first crusade. The knights and nobles, returning from the civilisation and luxury of the south and east, were dissatisfied with their cold and dreary abodes. They wanted light, air, beauty, and space in their houses and castles, and gardens and parks outside them. In fact, they now wished for pleasant and splendid homes—not mere shelters from the weather and the

¹ Guizot, "Hist. de la Civilisation en France."

enemy. The interiors were still simple and severe, but the deep windows, bold carvings, massive furniture, and huge sculptured and emblazoned chimney pieces, had a stately and picturesque beauty, whilst a richly decorated chapel or oratory generally formed a part of the building. Outside the château, on a grassy mound, was planted the tree under which contracts were made, debts paid, and justice done. It was considered the emblem of feudal jurisdiction and the rights of primogeniture. Of the villages that usually surrounded the châteaux it is impossible to say much. They were probably collections of miserable huts, which the peasants deserted at the first signs of war, taking refuge in the castle, and carrying their possessions with them. The roads from one town, or castle, to another, were gradually improving. The ancient Roman roads, now badly kept, were no longer sufficient; new feudal roads were made. The more important ones were required by the law to be not less than fourteen feet wide; the others were paths that wound among the hills and through the forests. There were chariots or cars on wheels, which were sometimes used for journeys, and also litters, more frequently used by ladies. But people, as a rule, travelled on horseback, and wonderfully picturesque it must have been to meet in the heart of the green woods a troop of cavaliers winding along the shady paths, the sun flashing now and again on their bright armour and pennons; perhaps the gay dresses of ladies floating in the wind, the sound of voices, the clang of steel, and the trampling of the horses, echoing through the leafy glades until, as the

cavalcade disappeared amongst the trees, the sounds died gradually away in the distance, and silence once more fell upon the forest.

The towns were surrounded by high massive walls and towers, whose embattled summits rose far above them, while their bases were washed by the waters of the moat beneath ; ancient towers, often dark with age, and always stronger and more massive, at the principal gates of the city. The keys of the gates were kept by the mayor or provost, and were placed under his pillow or at the head of his bed every night. It is said that the clerk of the mayor of Poitiers sought for them one night under the pillow of his master to give them to the English King John, but as they could not be found the town was saved from falling into his hands. These gates and their towers were like little fortresses, and only one small door (postern) was open to the public, and even through that no one might pass without question and without payment. A French historian, speaking of the *porte de Cambrai*, remarks that poor people were often seen weeping before it because they had no money to enable them to pass through. Outside the walls, near the gates, clustered cottages and huts, with little gardens, and inside, next to the walls, were the poorest quarters, composed of thatched mud huts huddled together. Next came the convents, hospices, and houses of the lepers, all of which were very numerous. Nearly all the convents were situated in the retired quarters, and might be distinguished by their steeples, cloisters, and gardens. In the heart of the town, rising among the richer habitations, were

the churches of all descriptions. Parish churches, abbeys, colleges, chapels, some as old in name as the monarchy, but rebuilt two or three times since Clovis, preserving still their huge square or polygonal towers, low arches, and pyramids of stone on long naves covered with tiles, others of later date with steeples and pinnacles of carved openwork like lanterns, and roofs of slate or lead, catching the glittering rays of the sun. Often a river flowed through the city, covered with boats and barges loaded with merchandise. A great chain was stretched across at night where it entered and passed out of the city. It was spanned by one or two bridges, with tall, narrow arches, built over with shops and houses like a street. Often during the night, when the floods had risen, the bridges and all upon them were swept away, but they were soon rebuilt and covered with houses as before. Along the water's edge washerwomen sang as they beat their linen, mills worked their clumsy wheels by the force of the stream, all sorts of unclean things from slaughter-houses, dyers, &c., ran down into it; and, for the matter of that, down the middle of the streets too, for people in those days were in no way particular as to sanitation. These ancient towns were like labyrinths, having two or three principal streets, and the rest a tangled network. Whatever those old streets may have been like to the nose, they were charming to the eye. Tall houses, one story projecting over another, generally of wood, often richly carved, with steep roofs, pointed gables, and quaint chimneys, here and there the dwelling of some knight or noble, with its

stone walls and towers rising above the rest, or, in a more open space perhaps, a door opening into some splendid church, with a swarm of beggars about its steps. There were the different quarters—the tradesmen's, with the dark low shops and the perpetual sound of hammering and other work; the market where the stalls were set up and the criers went about from the early hours of the morning. In the worst quarters the streets were so narrow that a horseman could hardly make his way through them, and nowhere, as travellers and merchandise alike went on horseback, were any but narrow streets to be found. Besides, there was no room to spare in fortified towns; the smaller the space the easier to defend it, and every one who was not a serf or a gentleman lived in a town. In all France and Burgundy there were no little middle-class country houses; nothing but châteaux surrounded by groups of huts, which they protected, and châteaux in fortified towns, which they dominated.

The intersections of the narrow, winding streets formed little spaces in which were placed the gallows, the pillory, fountains, crosses, &c. In some, shunned by all as evil and accursed places, might be seen on the gallows a skeleton swinging in the wind; in a more cheerful "*place*" a sculptured fountain was the evening resort of the youths and maidens, who filled their pitchers with its water. To the oven of the quarter, heated by a glowing fire, which at night made it look like the entrance to the infernal regions, came bakers, bringing their bread, and the housewives their pasties and various dishes to be baked.

In other of these little "*places*" or "*carrefours*," at the foot of the cross, or before the niche where a lamp hung by the shrine of a saint, the bowed figures of devout persons would be kneeling in devotion. Around the cathedral, in the ecclesiastical quarter, were grouped the tranquil dwellings of the clergy. No noise of hammer, or saw, or tumult of voices disturbed the quiet of this quarter, only the sound of holy chants and sacred music from church or cloister broke the solemn repose of this place, on which the peace of God seemed to rest. In this secluded part of the busy city, where grass grew at the foot of the walls along the solitary streets, where creeping plants clung to the low archways leading into ancient buildings where learning and piety dwelt in mystic retirement, here and there you might see through a casement a bowed head bending over a parchment, or the calm face of a nun behind a vase of flowers in some narrow window, the only human beings to be met with in this silent quarter.

Four or five gloomy towers, with battlements and gratings joined to each other by massive walls, surrounded by sluggish water, entered only by a drawbridge and a low door, from which, when it opened, issued forth a knight or a priest, the sergeant of arms, a lady's litter or monseigneur's mule. That frowning fortress which overshadowed and menaced the town, was the *château* of the seigneur, count, duke, bishop, or king.¹

Such was the early home of Jeanne of Burgundy, and amid such scenes she passed the first years of

¹ These descriptions are chiefly taken from "La France au temps des Croisades." M. le V^{te} de Vaublanc.

her existence. The removal of the ducal court from one town or château to another, the visit of some exalted personage, the celebration of some great church festival or courtly pageant, or the departure of the Duke their father at the head of his troops on some warlike expedition, must have been the principal events that varied the young lives growing up under the watchful care of the Duchess Agnes. Various laws made about this time regulating the number of dishes permitted to appear at dinner and supper, and restraining what was evidently considered to be the increasing extravagance in dress, remind one that the duchess was the daughter of St. Louis, and granddaughter of Blanche of Castille, by whose ascetic teaching and saintly example she seems to have been strongly influenced.

In February, 1299, the King of France visited the Burgundian court, bringing with him Otto IV., Count Palatine of Burgundy, and of course a numerous train of nobles and followers. The Duke and Duchess entertained their nephew with great magnificence, and joyfully consented to his proposal to betroth their second daughter, Marguêrite, to his eldest son, Louis, heir to the kingdoms of France and Navarre. Marguêrite, who must have been about nine years old at the time, was probably the one of their daughters most suitable in age for the young prince, who was himself ten years old. Robert, "in consideration of so great an alliance,"¹ agreed to increase the dowry of the young princess to 100,000 francs; Philippe, on his part, promising her a dowry

¹ Duchesne, "Hist. des ducs de Bourgogne."

of 12,000 livres de rentes if she became Queen of France, and 6,000 should she never attain to that dignity. At the same time Jeanne, daughter of Otto, Count Palatine of Burgundy, by the renunciation of her brother and sister, heiress of Franche Comté, was betrothed to Philippe, Comte de Poitiers, second son of the King, and afterwards Philippe V. ; and shortly afterwards Blanche, younger daughter of Count Otto, to Charles, Comte de la Marche, the third son of the King, who after the death of his brothers also succeeded to the throne. The contract which conveyed to Jeanne the whole of that magnificent inheritance was signed by the Count Palatine, his wife, the Countess of Artois, their son, and their younger daughter Blanche, who thereby resigned to their sister all claim to any part of the inheritance of their father. He received a large sum of money and had his debts paid, as he was almost ruined by his extravagance and mismanagement. Philippe made sure that these much-desired provinces should not pass out of his family by marrying the remaining daughter, Blanche, to his youngest son. But as, owing to the tender age of all these betrothed children, none of the marriages (of which two out of the three turned out so tragically) could take place at that time, the young princesses were left under the care of their parents for some years longer, during which was born Robert, the youngest child of the Duke and Duchess, who, it may as well be here recorded, refused to become an ecclesiastic, as his father desired, married Jeanne de Châlons, Comtesse de Tonnerre, went to war with the Dauphin du Viennois, was taken prisoner by him,

mortgaged his lands for ransom, and died without children in 1333.

In the year 1305 the Princess Margu erite, being now fourteen or fifteen years old, was conducted by her parents and family to Vernon-sur-Seine, an ancient town in Normandy, where she was married with great state to Louis, the young King of Navarre. But the marriage festivities were followed by a great calamity, for Duke Robert, her father, was seized with a mortal illness, and died at that place, leaving the duchy of Burgundy to his eldest surviving son, then a child of eight or ten years of age.¹

To the Duchess Agnes this was the beginning of a long series of sorrows and misfortunes. Left alone in those wild and warlike times, regent of Burgundy and guardian of the young duke and his brothers and sisters, most of whom were young children, she assumed the reins of government, ruled the duchy, controlled her son's turbulent vassals, watched over his interests and those of her other sons and daughters, and was honoured by all as "une princesse tr s-vertueuse."

Robert II. was buried at Citeaux, fifteen miles from Dijon, the sepulchre of his race. Sixty princes and princesses of Burgundy, including all the dukes of the Cap tienne house except the first two, lie buried in the great abbey of which they were such magnificent supporters.

It has been asserted by some historians that Duke Robert II. recovered from this malady and did not die until October, 1309, in proof of which they quote

¹ Paradin.

the epitaph on his tomb to that effect. But a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of St. Benigne of Dijon,¹ in his valuable "Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne," t. ii. pp. 311-12, declares that Robert II. was undoubtedly dead in June, 1306, when the con-



CLÔITRE DE L'ABBAYE DE CÎTEAUX.

tract was signed for the betrothal of his youngest daughter, the Princess Marie, to the son of the Comte de Bar, as her dowry was granted by her brother,

¹ St. Benigne was the first Bishop of Dijon, where he suffered martyrdom A.D. 178. Grégoire de Tours.

Hugues IV., Duc de Bourgogne, and her mother, the Duchess Agnes, regent of Burgundy ; as was also in the following year that of her eldest sister, the Princess Blanche, who married the Comte de Savoie. Besides there are in the Chambre des Comptes at Dijon several original documents dated 1306-1307, which expressly state that Duke Robert was dead, therefore the epitaph which was added afterwards is incorrect.

CHAPTER III

1307-1314

Regency of the Duchess Agnes—Marriages of her children—The Court of Philippe IV.—Knighthood of the Princes of France and Burgundy—Magnificent festivities at Paris—Marriage of Jeanne of Burgundy and Philippe de Valois—Arrest and trial of the Queen of Navarre and her sisters-in-law—Acquittal of Comtesse de Poitiers—Imprisonment of Queen of Navarre and Comtesse de la Marche—Their death—Death of the Duke of Burgundy—Of Philippe IV. and his sons.

IN studying the annals of the ruling houses of this epoch, one generally finds that, in each generation, one or more of the sons or daughters, if at all numerous, embraced the monastic or, at any rate, the ecclesiastical life. But the children of Robert II., although several of them were afterwards distinguished for their love of religion and other excellent qualities, certainly seem to have had no vocation for the cloister, neither priest, monk, nor nun being found amongst them. His eldest daughter, the Princess Blanche, was married in 1307 to Edouard, Comte de Savoie; the Princess Jeanne was betrothed to Philippe, eldest son of Charles de Valois, brother of

Philippe IV.; the young Duke of Burgundy to Catherine, eldest daughter of Charles de Valois and Catherine Courtenay, heiress of Constantinople (which contract was afterwards broken); and Louis Seigneur de Devesmes, refusing, like his youngest brother, to take holy orders, was betrothed and afterwards married to Mahault, only daughter of the Prince of Achaia. He took the titles of Prince of Achaia and King of Thessalonica, the latter being ceded to him by his elder brother, the Duke of Burgundy. The youngest daughter, the Princess Marie, was betrothed in June, 1306, being then eight years old, in the presence of her mother, brothers and sisters, at Montbard, to Jean Comte de Bar, grandson to Edward I., of England, through Eleanor, Comtesse de Bar, eldest daughter of that monarch. She married him a few years later. Of the fortunes of Eudes, the second surviving son of Robert and Agnes, more will be said hereafter.

In the meantime, the conduct of her second daughter, the young Queen of Navarre, was calculated to cause the duchess much uneasiness. Handsome, frivolous, and dissipated, freed at fifteen years old from the control of her parents and raised to the head of the French court; her husband a troublesome, childish boy, her father-in-law the remorseless murderer of the Templars, Margu rite's position was one of extreme danger. The wife of Philippe IV., "la bonne reine Jeanne" of Navarre had died before the marriage of her son. The Queen dowager, Marie de Brabant, second wife of Philippe III., a literary, cultivated woman, lived entirely in the

châteaux of her own estates, devoting herself to good works and to study.¹ The marriage of Margu rite with the King of Navarre had been followed by those of her cousins, Jeanne and Blanche, with the Comtes de Poitiers and de la Marche, the King's brothers, in 1306 and 1307 ; and this only made matters worse, for the sisters-in-law of the Queen of Navarre were younger than herself, and delighted to share in the reprehensible follies by which she was making the formerly well-regulated court of her grandmother and great-grandmother, Margu rite de Provence and Blanche de Castille, a scandal to Paris and the whole country. Of the three young princes, Louis, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne and Brie, cared for nothing but childish games, and was so backward, inattentive, and indifferent to all rational pursuits as to excite the wrath of his father,² whose repeated punishments, however, did not seem to do any good. Philippe, Comte de Poitiers, was the best of the three. Tall and slight (he was known as " Philippe le Long "), with more sense and more studious tastes than his brothers, he seems also to have been of a more gentle, kindly disposition. Some events in his reign might appear to contradict this, but several historians speak of him as a prince of great promise and good intentions, and regret his early death. Charles, Comte de la Marche, was chiefly celebrated for his good looks ; his wife, Blanche de Bourgogne, was said to be one of the most beautiful women in Europe. Of the habits, customs, and social life of the French court at that time, whatever details are known are gathered

¹ Celliez, " Reines de France.

² Chanoine de Saint Victor.



LA TOUR DU TEMPLE.

from scattered paragraphs of the chronicles and poems of the day and a few romances ; judging from which great licence prevailed there. Contrasting strongly with the careless, disorderly revels of the young princes and princesses was the gloomy and sinister figure of Philippe IV.

The crimes and cruelties of the princes of those days were of course frequently prompted by ignorance, weakness, the habits and spirit of the age, or a mistaken zeal for religion. Such were the massacres of the Jews and the lepers, who were accused of poisoning the wells, under Philippe V., the wholesale slaughter of the infidels in the crusades, the burning of heretics, &c. But the deeds of Philippe IV. admit of no such palliation. Avarice, ambition, and revenge guided his actions. For example, his debasement of the coin of the realm, which ruined his subjects and gave him the nickname of "le faux-monnaieur"¹ ; his treatment of the Pope, whom, after a long and violent quarrel about the spiritual and temporal power, he had caused to be imprisoned by Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, in consequence of whose brutality, although rescued at the end of four days by the populace, he died shortly afterwards ; and, above all, his destruction of the Order of the Templars, against whom he brought absurd and monstrous accusations, seized their property, and imprisoned, tortured, and burnt many of them, including the Grand Master, Jacques de Molay ; in which crime he was aided and abetted by his creature, Pope Clement V.

Among the most magnificent fêtes ever known at

¹ He reduced the coin to a seventh of its value.

the French court were those given by the King of France at Whitsuntide, 1313, on the occasion of his conferring knighthood upon his three sons, the two eldest Princes of Burgundy, and several other young nobles. The festivities in their honour lasted eight days, and were attended by the King and Queen of England, Edward II. and Isabelle, the only daughter of Philippe IV., and a brilliant concourse of French, Burgundian, English, and other princes and seigneurs.¹ The ceremony took place on Whitsunday in the cathedral of Notre Dame, with all the rites of the ancient chivalry of France. Paris was hung with costly stuffs and tapestries, and sumptuous tents covered the gardens of the abbey of Saint Germain-des-Prés, where the diversions took place. The King of England was entertained the first day by the King of France, the second by the King of Navarre. On the third day he, in his turn, invited them to a banquet, and on the fourth day King Philippe gave a great banquet to the ladies; after which the court crossed the Seine by a bridge of boats to the island of Notre Dame, where the Cardinal Nicolas preached with such passionate fervour a crusade against the infidels that the Kings of France, England, and Navarre, with many of the nobles, knights, and even the ladies of their courts assumed the cross: "Qui est le seing de la Sainte ensigne Nostre Seigneur Jhesuscrist."² On the fifth day, Thursday, there was a grand procession through Paris of the citizens in their different guilds, twenty thousand on horseback and thirty thousand

¹ Felibien.

² "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris.

on foot, richly dressed, with banners and music, one guild emulating another in splendour, the court watching them pass from the windows. There were, amongst other diversions, various theatrical entertainments and spectacles. One represented the glory of the Saints in Paradise, another the sufferings of the damned; also a procession representing different animals. And this fête brought great honour upon the King of France, his family, and the citizens of Paris.¹

Conspicuous among the crowd of young nobles who were present either to receive the honour of knighthood from the hands of the King, or as guests and spectators at that ceremony, were the Burgundian princes; the gentle, kindly Hugues, whose life and reign were to be so short, and his younger brother, Eudes, before whom lay a long and glorious career. Their sisters Blanche, Comtesse de Savoie, and Marguërite, Queen of Navarre, were of course present; and the beauty of some of the young princesses, especially of Isabelle, Queen of England, the King's only daughter, was the subject of universal admiration.

When the festivities were over and the guests dispersed, King Philippe accompanied his daughter and son-in-law as far as Pontoise on their way to England. While they were there, their apartment caught fire. Edward and Isabelle escaped in their nightdresses, but all their clothes, baggage, &c., were burnt.

A few weeks later, early in July, the wedding of

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris.

the Princess Jeanne of Burgundy with Philippe, Comte du Mans, eldest son of Charles de Valois, brother of the King, was celebrated at Sens. Charles gave to his son the counties of Anjou and Maine,



JEANNE DE BOURGOGNE.

(From Portrait at Arras.)

and, although her marriage did not appear to be so great a one as that of her sister Margu r te, still Jeanne had no reason to be dissatisfied with her lot in life. Philippe de Valois, a tall, handsome young soldier of twenty, with all the courtly grace and

charm that seems to have been the inheritance of his race, was a much more attractive husband than the troublesome, childish boy whose only claim to consideration was that the crown of Navarre *did* and the crown of France *would* rest upon his empty head. Jeanne herself was very superior to Margu rite, and, being now eighteen or nineteen years old, she had probably been more influenced by the example and instruction of her mother, the Duchess Agnes of Burgundy, a princess regarded with universal veneration. At the time of her marriage she could scarcely have entertained any serious expectations of ever becoming Queen of France. Philippe IV. was still living, and in the prime of life ; his three sons, young men about the age of her husband, were all married and had children, and it was most unlikely that, even if Philippe de Valois were to survive them all, none of them would leave a son to succeed him. But, in any case, it was a great position, and very suitable for a daughter of the royal house of Burgundy. Charles de Valois, the father of her husband, was the King's eldest brother, and the first prince of the blood after the King's sons. He was a peer of France¹ and

¹ The peers of France created by Philippe Auguste were six lay and six ecclesiastical, *i.e.*, the Dukes of Burgundy and Normandy, Counts of Toulouse, Flanders, Champagne, and Guyenne, the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Beauvais, Laon, Ch lons, Langres, and Noyon. In 1319 there were eight lay peers, and, Guyenne and Flanders being suspended, they were Burgundy, Normandy, Champagne, Artois, Bretagne, Anjou, La Marche, and Evreux-Angoul me. As time went on they were increased in number. The "barons" were the dukes, counts, and sires ; the nobles were the chevaliers,  cuyers and damoiseaux, *i.e.*, all of gentle blood. ("Phil. le Long," Paul Lehugueur, vol. i. p. 284.)

Comte de Valois, d'Alençon, de Chartres, du Perche d'Anjou et du Maine ; the two last-named provinces he gave in 1317 to his son, who was called Comte du Mans. Jeanne, who was religious, talented, fond of intellectual pursuits, and strong in character, soon acquired great influence over her husband, which, as long as she lived she always retained.

In the meantime, the life of pleasure and dissipation led by the Queen of Navarre and her sisters-in-law was drawing to a tragic conclusion. Evil reports had long been circulated concerning the dissolute habits of the court of France in general, and the King's daughters-in-law in particular. Troubadours sang, chroniclers wrote, and friars preached against them in vain. At length, in April, 1314, the court being then at the abbey of Maubuisson for the summer, Philippe IV. was informed of intrigues secretly carried on between the Princesses and certain officers of their households. One of Marguërite's ladies, Mademoiselle de Morfontaine, had long been engaged to a Norman gentleman, named Philippe d'Aulnay. Her suspicions being aroused by various circumstances, she resolved to watch the proceedings of her fiancé, and for this purpose followed him unobserved till she saw him enter the Queen's room. She consulted her confessor, who recommended her to disclose the matter, and acted on his advice, which immediately produced the most fearful consequences. The King ordered absolute secrecy to be observed for a few days, during which he set spies, by means of whom Philippe d'Aulnoy and his brother Gauthier were arrested in the apart-

ments of the Queen of Navarre and the Comtesse de la Marche. Charged with high treason they were all thrown into prison. The Princesses were taken away in carriages hung with black, the Comtesse de Poitiers, who was also arrested on suspicion, calling loudly to those near to tell her husband, the Comte de Poitiers, that she was entirely innocent. Margu rite and Blanche were shaved and dressed in poor clothes, but Jeanne, who was arrested after her sister and cousin, was, notwithstanding the black hangings to her carriage, treated with the respect due to her rank. The two brothers d'Aulnoy, confessed under torture that their intrigues with the Queen of Navarre and the Comtesse de la Marche had been carried on for about three years; and that they had been in the habit of climbing the walls of the abbey to reach the apartments of those Princesses. They were put to death with frightful cruelty, and numbers of persons were arrested either on their accusations or on suspicion of having connived at or assisted their proceedings. Many people were put to the torture, some were put to death, amongst others an usher who had admitted the chevaliers into the apartments of the Queen of Navarre. The three Princesses were summoned before a court of peers and great nobles, and as long as the trial went on nobody was safe who had been in their service or had anything to do with them; the whole court was in a panic. At last it ended in the condemnation of the Queen of Navarre and Comtesse de la Marche, and the acquittal of the Comtesse de Poitiers, who, as nothing had been proved against her, had not been imprisoned with the others.

Godefroi de Paris relates that when, after the seizure and imprisonment of her sister and cousin, her arrest was also ordered by the King, she indignantly asserted her innocence, demanded to be heard in her own defence, and to be allowed a champion to fight for her. That the King listened, promised to protect her against any injustice, and desired her to be conducted to the château de Dourdan for the present, to reside there, being treated with respect and indulgence, until her innocence should be fully established. Having been declared guiltless, she was restored to all the honours of her rank, and to her husband who was delighted to receive her. He afterwards declared that he had never had any quarrel against her.¹ The only blame attached to her appears to have been that she was aware of the conduct of her sister and sister-in-law, and although she had disapproved, she had joined in concealing it, for the honour of her family and for fear of the consequences. Jeanne lived on good terms with her husband during the rest of his life, and was crowned with him at Rheims, 6th of January, 1316; her mother, the Comtesse Mahault d'Artois as a peer of France, supporting the crown on the King's head at the coronation.

¹ "Philippe le Long," vol. i. At the trial of Mahault, Comtesse d'Artois, who was accused by low agents of Robert d'Artois, Comte de Beaumont, of having poisoned Louis X. to make way for her son-in-law, Philippe V., of having brought about his reconciliation with Jeanne by means of a charm or philtre of herbs mingled with blood from Jeanne's right arm, and having tried without success to do the same for Blanche, Philippe V., her son-in-law and sovereign declared that he had felt no change in his affection for "*sa femme bien-aimée*," nor ever had any quarrel with her. Mahault was triumphantly acquitted (Lehugneur).

Her father, Count Otto of Burgundy, had died in 1303.

Some historians have asserted that Jeanne was saved by her inheritance, as it did not suit Philippe IV, to allow the heiress of Franche Comté to be condemned, and to lose that province for the crown of France. Others attribute her escape to the courage and constancy of the gentleman who was accused with her, from whom no torture could wring anything to compromise either her or himself; or else to the interposition of her husband, the Comte de Poitiers, who was of a more gentle nature and had a better heart than either of his brothers. Others again believe that she was actually guiltless, and there really seems no reason why this should not have been the case.

Her mother, Mahault, Comtesse d'Artois, never doubted her innocence, but sent her encouraging messages to Dourdan, whereas there is no mention of any such communications being made to Blanche at Château-Gaillard. After the tragedy of 1314 no notice of Blanche appears either in any of the accounts of her mother's household, or in the will she made¹ or altered August 15, 1318. While, before the catastrophe, both her own and her sister's names frequently occur as their mother's guests. Afterwards, only that of the Comtesse de Poitiers is to be found and it recurs very frequently. As her son Robert died in 1317, Jeanne was the only remaining child and heiress of the Comtesse d'Artois as well as of her father, Count Otto; and her eldest daughter and

¹ "Mahault, Comtesse d'Artois," Richard.

namesake, married at ten years old to Eudes, Duke of Burgundy, succeeded to that inheritance. The Comtesse Mahault was devotedly fond of her children, and it is most probable that after Blanche had taken the veil at Maubuisson, she again saw and was pardoned by her mother, who was in the habit of visiting that abbey several times in every year. After the ruin of Blanche and the death of her son Robert, the hopes and affections of the great Countess were centred in Jeanne and her children. There is a curious notice, mentioned by Richard in his interesting life of Mahault, of an illness of Jeanne, at Vincennes in 1304, when her mother sent pilgrims and offerings in all directions, caused her to be attended by her own physician and hired a minstrel for a week to amuse her. This was before her marriage, which took place two years afterwards, at Corbeil. For the first year or two it was but a marriage in name, and the young Comte de Poitiers was only allowed to visit her accompanied by his confessor.

After the death of Philippe V., Jeanne lived chiefly with her mother, her favourite residence being the Château de Gray. She shared in the charitable occupations and busy life of the Comtesse Mahault, and only survived her three months.

The good terms on which she always lived with the King, her husband, the constant association with her mother, and the various other circumstances which have just been related concerning Jeanne must surely exonerate her from the apparently groundless charge which has been made by some historians of being the

heroine of the legendary scandals of the "Tour de Nesle," to which reference will be made hereafter. For the tradition is romantic and popular, though devoid of all real foundation or even probability.

Marguérite and Blanche were sentenced to perpetual



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imprisonment, "*tant pour raison de la fragilité de leur sexe, aisé à séduire, que pour la grandeur de leurs maisons.*"¹ They were conveyed to Château Gail-

¹ Paradin, "Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne."

lard d'Andelys, where, according to the "Chronique Métrique" of Godefroi de Paris, they each had their separate prison, with a very small number of attendants "*et de confort moult petit*," but of the two, the worst apartment was given to the Queen of Navarre, who was supposed to have been the most to blame. Her rooms were higher up; those of the Comtesse de la Marche on the ground-floor were more comfortable, as she was said to have been led into this evil by her sister-in-law. This is all most quaintly told in the "Chronique Métrique," which goes on to relate Marguérite's deep repentance, how she lamented over the calamity and dishonour she had brought upon her family, and how she died of an illness some time after Easter the following year; her confessor, a Cordelier to whom she was much attached, being with her; and remarks that God and our Lady comforted her, for never did woman repent more truly nor trust more firmly in God's mercy, and God judges people according to the end.¹

Marguérite was buried in the Church of the Cor-

¹ There seems to be no ancient authority for the assertions of modern historians that Marguérite was strangled or suffocated by order of her husband. The only reason for this supposition appears to be that the death of Marguérite happened so opportunely for Louis X., whose marriage with Clémence de Hongrie was just then in question. M. Paulin Paris, in a note to his excellent edition of "Les Grandes Chroniques de France," says "La Chronique Métrique, après avoir longuement parlé du profond repentir de ces deux princesses, ajoute que la Reine de Navarre mourut *de maladie*. Je ne sais sur quelle autorité tous nos historiens modernes ont répété que Louis X. *l'avoit fait étrangler*; et je ne vois aucune pièce à l'appui de cette allégation dont Pap. Masson semble l'inventeur." Note p. 221, vol. iii. "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris.

deliers at Vernon, where, ten years before, the courts of France and Burgundy were gathered in her honour. She left only an infant daughter.

Blanche, Comtesse de la Marche, is said to have endured her captivity with less patience, weeping and lamenting night and day, so that those who visited her "de pitié ploroient, ne point tenir ne s'en poroient."¹ She remained in captivity for many years, during which rumour attributes to her a liaison with one of the gentlemen in whose charge she was placed.² But in 1323, she took the veil and spent the few remaining years of her life in penitent and peaceful retirement amongst the nuns at Maubuisson. She had the remains of her daughter, who died in childhood, removed there, to a tomb she caused to be made of black marble, upon which, sculptured in white marble, was the figure of the child. She died in 1326, leaving no children. On succeeding to the throne (1322), Charles IV. had obtained the dissolution of his marriage with Blanche, on the plea that her mother, Mahault, Comtesse d'Artois, was his god-mother, which constituted a spiritual relationship and rendered their marriage unlawful.

He then married Marie de Luxembourg, daughter of Heinrich VII., Emperor of Germany, who, a year or two afterwards, died at Issoudun, at eighteen years of age, in consequence of being thrown out of her

¹ "Chroniques Métriques."

² De Nangis cont, "Grandes Chroniques de France." Paulin Paris, note, tom. v., p. 221.

carriage, which brought on a premature confinement. The following year, Charles married his cousin, Jeanne d'Evreux.

The death of Margu rite, Queen of Navarre, was followed by that of her brother Hugues, Duke of Burgundy, to the intense grief of his subjects, by whom he was greatly beloved. Of a gentle and affectionate disposition, the tragic fate of his sister Margu rite had made a profound impression on him, and the shock and grief of it were, according to some writers, one of the causes of his early death, which took place in his castle of Argilly, 1315. He was succeeded by his next brother, Eudes IV., under the regency of his mother, the Duchess Agnes.

While Philippe le Bel was occupied with his relentless vengeance upon his young daughters-in-law and every one whom he knew or suspected to be in any way concerned in their misdeeds, his own career was rapidly drawing to a close. The shadows of the crimes and calamities which had darkened his reign seemed to be gathering round him. The discredit and disasters of his daughter and son-in-law in England, the humiliating peace forced on him by the Flemings, the general confederation, headed by that faithful follower of his grandfather, the Sire de Joinville, Seneschal of Champagne (now nearly a hundred years old), in which, for the first time in the annals of the history of France, nobles and burghers had united to protest against the tyranny and cruelty of the king; all these things preyed upon his spirits, while his failing health and the death of his accomplice, Pope Clement V., made people whisper that

the curses of Pope Boniface and of the dying Templars were beginning to take effect.¹ An accident out hunting hastened the end. When the approach of death was evident, Philippe sent for his sons, brothers, and certain of his friends. They arrived at Fontainebleau, where he had insisted on being carried in his litter, and entered the dimly-lighted chamber, where he lay in terror and remorse, haunted by the memory of his deeds. With failing breath he begged Louis, his heir, to undertake the crusade he had himself promised but failed to carry

¹ “ Les barons de France assemblèrent
Et tous ensemble s’ accordèrent.
Et de France et de Picardie,
Avecques celz de Normandie,
Et de Bourgoigne et de Champaigne,
D’Anjou, de Poito et de Brétagne,
Du Chartrain, du Perche, du Mainne
Celz d’ Auvergne et celz de Gascoigne
Et tout le royaume de France
En distrent que tele soufrance
Ne porraient plus endurer,
Le peuple ne porroit durer.

“ Grandes Chroniques de France,” G. de Paris, p. 246).

“ A Phelippe qui après vint
De son père bien lui souvint,
Saint Loys, miex qu’à toy ne fait
A son peuple ne fit forfait ;
Mès le mena en bonne guise,
Et Dieu agna, et sainte yglise.
Ce fut ton père, roy Phelippe ;
Ce ne fut pas roy qui dissipe
Sa terre, ne d’or ne d’arquit,
Aussi cour tu as fait ta gent !

(Ibid., p. 251).

out.¹ Godefroi de Paris observes a little earlier in his chronicle :

“ Roi, saches de voir, sans doutance ;
 Croiserie ni penitence,
 Aumosne oroison nè jeusne
 Ne te vaudra jà une prune
 Se te ne sens l'aultrui avoir
 Que jà l'evesque de Biauvez,
 Ne li archevesque de Sens
 S'il i mettoient tout leur sens,
 Il ne t'en porroient assodre
 Se tu fais aux gens le lor tordre.”

On being asked how he felt, he replied, “ Mal de corps et d'âme,” and went on to say that now, at the point of death, he feared for his soul, because of the curses which so many had called down upon him ; too many for absolution. Having embraced his children, and received the last sacraments, he repeated the *Miserere* and expired as he pronounced the words *In manus tuas Domine commendo*, without being able to finish the sentence.

¹ “ Et il respont ‘ De cors et d'ame
 M'est il mal. Se la Vierge dame,
 Par sa prière ne m'eschappe,
 Je vois ci que la mort m'atrape
 J'ai tant tailli, et taut tolu,
 Jamais n'en serai absolu ;
 . . .
 Seignors, je me sens si à tel
 Que je morrai, je croy, en nuit ;
 Car trop me nuisent et ont nuit
 Les maudissons dont sui maudit.
 . . .
 À tart me sui apercéu
 Mauvez conseil m'a décéu ;”

(“Grandes Chroniques de France,” G. de Paris, p. 259).

His death was followed within a few years by those of his three sons, Louis, Philippe, and Charles, and their four infant sons.¹ The Capétienne house was extinct, and it was small wonder if people in those days, who in thirteen years had witnessed the deaths of Philippe le Bel, his sons and grandsons, the eight lives that stood between the Valois and the throne of France, remembered the curses of the Pope and the Templars on the elder branch of the house of Capet.

¹ Jean, son of Louis Hutin, b. Nov. 15, 1316; d. Nov. 19. Louis, son of Philippe le Long, b. 1315; d. Feb. 8, 1316. Philippe, son of Charles le Bel and Blanche de Bourgogne, b. 1313, died soon after. The son of Charles le Bel and Marie de Luxembourg died shortly after his birth (Père Anselme).

CHAPTER IV

1314-1326

Reign of Louis Hutin—His death—Claims of Comte de Poitiers and Princess Jeanne—Duchess Agnes of Burgundy protects her granddaughter—Coronation of Philippe le Long—Marriage of Princess Jeanne—Birth of Jean de Valois—Death of Philippe le Long—Accession and marriages of Charles le Bel—Imprisonment of Robert, Comte de Tennerre—Death of Duchess Agnes of Burgundy.

THE years marked by the events recorded in the last chapter had passed brilliantly and prosperously with the young Comte and Comtesse du Mans.

Charles, Comte de Valois, eldest brother of the late king and father of Philippe de Valois, was the leader of the great feudal nobles whose power and prestige it had been the chief object of the Capétiens kings to weaken and destroy. Philippe himself was heart and soul with what was then considered the chivalrous and aristocratic side as opposed to the burghers and men of law and finance favoured by Philippe le Bel, and when that monarch was succeeded by Louis X., or, as he was nicknamed, Louis Hutin, who neither knew nor cared anything about

either the government of the kingdom or any other matter of importance, but only wanted to pass his time in frivolous and disorderly amusements, the chief power fell into the hands of the Comte de Valois.

Son, brother, uncle, and father of kings, though never himself wearing the crown, Charles was at one time the most powerful man in France, and magnificent provision was made for his eldest son and daughter-in-law. Letters of Philippe IV., dated 1316, state that Jeanne had on her marriage the lands of Courtenay and Chantecor, and Philippe the counties of Anjou and Maine and the seigneurie of La-Roche-sur-yon in Poitou, the county of Valois to be his also after the death of his father.

The days of chivalry were now upon the wane, but Philippe de Valois, the very incarnation of its good and evil qualities was destined to give it a dazzling though short-lived revival. When not actually engaged in war his great delight, and that of all the young nobles, his friends, was in warlike games and martial sports of all kinds, costly entertainments, and pageants in which the ladies of the court took the deepest interest. The sumptuary laws made by Philippe IV. in 1294 were disregarded or evaded by the younger generation. It is true that by those laws the most precious furs, such as vair and grey ermine could be worn by neither bourgeois nor clerk unless the latter were a prelate of some dignity, or unless he only wore it on his hood or aumice, and that neither men nor women of the bourgeoisie might wear crowns or jewels of gold, silver or precious stones. Also that the number of new dresses everybody might buy

was strictly limited, only four in the year being allowed to dukes, counts, and barons possessing 6,000 livres¹ de rente, two to their esquires and men at arms and the secretaries, almoners, and assistants of priests, three to persons with 3,000 livres de rente, and two to those with 2,000, while people of less consideration might only have one. The prices of stuffs were also regulated according to different ranks, and fines fixed for those who should disobey any of these orders. But, as may well be imagined it was much easier to make such laws than to enforce their observance, and they did not succeed in putting an end either to the number of the dresses people bought or the costly materials with which they were made and trimmed. Men were at this time dressed in long robes or tunics with mantles over them, through which the arm was passed; short clothes were only worn in war. Ladies' dresses were much the same in form, but their tunics were longer and their mantles more trailing, excess in length being regarded as a luxury. Shoes were worn with peaks *à la Poulaine*, and under the sons of Philippe IV. became of ridiculous length and shape.

After* the death of Philippe IV., as Sismondi remarks, the authority of the crown, instead of being concentrated in the hands of one stern and arbitrary despot, the enemy of every pleasure, seemed suddenly to be shared by all the chief members of the royal family, that is to say, the three sons of the late king, and his two brothers, Charles de Valois and Louis d'Evreux. The court at once became gay and dissi-

¹ A livre in the reign of Philippe IV. was worth about twelve francs and a sou about twelve sous.

pated, and the real power fell into the hands of Charles de Valois, who as the eldest brother of his father, was the natural adviser of the young king.

Louis was entirely guided by his uncle. He disliked and persecuted the ministers and favourites of his father. He took away the seals from Pierre de Latilly, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, and gave them to the chamberlain of the Comte de Valois. Pierre de Latilly was thrown into prison upon an accusation of having caused the deaths of the king and of the late Bishop of Châlons, but fortunately for him the trial, owing to the delays of the ecclesiastical courts, dragged on until Louis X. died and Philippe V., who was much less influenced by his uncle, came to the throne; and he was acquitted. But Enguerrand de Marigny, the chamberlain and chief counsellor of Philippe le Bel, was not only hated by the people as the instigator of many of the tyrannies and extortions practised by that king, but had been rash enough in the first place to offend the young princes, and also to make an enemy of the Comte de Valois.

As long as Philippe le Bel lived they dared not molest any one he chose to protect, but no sooner was he dead than Marigny was arrested and tried on various charges of extortion, bribery, corruption, embezzlement of the public money, and other delinquencies,¹ one of the articles in his indictment being that he had accused and caused to be arrested and imprisoned the Comtesse de Poitiers,² wife of the king's brother. The insult, the danger, and the terror

¹ Sismondi, "Histoire de France," t. vi. p. 189.

² "Grandes Chroniques de France," l. v. p. 215.

she had suffered were not likely to be forgotten by the young Countess and her husband now that the man to whom she owed all this was in the power of her friends. Whether Marigny was really guilty of all or the greater part of the crimes laid to his charge must remain uncertain. In any case Louis was disposed to treat him leniently and banish him to Cyprus, but Charles de Valois brought an accusation of sorcery which was fatal, and is also said to have prevented his being heard in his own defence. He was condemned to be hanged, and the sentence was carried into effect on the 13th of April, 1315.

Of the remorse felt afterwards by the Comte de Valois for the part he had taken in the death of Enguerrand de Marigny, more will be said presently ; but M. Guizot, in his "History of France," remarks on this subject, "No one at the present time can say whether that repentance arose from a weak spirit or a sincere heart, or which of the two was really guilty ; but such is, after the lapse of centuries, the effect of blind, popular clamour and iniquitous judicial proceedings that the condemned remains, in the judgment of history, a victim and almost an innocent one."

The French nobles and courtiers, released from the atmosphere of gloom, suspicion and restraint in which they had lived under Philippe le Bel, could not but regard the new state of things as a most happy change. The young King and his brothers were as eager for amusement as their father had been averse to it, the Comte d'Evreux, by far the best of all the princes, was universally respected and liked, and the Comte de Valois, although ambitious and unscrupu-

lous, was fond of pleasure and magnificence, in which his son also delighted; so that Jeanne, during her early married life, entered of course into all the diversions and excitements of the court in which she held so high a position.¹

The King and the Comte de la Marche cared for nothing but games, pageants, and festivities, but the society of the Hôtel de Poitiers was, for that time, brilliant and literary. The Comte de Poitiers was devoted to literature and music, and himself wrote verses, while several of the gentlemen of his household were celebrated for their poetical love-letters. He was the best of the sons of Philippe IV. Tall, slight, and handsome, superior in judgment and intellect to either of his brothers, both he and the Comtesse de Poitiers were much influenced by religion. The Countess being desirous that one of their children should adopt the monastic life, their youngest daughter Blanche was, in 1315, placed in the Franciscan abbey at Longchamps. The princess was only four years old, and several privileges were accorded to her by the Pope (John XXII.), who in five briefs, dated January, 1319, allows the provincial minister to give the young novice dispensation from everything not essential to the rule of the order; to appoint two *pères graves* to celebrate the divine offices in her apartment (of course her private oratory); to allow her mother (then Queen) to send into the abbey, whenever she thought necessary, two ladies to fortify and bring back news of her; to allow that for two years after her reception she should have two

¹ "Vie de Philippe le Long," Lehugueur.

ladies in secular dresses "*pour l'encouragement de sa jeunesse*"; and that as long as she remained in the abbey her mother might, whenever she pleased, come in with the ladies of her suite and sleep there. As these conditions were made after the Princess Blanche had been four years in the convent, it may be concluded that before that time she was, on account of her extreme youth, subject to no rules at all.¹ She is supposed to have made her profession in 1327. After the accession of her father Philippe le Long, he being anxious to secure the powerful support of Louis, Comte de Nevers, the heir of Flanders, by marrying him to one of his own daughters, and having betrothed Jeanne, the eldest, to the Duke of Burgundy, Marguélite, the second, to Alfonso of Castile, and Isabelle, the third, to the Dauphin du Viennois, proposed to take Blanche out of her convent and marry her to the Comte de Nevers. Letters of Philippe, dated 1317, show that at that time children took the veil at eight years old and even younger, although they did not pronounce the vows nor receive the solemn benediction. It appears, however, that if, after this ceremony, they left the cloister to marry, letters of legitimisation were required in order to enable their children to inherit.² But as the Queen would not hear of her daughter renouncing her religious life no further steps had to be taken in that direction. The King, who considered the Flemish alliance of the highest import-

¹ "Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de France," Père Anselme.

² "Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France," Philippe V. Hainault.



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ance, broke off with many apologies the Spanish engagement of his second daughter, and married her to the Comte de Nevers instead.

The Princess Blanche received certain property inherited from her mother in 1331, and in 1344 she obtained permission from Clement VI. to have two secular women to attend on her. She became Abbess of Longchamps and died 1358.¹

The career of this young girl is a characteristic specimen of the lives of many of the princesses of that period. Frequently dedicated in earliest childhood either to the church or the world for reasons of state or by the will of their parents, the convent, with its life of monotony and seclusion, must have seemed a dreary prison to some, while for others the safety and peaceful retirement of the cloister, its sheltered life and holy duties made it a haven of refuge in those troubled and perilous times.

The marriage of Louis X. with the Princess Clémence, daughter of the King of Hungary, took place late in the summer of this year, and was followed by their coronation at Rheims. In the spring of the next year died Louis, the infant son of the Comte de Poitiers.

The rejoicings and festivities of the court after the King's marriage were of short duration for a few months. When overheated from playing *paume* he went into a cold cellar, drank great draughts of new wine and brought on an illness, which cost him his life. He was not one to be generally regretted, either as a man or a sovereign, but the young Queen, unlike

¹ "Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de France," Père Anselme.

his first wife, seems to have had a great affection for him. They had only been married a few months, and Louis was young, handsome, and a king ; instead of an ignorant, turbulent boy of fifteen, as he had been at the time of his first marriage. The shock and the violence of her grief threw the Queen into a fever, which is said to have caused the death of the son to whom she gave birth not long afterwards ; and the only legitimate child of Louis X. was now Jeanne, the daughter of Margu rite de Bourgogne, whom he had sent for and acknowledged on his death-bed.

There was also an illegitimate daughter of the King, named Endeline, of whom P re Anselme records that she was a nun at the convent of the Cordeliers of the order of St. Claire in the Faubourg St. Marcel, Paris. A brief of John XXII., addressed to her and dated August 10, 1330, commends her because by her virtues she has effaced the stain of her birth. The Pope subsequently, in answer to the petition of the Abbess and nuns of the order of St. Claire, at this convent of St. Marcel in which she is, grants her a dispensation against this impediment of birth, so as to enable her to be elected Abbess of that or any other convent or order.

The conflicting claims for the succession did not fail to cause much dissension in the royal family and in the country ; although on this occasion the choice only rested between the King's next brother, the Comte de Poitiers, who claimed as nearest heir male, and his daughter Jeanne, by his first wife, Margu rite de Bourgogne. Although Philippe de Valois and Jeanne were, by the late events, several steps nearer

the throne, it was still not at all likely that they would ever succeed to it. That the Salique law would be carried out was then by no means certain, and if it were not, all the daughters of the sons of Philippe le Bel, their children, and even Edward III. of England, would come before Philippe de Valois. If it were followed there were still two heirs, the brothers of the late King, both of whom were younger than the Comte du Mans.

Jeanne, then about five years old, was naturally the candidate favoured by the Burgundians, and her cause was also espoused by her two great uncles, the Comte de Valois, whose son had married Jeanne of Burgundy (her aunt), and the Comte d'Evreux (to whose son she was herself married in the following year). The orphan child found powerful protectors in her mother's family. The Duchess Agnes, represented by her son Eudes, the young Duke of Burgundy, who had just succeeded his elder brother, demanded the custody of her granddaughter and claimed for her the kingdoms of France and Navarre. And whatever might be said about her title to the throne of France, the little Jeanne was undoubtedly the rightful heiress of Navarre, which Louis had inherited from his mother, and where the Salique law was not observed. The Duchess Agnes and the Burgundian party were most anxious at any rate to get the child away from the French court, where they did not believe her life to be safe. The Comte de Poitiers was very doubtful of his own success, and anxious to conciliate the Burgundians, who were formidable from their vast possessions, high rank, and great connections. The

Duchess Agnes was the daughter of St. Louis, her daughters were married to powerful nobles of the blood royal of France and England,¹ and her son, Eudes, the chief of his house, although so young, was already remarkable for his judgment and capacity. In her letter, claiming the guardianship of her granddaughter, the Duchess Agnes said that "by the death of King Louis, uncle of Madame Margu rite, his wife, and daughter of the noble Baron Robert of Burgundy, and of her, Agnes, daughter of St. Louis, formerly King of France, Madame Jehanne, born in lawful wedlock of Louis and Margu rite, being of the age of four or five years, ought to be guarded and nourished, *por raison escripte, por costume esprouv e, por affection naturel, sans nulle subspection*, by us, grandmother of the said Jehanne, as this Jehanne has no father or mother except us, who belong to her in direct lineage."

And the letter concluded by saying that as the Duchess Agnes could not come herself to fetch her granddaughter, she sent messengers to demand her.

The Duke of Burgundy was then at Paris; the h tel de Bourgogne was then at the Montagne St. Hilaire, where was afterwards built the coll ge de Rheims.²

Obeying his mother's instructions, the young Duke of Burgundy went to Vincennes and insisted on his sister's child being at once consigned to his guardianship, openly declaring that he did so lest any harm

¹ Marie de Bourgogne married the Comte de Bar, grandson of Edward I. of England through his eldest daughter Eleanor.

² "Hist. et Anti. de Paris," t. ii. p. 79. Sauval.

should be done to her. The little Jeanne was therefore given up to him and sent to Burgundy to her grandmother, in whose custody she was to remain. This was in July, before the confinement of Queen Clémence; and an agreement was signed between him and the Comte de Poitiers that if the Queen should have a daughter she and Jeanne should share the inheritance, on condition that when they grew up they should renounce all claim to the throne of France. Jeanne was to have Navarre, and her half-sister Champagne and Bric. If a son, other arrangements should be made. But in November Clémence had a son who only lived five days, and then the Comte de Poitiers, who had by this time the stronger party, seized both France and Navarre. The Burgundians had to give way, and the utmost they could obtain was a dowry of 50,000 livres and 15,000 livres de rentes for Jeanne, and the stipulation that if Philippe V. should die without heirs male she should inherit the provinces in question. To the Comtesse du Mans this must have been a time of intense interest and excitement. Her affections and sympathies throughout her life were strongly with her own family; her brother, the Duke of Burgundy, was the intimate friend of her husband, and added to the interest she would naturally feel in her niece, the leader in this contest was her mother, the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, whose talents, virtues, and sorrows commanded general admiration and sympathy, and who was still suffering from the recent deaths of two of her sons,¹ and the tragic fate of her second daughter.

¹ Hugues, Duke of Burgundy, and Louis, King of Thessalonia, who died about this time.

It had been out of her power to help Margu rite, but the little child to whom she now stood nearest in the world might still be saved and her rights protected, and to do this the Duchess Agnes now strained every resource. The following is the translation of a letter she wrote on the subject to the Count of Flanders in December, 1316 :—

“ To the very high, noble and wise man, Robert, Count of Flanders, our very dear cousin, Agnes daughter of Monseigneur Saint Louis, Duchess of Burgundy, salutation and very much love.

“ Sire, we inform you that by great deliberation and much counsel of clerks, laymen, and of many who have written to us on the subject, none contradicting us, we have found and certainly decided that Madame Jehanne, daughter of our dear Lord King Louis, and of our daughter the Queen, his first wife, is the lawful heir of the kingdoms of France and Navarre and the counties of Champagne and Brie, with all other lands held by King Louis, as well as from King Louis her father as by her succession to King Jean her brother. And whereas the said Madame Jehanne has been consigned to our care as her nearest of kin, to be nourished and guarded by us in place of her mother, by the consent of Monseigneur de Poitiers and of our other friends in France ; we who have the charge of her person, estates and rights, would sin against God and her, and act against our conscience and loyalty if we did not support and guard her rights as well as her person. And as we have heard that the said Monseigneur de Poitiers has announced his consecration and coronation by the approaching

Apparition,¹ and calls himself King of France and Navarre, which thing the learned men say neither can nor ought to be done, and marvel much at this action which he has taken, before you and the other peers have heard, known and judged of the rights of Madame Jehanne and of the right of Monseigneur de Poitiers: we, in the name of our said daughter, beg and require you, in aid of the right, and by the faith and loyalty you bear to the crown of France, that you will not allow the said coronation and consecration, but will oppose it until it shall be seen by you and the other peers, to whom the said kingdoms and counties do lawfully belong. And in the name of the said Madame Jehanne, we demand a delay of forty or more days, after which to be heard with our friends and counsel to represent to you the rights of the said Madame Jehanne on these matters, and to hear your judgment and that of the other peers respecting the said kingdoms and counties and the lands appertaining to them. And should you and the other peers then decide for the right of Monseigneur de Poitiers, our intentions are not to prevent his claim. We beg and require of you that you will write us in letters sealed with your seal, on what day and in what place the said hearing shall be. And in like manner we have written to the other peers. The Saints be your guard."

The Duke of Burgundy, refusing in spite of much pressure, to attend the coronation, quitted Paris, as he says in his letter, "on Christmas day, after dinner," and returned to Burgundy. He writes from his castle

¹ Epiphany.

of Tallant to the Count of Flanders protesting against the coronation of "Monseigneur de Poitiers," declaring that "by right divine, by law, custom and usage in the succession to empires, kingdoms, peerages and baronies within the memory of man," his niece was Queen and Lady of the kingdoms of France and Navarre and the counties of Champagne and Brie, that she was under the guardianship of his "dear mother and Lady, being an orphan and minor," and calls on the peers of France to defend her rights.

Charles of Anjou had also espoused the cause of his great niece, little imagining that if he had been successful he would have shut out his own son from the throne. He took possession of the ancient palais de la Cité, which he defended with his followers against the populace of Paris who, being in favour of the Comte de Poitiers, attacked and drove him out.

An ancient historian remarks that the Duke of Burgundy and Comte de Valois took the side of their niece, one out of affection and the other from ambition. And it is evident that had Charles been the means of placing his niece of five years old upon the throne, he would have been likely to have had a much larger share in the government than he could expect under Philippe, who was very different from Louis, and who had his own opinions, which were not those of his brother and uncle, but rather resembled those of his father and the rest of the Capétiens rulers of France.

Charles de Valois possessed three hôtels in Paris, one called the hôtel de Sicile had been given him by the King of Sicily and Jerusalem, and was afterwards given by Philippe VI. to his brother, the Comte

d'Alençon. Another was in the Rue des deux Ecus, where afterwards was the Hôtel de Soissons, and the third in the Faubourg St. Jacques. This one was very large, and was called the Hôtel de Valois. It stood in extensive gardens and vineyards, and afterwards passed to the Ducs de Bourbon. Besides all these hôtels or palaces, his eldest son Philip, Comte du Mans, had one of his own in the Rue des Fossés St. Germain. It had been built by Enguerrand de Marigny, and after his fall was given by Louis X. to his cousin and friend, Philippe de Valois.¹

Early in January, 1317, the Comte and Comtesse de Poitiers, protected by a strong body of their adherents, went to Rheims for their coronation, which was attended by many unusual circumstances. The town of Rheims was in the hands of their avowed followers and friends, and the gates closed by order of the King, now called Philippe V. The princes of the blood, after protesting in vain, finding opposition useless, reluctantly consented to be present, with the exception of the Comte de la Marche, who had begun by taking the opposite side, but now went to his brother and offered to join him on condition that he would give him enough to maintain his rank in a suitable manner, for which he declared the county of La Marche totally inadequate. Philippe V. said that he would do it afterwards, but refused to bind himself then, lest he should be supposed to have done so from fear. The Comte de la Marche left the house in a rage and rode with his retainers to one of the city gates, but finding it closed, and being resolved not to

¹ "Hist. et Anti. Ville de Paris," t. ii. p 114. Sauval.

be present at the coronation, he climbed down the walls into the moat, crossed the marsh outside with some difficulty, and escaped on to the high road.

The coronation was deferred for three days and then took place in the splendid cathedral of Rheims. Mahault, Countess d'Artois, mother of the Queen, as a peer of France, supported the crown on the King's head, but while the ceremony was going on, just at the moment when the peers were called, the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy stepped forward into the midst of the assembly and summoned the peers and prelates to defer the coronation until the rights of the daughter of Louis X. were decided. There was a moment's pause in that brilliant throng of nobles as the venerable Princess, daughter of their favourite King and inheritor of his heroic and stainless character, stood forth alone and claimed for her young granddaughter the crown of her father, St. Louis. Many of the barons and nobles present held her opinions, and only waited for a word from the Comte de Valois to break into open hostility. But for some reason, possibly because he did not feel his party sufficiently powerful, Charles de Valois kept silence, and the ceremony was concluded.¹ For a long time there was much discontent and difference of opinion in the country on this subject. Some doubted whether, in spite of the late King's acknowledgment of Jeanne, she were really his daughter, others objected that in any case she was a minor and minorities were always attended with dangers, and many had a strong preference for

¹ "Bulletin de Société de l'histoire de France," année 1864, p. 65 *sqq.*
"Lettre de la Duchesse Agnés au Comte de Flandres."

keeping the succession in the male line. But there were also numbers who considered the Princess Jeanne de France to be the rightful Queen of that country as well as of Navarre, and Froissart remarks, "Thus went the kingdom, as it seems to many people, out of the direct line."¹ The Duchess Agnes, having failed to secure the succession of her granddaughter, provided for her future by marrying her in the following year to the eldest son of the Comte d'Evreux,² by which alliance she afterwards carried the kingdom of Navarre into that family, and after the last of the Valois had fallen under the dagger of an assassin, her remote descendants sat upon the throne of France.

In this year died Robert only son of Mahault,³ Comtesse d'Artois, at the age of eighteen. Large sums of money were distributed while his death was proclaimed in the streets of Paris for two days by eighteen retainers of his mother. She also sent pilgrimages to various shrines and circular letters to all the monasteries and ecclesiastics of Artois and Franche Comté that prayers might be said for his soul. His bed and the furniture of his room were given to the Hôtel Dieu, and his mother caused a tomb with a figure of him to be made by the sculptor Pepin le Huy; it is now in the church of St. Denis. By his death the succession to Artois also fell to the Queen, wife of Philippe le Long.

On the 26th of April, 1319, at the Château of Gué-de-

¹ "Ensi ala le royaumes, che samble il a moult de hors de la droite lignie" (Froissart).

² Evreux was made a peerage of France by Philippe V., 1317.

³ At the hôtel d'Artois, rue Mauconseil, Paris. He was buried at the church of the Cordeliers.

Maunay, near Le Mans, Jeanne, Comtesse du Mans, gave birth to her eldest son. The Prince was born on a Thursday and baptised on the following Sunday at the church of St. Julien in the ancient city from which his father took his title. He was named Jean and afterwards became King of France.

The change from Louis Hutin to Philippe le Long was an unwelcome one to the Valois. Philippe was opposed to the feudal party, and very little influenced by his uncle, the Comte de Valois, who had been all-powerful in his brother's reign. His great admiration was for St. Louis, whom in various ways he tried to imitate. He was a man of strict morality, vigilant and active in exercising justice, devout and charitable. Strongly impressed by the remorse and terror of his father's last hours, his earnest desire was to "avoid the curses of the poor" which had weighed so heavily on the soul of Philippe IV. In private life he is said to have been gentle and liberal, giving away much and living simply himself. He freed many serfs and appears to have tried in various ways to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. He hanged Henri de Tapperel the Provost of Paris, because he had allowed three rich men who were guilty to escape, and three poor men who were innocent to be executed, and would not hear of the affair being hushed up as certain noble friends of the culprit desired. It is also related of him that a young man, named Guillot de Malines, having been condemned for homicide, as he was going to execution a young girl, called Lucette, entreated the king to pardon him and give him to her for her husband. Philippe inquired, and finding

it was his first offence, cautioned him not to be drawn into crime a second time, and ordered him to be set free and married to Lucette.

The King's religion, however, was deeply tinged with fanaticism and superstition. He was much influenced by his confessor, encouraged the inquisition, and was dreadfully afraid of sorcery and wizards. He used to say that he was in communication with the soul of his father, who told him that he was in hell. The horrible massacres of the Jews and lepers were the result of ignorance, superstition, and fear; they being firmly believed to have poisoned the wells so as to destroy the Christians. Philippe-le-Long died of dysentery after five months' illness and the crown was seized by the Comte de la Marche, of whom there is not much to be said except that, like his father, brothers, and sister, he was strikingly handsome: but he had not the capacity either of Philippe le Bel or Philippe le Long. To the Valois family the death of Philippe V. could not have caused very deep regret. He hated their ideas of chivalry and feudal power, and was supported by the burghers whom they despised. As he left no son, and the Comte de la Marche, now Charles IV., had lost the one whose mother, Blanche de Bourgogne, sister of the widowed queen, was still imprisoned at Château-Gaillard, the latter lost no time in getting a divorce pronounced by the Pope and marrying Marie de Luxemburg, daughter of the Emperor Heinrich VII., and sister of Jean, King of Bohemia. But shortly before her confinement she was thrown out of her carriage and died in giving birth to the longed-for son, who only survived her a few days.

An evil fate certainly seemed to follow the Capétiens, and the Valois now stood on the steps of the throne. Charles le Bel, desperately anxious to have a son, married, the year after the death of his second wife,¹ his cousin Jeanne, daughter of Louis, Comte d'Evreux ; and at the same time the youngest daughter of the Comte de Valois, then scarcely ten years old, was married to Wenceslaus, son of the King of Bohemia. Blanche de Valois was the youngest daughter of Charles by his third wife, and was, therefore, the half sister of the Comte du Mans, who was the eldest son of the first wife. Charles had by his three wives fourteen children. Wenceslaus who had been brought up in France, took the name of Charles, and was afterward the Emperor Charles IV. Between his father the King of Bohemia and the young Comte du Mans, both adventurous, chivalrous, and full of romance, there sprang up an ardent friendship, which lasted through their lives and only ended on the blood-stained fields of Crécy. The little bride was left with her parents for some years longer.

The Comte and Comtesse du Mans lived in great harmony. They had now a son, whom they must have considered as the possible heir of France, and a daughter the Princess Marie. The passion for extravagance, splendour, and excitement that was afterwards so disastrous in the King of France, had long been conspicuous in the Comte du Mans. The King of Bohemia, the Comte de Savoie, who had married Blanche de Bourgogne, the eldest sister of Jeanne, her brother the Duke of Burgundy, the Comte d'Alençon,

¹ "Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de France," Père Anselme.

and the other young nobles of the party of the Comte de Valois, despising the ideas and plans of Philippe IV., and his second son, their lawyers, chartered towns, and armed burghers, adored the eldest son of their chief, whose charming manners and princely generosity made him the idol of the young chivalry of France.

Some curious extracts from the household accounts of the young Comte and Comtesse du Mans are interesting as bringing before one some of the details and incidents of their daily life.

“ 1323.

“ Extract from an account of the *hostel* of M. le Comte du Mans, from the Friday after All Saints 1322, until the octave of All Saints, 1323.

“ To Jehemin du Chastellier, the Monday after Christmas, x florins of Florence, which he had lent to Monsieur on Christmas Eve to play with dice.

“ From Guillaume Dupuis, shoemaker to the king, for a pair of boots and shoes.

“ For the expenses of several large horses which Guillaume de Souse took from Le Mans to Paris and of xviii for the tournament at Compiègne, etc.

“ To Jehan Tessart, for the expenses of the horses that Philippe d'Evreux lent Monsieur for the joustes at Beaulieu.

“ To Mestre Jehan haut Fune, for the bull with the permission for Madame to eat meat, which the said Jehan purchased and delivered xviij gros tournois and iiij florins de Florence.

“For a girdle, a purse and a hat,¹ which were bought at Paris after Quasimodo, by the command of Madame, who gave them to the woman Jousain² when she was married.

“To the *bésguine* at Compiègne, for a coif, two cushions, nine sheets and four coverlets, lost at the tournament at Compiègne.”³

The summer of 1325 had been unusually dry and hot, and was followed by a winter of intense cold. The Seine was twice frozen, the ice being so thick that people not only walked about all over it, but rolled barrels of wine about upon it, and the snow lay deep upon the ground till Easter, when the frost broke up and huge masses of floating ice carried away two of the bridges over the Seine. In this bitter weather Charles de Valois was struck down by paralysis. As he lay on his bed of sickness the

¹ Or headdress.

² Or wife of Jousain.

1323

³ “Extrait d'un compte de l'hostel M. le Comte du Mans depuis le vendredi après la Toussaint 1322 jusques aux octaves la Toussaint 1323.

Jeu

“A Jehemin du Chastellier, le lundi après Noël x florins de Florence que il avoit preste a Monsieur la veille de Noël pour jouer aux dez.

“De Guillaume Dupuis cordoener le roy pour la paire destinaux, la paire de soulders.

“Pour despens de plusieurs grans chevaux que Guillaume de Souse amena du Mans à Paris, et de xvij bues pour le tournay de Compiègne.

“A Mestre Jehan haut Fune, pour la bulle Madame de grace de mengier char que le dit Mestre Jehan pourchassa et delivra xviij gros tournois et iiij florins de Florence.

“Pour une ceinture, une bourse et un chapel qui furent acheté à Paris après Quasimodo, du commandment de Madame qui les donna à la fame Jousain quant elle fut mariée.

“A la besguine de Compiègne, pour une coiffé, ii coussins, viij draps et iiij couvertures perdues à Compiègne au tournay.”

part he had taken in the death of Enguerrand de Marigny preyed upon his mind. Filled with remorse he sent heralds to distribute alms to the poor of Paris, crying as they rode through the streets, "Pray for Messire Enguerrand de Marigny and Messire Charles de Valois." Ten days before Christmas he died. In a will made in 1320 he left to his eldest son Philippe, nearly all his armour, weapons, and harness of war, and the finest of his rubies, and to his daughter-in-law, Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of the same Philippe, his eldest son, the finest of his emeralds.¹

Jeanne was now Comtesse de Valois, and her husband the first prince of the blood. The last coronation in which she bore a subordinate part was that of Jeanne d'Evreux, which took place at Paris in 1326, in the Chapelle du Palais, "à grant appareil et moult somptueux."²

The same year Robert de Bourgogne, Comte de Tonnerre, youngest brother of the Comtesse de Valois, having joined Edouard, Comte de Savoie, their brother-in-law, who was at war with the Dauphin du Viennois, was made prisoner with several other nobles, and only released by the mortgage of his lands and the assistance of his friends. And in 1327 she experienced the irreparable loss of her mother, the Duchess Agnes of Burgundy.

¹ "Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de France," t. i. p. 449. Sainte Marthe.

² "Grande Chroniques de France," t. v. p. 292. Paulin Paris.

CHAPTER V

1327-1332

Death of Charles le Bel—Coronation of Philippe and Jeanne—Campaign of Flanders—Birth and death of a son—Death of Clémence de Hongrie—Birth of Louis de France—Pilgrimage of the King—Death of Louis de France—The Court at Vincennes—Homage of the King of England—Oppressive privileges of the Nobles—Literary pursuits of the Queen—Affair of Robert d'Artois—His attempts on the lives of the Queen and Duke of Normandy—His escape.

CHARLES IV. was taken ill at Vincennes, on Christmas eve, 1327, and died in February, 1328. For the second time within a few years France waited with uncertainty for her King, the hopes and expectations of the whole country centred in a widowed Queen. Not, however, on this occasion a timid young foreigner, alone in a strange court. Jeanne d'Evreux, herself a Princess of France, in her own country and amongst her own family, granddaughter of Philippe III., and cousin of the three last Kings and of all the present candidates for the throne, was in a far less desolate position. After the birth of her daughter, who was married in due time to the

Duc d'Orléans, she retired to her own domains of Briecomte-Robert, and lived there and at Paris, honoured and loved by all around her. During her lifetime she saw the reigns of seven Kings of France, including the one whose throne for a short time she shared.

The accession of Philippe de Valois was very popular. Philippe IV. had been hated and feared, the gloom and terror of his rule weighed upon the people, and every one breathed more freely when it was at an end. The reigns of his sons were short and inglorious, and the succession always in a state of uncertainty. But the stately and brilliant Philippe de Valois had already an heir, and was himself the idol of the French chivalry, whose idea of a King was that he should be always at the head either of a gallant army or a magnificent court. And this was exactly the ambition of the new monarch, for whose coronation preparations were accordingly made on a grander scale than had ever before been attempted. Three new halls or saloons of immense size were built, one for the King and greater nobles, one for the Queen with her ladies and courtiers, and one for the lesser nobles and gentlemen. When all was ready Philippe and Jeanne journeyed to Rheims, where, in the presence of an assemblage more numerous than had ever before gathered there for a like purpose, they were crowned together by Guillaume de Trie, Archbishop of Rheims (who had been the tutor of Philippe), on Trinity Sunday, May 29, 1328.

The ceremonies used in the coronation of the Queen of France were nearly the same as for the King. She was anointed, like him, but only on

the head and breast, and with a different chrisin, a smaller sceptre, and the hand of justice were given to her, a ring was put on her finger, and finally the crown placed upon her head, supported by the barons who stood round the throne.

If the King were already married at the time of his accession to the throne, it was customary that the Queen should be crowned with him at Rheims, as in this case. But if the marriage of the King took place after his coronation, then that of the Queen was performed elsewhere. Jeanne d'Evreux was anointed and crowned in the Sainte Chapelle du Palais, at Paris; Catherine de' Medici and Isabelle of Austria at St. Denis.

The Queens of France signed and sealed the royal charters, and several of the Kings combined the dates of their reigns; thus Louis le Gros, in two deeds at St. Denis, dates them 12th and 14th year of his reign and the 6th and 8th of that of Queen Alix his wife. The wives and mothers of some of the Kings sat at the *lit de justice*, and in parliament and voted as peers of France.¹ Jeanne de Bourgogne is mentioned among the peers sitting at a *lit de justice* in the parliament of Paris, May 9, 10, 11, 1339.

The French laws gave no power to the Queens, unless they became regents, which depended, not on any inherent right, but on the will of the Kings their husbands. Many of the Queens, like Marie d'Anjou and Claude de France, satisfied or resigned to be nothing but the wife of the King, the mother of the

¹ Jean Maurice, "Antiquités et recherches."

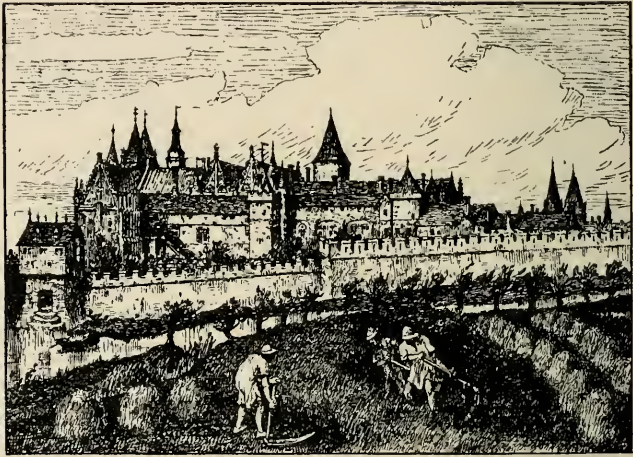
² "Histoire du Ceremonial fran,ais," t. 1. Godefroy.

heir-apparent, and the highest personage in society, accepted that position, and led obscure, harmless lives, occupying themselves with religion and charity. Others, stronger in character, intellect, or passion, refused to be mere crowned shadows, and insisted on sharing the throne of their husbands in reality as well as in name. Mingling in the politics and parties of the court, joining in the councils, taking part in the most important events of the day, their power and influence were very great, and for good or evil they made their mark on the times in which they lived, and their place in history.

The coronation of Philippe and Jeanne was followed by five days of festivities. The Queen presented to the Cathedral of Rheims a splendid drapery of cloth of silver before setting forth with the King on their journey towards the capital. They stopped at St. Denis, visited the churches, and made their state entry into Paris, where they were received with great enthusiasm. Philippe seems to have gained much popularity by his pleasant manners and kindness to the poor, to whom he distributed food and alms with his own hands. On the Pont au Change the birdsellers were bound, at the first entry of the King and Queen to set at liberty 2,400 birds, which rose like a cloud into the air as the procession passed. A great banquet was prepared for Philippe and Jeanne in their palace, the most ancient of all the royal residences of Paris, where every King and Queen of France was bound to pass the first night after their solemn entrance into their capital.

This palace was exceedingly stately and beautiful,

and so well built that although its foundations were in the Seine the water never more than covered the first steps. It was called the Palais de la Cité, and had an immense banqueting hall, with vaulted roof supported by three rows of columns. At the end of this hall stood the royal dining-table, composed of a huge block of marble, which was sometimes used



PALAIS DE LA CITE.

as a stage. The Conciergerie was afterwards built into it, and what remains of it is the present Palais de Justice. What are called *les cuisines de Saint Louis* and some other portions of the ancient palace are still to be seen ; the lower rooms are now twenty feet underground.

Philippe VI., wishing Jeanne to have part of all his property, assigned to her revenues on the counties

of Anjou and Maine, the duchy of Touraine, and the lands of La Ferté Bernard, and others.

In a document dated 1328 he conveys to "his very dear and beloved companion and wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne, Queen of France," certain lands and *chastelnies*, with the revenues, rights, and privileges thereof, some of which are as follows :

Item : The monks of Mazenay owe every year, on the festival of St. Firmin, one pound of pepper.

Item : The *corvée* of the carpenters shall be every year one day's labour at the vintage.

Item : Each of the mills at Baugency, except Choiseau and Quenon, shall give to the Seigneur de Baugency a sheaf of fresh rushes delivered at the castle on the eve of the Ascension, and every miller shall have a *jaloie* of wine as his right.

Item : The five ovens of the town of Baugency owe service to the Seigneur of Baugency to the amount of X^s a year.

Item : The armourers and sharpeners of swords owe on Easter eve, five lances with the irons, &c.

Item : In every case where justice is done, the millers of the town shall perform the execution at their own expense, without cost to the *noblesse* of the castle.

Item : The Prior of St. Sepulchre owes twice every year thirteen fresh eggs at Easter and Whitsuntide, two *pintes* of wine, one white and one red, and six *pains maillaux*.

Item : Whoever is châtelain of Baugency has the first salmon taken in the Loire within the jurisdiction of Baugency, and the first lamprey and alouse, or the value of them.

Item : The dressmakers are obliged to make the dresses of the Seigneur de Baugency, his wife and children, and the furriers to trim them, giving them what is requisite to do so without any charge to the *noblesse du château*.

The Duchess Agnes of Burgundy, who for more than thirty years, ever since the marriage of Marguérite, had hoped to see a daughter or grand-daughter of her own upon the throne of her parents, would, if she had lived another year, have beheld her wishes accomplished to her heart's content. On the accession of Philippe de Valois and Jeanne, the kingdom of Navarre was given to the daughter of Louis X. and Marguérite, who after so many years of uncertainty was crowned at Pampeluna with her husband Philippe d'Evreux.

Dress at the court of the Valois was graceful and magnificent. Kings wore velvet caps surrounded by a circlet of gold, and scarlet mantles lined with ermine, which were also worn by the peers of France. Philippe, who was tall, well-made, and active had his mantles made short instead of the long ones hitherto worn. Ladies had long tunics called "*cottes hardies*" closed at the throat and wrists, to which those of royal blood added long mantles lined with ermine. Noble *demoiselles* had the arms of their house embroidered on their dress. When they were married their own and their husband's arms were embroidered on each side of their dresses and mantles. They had girdles of gold and jewels. Widows wore girdles of cord like nuns, and sometimes white *scapulaires* with black tears. These girdles or *cordelières* may be sometimes seen in the seals of widows.

When the festivities and rejoicings which attended their coronation and entry into Paris were at an end Philippe resolved to go to the assistance of Louis, Count of Flanders, whose oppression and misgovernment had driven his subjects into rebellion, and who, finding himself unable to reduce them to obedience, had besought his aid. He therefore summoned a council of his barons, several of whom advised him to remain at least for a year in France, others said that the season was not convenient for fighting; "*laquelle parole désplut moult au roy.*"¹ But his constable, Gauchier de Créci, replying, "*Qui bon cœur a à batailler toujours trouve il temps convenable,*" the king rose up with delight, exclaiming, "*Qui m' aimera si me suive.*"

Preparations were accordingly made for the expedition, which was confined to the nobles and their followers, the burghers of the "*bonnes villes*" or fortified towns only assisting with money. Whatever the rights of the question might be, it was considered to be essentially a war between nobles and bourgeois, and as such was a characteristic beginning of the rule of the Valois.

A splendid and solemn ceremonial took place at St. Denis, where Philippe de Valois as Comte du Vexin and feudal protector of that abbey, like the Kings of France his predecessors, received from the Abbot the "*Oriflamme*" or three-tailed banner of silk, the colour of gold and fire,² which the Abbot blessed before the altar and gave into his hands, after which he set off for Arras, where his troops were gathering,

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris.

² Morey, "Grande dictionnaire historique."

and whence he started for Flanders, attended, amongst other of his vassals, by the Duke of Burgundy and the Comtes de Savoie and Bar, brother and brother-in-law of the Queen, and by the young King of Navarre, whose valour contributed greatly to the success of the expedition.

Their first attempt was on Cassel, before which they pitched their tents. The inhabitants in defiance raised above their walls a large cock cut out in coloured cloth, with this inscription—

“Quant ce coq-ci chanté ara
Le roy trouvé ça entrera,”

an allusion to his disputed succession to the throne which greatly incensed Philippe. He took Cassel and burnt it, reduced Flanders to submission, and restored his territories to Count Louis with the following caution: ¹ “Count, I have come with my barons and worked for you at my and their expense. I restore you your lands conquered and at peace; now see that justice is observed there, and that by no fault of yours I am obliged to come back again, for if I do, it will be for my profit and not yours.” ² After which he returned in triumph and rejoined the Queen at Paris, where his victory was celebrated with all the pageantry and picturesqueness called forth by the

¹ “Et il dist; Conte, je suis là venu avec mes barons, que j'ai travaillé pour vous et au miens et à leur dispens. Je vous rends vostré terre acquise et en pais; or faites tant que justice y soit gardée, et que par vostre deffaut, il ne faille pas que plus reviegne. Car sé je i revenoie plus, ce seroit à mon profit et à vostre damage” (“Grandes Chroniques de France”).

² “Non ad vostram sed ad meam utilitatum” (De Nangis).

mingled chivalry and devotion of his character and of the age.

The oriflamme was carried to St. Denis and presented at the altar amid prayers and thanksgiving; the King then re-entered Paris, rode in full armour into the church of Notre Dame, and offered his charger and arms to the Blessed Virgin. An equestrian statue of him¹ was erected in the nave of the church where it stood until 1789, when this curious and interesting monument was destroyed by the Vandals of the French Revolution.

A little later on in the first year of her reign the Queen gave birth to a son, who died immediately afterwards. Queen Clémence, widow of Louis X., also died at Paris October 13th. The year ended with a severe earthquake, followed by a furious gale of wind which blew down several church steeples and other buildings and caused much damage.

¹ "Velly a suivi une mauvaise leçon de nos chroniques quand il a dit que le roi s'était rendu à Notre Dame de Chartres en quittant St. Denis. Sur vingt manuscrits dix-neuf portent Notre Dame de Paris. Le continuateur de Nangis dit la même chose, et personne n'a que discuter ce point d'histoire, sinon d'après la continuation latine de Nangis et les Chroniques de St. Denis. Cela n'a pas empêché l'Académicien Moreau de Mantoue de prétendre dans le tome ii. des mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, p. 300, que la statue equestre d'un roi de France, placée avant la révolution à l'entrée de la grande nef de la cathédrale, était celle de Philippe de Bel. Son opinion, suivie par Velly, contre le sentiment de Montfaucon est pourtant insoutenable, puisque aucun historien contemporain ne dit que Philippe le Bel soit entré dans la cathédrale de Paris armé de pied en cap ni qu'il ait fait don de ces armes à cette église; tandis qu'on conserve à Chartres, avec l'armure de Philippe le Bel, une inscription annonçant qu'elle a été offerte à Notre Dame de Chartres par Charles le Bel, au nom de son père et en mémoire de la victoire de *Mons-en-Puelle*." (Paulin Paris, "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. v. p. 321).

Jeanne had now attained the summit of human prosperity. Her husband was the greatest monarch in Christendom and no court in Europe could compare in magnificence with the one over which she reigned. Her influence with the king was all powerful; the most important documents of his reign conclude with —“*De l'avis et volonté de la reine, notre chère épouse,*” and are signed both by Philippe and Jeanne. She had the frequent society of her brothers and sisters, for her family were the most powerful subjects and intimate friends of Philippe VI., whose warlike expeditions and courtly revels were eagerly shared by her brothers-in-law, the Counts of Savoy¹ and Bar, and her brother the Duke of Burgundy. Eudes IV. had married Jeanne de France, eldest daughter and heiress of Philippe V. and Jeanne, Countess Palatine of Burgundy, thereby uniting the county and duchy and greatly increasing his already powerful position. Brother-in-law of the King and uncle of the heir-apparent, he had a great reputation both as soldier and statesman. He was the first peer in France, and had a large share in the government, being the chosen counsellor of the King, who placed implicit confidence in him and consulted him in all important appointments and matters of State.

The only children of the King and Queen were a son and daughter, who must have been at this time about ten or eleven years old. Disappointed at the death of the son born after their coronation, and naturally desirous, more especially as their daughter could not succeed to the throne, that there should be

¹ The Comte de Savoie, however, died in 1329 leaving one daughter.

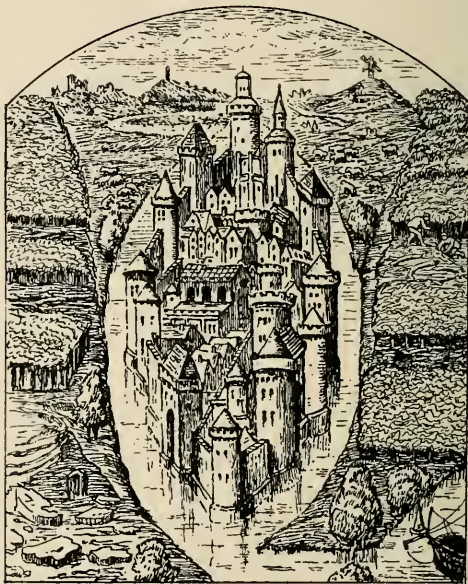
another heir, failing their eldest son, they looked forward with anxiety to the birth of their next child, which took place about the middle of June, 1330. This child proved to be a son, whom they named Louis, and for the preservation of whose life¹ Philippe went on a pilgrimage to St. Louis de Marseille. The boy, however, only lived a fortnight, and was buried in the church of the *frères mineurs* at Paris.

In a letter of Philippe de Valois, dated in this year, confirming the statutes of a *confrérie* of the notaries of Paris, appear some curious regulations respecting the offices to be sung, and the rules to be observed in their church. *Vespres de Notre Dame* to be sung every Friday and mass every Saturday morning, to which every one who did not come by the time of the first *Gloria* of the first Psalm, or the first *Kyrie*, without being able to assign sufficient reason, should pay a fine of one *denier*, a mass to be sung every day for the King, Queen, their children and heirs, and for the *confrérie* and its benefactors. And when any member of the confraternity, or his wife, should die, the brothers of the order should, under pain of a fine of two *deniers*, go with the body to vigils and mass, unless good reason for their absence could be shown.

The King and Queen when at the capital, lived either at the Palais de la Cité, or at the Louvre. In the Renaissance palace of François I., the Louvre as it was then cannot be realised. The Gothic castle of Philippe Auguste with its towers and battlements was

¹ "Et pour cette cause. . . Mais nonobstant le dit voiage, l'enfant au quinziesme jour de sa nativité, trespasa" ("Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris, t. v. p. 338).

more a fortress than a palace, and was still outside the walls of Paris. The château of St. Germain was occasionally the resort of the royal family for the sake of hunting in the forest around it, but when not at Paris the court was for the most part at Vincennes.



CHÂTEAU DE VINCENNES.

Historic tradition, antiquity and romance combine to cast a glamour over the stately home of the early Valois kings—"the Windsor of the Valois."¹

For generations a hunting ground of the French monarchs, it was first known as the Abbaye-Saint-

¹ Michelet, "Histoire de France."

Maur-des-fossés, in the parish of Fontenay. When the château was built is uncertain, but Louis VII. founded a convent there in 1164, and in 1183 Philippe Auguste enclosed the wood, hitherto only surrounded by ditches, with a boundary wall, to prevent the deer and other wild animals that abounded therein from straying from its shelter. Philippe de Valois enlarged and partly rebuilt the château which was then in an almost ruinous condition. His great tower still remains, but the eight others with which he surrounded it have disappeared.

Buried in the deep shade of its venerable trees stood the old castle, the huge oaks and beeches coming close up to the battlements. At night the wild deer bayed under the walls, and fled with the dawn into the recesses of the forest. Many a troop of mail-clad warriors with floating banners, ring of steel and tramp of horses' feet issued from those frowning towers, clattered across the hollow-sounding drawbridge and disappeared along the road to Paris; many a gay hunting party of cavaliers and ladies rode out of those arched gateways to follow the chase in the green glades of the surrounding forest. Life then was a continual round of pleasure; banquets, tournaments, jousts and fêtes of all kinds went on perpetually; it was the realisation of the romances of chivalry and the tales of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table. The Kings of Majorca, Navarre, Bohemia, and frequently the King of Scotland, the Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin du Viennois, and innumerable great nobles and princes lived at the court of Philippe and Jeanne, the King

of Bohemia declaring that he could exist nowhere but at "le séjour le plus chevaleresque du monde."¹

Philippe had received the reluctant homage of the young King of England with splendid ceremonial in the nave of the Cathedral of Amiens. He was seated on a superb throne, dressed in a long robe of violet velvet covered with gold *fleur-de-lis*, a diadem of precious stones on his head, a golden sceptre in his hand, surrounded by his court of lesser Kings and great nobles. King Edward on that occasion wearing a long robe of crimson velvet scattered over with golden leopards, his crown on his head, his sword by his side, and gilded spurs. The latter remarked that in all the world there was not so great a King nor so splendid a court.¹

Philippe had certainly attained his ambition to be the King of knights and gentlemen. As to the *bourgeoisie* and peasantry he looked on them with scorn; and his ideas were shared by the arrogant, brilliant society that composed his court, whose chief studies were the poems of troubadours and tales of chivalry, upon which they founded their ideas and regulated their lives.

Philippe was now about thirty-seven years of age, tall, graceful, and foremost in all the martial exercises and games in which the court delighted. Impatient of the slightest opposition, he was lavishly generous to his friends and favourites, and eager to outshine all the world in magnificence; but the extravagance of his splendid court was an oppressive burden to the rest of the nation. The rule of the Capétiens

¹ Michelet.

Kings had been strongly biassed by their jealousy of the great nobles, whom it had been their aim to weaken and reduce to submissive dependence upon the crown. Philippe IV. had surrounded himself with lawyers and men of finance while he alienated the nobles. They now flocked round Philippe de Valois, and obtained from him many of those outrageously unjust privileges which in the present times appear almost incredible, such as the cancelling of their debts and the detested "*droit de prise.*"¹

Queen Jeanne had many interests and pursuits beyond the amusements of the court. Besides political affairs, religious and charitable matters occupied much of her time, money, and attention. Her literary tastes caused her to protect and encourage men of letters. Amongst other services to literature she employed a friar of the order of Saint Jacques-de-haut-pas, named Jean de Vignai, to translate into French "*Le Miroir Historial,*" by Vincent de Beauvais, and the "*Légende d'or*" of Jacques de Voraggio.

The "*Miroir Historial*" was a work in five enormous volumes containing sacred, ancient, and modern history, philosophy, theology, lives of saints, pious traditions, extracts from all sorts of authors, mingled with legends and fables, but containing the most curious and miscellaneous information collected from various chronicles treating of the history of the world

¹ "*Droit de prise*": the right claimed and exercised by the kings, princes, and chief officers of their households, on entering a town, to seize for their use the property of the citizens. It was restricted or abolished by several kings, but in vain.

Philippe also restored the right of private warfare to the nobles of Aquitaine.

from the earliest times to the thirteenth century. The author of this work, Vincent de Beauvais, who wrote it by order of St. Louis, wrote also three others, called "Miroir Doctrinal," "Miroir Naturel," and "Miroir Moral." He made extracts from the works of Pope Gregory the Great and many of the fathers of the Church, and firmly believed that Pope Gregory the Great drew from hell the soul of Trajan. The Bible was not entirely translated into French, and the "Imitation of Christ" not at all, but some theological works were beginning to appear in that language. There were histories of the Bible by Guiard des Moulins and Nicolas Oresme, a number of mystic and ascetic books of devotion, and a good many lives and legends of the saints.

The "Légende dorée," which Queen Jeanne caused to be translated by Jean de Vignai, was written by Giacomo di Voragine,¹ a Dominican, at Genoa, who died in 1298. It was a great history of saints, and derived its name from the high estimation in which it was held, both for the style in which it was written and for the interest of the legends it contained.

Hitherto books had generally been written in verse, but prose had now become customary, at any rate for historical works and books of any length. All the old romances of chivalry were therefore put into prose. Allegories, satires, and even some works on arts and sciences were still written in rhyme; and there were various poems on religion and morality, but even in these, prose was often mingled with the verses. Joinville's "Life of Saint Louis" was of course

¹ Or Voraggio.

a favourite book ; and the travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian, which began in 1252. He wrote in 1295 the history of his wanderings about the world, which were full of strange adventures and wonderful experiences, as well they might be. He went to Constantinople, Armenia, Persia, and China, lived for some time at the court of a Tartar king, journeyed with some ambassadors to India, and after many years returned to Venice.

Another book on travels was that of Mandeville, and there were a few books on arts, sciences, law, and politics, beside numbers of translations from ancient writers, romances, fabulous stories, and tales of chivalry, such as those of "King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table," the "Roman de la Rose," "Lancelot du Lac," the "Roman du Brut," also the history of France in verse, and a good many chronicles, &c. Another work translated by Jean de Vignai was a book on chess, a game of great antiquity, supposed to have originally come from India.

But books and manuscripts of all kinds were rare and costly ; chiefly to be found in abbeys, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical establishments, or sometimes in the palaces and castles of some exceptionally cultivated prince, noble, or lady, such as the Comte de Poitiers, afterwards Philippe le Long, the present Queen, Jeanne de Bourgogne, and in after years her grandson, Charles V. The chronicles of the history of the time are naturally the most interesting of all that literature, and were mostly the work of monks ; for example, the delightful and valuable

writings of the monks of St. Denis, and a very interesting "Chronique des quatre premiers Valois," whose author is unknown, but supposed to have been a monk of Rouen; there are also the chronicles of de Nangis, continued by two or three different writers.

As one reads the graphic, simple records of a life that has so entirely passed away, or turns over the exquisitely illuminated pages of the ancient missals, one seems to realise the intense pleasure and interest with which these pursuits must have enriched the silent, monotonous lives of the monks who day by day in the quiet cells of their monasteries were absorbed in their writing or painting, and the delight with which they must have watched the history growing under their pen, or the parchment becoming gradually covered with delicate designs and glowing colours. Froissart, the most famous of them all, was, however, far from leading a life of study and seclusion. He was a canon and treasurer of Chimay, but passed his time at the courts and amongst the pleasures of the most exalted personages. Born at Valenciennes, a subject of Guillaume, Comte de Hainault, he was a great favourite both of his daughter Philippa, Queen of England, and of Jeanne, wife of Robert d'Artois, Comte de Beaumont-le-Roger. For these princesses he had the greatest admiration and devotion, which sufficiently accounts for the hostile spirit he displays towards Queen Jeanne.

His son Jean continued, and his grandson, Charles V., completed the work Philippe had begun, the beautiful chapel of the latter exists to this day. The

oak under which Saint Louis used to administer justice was to be seen in the forest as late as 1614. He slept at Vincennes the night before he started for the crusade, 1260.

In 1331 the King held a *lit de justice*¹ at the Louvre to pronounce sentence respecting the claim made by his brother-in-law, Robert of Artois, to the possession of that province.

It was not only the succession to the crown that at this time was so fruitful a source of trouble and discord. In the questions of succession to the fiefs the laws varied in the different provinces, and were often unjustly decided and arbitrarily enforced. Edouard, Comte de Savoie, the husband of the Queen's eldest sister, had died,² leaving only a daughter.³ She claimed the inheritance of her father, but the Savoyards objected because the princess lived far away from them, had by her marriage become a foreigner, and they did not desire to be mixed up in the affairs of her husband's duchy, and so drawn into disputes and wars with which they had no concern. Their parliament declared in favour of the Salique law, and invited Aymon, brother of their late Count, to assume the government. The Duchess denied that the laws of Savoy had ever excluded women from the succession, made an alliance with the Dauphin du Viennois, and prepared with him to invade Savoy. But having no children, and Savoy being so far from her present abode, she

¹ A *lit de justice* was a throne with five cushions on which the king sat in parliament (Leber).

² At Gentilly, near Paris, November 4, 1329.

³ Jeanne, Duchesse de Bretagne.

was persuaded to sell her claim to her uncle. In Navarre, on the other hand, as we have seen, the people would not hear of the Salique law. In Burgundy Duke Robert II. had become possessed of the duchy by the will of his father, to the exclusion of the daughters of his elder brother. Now Robert, Comte d'Artois, nephew of St. Louis, had at his death (1302) left that province to his daughter Mahault instead of to his grandson, the Robert d'Artois, Comte de Beaumont in question, then a minor. In 1307 Robert had laid his claim before parliament, which had decided against him,¹ saying that the Salique law was not observed in Artois, and that a daughter was nearer of kin than a grandson. Mahault had married her two daughters to the sons of Philippe le Bel, who supported her claim, so that Robert dared not offer any resistance at that time, but during the reigns of Louis Hutin and Philippe le Long he renewed his complaints, and when Philippe de Valois, whose half-sister he had married, and whose claims he had supported, came to the throne he felt sure of success, and again brought forward the pretensions which he was prepared to forward by the most unscrupulous means. Meanwhile his aunt, the Countess Palatine, had died,² and her death had

¹ In the marriage contract of his parents this eventuality was foreseen, and it was decided that Mahault should have Artois and Robert Domfront and all the lands of his mother Amicia de Courtenay. He had Domfront, Conches, Berry, a large sum of money, and the county of Beaumont-le-Roger, which the king raised into a peerage, giving him also a high command in the army. The clergy and most of the towns supported the claim of Mahault, while many of the nobles of Artois were in favour of Robert.

² October 3, 1329.

been followed three months afterwards by that of her daughter, the widow of Philippe le Long. Rightly or wrongly, Robert was accused of poisoning his aunt and cousin. It is related that Jeanne had a butler who had lived in the service of her mother, and that one night when sitting with her ladies she sent for some wine, after drinking which she retired to bed, and was immediately seized with violent illness, of which in a very short time she died, having black spots on her body and other symptoms of poison.¹

Judgment having already been given against Robert, it could not be set aside unless any new proofs on the other side were forthcoming. He accordingly produced four documents, which he declared to have been stolen by the Bishop of Arras, who had been the chancellor and confidential friend of Mahault, and had lately died. He asserted that they had been recovered after his death by the bishop's mistress, a woman named Divion.

One of these documents² was an alleged letter from the Bishop, asking pardon of Robert for stealing the others, which were deeds whereby Robert II. of Artois (who was killed at Courtrai) disposed of the inheritance in favour of his son Philippe, father of the present claimant. Robert, Comte de Beaumont le Roger brought a number of witnesses who swore that at the time of the marriage of his father, his grandfather had promised that the county of Artois should descend to his children.

¹ "Chronique de Flandre."

² "Les pièces, qui existent encore au trésor des chartes, sont visiblement fausses" (Michelet, "Hist. France," t. iii. p. 288).

But the rumours already aroused by the conduct of Robert were increased by the suspicious circumstances of the case. It was affirmed that the witnesses were perjured and that the documents had been fabricated by *la dame Divion* with the help of a clerk.

The Queen took the side of the young Duchess of Burgundy, who had been provisionally put in possession of the province after the death of her grandmother and mother; and thereby excited the fury of Robert, who said that if only he could get rid of the Queen and her son he could make the King do whatever he wished.

The trial was conducted with the customary cruelty of the times, Divion and others accused being examined by torture; and the whole conspiracy was disclosed.

The young prince, who had just been created Duke of Normandy by his father, for the first time sat and voted as a peer of France. The deeds were pronounced by parliament to be forgeries¹ concocted by Divion and the clerk, at the instigation, or at any rate with the knowledge, of Robert and his wife Jeanne de Valois. Divion was condemned to death and burnt, the confessor of Robert, who was mixed up in the affair, made his escape. Robert himself, who had exasperated the King by his slanders against the Queen, as well as by his other crimes, was summoned to take his trial before the peers. He fled the country, but the sentence of banishment and confiscation was deferred by the intercession of the King of Bohemia,

¹ This curious story is related by Michelet ("Hist. France," vol. iv. p. 171 note), and taken from the *Mém. de l'Acad.* x. pp. 625-6.

the Duke of Normandy and, it has been said, of the Queen herself, until May, 1332, when it was proclaimed by heralds with trumpets in the streets of Paris. Robert, after having failed in his attempt to assassinate the King and Queen, the Dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, the Comte de Bar, the Chancellor, and various people, resolved to have recourse to magic, by means of which he believed, according to the superstition of the time, that he might succeed in bewitching and destroying the Queen and her son. He therefore sent for a certain friar Henry and after much flattery and feigned confidence told him that his friends had sent him from France a *voult* or *voust* which the Queen had made against him, and which was a waxen image that, when baptised, would bewitch the person whom it was intended to represent. The monk replied that the thing was not called in that country a *voult* but a *manie*, and Robert presently acknowledged that his statement about the Queen had been a false one, that on the contrary he had a figure already baptised, which he showed him, of the Duke of Normandy, and what he wanted was to get a figure of the Queen baptised so that he might be able to destroy them both, for as long as they lived the King would be under their influence, but if they were dead he would be able to get him to do as he wished. The friar, however, declared that it was a deadly sin and refused to have anything to do with it; after which Robert took refuge with his cousin the Duke of Brabant.

The commotion into which the affair of the Artois succession had thrown the court cannot be described,

and in these days it would be impossible to realise it. Philippe VI., like everybody at that time, believed firmly in magic. He had no sort of doubt that the wax images, if properly baptised and afterwards melted by a fire or by the heat of the sun as was proposed, would have thrown his wife and son into a consumption, or if pierced to the heart, would have caused their death in some other way. And every one around him was of the same opinion; so that the rage and terror of the Burgundian party on finding themselves attacked, not only with the earthly weapons of forgery and assassination, but with the powers of darkness besides, was natural enough under the circumstances. The high rank of those principally concerned—for Robert belonged to the royal family and was married to the King's half sister, and the Duchess of Burgundy, wife of the Queen's brother, was herself the eldest daughter of a King of France—increased the interest and excitement of the case. Accusations of poisoning were then so frequent, whenever any one died who had enemies or whose death would benefit anybody else, that it seems uncertain what importance can be attached to the rumour that the Countesses Palatine, mother and grandmother of the young Duchess of Burgundy, were poisoned by Robert. But the circumstances of their deaths, as recorded by historians of the day, were undoubtedly most suspicious and Robert's subsequent forgeries, incantations, and repeated attempts to murder prove him to have been perfectly capable of committing that or any other crime which might have been to his advantage.

CHAPTER VI

1332-1344

Marriages of the Duke of Normandy and Princess Marie de France—Palais de Nesle—Evil reputation of the “Tour de Nesle”—Death of the Princess Marie—Birth and death of another son of the King and Queen—Illness and recovery of the Duke of Normandy—Birth of Philippe de France—Alarm caused by two comets—Marriage of the heir of Burgundy—Beginning of the Hundred Years’ War—The Queen makes her will—The Dauphin du Viennois—“Il ré Giannino.”

AMID the dissensions and turmoil attending the inheritance of so many of their provinces, Philippe and Jeanne could not but reflect on the present insecurity of the succession to the crown. The decision which had placed them upon the throne of France had made their daughter’s accession absolutely impossible. Of the sons born to them only one survived, and the chances of his death in battle, by poison, or by any other form of assassination over and above the risks run by ordinary mortals in calmer days, made it advisable to arrange a suitable marriage for him without loss of time. They cannot be said to have neglected this precaution, for the

Duc de Normandie was scarcely fourteen years old when another of those magnificent festivities in which the court delighted was held at Melun in May, 1332, in honour of his wedding with the Princess Bonne of Luxemburg, daughter of his father's old friend the King of Bohemia. The King gave him the castle of Vivier-en-Brie, near Fontenay, in the forest of Vincennes, so that the young prince was near enough to take part in all the diversions of the court, and not to be separated by any great distance from the Queen his mother, to whom he was deeply attached and by whose advice and opinions he was almost entirely guided. The Duke of Normandy originally took precedence of the other secular peers,¹ who in 1274 came in the following order:—Normandy, Guyenne,² Burgundy, Flanders, Champagne, Toulouse. But various changes were made by the kings, as has been stated in another part of this book, and the Duke of Burgundy was afterwards considered the premier peer of France, and ranked next to royalty. In the register of the *procès* of Robert d'Artois the Duke of Burgundy came first (*Trésor des chartes de la couronne*).³

Having heard that the Duc de Brabant intended to marry his son to the youngest daughter of the Comte de Hainault, sister of Queen Philippa of England, and thinking that by the alliances he had made for

¹ Godfroy, however, in his "Histoire du Ceremonial français" places Burgundy first, and Aquitaine instead of Guyenne. He says they were Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, Aquitaine, Counts of Toulouse, Flanders, and Champagne.

² Aquitaine, or Guyenne, one of the four provinces of ancient Gaul. Eleanor, daughter of the last Duke, married Henry II. of England after being divorced from Louis VII. of France.

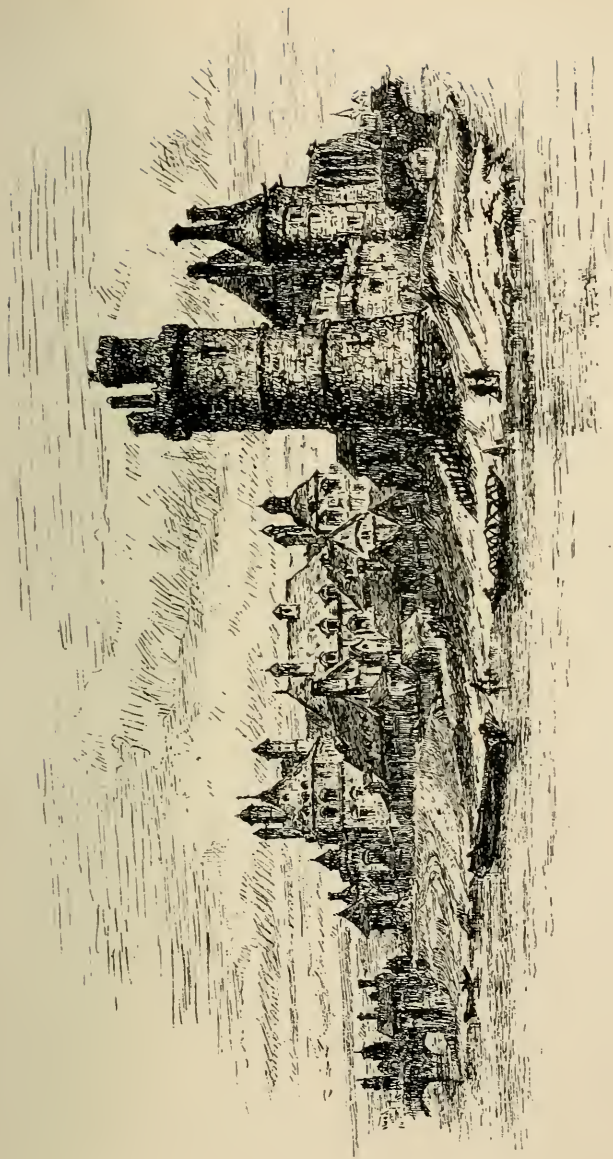
³ Leber, "Dissertations sur l'histoire de France."

his daughters, the Comte de Hainault was becoming too powerful, the King invited the Duc de Brabant to meet him at Compiègne, and proposed instead a marriage between the son of the latter and his own daughter, the Princess Marie de France. Dazzled by the splendour of this alliance the Duc de Brabant eagerly accepted, and, as one of its conditions, banished from his dominions the fugitive Robert d'Artois, who escaped in disguise to England, where he employed his energy in persuading King Edward to make war upon France.

Meanwhile the marriage of the Princess Marie with the heir of the Duc de Brabant was celebrated with great splendour at Paris, on the feast of St. Michael, 1332, in the Chapelle du Palais. On the same day Philippe conferred knighthood on his son, and on the following Friday a crusade was preached in the chapel royal of the palace, when the King announced his intention of proceeding to the Holy Land, and appointed his son regent during his absence. As long as the Duc de Normandie was a minor the Queen had always been appointed regent in the absence of the King. But notwithstanding all these arrangements the crusade did not take place, as troubles and dangers were gathering so thick and fast round the kingdom of France that all the forces of the country were required for her own defence.

Although the diversions and luxury of the court continued as usual, many anxieties kept arising to trouble the King and Queen. There was another dispute about a succession, that of the duchy of Bretagne; there was a violent quarrel between the

Duc de Brabant and the Comte de Flandre about the town of Malines, which the latter had bought from the Comte de Gueldres, of which the former asserted the sale to be illegal, and about which the whole court was divided. There was Robert of Artois still at liberty, doing all the harm he could in England ; and there was, according the prevailing belief, always the danger that somehow or other he would manage to obtain the baptised images of wax with which two or three priests had refused to provide him and by means of which he might still wreak his vengeance on the King and Queen, the Duc de Normandie, and every one who had offended him or stood in his way. Philippe, in terror, imprisoned in different castles in Normandy the wife and sons of Robert. His wife, Jeanne de Valois, was especially involved in all his crimes, and was accused of having made some of the "*voults*," or waxen images of which every one was so afraid. In the course of this year the King presented to the Queen the splendid Palais de Nesle which he had bought of the executors of Jeanne, widow of Philippe le Long. This palace, although a piece had been taken off to make the Collège de Bourgogne, was of great extent, a mass of towers and battlemented walls on the left bank of the Seine, just opposite the Louvre. In 1200, Philippe Hamelin, Provost of Paris, built a massive tower, which was bought by a Seigneur de Nesle later in the thirteenth century, with some vineyards and plantations adjoining ; and belonging at that time to the monks of St. Germain. In the grounds adjoining this tower



TOUR DE NESLE.

he built a palace or castle to be a sort of match for the Louvre opposite. The first mention of the concière of the Hôtel de Nesle in 1292 proves that it was then inhabited, and from that time its history was united to that of the "Tour de Nesle." In 1308 Amaury de Nesle sold it to Philippe le Bel. Louis Hutin inherited it, and after him Philippe le Long who in 1319 gave it to his wife Jeanne, with liberty to convert it into a monastery or any other pious place. She accordingly left it in her will to be sold to found the Collège de Bourgogne.

The famous "Tour de Nesle," a dungeon with embattled walls on the walls of the city, looking on to the Seine had an evil reputation. It was a tall, round tower, close to another higher and slenderer, containing the staircase which gave access to it. Slander attached to this tower the legend that a queen of France used to attract students and other young men into it at night, and their bodies were thrown out of the window into the Seine before the morning. One of them, Jean Burridan, is said to have escaped drowning by the sack in which he was put not having been properly fastened. He afterwards became professor of philosophy at the Collège de Navarre, founded by Jeanne, wife of Philippe IV. The question, which French queen (if any) could have been the real perpetrator of these crimes, has been repeatedly discussed by French chroniclers and historians. That it should have been, according to some suggestions, Jeanne de Navarre, wife of Philippe le Bel, is impossible; first, because she died in 1304, about the time when Burridan was born;

secondly, because her *patrimonial* was in the Rue St. André des Arts, in another part of Paris, and the Hôtel de Nesle was not bought by Philippe IV. until four years after her death (1308); and, thirdly, because Jeanne was a devout and respected princess, against whom no other accusation of a scandalous nature was ever brought.¹ As much cannot be said for Marguërite and Blanche de Bourgogne, Queen of Navarre, and Comtesse de la Marche, to whom these adventures have also been attributed.² Other writers have pointed to their sister Jeanne, wife of Philippe le Long, as the queen in question, and asserted that the time when these crimes were committed was between the death of Philippe V. in 1322 and that of the queen in question in 1329; during which years she inhabited the Hôtel de Nesle. But of the accusation brought against her in her youth she had been acquitted by the court of peers, she had lived on excellent terms with her husband ever since, he himself declared that he had never had any quarrel against her, and after his death she was constantly associated with her mother, the Countess Mahault,

¹ "Topographie historique du vieux Paris. Région occidentale de l'Université," p. 22. A. Berty et L. M. Tisserand.

² "Tout ce qui est merveilleux est adopté par le vulgaire comme une vérité incontestable; mais le fait des prétendues orgies de Jeanne ou de Marguërite de Bourgogne, orgies dont la Tour de Nesle passe pour avoir été le théâtre, est loin d'être authentique: c'est au moins une vérité fondée sur des ornements d'emprunt. Une reine, quittant la nuit son palais et traversant un souterrain pour venir se livrer à des scènes de débauche que termine à la face d'une pleine lune, le flan mystérieux dans la Seine, d'un cadavre palpitant sous un sac funèbre, tout cela est ravissant. Mais le froid archéologue, qui se plaît à souffler sur les fables, est tenté d'envoyer cette histoire sinistre au diable . . . de Vauvert" (M. A. Bonnardot, "Dissert. archéolog. sur les encl. de Paris").

in a life of much occupation and the practice of religion and charity. And there is really no evidence whatever for this tradition, which, like many a wild and gloomy tale, is believed by the people on no other authority than that of their own credulous fancy.

The Queen liked the Hôtel de Nesle, and after it became her own property she often resided there. Every vestige of it has now disappeared, but it must have been a wonderful old place, of immense extent and most picturesque, like all the castles of those days with its towers and massive walls washed by the Seine. A chain used to be stretched across from it to a tower on the opposite bank of the river to protect the passage.

The only daughter of Jeanne, the little Princess Marie, now Duchess of Limbourg, who had been married with so much rejoicing the year before to the eldest son of the Duc de Brabant, a boy not much older than herself, had been left at Paris under her mother's care after the ceremony until she should be of a more suitable age for married life. But about a year after her wedding the young Duchess died at Paris, on the 22nd of September, and was buried at the Church of the Cordeliers; and shortly afterwards on October 2nd of this year died another infant son of Philippe and Jeanne. He was also named Jean, and was buried in the choir of the convent church of Poissy, where his coffin was found in 1523, with an inscription stating that the church had been dedicated by his father, Philippe VI.¹ In the same

¹ " Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison royale de

year the King and Queen founded another convent near the Porte Sainte-Maisance, called *le Moncel*; wherein they decreed that the nuns should serve God continually after the rule of St. Francis.¹

In 1334 Philippe set off on a journey to Avignon to visit the Pope, but was seized with so serious an illness that he was compelled to return; from this, however, he recovered after a short time.

The following are among some accounts of the "*hostel du roy*" of this year.

"To Lucas the one-eyed, tailor to our Lord the King, for articles which he has made for the said Lord from the feast of St. John MCCCXXV until Christmas.

"First, vi *cotes pardies* of cloth of Frise, from the treasurer's, lined with green *tiretaine*, for the King and for other people to whom he gave them, delivered at Tavernay.

"For vj new *chevaliers* (knights) who were made at Vivier-en-Brie, vj pair of robes of escalate, of which were ij bannerets, the two nephews of Cardinal *Napolium*, and the iiij simple were Bertrand Agace, Henri de Mieri, Maupin de la Neuville, Pierre de Faucicourt, of which the nephews of *Napolium* had scarlet robes for the vigil of the feast.

"*Item*: for the day the ij bannerets had cottes and mantles of cloth of gold, and the mantles were trimmed with ermine, and were taken from the *inventoire*.

France" par le Père Anselme, Augustin Déchaussé, et M. du Fournay," t. i. p. 103.

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. v. p. 356.

“*Item* : ij *courtepointes*, taken from the *inventoire*, for the ij bannerets according to their estate.

“*Item* : a doublet of linen and cotton for the King, delivered at St. Denis.

“*Item* : for Michaelmas a robe of violet escalate, with iiij *garnemens*, bought of Estienne de la Bruiere, trimmed the same with *vair*, delivered at Chartres, and the King of Navarre and the King of Behaigne (Bohemia) had the same.

“*For another bill since Christmas.*

“*Item* : for Charles de Jaunay, whom the King knighted on the journey to Avignon, for the *cotte* and scarlet mantle trimmed with *gros vair* taken from the *inventoire* ; and the said Lucas took them with him when he went on the said journey.

“*Item* : for the sire de Noyelles, whom the King knighted on Wednesday before Midsummer (le St. Jehan) at Livry en Launay for the *cotte* and mantle of scarlet trimmed with *gros vair* to watch in, taken from the *inventoire*.

“For iiij lxxiiij days of *valets cousturiers*, who sewed the above-mentioned dresses, lined hoods, great *aumices*, gorgières, and several other things for the said seigneurs . . . for ix *livres* of sewing thread . . . for v *livres et demyso* of wax candles and xxx *livres* of tallow candles to watch in the night (for the vigil) . . . for making liiiij pairs of *chausses*¹ of several colours made of the remnants of the King's robes, except iij ells, which were bought of Thibaut ij the pair cviiij.”

¹ *Chausses* = sort of shoes made of cloth and other stuffs.

The mantles for the vigil were to be worn on the eve of the ceremony when the novice watched by his arms all night in the church, preparing himself with prayers and fasting for the ceremony on the morrow, according to the laws of chivalry. It was called the *veille des armes*. There is also a bill for various articles of the same description for Pierre de Bourbon, whom the King knighted at Easter, and a good many others, which are very much alike but are interesting as throwing light on some of the customs of the time.

Towards the middle of June a new calamity threatened the Queen. Her only remaining son, the Duc de Normandie was suddenly seized with a dangerous fever at Taverny, near Paris. The young prince grew rapidly worse, and the doctors declared his recovery to be hopeless. He had as yet no children and the whole kingdom was thrown into consternation. Prayers were offered in all the churches, processions of monks with bare feet went about carrying relics, the holy nail of the cross, and the crown of thorns brought by St. Louis from the East and kept at St. Denis were carried about for three days by all the monks of that abbey, and then brought to Taverny and left for seven days near the Duc de Normandie. The Queen was distracted with grief and anxiety, though putting her trust in prayers and the ministrations of religion, and the King assured her that so great was his faith in the intercessions of the saints, the prayers of the people, and the mercy of God that even if the prince were dead they would bring him back to life, and that therefore,

should he die he was not to be buried, but to wait until God raised him up again, as he believed He would do. The malady shortly after^d took a favourable turn, and the young prince seems to have recovered as rapidly as he became ill, for not long after we hear of his walking with his father from Taverny to St. Denis to return thanks for his recovery, and watching for two nights in the church with certain of the monks, "who by the request of the King performed at night the service of Monseigneur St. Denis, and the next day the Abbot sang the Mass in the presence of the King and his son, after which they dined together and then went away to many other holy places where their devotion led them."¹

The delight and gratitude of the King and Queen in consequence of the restoration of their only son knew no bounds. One record thereof is a letter in which Philippe grants money for eight candles each to contain eight pounds of wax, "to burn perpetually before the sacred bodies of the holy martyrs St. Denis and his companions, and also before the body of the glorious confessor and King of France, St. Louis," for the victory of Cassel and the recovery of the Duc de Normandie; "considering the great blessings and honours our Lord Jesus Christ has given and sent us by night and day in many ways and experiences, for the victory which he gave us over our enemies in the host lately at Cassel, and also for the recovery of our very dear eldest son Jehan, Duc de Normandie, of his great illness, of

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France."

which he recovered, as we firmly believe, by the virtue and power of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c.¹

In the summer of the next year at the château of Vincennes another son was born to Jeanne. One night as she lay in her bed an awful tempest raged round the old castle and in the forest, "which was haunted by evil spirits,"² observes the ancient chronicler. The destruction was terrible; trees were rooted up, boughs snapped off, walls and houses levelled with the ground and people killed. A gable or turret was blown off the Queen's room, and, as another writer says, "there were none that night in the forest whose hearts were not filled with fear."

The child then born was afterwards Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, for whom Jeanne had always the most passionate affection.

The Valois became now firmly established on the throne, for the following year was born the eldest son of the Duc de Normandie, afterwards Charles V. also at Vincennes. His birth was succeeded in due time by those of three other "*Fleur-de-lis*," as the princes of the blood royal were then rather poetically called.

But, amid the dissipations of the court and the life

¹ Doublet.

The following extract is taken from the "Comptes du 1 juillet, 1335-1336," in the Archives, Nat. L. L., 1241, fol. 156:—"Pro adventu regis quando venit de Taverniaco ad ecclesiam devotte et pro toto luminari quod assit ibi xxiiii. 1. Pro torchiis traditis funuclis Preceptoris in adventu ipsius regis quas tradiderunt, sicut dicunt illis de hospicio, xxvi. 1. Pro reportatione reliquarium de Taverniaco ad ecclesiam tam in torchiis quam in alio luminari, xx. 1."

² "Où il avoit malignes esperis" ("Chronique des quatres premiers Valois").

of pleasure and splendour led by the nobles, the air was full of uneasiness and forebodings of evil.

France and England were hovering on the brink of the Hundred Years' War, the people were becoming poorer and the taxes were burdensome, there had been bad harvests and epidemics, and at Midsummer, 1337,¹ or as the chronicler says, "about the feast of Monseigneur Saint John Baptist, there appeared a comet which arose in the sign of Gemini, by reason of the eclipse which had taken place in March of the preceding year by Mars and Saturn as the astronomers said. And they said also that because of the sign where it had arisen it signified an abundance of bad blood, from which would come pestilences. And because of Mars, who was in the sign of the Scorpion, would be falsehood, fraud, lying, theft, and wars. And because of Saturn, covetousness, extortion, rancour, hatred, conspiracies, disobedience, misery of the heart, death, dreadful rumours, fear, and many other calamities, not only amongst princes, barons, and ecclesiastics, but upon all the earth, that is to say also upon fourfooted beasts and even fishes would be much evil."

Of course all eclipses, comets, meteors, and in fact unusual appearances of any description, were regarded with terror. A few years previous to the time of which we are writing the same chronicler observes that "*en icest ensement, au moys de jannir, l'éclipse de la lune du tout en tout horriblement fu faicte.*" No one dreamed of not connecting natural phenomena with national calamities and political events, so that

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris, t. 5.

it was surely with feelings of awe and dread that Jeanne saw the sun or moon "horribly eclipsed," or watched the comet blazing in the sky on summer nights over the trees of Vincennes.

Her son and brother, the Dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, had been at war with the Comte de Châlons, who had ravaged Franche Comté, and peace had with difficulty been arranged by Philippe, the disputes with England were becoming more frequent and bitter, and it was rumoured that King Edward, urged on by Robert d'Artois, was preparing to invade France. The frontiers were therefore fortified in haste. That autumn the English attacked and took Saintonge and a little later the French fleet set fire to Portsmouth and burnt nearly all the houses in the island of Guernsey. The Flemings tried to revolt against their count and against the King of France, but the Pope excommunicated them, which, for a time, reduced them to submission. Just then some persons disguised as monks arrived at the French court with the intention of poisoning the King; but their designs being discovered they were seized and imprisoned, and it is not known what became of them.¹

On the 15th of April there appeared another comet, near the Little Bear, and it was dim and round "and without hair, and thus in one year there were two comets."² "And in this year the French plundered and burned Southampton." The French war ships appeared at Southampton one Sunday morning when the people were many of them in

¹ De Nangis, "Contin.," vol. ii. p. 159.

² "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris, t. v. p. 374.

church. They landed, and for some hours the town was in their hands and was a scene of murder, outrage, and plunder; after which the French, collecting all the booty they could carry, set fire to the town and sailed away.

The ancient Capétienne house of Burgundy seemed to be dying out. The Queen's two sisters, the Countesses of Savoy and Bar, were still living, but of her five brothers the last survivor was the Duke of Burgundy, and by his wife, Jeanne de France, he had now only one son, Philippe, Comte d'Artois, for whom he made an alliance with Jeanne, only child of the Comte d'Auvergne and Boulogne, and heiress of those provinces. This still further increased the power and possessions of the Burgundian house, which were now greater than they had been since the days of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. His younger son Jean had unfortunately died in childhood. Eudes of Burgundy, like most of his family, was religious and devout. He was a great benefactor to the monasteries, and, with the Duchess his wife, founded at Fontenay¹ a *chartreuse* for twelve monks and three friars; close to which the Duke built a little house from whence he used to attend the holy offices, and by special permission of Pope Clement VI. communicated in both kinds. For this *chartreuse* he had a great affection, and he left directions that after his death his heart should be buried there; his attachment to this convent was shared by his son the Comte d'Artois.

The religious order in greatest favour among the

¹ Fontenay in Burgundy.

highest classes in Paris at this time was that of the Carmelites. Jeanne d'Evreux, widow of Charles le Bel, was their great benefactress, and a statue of her was placed in the church of their convent.

The Court spent Christmas this year at Maubuisson, which was a favourite resort of the royal princesses who often stayed there.

A bill exists of the king's tailor, *Lucas le borgue*, for a *cotte hardie* of *escallate* (a costly silken stuff) of a deep red, trimmed with *vair* for the King, and by his orders a dress of the same, trimmed with *vair*, for the Queen, which was sent to Maubuisson after Christmas.

The real opening of the Hundred Years' War was the disastrous battle in which the French navy, which really only dated from Philippe IV., was almost entirely destroyed on the 24th of June, 1340. Edward III. hanged the admiral, Nicolas Béhuchet, to the mast of his ship. Some French writers assert that he struck the King when he was brought before him, but in any case it was a dark blot on the fair fame of King Edward. After this defeat the English remained for thirty years undisputed masters of the sea. The first naval hospital was founded by Philippe de Valois shortly after this calamity.

In February, 1335, Jeanne had made a second will at Carcassonne, which had been confirmed the next day by the King, and in April of the following year by her son the Duke of Normandy at Argilly, where they were on a visit to the Duke of Burgundy. But the birth of another son who lived, and for whom it

was consequently necessary to provide, caused them to re-arrange their affairs, and in April, 1344, they made a fresh division of their property.

Humbert, the last Dauphin du Viennois (afterwards called Dauphiné), had lost his only son by an accident, the child having fallen out of a balcony. He retired into a cloister, and in 1343 gave his estates and title to Philippe, younger son of the King and Queen, who transferred the lands with the title of Dauphin to Jean, their eldest son. He, however, always preferred to be called Duc de Normandie, so that his son, afterwards Charles V., was the first of the heirs of France known as the Dauphin.

On their younger son they conferred the Duchy of Orléans, the counties of Valois and Beaumont-le-Roger, and other estates and castles. His mother gave him a large fortune in money and lands, besides what he received from his father. In fact, so enormous were his possessions that long afterwards his nephew, Charles V., declared them to be a detriment to the state, and persuaded him to give up some part of them. But he always retained Orléans, Valois, and a good many other lands and châteaux.

After this it became customary for the eldest son of the king to be Dauphin, the second Duc d'Orléans, the third Duc d'Anjou, the fourth Duc de Berry. Only the children of the Dauphin or the heir presumptive were called *filz et filles de France, enfants de France*.¹ Some annoyance was caused to the King and Queen at different times during the latter years of their reign by the pretensions of an impostor who

¹ Leber, "Disser. sur l'hist. France."

declared himself to be the son of Louis Hutin, and consequently the rightful King of France. The tale, wild and improbable in itself, much resembled several others well known in history, such as those of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, who personated the sons of Edward IV. of England and George, Duke of Clarence, and, later on, that of the pretended Louis XVII. Those who believed in it asserted that the infant Jean had not died, but that the dead child of a maid of honour had been substituted for him by Mahault, Comtesse d'Artois, who wished to place her son-in-law, Philippe le Long, upon the throne; that the Queen, Clémence de Hongrie, had been told that her son was dead, and that the child, who was born King of France, had been brought up in secrecy and afterwards taken to Italy, where he found, like all impostors, many credulous persons to put faith in him. Amongst others, Rienzi either believed his story or pretended to do so, and he had many followers in Siena, where he lived. He was called *Il ré Giannino* (the little King John), and putting himself at the head of one of the mercenary companies (*grandes compagnies*) which were the cause of so much mischief in those times, he proclaimed himself King of France. However, his followers were dispersed and he himself died afterwards at Naples. The story had probably been fabricated in a convent, to which he had retired for a time.¹

¹ "Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France."



CHAPTER VII

1344-1347

Marriage of the Duc d'Orléans—Execution of Clisson and the Norman knights—Vengeance of Jeanne de Clisson—Disasters of France—Landing of King Edward—His march towards Paris—Battle of Crécy—Death of the heir of Burgundy—Gautier de Mauny.

SUITABILITY of age was by no means considered essential in the marriages arranged in the days of the Valois. And it was certainly disregarded when Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, second son of Philippe and Jeanne, who could not have been more than eight or nine years of age, was married, on the 18th of January, 1344, to the Princess Blanche, daughter of Charles IV. and Jeanne d'Evreux, then a girl just sixteen, in the presence of her mother, the King and Queen, and the whole court.¹

Blanche was Comtesse de Beaumont-le-Roger, and sole heiress of her mother, Jeanne d'Evreux, whose only son had died almost immediately after his birth,

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris, t. v. p. 437.

as also another infant daughter. Marie de France, the elder sister of Blanche, had died in 1342.

Juvéna! des Ursins observes that the Duchesse d'Orléans was "*de belle, honneste et sainte vie, et grande aumônère,*" and that she gave away so much to the poor that very little property was found after her death. She appears to have possessed a high spirit, and never to have forgotten how near she stood to the throne. On one occasion, when displeased by something said to her either by Philippe VI. or Jean, she replied that had it pleased God to allow her to be born a man instead of a woman they would not have dared to speak to her in that manner, implying that she would then have been the king and they the subjects.¹ She died the year after her husband, 1392, and was buried at St. Denis, in the chapel of Nôtre Dame, called the White Chapel, by the side of her elder sister, the young Princess Marie, who was laid there fifty years before.² She left no children.

There was a great banquet in the King's palace, followed by a splendid tournament to celebrate the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Orléans, and the King took that opportunity to cause Olivier de Clisson³ and several other Breton knights and nobles to be arrested and imprisoned in the Châtelet, where they were shortly afterwards beheaded for high treason, being accused, as well as three Norman knights who suffered the same penalty, of conspiracy with the English against France, and of rapine, murder, and

¹ "Histoire de la Maison de France," Sainte-Marthe, livre viii. p. 551.

² Ibid., livre vii. p. 439.

³ "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris, t. v. p. 437.

various crimes committed in the service of the party of Edward III. of England and Robert d'Artois. Some historians¹ say that they were executed without trial and without any proof of their guilt, but merely on suspicion. Various ancient chroniclers, however, assert the contrary, and maintain that their treason was fully established.²

At any rate, King Edward was furious at the news, and proposed to avenge the executions by putting to death Henry de Léon, then his prisoner. He was dissuaded from doing so by the Earl of Derby, and as the protection of England could hardly be claimed for the knights without in some measure justifying their condemnation, the explanations offered by Philippe in reply to the indignant message sent by Edward were accepted, and the truce remained unbroken between France and England.

But Jeanne de Belleville,³ widow of Clisson, as soon as she heard of the fate of her husband, put herself at the head of a troop, and by stratagem gained posses-

¹ Sismondi, "Histoire de France," t. vi. p. 439.

² Paulin Paris, "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. v. p. 433 note: "Les historiennes modernes disent qu' Olivier de Clisson et les autres coupables ne furent pas jugés; nos chroniques déposent le contraire." This "chronique" places the above event in 1343, but Sismondi and others, ancient and modern, give the date 1344.

³ Jean III., Duc de Bretagne, died childless. The claimants for the succession were *Jeanne*, "la boiteuse," daughter of his next brother, Guy de Penthievre, married to Charles de Blois, son of a sister of the King of France, who supported this claim; and Jean de Montfort, a younger brother, whose claim was supported by the King of England. Jean de Montfort having died a prisoner, his widow, *Jeanne de Flandres*, daughter of Louis, Count de Nevers, carried on the alliance with England and war with France for her son, then five years old. This was called the war "*des trois Jeannes*."

sion of a castle belonging to Charles de Blois, the French candidate for the Duchy of Brittany. She put the garrison and all who were found there to the sword, out of revenge, and then fled to the Comtesse de Montfort at Hennebon, taking her son, Olivier de Clisson, afterwards the famous Constable of France, then five years old, to be brought up with the young Comte de Montfort, "for their joint vengeance."¹

The "Grandes Chroniques de France" place the death of Jean de Montfort, husband of this countess, in 1345, and observe that before his death he saw evil spirits (*les mauvais esprits*), and that at the hour of his death happened a great marvel, for there assembled over his house so vast a multitude of crows as could not have been supposed to have existed in all the kingdom of France (the whole country).

Never had there been a more disastrous time for the kingdom of France than the year 1346. The summer before had been so cold and rainy that nothing would ripen, and the crops could hardly be reaped; in fact, a large part had to be left in the fields. The vintage was bad, and what wine and fruit could be got were sour and poor. Famine and various maladies had prevailed during the last two years, there had been perpetual warfare, and the King, following the example of his predecessors, had been tampering with the coin of the realm, which he had so debased as to arouse the complaints and clamour of the people. He had also put a heavy tax on salt, so that Edward of England sarcastically called him

¹ Sismondi.

the inventor of the "*loi salique*." Everything was frightfully dear, and yet the expenses and luxury of the court were as great as ever. Philippe during this year promised to restrict the "*droit de prise*" to the requirements of his own establishments, those of the Queen, "*sa chère compagne*," and of their children.

Added to these other calamities was the dread of an English invasion. Edward now called himself King of France, and Robert d'Artois did not cease, by taunts and persuasion, to urge him on to attempt the conquest of that country.

Notwithstanding his conduct towards herself, the Queen had opposed the banishment of the Comte de Beaumont,¹ foreseeing the danger which might result from the machinations of an enemy so powerful and malignant; and her fears were now fully justified.

In his one-sided though delightful chronicles, Froissart endeavours to throw the blame of the execution of the Norman and Breton nobles on the influence of the Queen, calling her "*femme perverse et envieuse*." But this accusation appears to be unjust, as he brings no proof whatever to support it, and the worst action any one seems to be able to bring against her is that she exiled her enemies.² He only gives, as a reason for this supposition, that there is no other way of accounting for the proceedings of the King in this matter.³ As, however, Philippe was universally admitted to have

¹ "Reines de France," Celliez.

² "Chronique des quatre premier Valois."

³ The sympathies of Froissart appear to have been with Robert d'Artois in the affair of the succession, while Jeanne supported the claims of her sister-in-law, the Duchess of Burgundy.

been hasty, violent, and cruel when his anger was aroused, and as there was nothing in these executions inconsistent either with the customs of the times or with the character of the King, it is difficult to see why any reason at all need be sought beyond the vindictive passion of Philippe himself and the constant perils which surrounded him of attacks from abroad and conspiracies at home. And considering the cruel punishments, the numberless executions, the wholesale massacres after a town was taken or a rebellion put down, related without a word of disapproval when committed by the princes and nobles the historians delight to honour, excessive indignation at the fines or exile of the Queen's enemies is surely misplaced.

Soon after Easter the Queen's affection for her family and country were gratified by the arrival of Eudes, Duke of Burgundy, and his son, the Comte d'Artois, followed by a thousand lances, picked men and horses, fully equipped for war, on their way to join the Duke of Normandy in the south. They presented themselves first before the King and Queen, who took great pleasure in seeing that splendid troop, of which Philippe expressed his highest admiration; and Jeanne might well feel a thrill of pride in her own people as they rode by amid the acclamations of the Parisians, led by the Princes of Burgundy, her brother and nephew.

At last, early in July, 1346, the news came that King Edward, with a powerful army, had sailed from Southampton and landed in the Cotentin. The best part of the French army was then in Aquitaine,

besieging the castle of Aiguillon, and Edward ravaged Normandy at his will, plundering and destroying what he could not carry away. He took Caen, in spite of the troops Philippe had despatched to defend it, and massacred many of the inhabitants.¹ In-furiated by having found in that city a treaty which had been made at Vincennes in 1339, between Philippe VI. and the Normans, the latter engaging to defray the expenses of an expedition to be sent under the command of the Duke of Normandy for the conquest of England, Edward desired that all the inhabitants should be put to the sword and the town reduced to ashes.² Godefroi de Harcourt, however, with some difficulty prevailed upon him to countermand this order and spare the town and people. After remaining three days at Caen, he sent his fleet back to England and advanced with his army towards Paris, burning and devastating all before him.

The Queen had everything to fear. Her eldest son, brother, and nephew, the Dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, and the Comte d'Artois were with the army before Aiguillon, and the King at Rouen. The people of Paris, terrified at the approach of the hostile army and the horrors which accompanied its progress, murmured against the King for having, as they declared, brought the war to their very gates.³ Philippe, on hearing the disastrous news, started for Paris, sending in haste to recall the troops from

¹ Knyghton, l. iv. p. 2586; Sismondi, t. vi. p. 466.

² Sismondi, "Histoire de France," t. vi. p. 466.

³ Ibid., t. vi. p. 470.

Aquitaine and summon the militia of the towns to his standard. Within the capital the state of things seemed as bad as possible. The enemy was close at hand. Edward had taken up his headquarters in the old palace of Poissy, his son, the Black Prince,¹ was at St. Germain, where they feasted and consumed the wine and provisions of the King of France, while their troops were spread over all the country round nearly up to the walls of Paris. The smoke and fire of the burning villages and châteaux could be clearly seen from the city, and all night long the sky was illuminated with the flames.

The King gave orders to demolish all the houses along the walls, so as to prepare for a siege, and this further increased the discontent and alarm of the citizens; but the arrival of the King of Bohemia, his son, who had just been elected Emperor, and the Duke of Lorraine, with five hundred cavalry and a great number of German nobles, raised the spirits and encouraged the hopes of those within the walls of Paris, and the King of Bohemia persuaded Philippe to revoke the order for the destruction of the houses near the walls, rather than risk adding a popular disturbance to the other dangers with which they were encompassed.

The faith and devotion which Jeanne had preserved through all the years of her prosperity and splendour were increased and strengthened by the many sorrows and anxieties that had come to her

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris, t. v. p. 455-6-7 for these details.

in later life; and although sharing in the councils of the King, and taking part in all affairs of importance at this perilous time, she also continued to occupy herself with works of charity, and spent many hours in the churches praying for the deliverance of France and of her family.¹

Philippe had appointed St. Denis as the gathering place of his troops; the King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Lorraine and Hainault, the Counts of Flanders and Blois, with many other barons and chevaliers, had already assembled there, and he prepared to follow them in spite of the entreaties of the burghers and populace who implored him not to leave the city to the mercy of the enemy. Assuring the panic-stricken inhabitants that there was no fear of any further advance of the English, but that in order to drive them back it was necessary for him to join his troops, he left Paris on the vigil of the Assumption, and the following day took part "*moult humblement et devotement*"² in the celebration of that festival at the abbey church of St. Denis.

His intention was to go on to attack the English at Poissy, where they were still encamped, and whence they continued to devastate the whole country around. The monk of St. Denis, who so graphically describes these events, says, "and also into our house at Rueil, which Charles le Chauve king and emperor, gave to our church, they threw fire several times, but by the merits of Monseigneur Saint Denis, as we well believe, it was not at all

¹ Celliez.

² "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris, t. v. p. 456.

injured." The same chronicler states that when the King was at St. Denis, "we saw in the church, and in the hall where the King was, a man who said he had been taken by the enemy and afterwards ransomed, and who declared openly and publicly, for the honour of the King and the kingdom, that the King of England was diligently repairing the bridge at Poissy" (which had been broken down to cut off his retreat), "and might this man be put to death if he were not speaking truth. But the nobles and chevaliers near the King said that he lied openly, and mocked at him as at a poor man."

The man spoke the truth, however, for on the Friday after the Assumption, the English army, with banners displayed, passed over the re-constructed bridge and made good their retreat; sparing the church of the nuns at Poissy, built by Philippe IV., grandfather of King Edward, but setting fire to the royal châteaux of Poissy, Rays, St. Germain and Montjoie (the feudal castle of the abbey of St. Denis, and the origin of the French war-cry "*Montjoie St. Denis*"), and retiring towards Ponthieu where, as that county had been part of the dowry of his mother, Isabelle de France, Edward expected to find partisans.

Great was the consternation and rage into which the French were thrown by the unexpected escape of the enemy. In haste and wrath the King led his army in pursuit, hoping to come up with the English before they could cross the Somme. They were encamped at Airaines, a village between Amiens and Abbeville, when Philippe arrived and very

nearly surprised them. In fact, they deserted their camp with such precipitation that the French found tables spread with abundance of food and wine left in the hurry of their flight. They sat down to feast at their leisure, thinking that nothing could now prevent the English from falling into their hands. Their own army now numbered a hundred and twenty thousand men,¹ that of the English was in a desperately bad position, being hemmed in by the strongly fortified towns of Abbeville, St. Valéry, and Crotoi, the French host and the Somme, which they could not cross. To the only possible ford, called Blanche-Tache, Philippe had sent several thousand men to protect the passage.

But the English having taken prisoners some peasants in the neighbourhood, induced one of them to be their guide to the ford of Blanche-Tache. When they saw it, and the French troops keeping guard there, King Edward and the two English marshals, the Earl of Warwick, and Godefroi, Comte de Harcourt, displayed their banners, and with the cry of "St. George for England" threw themselves into the water. There was a fierce fight in the river, for the French valiantly defended the passage, but they were put to flight, and the English army, crossing over in triumph, marched away and encamped about five leagues from Abbeville on the edge of the forest of Crécy.

Philippe took up his quarters for the night at Abbeville, where he entertained and feasted all the princes and great nobles who had flocked into the

¹ Hume.

town. Edward also gave a banquet to his nobles, and then sent them away to rest before the battle ; and when they were gone he retired to his oratory, where he knelt before the altar until midnight praying for victory on the morrow. Rising early, he attended mass and received the communion with the Prince of Wales and many of his followers. He then arranged his troops in the order of battle, dividing his army into three divisions. The first was commanded by the Prince of Wales, the second by several great nobles, the King himself was at the head of the third, which he kept in reserve. Then, with his marshals, he rode through the ranks to exhort and encourage the soldiers, and ordered them to sit down, take off their casques, eat, drink, and rest, so as to be fresh and ready for the battle.

The French army was also divided into three lines.¹ The first, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen in the service of France, was led by Carlo Grimaldi and Antonio Doria, the second by the King's brother, the Comte d'Alençon, and the third by Philippe in person. They came up wearied and exhausted with the long march, and Philippe was advised to allow them to rest for that night ; but the princes and nobles, trying each to approach nearer than the others to the enemy, arrived so close that the English rose up and placed themselves in battle array.² Just before the fight began great flocks of crows appeared, hovering over the French troops, who regarded the presence of these birds as an evil omen.³

¹ Hume. ² Sismondi, "Hist. France," t. vi. p. 477. ³ De Méczeray.

About four o'clock the King ordered the Genoese archers to advance and begin the battle "in the name of God and of Monseigneur St. Denis."¹ But they were tired; their bow-strings had been injured by a heavy shower of rain, and for the first time cannon were used by the English. The historian Villani describes them as "*bombardes*, which, by means of fire, threw little iron balls to frighten and kill the horses," and says that "the firing of these *bombardes* caused so much noise and vibration that it seemed as if God thundered, with great massacre of men and overthrowing of horses." The Genoese were seized with a panic and turned to fly, but came in contact with the heavy-armed cavalry of the Comte d'Alençon.² Enraged at their cowardice, the King ordered his men to cut them down, the artillery fired into the crowd, the arrows of the English archers fell thick and fast amongst them. Terror and confusion spread in the French ranks. The King of Bohemia, although he had become blind, had insisted on joining the army, and rode in the midst of his troop.³ He now desired two of his knights to fasten the bridles of their horses to his, rushed with them into the thick of the battle, and there met the heroic death he sought.

The French princes fought valiantly, and the division of the Prince of Wales was fiercely attacked. The second division, under the Earls of Arundel and Northampton, came up to support him. It was then that the Earl of Warwick sent to entreat the King of England to advance with the third division to the

¹ Froissart, c. 287, p. 357.

² Hume.

³ Sismondi.

assistance of his son; and that Edward, who was watching the battle from a windmill, having inquired if the prince were slain or wounded, and hearing that he was still unhurt refused, saying that the boy should win his spurs, and the honour of the day should be his.¹

It was four o'clock in the afternoon when the battle began, and the night was far advanced when Jean de Hainault seizing the bridle of Philippe's horse forced him from the field.

In the Château de Broye, as in many another French castle, there was lamentation and dismay. Already fugitives from the battle hurrying by, had brought to the garrison tidings of a great defeat. The night was pitch dark, the gates were closed and the drawbridge up, when suddenly there broke upon the ears of those who were watching, the sound of the galloping of horses' hoofs, a troop of cavalry dashed up to the gates and knocked furiously, while a voice from below called for the châtelain. Hastily summoned, he appeared at a window demanding to know who sought admittance at such an hour. "Open, open, châtelain," was the answer, "it is the unfortunate King of France." The châtelain recognised the voice of the King; the drawbridge was lowered, the gates thrown open, and Philippe rode in with his troop. For a short time they rested and refreshed themselves with wine and food, and then, mounting their horses and being provided with guides who knew the country, they pushed on until the dawn of day saw them safe within the walls of Amiens.

¹ Sismondi.

Meanwhile Jeanne, with her youngest boy, her daughter-in-law, and grandchildren, waited in deepest anxiety for news from her son and brother before Aiguillon, and from her husband with the army of the north. The position of the Queen and the Duchess of Normandy was at this time a very alarming one. All round Paris the land was devastated, and the towns and villages ruined and burnt. The enemy was ravaging the country; the people terrified, starving, and driven to desperation. The father and husband of the Duchess, the husband, son, brother, and nephews of the Queen, were with one or other of the armies, from which every day might bring news of fresh calamity. At last tidings came of a great disaster, and after a few days Philippe returned to Paris with the broken remnants of that mighty host with which he had marched forth. Throughout the country was one cry of despair. Nearly all the noble houses of France were thrown into mourning. Among the dead were the King's brother, the Comte d'Alençon, his nephew, the Comte de Blois, the King of Bohemia, father of the Duchess of Normandy, the Duke of Lorraine, the Comte de Harcourt and his two sons, the Counts of Flanders, Nevers, Aumale, Savoie, Bar, Auxerre, St. Pol, and Sancerre; the Seigneur de Thouars, the Archbishops of Sens and Nîmes, the Grand Prior of the hospital of St. John, and a great number of other barons and knights. Eleven princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred chevaliers, and thirty thousand soldiers were reckoned to have fallen in the battle. The army, hopelessly disorganised, was disbanded, and King Edward passed on to the siege of Calais.

The body of the King of Bohemia was taken to Luxemburg and buried with great pomp, and on his tomb were emblazoned the escutcheons of fifty of his knights, who had died with him at Crècy.

The Comte d'Alençon was brought to Paris and buried at the church of the Frères prêcheurs.¹

Added to the general mourning and consternation, an irreparable misfortune had befallen the Queen and her family in the death, before Aiguillon, of the heir of Burgundy, Philippe, Comte d'Artois,² who died from the effects of a fall from his horse during a skirmish. All the Queen's brothers except the Duke of Burgundy had died childless, and this was his only son. The last remaining hope of the Capétienne house was a baby of a few months old, born just before his father and grandfather set out on the expedition which was to end so fatally.

The Duke of Burgundy grieved bitterly for the loss of his son, and the Duke of Normandy, devoted to his mother and attached to her family, was so irritated by his cousin's death that he swore he would never raise the siege of Aiguillon until he was master of that place. His father's urgent summons, however, obliged him to do so, but his troops did not come up in time for Crècy, and, probably because the treasury was exhausted, his army, like that of the north, was disbanded, spreading terror and discour-

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. v. p. 464, Paulin Paris.

² Philippe de Bourgogne was Comte d'Artois through his mother, Jeanne de France, eldest daughter of Philippe le Long and Jeanne, Comtesse Palatine de Bourgogne, Comtesse d'Artois, daughter of Mahault.

agement over the south as well as the north of France.

The commander of Aiguillon, Gautier de Mauny, had surrendered that place on the safe-conduct of the Duke of Normandy. He rode to Orléans without being molested, went to a hotel and ordered rooms, dinner, and supper for himself and his followers, and had his horses re-shod, intending the next day to proceed on his journey. But in the morning when he went to mass the baillie of Orléans came and arrested him in the King's name. He showed his safe-conduct, which he thought would be all right, but was told that the King had sent orders for him to be taken to Paris, where he was escorted courteously enough, but with an armed escort. His suite and horses were sent to an hotel, and he was shut up in the Châtelet in a room "*assés honeste*" with two or three of his men to wait on him.

When this came to the ears of the Duke of Normandy, he went to his father in a great rage and asked the meaning of the arrest of a knight bearing his sealed safe-conduct, travelling peacefully, paying for what he took, and giving no cause for complaint. The King of France, who hated him mortally for his great deeds,¹ said, "Jean, I have taken him fairly. You have not so great power in the kingdom of France, so long as I live, that you can give safe-conduct to my mortal enemy, and as you have chosen to do so, I will have him hung; it will be an example to others."

¹ Probably also still more for the death of his nephew and the ruin of the house of Burgundy.

“Monseigneur,” replied the Duke, “if you do this deed, never in all my life will I fight for France against England, but I will alienate all I can and I will hang those who gave you this counsel.” And he went in great anger from his father’s room and did not go near him again for a fortnight. There was



THE GRAND CHÂTELET.

great excitement in Paris and crowds collected before the Châtelet where Gautier de Mauny was imprisoned. Some chevaliers of Hainault, friends and relations of Gautier de Mauny, when they heard of his capture came to Paris and hotly pressed the Duke of Normandy, who said to them, “Have no fear about Gautier de Mauny, for there are none in this kingdom

who dare put him to death save the King, my father, and he will change his mind some day and set him free." In this danger, peril, and adventure was Monsieur Gautier de Mauny for seven weeks, during which time the Duke of Normandy did not leave Paris, but frequented very little the hôtel of his father, so that those who had been most violent against the chevalier now said to the king, "Sire, you will have to release this Englishman you are keeping in prison, for Monseigneur the Duke of Normandy, your son, has pledged himself, and in truth he could do but little in France if he could not give a safe-conduct, and if you have the chevalier put to death you will not get your war with the English finished for him nor for a hundred such, and your son will show his displeasure by his deeds, of which already we see the appearance." The King saw that they spoke truth and that he ought not to nourish hatred with his heir for the sake of a chevalier, so he sent Messires Boucicault and Guichart d'Angle to fetch Monsieur Gautier de Mauny out of the Châtelet and take him to the hôtel where his people had been ever since he was put in prison; and in the evening he sent to invite him to dine next day at the Hôtel de Nesle, where he generally lived, and Monsieur Gautier de Mauny accepted. And he sent chevaliers to escort him very honourably through the streets of Paris and over the Great Bridge and the Little Bridge to the Hôtel de Nesle, where he was received by all the chevaliers of the King. And he sat at the King's table with the Archbishop of Sens.

First sat the King, then Jacques de Bourbon and

Gautier de Mauny, none others were at that table, and after dinner they presented to Gautier de Mauny rich jewels of gold and silver which were placed before him on the table by the Sieur de Beaujeu and Charles de Montmorency. And as he did not touch them they said, "Sire, tell your people to take the jewels—they are yours." But Monsieur Gautier answered, "I have not deserved to receive such great gifts from the King of France; when I have done service to merit them I will take them or other gifts."

The King asked what he had said, and when they told him he reflected and remarked, "He is an upright man and loyal. (*Il est franc homs et loiaus.*) Now ask him from us to take them, for we wish him to have them."

They returned to Monsieur Gautier de Mauny and told him the words of the King. He replied to this very prudently and said—

"I will take them on condition that I may carry them with me to Calais and speak of them to the King my lord, and if it pleases him that I should keep them I will, otherwise no."

So he took the jewels and after dinner took leave of the King, and he was escorted to his hôtel by the chevaliers of the King, and entertained at supper with all his followers by the Duke of Normandy, who feasted them and gave to each a silver cup and his chevaliers re-conducted them to their hôtel, and the King paid all his expenses at Paris, in prison and elsewhere. And when in the morning Gautier de Mauny was mounting, the Duke of Normandy sent him a hackney and another horse worth a thousand

livres. And thus departed Messire Gautier de Mauny from Paris.¹

Another dispute had arisen about that time in the royal family in which Jeanne was called upon to interfere. It was between her eldest sister Blanche, Comtesse de Savoie, and her brother, the Duke of Burgundy, about the dowry of the former, which she complained had never been properly paid, though it had been promised years before.

Blanche had pressed the matter on her brother, who some time before had given her the castle of Duesme with five hundred livres de rente, but only for her life, so that Blanche was still not satisfied, and after some time she laid her grievance before her sister the Queen, who took her part and spoke to the Duke of Burgundy on the subject, reproaching him with his unwillingness to give their sister what she considered her due. Eudes then gave the castle and the capital from which the income was derived to Blanche absolutely, and so the dispute was settled. It does not appear to have altered the affection of Eudes for his sisters, for although Blanche and Marie, the two princesses of Burgundy who did not marry "Fleur-de-lis," had at their marriages renounced all claim to the Burgundian inheritance,² he put Blanche and her heirs in his will in the line of succession, and made Jeanne regent and guardian of the young Duke, his grandson.

But, as both the Queen and the Comtesse de Savoie

¹ Froissart, "Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France," 1859-62.

² "Histoire générale et partic. de Bourgogne par un religieux bénédict. de l'abb. de St. Bénigne de Dijon," t. ii.

died before him in the following year, and the latter left no heirs, these provisions of his will never came into effect.

Philippe VI. had given Blanche de Bourgogne, Comtesse de Savoie, a splendid hôtel at Paris.

Besides the suffering caused by the ravages of the English armies in France, there was continually a sense of insecurity and dread even in the parts of the country where they were not; as it was always possible that they might come there, and the march of a hostile army in those days was a fearful thing for the country through which it passed. On one occasion the Queen, who was then at Paris, heard that the King of England, "the mortal enemy of our Lord the King," had moved from Mont-Saint-Martin, where he had been for some days, and was marching with his host by way of the *baillie de Chaumont*, so that great danger was to be feared for that part of the country through which they would pass, burning and destroying as they went.

Jeanne therefore at once despatched mounted officers with letters from herself warning the people of the peril at hand. These messengers rode for a week through the threatened districts crying the Queen's warning in the streets of towns and villages, calling the inhabitants to arms and inspecting the fortifications.¹

¹ "Item: Pour unes autres lettres de Madame la Royne executer faisans mencion que li Roys d'Engleterre, anemiz mortel dou Roys Monseigneur se soit destoyiez dou Mont-Saint-Martin ou il a esté par certains jours et elle avoit entendu qu'il s'en aloit avec son ost par la baillie de Chaumont pies d'icelle, liquelz pouvoit meffaire au paiz par où il passeroit en ardant et gastant se la gent dou paiz n'estoient avisée

pour resister selon leur pooir et pour eux salver. Et furent les dites lettres données à Paris le xvii. jour dou Obtembre. E furent les dites lettres exécutées par Brisson Chaffier lieutenant dou prevost d'Ardelon, qui par toutes la dite prevosté et ressortz avec luy un sergent à cheval alèrent par toutes les chastellenies resortissans à la dite prevosté, lequel lieutenant par toutes les villes fist à crier les dites lettres de Madame la Royne et fist à montrer touz ceux dou paiz leurs armes pour veoir les defenz qui pouvoient estre un chacun et tresmit espères par-dessus les dites frontières pour savoir qui aucunes gens d'armes ne entrassent au Royaume et demura lidiz lieutenanz, luy et sondit sergent pour viii. jours l'un après l'autre pour leurs despens, pour chacun jour v. s. xl^s."

CHAPTER VIII

1347-1348

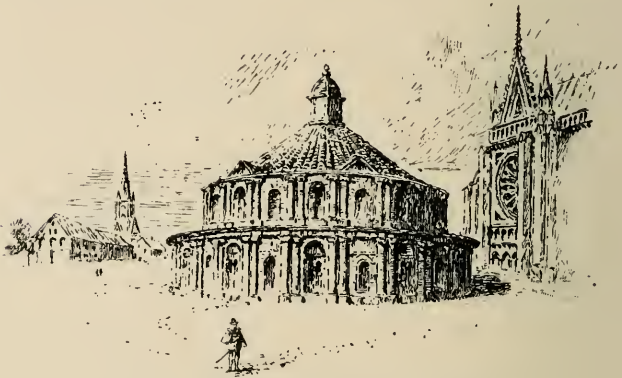
Marriage of Jeanne de France and Bonne de Bourbon—Fall of Calais—
The Plague—Death of the Queen.

“ I N this year,” says the chronicler of St. Denis, “about the feast of Epiphany, were ordered and begun to be made the moats round the town of Monseigneur St. Denis, so that it should be stronger.

“ And on the Sunday when they sing *Isti sunt dies* the King took the oriflamme at St. Denis and gave it to Messire Geoffroy de Charny, a Burgundian knight, an honourable man, expert in arms and often approved.”

The country was now a prey to all manner of evils. The perpetual warfare and the constant passing to and fro of armed troops had made provisions dearer, the destruction wrought by the enemy had reduced multitudes to beggary, the want of proper food spread famine and sickness everywhere. Still the splendour and extravagance of the court did not diminish. The monk of St. Denis complains of the pride of the

nobles, their thirst for riches, and the foolish fashions of their dress. With much indignation he describes their clothes, some so short as to cause scandal, others gathered in folds round the waist like those of women, others again so tight that when once on they could scarcely be got off, but had to be peeled off at night like a skin. Also their shoes, the right and left feet of different colours, and their long sleeves and hoods hanging down to the ground



BURYING PLACE OF THE VALOIS, ST. DENIS.

making them look, as he asserts, like jugglers or strolling players.

The Earl of Derby had been making incursions from Bordeaux, and Calais was blockaded by the army of King Edward. Philippe was gathering troops at Amiens to march to its relief, but they came in slowly, and meanwhile the garrison grew weaker and provisions scarcer in the beleaguered town.

The King and Queen had now several grandchildren, and before his departure they arranged marriages between the two remaining sons of the Duke of Brabant (the eldest, who had married their daughter, being dead), their granddaughter, eldest daughter of the Duc de Normandie, and Bonne, third daughter of Pierre, Duc de Bourbon. A letter from the King dated June 6, 1347, desires that the princesses should be at Vincennes (*au bois de Vincennes*) on a certain day to meet the princes, and the marriages were celebrated at the Louvre, on the 26th of that month. Jeanne de France, who was married to the elder son, was then four years old. Her father-in-law, the Duc de Brabant, conferred the duchy of Limburg upon this son, as he had done upon the other when he married the young aunt of the present bride, but this boy did not live either to carry out the plans arranged for him, but died early like his brother.¹

When the marriage festivities were over, Philippe set forth with his army, taking with him this time not only the Duc de Normandie but his younger son Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, then only eleven years old. With an exhausted treasury and a half-ruined people Philippe had had the greatest difficulty in getting money for the expenses of the campaign. Amongst others he had applied to the Abbot of St. Denis, whom he tried to persuade to give him the great gold crucifix belonging to the convent. But this the Abbot declined to do, saying that the crucifix had been blessed by Pope Eugenius III., who had pronounced sentence of excommunication upon any one

¹ Sainte-Marthe, "Histoire de la Maison royale de France."

who should meddle with it, "as it is written on the foot of the cross of the said crucifix."¹

Distracted with grief and anxiety, the Queen with her ladies betook herself to St. Denis after the departure of the troops, and remained there for some time taking part in the religious services which were being held for the success and safety of the King and the army. Friars preached to the people who crowded to hear them, masses were sung, and prayers offered up day and night for the royal family and the unhappy kingdom of France. Jeanne spent most of her time at these holy offices, and on one occasion the monk of St. Denis relates that a fearful storm came on "at the beginning of the night" with "great and horrible thunder," causing much alarm to the Queen and all who were with her in the oratory of Monseigneur St. Romain, near the chapel of Monseigneur St. Denis, and it seems to have lasted all night. The chronicler goes on to say that "as soon as matins were sung, the Bishop of Coutances, who was with the Queen, began the *Te Deum laudamus*, which was sung with great devotion."

It was now about the end of July, and Jeanne was overwhelmed with anxiety and fear. In her alarm for the safety of the King and her sons, and dreading another disaster like that of Crécy, she kept sending letters to Philippe entreating him not to risk another battle, and to the Duc de Normandie and the chief peers and prelates urging them to prevent the King from doing so. For this the chronicler of the

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris, t. v. p. 465. This paragraph was purposely erased in the manuscript of Charles V.

“Quatre premiers Valois” reproaches the Queen, and alluding to her powerful influence with her husband and son tries to attach the blame of the loss of Calais to the timidity of her counsels. But other historians explain that by this time, at any rate, it would have been impossible to save it. When Philippe and his army at length appeared before the place they found the English encamped before it in a wooden town they had built on purpose. All the passages over the marshes which surrounded the walls were fortified and guarded, the bridge leading across them being covered by the English camp. The only two routes possible to try were the one by Gravelines, which was held by the hostile Flemings, and the road along the sea, which they attempted but found impracticable as it lay close under the English ships.¹

Philippe then sent a challenge to the King of England to meet him in single combat; but Edward was far too wary to consent to sacrifice the immense advantages of his position. Thereupon Philippe withdrew his army, although within sight of the beleaguered garrison, and two days after, the leopards of England floated over the walls of Calais. After this a truce was signed between the two countries to last until fifteen days after the feast of St. John the Baptist in the following year; that is to say, for about ten months, and King Edward returned to England.

The Hundred Years' War, so unfortunately begun during the reign of Philippe de Valois, was perhaps the most calamitous period in all the history of France. The horrors and miseries of it fell chiefly upon that

¹ Sismondi, “Hist. France,” t. v. p. 501.

country. In England the people might complain of the heavy taxes, the expense of the war, the frequent and prolonged absence of the King and the court, of sons, fathers, and husbands kept away for months and even years in a foreign land, if indeed they ever returned at all; and the towns on the coast might be exposed, like Southampton, to sudden attacks from the French war ships. But England, on the whole, was prosperous and secure enough. Peasants worked peacefully in field or forest, traders carried on their business unmolested in the streets and markets of their native towns, knights and nobles lived at ease in the halls and castles of their ancestors, and the peace of the cloister was undisturbed. In France, on the contrary, there was no peace or safety for any one. The open country and unprotected villages were liable to be ravaged and burnt, the castles and walled towns to be besieged and taken, and their inhabitants massacred. Churches, monasteries, and convents were usually respected by the regular armies, but when, as often happened, mercenary troops of disbanded soldiers turned into brigands and terrorised the country, monks and nuns were no longer safe in their secluded homes, which, in consequence, they frequently abandoned, taking refuge in some other monastic establishment of their order, sheltered within the walls of a fortified town.

To France in those days war with England was not entirely, as it would have been two hundred years later, a foreign war. As Duc de Guyenne, Edward III. was a peer of France. The very pretext for the war itself, his claim to the crown of that country, rested on

his being the son of a French princess, the grandson and nephew of four French kings. The language used by the King, the court, society, the law, the chief officers of the army, and the correspondence of the government was French. Many of the nobles and leaders in the army of Edward, King of England and Duc de Guyenne, were related to or connected with those of the army of France. Edward III. and Philippe de Valois were cousins; so were many of the chiefs on the opposite side, who changed banners without in the least feeling themselves unnatural traitors because they fought for the leopards instead of the lilies.¹ When Edward set fire to St. Germain or Poissy he was burning the palaces of his grandfather and the early homes of his mother; when he marched into Ponthieu he hoped to find supporters, for the county had been the dowry of his mother. The men of Guyenne and Gascony fought in his army against the banner of France.

The truce having been signed between France and England it seemed as if there might be a little rest from the terror and sufferings with which the country had lately been overwhelmed, but already there were

¹ The early Norman Kings of England bore as their arms *two lions or leopards*. When Henry II. married Eleanor of Aquitaine, daughter and heiress of Guillaume V., he incorporated with them a single *leopard*, the arms of Aquitaine; after which three *leopards or lions* were borne by the English kings. According to Hone's Chronicle, p. 236, edit. 1631, the King of France complained that Edward III. not only quartered the arms of France with those of England, but that he "set the first quarter of his armes with Leopards before the quarter of Lilies." ("Regal Heraldry. Armorial Bearings of the Kings and Queens of England," Thomas Wildement; heraldic artist to George III., pp. 8 and 16.)

rumours of a strange pestilence that had arisen the year before in the kingdom of Cathay, with a fiery vapour, which, issuing out of the ground with a horrible smell, had consumed more than two hundred leagues of country, even to the trees and rocks, infecting the air with poisonous exhalations in which might be seen the forms of serpents and other noxious creatures.¹ It was so infectious that it could be communicated by sight, and having made its way to Africa and crossed the Mediterranean was advancing with fearful strides towards the North of Europe. It was the Black Death, which at several different times before and since has decimated the world, and it was a far worse visitation than the one in 1660, of which the horrible incidents are recounted by Defoe and other writers of that time. The fabulous accounts of its origin, to which the excited imaginations of the people gave full credence, increased the terror caused by its approach, and by the end of August it had spread all over Provence and Languedoc, sparing none, though said to be most fatal to young people.

In that month died Jeanne de France, Duchess of Burgundy, but as her death took place at the Abbey of Maubuisson, and the plague had not arrived so far north, it had probably another cause.

In the early summer of the following year (1348) the plague had reached Sens, Rheims, Orléans, Chartres, and Soissons. Froissart declares that one-third of the people in the world died of it; the monk who continued the *Chronique de Nangis* says that there was such a mortality, especially among young people

¹ De Mézeray, "Hist.," t. iii. p. 32.

that it was almost impossible to bury them. The malady seldom lasted more than two or three days ; often they died suddenly while they were supposed to be quite well. He who was well to-day was carried to the pit to-morrow ; a swelling appeared all at once under the arm, and that was an infallible sign of death. No one had ever seen or heard or read in the most ancient times of the death of such multitudes of people. The disease seemed to be conveyed by contagion and by imagination, for if a healthy person visited one who was attacked he rarely escaped, so that in many towns and villages even the priests fled, not daring to administer the last sacraments to the dying ; in some places out of twenty people only one or two remained.

The little Duke de Limburg, who had married the eldest granddaughter of the King and Queen, died ; the Queen's eldest sister, Blanche de Bourgogne, Comtesse de Savoie, died at Dijon ; and her loss had been preceded by that of her brother, the Duke of Burgundy, who had gone about some affairs of importance to Sens, where he died, and the great inheritance of his family descended to his grandson, a child of three years old, son of Philippe, Comte d'Artois, who died before Aiguillon. The Burgundian line of the house of Capet did not, however, long survive the extinction of the elder branch. Thirty-three years after the death of the youngest son of Philippe le Bel, the last of the Capétiens Dukes of Burgundy died at his château of Argilly, near Dijon. But the end of that noble house was not darkened with curses and crimes, such as hung over the family of Philippe IV.

The times were rough and violent, men were unscrupulous and cruel, frightful deeds and horrible punishments fill the pages of their history, but the records of the last five princes of the Capétienne house of Burgundy compare well with those of the other princes and nobles of their day. Two of them were great rulers, soldiers and statesmen, who raised their country to a powerful and splendid position in Christendom; one, a gallant young knight, met his death on the field of battle, and the other two, though they reigned so early and died so young, were deeply beloved and bitterly mourned by their subjects.

The plague now broke out in a village called Roissi, not more than three leagues from St. Denis, rapidly spread to that town, and appeared at Paris, where the mortality was soon frightfully high. The chronicler of St. Denis speaks of the numbers of bodies to be seen everywhere about, and says that at St. Denis alone sixteen thousand people died.

The Queen, neither sharing the presumptuous foolhardiness of some, nor the more excusable panic that took possession of many others, endeavoured, as she had always done in times of trouble, to alleviate the misery around her. She encouraged and associated herself with the charitable works then going on, for the sisters of the Hôtel Dieu and other pious and heroic souls went fearlessly amongst the dead and dying, carrying them help and the consolations of religion, burying the dead, and joining in the prayers offered in the churches. One after another they died, and others stepped forward to fill their places, "not counting their lives dear to themselves;"

and still the plague grew worse, and horrible sights and sounds filled the streets of Paris and the whole land. In many places there were wholesale massacres of the Jews, accused as usual of being the authors of this calamity; bands of fanatics, calling themselves Flagellants, originating in Germany and the North of France, went about in processions half naked, chanting canticles and carrying red crosses and whips with iron points with which they scourged themselves until the blood flowed, uttering cries and groans, and increasing the general terror.

As in all such times, the extremes of good and evil in human nature became apparent; there were those who with reckless blasphemy defied the plague, and lived in rioting and dissipation until the hour of their destruction arrived. The monk of St. Denis, writing of this time, says, "It happened during the said mortality that two of the brethren of Monseigneur St. Denis riding through a town as they journeyed on a visitation by order of their Abbot, saw in that town men and women feasting and dancing to the sound of drums and trumpets. The brethren asked them why they were making such festivity, to which they replied, 'We have seen our neighbours dead, and we have seen them dying day by day, but the mortality has not entered into our town, and we hope it will not come in, for the mirth and rejoicing that is in us; that is the reason we dance.' Then the brethren went on their way, to perform the errand on which they were sent. When they had finished all their business they set off to return home, and passed by the same town, but they found very few people, and

they had sad faces. And when the brethren asked them, 'Where are the men and women who so lately made such great feasting in this town?' they answered, 'Hé beaux seigneurs! The wrath of God has come down in hail upon us, for so great a storm has fallen from heaven upon this town and around it with such fury that some were slain, and the others are dead with terror, not knowing where to go nor to turn.' "

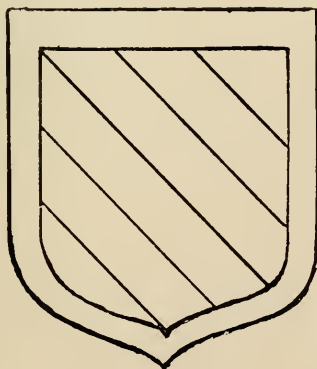
Without this miraculous hailstorm spoken of by the worthy friar, the almost entire disappearance of the population of the town within a short time was not at all unlikely under the circumstances. It has been calculated that in the parts where the plague was worst, such as Provence and Languedoc, two-thirds of the inhabitants perished, while the whole kingdom of France lost about a third of its population. Sometimes it happened that in a village every one of the people died, and when at length the plague abated the depopulation was so great as to alter wages and the conditions of labour. Philippe, in his grief and alarm, declared that the Divine anger must be kindled against the nation, and sought to appease it by various futile and cruel regulations against blasphemy.

Jeanne, amidst her grief for those of her family who had already fallen victims, her fears for those remaining, and the horrors which surrounded her, devoted herself to the relief of the stricken people regardless of her own safety. Not only with the money she so freely gave, but with her personal care and sympathy she helped and encouraged the priests and friars and sisters of the different orders who

worked day and night amongst the sufferers, sending food, medicines, and physicians amongst them, and offering large rewards to any who would risk their lives in the plague-stricken houses and hospitals. The Hôtel de Nesle,¹ which the king had given her, she converted into a hospital, and going from one to another of the sick and dying, she soothed and comforted them, until she herself was struck down with the plague like her grandfather, Saint Louis. And surely her death in her own Palais de Nesle was not less saintly and heroic than his in the camp before Tunis, when the last rays of the African sunset shone into the crusader's tent upon the face of the dying king.

Jeanne de Bourgogne died August 11, 1348. Her tomb was at St. Denis, but her heart was sent to Citeaux, to be buried with her ancestors, the noble and valiant princes of the Capétienne house of Burgundy.

¹ "Reines de France," Celliez.



*Bande d'or &
d'azur de six pi-
ces à la bordure
de gueule*

PART II.—*BLANCHE DE NAVARRE*

CHAPTER I

1318—1349

The ancient kingdom of Navarre—Jeanne de France and Philippe d'Evreux—Their marriage—Their coronation—Birth of their children—Princess Jeanne takes the veil—Betrothal of Princess Marie to the King of Aragon—Charles le Mauvais and Princess Blanche—Death of the King of Navarre—Betrothal of Princess Blanche to Pedro el Cruel—Death of the young Queen of Aragon—Betrothal of Princess Blanche to the Duke of Normandy—Her marriage with Philippe de Valois—Death of the Queen of Navarre.



PLANCHE par la grace de Dieu,¹
Queen of France,
is one of the
most attractive
figures that ap-
pear in the his-
tory of that
country and
of the little

half French, half Spanish kingdom which gives its name to the princes of her house.

¹ In the initial letter here given Christ is represented holding the Lamb and giving the benediction to Philippe de Valois, who kneels

Those wild and mountainous regions which, lying between France and Spain, are bounded by the Pyrenees and the Ebro, formed the ancient kingdom of Navarre. The capital, until in 1512 the usurpation of Ferdinand V. deprived it of more than half its territory and annexed its finest provinces to the Spanish crown, was the old fortress town of Pampeluna. Strabo and other early writers call it Vasconia,



BLANCHE DE NAVARRE.

and speak of the Vascons as a brave and warlike people who, retiring into the glens and fastnesses of their mountains, defended themselves with desperate courage against foreign invaders, whether Sueves, Visigoths, or others. In 778 Charlemagne conquered Navarre and took Pampeluna, but the Navarrais revenged themselves by the destruction of his army, which was cut to pieces by them in the pass of Roncevalles. In 806 Louis le Débonnaire, King of Aquitaine at that time, gave the government of Navarre to Aznar, Count of Gascony. Pepin, King of Aquitaine, confirmed this ap-

pointment in 824, but in 831 Aznar made himself independent. In 837 he was succeeded by his brother, Sancho-Sancion, whose son, Garcia Ximenes,

before Him. Behind are St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Denis holding his head in his hand. Queen Blanche on her knees with her daughter Jeanne close to her offers the model of a building, the symbol of the foundation she had just made. To the left, outside, is her shield with the arms of France, Navarre, and Evreux.

succeeded him in 857, assumed the title of king in 860. His descendants were Kings of Navarre till 1076, when Sancho IV. was dethroned by his cousin, Sancho Ramises, King of Aragon, who reigned as King of Aragon and Navarre, and was succeeded by his two sons, Pedro I. and Alfonso I., both of whom dying without children (1134), the nobles of Navarre proclaimed Don Garcia Ramires, grandson of Ramises, brother of Sancho IV.; and the crown returned to the Gascon house, where it remained until 1234, when, the last King, Sancho VII., leaving no children, the kingdom went to Thibaut, son of his sister Blanche, who had married the Comte de Champagne. With Thibaut de Champagne began a new dynasty which continued only till 1284, and again ended in an heiress, Jeanne, daughter of Henri I., who at three years old became Queen of Navarre. Her mother, Blanche d'Artois, for some reason distrusted Don Pedro Sancho de Montaigne, who had been chosen by the barons to share the regency with her; and being alarmed for the safety of her daughter she fled with her to Paris and put herself under the protection of Philippe le Hardi. The King of France sent an army to reduce Navarre to obedience, and by the advice of his mother, Marguérite de Provence, married Blanche Queen Dowager of Navarre¹ to Edmund of Lancaster, brother of the King of England. The little Queen of Navarre was married to Philippe, second son of the King of France, who by the death of his elder brother, Louis, became shortly after the heir to the crown, and succeeded his father as Philippe IV., King of France and Navarre.

¹ "L'Art de vérifier les dates," vol. vi. p. 500. Navarre.

The Salique law, as has been shown, was unknown in Navarre, and after the death of Louis X., son of Philippe IV. to whom his mother's kingdom had descended; the crown of that country was claimed by Jeanne, his daughter by Margu rite de Bourgogne, and supported by her grandmother the Princess Agnes of France, youngest daughter of St. Louis, Duchess dowager of Burgundy, her uncle Eudes, Duke of Burgundy, her great uncle Charles, brother of Philippe IV. and a powerful party among the nobles, who, as will be remembered, claimed for her not only the crown of Navarre but that of France also. But the party of the Comte de Poitiers being the stronger, he was crowned as Philippe V. and seized the kingdom of Navarre, to which he had no right; and the Duchess Agnes and her son, having got all they could in the way of dowry for the child Jeanne, married her at six years old to Philippe, eldest son of Louis, Comte d'Evreux, youngest brother of Philippe IV.

Louis d'Evreux was the son of Philippe III. and his second wife, Marie de Brabant, by whom besides Louis, the King had two daughters, Blanche, married to Rodolph, son of the Emperor Albert I., and Margu rite, to Edward I. of England. Philippe le Bel had given his half brother the county of Evreux and a number of seigneuries, and he had married Margu rite, daughter of Philippe d'Artois, Seigneur de Conches, who died in 1311. Their children were:—

Philippe, called "le bon," Comte d'Evreux and King of Navarre.

Charles, Comte d'Estampe, married Maria, daughter of Ferdinand of Spain and Blanche de France, daughter of St. Louis.

Jeanne, wife of Charles IV., King of France.

Marie, Duchesse de Brabant.

Margu rite, Comtesse de Boulogne et d'Auvergne.

This Comte d'Evreux in no way resembled his half brothers Philippe le Bel and Charles de Valois. Although a distinguished soldier he was gentle, kind-hearted, and filled with a deep love of his country and religion. He used to say that a prince was only great in proportion to his submission to God. His family were remarkable for their excellent qualities ; his sister Margu rite, Queen dowager of England, and his daughter Jeanne, Queen dowager of France, being alike beloved in those countries, and his son Philippe being nicknamed " Philippe le Bon et Sage " with much more justice than has often been shown in such a description.

The marriage of Philippe d'Evreux and Jeanne de France took place in 1318, the bridegroom being thirteen and the bride six years old. Nothing could have been more unjust than the seizure by Philippe le Long of the provinces which had been the inheritance of his mother and eldest brother and which ought to have gone to his niece. Champagne and Brie did not acknowledge the Salique law any more than Navarre, and the people of all these provinces were greatly discontented at the new arrangements, which deprived them of the presence of their sovereign and made them a mere appanage of the French crown. Jeanne was undoubtedly the lawful Queen of

Navarre and Countess of Champagne and Brie, but the party of Philippe le Long was too strong even for the powerful kindred of the two royal children. The dispensation of the Pope and the consent of King Philippe were obtained; Jeanne was declared Comtesse d'Angoulême, de Montaigne, et de Longueville; her dowry was fixed at 15,000 livres de rente and 50,000 livres; her majority was settled to be when she should have reached the age of twelve years; and, on condition of her resigning her claims to France and Navarre, Philippe promised that should he die without heirs male Champagne and Brie should be hers. Meanwhile she was given into the care of her husband's family, with whom she remained during the reigns of Philippe le Long and his brother Charles le Bel, who on succeeding to the throne of France made a new treaty, giving Jeanne some more money, but refusing to give up any of the provinces. But when the last of the sons of Philippe le Bel was dead and the King of France was Philippe de Valois, who had not the slightest claim on the inheritance of their mother, and was moreover married to Jeanne de Bourgogne, the aunt of the young Comtesse d'Evreux, the people of Navarre would bear it no longer, but sent messengers to demand that their young Queen should be immediately brought to Pampeluna and crowned there with her husband. Louis d'Evreux had died in 1319, and been succeeded by his son Philippe. Jeanne was then about seventeen years old. Delighted at this invitation, Philippe and Jeanne set off at once and took possession of their kingdom, where they were received with enthusiasm by their

subjects. The Navarrais hated being governed from a distance and ever since the death of Louis X. a state of anarchy had prevailed. His younger brothers had never been regarded by them as their lawful kings and neither of them had ever been seen in the country. Fifty-five years had passed since they had had a king or queen living amongst them and their joy at the arrival in February, 1328, of their young Queen and her husband knew no bounds. They were splendidly received and on the 5th of March were crowned at Pampeluna in the ancient Teutonic fashion long forgotten in France; being raised upon shields before the high altar of the cathedral, amidst the acclamations of the people. And Navarre was once more an independent state. Philippe de Valois confirmed them in the possession of Navarre, but declared Champagne and Brie too near Paris to be anything but French provinces. It was therefore agreed, much to the discontent of their inhabitants, that they should continue to belong to France; a large revenue drawn from Angoulême, Marche, and other provinces being assigned in compensation to the King and Queen of Navarre.

Shortly after the coronation the King of Navarre returned to France to join Philippe de Valois, and to take part in the expedition to Cassel. The young Queen remained among her subjects in her new home with which she now had time to get acquainted. All through her early life Jeanne's thoughts and hopes must have turned to the land that she was taught to believe was her rightful inheritance. It was a troubled, stormy childhood that she had to look back upon.

The imprisonment and death of her mother, the hasty visit to the deathbed of the King, her father, his recognition of her as his daughter, her being given up to her young uncle the Duke of Burgundy, her journey escorted by his troops to the court of her grandmother; then the change from the neglected child of a disgraced mother, whose presence was almost forgotten at the court of her father and stepmother, and whose life was not safe at that of his successor, to the high position she occupied in Burgundy under the protection of the Duchess her grandmother, recognised there as the heiress of two kingdoms, "Queen and Lady of France and Navarre," the childish wedding, the hopes and fears, the lofty claims and bitter disappointments.

And now she wore one of the crowns that had been claimed for her, and Navarre, which was at last her own, was an inheritance with which Jeanne might well be satisfied. It comprised what are now amongst the most beautiful provinces of France and Spain. With a delightful climate, the southern sun being tempered by cool breezes from the snowy peaks of the Pyrenees, lofty mountains covered with forests abounding with game, green pastoral valleys with rushing streams, fertile plains yielding plenty of corn, wine, oil, fruit—it was passionately beloved by its people. The Navarrais, a bold, hardy race, placed by their position on the borders of France and Spain, alternately the dupe and victim of each, were forced by necessity to be always on their guard against neighbours they feared and abhorred. By their earliest laws provision was made that at a given signal of danger all the men

of the population should arm and hurry to the first place of meeting,¹ for the defence of the country.

Pampeluna, standing on a slope looking over plains, was surrounded by green meadows and shady gardens, the river Arga bending into the shape of a horseshoe as it flowed past, the spurs of the Pyrenees rising in the distance. It was rebuilt by the sons of Pompey B.C. 68, and was the see of a bishop in 1130. The cathedral, built in 1100, was then standing, with its beautiful cloisters, double galleries and quaint columns and capitals.² The half Spanish town, the bright southern sun and snowy mountain peaks, must have been a strange contrast to the smooth streams, fields, and grey city of Evreux. Jeanne spent the summer months in her southern kingdom waiting for news from her husband, to whom she was passionately devoted and who came back from the Flemish war covered with glory, having been slightly wounded in the battle of Cassel, and returned to Pampeluna.

Philippe and Jeanne then summoned the States General to meet in that city and after having made various laws and settled many matters which, owing to the disorder which had arisen during the non-residence of four kings had fallen into neglect, they established a kind of parliament or council for the administration of justice, called the "Fore de Navarre."³

Philippe and Jeanne remained in Navarre until the end of 1331.⁴ They had as yet no son. Their eldest daughter, the Princess Jeanne, was then about

¹ Ford, "Spain," p. 999.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1003.

³ "Hist. généalog." Père Anselme, p. 283.

⁴ Sainte-Marthe, "Hist. Maison France," liv. xiv., ch. ii.

five or six years old, the second, Blanche, was born during this time (in 1330 or 1331), and probably their third daughter, the Princess Marie.¹

Towards the end of 1331 they went to France, where they spent four years before returning to Navarre.

Their eldest son Charles was born at Evreux in 1332, and his birth was followed by those of Philippe, Louis, Agnes, and another Jeanne, called Jeanne la Jeune, to distinguish her from her eldest sister.

Several of these children afterwards played important parts in the history of France. They seem to have been very attractive, and at any rate Blanche, Charles, Agnes, and Jeanne la Jeune were remarkable for their beauty. The years of their childhood were passed either in France or in Navarre. Although the Hundred Years' War had not yet broken out, there were yet constant disturbances and petty wars with the neighbouring states, in which the King of Navarre was more or less engaged, and which caused him to be frequently absent, besides the time spent by him and the Queen with the French court at Paris and Vincennes. There was a quarrel between the Navarrais and people of Castille about a boundary, which arose during the absence of the King and Queen. Their viceroy, Henri de Solis, with the help of the men of Aragon, made an incursion into Castille, but was beaten in battle. Gaston, Comte de Foix, and Vicomte de Béarn, however, coming to his aid, he ended in being victorious. Soon after, Philippe became embroiled with the King of England about

¹ Marie probably came between Blanche and Charles.

an abbey on the borders of Navarre and Gascony, which they both claimed and fought for, but the King of France sent the Archbishop of Rheims, who succeeded in making peace between them.

The King and Queen of Navarre had in her early childhood promised their eldest daughter in marriage to Pedro, Infant of Aragon. But the Princess Jeanne had so set her heart upon a monastic life, that, young as she was, they yielded to her wishes, and in May, 1337, she renounced in the presence of the Abbess and nuns of Longchamps near Paris, all the promises that had been made for her earthly marriage and was received into that community, in which her cousin Blanche de France, daughter of Philippe le Long, had been placed at the age of four years, as has been related in the history of the last reign. Blanche de France became Abbess of this convent. The Princess Jeanne must have been born when her mother was about fourteen years old, as Sainte-Marthe states that she was twelve when she took the veil. The Princess Marie, third daughter of the King and Queen, was betrothed to Pedro, then King of Aragon, instead of her sister ¹ in the following year, and their father granted to his eldest daughter a thousand livres de rente on his seigneurie of Mantes, an allowance afterwards increased by her

¹ Mariana says that Don Pedro's love for Marie caused him to break his engagement to Jeanne. But this is not possible, as in 1338, Marie de Navarre could not have been more than about seven years old. Historians agree that Blanche was the second daughter, and Sainte-Marthe says that she was eighteen years old when she married Philippe de Valois. She must therefore have been born as late as 1330 or 1331, so that Marie could not have been born earlier than 1331 or the beginning of 1332.

brother Charles le Mauvais. She is mentioned in an account of Etienne de la Fontaine *argentier* of the King from 1349 to 1350. "*Pour tondre trois fois un morequin de la grande maison de Bruxelles pris à Jacques le Flament pour la livre de la sœur la reine qui est nonain à Longchamp trente-deux sols.*"¹ She died July 3, 1387, and was buried in the abbey church. The epitaph on her tomb recorded that she was the daughter of the King of Navarre, who died at Grenada for the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, Louis de France, Comte d'Evreux, and of Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, who was the daughter of Louis, called Hutin, King of France.²

About this time the King of France proposed to marry Charles, the heir of Navarre to Jeanne la Boiteuse, niece, and heiress of the Duc de Bretagne; ³ but as she was eighteen years old and Charles only five, the Duc de Bretagne refused to consent to so absurd an alliance. The reason it was desired by Philippe, was that it was considered necessary to attach that important duchy more firmly to the crown of France by bestowing it upon a prince of French blood and undoubted fidelity; in which case, as matters turned out, Charles of Navarre would have proved a most unsuitable candidate. The son of the third sister of the King of France, who had married the Comte de Blois, and was then seventeen years of age, was chosen instead.

Philippe and Jeanne de Navarre were very popular.

¹ Père Anselme, "Hist. généalog." ch. xi.

² Sainte-Marthe, liv. xiv.

³ The eldest sister of Philippe VI. had married the Duc de Bretagne.

The virtues of the house of Evreux seem to have descended to him, for like his father he was a brilliant soldier, and when with the French army distinguished himself on all occasions by his valour and good conduct. His warlike deeds were the pride and admiration of his people, and his wise government and kind heart won their affection. Sainte-Marthe remarks of him, "*Il fut Prince humain et debonnaire, prudent et aduisez, qualitez qui luy firent mériter les titres de Bon et de Sage, et avec ce estoit valeureux et courageux comme il fit paroistre en diueres occasions.*"

Jeanne did not inherit either the majestic stature or the bad qualities of her father's family; for she was small and slight, good and gentle. Their eldest daughter, the Princess Jeanne, was the only one of their children who embraced the religious life. Their next daughter, the Princess Blanche, and their eldest son were celebrated for their beauty, talents, and a fascinating charm that won all hearts; but there the resemblance ceased, for Blanche was an angel of goodness, and was in fact called at her parents' court "Belle Sagesse;" while Charles, passionate, hasty, and turbulent, is known in history as "Charles le Mauvais." It is very likely that the faults of Charles were exaggerated, especially as many of the historians of the time who wrote about him were the subjects or flatterers of the kings of France, with whom he was generally at enmity. At any rate he and his sister Blanche were strongly attached to each other, and their affection lasted during the whole of their lives.

¹ "L'Art de vérifier les dates." Rois de Navarre, Jeanne et Philippe d'Evreux.

It may be remembered that, in the earlier years of his reign, Philippe de Valois, King of France, with many of the princes, nobles, and knights of his court, including the King of Navarre, had assumed the cross and that preparations for a crusade had been begun and then abandoned on account of the disturbances and dangers which beset the country. The King of Navarre, however, always considered himself bound by the vow he had then taken to fight against the infidels in defence of the Christian faith. An opportunity offered itself when the news came that Alfonso XI., King of Castille, was invaded by the Moors.

To Philippe of Navarre, it made no difference that Alfonso had been his enemy and had made an incursion into Navarre during his absence. He was a Christian prince attacked by the enemies of the Cross, and Philippe putting himself at the head of a large body of Navarrais and of the nobles of Gascony and Languedoc, who flocked to his standard, set off to his assistance.

At the siege of Algesiras, in Grenada, he was wounded during a furious sortie of the Moors, and desired to be transported to Seville, but died on the way there, at Xeres. His body was taken back to Navarre and buried in the great church of Santa Maria Reale, at Pampeluna. The Queen, broken-hearted at his loss, kept his heart in her oratory until her own death.

Jeanne governed the kingdom well and wisely with the advice of the best counsellors she could find there. She sent troops to assist the King of France in the war with England, and endeavoured to preserve peace

between her subjects and the Spaniards across the frontier, who were always ready to break out into hostilities.

The Princess Blanche was betrothed in 1345 to Pedro, son of Alfonso XI., of Castille, but the engagement was never carried out, fortunately for Blanche, for this was Pedro the Cruel.

The young Queen of Aragon died in 1346, leaving a daughter named Jeanne.

Mariana attributes to her also two other daughters, and a son, born a few days before her death, and only living a day.

But as she could not have been more than fifteen at her death in 1346, it is difficult to see how she could have had four children. Sainte-Marthe, who wrote in 1619, says that "a modern writer on the history of Spain" attributes to Maria, the first wife of Pedro of Aragon, a son and two daughters besides Jeanne. But as he married four times they might possibly, if they existed at all, have belonged to one of the other wives. Mariana speaks of the saintly disposition of the young Queen.

The Princess Blanche was now about eighteen years old, and her beauty, talents, and goodness caused universal admiration. The King of France was anxious to marry her to his eldest son, Jean, Duc de Normandie whose wife, the Princess Bonne, daughter of the King of Bohemia, had recently died of the plague, and so splendid an alliance was naturally accepted by the Queen of Navarre and her daughter.

The engagement of Blanche to Pedro of Castille was at an end, and the Queen of Navarre, who was

obliged to go to France in order to support the claims of her eldest son to the county of Angoulême, about which there was a dispute, journeyed with her children to Paris.

The plague, which had devastated the southern provinces of France was still raging about the capital, when they arrived. The court was in mourning for the Queen and the Duchess of Normandy, every one had lost relations and friends: there was general terror and consternation.

The beauty and charm of Blanche de Navarre were a distraction to the King of France in the midst of the surrounding gloom. Her conversation amused him, and it was soon evident that he was deeply fascinated by the *fiancée* of his son. Villani says that he took advantage of the absence of the Duc de Normandie to arrange his own marriage with the Princess of Navarre, who accepted him, and the marriage took place early in the year 1349.

Villani further states that the Duc de Normandie on his return finding what had taken place was so angry that he refused to go to the wedding, but that his father succeeded in conciliating him and arranged his marriage instead with Jeanne de Boulogne et d'Auvergne, widow of Philippe, Comte d'Artois, who was about four-and-twenty, a great heiress, and mother of the Duke of Burgundy.

If the Princesses Jeanne, Blanche, and Marie had inherited the virtues and noble qualities of their parents, of Louis d'Evreux, the Duchess Agnes of Burgundy and St. Louis; the vices and evil dispositions of Louis Hutin, Marguérite de Bourgogne

and Philippe le Bel had descended to some of the other children of the house of Navarre. Agnes, the fourth of the princesses, was very handsome, but had a violent temper, and in character much more resembled her eldest brother than her sisters. She was married in 1349 to Gaston Phœbus III., the young Comte de Foix, an alliance which turned out most unhappily.

In October, their mother, the Queen of Navarre, was seized with the plague, and died at the Château de Conflans, near Paris, in her thirty-ninth year. She was buried at St. Denis at the feet of her father Louis X., but her heart was laid with that of her husband in the Church of the Jacobins at Paris.

CHAPTER II

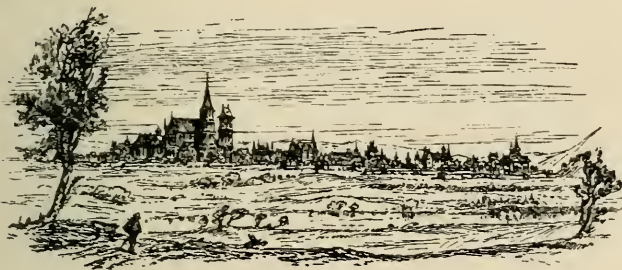
1349-1353

The Plague abates—Marriages of Duke of Normandy and his son—Death of Philippe VI.—Birth of a daughter to Queen Blanche—The King of Navarre—His marriage with Jeanne de France—Margu rite de France and Marie de Bourbon enter convent of Poissy—Jeanne d'Evreux and Blanche de Navarre—The Carmelites—Murder of Carlos de la Cerda.

THE sudden death of her mother at so early an age was a dreadful calamity for the young Queen of France, and for the kingdom of Navarre. The Navarrais had murmured at the frequent absence of their King and Queen, who were drawn to France by the great Evreux possessions, by the brilliant court of Philippe de Valois, and by the warlike expeditions, which were the delight of Philippe de Navarre. But still they were both deeply loved by their subjects, and their early death caused universal grief throughout the kingdom. They ruled with justice and capacity, and when Jeanne was left alone, her excellent government made Navarre powerful, respected, and feared.¹

¹ "La Reyna de Navarre pas    Francia, y habiendo caido enferma muri  en Conflans el 6 de Ortubre, 1349, despues de haber reynado

It was a strange time ; full of change and excitement, lamentation and rejoicing. People had been living amid fearful scenes, in constant danger, seeing those whom they loved stricken down one after another, expecting at any moment to be seized themselves by the plague. But with the first slight abatement of the pestilence came a reaction such as took place after the plague at Marseille, and the Terror. Those who had lost husbands or wives hastened to marry again, those who had lost children



ST. DENIS.

had others to replace them, for an extraordinary number were born.¹

The King, his eldest son, and grandson were all married in the same year. Prince Charles, to whom was given the title of Dauphin, was married at

23 años conciliandose el amor y la estimacion de sus súbditos : su cuerpo fué enterrado en San Dionisio. Dexó tres hijos y quatero hijas, que todos se unieron por sus matrimonios con las familias mas distinguidas de Francia y España ; enlaces que se debieron à la prudencia consumada y à la gran reputacion de esta Reyna, è hicieron el trono de Navarre muy poderoso, respetado y temido" (Mariana, "Historia de España." Tablas cronologicas. Tabla XI. 1349).

¹ De Nangis.

Vincennes in July, to Jeanne, eldest daughter of Pierre, Duc de Bourbon ; both children being about twelve or thirteen years old. Louis, Comte de Flandres, also married Margu erite, daughter of the Duc de Brabant ; a succession of weddings and f etes enlivened the court ; a sort of eager universal delight in life seemed to have awakened.

New fashions in dress arose, men wearing tightly-fitting dresses, often with each side of a different colour and monstrous shoes with peaks bent back ; women putting enormous mitres on their heads with floating ribbons attached to them. The latter now rode spirited horses instead of the quiet palfreys which hitherto they had usually preferred.

France having lost about a third of her population during the late pestilence, many alterations became necessary in the price of labour, merchandise, &c. Labourers were scarcer and wages rose, as may be seen by various laws of that time.

There are, amongst others, the following regulations with respect to different payments made in 1350, after the plague had abated.

“ All confectioners and bakers who are in the habit of baking bread for *bourgeois* or others, shall be paid for their salary one third more than they had before the mortality of the epidemic.”

“ It is ordered that no wine-merchant shall mix two wines together, on pain of losing the wine and being fined.”

“ The keepers of taverns shall not sell the best red wine grown in the kingdom for more than ten *deniers* the *pinte* ; and the best white wine for six

deniers parisis and no more, and the other wines for less. And if they do the contrary they shall lose the wine and be fined."¹

This list of rules goes on to declare that the *taverniers*, or keepers of taverns, are forbidden, on pain of fine, to call a wine by the name of any country except the one in which it is grown, to receive or allow players with dice or other disreputable persons in their taverns, or to serve wine there after the curfew has been rung in the churches of Paris. That the plasterers were to have a third more wages than before the mortality, but that whoever gave or took more than that was to be fined. That the shepherds and herdsmen were to have a third more wages than before the mortality, and that although they were not at liberty to leave the masters to whom they might have hired themselves, the masters were bound to raise their wages one third as decreed.²

Blanche only reigned a year and a half, for Philippe

¹ "Toute manière de tallemelliers, fournisseurs et pâtisseries qui sont accoutumée à cuire pain à bourgeois et autres gens quelconques . . . seront payez de leur salaire le tiers plus qu'ils n'avoient avant la mortalité de l'épidémie."

"Il est ordonné que nuls marchands de vin en gros ne pourront faire mesler de deux vins ensemble, sur peine de perdre le vin et de l'amende. . . ."

"Les taverniers ne peut vendre tout le meilleur vin vermeil creu au royaume, que dix deniers la pinte ; de tout le meilleur blanc six deniers parisis, et non plus, et les autres au-dessous. Et s'ils font le contraire, ils prdront le vin, et l'amenderont."

² "Iceux taverniers ne pourront donner ne nommer nom à vin d'aucun pays que celui dont il sera creu, sur peine de perdu le vin et de l'amende. . . ."

"Iceux taverniers ne pourront recevoir ni receler aucuns joueurs de

de Valois died in August, 1350, some months before the birth of her child. She retired to her château of Neauffle, not far from Paris, and there her daughter was born. A widow and Queen dowager before she was twenty, Blanche had within a few years lost her father, mother, and husband. But she was always surrounded with love and admiration. She appears to have been one of those calm, angelic characters which, while living in the world, seem to be raised above the cares and storms and temptations around them. With a nature devoid of passion, but affectionate, gentle, and devout, she made many friends and no enemies. Betrothed first to the Infant of Castille, then to the Duke of Normandy, she consented to marry the King of France who was nearly forty years older than herself, and after his death refused to make any other alliance, replying to the young King of Castille, who renewed his proposals to her, that a Queen of France did not marry a second time.

Between Blanche and the King of France, her
dez n'autres gens diffamez en leurs tavernes sur peine d'amende de
soixante sols chaque fois qu'ils en seront atteints.

“*Item.* Iceux taverniers depuis que couvre-feu sera sonné en l'église de Paris, ne pourront assoire ne traire vins en leurs maisons à beuveurs, sur peine de l'amende de soixante sols.

“Nuls quel qu'il soit, qui ait prins, ou tienne chevaux brebis et autres bestes à garder et mener à provender pour certaine somme d'argent et de grains ne prendre pour leur salaire, tant grain comme argent, que le tiers plus seulement de ce qu'ils prenoient avant la mortalité de l'épidémie, et ne pourront laisser leurs maistres à qui ils seront alloüez; mais seront leurs loccages ramenez audits prix, et tiendra au bailleur lieu tout ce qu'ils auront en avant par ces présentes ordonnances.

“Batteurs de plastres auront et prendront pour journée du muïd, le tiers plus qu'ils n'avoient avant la mortalité, et aussi en tasche. Et qui plus en donnera, ou prendra, il l'amendera.”

cousin, her *fiancé*, and then her step-son, a sincere friendship always existed, though it was constantly being disturbed by the affairs of the King of Navarre; and with her own brothers and sisters she lived on the most affectionate terms, but perhaps her deepest love was for her aunt, Jeanne d'Evreux, her father's eldest sister, and widow of Charles IV. The strong attachment of these two princesses for each other was well known in Paris where they were both so honoured and beloved.

Blanche lived chiefly in the châteaux of her own estates, and stayed also a great deal in various convents. Of her sisters, Marie, Queen of Aragon, was dead, and Agnes, Comtesse de Foix, led a stormy and troubled life with her dissipated, evil-tempered husband. But her eldest sister, the Princess Jeanne, was near her in the peaceful cloister at Longchamps, while Jeanne la Jeune seems to have been her especial charge, as we read of her on many occasions being with Queen Blanche and under her care. Her eldest brother, Charles, had returned to Navarre before the death of Philippe VI., and been crowned at Pampluna, June 27, 1350.

But a rebellion having broken out against him on the pretext that he did not respect the privileges of his subjects, he put it down with great severity, and the people, murmuring against him, foretold a calamitous course to a reign thus beginning with blood and confiscation. It was then that he acquired the name of Charles le Mauvais. Disregarding the remonstrances of the Navarrais, he continued the same rigour, in which he was probably encouraged

by Pedro el Cruel, with whom he had just made friends, and who had entertained him magnificently at Burgos, where he had gone on purpose to make his acquaintance. Of the two kings afterwards known as "le Mauvais" and "el Cruel," Charles was the elder, being then about eighteen, and Pedro fifteen or sixteen years old. Both were strikingly handsome, Pedro tall and fair, Charles shorter and dark, with an extraordinary charm of manner. Although both these princes had an evil reputation, Pedro was far the worse of the two. That he murdered his wife, three of his brothers, and numbers of his subjects, are unquestionable facts, he was avaricious and dissolute, and it was owing to the atrocities he committed that he lost his crown and his life.

Charles of Navarre, though undoubtedly turbulent, violent, and vindictive, could scarcely have been the incarnation of evil described by some writers, or he would not have inspired and retained as he always did, the affection of so many different people. His wife loved him passionately, and in any danger or state quarrel was invariably ready to take his side against the King her father or any one else. His brothers followed him with devoted loyalty, eager to revenge his wrongs, and fight in his cause. His sisters and his aunt constantly took his part, and the powerful influence of the two Queens dowager, Jeanne d'Evreux and Blanche de Navarre, with the King of France, was always used on his behalf. His imprisonment by Jean raised such a clamour amongst the people that it nearly caused a rebellion, and with desperate valour his friends and vassals held the

towns and castles of Evreux and his other fiefs against the troops of the King of France.

Putting aside the absurd accusations brought by certain historians against Charles of poisoning all sorts of unlikely people who chanced to be ill or die ; there is no doubt that he was guilty of several crimes, which he committed out of vengeance for different injuries done to himself or his friends. But his deeds were in no way worse than those of others to whom no evil name was attached. King Jean, for instance, who was called le Bon, and one of whose first acts on ascending the throne was the murder of Raoul, Comte de Guines, Constable of France under his father ; shortly followed by those of the Norman nobles, friends of Charles of Navarre.

But Charles was the *bête noire* of the French kings, Jean and his successor, Charles V. He declared that his mother had been unjustly disinherited, and that the crown of his grandfather, Louis Hutin, by right belonged to him. The Salique law had only recently been declared, and had it not been for that, as his grandfather was the eldest son of Philippe le Bel, Charles would certainly have been King of France. And if the law of the nation had put that crown out of his reach, still Brie and Champagne would, he asserted, have been his, if unfair pressure had not been put upon his father and mother. In spite of his nickname he had plenty of friends, followers, and allies, and was too powerful, too discontented, and too unscrupulous not to be a dangerous enemy, with Navarre lying close to Guyenne ; and Evreux, Mantes, Melun, and other important places, besides

their great possessions in Normandy, being in his and his brothers' hands.

Therefore Jean sought to bind him by an alliance with his eldest daughter Jeanne, who though only eight years old, was already a widow. She had been married in the lifetime of her grandfather and grandmother, Philippe de Valois and Jeanne de Bourgogne, to Henri, Duc de Limbourg, in 1347. But he died in November, 1349, and there is an account of Etienne de la Fontaine, the *argentier* of the King, for a dress which Jeanne de France wore at the funeral of her husband, the Duc de Limbourg. In the spring of 1351, accordingly, Jeanne de France was married to Charles, King of Navarre, in the presence of her father and the court, at Vivier-en-Brie, the château given to Jean at his own wedding by his father, King Philippe: which marriage must have been a great satisfaction to Blanche and the rest of the family of Navarre.

In a book of the King's expenses is an account of money owing to one Pierre des Barres, goldsmith, for the expenses of himself, three horses and three carts to convey from the Temple and the Louvre to Vivier-en-Brie the tapestry containing the Old and New Testament, and all the King's jewels, and gold and silver plate, necessary to be taken to that place on account of the wedding of Madame Jehanne de France, daughter of the King, with the King of Navarre.

Also for jewels brought from Genoa by Vincent Louvellian, for a gold crown, containing seven very large emeralds, thirty-seven small ones, thirty-eight

rubies, seven *troches* of pearls, of thirteen pearls and one diamond each, seven other *troches* of larger pearls, each containing three pearls, a small ruby, and fourteen diamonds, delivered to the King on the 28th April, and given by him to Madame Jeanne de France, Queen of Navarre, on the day of her wedding.

In the same year there was another ceremony of interest in the royal family. Margu rite, fourth daughter of the King, then only four years old, and Marie, youngest sister of the Dauphine, and daughter of the Duc de Bourbon, were received into the Dominican convent at Poissy. The King granted to his little daughter three thousand livres de rente.

An account for several things bought "*pour l'ordonnance et l'estat de Madame Margu rite de France et de la fille au Duc de Bourbon, lesquelles ont este receues en l'abbaye de Poissy,*"¹ enumerates the mantles and

¹ "Et delivree, par mandement du roy relatif a un roule clos sous le scel du secret trouve rendu au prochain precedent compte de l'argentier vers la fin la ou il dit parties de drap de laines cendraux et plusieurs autres choses delivres pour cause de la reception etc, et par lettre de t moignage de Madame Marie de Clermont, religieuse en la dicte abbaye de Poissy, rendre a court.

"Et premi rement, Robert de Nisy peletier pour fourre iij manteaux pour ma dite dame Marguerite, dont le drap est prise au dict precedent compte, iij fourreures de caistor blanche xxx^l.

"Le dict Robert pour pourre a ladicte dame, un couvertoir dont le drap est prise au dict precedent compte, un couvertoir de menu vair de xxvii tires S de lonc et de LIV de le lxx xii. Vent a ij^s vj^o la ventree . . . ix^{xx} ix^{HP}.

"Le dict precedent, un autre couvertoir de gris tenant xi^s iij^{xs} viij cest a savoir xxvii tires¹ de lonc et xxxvii de le,² et pour un autre

¹ Tires, paquet de pelletries attach es ensemble.

² De le, largeur.

coverlets lined with beaver, *vair*, and other furs for the little princesses and their suite. Also some cloth of gold for the king to make an offering.

The Princess Margu rite died in the following year, but Marie de Bourbon became Prioress of the convent, and lived till 1401.

Jeanne d'Evreux and Blanche de Navarre were good friends to the religious houses, to which they made large gifts of money, jewels, and treasures. They delighted in visiting the nuns, helping them to cook, nurse, and comfort the sick, and often took up their abode for a considerable time in one or other of their favourite convents.

They were both very fond of the Chartreux, for whom Philippe of Navarre, father of Blanche, had much affection, and who had a house at Vauvert, outside the walls of Paris, which had been given to the order by St. Louis. It stood in a lonely and deserted place, and had a weird reputation, for it was universally believed to be haunted. Dreadful noises were heard there at night, and strange lights were seen moving and flickering about its gloomy precincts.

demy couverteoir de gris tenant iiij Lvj dos cest a savoir xii tires de lonc et xxxviij de le, som. xvj^c xliiij dos, xvij^o le dos.

“Le dict Robert pour iij pelicons de gris delivrez pour la dicte dame tenant surtout. . . iiij^c xxxviij dos.

“Le dict Robert pour iij manteaux de cuisses blanches delivrez pour la dicte fille de M. de Bourbon. . . .

“Le dict Robert, pour vj couvertoirs delivrez pour les servantes des dictes dames de leur compaignie, et liij de connions ³ notiez pour les autres servans, pour tout, iiij^{xx} x^{liij}.”

“Drap dor a faire offrande pour le roy.”

¹ Connins lapins.

The road or lane which led from the monastery to Paris was called, in consequence, the Rue de l'Enfer, and the gate of the city at which it ended was known as the Porte de l'Enfer.

André Duchesne thus describes it—

“This holy religious order took its rise in the year 1086, and coming into the heart of France established its first dwelling at Gentilly. But Saint Louis, at the request of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse of Grenoble, lodged them in the royal palace of Vauvert, where they now are: a palace so infected with phantoms and spirits of darkness before their arrival, that the traces of them still remain to us in the proverb of the Devil of Vauvert.”¹

The two Queens dowager had friends and relations in several of the principal convents of Paris and the neighbourhood. Their cousin, Blanche de France, daughter of Philippe le Long, was Prioress of the Franciscan convent of Longchamps, where also was Jeanne de Navarre, elder sister of Queen Blanche; Isabel de Valois, sister of Philippe VI., had been Prioress of the Dominican convent at Poissy, besides being Abbess of Foutevrault, but had died in the time of the plague; the little princesses, Margu rite de France, daughter of King Jean, and Marie de Bourbon,

¹ “Ce saint ordre de Religieux auoit pris commencement en l’an 1086, et venant au ch eur de la Fr ce s’etoit estably sa premi re demeure a Gentilly. Mais Saint Louys, sollicit  par le Prieur de la grande Chartreuse de Grenoble les logea en l’Hostel Royal de Vauvert o  ils sont de present, Hostel tant infect  de f antosmes and temebreux esprits au t leur arriv e, que les marques nous en restent encore au Prouerbe du Diable de Vauvert ” (“Antiquit s et recherches de la ville de Paris,” Andr  Duchesne).

were also at Poissy. The convent of the Cordelières in the Faubourg St. Marcel was also a favourite with the royal family. Endeline, natural daughter of Louis Hutin, had been placed there, and a younger sister of Philippe VI., also called Isabel, a little later on took refuge in its cloister after the death of her husband, Pierre de Bourbon. The Carmelites, whom St. Louis had brought from the crusades and established in Paris, were now a very powerful and influential order. He had taken six monks from their monastery on Mount Carmel and placed them on the banks of the Seine just outside Paris, where they built some poor cells and a chapel. They were then known as the "Barrez" or "Striped" on account of their mantles, which were striped brown and white. The gate of Paris nearest to their first convent, called *Porte des Barrez*, is said to have been named from them. But they soon changed their striped for white robes. In 1259 they bought, in the parish of St. Paul, a house belonging to the Priory of St. Eloy, of which they obtained leave to possess it in mortmain, to build a church, have a cemetery and bell, and celebrate the divine offices. But this house was most inconvenient because of the floods of the Seine which came into it, so that very often the monks could not get down from their cells, and it was impossible for them to go out except in boats. Moreover the water did so much damage that at last the convent was no longer safe, but the monks were in constant fear of its falling down. It was besides this, a very long way from the university, where the brethren, who had a great reputation as learned doctors in theology, frequently

wanted to go. They accordingly resolved to petition the King, then Philippe le Bel, to give them a more suitable habitation; and that monarch, taking into consideration their holy lives, great austerity, assiduity at divine service, and other virtues, gave them a house called the Maison du Lion, Rue Ste. Geneviève, with permission to build and convert it into a monastery, on condition that they should pray for him and his predecessors, but especially for his wife, Queen Jeanne de Navarre (great-grandmother of Queen Blanche) so that the house of Pierre de la Brosse, its former owner, once a place of feasting and revelry, should in future be dedicated to the service of God.

Eight years afterwards Philippe le Long gave them another house in the Rue Ste. Geneviève, also to be held in mortmain, reserving to himself *superiorité, garde, et ressort*.

Having acquired this new house, the Carmelites, in the same year, proceeded to sell their former one to a *bourgeois* of Paris named Jacques Mansel, on condition that they might, between Thursday after Ascension, 1319, and *St. Jean* (Midsummer-day), 1320, remove into their new domain all the tombs, bodies, stones, whether sculptured or not, columns, &c.; and undertaking to build up the garden wall, through which all these things had to be carried, exactly as it was before.

In their new abode they found an ancient chapel of the Holy Virgin, but, as it was small, they were anxious to build a larger church. Jeanne d'Evreux came to their assistance, and in 1349 had given them large sums of money and splendid jewels; amongst

others a massive crown of gold and precious stones, and a gold *fleur de lys* and gold *ceinture* studded with gems which she had worn at her own coronation. The building of this church was at this time going on, and was, of course, watched with great interest by the two Queens.

Blanche also caused a beautiful tomb to be erected to her parents in the church of the Jacobins, where their hearts were buried. It was of black marble, with the effigies of Philippe d'Evreux and Jeanne de Navarre in white marble, and stood in the middle of the choir.¹

So much was Blanche loved and venerated by the French that it is said that it was in honour of her and of Blanche de Castille, her great ancestress, that the Queens dowager of France were called "Reines Blanches," and not, as has also been supposed, on account of the white veils they wore when widows.²

All who were acquainted with Jean, King of France, recognised in him the image of his father. Like him, his talents were superficial, and he possessed none of the knowledge most important to a king; while in his opinion greatness meant the pomp of royalty, and elevation of character, a proud, jealous irritation against any limit to his power; he was equally brave without having any greater military capacity, and he had the same impetuous, ungovernable passions, which knew no restraint, either of humanity, honour, or faith, when under the influence of rage and a thirst for vengeance.³

¹ Père Anselme, t. i. p. 282.

² "Antiquités et recherches," etc., Jean Maurice.

³ Sismondi, "Histoire de France," t. vii. p. 3.

It was without doubt his interest to conciliate Charles of Navarre, and he was sufficiently aware of this to arrange his marriage with his eldest daughter, but his arbitrary, unjust treatment of him and the irritation he was always causing him counteracted any good result which might possibly have attended this alliance. Charles of Navarre was not at all a man who could be injured or insulted with impunity. He was as brave as Jean and much his superior in intellect, and he hated the Valois as the usurpers of his inheritance. They had taken the crown of France, as they did Burgundy later on ; they had obliged his parents to give up to them Champagne and Brie, and now Jean not only tried to evade the payment of the dowry of the Princess Jeanne, but gave the county of Angoulême, which his mother had been forced to accept instead of Champagne and Brie, to his cousin and favourite Carlos de la Cerda. Now Carlos de la Cerda was the grandson of Blanche, daughter of St. Louis and Ferdinand, Infant of Castille. Blanche, having lost her husband, the eldest son of Alfonso X., during the lifetime of his father, the latter chose to disinherit his grandsons in favour of his younger son, and Blanche, finding herself oppressed and unhappy in Spain, appealed for protection to her brother Philippe le Hardi, then King of France.

Philippe in consequence sent ambassadors to Spain desiring that his sister and her children should be given into his care, but was unable to obtain the guardianship of the children. Alfonso promised that due provision should be made for them and their mother, the Princess Blanche, was allowed to return

to her own country. She greatly enlarged the convent of the Cordelières in the Faubourg St. Marcel, built them a new church, and took up her abode, not in the cloister itself, but in the precincts of it, where she passed the rest of her life and died in 1320.¹

Carlos was the son of her second son, Alfonso,² and had been brought up in France. He was a great favourite with Jean, who lavished riches and honours upon him with such profusion as to excite the indignation of everybody. One of his first acts on ascending the throne had been to order Raoul, Comte de Guines et d'Eu, Constable of France under his father, to be seized and beheaded without trial in the Palais de Nesle on an accusation of treason. He had given his post to Carlos de la Cerda, and the latter was detested for his insolence by the French nobles, who accused him of having been the cause of the death of his predecessor, and by the party of Navarre who declared that he prevented Jean from doing justice to Charles. The nobles, fearing to attack the King's favourite themselves, urged on the King of Navarre, who was afraid of nobody, and managed to foment the quarrel between the two princes.

Carlos de la Cerda repeatedly insulted Charles of Navarre, calling him traitor and other opprobrious names, the King of Navarre replied with defiance and threats against his life. He at first resolved to attack him in the streets of Paris,³ but not finding a favourable opportunity to do so he retired to Evreux, his favourite abode, which he looked upon as the capital of his

¹ Père Anselme.

² Sainte-Marthe.

³ Sismondi, "Histoire de France," t. vii. p. 27.

Norman possessions, and remained there, vowing vengeance against the enemy who had first despoiled and then insulted him.

Early in January, 1353, he was told that Carlos de la Cerda had gone to L'Aigle, a town about six leagues from Evreux. At the head of a troop of Norman and Navarrais knights, amongst whom were his brother Philippe, Comte de Longueville and three of the Harcourts, he rode to L'Aigle by night and attacked the *hostellerie* where Carlos was. Some historians say that Charles himself was present, others assert that he waited in a barn close by, and one or two have declared that he did not intend the death, but only the captivity of his enemy. This last does not seem very probable considering the proud, passionate nature of Charles and the provocation he had received. In any case Carlos de la Cerda was killed, and the King of Navarre and his followers mounting in haste, galloped back to Evreux, where they arrived before the alarm could be spread, closed the gates, doubled the guard and prepared to defend themselves.

CHAPTER III

1353-1356

Rage of the King—Peace made by Queens dowager—The Cordeliers—King Jean and Charles de Navarre—War with England—Letter of the Queens dowager—Philippe and Louis de Navarre—National games—Arrest of the King of Navarre and execution of his friends—Defiance of the Princes of Navarre—They seek the alliance of King Edward.

THE events recorded in the last chapter spread consternation and disturbance alike amongst the friends and enemies of the princes of Navarre.

The grief and rage of the French King knew no bounds, and, swearing that he would avenge his constable, he assembled his soldiers to march into Normandy, at the same time ordering the Comte de Armagnac to make an attack upon Navarre. But the Comte de Foix, who had married the Princess Agnes, sister of the King of Navarre, immediately invaded the dominions of the Comte d'Armagnac, who was in consequence obliged to return to defend them. At the same time Charles, who did not shrink from the consequences of the crime he had com-

mitted, wrote letters to the members of the King's council and to the principal towns in France, declaring that it was he who had caused the constable to be put to death, "for the many and great misdeeds he attributed to him,"¹ and advanced to Mantes, a town which belonged to him, where the Duke of Lancaster at once sent to offer him the assistance of King Edward, and where he was soon surrounded by a party of nobles so numerous and so powerful that Jean dared not face the war upon the brink of which he now stood.

At this crisis Blanche de Navarre and Jeanne d'Evreux, who possessed the affection and confidence of both sides, came forward to mediate between them; and it was decided that Charles should send the Comte de Namur to Paris to negotiate, and in return Jean should send the Cardinal de Boulogne and Jacques de Bourbon to Mantes, with full powers to arrange terms of peace. To do so was not altogether an easy matter. Charles claimed his counties of Champagne and Brie, which had belonged to Navarre ever since the reign of Thibaut, the friend and adorer of Blanche de Castille, and without the shadow of a pretext had been detached from it after the death of Louis Hutin. To make up the 26,000 livres de rente at which they were valued, and the 12,000 Jean had promised for the dowry of his daughter, in all 38,000 livres de rente, the King of France ceded to the King of Navarre the county of Beaumont-le-Roger, the lands of Breteuil and

¹ "Pour plusieurs grans mesfaits que ledit conestable li avoit fais"
("Grandes Chroniques de France," t. vi. p. 8. Paulin Paris).

Conches, which belonged to the Duc d'Orléans, who was to receive in compensation for them, the vicomté de Pont-Audemer and the balliage du Cotentin. In agreeing to these terms Charles was certainly making a considerable sacrifice for the sake of peace. The great province of Champagne was one of the original twelve peerages of France, and the county of Angoulême, which was much smaller, had been a very bad exchange for it. And now in exchange even for that, he only got the above-mentioned territories, which, however, were annexed to Evreux, which was now a peerage, the *échiquier*¹ of Evreux being made equal to that of Normandy. Also the Harcourts, and all the allies of Charles, were to receive a full pardon from the King of France, which was extended to all those in any way concerned in the death of the constable, and to whom Jean bound himself by oath "*de ne faire jamais ni vilenie ni dommage.*"²

It was further stipulated that Charles should, at a *lit de justice*, ask the pardon of the King of France. But Jean le Bon was not a person to inspire any confidence, especially as these conditions had been wrung from him; so Charles, before he risked himself in his power, demanded that the Duc d'Anjou, second son of that monarch, should be sent to Mantes as a hostage for his safe return.

This being done, he went to Paris, attended by a great company of men-at-arms, and, as the chronicler says, "about the hour of prime" presented himself at the palace where the King and parliament were sitting and made his excuses for the death of the constable.

¹ Exchequer.

² Sismondi.

The Queens dowager, Jeanne d'Evreux and Blanche de Navarre, entered and bowed before the King.¹ Then "*Monseigneur Regnault de Frie, dit Patroullart,*" kneeling before Jean and speaking in the name of the Queens, entreated the pardon of the King of Navarre—their brother and nephew. Charles came up and stood between them while the Cardinal de Boulogne, on the part of King Jean, made a speech, in which he declared that for love of the Queens, who were present, and who so affectionately had asked for it, he granted a full pardon.

The two Queens and the King of Navarre knelt to express their gratitude, and after a concluding speech from the Cardinal, the King rose and the assembly was dissolved.

It is not likely that the Queens, who were so well acquainted with both Jean and Charles, flattered themselves that this was the end of the trouble and anxiety they would cause them. It was only a patched-up peace. The grievances of Charles still remained; so did the temptation of the mighty aid of King Edward, which was ever looming in the background. Jean had no intention whatever of forgiving Charles. He was only waiting until an opportunity should present itself for him to carry out his vengeance.

However, just at that time there seemed to be peace, and Jeanne and Blanche were able to turn their attention to matters more agreeable to them.

The great Carmelite church about which they

¹ "Lui firent la reverence en eux inclinant devant luy" ("Grandes Chroniques de France," t. vi. p. 11).

were so interested, and to which Queen Jeanne especially had given so generously, was now finished and ready to be opened. A grand festival took place when it was consecrated by the Cardinal de Boulogne in the month of March, in the presence of four queens: Jeanne d'Auvergne, Queen of France, Jeanne d'Evreux, Blanche de Navarre, and her little sister-in-law, Jeanne de France, wife of Charles le Mauvais and Queen of Navarre.

One can easily imagine what a rest and refreshment the time they spent in the convents must have been to Jeanne and Blanche. For the life around them was full of strife, intrigues, and deeds of violence, in which the chief actors were those nearest and dearest to them both. In the tumult and excitement of this life they were obliged to take part, and they must often have been thankful to turn out of the noisy, crowded streets which surrounded their palaces into the quiet cloister. To pass long days and nights in that peaceful shelter, to pace up and down the silent garden, to kneel in the dim church and listen to the chanting of the nuns, to help them tend the sick and prepare their simple food; with no sounds to break on the seclusion of the place but the music of the holy offices, the convent bell, and perhaps a distant hum from outside the grey walls as the stream of busy life rushing by, passed the closed gates of that haven of refuge.

The Cordeliers also possessed a splendid convent, which had been much enriched by St. Louis, Philippe le Bel, and Jeanne d'Evreux, who had given them a double chapel and double infirmary, one for sick

brethren and one for convalescents. The confessor of Queen Blanche was a Cordelier.

But the Queens had not long to enjoy the peace that they had hoped to secure. Jean, still intent on vengeance, had contrived to gain over to his side Jean, Comte de Harcourt, and his brother Louis, who revealed to him all the intrigues that had gone on before the death of the constable, and from them he discovered that the Cardinal de Boulogne and his own chamberlain, Robert de Loris, had known all about the plot. They both escaped from the country, and Charles of Navarre, not thinking himself any longer safe in Normandy, fled to Avignon, carefully concealing his name and the route by which he travelled.

In the autumn Jean seized all his Norman lands and castles except Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Cherbourg, Gavray, Avranches, and Mortaigne, whose governors were Navarrais, and refused to open their gates, but held out for the King of Navarre.

The truce between France and England should have expired in April, 1355, but the Pope managed to prolong it till midsummer, and then the war began again.

Charles had gone to Navarre to raise troops, and then embarked to return by sea to Cherbourg, visiting England on the way, and making an alliance with King Edward, after which he resumed his voyage and landed at Cherbourg with two thousand men, awaiting the arrival of the Duke of Lancaster, who had put to sea with an English army. But the English were detained for seven weeks at Guernsey by bad weather,

and meanwhile Jean, whose fury had by this time passed off, saw the perilous position in which his rashness and bad faith had placed himself and the kingdom. It would be perfectly easy for the King of Navarre, by opening Cherbourg to the army of King Edward and letting the English troops pass through his dominions by Evreux, Mantes, Meulan, and Pontoise, to bring them within eight or nine leagues of Paris. Therefore Jean hastened to make peace again with the King of Navarre, who, as he did not wish for war, agreed to the terms proposed, and Jean, having promised again to pardon everybody and to observe the treaty he had broken before, peace was signed between France and Navarre.

The trouble the Queens took and the affection they entertained for the King of Navarre is shown in the following extract from a letter which they jointly sent him—

“VERY DEAR AND BELOVED NEPHEW AND BROTHER,—We have had much sorrow and uneasiness of heart since you went away, and although we have many times spoken to several persons of your lineage and to others of the King’s council of your affairs who much desire your welfare and honour, we have not at present been able to find any good conclusion for which we went to the King, who was at Paris on Tuesday before Pentecost; . . . and we spoke to the King in the best and most affectionate way we could about this matter, who listened very amiably to all we said; . . . and, dear nephew and brother, you must know that if we knew or suspected any-

thing doubtful about your coming we should not advise it by any means, for your honour and good estate are our own ; . . . Very dear nephew and brother, may the Holy Spirit give you good counsel and advice, and may he guard and save you.

“Written at Paris iij. day of June. These messages ought to be with you in viij. days.”¹

This time, on Monday, 4th July, the formal reconciliation took place at the Louvre, Jeanne and Blanche being again present and taking an important part in the proceedings, which, even if they could bring themselves to believe in the sincerity of Jean and Charles, could not set their anxiety altogether at rest, for Philippe, Comte de Longueville, the second brother of Blanche, a high-spirited young prince, who, though a loyal follower of his elder brother, had strong opinions of his own, vehemently disapproved of this change, and refused to be in-

¹ “TRÈS-CHER ET TRÈS-AMÉ NEVEU ET FRÈRE,—Nous avons été à moult grant douleur et meschief de coer depuis que vous partistes de par deçà ; quar combien que par moult de foiz nous aiens parlé à plusieurs personnes de vostre lignage et a autres du Conseil le Roy, de vostre besoigne, lesquels desirent moult vostre bien et honneur, toutes voiez n’y avons nous jusques à ores peu trouver aucune bonne conclusion, et pour ce fumes venues pardevers le Roy qui estoit à Paris, dès le mardi devant Penthecoste . . . et avons parlé au Roy au miex et plus affectueusement que nous avons peu et scieu de cette chose, qui nous a oy aimablement sur tout ce que nous li sousimes dire . . . et cher Neveu et Frère, vous devez tenir que se nous saviens ou sentiens aucune chose douteuse en vostre venue, nous ne vous le conseillerions en nulle manière ; quar vostre honneur et bon estat est le nostre meismes . . . Très-cher Neveu et Frère li Saint Esperiz vous doit bon conseil et bon avis et vois voeille garder et sauver.

“Escript à Paris le iij. jour de Juyn. Ces messages doivent être devers vous dedens viij. jours.”

cluded in the apparent reconciliation or to put himself in the power of the King of France, in which, as it will be seen, he judged wisely. He now remained at Southampton¹ with King Edward, who was there with his army, much disgusted with the turn matters had taken.

The third of the princes of Navarre, Louis, Comte de Beaumont-le-Roger, had been chosen about the time of the marriage of his sister Blanche to Philippe VI., to be one of the nine companions of his younger son, the Duc d'Orléans. The King of Navarre had made him viceroy of that kingdom in 1353,² which post he now held. He was a bachelor, but the Comte de Longueville had married in 1352 Yolande de Flandres, widow of Henri, Comte de Bar. In all the troubles, dangers, and difficulties into which he continually fell, Charles could count upon the firm and devoted affection of his brothers and sisters and of his aunt, Queen Jeanne.

In these troubled times every town, however small, was so strongly fortified as to be able to arrest the march of an enemy. Even the villages were enclosed with walls to defend them from the incursions of banditti or of the enemy, and the multitude of strong castles served to prolong the war and increase the sufferings of the people.

The more wooded the country was, the safer were its inhabitants; the villages in the rich, cultivated plains were ever liable to be burnt and sacked by the marauders who constantly traversed the country; but

¹ Sismondi, "Hist. France," t. vii. p. 35.

² Père Anselme.

these invaders did not care, if they could help it, to venture into the forests, where they could easily be cut off by enemies concealed in their tangled depths.

The miseries of the times fell chiefly upon the poor, for with all the public calamities luxury seemed to increase, dress became more extravagant, and the passion for games was such that the nobles and gentlemen would play at *paume* all day and with dice all night.¹

In the long winter evenings in the châteaux, when all gathered round the blazing fire in the great hall, the romances of chivalry were read, sung, or told. Familiar to men and women, young and old, they were the guide not only of their tournaments, fêtes, and battles, but of their whole lives.

Of the sports in which they delighted, *paume* was the favourite of the knights and nobles. It was something like the modern lawn tennis, and all through the Middle Ages was the national game of the French, at least of gentlemen and the *bourgeoisie* of the towns. It was at first played with the palm of the hand, whence its name, and several of the French kings excelled in it; for instance, Charles VI., Charles VII., Louis XI., Louis XII., François I., Henri II. It was at *paume* that Louis Hutin brought on the fever of which he died. Bats were not used in it until the middle of the fifteenth century. It was a favourite pastime also in the villages, when bands of young men took sides, one village against another, or married against single. But the most popular diversion of the peasantry was *soule* or *choule*, an exercise

¹ De Mézeray, "Hist.," t. iii. p. 44.

of activity and strength, very ancient and deeply rooted in the affections of the people, which went on chiefly in winter at the *fêtes* of Christmas, New Year, Candlemas, the days before Lent, Mid-Lent, &c. As at *paume*, one village contended against another, or married men against bachelors; but it was rough and violent, often causing serious accidents, a broken arm or leg, or even the loss of an eye being by no means uncommon. It was played by kicking a ball, and from it was derived the English football, said to have been learnt by them from the French in the Hundred Years' War.¹

Hockey and polo were also other varieties of it, and *mail*, from which, after it was adopted by the English, Pall Mall was called.

There were also bowls, ninepins, and *billes* or *billard* (billiards), but cricket, the national game of England, has no foreign ancestry. Various other amusements, such as *le jeu du bouclier*, wrestling, throwing the knife, &c., had a more distinctly martial origin, and besides all these there were gatherings of the archers and cross-bowmen, much encouraged by the kings, who now and then, both in France and England, forbade all other games so as to oblige the people to turn their attention to improving the skill so much required in warfare.

The next quarrel between the Kings of France and Navarre was about the salt tax or *gabelle*, and another most oppressive tax on sales. The latter was a tax levied in Spain, and the Valois, ever since 1343, had been trying to introduce it into France. They caused

¹ "La France pendant la guerre de cent ans." Siméon Luce.

intolerable distress, more especially as the tax on sales was so arranged that the smaller the income the more it had to pay.¹ Merchants began to leave France, the Pope (Innocent VI.) wrote an indignant letter to Jean because he had extended his exactions even to ecclesiastics. In several places there were riots and bloodshed, and the King of Navarre, supported by the Comte de Harcourt and some other Norman nobles, declared that the French parliament had no power to establish the *gabelle* in his dominions, and that any officer who attempted to collect it would do so at the risk of his life.

The resistance of the King of Navarre and the Comte de Harcourt aroused all the old hatred of Jean for them both. He exclaimed that he would have no master in France but himself, and that he should never be happy whilst they were alive. As, however, he dared not give as a reason for attacking them, their opposition to the *gabelle*, which would have greatly increased their popularity and infuriated the populace, he waited to find some other pretext for destroying them.² His eldest son, Charles the Dauphin, to whom he had the year before given the duchy of Normandy, now held his court at Rouen. He was about nineteen years old, but as yet took very little interest in affairs of state ; did not trouble

¹ Sismondi, "Hist. France." M. Paulin Paris remarks, in a note on p. 23, t. vi. of the "Grandes Chroniques de France," that it should be taken into consideration that the nobles and bourgeois were obliged also to give personal service, for which reason they paid less taxes—*"les citoyens riches (bourgeois ou nobles) indépendamment de la taxe, payaient encore de leur personne."*

² Sismondi.

himself about the animosities of his father, but occupied himself with his own pursuits and pleasures.¹ He invited the princes of Navarre and the Harcourts to dine with him on Saturday, April 16th, which was Easter Eve. Philippe de Navarre and Godefroy de Harcourt had their suspicions about this banquet and refused to attend it, but Charles de Navarre and Jean, Louis, and Guillaume de Harcourt accepted the invitation.

Some historians have asserted that the Dauphin was playing into his father's hands, and that he arranged this entertainment with the purpose of helping him to get his enemies into his power, but there does not seem to be any proof of such treachery on his part. Jean had gone to Orléans to stand godfather to the child of some near relation of Carlos de la Cerda, and this most likely still further re-awakened his rage. He rode in haste from Orléans to Rouen with sixty armed followers, entered the palace by a postern door, and walking up the staircase preceded by the Marshal Arnoul d'Audenham with a drawn sword, he burst into the banqueting-hall. Every one started up in alarm, and Jean, drawing his sword, seized the King of Navarre, exclaiming, "Rise, traitor, thou art not worthy to sit at my son's table. By the soul of my father, I will neither eat nor drink whilst thou livest."² The splendour of the royal banquet was changed in a moment into a scene of violence and bloodshed. One of the esquires of the King of Navarre attempted to protect him, but

¹ Sismondi.

² "Or sus traître, tu n'es pas digne de seoir à la table de mon fils. Par l'âme de mon père, je ne pense jamais à boire ni à manger, tant comme tu vives" (Froissart).

was at once arrested by the sergeants-at-arms ; the Dauphin throwing himself upon his knees, entreated the King not to dishonour him by arresting those who had come there as his guests ;¹ and the King of Navarre protested that since the death of La Cerda, for which he had been pardoned, he had done nothing to excite the anger of the King of France ; but the latter cut short his representations by exclaiming, " Enough, traitor, enough ! By Monseigneur Saint Denis, you will be able to preach and practise infamies if you escape me " ² ; and assuring the Dauphin that they were all evil traitors as events would show, he arrested the Comte de Harcourt and several other nobles, and swearing by the soul of his father that they should not escape him, he ordered their instant execution, with the exception of the King of Navarre and two gentlemen, who were sent to Paris and imprisoned, the former in the Louvre, the others in the Châtelet.

The King and his party proceeded to dinner, after which the Comte de Harcourt and three other seigneurs were beheaded in their presence in a field behind the château. The populace of Rouen rose to assist the prisoners, but Jean, whom they had not recognised, took off his helmet and produced a

¹ " Ah ! monseigneur, pour dieu mercy, vous me déshonorez ; que pourrait-on dire ni recorder de moi, quand j'avois le roi et ces barons priés de diner chez-moi, et vous les traitez ainsi. On dira que je les aurai trahis ; et si ne vis oncques en eux que tout bien et toute courtoisée " (Froissart) Sismondi.

² " Allez ! traîtres, allez ! Par monseigneur Saint Denis, vous saurez bien prêcher ou jouer d'infamie si vous m'echappez " (Ibid.).

" Souffrez vous Charles ; ils sont de mauvais traîtres et leurs faits les découvriront bientôt. Vous ne savez pas tout ce que je sais " (Ibid.).

parchment by which he declared he had proof that they had conspired to murder him and the Dauphin and give back Normandy to England.

This calmed for a short time, the fury of the mob, but they only half believed the King's assertions, and when, shortly after, King Edward of England published a letter which he addressed to the Pope, in which he protested upon his royal word and in the sight of God that this statement was false, the King of Navarre and the murdered nobles, not having conspired with him, nor yet having received from him any promises of succour, but being regarded by him as valiant enemies; the murmurs and indignation increased, and many believed that they were all innocent, and that this was an after-vengeance for the death of the constable.

It was a disastrous time for Blanche. Her eldest brother, the King of Navarre, was in prison and in danger of his life; the other two, Philippe and Louis, as soon as they heard of the tragedy of Rouen, joined with Godefroy and Guillaume de Harcourt, son and uncle of the murdered count, to avenge the slain and save those who still lived.

Philippe, now in his brother's place, the acknowledged leader of the party of Navarre, sent a letter of defiance to Jean, as follows:

"To Jehan de Valois, who calls himself King of France.

"Philippe de Navarre to you, Jehan de Valois, signifies, that for the great wrong done by you to our very dear lord and brother, Monseigneur Charles, King of Navarre, in arresting him for treason and evil deeds of

which he had no thought, and by your power, without either law or right, having shamefully treated him, we are greatly incensed against you; and this wrong, committed by you against our dear brother without any just reason, we will right when we can. And know, that it is no use for you to think you will get his inheritance nor ours, by putting him to death, according to your cruel opinion, as you did out of greed for his lands to Comte de Raoul d'Eu et de Ghines; for there you shall never put your foot; and from this day and in future we defy you and all your power, and will wage deadly war upon you to the utmost extent of our power. In witness of which we have put our seal to this at present.

"Given at Conces-sur-Yton this seventeenth day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1355(6)?"¹

With this were sent similar letters of defiance from Harcourt and from the nobles of Navarre.

Charles de Navarre, handsome, fascinating, repeatedly wronged by the King of France, and by some looked

¹ "A Jehan de Valois qui s'escript roi de France : Philippe de Navarre à vous Jehan de Valois signifions que pour le grand tort que vous faites à nostre très-cher seigneur et frère monseigneur Charles, roi de Navarre, que de son corps à mettre de vilaine faict et de trahison où oncques ne pensa aucunement, et de vostre puissance sans loi, droit ou raison l'avez démené et mené vilainement; de quoi moult courroucés sont; et ce forfait venu et donné par vous sur nostre très-cher frère, sans aucun titre juste, amenderons quand nous pourrons; et sachez qui n'avez qu faire de faire à son héritage ni au nostre pour lui faire mourir par votre cruelle opinion, ainsi que j'à fites, pour la convoitise de sa terre, le Comte Raoul d'Eu et de Ghines, car j'à vous n'en tiendrez pied; et de ce jour en avant vous deffions et toute votre puissance, et vous ferons guerre mortelle si très-grande comme nous pourrons. En temoin de laquelle chose à venir nous avons à ses presentes faict mettre nostre scel.

"Donnés à Conces-sur-Yton, ce dixsept jour du mois d'Avril, l'an de grâce Nostre Seigneur, 1355(6)."

upon as the lawful heir to the throne, had many friends and adherents, who now flocked to the banner of Navarre, and the flames of civil war at once burst forth.

Jean had at first intended to put the King of Navarre also to death, but was withheld by scruples or fear from carrying this design into execution. Charles was after all his son-in-law, and the affection of the two Queens for him may have weighed somewhat in his favour. Besides, he was beloved by the populace, who would have been roused to fury by his death, and he had powerful friends and connections who could not be ignored, and whose vengeance would surely fall upon his destroyer. Therefore Jean detained him in captivity, at first in the Louvre, where he was kept in perpetual fear of his life; being told five or six times in a day or night that he was about to be beheaded, or thrown into the Seine in a sack. But so pleasant and courteous were his manners that his gaolers, in spite of the orders they had received from the King of France, were filled with compassion for him. The Harcourt family were deeply indignant at the conduct of Louis de Harcourt, brother of the Count, who had not been arrested, and chose to remain in the service of the King of France, notwithstanding his being the murderer of his brother and friends. Having despatched their letters, Philippe de Navarre and Godefroy de Harcourt hastened to put their castles in a proper state of defence, for the war was beginning again more fiercely than ever, the Duke of Lancaster was in Brittany, and at a word from King Edward would march into Normandy and protect the lands and castles of the King of Navarre.



ARCHER OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER IV

1356

Battle of Poitiers—Captivity of the King.

JEAN, by nature rash and violent, without reflection, judgment, or self-control, now began to realise the consequences of his proceedings.

The Prince of Wales, with his English and Gascons, was ravaging the southern provinces, leaving ruin everywhere behind him, while his own lieutenant, the Comte d'Armagnac, did nothing. The civil war in Normandy was a still more serious danger, and he therefore turned attention first to that province, and ordered Robert d'Houdetot, Grand Master of the cross-bowmen of France, to make a sudden attack upon Evreux, which proved successful, first the town and then the castle falling into the hands of the French, who next proceeded to besiege Pont-Audemer.

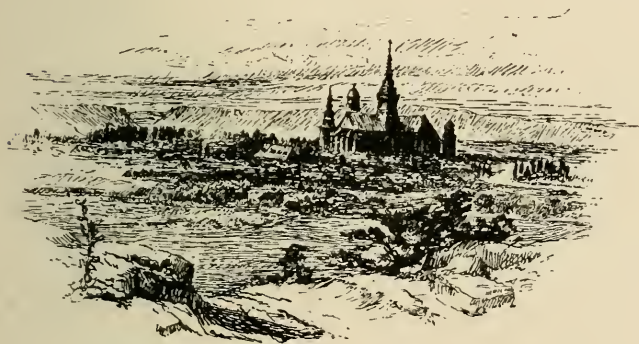
The loss of Evreux was a heavy blow to the party of Navarre, who, finding themselves too weak to cope with the rising storm, sought the powerful alliance of the King of England. Philippe de Navarre, accompanied by Godefroy de Harcourt, and provided with letters of safe-conduct from Edward, embarked at Cherbourg June 24, 1356, leaving the third of the Navarre princes, Louis, Comte de Beaumont-le-Roger, in command of the troops during his absence. They were joyfully received by the King of England, and after a visit to the Queen at Windsor, returned with a body of archers and men-at-arms, commanded by Ross and Nevile, and joining their own troops in Normandy, pushed on to meet the Duke of Lancaster who was advancing from the Cotentin, having received orders from King Edward to go to their assistance. They saved Pont-Audemer, and soon recaptured Evreux, and passing by Vernon and Breteuil, which they re-victualled, they burned and pillaged Verneuil, and by rapid marches arrived nearly at the gates of Rouen.

The King of France, infuriated by these disasters, hastened to put himself at the head of his army, and regained possession of Evreux. The Anglo-Norman garrison, after an honourable capitulation, marched out with arms and baggage, and took refuge at Breteuil, hotly pursued by the French army, which at once laid siege to that stronghold. Alarmed by the news that the Prince of Wales was advancing to the aid of his cousin, the Duke of Lancaster, spreading devastation wherever he passed, Jean granted favourable terms to the defenders of Breteuil, who, being

in ignorance of the state of affairs, capitulated and marched out with the honours of war.

The King of France then hastened to Paris, whence he summoned his nobles, and all who owed him military feudal service to meet him at Chartres, where he had given rendezvous to his army, and where he arrived in person on the 28th of August.

His appeal was eagerly responded to. From all the provinces that still remained French, from Berri,



EVREUX.

Auvergne, Hainault, Burgundy, Lorraine, Vermandois, Champagne, Artois, Bretagne, Picardy, and Normandy the troops poured in. The towns were re-garrisoned, and the campaign recommenced.

The command of the Loire being indispensable to the French, strong garrisons were placed in Angers, Saumur, Tours, and Orléans; and all places where any passage of the river was possible were strictly watched and carefully guarded.

After several attempts to cross the Loire, the Prince of Wales retreated, and passing near the castle of Romorantin, where some French gentlemen had taken refuge after a skirmish with the English troops, he besieged, took it, and continued his march, pursued by the French army. Some days having been spent by French and English in the fruitless pursuit of each other, neither army knowing where the other was to be found, on Friday 16th, Jean reached Poitiers, and the Prince of Wales encamped in a wood surrounded by vast plains covered with heath, which they supposed to be the forest of Moulière. The English army was greatly inferior in numbers to the French, and was, besides, demoralised, fatigued, and short of provisions and forage. Remaining concealed all night in the wood, the Prince, early next morning, sent Eustache d'Aubercicourt and Jean de Ghisteltes, with sixty men-at-arms, to reconnoitre. Riding along the road which skirted the wood in which the English army lay hidden, they came suddenly upon a troop commanded by the Comtes de Joigny and d'Auxerre, and some other nobles, who were following the French army to Poitiers, and who had so little expectation of meeting with the English that they were riding carelessly along, their casques hung to their saddles, banners furled, and lances carried by their esquires at some distance behind them. On seeing the English, however, they hastily buckled on their helmets, seized their lances, and with about two hundred cavalry, rushed upon them. Too weak to resist the shock, the English troop fell back upon their camp. The French,

following in haste and tumult, and getting entangled in the wood, found themselves suddenly in presence of the English army. With desperate courage they threw themselves upon their enemies. Raoul de Coucy, who was pressing towards the Prince of Wales, was the first to be dismounted, and after some had fallen, the remainder were all made prisoners.

The Prince of Wales showed all courtesy and consideration to his captives and drew from them as much information as he desired. From them he learnt by what a series of miraculous chances he had escaped falling into the midst of the army in pursuit of him, and how he might thank the star of his destiny which had led him under the walls of Romorantin, for without that three days' halt, which enabled Jean to get ahead of him, and allowed him to choose a different route, he would have gone on to his destruction. The enormous numbers of the French host astonished him, and in order to verify the reports of his prisoners, he sent out a reconnoissance led by Jean de Grailly, Captal de Buch, Eustache d'Aubercicourt and others, who returned in a few hours. They had galloped to Poitiers, passing through the rear-guard which was coming from Chauvigny, and which they threw into disorder and confusion, had seen at a rapid glance the vast numbers of the tents of the French camp, and in the astonishment produced by their sudden appearance there, had returned without pursuit or molestation.

"God protect us," exclaimed the Black Prince

when he heard their recital, "and now we must take counsel how to fight them with advantage."¹

All through the brilliant career, which had opened so gloriously at Crécy, the Black Prince had given repeated proofs of his military talents, and of the discrimination with which he surrounded himself with the best and most experienced generals, and he had now reason to congratulate himself on the companions and councillors he had chosen. Like his father, ten years before, he found himself confronted with an army far stronger and larger than his own, retreat was impossible, his only hope lay in the choice of the battlefield. Withdrawing his army from the wood, he encamped on a plateau surrounded by wide and heath-covered plains about two leagues south of Poitiers. Its steep sides, covered with vines, gave it the appearance of a natural fortress, the greatest danger to the English forces being their lack of provisions, of which they had only sufficient for twenty-four hours. Jean, however, finding himself at last face to face with the enemy he had so long been pursuing, was eager for battle, and as the shades of night drew on, the French host lay stretched in vast masses before the English camp, waiting for the dawn. All through the hours of darkness the shouts, and songs, and clamour of the French resounded through the air, while no sound broke the silence of the English camp under the stern rule of the Black Prince.

At dawn on Sunday morning, a solemn mass was celebrated in the tent of the French King, at which

¹ "Dieu y ait part ; or nous faut avoir avis et conseil comment nous les combattrons à notre avantage."

he and the four young princes, his sons, received the communion. He then summoned all the principal nobles and chiefs of the army to a council in which after a long discussion it was decided that, disregarding the usual custom of respecting the holiness of the festival, the battle should be fought at once. The knights and nobles immediately quitted the King's tent, and displayed their banners and pennons, the standards of the towns were raised, and lastly, Geffroi de Charny unfurled the oriflamme. Around the flags and ensigns, knights and esquires, men-at-arms and burghers ranged themselves in haste and confusion, the marshals vainly seeking to instil order into the hurrying throng who were pressing in all directions to arrive at their places before the battle should begin.

The English army consisted of about twelve thousand men, while the French were, according to Lingard, seven to one.¹ Having despatched Eustache de Ribeaumont and three other knights to reconnoitre, Jean, mounted on a white charger, rode through the ranks to encourage the soldiers and urge them on to victory.

Ribeaumont and his companions returned, saying that the English position was a very strong one, well and wisely chosen, and apparently accessible only by a narrow road or ravine, the sides of which were clothed with hedges and bushes, affording ample cover for their archers, so that it would be impossible to ride up it. After describing at great length the dispositions of the English, Ribeaumont concluded by assuring the

¹ "Hist. England.," vol. iv. p. 118. Lingard. According to Hume, about 60,000.

King that, in order to approach the enemy, it would be necessary for all to fight on foot, with the exception of three hundred mounted knights, who should clear the way. De Ribeaumont and his companion had bravely risked their lives, but yet their hasty reconnoissance was one of the chief causes of the next day's disaster. They had galloped to the entrance of the fortified ravine, but had not observed a much easier road on the right, nor a sudden change in the course of the stream flowing at the bottom of the plateau. Eustache de Ribeaumont possessed great influence over the king, to whom his gallant deeds at Calais had greatly endeared him, and who now decided to follow his advice. De Belleval remarked that the simplest reasoning would have sufficed to show the folly of this plan. That the burghers should fight on foot was right enough ; they were accustomed to do so, and their armour, light and convenient, was suited to that mode of combat. But the knights, used to fight on horseback, and clad in heavy cumbersome armour, the stiff joints of which impeded their movements, were placed at a great disadvantage when opposed to their foes, mounted on mail-covered chargers, and armed with long lances.

Just as the signal to attack was given, a cavalier surrounded by a brilliant escort appeared in the direction of Poitiers, and rode at full speed towards the army corps at the head of which could be distinguished the King, with the *fleur-de-lys* on his armour and the oriflamme floating at his side. It was the Cardinal de Talleyrand-Périgord, Bishop of Auxerre

and legate to the Pope, who had followed the army from Chartres in the hope of terminating or suspending hostilities between the two princes and negotiating a treaty of peace, of which France was greatly in need. The Cardinal and the Bishop of Urgel, to whom this mission had been confided by Innocent VI., had hitherto found no opportunity of fulfilling it; but the news having spread in Poitiers that immediate preparations were being made for a great battle, these prelates as loyal sons of the Holy See and of France, lost no time in mounting and hastening, while there was yet time, to the scene of action.

Their arrival arrested the movement of the troops, and all eyes were fixed upon the legate, who approached the King, bowed before him, and spoke with much earnestness. Although his repeated endeavours to negotiate peace with England, and to obtain the liberation of the King of Navarre had hitherto proved fruitless, the Cardinal did not allow himself to be discouraged. With persuasive eloquence he represented to the French King how little glory could result to him if, as would certainly happen, his magnificent and powerful army should crush that small body of English troops, who would make a desperate defence costing many valuable lives; and that at any rate Sunday was a day consecrated to prayer and the service of God, whose anger would be aroused by the shedding of Christian blood on that holy festival. His words so far prevailed that Jean ordered the battle to be postponed until sunrise the next day, and allowed the Cardinal to go on an

embassy to the Prince of Wales, who received him standing among the vines surrounded by his officers, and declared himself willing to agree to any honourable terms by which his army could withdraw from its present apparently desperate position. But Eustache de Ribeaumont, Jean de Landas, and the Bishop of Châlons by their warlike counsels succeeded in frustrating all the endeavours of the Cardinal by inciting Jean to reject any moderate proposal and to demand that the Prince of Wales, with a hundred of his principal knights, should yield themselves his prisoners. The Black Prince replied that he would rather die on the battle-field than accept such terms, and added, "The city of London will never have to pay a ransom for me; I shall be ready to fight to-morrow."

While the Cardinal was vainly striving to bring matters to a pacific solution, some cavaliers of both sides profited by the truce to ride close to the hostile camps, on the pretence of exercising their horses, but in reality to examine the position of the two armies. Among the number of the English who came down from their plateau was Sir John Chandos. Jean de Clermont, Marshal of France, advanced to meet him. Each knight, being young and in love, was wearing a blue scarf on the left arm.

"Chandos," cried Jean de Clermont, "long have I desired to meet you. Since when have you taken to wearing my device?"

"And you mine?" answered Chandos, "for it is mine as much as yours."

"I deny it," said Clermont, "and if there were not

truce between us and you, I would soon prove that you have no right to wear it."

"To-morrow morning," replied Chandos, "you will find me ready to defend it, and prove by deed of arms that it is as much mine as yours."

But if the judgment of arms is the judgment of God the device belonged to Chandos, for the next day Clermont lay dead on the field.

Sunday night passed merrily for the French in whose camp provisions abounded, and sadly for the English who had nothing but grapes to eat. All night long, though weakened by hunger, they worked at the defences of their position, constructing palisades, digging deep ditches and raising barriers. The archers were posted behind the hedges, the men-at-arms in three divisions, the English in the centre, and the Gascons in the two wings, dismounted, but holding the bridles of their horses. Edward, himself on foot, was at the head of the English, the standard of England, borne by Sir Walter Woodland, floated above his head. Three hundred men-at-arms and three hundred mounted archers under the command of the Captal de Buch were concealed behind a rising ground ready to burst upon the enemy. Then stepped forward Sir James Audley, who had kept close to the Prince all the day before, helping the defence with his advice, and who had made a vow to strike the first blow in whatever battle he should find himself with King Edward or any of his sons. And for the sake of his true and loyal services he claimed the right to fulfil his oath and to stand in the front of the battle. And the Prince stretched out his hand to

him and said, "Messire Jacques, God give you His grace and strength to surpass them all." Then the knight went forward and stood before the Prince's division, in the place where the ravine came down to the plain. And with him went four valiant esquires, Dutton of Dutton, Delves of Doddington, Fawlehurst of Crewe, and Hawtrestone of Wainehill, to assist him in the fight, to raise him if he fell, to carry him away if he were wounded, to avenge him if he were slain.

The French host was drawn up in a crescent of about a league in length. "Never," says the chronicler, "had been seen so magnificent an army." The splendour of the armour and accoutrements, the gay colours of the innumerable banners and pennons streaming in the air, the brilliant throng of cavaliers (for all the greatest and noblest names of the court and army had crowded into the King's division), formed a gorgeous pageant from which the Cardinal de Talleyrand, after once more striving in vain to approach the King, turned sadly away and rode back to Poitiers. Warned to retire while there was yet time, and meddle no more with treaty or argument lest evil should befall them, the prelates were escorted to the suburbs of Poitiers by a troop of lancers led by the Cardinal's nephew, who hastily turned their horses' heads and galloped back again.

The departure of the legate was the signal for battle. The Duc d'Orléans the King's brother, a young man of twenty, at the head of the *corps de réserve*, was placed in the rear. The right wing was commanded by the Marshals de Clermont and

d'Audeneham, the left wing by the Dauphin and his brothers the Comtes d'Anjou and Poitiers, lads between fifteen and twenty years old, and the centre by the King in person. By his side was his youngest son Philippe, a boy of thirteen, and around them pressed the flower of the chivalry of France.

The battle began by a furious charge upon the English entrenchments, which was repelled by the front line of the English, preceded by Sir James Audley and his four esquires. The Maréchal de Clermont was killed, the Maréchal d'Audeneham wounded and made prisoner. The right wing was driven back and thrown in confusion upon the division of the Dauphin, which hearing of the fall of the Marshals, stopped hesitating before the heights it was about to scale. At this moment the Captal de Buch and his cavalry burst forth from behind the hill and poured down upon the already wavering and disordered troops, who gave way on all sides as the Gascons, mounting in haste to the cry of *St. George and Guyenne!* rushed down from the plateau. "Ride, sire, ride forward and the day is yours!" cried Sir John Chandos to the Prince of Wales. "Push on to your enemy, the King of France." "Forward then!" said the Black Prince, "none will see me swerve to-day."

Notwithstanding the rout of the two wings of his army, Jean had still in his own division more than double the number of the English, and many knights and gentlemen from the other two army corps flocked to join him. The fight was long and

bloody ; everywhere banners and pennons trailing in the dust announced the death or captivity of their owner. The King and his Knights of the Star (*Chevaliers de l'Etoile*), were faithful to their oath to die rather than retreat, the Duc de Bourbon, the Constable of France, the Bishop of Châlons, the Sires de Beaujeu, de Nesle, de Ribeaumont, de la Tour d'Auvergne and many others were slain, and great numbers were captives, but still Jean fought on at the foot of the oriflamme, the young Philippe, Duc de Touraine at his side crying as a new enemy approached, "Father, look to the right ! look to the left." Then Charny, the standard-bearer, was struck down, the oriflamme fell ; and the cry arose, "Surrender ! surrender ! or you are dead !" Jean, his helmet broken to pieces, his left arm clasping his son, and his right wielding the battle-axe with which he struck down all who approached him, called for the Prince of Wales, but at last surrendered to Denys de Morbecque, an exiled knight of Artois, in the English service, and gave his sword and glove to Enguerrand de Beaulincourt, cousin of Morbecque, who received them with profound reverence.

The Dauphin and his two brothers were hurried from the field by the Sires de St. Venant, Jean de Landas and Thibaut de Vaudenay, with a guard of eight hundred lances, and rode at full speed towards Chauvigny, the Duc d'Orléans also fled. Some historians have reproached the young princes with their flight, but the continuer of De Nangis's Chronicle asserts that it was by the express order of the King their father, and that it did not take place

until the fall of the oriflamme and the capture of the King.¹

The Black Prince, seeing that the battle was won, and being overcome with fatigue and heat, had taken off his helmet and seated himself under the shade of a bush by the side of which his banner had been planted, by the advice of Chandos, who remarked, "Sire, it would be better to stop here, and raise your standard over this bush, so as to collect your people who are scattered everywhere, for God be thanked the day is yours, and I see no French banners, nor pennons, nor any troops that can form again, and you could refresh yourself a little, *car je vous vois moult echauffé.*"

Edward, who had not seen the French king since the beginning of the last engagement, was uneasy about him, and sent the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham to ascertain his fate, as they declared that not having quitted the battle-field, he must be a prisoner or slain. The Prince then inquired for Sir James Audley, and hearing that he was lying wounded not far off, would have gone to him, but Sir James caused himself to be carried on his litter, and laid at his feet. The Prince received him with much affection, and granted him a pension which Sir James afterwards divided amongst his four esquires. The Order of the Garter was given him two months later.

Meanwhile the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham, as they crossed the plain, observing a tumultuous crowd of men-at-arms, rode up to them and found

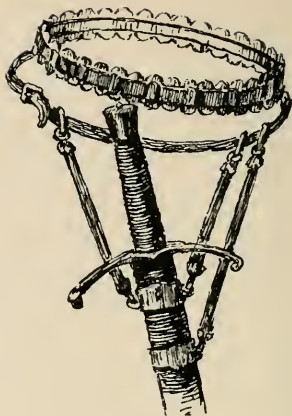
¹ This is confirmed by a curious letter from the Comte d'Armagnac, a fragment of which has been published by M. Lacabam.

that a Gascon captain with a score of English were attacking Denys de Morbecque and his men in order to get possession of the King of France and Duc de Touraine, whose lives were in no small danger from their violence. Warwick and Cobham lost no time in forcing their way to the King, trampling his assailants under the feet of their chargers, and then, having replaced him under the charge of Morbecque, and swearing they would strike dead whoever made another step towards him, they escorted the prisoners safely and respectfully to the tent of the Black Prince.

Having received the King his prisoner with all possible respect and ceremony, the Prince inquired for De Morbecque and De Beaulincourt. The latter appeared alone in answer to his summons, his cousin being severely wounded. After congratulating him, the Prince asked what arms he bore, and on being told, "Azure two lions or with leopards' heads," he exclaimed, "What! the leopards are the arms of England! Well! for the honour of the leopards and in remembrance of your capture of the King, I grant you to enrich your arms, a golden crown from the arms of England." And such is the glorious origin of the arms which the noble house of Beaulincourt bears to this day.

But notwithstanding the triumph of the Black Prince and the dispersion of his enemies, his position was still one of grave peril, with his small army, encumbered with spoils and prisoners, in the heart of the enemy's country. The next morning when the day broke, having devoutly attended mass, hastily

breakfasted, and ordered the chariots to be loaded, he gave the signal to march. Passing before the walls of Poitiers without attempting to enter that town, to the great relief of the citizens who had watched all night under arms upon the ramparts, the victorious army disappeared in the distance. Slowly and cautiously the English troops made their way towards Bordeaux. Five hundred cavalry commanded by the Earls of Warwick and Suffolk led the way, the main body following closely. They made short journeys between sunrise and sunset, none dared leave the ranks, for every thicket might hold an ambush, and every town and fortress might pour forth a hostile band. And so, keeping strict watch by day and night, whiling away the long hours by listening to the tales his knights related of their adventures in the battle, his spirits rising ever higher as he drew near the frontier, the Black Prince led his army back to Bordeaux.



CHAPTER V

1357-1358

Dreadful state of France—Flight of the Queen—Princes of Navarre ravage the country—Recapture Evreux—Escape of King of Navarre—He enters Paris—His reconciliation with the Dauphin—He pays funeral honours to his friends at Rouen—Uproar in Paris—Murder of the Marshals of Normandy and Champagne—Jacquerie—Etienne Marcel—Murder of the treasurer of the King of Navarre—His defiance and vengeance.

THE defeat of Poitiers was worse than the one which had befallen the French ten years before at Crécy, and it threw the whole country into a state of dismay and confusion impossible to describe. The princes and the scattered remnants of the army returned to Paris about the end of September, the Dauphin assumed the government, and summoned the states to assemble early in October. The Queen fled to Burgundy and took refuge in her son's capital, but the two Queens dowager remained at Paris or in its neighbourhood. It was no desirable residence at

this time. The nation, though willing to make great sacrifices for the ransom of the King, was greatly irritated at the extravagance and misgovernment that had brought about these calamities. It came out that Jean, at the time when poverty and distress were at the worst, had given fifty thousand *écus* to one of his knights named Robert de Loris. Many similar discoveries were made and the people demanded that the ministers should be arraigned, that a council should be formed to take part in the government, and that the King of Navarre should be set free.

The Dauphin then summoned the provincial states but did not find them any more amenable, and thus amidst general misery, anger, and discontent the winter wore on.

There was a severe earthquake on the 18th of October which destroyed several castles and towns, and was worst in Lorraine and Germany.

And for Blanche it was particularly a time of trouble and anxiety as her eldest brother was still in prison, having been transferred to the Château d'Arleux, near Poitiers, and the two younger ones were in arms against France. Philippe was defeated in Normandy and Godefroy de Harcourt killed, and soon afterwards Pont-Audemer was taken by the French troops. But Philippe was not dismayed by this reverse. He joined the Duke of Lancaster and together they ravaged Normandy up to within fifteen leagues of Paris. Then the Duke of Lancaster retreated; but Philippe at the head of a thousand cavalry — French, Navarrais, and Norman — continued his foray to within three leagues of the capital,

burning and plundering all the towns, manors, and châteaux on his way, and then, loaded with an immense booty, he retired to his stronghold in the Cotentin, without having lost a single man.¹ The country all round was in a dreadful state, what with the enemy, the bands of brigands that infested it, and the desperation of the unfortunate peasantry, many of whose seigneurs, released from their captivity in England, were returning to collect their ransoms, which they were endeavouring to wring out of their already ruined vassals.

The religious houses in the open country were no longer safe, monks and nuns poured into Paris; amongst others the Princess Jeanne, elder sister of Queen Blanche, her cousin the Prioress and the sisters of Longchamps, those of Poissy, the monks of Melun, Saint Antoine, Saint Marcel, and many other convents. Long processions of them might be seen winding through the gates and streets of Paris, thankful, as countless fugitives must have been in those times, when they found themselves safe within its walls.

In the spring a truce was concluded for two years between France and England, but it was only partially observed, and one Guillaume de Gonville, a chevalier of Philippe de Navarre, succeeded in surprising the castle of Evreux, to which he obtained admittance on pretence of playing chess with the châtelain, whom he killed, and the town immediately declared for their lawful seigneurs, the Princes of Navarre and Evreux. Philippe accord-

ingly took possession of the place, which he made his headquarters.

The recapture of Evreux was a great joy to the Navarre family. It was the birthplace of some and had been the home of all of them, and they had great affection for it. But in the following November a still greater piece of good fortune befell them. The states had repeatedly and vainly demanded the liberation of the King of Navarre, who was still imprisoned in the château d'Arleux. A certain Jean de Pequigny, who held an appointment under the King of France but secretly sympathised with the King of Navarre, and was most probably assisted by influential members of the State, resolved to deliver him; and for this purpose, having ascertained that the castle was carelessly guarded, he contrived, with ladders and ropes, to get into it one dark night with thirty armed companions. They were not discovered, and they did no harm to any one in the château; but before daybreak on the 9th of November the King of Navarre had escaped with them and was on his way to Amiens, where he was received with enthusiasm by his brother Philippe and by the people.

When the news of her brother's escape reached Blanche, she was absent from Paris, as was also their aunt, Queen Jeanne. They immediately hurried back to that city, and by their representations persuaded the Dauphin, who was now regent, to allow him to come to Paris and to send him a safe-conduct for himself and all his companions, the safe-conduct to be made out as his friends desired, that is to say, that no one of his company could be arrested for

anything whatever which they had done or might do, and that he might bring into Paris whoever and as many as he chose, armed or unarmed. This safe-conduct was sent to Amiens by Mahy de Pequigny, brother to the knight who had set him free.¹

Therefore on Wednesday, the vigil of St. Andrew, the King of Navarre, with a strong escort well armed and mounted, entered the capital. He was met at St. Denis by Jean de Meulan, Bishop of Paris, and a great number of chevaliers and bourgeois, who accompanied him to the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, where he took up his quarters.

The love and veneration with which the two Queens dowager were alike regarded by the royal family, the court, and the people gave them immense power and influence, which was most useful to Charles de Navarre in this and many other difficulties and dangers. And so were the charm and fascination he himself possessed, in common with Blanche and some of his other brothers and sisters, and which they probably inherited from the Evreux. Their father, Philippe le Bon ; their aunt, Queen Jeanne ; their grandfather, Louis d'Evreux ; their great aunt, Queen Marguërite of England, were all adored in whatever countries they happened to live and rule. Charles himself was so fascinating that he was said to be irresistible, and had always a great number of friends and adherents. The Spanish historians complain of the absurd and unfounded accusations with which the French chroniclers have blackened his name. The murder

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris ; Sismondi, "Histoire de France."

of Carlos de la Cerda, which was perhaps the most serious of the crimes he committed, was brought about by great provocation. It was an act of vengeance against an enemy who had not only wronged but insulted him, and in those times men trusted to their own swords to defend their rights or avenge their wrongs, so that such a deed was usually looked upon with leniency. And the same chroniclers who speak of it with such indignation have little or no fault to find with the beheading of Clisson and the Breton nobles by Philippe de Valois, or the murders of Raoul, Comte de Guines, and of the nobles seized at Rouen by Jean le Bon. But people set very slight value upon other people's lives in those days of strife and bloodshed; and many even of the names that stand out in history as greatest and best are stained by deeds of violence. The massacre of Limoges will ever tarnish the fair fame of the Black Prince and the murder of the Red Comyn that of Robert Bruce.

“The next day, the feast of St. Andrew, about the hour of prime,” says the chronicler of St. Denis, “the King of Navarre who had caused it to be known in the town of Paris, in different places, that he wished to speak to the people of the said town, mounted on to a scaffolding on the walls of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, overlooking the Pré aux Clercs, which scaffolding was made for the King of France to see the judicial combats (*les gaiges de batailles*), which sometimes were fought in some *listes* that were in the said meadow, adjoining the walls of St. Germain. To which came many people for the proclamation which the said King of Navarre and

the said *prévost des marchands* had made in several quarters of the said town.¹ And in the presence of ten thousand people he said many things, demonstrating that he had been taken without cause and kept in prison for nineteen months, and against several of the people and officers of the King he said many things."

The chronicler of St. Denis seems to be much astonished and shocked that Charles should presume to find any fault with the man who had seized his property, murdered his friends, and imprisoned and threatened to murder himself; but these chronicles of the reigns of Jean and Charles V. were almost certainly written under the influence of Charles V., which sufficiently accounts for the adulations of the French kings and abuse of every one who opposed them, which we find therein.²

With persuasive eloquence Charles described to the assembled people his love for France, which prevented his adding to her difficulties by putting forward his claim to the crown, although he stood much nearer to it than the King of England, and his sufferings during his unjust imprisonment to which they listened with tears of sympathy and shouts of "Navarre! Navarre!" The Parisians were now more devoted than ever to the King of Navarre and clamoured for peace to be made between him and the Dauphin. And the next morning a deputation consisting of the *prévost des marchands* and others presented themselves at the palace with a request,

¹ "Pluseurs quarterniers et cinquanteniers de ladite ville."

² Paulin Paris, "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. vi. p. 65, note.

which looked more like a demand, that the Dauphin would at once do right and justice to the King of Navarre. The Dauphin accordingly had recourse to the Queens dowager, who seem to have been in the rather unenviable position of those who are always called in when there is a family quarrel or rout, and expected to arrange and quiet the disturbances which have been made by other people.

It was not a very easy matter to arrange either. Charles de Navarre hated the Valois because he thought that by right he should be the king and they the vassals, and because not satisfied with taking his crown they were always wronging and injuring him in other ways.

They hated him as a powerful and turbulent subject and a dangerous rival. He was far superior in intellect to Jean, and in good looks, martial renown, and popularity to the Dauphin; and though the latter was regent and the head of the country, he was just then discredited and unpopular; while Charles de Navarre was at the head of a strong party and the idol of the Parisians, some of whom were saying that the calamities which had befallen them during the reigns of the two Valois were a divine judgment upon France for not letting the crown go to the lawful heir.

The Queens consented to mediate, and it was arranged that the Dauphin should meet the King of Navarre at the hôtel of their aunt and cousin, Queen Jeanne. Accordingly, on Saturday, December 3rd, after dinner, the Dauphin presented himself in the palace or hôtel of Queen Jeanne, with a few unarmed attendants; and shortly afterwards the King of Navarre arrived, with a strong, armed

escort ; and entered the saloon, where he and the Dauphin saluted each other very coldly, which was not surprising, considering their last meeting. The serjeants-at-arms of the Dauphin were obliged to leave lest any harm should be done them by the guards of the King of Navarre, who were stationed outside all the time of the conference.

A council was held the next day, at which the *prévost des marchands* said to the Dauphin, "Sire, grant the King of Navarre what he asks with a good grace, for it will have to be done."¹

Charles of Navarre got all he demanded. All the lands, castles, and property which he possessed at the time he was taken prisoner were to be given back to him, a free pardon granted to him, and all his adherents, for whatever offence they might have committed against the King or kingdom of France ; the bodies of the Comte de Harcourt and the others who were put to death at Rouen, were to be taken down from the gallows on which they were afterwards hung, and given to their families to be buried in consecrated ground ; all their confiscated lands and goods restored to their children and heirs, and in reparation for the injuries done to him a large sum of money, or lands instead thereof, to be given to the King of Navarre. But this last condition excited so much uneasiness in the minds of the Dauphin and his friends, who had some suspicion that he would

¹ "Sire, faites aimablement au roy de Navarre ce qu'il vous requiert, car il convient qu'il soit fait-ainsi" ("Grandes Chroniques de France," Paulin Paris, t. vi. p. 69).

demand either the county of Champagne or the duchy of Normandy; that they granted all the other conditions, but put off discussing this one until another day.

For three or four days the Dauphin and the King of Navarre were nearly always together. They dined at the palace or with the Bishop of Laon, a staunch friend to the Navarre party, or at the hôtel of Queen Jeanne, with much festivity. They also went privately in each other's company to visit the holy relics. But Philippe de Navarre would not by any means come to Paris, nor be included in the peace, having no faith in the Dauphin, and remembering how his mistrust had saved him from sharing the fate of his friends at Rouen. Also he did not choose to be mixed up with, or owe anything to the *bourgeoisie*, upon whom, he declared, no dependence could be placed.

On the 8th of January Charles entered Rouen, where he was met, as at Paris, by a great concourse of people, and one of his first acts was to send to the gallows, and order the bodies of the four nobles, his friends, to be taken down. That of the Comte de Harcourt could not be found, having been secretly removed by his friends, but the other three, namely, the Seigneur de Graille, Maubué de Mainesmares, and Colinet Doublet, were placed in coffins, with another empty one to represent the Comte de Harcourt. And "about the hour of *tierce*" came the King of Navarre on horseback, with a great number of people—both mounted and on foot, and a hundred *varlets*, each bearing a great torch and a shield with

the arms of Navarre—to conduct the bodies in solemn procession to the field called *le Champ du Pardon*, where they had been put to death. At the place on which they had suffered, the procession stopped, and the coffins were placed on the spot where they had died. Then a great company of monks of the different orders began to chant “*moult sollempnellement*,” the vigil of the dead.

It was an imposing scene. In the midst the coffins where the nuns had shrouded the dead, a crowd of monks kneeling close about them, the fitful glare of torches on cowls, banners, and gleaming armour of mounted knights and soldiers mingling with the multitude who stood around, while the solemn music of the *Miserere* rose through the gloom of the wintry air. Many a fierce vow of vengeance was doubtless muttered amongst the holy chants by those who were bound by blood or friendship to the murdered knights, before the office was done and the procession formed again and turned back towards Rouen.

First went the coffins of Maubué and Colinet, with two esquires on horseback, bearing their arms, and followed by their friends and kinsmen. Next the funeral car of the Seigneur de Gravelle, after which two carried banners emblazoned with his arms, and two rode chargers, armed, one for the tourney, the other for war, then the kindred, friends and followers of his house; and lastly, the empty coffin representing the Comte de Harcourt, with four armed men, behind which rode the King of Navarre, with his friends and vassals, and those of the house

of Harcourt. And thus they were borne to the gate behind the château of Rouen, at which they were placed in the carts when they went to execution. And then they stopped, and the knights and esquires took the coffins on their shoulders and carried them to the cathedral church of Notre Dame de Rouen. And the King of Navarre and a great multitude followed on foot, and it was late at night when they entered the church. And they placed them in a chapel filled with lighted candles.

And the next morning, from a window over the door of St. Ouen of Rouen, the King of Navarre addressed the people, and great crowds came to listen to him. And he told them of all his dangers and sufferings, and spoke many times of the dead, calling them martyrs. And the people were deeply affected. After this he went to the church of Our Lady, where mass for the dead was solemnly celebrated by the Bishop of Avranches, and the bodies were placed in the vaults of the church.¹

Blanche and her aunt, Queen Jeanne, remained at Paris, which was every day more crowded with fugitives who fled from the open country, now being ravaged by the enemy nearly up to St. Cloud. Very shortly after they had patched up a precarious peace between the Dauphin and the King of Navarre, they had all their work to begin over again. For Charles found that in spite of the promises of the Dauphin, he could not get back several of the most important of his fortresses, as their châtelains declared that they had been given to their keeping by King

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. vi.

Jean, and that without his authority they would not yield them up, even at the command of the Dauphin. Charles de Navarre knew well enough that this was an excuse, and that the orders of the Dauphin were, in the absence of his father, obeyed without any reference to that monarch; so, perceiving that the conditions were not going to be kept, he began hostilities again. The Queens dowager, much disturbed at this state of things, again tried to arrange matters between the Dauphin, who was at Paris, and the King of Navarre, now at Mantes; who, in consequence of their persuasion sent Jean de Pequigny, the knight who had delivered him from Arleux, to confer with them, and with the Dauphin. The latter knelt on one knee before Blanche and Jeanne,¹ who raised him, and invited him to sit beside them. Several members of the council also being present they listened to the messenger, who claimed for the King of Navarre the fortresses he had been promised but had not recovered, 40,000 *florins à l'écu*, and some jewels that had been taken from him at the time of his imprisonment and never restored. The Dauphin would only reply that he had kept his promises, and defied anybody who denied it; and the Bishop of Laon said that the Dauphin would consider the matter, with which unsatisfactory ending the conference closed.

Meanwhile the uproar in the city increased. Neither Jeanne nor Blanche were in any danger, as they were each of them adored by both the opposing factions, but if they were safe very few

¹Paulin Paris, "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. vi. p. 4.

others were, for Etienne Marcel, *prévost des marchands* and his party, after vainly pressing for an arrangement, forced their way into the palace, and murdered the Marshals of Normandy and Champagne in the very presence of the Dauphin, who, to preserve his own life, was compelled to put on the red and blue hood or *chapperon* of Etienne Marcel (the colours of the city), while he gave his own cap of costly stuff bordered with gold to the *prévost des marchands*. The bodies of the Marshals were dragged into the court of the palace, and no one dared bury them, such was the fury of the populace. Etienne Marcel harangued them from a window in the *hôtel de ville*, and called on the people to support him. They replied with acclamations, and Etienne Marcel returning to the palace brought two pieces of stuff, red and blue, out of which hoods were made for the household of the Dauphin, as a protection.

The tumult raged all day, and late at night Etienne Marcel came to the *hôtel* of Queen Jeanne, so often the scene of secret councils and political arrangements. They talked together long and earnestly until the night was far spent; the unscrupulous but patriotic leader of the revolution and the widowed Queen, whose powerful intellect and lofty character could sway the councils and change the purpose of the fierce, reckless chiefs of both sides in those stormy days. Before he left her he entreated that she would bring back to Paris her nephew the King of Navarre. And before the end of February a troop of armed cavaliers, led by Charles de Navarre, rode into Paris, and alighted at the *Hôtel de Nesle*,

which then belonged to the Dauphin. All that week the two Queens, Jeanne and Blanche, with the *prévost des marchands*, the Bishop of Laon, and his companions, worked hard to restore peace between the Dauphin and the King of Navarre, and apparently succeeded, for an agreement was arrived at after ten or twelve days, during which they were constantly together, dining with each other every day, and seeming to be excellent friends. Also the Dauphin gave the Hôtel de Nesle to the King of Navarre. And it was agreed that Moret in Aquitaine should be given to his sister, Queen Blanche, as part of her dowry, which was still owing to her.

Philippe, Comte de Longueville, second brother of Blanche, was still in the camp of the enemy. During this spring or summer Charles made a journey to his kingdom of Navarre, which he found in good order, owing to the wise government of his youngest brother, Louis.¹ Don Pedro, of Castille, sent an embassy to congratulate him on his freedom, and offer his alliance.

Meanwhile the state of things grew worse in France. The Jacquerie or peasants' war had broken out in May. The extortions and cruelties of the nobles had roused a deep hatred among the peasantry towards the higher classes, and in the revolt which rapidly spread in the north of France they spared neither young nor old. Châteaux were burnt; men, women, and children tortured and slain. Many of the lowest classes in Paris and other towns joined them. The Ile de France, the headquarters of the

¹ Mariana, "Hist. España," t. ix. lxxviii.

revolt, was filled with terror and devastation. This outbreak, however, could not possibly be successful. When the nobles who had escaped recovered from the first shock of it, their one thought of course was vengeance. They attacked the undisciplined hordes of peasants, put them to flight, and such was the slaughter and destruction first by the *Jacques*, as they were called, and then by the gentlemen, that the country districts of the Ile de France were almost without inhabitants. Some gentlemen belonging to the King of Navarre having been massacred by the *Jacques*, he attacked them at Clermont, in Beauvoisin, hanged their leader, Guillaume de Cale, who wished to treat with him, and regarding them as furious wild beasts with whom no alliance was possible, he put about three thousand of them to the sword and dispersed the rest. The rebellion, frightful while it lasted, was put down at the end of six weeks. The Queens, Jeanne and Blanche, do not seem to have been in any great peril from these horrible excesses, but several of the princesses of the royal family, among them the Dauphine ¹ herself, had very narrow escapes. The Duchesse d'Orléans, only surviving daughter of Queen Jeanne, was in the castle of Beaumont-sur-Oise, which was burnt by the *Jacques*, but warned in time of the approach of the murderers, she escaped and arrived safely at Paris.

When the Jacquerie was quelled, Charles de Navarre returned to Paris, where Etienne Marcel, who saw

¹ The details of the Jacquerie belong more properly to the life of Jeanne de Bourbon, wife of Charles V., then Dauphine.

that without any trained cavalry it would be impossible for him to wage war with any success against the nobles, did everything in his power to gain over the King of Navarre, representing to him that if he were at enmity with the people of Paris the Dauphin would no longer fear him, or keep the promises he had made. Charles was hovering on the verge of hostility, lasting peace or friendship between himself and the Valois kings seemed impossible. He made several seditious speeches at Paris, saying that he was a *Fleur-de-lis* on all sides, which was certainly true, for his father, mother, and grandparents were all descended from Kings of France. Also reminding the people that his mother if she had been a man, would have been King, as she was the only child of a King of France.

Queen Jeanne had gone to Laigny for the summer, (it was now June), and was engaged in negotiations between the Dauphin and the Parisians. Charles de Navarre seems to have been hesitating between the two parties. He was Captain-general of Paris, chosen by the bourgeois of the town, but he had been one of the most active in assisting the nobles to put down the Jacquerie, and when Marcel, on the 8th July, requested him to repulse the troops of the Dauphin beyond Charenton, instead of attacking him, he had a long and secret interview with him in a tent. For a new and powerful partisan had grown up to take his side. The Queen of Navarre was now fifteen, and being deeply in love with him, and having at the same time much influence with her brother the Dauphin, who was very fond of her,

she used all her interest for the benefit of her husband on every possible occasion.

The Parisians raised the cry of treason, and deposed him from being Captain-general. Irritated by this, Charles withdrew from Paris, and his soldiers, especially the English, began to pick quarrels with the citizens, so that several were killed on both sides. He took up his quarters at St. Denis, and his troops plundered the country around.

Still he wavered between the two parties. The Dauphin offered to give him 400,000 florins and to pardon the Parisians on condition that the *prévost des marchands* with twelve bourgeois selected by himself should be given up to him to deal with as he chose.

Marcel, on the other hand, had various interviews with him in which he again represented how little reliance could be placed upon the promises of the Dauphin if once he were to lose the support of the Parisians. He sent him money to pay his troops and released more than two hundred of his English and Navarrais soldiers who had been arrested in a riot in the city. Charles had offended the people by taking the part of these English and Navarrais in their quarrels with the Parisians. He had publicly complained of some having been imprisoned when they had come to Paris under his safe-conduct, and when, as he rode out of the city, there had been a skirmish between some of the Parisians and his English followers, and their comrades hidden in a wood had suddenly fallen upon the French and driven them back with great loss, Charles refused

to interfere. He, and still more the *prévost des marchands*, who had ridden out of Paris with him, were much murmured against by the populace.¹

All the hopes of Etienne Marcel were in the King of Navarre, and Charles himself felt that he could not afford to lose the powerful support of the populace of Paris. He never, in spite of treaties and reconciliations without number, could forget his claims to the throne of France, or regard as anything but usurpers those who occupied it instead of him.

He accordingly desired to be re-elected Captain-general of the Parisians, and accepted the proposal of Etienne Marcel to that effect, stipulating that the gate of St. Denis and the fortress called Bastille built over it should be given into his hands so that he and his troops could come in and out from St. Denis at his pleasure.

Etienne Marcel knew well enough that the councillors and *échevins* who were irritated against the King of Navarre and his English followers would never allow the keys of Paris to be given, as he had promised, to his treasurer, Jossieran de Mascon. He therefore tried to change the guards of the Bastille St. Denis, during the night of the 31st July-1st August, and to place there instead, men who were devoted to his interests. But Jean Maillart, an *échevin* of Paris, who had hitherto acted with him, discovered his intentions and resolved to make his peace with the Dauphin rather than trust to the King

¹ Sismondi, "Histoire de France," Paulin Paris; "Grandes Chroniques de France."

of Navarre. So he sought Pepin des Essarts and Jean de Charny, whom he knew to be the chiefs of the royalist party in Paris, and warned them that the Bastille de Saint Denis would be given up that night to the Navarrais. At the hour when Marcel was in the act of withdrawing the guard, these three, with a band of armed men appeared and charged Marcel with treason, pointing as a proof to the keys he held in his hands. Then arose the cry of "Down with the *prévost* and his friends! Death to the traitors!" Jean de Charny struck him down with his axe, six of the magistrates of Paris were slain with him, and more than sixty of their supporters thrown into prison. Their leaders being dead, imprisoned, or in hiding, the party of the people and the King of Navarre fell to pieces. The royalists sent at once to the Dauphin, putting to death meanwhile Josseran de Mascon, the treasurer of the King of Navarre, and Charles de Couvvar, one of his supporters. The Dauphin returned and established himself in the Louvre, where he recalled the Dauphine and the ladies of the court.

The King of Navarre, furious at the murder of his treasurer and his friends among the *bourgeoisie* to whom he had so lately owed his own safety, and also at being accused of intending to massacre the Parisians, immediately sent a defiance to the Dauphin, pillaged the town of Saint Denis and its rich abbey and departed.¹

Blanche was now about five and twenty. Surrounded with friends, possessed of the highest rank

¹ Sismondi, "Histoire de France."

and of an ample dowry, she passed an existence as secure and prosperous as was possible in those unsettled times. Besides the care of her little daughter and of her young sister Jeanne la Jeune, the government of her estates and her charitable work amongst the poor and in the convents, her life was full of interest and stirring events. Concerned in all the most important affairs that took place at the French court, or that in any way affected her kindred, her influence was constantly sought by one or other of the members of the royal family, the nobles, the clergy, in fact by everybody.

CHAPTER VI

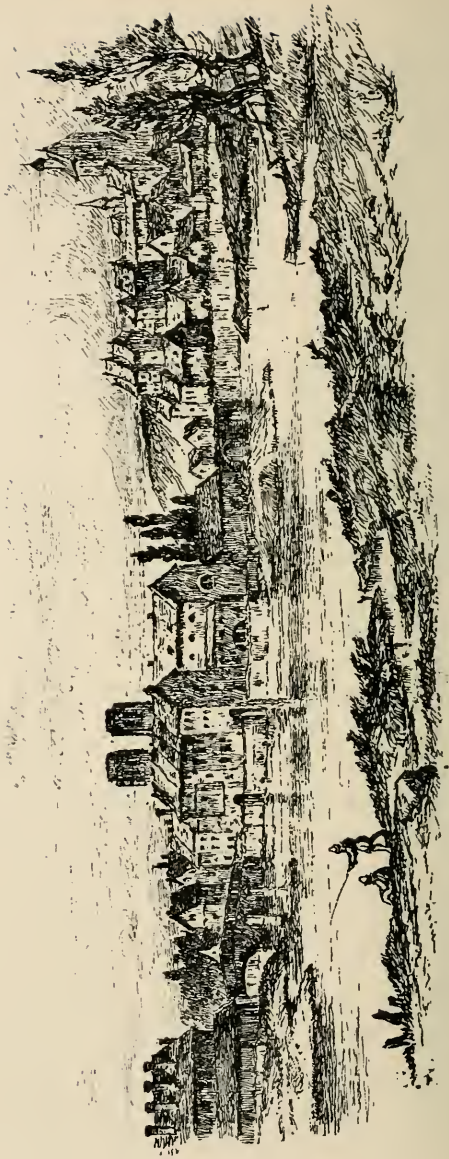
1358-1372

Queen Blanche at Melun—The headquarters of the Navarrais—The robber castle of Creil—Siege of Melun—Surrender—Release of King Jean—Death of Philippe de Navarre—Succession of Burgundy—Jeanne la Jeune and the Captal de Buch—Death of Jeanne d'Evreux—Her will—Betrothal and death of Princess Jeanne de France—Death of Louis de Navarre, and of the Queen of France.

THE old town of Melun on the Seine lies about twenty miles south-east of Paris, and at that time was strongly fortified. Its ancient château had been a royal residence ever since the early Capétiens. Built on both sides of the river, the left bank belonged to Blanche as part of her dowry,¹ and she was in the habit of passing a good deal of time there. After the last negotiations in which she had been engaged in behalf of her brother, she had returned to Melun, where she was spending the summer in the society of her aunt, Queen Jeanne d'Evreux, and her young sister, Jeanne la Jeune.

The Château de Melun was on an island in the

¹ Sismondi, "Histoire de France," t. vi. p. 118.



MELUN.

Seine, and connected by bridges with the town on its banks. It was Saturday, August 4, 1358, when the King of Navarre, with three hundred Navarrais and English, came up the river and sought admittance into the fortress. He had plundered St. Denis and defied the Dauphin, but, as Sismondi remarks, although Charles was called "le Mauvais," his relations loved him much better than the Dauphin, Charles le Sage, and his sister at once threw open the gates of the château. Although she was on good terms with all the different members of the royal family, who were constantly at enmity with each other, Blanche did not hesitate when it was a question of her own people. She declared for her brother, the King of Navarre, and admitted his followers into her castle. She then sent to reassure the townspeople, telling them to have no fear, as no harm was intended to them, the troops would go on their way when sufficiently rested and refreshed. Next morning, however, about two hundred of them, accompanied by the Queen's chancellor, presented themselves at the bridge of the town, then guarded by Jean de Boigny with twenty men. The chancellor ordered them to let them pass in the Queen's name, declaring that they would do them no harm but only wanted provisions. The gate was accordingly opened, and the troops poured in and seized the keys with cries for Queen Blanche and the King of Navarre. The inhabitants submitted, and the Navarrais proceeded to fortify the part of the town of which they were in possession. It became one of the strongholds and headquarters of the Navarrais ; and as it commanded

the Seine south-east of Paris, while Meulan and Mantes, which were held by Philippe, Comte de Longueville, the second of the princes of Navarre, were on that river to the north-west of it, they prevented provisions or fuel being taken into the capital by what was then the great highway for merchandise of every kind.

The King of Navarre, who had plenty of money, enlisted under his banner any, no matter of what nation, who were the enemies of France; but his troops were chiefly composed of Navarrais and English. He quickly assembled a considerable army, which he divided with his brother Philippe, and very soon these princes, who were both famed for their talents and daring, became the terror of the neighbouring provinces. They seized the castles and fortified towns commanding the roads to Paris so as effectually to cut off supplies from that city, and no one was safe from their forays.

They swept the whole country, riding frequently thirty leagues in a night to surprise some distant place, capturing nobles and ladies in their beds and carrying them off to be ransomed. None dared travel on the high road without a safe-conduct from the Navarrais. As to the peasants, some fortified the towers of their churches and placed sentinels, who were often children, upon them to watch for the enemy and ring the bells to warn those at work in the fields of their coming. Others slept at night with their families on the islands in the Loire, or in boats anchored far from the shores. But the greatest number, abandoning their fields and home-

steads, took refuge in the towns, carrying with them whatever they could save from the wreck of their property.¹

One of the strongest fortresses of the Navarrais was Creil. Built on a little island in the river on the borders of the forest of Chantilly, part of it, now converted into a house, it may be seen to this day.

It had belonged to Beatrix de Bourbon, widow of the King of Bohemia, and afterwards been taken by the Navarrais, who made it one of their chief headquarters, and under whose rule it became a type of the legendary castle of *brigandage*.

It commanded the Oise and interrupted all communication between Paris and Picardy; the garrison consisted of five hundred men, half Navarrais and half English, and the governor for some time was Jean de Pequigny, who rescued the King of Navarre from the castle of Arleux.

Creil was not only strongly fortified, but excellently organised. The Navarrais lived in luxury and splendour within its walls, levying tolls for safe-conducts alike on rich and poor, ecclesiastic and layman, with heavy duties on all merchandise.

The fortress was amply provided with every requirement. Blacksmiths, tanners, saddlers, butchers, tailors, dressmakers, cooks, a doctor, an apothecary, and a miller were to be found there; besides a Parisian draper who had been taken prisoner and brought thither. Also a dealer or money-lender named Thomas Stafford, an Englishman, who advanced to one Jean de Campenay a sum of money

¹ Sismondi.

sufficient to pay his ransom to the famous brigand Hoppequin Lichefer, by whom he had been taken prisoner.¹

In the intervals between their forays, the princes of Navarre and their companions would appear at Melun to visit the ladies of their families who had sought its shelter; amongst whom were three queens, Jeanne d'Evreux, Blanche de Navarre, and the Queen of Navarre, wife of Charles le Mauvais, besides of course the little daughter of Blanche and her youngest sister, Jeanne la Jeune.

The chronicler remarks that "in the first week of September, about the hour of *tierce*, the King of Navarre rode to Melun to refresh his people and see his sisters, Queen Blanche, and another called Jeanne, who were in the château. And on the way he set fire to several towns."² To the Queens and the ladies of their court shut up in Melun these flying visits must have been the chief events of their lives. One can picture to oneself the feelings of mingled joy and dread with which they must have listened when the bugles sounded and the cavalry of the King of Navarre or the Comte de Longueville rode across the drawbridge and clattered through the narrow streets; with what breathless anxiety they must have looked for husband, father, brother, or son, among those mail-clad soldiers who were ever in the midst of death and danger. The young chevaliers vied with each other in exploits of reckless daring or, as Froissart calls them, "*belles bachelories*," in honour

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France."
Siméon Luce, "La guerre de cent ans."

of the women they loved. Eustache d'Aubercicourt was then carrying devastation all over Champagne and Brie for the love of Isabelle de Juliers,¹ niece of the Queen of England; "*car il estoit jeune et amoureux durement, et entreprenant.*" And there was plenty of attraction for the chevaliers of the King of Navarre among the princesses and their court in Melun. The young Queen of Navarre was scarcely sixteen years old, the Queen dowager, Blanche, was in the height of her beauty, and her sister, the Princess Jeanne la Jeune, was considered one of the prettiest girls in France, and had many admirers among the friends and vassals of her brother; one of these was the famous Captal de Buch, the hero of the Marché de Meaux,² a Gascon gentleman and subject of King Edward.

The part of Melun on the left bank of the Seine which belonged to Blanche was garrisoned by Navarrais; the château was on an island in the river, and was guarded by two Navarrais captains, in the absence of the King of Navarre.

About the end of September several of the partisans of Charles were put to death at Amiens, having made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of that city. Robert le Coq, Bishop of Laon, who had been a friend of Etienne Marcel, and was devoted to the Navarre family, had a narrow escape of sharing their fate. Orders were given for his arrest and execution, but he received timely warning, and escaping from his enemies

¹ She encouraged his daring adventures and used to send him horses and love-letters. They afterwards married.

² The story of the Marché de Meaux belongs to the life of Jeanne de Bourbon, wife of Charles V.

he fled to Melun, where he was received with open arms. The King of Navarre afterwards made him Bishop of Calahorra. He also gave the Castle of Tinchebrai to Jean de Pequigny, who had delivered him from his captivity at Arleux.

Things remained in this state as weeks and months passed away. Summer faded into autumn, and autumn into winter, and there was no change in the position of the opposing parties. Towards the end of December the Queen received the visit of the Cardinals de Périgord and d'Urgel, who had been to Paris to see the Dauphin, and to Meulan to see the King of Navarre, who was just then at that place. Their efforts having failed, they came as a last resource to Blanche. However, this time she could do nothing, so the Cardinals departed to Avignon, and on the way the Cardinal de Périgord was attacked and robbed of a great deal of property. But this was probably done by mistake, as we are told that it was all given back to him.¹

And on the 8th of January, "Tuesday after the Apparition" (Epiphany), a great expedition was made by the Navarrais and English to Laigny-sur-Marne, which they sacked and burnt, reducing the town to such ruins that it was deserted by its inhabitants.²

Many houses and buildings belonging to the Abbaye du Lys had also been burnt, notwithstanding the Abbess being a cousin of the King of Navarre.

But the state of affairs had by this time become unbearable. Not only was the country devastated and ruined, but Paris itself was getting short of pro-

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. vi. p. 146.

² Ibid.

visions, and the people declared that something must be done. The Dauphin at last quitted Paris at the head of 3,000 lances and took up his quarters in the French part of Melun, on the right bank of the Seine. It was the beginning of June, the King of Navarre was in Normandy, and the Comte de Longueville also away. The Dauphin fortified the Abbaye du Lys and began the siege. Queen Blanche sent him a message that if he did not retire she would know how to defend the inheritance that belonged to her. The artillery opened fire, and huge stones were hurled into the castle and the part of the town on the opposite bank of the river all day and night.

The Queens were all dreadfully frightened, and kept calling on the Navarrais captains to surrender, and on the King of Navarre to come and deliver them.¹ The Navarrais would not surrender, but assured the Queens they could hold the place, and Charles de Navarre assembled his army in haste at Meulan and Mantes, and summoned his brother and the other leaders scattered about in the different castles and towns which they garrisoned, to join him at once. But they were so long about it that the Queens, taking advantage of the delay, opened negotiations with the Dauphin, their brother and cousin, who was ready enough to treat with them; for in spite of the willingness of the Queens to arrange peace, the garrison were defending themselves vigorously. Many skirmishes and bold feats of arms were performed by the young chevaliers before the château de Melun² under the eyes of the Queens and

¹ Sismondi, "Hist. France," t. vi. p. 116.

² "Chronique des quatre premiers Valois."

their ladies imprisoned within the walls. And news came that the King of England was getting his fleet ready to bring the help asked for by Philippe de Navarre, who had appealed to him. Charles de Navarre was induced to enter into negotiations which were transferred to Pontoise and then to St. Denis. Blanche consented to sell Melun to the Dauphin, receiving in exchange Vernon, Neauffle, and Neufchâtel de Liancourt in Normandy. This being amicably settled she gave up Melun and went to reside at Vernon, and Queen Jeanne, "that good creature towards God and man,"¹ succeeded in concluding a treaty of peace between the Dauphin and the King of Navarre. Philippe, Comte de Longueville, again refused to be included in it, and having in vain tried to dissuade his brother, finding his advice and resistance useless, left Vernon and joined the English at Saint-Sauveur le Vicomte,² telling Charles that he must be bewitched and reproaching him for breaking faith with his ally the King of England. This peace saved Paris and was the greatest relief to the Dauphin, who had hardly dared leave the city lest the people should recall the King of Navarre.

¹ "*Madame la royne Jehanne, icelle bonne créature envers Dieu et le monde, si traita de paix entre monseigneur le régent et le roy de Navarre par Monseigneur Regnault de Braquemont et Monsieur de Friquans, pour cause que le roy d'Angleterre et son filz le Prince de Galles venoient en France. Car se monseigneur le duc et le roy de Navarre avoient guerre ensemble, le royaume de France seroit en péril d'être perdu. Et pour éviter à ce grant peril et plus efforcement resister au roy d'Angleterre et à son filz le prince de Galles fut l'acort fait entre le duc de Normandie et le roy de Navarre*" ("Chronique des quatre premiers Valois").

² De Mézeray, "Hist. France," t. iii. p. 57.

In the following year King Edward sailed from England with a great army, joined the Duke of Lancaster, and with the Prince of Wales and his younger sons marched to Rheims with the project of taking that city and then causing himself to be crowned King of France. He brought with him, as Froissart remarks, six thousand carts with provisions, ovens, mills, forges, &c., such as had never yet accompanied an army. It was well that he did so, as his march lay through a ruined country, in which for three years the peasantry had not dared to cultivate the fields, and many persons had died of hunger; and it poured with rain.¹ For seven weeks the English army lay before Rheims; but although the country was deserted, the towns had been well provisioned and fortified, so that neither Rheims, St. Omer, Amiens, nor any other great town fell into its hands.²

A fresh quarrel had broken out in January of this year between the King of Navarre and the Dauphin, but when in the autumn peace was declared, and King Jean returned to France, King Edward not only brought about a reconciliation between him and the King of Navarre, who met him at St. Denis, without accompanying him in his entry into Paris; but also induced Philippe, Comte de Longueville, to agree to it, and to sign the treaty for his brother, which he did on the 24th of October of that year.³

In 1362, Jean, having assumed the cross during a visit he made to the Pope at Avignon, wrote to Philippe de

¹ Sismondi.

² De Mézeray, "Hist. France," t. iii. p. 58.

³ Sismondi.

Navarre to that effect, and immediately received from him a letter offering to accompany him on that holy journey, bringing a thousand soldiers, and saying that to fight the enemies of the faith was the thing in the world he most desired. Delighted at this proposal, Jean exclaimed, "There was a day when he was my mortal enemy; now, thank God, my perfect friend and dear cousin, Philippe de Navarre. Well said my brother the King of England when he made peace between me and him;" and he at once replied that he made him master and general of all his people on this enterprise against the miscreant Saracens, enemies of the faith.¹

But Philippe de Navarre never carried out his crusading plans, for in August, 1363, in what the chronicler of the "Quatre premiers Valois" called a "chevauchie," he was encamped by the wayside when a company of nobles of his acquaintance came up from Rouen, who although they had brought with them plenty of provisions, had no wine. Now Philippe de Navarre had only two barrels of wine, but he at once invited them all to dine with him, and ordered table cloths to be spread in a garden close by, and all the wine to be poured into a fountain which was there, saying "*Beaux seigneurs, or faisons liement et prenons à gre, car à présent je ne vous puis plus de vin aisier.*" Knights and men-at-arms feasted sumptuously to-

¹ "De la response de Monsieur Philippe de Navarre fut moult grandement liez et joyeux et dist ces paroles le roy Jehan qui furent ouyez, 'Il fut ja ung jour que c'estoit mon mortel enemi. Or c'est Dieu mercy mon parfait amy nostre amé cousin Philippe de Navarre. Bien m'en dist vray mon frère le roy d'Angleterre, quant il fist l'acort entre moy et luy'" ("Chronique des quatre premiers Valois").

gether, but the weather was very hot, and becoming overheated during this revelry, Philippe afterwards took a violent chill. He rode on to Vernon, now the abode of his sisters, Queen Blanche and Jeanne la Jeune, where his illness so increased that he took to his bed, from which it soon became evident that he would never rise again. "Deep was the grief of Queen Blanche as she watched at the death-bed of a brother so brave and noble, and bitterly she lamented for him."¹ Philippe de Navarre, when he saw the malady become worse, devoutly made confession. Much he regretted that he must give up the crusade with King Jean,² and still more he grieved for his brother, the King of Navarre, whose right hand he had ever been, by whose side he had ridden in many a foray, and fought in many a battle, for whose sake he had defied the Dauphin and King of France, and to whom he had ever been true and loyal. With a deep sigh, the dying prince exclaimed: "*Ha! beau frère*, Charles de Navarre! your enemies will awake against you after my death, and much they will do to trouble you with Jean, the noble King of France."³ After this he spoke no more, but they gave him the last sacraments and absolution, "*a pena et culpa*," as he desired. Then he breathed a last sigh and

¹ "Chronique des quatre premiers Valois."

² "Ha! ha! Jehan! très-redouté et souverain seigneur, departir me convient de la très-haute emprise que vous m'aviez octroïée du sain voiage d'oultre mer celui seigneur qui y vould prendre char humaine vous doint fournir vostre voiage" ("Chronique des quatre premiers Valois").

³ "Ha beau frère, Charles de Navarre! moult s'esveilleront encontre vous vos enemis après ma mort, et moult se peneront de vous troubler par devers Jehan le noble roy de France."

devoutly passed away. His sisters, Queen Blanche and Madame Jeanne de Navarre, were overcome with grief, calling him their good brother who supported and protected them, and repeating that his place could never be filled, and that they could never be comforted.¹ Philippe de Navarre, Comte de Longueville, was buried by the command of Queen Blanche in the church of Notre Dame d'Evreux, and King Jean, who deeply lamented his death, ordered "*très-pont service et grandes ormosnes pour prier Dieu pour lui*," says the chronicler of the first four Valois, who describes Philippe de Navarre as "the good knight so loved by all soldiers for his gentleness and courtesy, than whom there was no better on this side the sea."² Blanche continued to live for some time at Vernon; the "Trésor des Chartes" records various "Quittances" given by her at intervals for sums of money raised on her lands respecting the ransom of the King, then a prisoner in England.

The death of Philippe de Navarre was a great blow to his family and party. The third brother, Louis, Comte de Beaumont-le-Roger and Seigneur d'Anet, had been his eldest brother's viceroy in Navarre, whence he had sent troops to garrison his French strongholds. He had tried to persuade the King of

¹ "Ses sœurs madame la royne Blanche et Madame Jehanne de Navarre faisoient le plus merueilleux dueil du monde, criant 'Hélas Dieu ! qui fais tu, qui nous hostes notre bon frère et nostre espoux. Espoux voirement car par lui estions gardées et soustennes. Or avons nous tout perdus. Nul ne nous pourroit conforter'" ("Chronique des quatre premiers Valois").

² "Monsieur Philippe de Navarre, le bon chevalier qui tant paramoit les gens d'armes, par sa grant douceur et courtoisie, dont en son temps par deçà la mer n'avoit plus courtois qui lui ne plus sages jeunes homes de son estat" ("Chron. des quatre premiers Valois").

Aragon, the husband of their late sister Marie, to take his side, and on his refusal had gone to war with him. Now, on the death of their brother Philippe, he came to take his place in Normandy as lieutenant of the King of Navarre.

Charles had a new and just grievance against the Valois. The young Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Eudes and son of the Comte d'Artois, who was killed before Aiguillon, had died. The great Capétienne house of Burgundy had come to an end. His sister Jeanne died within a few weeks of him, so that the succession to that great duchy would naturally devolve upon the heirs of the eldest daughter of Duke Robert II., all those of his sons being dead. But Blanche, Comtesse de Savoie, his eldest daughter, had left no children, therefore in justice the Duchy of Burgundy ought to have gone to the King of Navarre, eldest son of the only child of Marguélite de Bourgogne, wife of Louis Hutin, and second daughter of Robert II. Jean, however, though his mother, Jeanne de Bourgogne, was the third daughter, seized the duchy on the pretext that he, as son of the third, was nearer to Robert II. than the grandson of his second daughter. The youngest daughter, Marie, Comtesse de Bar, was represented by her grandson. Charles de Navarre had of course protested, but in vain, and finding it impossible to get Burgundy, had offered to resign his pretensions to it in exchange for Champagne and Brie, of which he had been so unjustly deprived. However his remonstrances were useless, and he had gone to Navarre and joined Pedro the Cruel in making war upon the King of Aragon. He

became disgusted with Pedro, which was not surprising, relinquished his alliance, and joined his brother, Don Enrique de Transtamare.

Under these circumstances the Dauphin, who was now again regent, Jean having returned to England, thought it would be a good opportunity to attack the French fortresses of the King of Navarre, and sent Du Guesclin and Boucicault to surprise the Château of Rolleboise on the Seine, about a league from Mantes, and a great stronghold from which the Navarrais ravaged the country around. They succeeded in their attempt, and also got possession of Mantes and Meulan, putting to death several of the partisans of the King of Navarre. Meanwhile news came of the death of King Jean in England.

Just at this time there was dissension between Queen Blanche and the Dauphin, who wanted to get possession of Vernon, which she refused to yield to him. The Dauphin arrived with a strong force before it, but Regnault de Braquemont and Friquans succeeded in making peace between them. Immediately after it was concluded, the Captal de Buch arrived, having been sent by the King of Navarre, and not having heard of the disasters of Meulan and Mantes. The Captal and the Bishop of Avranches collected the scattered garrisons of the Navarrais and English fortresses, and did their best to reorganise the party, while the Dauphin, having arranged matters with Queen Blanche, received confirmation of the news of his father's death, hurried away to Paris, and then to Rheims for his coronation, leaving Bertrand du Guesclin as his lieutenant in Normandy to oppose the Captal de Buch.

Blanche and Jeanne la Jeune were now at Vernon, where the Captal de Buch arrived to visit them. The King of Navarre, at the request of the Black Prince himself, had promised his younger sister to this officer, one of the greatest leaders of the Navarrais and English armies. He dined with them on Monday at Whitsuntide, and when he took leave of them he kissed the Princess Jeanne, and the chronicler of the "Quatre premiers Valois" adds, "Moult plut celui baisier au Captal, car Madame Jeanne estoit une des plus belles dames de crestienté." Then he departed from Vernon and took to the field. But his marriage with the beautiful sister of Queen Blanche never took place. Very shortly after his farewell interview with those two princesses he was defeated and taken prisoner by Bertrand du Guesclin at the battle of Cocherel, to the great joy of the Dauphin, now Charles V. He was brought to Paris, where he remained a prisoner on parole, dining with the King on various occasions.

Louis de Navarre, in the place of his brother Philippe, carried on the war in Normandy. He arrived too late for the battle of Cocherel, but took Charité-sur-Marne, while several of the strongholds of the King of Navarre fell into the hands of the French. Charles was at this time in Navarre. He left the government of his various estates and lands whenever he was absent in the hands of the Queen, Jeanne de France, for whom he had always the greatest affection, and in whom he reposed implicit confidence. The wife of Charles de Navarre governed well and wisely, as his mother had done before her,

and frequently her influence with her brother the King of France was successfully used in his behalf. Charles and Jeanne had now several children. Their third son, Pierre, was born at Evreux in 1365, and was always regarded with special affection by his aunt, Queen Blanche. The second, Philippe, was killed when an infant by falling from a balcony out of his nurse's arms.

Soon after Whitsuntide in this year fearful storms arose in France and Burgundy. Crops were ruined, and many houses destroyed and people killed. Churches were struck, and the steeple of the Cathedral of Troyes hurled down. After the storms torrents of rain caused inundations, and a town near Dijon was washed away. It even washed away part of the walls of Dijon itself. But in June the fine weather returned, to the great relief of the people, who had begun to fear another famine.¹ A new peace between the kings of France and Navarre, arranged by Queen Jeanne, the Captal de Buch, and the Comte d'Estampe, was proclaimed in the streets of Paris.

On the 11th of June, 1366, Queen Blanche stood godmother to the second daughter of Charles V., as did also Queen Jeanne d'Evreux and Margu rite, Comtesse d'Artois, daughter of Philippe le Long. The princess was named Jeanne, and baptised in the chapel at Vincennes.

Although the history of Charles de Navarre is so mixed up with that of his sister, Queen Blanche, that it would be impossible to give any account of her life in which he should not play an important part, it

¹ De Nangis, "Cont."

would be useless in a work of this kind to endeavour to follow all the intrigues and quarrels in which he was perpetually involved. Treaties made and broken; towns, castles, and counties constantly changing hands as they were conquered or ceded or exchanged; the short-lived reconciliations effected by the Queens giving way before the deep, undying hatred of the Valois and the Navarrais; such was the history of the next few years. When at Paris the King of Navarre inhabited the Hôtel de Nesle, which had been given him by Charles V., then regent, on the occasion of one of the numerous pacifications brought about by his sister Blanche and their aunt, Jeanne d'Evreux.

MM. Berty and Tisserand, in their "Topographie historique du vieux Paris," speak of him and of his Palais de Nesle as follows:—

— "This prince was one of the most magnificent seigneurs of his time. A passionate lover of books, artistic and luxurious in his tastes, he desired to transform the Hôtel de Nesle, which had been allowed by its former inhabitants to fall into rather a neglected condition, into a residence equally agreeable and sumptuous. He restored and beautified all the apartments, and built galleries, a chapel, a library for his splendid collection of books, and two courts for the game of *paume*. Outside, finding himself too cramped on account of the alienation of some of the precincts of the hôtel for the construction and endowment of the Collège de Bourgogne,¹ he resolved to extend them on the side both of the country and the

¹ See "Life of Jeanne de Bourgogne."

town,¹ so as to have convenient space for his stables and to surround his hôtel with the requisite offices and outbuildings, for which purpose he made two successive acquisitions of land at the interval of five years."

The Queens dowager, Jeanne and Blanche, continued to pass a great deal of their time at Paris, at the court of Queen Jeanne de Bourbon, in whose circle, the famous Christine de Pisan says, they were very frequently to be seen, in the evenings especially, during all the earlier years of her reign.

On the 4th of March, 1370, at her château of Brie-Comte-Robert, died the good Queen, Jeanne d'Evreux. Her will contains a long list of jewellery, plate, and precious objects of all sorts. Amongst other things are mentioned a gold spoon and fork, which proves that forks were at any rate invented at that time; spoons were in use much earlier. Many relics are enumerated, a few small pictures, tapestry, costly stuffs and curtains, chairs and seats covered with cloth of gold, velvet cushions, violet, green, or scarlet, stuffed with down and embroidered with pearls; a waterpot of porcelain, interesting as proving that fabric to have been then known in France; a missal with clasp, and a few books left to her daughter, the Duchesse d'Orléans; to the king a dagger won at the battle of Massoura, which had belonged to St. Louis, and a little book of prayers which her husband, Charles IV., had had made for her. The sheets of the bed on which she died and various other things were left to the Hôtel Dieu.

¹ The Seine came on one side of it.

Many of the things were to be sold, but there were a good many legacies, besides the above, to religious institutions and different members of the royal family:

To her niece, Queen Blanche, second daughter of the Queen of Navarre, a gold eagle with a hand in its beak (said to be Monseigneur Saint Denys) [*sic*], which had belonged to her mother, the Queen of Navarre. Also a little diamond which her brother, the King of Navarre, had given her long since; he always used to wear it because it belonged to his father (*que Dieu absoille*).

To Madame Jehanne, eldest daughter of the Queen of Navarre, *sœur mineure* at Longchamps, a silver gilt cup or bowl without feet, which used to be in the room of *ma dicte dame*, and the silver jug to match.

Also a silver apple which used to hang to the side of *ma dicte dame*, containing relics, and which belonged to her mother, the Queen of Navarre, *que Dieu absoille*; and a book called "Le Beau Livre," in which there are sermons and instructions, and it begins with a sermon of which the theme is, *Audi israel*.

To Sister Marie de Bourbon, Jacobine,¹ a gold box which used to hang at the side of *ma dicte dame* at festivals, and has several relics in it, and on the lid a little ruby of Alexandria, and a little emerald and pearls, and some *escritaires* of the arms of *ma dicte dame*.²

¹ Daughter of Pierre, Duc de Bourbon, took the veil at Poissy at four years of age.

² "A Madame Jehanne de Navarre aînée fille de la royne de Navarre sœur mineure à Longchamps un henap d'argent doré senz pié qui le quel ou

She was brought to Paris on Saturday, the 8th of March, and on Sunday at the hour of vespers was carried on an open litter to the Cathedral of Notre Dame. The King joined the procession from the Hôtel St. Paul, issuing from a door of the *conciergerie*. He followed the body, over which the *prévost des marchands* and *échevins* of Paris held a pall of cloth of gold on six lances. The vigil for the dead was sung in the presence of the King, and the next day the requiem in the same church, after which the body of the Queen was borne through the streets of Paris in the same procession, the King following on foot as far as the gate of St. Denis, where he mounted his horse and rode to St. Denis, where the next day Queen Jeanne d'Evreux was buried, forty-five years after her husband, Charles IV., the last Capétien King of France. According to her desire to have little expense at her funeral, only twelve torches and twelve candles were burned; but the Wednesday after, the King, who regarded Queen Jeanne with veneration and affection, ordered another service to be performed at St. Denis at his own expense, at which, as the chronicler relates, "et lors y ot très grant et notable luminaire."

portait au suor en la chambre ma dicte dame et le pot d'argent de mesme baille comme dessus.

"Une pomme d'argent qui pendoit au costier ma dicte dame en la quelle il y a reliques, et fu a la royne de Navarre sa mère que Dieu absoille, et un livre appelle le Beau livre qui est des sermons et denseignemens et se commence par un sermon dont le theme est : Audi israel . . .

"A sœur Marie de Bourbon jacobine.

"Illeux un escrit dor qui pendoit au feste en costier de ma dicte dame et y a plusieurs reliques et y a sur le conseule petit rubis d'Alexandrie et petit esmeraude et perles et aucun escritaires des armes de ma dicte dame."

The loss of the aunt, who had been more like a mother to her for so many years, was of course a great sorrow to Queen Blanche, and the time was now approaching when she must also part with her daughter. The Princess Jeanne, only child of Queen Blanche and Philippe VI., was now eighteen or nineteen years old. She was sought in marriage by Pedro IV., King of Aragon, for his eldest son, Don Juan, Duke of Geronda. This Pedro IV. had been first betrothed to Jeanne, eldest sister of Blanche, and afterwards married to the third sister, Marie, who died five or six years later. Queen Blanche and the King and Queen of France having given their consent to this marriage, the Duke of Geronda was betrothed to the Princess Jeanne by proxy at Paris in July, 1370. The marriage was to take place the following year.

Her youngest sister, Jeanne la Jeune, whose betrothal to the Captal de Buch had been of such short duration, was still unmarried, and the King of Navarre promised her to Robert, Comte du Perche, youngest son of that Charles d'Alençon, brother of Philippe VI., who fell at Crécy. The betrothal took place at Pont-Audemer, "à prestre et à cleric," says the chronicler of the "Quatre premiers Valois." After which the King of Navarre and the Comte du Perche went to Rouen together, and no sooner had they gone than the town and castle of Pont-Audemer were seized by French troops. Jeanne la Jeune fled with her household to Jumièges, where her brother, the King of Navarre, returned to fetch her, and conducted her to Rouen, and then to Paris for the marriage. But ill luck

seems to have followed Jeanne la Jeune, for the King of France, probably objecting to any further alliances between the Valois princes and the family of the King of Navarre, refused his consent; and the marriage, which could not take place without it, had to be broken off, to the great grief of both parties.¹ The King of Navarre and the Comte du Perche withdrew from the French court in great indignation, and the Princess Jeanne returned to Pont-Audemer.² She afterwards became the second wife of Jean, Vicomte de Rohan, and died November 20, 1403, having survived all her brothers and sisters. Her son, Charles de Rohan, Seigneur de Guémené, was the ancestor of a long line of Seigneurs and Princes de Guémené, Comtes and Ducs de Montbazou.³

In July, 1371, the Princess Jeanne, daughter of Queen Blanche, started with her suite for Spain, where her marriage was to be celebrated. A knight named Philippe de Villiers was appointed by her nephew, Charles V., to be her escort. Magnificent presents of plate, jewels, &c., were given her by the Pope and other exalted personages, besides the dowry provided by her mother, the Queen dowager, and the King and Queen of France.

She travelled slowly, not arriving at Montpellier until Saturday, the 23rd of August, and after spending nearly a week there, proceeded to Béziers, where she was taken very ill. Aware of her danger, the

¹ "Dont les parties furent moult dolentes" ("Chronique des quatre premiers Valois").

² The King had quarrelled with the Cardinal, brother of the Comte du Perche, who would not appoint a canon he wanted.

³ Sainte-Marthe, "Histoire de France," liv. xiv.

young princess made her last dispositions, and desired to be buried at St. Denis. She died on the 23rd of September, and was brought back according to her request, to be laid in the burying-place of her race, the funeral expenses being borne by the King.¹

Among the archives of France is to be found an agreement between Charles V. and Queen Blanche about the succession to the property of the young princess. It begins, "Charles, par la grâce de Dieu roy de France et nous, Blanche par celle mesmes grâce royne de France, à tuis ceuly que ces lettres verront, salut." In it is stipulated that the King shall bear all the expenses of the funeral and of the body of "Madame Jehanne being brought to St. Denis, which she had chosen for her sepulture, also that he should cause a tomb to be erected there, *selon son estat.*"

In 1372 Blanche founded in the chapel of St. Hippolyte, at St. Denis, two daily masses in perpetuity to be said for the souls of the King her husband, of her father and mother, her daughter Jeanne and herself, with an anniversary on the 22nd of August, the day of her husband's death, and on the 10th of May for herself, to be changed into an anniversary after her own death.

In this year died her youngest brother, Louis de Navarre, Comte de Beaumont-le-Roger. He had withdrawn from the storms and turmoils of France, and settled in Italy, where he had married the heiress of Charles of Sicily, Duke of Durazzo. He left no legitimate heirs, but two natural children—Jeanne,

¹ Père Anselme, Sainte-Marthe.

married to a Navarrais noble, and Charles, called "Charlot de Beaumont," who was standard-bearer to his uncle, the King of Navarre.¹

Blanche now lived in her Château of Neauffle, to which she had retired in her early youth after the death of her husband, and where her daughter was born. Amongst other notices of her residence there are letters of hers reducing to two francs instead of four a fine to which the master of her forests had sentenced one Denis Ysembart for having stolen two mares; and also bestowing money and hay upon a certain Robert Rougeaud and his wife.²

¹ Père Anselme.

² "Trésor des Chartes."

CHAPTER VII

1378-1398

Funeral of the Queen of France—Death of the Queen of Navarre—The children of the King of Navarre captives at Paris—Death of Charles V.—Coronation of Charles VI.—Agnes of Navarre—Comtesse de Foix—Death of the King of Navarre and of his eldest sister—Last years of Queen Blanche—Her death.

THE death of the Queen of France, Jeanne de Bourbon, filled the country with mourning, for she was universally beloved. She only survived a few days the birth of the Princess Catherine, which took place on the 4th of February. The King never got over her loss, and for many days she lay in state in the Hôtel Saint Paul, masses being sung every morning, and every evening the vigils for the dead.

Queen Blanche attended the funeral with the Duchesse d'Orléans, daughter of Jeanne d'Evreux, and several other princesses and the ladies of the court and household of the late Queen. She was carried on a litter covered with cloth of gold, with a

sceptre in one hand, and in the other a golden stick, ending in the form of a rose; the nobles of the parliament surrounded the bier and carried over it a canopy of cloth of gold on lances. All the chief persons in Paris were in the procession, and before it went four hundred torches; the Duc de Bourbon, brother of the late queen, followed on foot with several other princes of the royal family. The service in Notre Dame was magnificent. The body of the Queen was placed in the choir, under a wooden chapel, covered with lighted candles; thirteen great torches, held by thirteen of the King's *valets-de-chambres*, were round the bier, and four hundred blazed all down the nave. The Archbishop of Paris chanted the vigils for the dead, a crowd of bishops and abbots, with mitres and croziers, joining in. The next day a solemn mass for the dead was sung, at which were present Queen Blanche and the other members of the royal family, with the rest of those present on the preceding day, who also accompanied the body to St. Denis, the Duc de Bourbon still following immediately after it on foot, the same number of torches going with the *cortège* as before. The Abbot and monks of St. Denis came out in procession to meet it and conduct it to the Church of St. Denis, where, as at Paris, it was placed under a wooden chapel or canopy, in the choir of the church, which blazed with candles and torches, and again the vigils for the dead were chanted. The next day another mass was sung, and the body buried in a chapel near the entrance of the cloister. The heart of the Queen was buried a day or two

afterwards at the church of the Cordeliers at Paris.

Queen Blanche is mentioned as having been present at all these services,¹ and a few days later another death added to the mourning into which the royal family was thrown. The Princess Isabel, daughter of Charles V., died at the Hôtel Saint Paul, and was buried by the side of her mother. She was five years old.

In this year the House of Navarre experienced a grievous calamity in the death of the Queen, Jeanne de France.² It took place in the month of November, at Evreux, where she had gone to govern the French provinces of her husband, who was then in Navarre, where he had for some time been engaged in intrigues and disputes with the King of Castille, the English and the French. Charles was, as usual, accused by the French historians of poisoning his wife, a slander too absurd to deserve serious attention, as he had always been devoted to her, and her death was, besides, the greatest misfortune that could have befallen him socially and politically. Her influence with her brother, Charles V., who loved her as much as he hated his brother-in-law, had shielded him many a time from danger and loss.

The cause of the Queen's death was weakness of the heart, against which proper precautions had not

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. vi. p. 416.

² Mariana and some other historians place the death of Jeanne de France, Queen of Navarre, in 1373. But Froissart, who lived and wrote within a few years of that time, asserts that it took place in November, 1378, and is most likely to be correct. (Sainte-Marthe, "Hist. France," liv. xiv.)

been taken when she bathed. Agnes, Comtesse de Foix, the fourth of the princesses of Navarre, who had left her husband and taken refuge with her brother and his wife, was with her at the time, and she and all her ladies swore that a failure of the heart was the occasion of her death, and that she had been *mal-gardée* in the bath in which she died.

So absurd was the idea that Charles would for no reason at all poison the wife whom he loved, and who was the greatest assistance and protection to him, that the chronicler of the "Quatre premiers Valois," who is bitter enough against the enemy and rival of the Valois kings, remarks, after repeating this unfounded rumour: "But I do not say that the King of Navarre did this, for much he loved her."¹ Mariana says she was buried at St. Denis, but Saint-Marthe asserts that her tomb was at Evreux, and that her heart was buried "in the great church at Pampeluna."

Her two youngest children, Jeanne de Navarre, afterwards Duchesse de Bretagne and Queen of England, and Pierre, Comte de Mortaigne, were with her at Evreux when she died, and remained there for some time. The King of Navarre sent his eldest son, Charles, to Normandy, ostensibly to see them, but in reality, it was said, to carry on negotiations with the English. Whether this was true or not Charles V. made it a pretext for seizing all his Norman possessions with the exception of Cher-

¹ "Mais je ne dy pas que ce eust fait faire le roy de Navarre, car il l'aimoit moult" ("Chron. des quatre premiers Valois").

bourg, and also the young princes and princess, who were brought to Paris, where they remained in captivity for several years. As to the Norman provinces, they were lost for ever to the kings of Navarre.

Mariana denies that the King of Navarre had given any cause for these proceedings,¹ saying that the French historians endeavoured to justify the usurpations of the kings of France by attributing to the King of Navarre all sorts of atrocious crimes which were nothing but calumnies, invented by themselves in order to render him odious in the eyes of posterity.

The children of the King of Navarre, though detained at Paris, were treated with the kindness and the consideration due to members of the royal family of France. Charles V., in spite of his hatred for the King of Navarre, his brother-in-law, was no cruel tyrant, and these were, after all, the children of his favourite sister.² Besides their uncles and aunts of their mother's family, there were also three sisters of their father—Jeanne, the nun at Longchamps, Queen Blanche, and Jeanne la Jeune, now Vicomtesse de Rohan. Blanche, who had lost none of her popularity and influence, and retained her former

¹ “. . . Para justificar una usurpacion tan manifiesta se inventaron mil cuentos, y se atribuyeron al Rey de Navarra proyectos injustos que nunca habia formado. Los historiadores Franceses, empeñados en hacerlo odioso atribuyendole delitos atroces despues que su Rey le usurpó sus estados y sus hijos, manifiestan bastante que son calumnias inventadas para justificar una usurpacion violenta à los ojos de la posteridad” (T. ix., lxxii., Mariana, “Hist. España.” Chron. del reyno de Navarra, Dariel y Mercerat, “Hist. de Francia.”)

² “Le roy . . . les receust gouverna comme son neveu et sa niece” (“Grandes Chroniques de France,” t. vi. p. 434).

affection for her only surviving brother, the King of Navarre, must have been a good friend to his children during the years of their enforced sojourn in Paris. Mariana says that the three were Charles, afterwards Charles le Bon, Pierre, Comte de Mortaigne, and Marie, the eldest daughter. But Agnes Strickland, in her life of Jeanne, afterwards Queen of England, asserts that it was she who was taken to Paris with her brothers. The eldest daughter, Marie, was married to Alfonso d'Aragon, Conde de Denia y Duca de Gandia.

The special favourite of Queen Blanche was Pierre, Comte de Mortaigne, then about fourteen or fifteen years old. The Vicomtesse de Rohan appears to have interested herself particularly in her niece, the little Princess Jeanne, who at that time was about eleven, whose marriage she arranged a few years later with the Duc de Bretagne, and who always remembered with gratitude her good offices on that occasion. One of the last acts of Jeanne, Duchesse de Bretagne, before she became Queen of England, was to secure to her aunt, Jeanne de Navarre, Vicomtesse de Rohan £1,000 a year out of the rents of her dower city of Nantes.¹ The deed states that this annuity is granted not only in consideration of the nearness of kindred and friendship that is between her and her aunt "but also for, and in remuneration of, the good pains and diligence she used to procure our marriage with our very dear and beloved lord, whom God *assoile*. Of which marriage it has pleased our Lord and Saviour that we should con-

¹ Strickland, "Queens of England," Joanna of Navarre.

tinue a noble line, to the great profit of the country of Bretagne, in our very dear and beloved son, the Duke of Bretagne, and our other children, sons and daughters. And for this it was the will and pleasure of our said very dear and beloved lord, if he had had a longer life, to have bestowed many gifts and benefits on our said aunt, to aid her in her sustenance and provision."

It was not the first time the young Comte de Mortaigne had been a hostage for his father. Three years before his detention at Paris he had been given to Olivier de Mauny in pledge for the ransom of Charles le Mauvais, who had been his prisoner.¹ Pierre, Comte de Mortaigne, shared the affection of the Navarre family for the Chartreux, which was doubtless another bond of union between him and his aunt, Queen Blanche.

Charles V., King of France, died in September of this year. His successor, Charles VI., a boy of twelve years old, was at Melun with his brother Louis, Comte de Valois. They were the only survivors of the eight children of Charles V. and Jeanne de Bourbon, with the exception of the infant Princess Catherine, whose birth had cost the life of the Queen, her mother.

It was considered safer not to bring them back to Paris until after the funeral, "for fear they might be injured by the crowd or by the mortality, which was still at Paris and in the suburbs."²

The Duc d'Anjou, the next brother of Charles V.,

¹ Sainte-Marthe.

² "Grandes Chroniques," t. vi. p. 470.

was by his will appointed regent of the kingdom, while the guardianship of the young King, his brother and sister, was left to the Duc de Bourgogne, youngest brother of the late King their father, and the Duc de Bourbon, brother of their mother. Charles VI. was crowned at Rheims, and made his state entry into Paris on Sunday, November 4th.

The great-grandson of her husband was now on the throne, and yet Blanche was not more than forty-nine or fifty years old. Paris was enthusiastically in love with her young King, but his uncles were, with the exception of the Duc de Bourbon, unpopular and incompetent. Charles V. had looked with contempt upon the two eldest, but loved the youngest, Philippe le Hardi, Duc de Bourgogne, who was a true Valois in courage and beauty, and had, besides, much more capacity than the others. The Duc de Bourbon was one of the best and most popular princes of the day, but being only the uncle of the King on his mother's side, he had not so much power. Charles V. always knew well enough how his brothers would mismanage everything if, by his death during the minority of his son, the direction of the state should fall into their hands. He had named the Queen guardian to the King and all his brothers and sisters, and after her death he put in the Duc de Bourbon, for whom he had always had the greatest esteem and friendship, hoping, no doubt, to give at any rate a sensible and reliable counsellor to the young King. He had entreated his brothers to bring him up properly, saying: "Take care of him, my brothers, and pay attention to making him fit for royalty, for

the child is young and of a thoughtless disposition.”¹

Disregarding the wishes of the late King, their brother, their one aim was to wring money from the people to support their extravagance and luxury. They put down with remorseless cruelty any opposition to their tyranny, induced the young King to sanction their most iniquitous actions, and taught him to believe himself irresponsible and all-powerful.

Charles V. had taken away the governorship of Languedoc from the Duc d'Anjou because of the abominable way in which he had ruled them, and had given it to the Comte de Foix, who had married Agnes de Navarre, sister of Queen Blanche. Whatever were the domestic and social delinquencies of that individual, he had made a good governor of Languedoc, and when the uncles of the King, who had declared him of age at twelve years old, persuaded him to deprive the Comte de Foix of that post and give it to his uncle, the Duc de Berri, the inhabitants rose in rebellion and a civil war broke out, which increased the calamitous state of things. The pestilence, or, as it was called, the mortality, had been raging about during the preceding and the present year, in Paris and in many parts of the country, the King's uncles had augmented the taxes; the Parisians were discontented, and there had been various commotions and attacks upon the Jews. The Comte de Foix, finding that he must eventually get the worst of

¹ “Soignez le, mes frères, et prenez grande attention à le former bien à royauté car l'enfant est jeune et d'esprit léger.”

it, made peace and resigned his post to the Duc de Berri. His marriage with Agnes de Navarre had been, as was before stated, a miserable one. Violent and dissolute, though a brilliant soldier, he took a mistress ; and the Princess Agnes, who was not, any more than the rest of her family, inclined to allow herself to be insulted, left him and took refuge with her brother, the King of Navarre. Over the tragedy of the death of their only son, Gaston Phœbus, hangs a cloud of mystery. Some say that the young prince, who was anxious to bring about a reconciliation between his parents, consulted his uncle, the King of Navarre, who, furious at the wrongs of his sister, gave his nephew a powder, by administering which he assured him the sentiments of his father would undergo an entire change. That the prince, being young and credulous, not only agreed to this dangerous attempt, but communicated it to one of his natural brothers, who, suspicious of the real nature of this powder, betrayed the matter to his father. The Comte de Foix discovered it to be a deadly poison, and, furious at what he imagined to be an attempt at parricide, stabbed his son to the heart. Others state that the young prince died in prison, but what was the real truth of the story it is not possible to say. So many false and absurd accusations of poisoning were made respecting Charles de Navarre by those whose interest it was to blacken his character,¹ that much weight cannot be attached to this one. Charles V. of France, who had always had weak health, had suffered from what seems like

¹ Mariana, " España ; " Pedro Madrazo ; Navarra y Logroño.

scrofula, but the French declared that it was nothing but the result of poison given to him in his youth by Charles de Navarre, and it is probable that the French King himself believed this story, which naturally gave him a violent hatred for his brother-in-law.

The children of the King of Navarre remained in Paris after the death of Charles V., all the endeavours of their father being useless to obtain their release. But Charles, the eldest of them, had been married a little while before to Leonor, daughter of Enrique, late King of Castille, whose entreaties induced her brother, then King, to intercede for the liberation of her husband. The eldest of the Princes of Navarre was therefore set free in 1383. Whether or not the Princess Jeanne then returned to Navarre with Prince Charles, she afterwards married the Duc de Bretagne, and then Henry IV. of England.

Charles VI. seems to have been much attached to his cousin Pierre de Navarre, Comte de Mortaigne, the younger of the two princes, and later on, in the wars between the houses of Orléans and Burgundy, a treaty having been made by which, amongst other stipulations, all the princes of the blood were to retire from Paris and from the person of the King, the only one excepted was the Comte de Mortaigne.

At the beginning of the year 1387, Queen Blanche received a letter from the Bishop of Ays, prime minister of her brother, the King of Navarre, informing her of the death of that monarch, on the 1st of January. Some French historians spread the report

that he had by the carelessness of a servant been burnt so severely as to cause his death. But the bishop, his prime minister, gives no authority whatever for such a report ; on the contrary, he states that the King had been for a long time ill of a malady which he bore with much patience, courage, and devotion, and that his death was both painless and peaceful.¹

Mariana gives the following account : " The King of Navarre fell ill and notwithstanding that he was for many days shut up in his palace, he quelled a riot which broke out in Pampeluna, and punished the rebels, after which his malady became worse and he died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, and was buried in the cathedral. A thousand incredible fables were circulated about his death, which arose from the hatred that the French bore to this prince."²

¹ " L'évêque d'Ays, principal ministre de Charles le Mauvais, écrivit à la reine Blanche, sœur de ce roi et veuve de Philippe VI., pour lui annoncer que son frère étoit mort le 1^{er} janvier, 1387, après une longue maladie supportée avec une patience chrétienne, qu'il avait déployé toutes les vertus plus exemplaires, et que sa mort sans douleur et sans angoisse, avait paru être déjà un avant goût de la joie des bienheureux ; un tel récit ne s'accordait pas avec l'horreur qu'on voulait entretenir en France contre ce prince, aussi répandit on qu'il avait été brûlé dans son lit par l'imprudencé d'un domestique, et que, dans sa longue agonie, il avait éprouvé, par anticipation, toutes les souffrances des damnés" (Sismondi, " Hist. France," vii. p. 461).

² " El de Navarra cayó enfermo, y sin embargo que hacia muchos dias que estaba encerrado en su palacio, aplaco un alboroto que se lebantó en Pamplona y castigó à los sediciosos ; despues se agravó su mal y murió à los cincuenta y seis años de su edad y treinta y ocho de su reynado y fue enterrado en la Iglesia Cathedral. Se cuentan mil fabulas increíbles sobre su muerte nacidas del ódio que los Franceses tenian à este Principe" (Mariana, " Historia de España," ix. lxxiii.).

On July 3rd of the same year died in her convent, at Longchamps, the Princess Jeanne, eldest sister of Queen Blanche. She was buried in the abbey church of the palace, the epitaph on her tomb records that she was the daughter of the King of Navarre, who died at Grenada, for the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and that she was the daughter of Louis de France, Comte d'Evreux, and of the Queen of Navarre, who was the daughter of Louis Hutin, King of France.¹

Queen Blanche retained at the court of Charles VI. the same dignified and influential position she had held at those of his father and grandfather. In 1388 the King, who was then twenty-one years old and married to Isabeau of Bavaria, wished her to be crowned and make her entry into Paris with great splendour. The traditions of the magnificent courts of the two first Valois kings, his grandfather and great-grandfather, excited his admiration and longing; for it was they, not his calm, studious father, whom he resembled in tastes, disposition, and appearance. And Queen Blanche, the widow of his great-grandfather, had reigned over that chivalrous court and assisted at many of those brilliant fêtes, therefore he consulted her in his arrangements and plans, and her advice and instructions resulted in the extraordinary magnificence of the festivities of which some account may be given in the life of Queen Isabeau de Bavaria. She was carried in her litter by the side of the young Queen when she entered Paris.

¹ Sainte-Marthe.

Queen Blanche lived for ten years after this short revival of the brilliant pageantry which must have recalled to her mind the splendid scenes of her youth. But gloom and melancholy now took the place of the gay, careless life of pleasure led by the court of France in earlier days, and the excitement and romance of the adventures which she had shared with her brothers, the gallant princes of Navarre. The madness of the King, the intrigues of the Queen, and the fierce quarrels among the princes of the blood and nobles of the court had indeed changed Paris and Vincennes since the days when Edward of England and John of Bohemia declared that all Christendom did not contain so great a King as Philippe de Valois, nor so chivalrous and splendid a court as gathered in his castles and palaces.

Although most of those she had loved best were gone, Blanche was always surrounded with affection and honour. From the strife and turmoil around her she sought refuge in the peaceful shadow of the cloister and the works of charity and devotion that occupied her life. Among those most dear to her was her nephew Pierre de Navarre, to whom, as Sainte-Marthe records, in his history of the royal house of France, "*elle fit de grands biens.*" Pierre de Navarre, Comte de Mortaigne, as well as Queen Blanche, was a great benefactor to the Chartreux, so beloved by her father and his grandfather, Philippe d'Evreux. He spent four thousand écus d'or in founding four cells in their monastery at Paris, besides making them many gifts of money and rich ornaments. Queen Blanche, in 1391, was living, when in

Paris, at a large house in the Rue de la Tissantrie that ran parallel to the Rue du Coq and Rue Deux Portes. She died October 5, 1398, at her château of Neauuffle, near Paris.

Like her aunt, Jeanne d'Evreux, she left a precious relic to the Carmelite sisters at Paris, to whom they had both been so devoted. It was said to be part of one of the nails that pierced our Saviour, and was enclosed in a reliquary of gold set with precious stones. On the 24th of November, after her death, the Carmelite nuns received the announcement of this bequest from her confessor, Pierre Bazin, cordelier, and her other executors. In order to have more certainty in offering it to the veneration of the public, the sisters begged to be told its history. The executors affirmed that the holy nail had been given by Charles IV. to his wife Jeanne d'Evreux, who had it set in gold and adorned with five rubies, four sapphires, six diamonds, twelve pearls, and a gold figure of our Lord, holding in his hand the piece of nail.

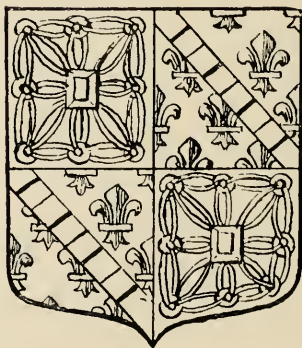
Queen Jeanne gave it to her daughter, Blanche de France, Duchesse d'Orléans, who gave it to Queen Blanche, her cousin.

Delighted at this bequest, the Carmelites went to fetch the relic in solemn procession with lighted candles, chanting canticles composed on purpose; thus it was borne to the church, at the door of which it was received by the Bishop and laid upon the altar.

Blanche de Navarre was buried in the chapel of St. Hippolyte in the abbey church of St. Denis.

Queen Blanche had three large houses in Paris

with gardens, wells, towers, courts, &c., one of which at the corner of the street called Rue de la Reine Blanche, is said to have been the scene of the fire at a ball given afterwards by Charles VI., who had bought it. It was left to Pierre de Navarre.



*Ecarterle au 1.
& 4. de Navarre
comme ci-devant
Au 2 & 3. semé de
France au bâton
composé d'argent
& de gueules pour
Evreux.*




PART III.—*JEANNE D'AUVERGNE ET DE
BOULOGNE*

CHAPTER I

1326—1355

Auvergne—Birth of Jeanne—Death of her brother and of her father, Guillaume XIII.—Her betrothal and marriage with the heir of Burgundy—Birth of her children—Death of the Comte d'Artois—Disputed regency—Her marriage with the Duke of Normandy—Their coronation—Betrothal of her daughter—Rupture of the contract—Alarm in Burgundy.

 UVERGNE, in ancient times called Avernia, was a province about thirty leagues long and forty wide, bounded on the north by the Bourbonnais, east by Forez and Velai, south by Roergue, and west by Limousin, Querci, and La Marche. Its kings often commanded the whole of Celtic Gaul. It became a Roman province, but in 475 was seized by the Visigoths, who held it until 507, when it was con-

quered by Clovis. It fell to the inheritance of the kings of Austrasia, and after they came to an end went to Duke Eudes, with all Aquitaine. But his grandson, Waike, having been dispossessed by Pepin, Auvergne was henceforth governed by counts under the French crown.

Aurillac was the capital of Haute Auvergne, and Clermont that of Basse Auvergne. The Bourbonnais at one time formed a part of it.



COSTUME OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

The county of Auvergne was confiscated by Philippe-Auguste, but St. Louis restored part of it to Guillaume VIII., son of the dispossessed Gui. The county of Clermont he gave to his sixth son Robert de Clermont, who married Béatrix de Bourbon, heiress of that family, and from whom descend the Bourbon kings of France, and, in the female line, all the Valois after Charles V., through Jeanne, daughter of Pierre, Duc de Bourbon, and wife to the last-mentioned monarch

The plains of Auvergne are rich and fertile, and the mountain scenery wild and beautiful. The mountains are, many of them, extinct volcanoes they join the chain of the Cevennes.

The Counts of Auvergne also bore the title of Dauphin.¹ The origin of this custom has been differently given. Some say that Guillaume le Grand, Comte d'Auvergne, after the death of his first wife

¹ Sainte-Marthe, "Hist. Gén. Maison de France," liv. xxv.

Giovanna di Calabria, married Béatrix, daughter of Guignes, Dauphin du Viennois, and that her son or grandson called himself Dauphin d'Auvergne ; at any rate it would appear that it originated in some early connection by marriage with the family of the Dauphins du Viennois.

The county of Boulogne fell to Robert V., through his mother, Alix de Brabant ; and his great-nephew Guillaume XIII., in 1326, succeeded to Auvergne and Boulogne. He had married, the year before, Marguélite, third daughter of Louis, Comte d'Evreux, son of Philippe III., King of France.

Two children were born to the Comte and Comtesse d'Auvergne ;¹ Robert, who died in infancy— and Jeanne, who, by her brother's death became one of the greatest heiresses of the day. Guillaume XIII. followed Philippe de Valois to the Flemish war and fought in the battle of Cassel ; he died in 1332, August 6th, and was buried in the Church of the Cordeliers at Clermont.

It was not difficult for the Countess dowager to arrange a great marriage for her daughter, with her royal blood and splendid dowry. The Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, who were her cousins, though not in the first degree, had also an only child, a son, who was sole heir to the Capétienne house, and whom they were naturally desirous to marry. They accordingly entered into negotiations with the countess dowager, and in September, 1338, the alliance was agreed upon, and the marriage contract

¹ Sainte-Marthe mentions another child, Marguélite, who also died in her infancy. "Hist. Gén. Maison France," liv. xiv.

presented for approval to the King in November of that year.

The consent and satisfaction of the King and Queen could not be doubtful. Eudes, Duke of Burgundy, was the Queen's brother, the King was strongly attached to him, and they could not fail to welcome the addition of the counties of Auvergne and Boulogne to the already vast possessions of the Burgundian house. They signified their approval at Vincennes, and a letter from Philippe VI., in the *Chambre des Comptes*, at Dijon regulates the payment of the debts of the late Comte d'Auvergne; from which obligation the Countess dowager was released by one of the articles in the marriage treaty. The son of the Duke of Burgundy, who bore the title of Comte d'Artois, was to have six thousand *livres tournois de rente* in the kingdom of France, wherever the King should appoint, which were to be given as dowry to Jeanne, with two thousand more after the death of the Duke and Duchess. He would inherit the county of Burgundy at the death of his mother and the duchy from his father. In the treaty were also stipulations respecting the property and dowry of the Countess dowager; about the château she was to have, and her rights and privileges, amongst which were those of cutting wood in the forest of Boulogne and other forests. Jeanne, Comtesse d'Auvergne et de Boulogne was only twelve years old, and Philippe, Comte d'Artois, fifteen at the time of their marriage which took place just as the Hundred Years' War was about to begin. The Comte d'Artois was frequently absent with his cousin the Duc de Normandie on war-

like expeditions during their short married life, so that the young Countess could not have seen much of him. However, they had two daughters, one of whom only lived a short time, and about the end of 1345 their son was born at Rouvre, his father and grandfather being at that time at home, though preparing for another campaign.

The birth of the heir of Burgundy was received with a burst of rejoicing throughout the two Burgundies, Artois, Boulogne, and Auvergne, to all of which provinces the child was heir through his mother, grandfather, and grandmother. After the recovery of the Countess Jeanne, the Duke of Burgundy spent some time in arranging his affairs and preparing for the campaign with even more than his usual magnificence; and when all was ready, and the Duke of Burgundy and his handsome young son, the Comte d'Artois, put themselves at the head of their troops and began their journey to Paris, Jeanne might well think, as the historian remarks, that her father-in-law and husband seemed two great princes. A thousand cavalry, splendidly armed and mounted, accompanied them, and after a short stay at the capital they were joined by the Duc de Bourbon, the Comte de Ponthieu and other princes and nobles with their retainers, and marched in great array to Toulouse to join the army commanded by the Duke of Normandy.

After Easter they laid siege to Aiguillon, a strongly-fortified castle in a secure position. It was full of English who defended themselves vigorously under Gautier de Mauny and the Earl of Pembroke.

The Duke of Normandy was resolved to take it, and the siege went on all the summer, both sides being equally resolute in attack and defence. The Duke of Normandy began to receive messages from his father to bring up the troops to the north as King Edward with a great army was in France and was threatening Paris. Jean was distracted between his desire to go to the assistance of his father, and his reluctance to relinquish Aiguillon, and he pressed on the siege with desperation, swearing that without express orders from the King, his father, he would not leave the place until it was in his hands.

One day, about mid-August, there was a sharp skirmish between the French and English before its walls. All the young princes and nobles were eager to take part in it; and amongst others the Comte d'Artois, who was one of the most brilliant cavaliers in the army and a great favourite with the Duke of Normandy and the camp in general. He was unfortunately mounted on an unmanageable horse which ran away with him and fell into a deep ditch. He was brought back to the camp dreadfully injured, lingered a few days and then died, to the great grief of his father, leaving Jeanne a widow at twenty years of age, with an infant son and daughter, who were, of course, under the guardianship of their grandfather the Duke of Burgundy.

It was indeed a calamitous time for France. The Hundred Years' War was bad enough, but added to all the misery it was causing, was the plague which was beginning to spread over France. The Duchess of Burgundy had died the year before, and the Duke

fell a victim to the pestilence, as did his sisters, the Queen and the Comtesse de Savoie, the Duchess of Normandy, the Queen of Navarre, and many other illustrious persons. The land was full of mourning and terror.

Plenty of people wanted to marry Jeanne who was young, and besides the attraction of her great position and rich inheritance was extremely handsome. Edward III. of England, now a widower, is said to have been among the number, and to have been especially desirous to get Boulogne, so conveniently near Calais.

It will be remembered that Philippe le Long, when Comte de Poitiers, was married by his father to Jeanne, eldest daughter of Otto, Count Palatine of Burgundy and Mahault, the celebrated Comtesse d'Artois; which provinces (after having been declared innocent of the accusations brought against her) she ultimately inherited. Also that they had four daughters, of whom Marie, the youngest, took the veil at Poissy, and Isabelle, the third, married the Dauphin du Viennois and died without children. It is the two eldest, Jeanne and Marguérite, and their heirs who are now in question.

Jeanne had been very early married to Eudes, Duke of Burgundy, and, like her mother, been made heiress to the exclusion of her sisters, and very greatly to their discontent. Marguérite, the second daughter, said to be one of the haughtiest princesses in Christendom, had married the Comte de Flandres, who was killed at Crécy, and by whom she had a son, the reigning Count at this time. Her eldest

sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, being dead, the Countess Dowager of Flanders claimed the guardianship of the little Duke of Burgundy, on account of Artois, which he inherited through the great Comtesse Mahault, her grandmother, to whom after her elder sister she was the next of kin, and of which province she claimed the regency. Of course, the young Comtesse d'Artois resisted this absurd pretension, and they met at Sens to try to settle matters. The contention between them was however so great that they could not arrive at any agreement until the affair was amicably arranged by the intervention of the Duke of Normandy. The Comtesse d'Artois de Boulogne et d'Auvergne was declared guardian of her children and regent of Burgundy; and the Duke of Normandy, whose wife had died of the plague, fell in love with her, and was married to her in the chapel of Ste. Geneviève de Nanterre, near Saint Germain en Laye, by Jean de Brie, Abbot of that place, on the 19th of February, 1350.

The Duke of Normandy assumed the regency of Burgundy and the guardianship of the Duke and his sister jointly with their mother, now his wife, which caused much dissatisfaction among the Burgundians, who murmured among themselves that the life of their young Duke was not safe.

In this year died the Countess Dowager of Auvergne, mother of Jeanne, and also Philippe VI., who the year before had married the beautiful Blanche de Navarre.

The Duke of Normandy, now King of France, was a true Valois, in whom were repeated and exaggerated

all the good and evil qualities of his father. Like him, he was handsome, generous, brave, chivalrous, arrogant, passionate, impetuous, revengeful, and extravagant. Throughout his life his hero and model had been his father's friend, and his own father-in-law, the King of Bohemia, after whom he had most probably been named.

The King of Bohemia was considered the most brilliant chevalier of his time. Excelling in all sports and martial exercises, brave, even to rashness, lavishly generous to his friends, the beau-ideal of a courtier, he added to these chivalrous qualities manners so charming, and eloquence so persuasive that he won all hearts. And yet Jean of Bohemia could not be described as a good king.

Jean de France, who took him for a model, was his inferior in every quality of the mind and heart.¹ All who were acquainted with him knew that he was the image of his father; that like him, he had a superficial mind and possessed none of the knowledge necessary to a king; he was still more rash and more violent in his anger than Philippe de Valois had been, and his reign was even more disastrous to France.

In spite of the recent mortality and misfortunes there seemed at this time to be an almost universal thirst and longing for pleasure. The plague was abating, and there was a general desire to get rid of the gloom and terror which had weighed upon everybody and to try and bring back the gaiety and enjoyment which appeared to have vanished out of their lives.

The King and Queen were crowned at Rheims on

¹ Sismondi.

the 25th of September ; and if their marriage had not been celebrated with all the festivities which would have attended it in a more prosperous time, they made up for it at their coronation. The little Duke of Burgundy, as peer of France, helped to support the crown on the King's head, and he and the Dauphin were among the young knights of whom



PALAIS DE LA CITÉ.

Jean created more than the usual number on the occasion. There were now three queens at court, the reigning Queen, and the two Queens dowager, Jeanne d'Evreux and Blanche de Navarre.

The life of Jeanne de Auvergne, during the first part of her reign, was a succession of brilliant fêtes and pleasures. Her entry with the King into Paris was conducted with the greatest magnificence on Sunday,

October 17th, after vespers, and they remained there, inhabiting the Hôtel de Nesle and the Palais until the Fête St. Martin. The fêtes of the state entry lasted a week, and all sorts of gaieties and diversions were continually going on wherever the court resided.

Many curious accounts and entries among the records of the *argentiers* or "treasurers" of the kings, throw light upon the life and customs of the court in those days. For instance, there is an account of a *cotte-hardie* mantle, double hood, and shoes for Monsieur Jehan, the King's fool, and the same for Mitton, the fool of the Dauphin, and a long and elaborate description of a hat ornamented with gold, pearls, and precious stones to be given also to the King's fool, made by one *Kathelot la chapelière*, and by the same Kathelot a silk hat, a cap richly trimmed with peacock's feathers delivered to Monsieur de Châlon for the festival of the peacock. This *fête du paon* was a banquet at which was served a roast peacock, stuffed with herbs and spices, and garnished with its feathers. Whoever carved it had to divide it into as many portions as there were guests, and the libations, which became then more frequent, were usually followed by some chivalrous vow or wish, which was called the "*vœu du paon*." In the "courts of love" poets received from ladies whose decrees were favourable to them crowns of peacocks' feathers.

The Fête de l'Etoile in the following year (1351¹) at *la noble Maison de St. Ouen*, to inaugurate the new confraternity of the Knights of the Star (*Chevaliers de l'Etoile*) established by the king, is represented in

¹ Or 1352.

a curious miniature in a manuscript of Charles V. The chevaliers were dressed in white tunics with gold girdles and rich mantles trimmed with ermine. They had a star on the left side. The King, dressed in the same way, was seated on his throne. There were five hundred chevaliers, but as they were under a vow never to retreat, most of them were killed at Poitiers and the order died out.

There is an account to Pierre Leblont, goldsmith, for a new silver dish weighing a mark and four ounces, given to Monsieur Simon de Bucy, one of the King's officers, for and instead of another silver dish of the same value which was at the "noble Maison at the *fête de l'Estoire*," which had been lent with other plate for the service at the said fête, and also for the trouble of cleaning and mending other silver plate which had been damaged and trampled under foot at the said fête.

About the same time a bill for a quantity of cloth of gold taken to Rouen for the King to offer to Ste. Catherine and in other churches ; and not long afterwards a description of an armchair or *faudesteuil* of silver and crystal, garnished with pearls and precious stones, with the arms of France and many figures and scenes from the Bible, also representations of animals on a gold ground made by three or four different persons. Also sets of hangings for rooms, some of velvet covered with *fleurs-de-lis*, others entirely of cloth of gold.

But just then the chronicler says there was a great dearness, especially in corn, the price of which rose higher than had ever been known in the memory of man.

The King or feudal lord had the right to levy an extraordinary tax on four occasions—the knighthood of his eldest son, the marriage of his eldest daughter, a journey to a foreign country, and his own ransom, if taken prisoner in a just cause.

The first act of violence committed by Jean was the murder of Raoul, Comte d'Eu et de Guynes,¹ who had returned from England, where he had been a prisoner for nine years. He was accused of treasonable conspiracy with the King of England, and with having agreed to place his castle in the hands of the English. It is also said that Jean regarded with jealousy and dislike the favourites of his father, whose constable the Comte d'Eu had been. He was seized at the Hôtel de Nesle on Tuesday, November 16th, and beheaded on the following Thursday without trial.

The Pope, Clement VI., died in this year. He was a countryman of the Queen's, having been a monk of Auvergne, named Pierre Roger. He was buried by his own wish in his old abbey of La Chaise Dieu. Clement VI. had warmly taken the part of the mendicant friars against whom a great commotion had been raised by certain cardinals, a number of curés and other priests, who wished them to be suppressed, or at any rate forbidden to confess, bury, or preach, in which case they would not have been much use. There was always a good deal of jealousy and disputation between the parish clergy and the mendicant orders, the latter being accused by the former of interfering in their parishes. However, this attack upon them came to nothing. Another French pope was

¹ "Guynes," or "Guines."

elected—Etienne Albert, of the diocese of Limoges, who took the name of Innocent VI. By his first wife, Bonne, daughter of the King of Bohemia, the King had had four sons and five daughters, all of whom, except Agnes, the third daughter, were still living. The eldest daughter, Jeanne, was married in 1351 to her cousin, the King of Navarre, and the eldest son, Charles, was invested by his father with the duchy of Normandy in 1354. He was also created Dauphin, and had been married the same year as his father and grandfather, to the daughter of the Duc de Bourbon. The Queen and the Dauphin did not like each other, but she seems to have been on friendly and affectionate terms with the two Queens dowager, one of whom was several years younger than herself, and to have joined them on one or two occasions in interceding with the King on behalf of Charles le Mauvais, King of Navarre.

By what little can be gathered from such scanty records of those times as are not given up to wars and intrigues, it would appear that the King and his second wife got on well together without having any very deep attachment for each other. In the dangers and misfortunes that beset Jean we do not hear of the Queen displaying the anxiety and terror about him that Jeanne de Bourgogne did for Philippe de Valois; and when the climax came with the defeat at Poitiers and the captivity of the King, she fled to her son's duchy, where her affections and interests seem to have centred; made a treaty with the enemy of France for the salvation of Burgundy, and threw all her energies into the advancement of her son's

prosperity and the welfare of his estates. This time of calamity had, however, not yet arrived, and Jeanne was still surrounded by all the luxury and magnificence of the court of the Valois. Her son, the young Duke of Burgundy, was with her; there is an account for the price of a splendid dress he had for a great festival at Easter;¹ her daughter Jeanne, who was called Mademoiselle de Bourgogne, had come to Paris at the beginning of this year (1355). She had been betrothed in 1347 to the son of Aimon or Amé, Comte de Savoie, afterwards Amadeo VI., called the Green Count; and in 1348 had been sent to Savoy to be brought up by the Countess dowager, Blanche de Bourgogne, her aunt, whose husband, as she had no son, and her daughter, the Duchesse de Bretagne, no children, had been succeeded by his brother. Blanche, the Countess dowager, died very soon after, but Mademoiselle de Bourgogne remained in Savoy according to the arrangements made by her grandfather Eudes, Duke of Burgundy. After his death, however, the King of France cast an envious eye on the vast inheritance of Burgundy. If any evil should befall the young Duke before he could have an heir, all those great provinces would go to his sister, and Jean resolved that they should not become the property of the Comte de Savoie. He therefore set to work to break off the marriage. He entered into a treaty with the court of Savoy, offering in return for the young Jeanne a hôtel at Paris and 40,000 florins in gold.² The Savoyards at first

¹ "Comptes royaux," Laborde.

² Sismondi, "Histoire de France," t. vii. p. 8.

hesitated, then accepted, and Mademoiselle de Bourgogne was sent back to Paris "to be married at the King's will, only not to the Dauphin," who, by the way, was married already. This transaction caused the utmost indignation and alarm in Burgundy when known, and great were the fears of the people for the life of their young Duke to whom the King, his stepfather, was apparently so resolved to allow no heirs. Sismondi asserts that Jean was resolved the Princess of Burgundy should never marry any one; but, judging from after events, it seems most likely that had she, by her brother's death, become Duchess of Burgundy and Countess of Burgundy, Artois, Boulogne, and Auvergne, she would have been married to one of the King's sons. She could scarcely have been more than thirteen or fourteen years old when she was brought to Paris.

It had been agreed upon their marriage that the King and Queen should govern Burgundy jointly until the majority of the Duke, but Jeanne nevertheless on many occasions exercised the regency herself. In 1352, as "*Gouvernante du duché*," she bought back La Grurlé de Bourgogne which had been given away by the late Duke in 1342. In 1353 she acquired for the young Duke, as his "*tutrice et gouvernante*," ten livres de rente which had been granted also by Eudes to one Girard de Géviotte, to be collected annually from "*marcs et tailles*" in the city of Dijon. And about the same time 735 livres were granted, to be employed in the works necessary to be carried out in the convent of the Chartreux, founded by Duke Eudes near Beaune.

The sum of 8,000 écus was paid annually from the duchy of Burgundy to "the Queen Regent, mother of the Duke."

The Burgundians hated the King of France being mixed up in the regency at all, and stood jealously, as well as they might, by the ancient laws and rights of their constitution. When immediately after their marriage, the King and Queen had come to Dijon, and Jean had caused coin to be struck there, he was careful to announce in letters dated from Paris, March, 1350, that he had done so not as regent of Burgundy, but as King of France, and that he did not intend to claim for himself or his successors any right to coin money in the duchy of Burgundy, or to prejudice in any way the right of the Dukes to strike their own coin. And finding that many rights and benefits had been usurped by various officers during the regency, he, in order to put a stop to these abuses, ordained that no innovations or undertakings against the interests of the Duke or the duchy should hold good when he came of age. And that he might then claim any property alienated during the regency, so that he should get his duchy with all its rights, powers, and possessions intact, as it had been left him by his grandfather. In 1354 the King promised to discontinue striking coin in Burgundy when the Duke should attain his majority.

In January, 1355, he raised levies of soldiers in that duchy, and summoning the Burgundian parliament, he made an attempt to establish the *gabelle*. This was, however, stoutly resisted by the states, who refused to make any innovation in the laws of the

duchy or to introduce any oppressive taxes hitherto unknown. The last service rendered by them to the King of France, before the battle of Poitiers, was the levying of a tax to provide horses and carts to carry baggage for his army.



CHAPTER II

1355-1356

The *vavas seur*—The brigands—Departure of the King for Poitiers—His defeat and captivity—The Queen and her children escape to Burgundy—Joy of the Burgundians.

TROUBLES and disasters seemed to be thickening in France; caused, or at any rate much aggravated, by the rash and violent actions of the King. Philippe de Navarre, brother of the King of Navarre, whom he had imprisoned, and Godefroy de Harcourt, uncle of the Comte de Harcourt, whom he had put to death, were ravaging the country; and the Duke of Lancaster with an English army had joined them. There were sieges and forays and skirmishes; the taxes, heavy enough under Philippe VI., were much augmented, and Jean was trying to force the *gabelle* on an unwilling people. Sismondi remarks that Jean was just one of those men for whom Froissart wrote and whose imaginations he influenced. Without self-control, incapable of serious reflection, he only wished to be "*gai, frisque, amou-*

reux et bachelereux durement."¹ He went out after the Navarrais and pursued them as far as L'Aigle, where they dispersed in the woods so that he could not find them.

Meanwhile luxury and dissipation increased among



ST. GERMAIN DES PRÉS.

the knights and nobles. They covered their hoods and girdles with pearls and precious stones, so that the price of pearls was considerably raised, and it was at this time that the fashion first arose of wearing plumes of feathers in hats and caps.

¹ Froissart.

One day the almoner of the King came to him saying that a *vavas seur*, or farmer from the country, had arrived at court and earnestly desired to speak to him, having something to tell which he refused to communicate to any one else. The King declined to see him, but sent a message desiring him to tell whatever he had to say to his almoner and confessor. The man at first refused, but after much persuasion, and finding that an interview with the King could not be obtained, he confided to them that some time before, while he was out in his fields, he had heard a terrible voice which ordered him to go at once to the King and warn him not by any means to give battle to the enemy. In doubt and fear the *vavas seur* had gone to the priest of his village and related the adventure to him. The priest desired him to pass three days in prayer and fasting and then return to the place where this strange thing had befallen him. He did so, and again he heard the fearful voice. Three separate times he made the experiment and always with the same result, the warning being repeated on each occasion. The priest then advised him to go to the court and carry the supernatural message to the King. Jean, however, would pay no attention, but offered the *vavas seur* money, which he declined, and left the court to return to his home.¹ The battle of Poitiers was fought shortly afterwards.

During all these wars between the French and English, France was beset with bands of mercenaries, commanded by captains or leaders, some of whom

¹ This weird story is related in the chronicle of the "Quatre premiers Valois."

paid their followers themselves and hired them out to fight for whoever gave the highest pay; others provided for their men out of the plunder they took indifferently from every one, no matter of what party. These last were called brigands, were commanded by adventurers, and when taken prisoners met with no quarter.¹ As to the peasants they were in a deplorable situation. If they did not pay blackmail to the brigands they were certain to be ruined or murdered; if they did they rendered themselves guilty of the crime of *lèse-majesté* and were liable to be prosecuted unless they obtained from the King letters of remission or favour; now these letters could not be had for nothing from the royal Court of Chancery; so that in every way they got the worst of it.² So fierce, so daring, and so powerful were these brigands and free companies that they defied alike the temporal and spiritual powers. They burned and sacked churches and convents as well as villages and châteaux. The monks and nuns fled from their monasteries and convents in the country to those in the fortified towns, where they took up their abode until better times should come. Even Innocent VI. himself and his Cardinals, dreading the approach of Regnault de Cerval, nicknamed *l'Archiprêtre*, and considered one of the most famous and most chivalrous of the brigand chiefs, invited him to the Papal Court at Avignon, where a treaty was arranged with him, and he was received with as much reverence as

¹ De Mezeray, "Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire de France," par. ii. t. iii. p. 58.

² Siméon Luce, "Histoire de la Jacquerie," p. 15.

if he had been a son of the King of France, dined several times at the palace with the Pope and Cardinals, and on his departure received 40,000 écus to be divided amongst his company.¹ Everything combined to make the profession of a brigand envied and sought after. Did not existence smile upon these adventurers? Had not they everything they could wish for to make life sweet, easy, and glorious; riches, love, the favour of popes and kings? Therefore the career was so dear to them that when once they had embraced it they could not endure to give it up. This may be clearly seen on reading the following lines from Froissart, who brings on to the scene the celebrated brigand, Aimerigot Marchés, who, after having sold to the Comte d'Armagnac the château d'Alleuze in Auvergne, from which during several years he had held all the country round at his mercy, repents of the bargain he has concluded, and recalls with regret the advantages and charms of the life he has just renounced.²

“He thought to himself that too soon he had repented of doing well, and that to plunder and rob in the way he had been used to do, all considered, was a merry life (*bonne vie*). And he talked of it to his companions and said, ‘There is nothing in the world to compare with the life of arms and warfare we led! How we rejoiced as we rode out *à la aventure*, and when we found a rich abbot or a rich prior, a merchant or a string of mules from Montpellier, Narbonne, Limoux, Fougans, Béziers, Toulouse, or Carcassonne, loaded with cloth from Brussels or

¹ Froissart.

² Siméon Luce, “Histoire de la Jacquerie,” p. 17.

Moustier-Villiers, or furs from the *foire au Lendit*, or spices from Bruges, or silk from Damascus or Alexandria! It was all ours or to be ransomed at our will. Every day we got more money. The peasants of Auvergne and Limousin provided for us and brought us to our castle corn, flour, bread, fodder for our horses, good wine, fat beef, mutton, and poultry. We lived like kings, and when we rode out all the country trembled before us. Going and returning all was ours. How did we take Carlat, I and the Bourg de Companes? and Chalusset, I and Perrot the Bearnois? How did you and I, without any other help, scale the strong castle of Merquel, which belongs to the Comte Dauphin? I only held it five days, and I received for it five thousand francs on the table. And I had let them off one thousand for love of the Comte Dauphin! By my faith, that life was a good and a splendid one!'¹

¹ "Si . . . imaginoit en soi que trop tart il s'estoit repenti de faire bien, et que de piller et rober en la manière que devant il faisoit et avoit fait, tout considéré, c'estoit bonne vie. A la fois il s'en devoit aux compagnons, qui lui avoit aidé a mener cette ruse, et disoit, ' Il n'est temps, esbattement ni gloire en ce monde, que de gens d'armes, de guerroyer par la manière que vous avons fait! Comment estions nous resjonis, quand nous chevauchions a l'avanture et nous pouvions trouver sur les champs ung riche abbé, ung riche prieur, marchand ou une route de mulles de Montpellier de Narbonne, de Limoux, de Fougans, de Béziers, de Toulouse et de Carcassonne, chargées de draps de Bruxelles, ou de Moustier-Villiers, ou de pelleteries venant de la foire au Lendit, ou d'épiceries venant de Bruges, ou de draps de soye de Damas ou d'Alexandrie? Tout estoit nostre, ou rançonné à nostre volonté. Tous les jours nous avions nouvel argent. Les villains d'Auvergne et de Limousin nous pourvoient et nous amenoient, en nostre chastel les bleds, la farine, le pain tout cuit, l'avoine pour le chevaux et la litière, les bons vins, les bœufs, les brebis et les moutons tous gras, la poulaille et la volaille. Nous estions gouvernés et estoûés

Who would not feel the passion, the ardour, the sincere enthusiasm that breathes in this passage?¹ The regret for his fearful trade has inspired in the bandit captain, or rather in Froissart, who speaks for him, an eloquence almost poetical. But our fathers paid dearly for this gloomy poetry of brigandage which we find so interesting. Many of the chiefs of these companies were cadets of the greatest families. They took a sobriquet and by this convenient subterfuge saved the honour of their name.²

In the intervals of the warlike expeditions there were various court diversions and journeyings from one château or palace to another. The King was at Montlhéri near Corbeil in February; for certain letters of remission which he granted to his *écuyer* Jean, who had been condemned for stealing relics from the Abbaye de Saint-Victor, are dated from that place.

The Queen associated herself with the Queen's dowager and the other princesses in their works of charity and devotion. She is mentioned as being present at the opening of the new church of the Carmelites in which Jeanne d'Evreux especially was so much interested. She herself founded in her own

comme rois, et quand nous chevauchions, tout le pays trembloit devant nous. Tout estoit nostre, allant et retournant. Comment prismes-nous Carlat, moi et le Bourg de Companes? et Chaluset, moi et Perrot le Béarnois? Comment eschelasmes-nous, vous et moi, sans autre aide, le fort chastel de Merquel, qui est au comte Dauphin? Je ne le tins que cinq jours, et si en receus, sur une table, cinq mil francs. Et encore quictai-je mil pour l'amour du comte Dauphin. Par ma foi, ceste vie estoit bonne et belle!" (Froissart, "Chron." iv., chap. 14, ed. Buchon, t. xii. pp. 188-9.)

¹ Siméon Luce, "Histoire de la Jacquerie," p. 18.

² Ibid.

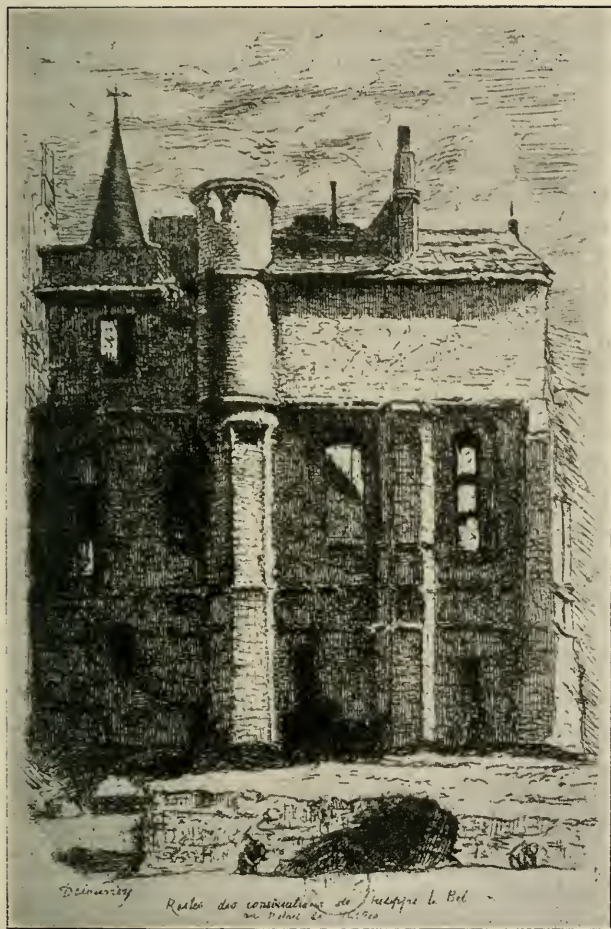
province a large Hôtel-Dieu, at Boulogne. Blanche de France, youngest daughter of Philippe le Long, a nun at Longchamps, the account of whose reception at four years old into the convent at Longchamps, of which she afterwards became Abbess, was given in the life of a former Queen, is often mentioned in documents of that time as receiving payments or grants from the Kings.¹

There is the record of the gift of a house and garden to the nuns of Longchamps by Philippe de Valois, at the request of Blanche de France, daughter of Philippe le Long, and several payments of different sums of money to her by the treasurer of Jean. Also a confirmation by King Jean of the right of the same nuns to a certain amount of wood for firing, to be cut every year in the forest of Rouvray.² Paradin says that Jeanne d'Auvergne had by the King two daughters who died in infancy, but there is no record of their existence, and nearly all other historians say that no children were born to the King and Queen of their second marriage.

About the middle of the summer the King returned to Paris with his army after his campaign against the Navarrais and the Duke of Lancaster. The King of England had invested his son, the Prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, with the duchy of Guyenne, and he was then carrying fire and sword through Auvergne. Jean was eager to meet him in the field, and was making preparations to do so, but first he desired to take a little rest and relaxation. He therefore remained for a short time at Paris, and

¹ "Trésor des Chartes."

² *Ibid.*



FRAGMENT OF ANCIENT HÔTEL DE VILLE.

then, at the head of a great army, he set forth, accompanied by his four sons and his brother, the Duc d'Orléans. So magnificent a host had never yet marched out of Paris. The immense numbers, the splendour of their dress and armour, the gallant grace of the Valois King, then in the prime of manhood, and the young princes his sons and brother, the *Fleur-de-lis*, the eldest of whom was scarcely twenty years old, the multitude of banners and pennons bearing the arms of the noblest houses in the land, and followed by all the flower of the chivalry of France, burning to wipe out the defeat of Crécy and sweep the invaders from their country, could not but fill the hearts of the French with pride and confidence. To the Queen all this must have vividly recalled the day when her first husband, the Comte d'Artois, rode away with his father, the Duke of Burgundy, at the head of their splendid troop, and she saw him no more. And this, too, was a last farewell from her husband, for the King and Queen never met again.

A few weeks of suspense, and then came the news of a defeat more terrible than that of Crécy. The army was dispersed and destroyed, the King and his youngest son, Prince Philippe, were prisoners, and the Black Prince, with his victorious troops, had retired to his own city of Bordeaux, loaded with booty and carrying his royal captives with him, thence to be embarked for England. The Duc d'Orléans and the three elder sons of the King had escaped from the battle, there were many who reproached them and others with their flight, and there were rumours of panic and confusion and mismanagement.

Soon the fugitives began to arrive. Some who had fled from the field, others who had been made prisoners and had come to collect money to pay their ransom. And where was it to come from? To be ground and wrung from a people already half starved. The country was filled with murmurs and despair.

The princes returned to Paris, and the Dauphin summoned the States and assumed the Government, beset by troubles and disturbances, the account of which belong to another reign rather than to that of Jeanne d'Auvergne.¹

For some time she had been occupied in transactions with Margu rite, Comtesse de Flandres, about the marriage of her granddaughter and heiress with her own son, the Duke of Burgundy. The King had given her full authority and power to arrange the marriage, make contracts and all requisite agreements by act sealed with his seal at Paris, 1354, and had promised to ratify anything she did in the matter. The dispensation of the Pope had also been sent for, as the children were related in the third degree; Jeanne, Duchesse de Bourgogne, grandmother of the Duc de Bourgogne, and Margu rite, Comtesse de Flandres, grandmother of the Flemish princess, having been sisters, the two eldest daughters of Philippe le Long.

Innocent IV. had sent the dispensation accordingly, dated at Avignon, January 31, 1355.

After the battle of Poitiers Jeanne found her position at the court of France much changed. Her husband was a prisoner, the country she believed to

¹ Charles V. and Jeanne de Bourbon.

be ruined, and all power was in the hands of the Dauphin, whom she did not like. And her thoughts turned longingly to her son's duchy of Burgundy, where she could live in comparative peace and safety with her own two children and rule the court and duchy in her son's interests and according to her own will. Between the court of a stepson she disliked and that of her own son whom she adored she did not long hesitate, but taking the Duke, who was then ten or eleven years old, and his sister, the Princess Jeanne, she fled to Burgundy,¹ where the people were delighted to welcome them.

They had been strongly averse to the re-marriage of the regent, to the regency being shared by the King of France, and, above all, to the removal of their young Duke from among them to be brought up at Paris. The breaking off the marriage of his sister, the Princess Jeanne, with the Comte de Savoie had excited indignation and alarm throughout Burgundy, many fearing that some harm was intended to the children. So that when the boy, to whom they were passionately attached, and his sister were suddenly brought back to them by their mother, who was likely to be a wise ruler, and without the stepfather who had been suspected and dreaded, their satisfaction was great, and was of course increased by the prospect of the splendid marriage arranged for him. For the little Princess Marguérite, the only child of Louis, Comte de Flandre, Nevers, and Rethel, was heiress of those great provinces; which would, if all went well, come to swell the immense inheritance of their young

¹ Paradin, "Annales de Bourgogne," p. 344.

Duke. Burgundy, Franche Comté, Artois, Boulogne, Auvergne, Nevers, Flanders, and Rethel, would form a state that many a sovereign prince might well covet.

The people of Burgundy loved the princes of the Capétienne house, and had watched with dismay their diminishing numbers until of the five sons of Duke Robert and the Duchess Agnes, the sole heir was this child, the descendant of Saint Louis, and the only hope of Burgundy and the other great provinces over which he reigned. And by his precocious talents and charming disposition he won all hearts and gave promise of inheriting the virtues and capacity of his forefathers.

The only drawback, to the joy of the inhabitants at the return of the ducal family, was a fear lest the Queen-regent, who was now absolute mistress and ruler, should still further exhaust the country which had already been drained to help the King, by levying more money for his ransom.

But in this matter their fears were groundless. Jeanne had no intention or desire to injure Burgundy and her son to benefit France and her second husband ; and when she raised money it was not for the ransom of King Jean, but to protect Burgundy from the enemies with whom it was surrounded and to provide for the expenses of the Duke's journey to Flanders for his wedding with the Princess Marguélite.

CHAPTER III

1356-1361

Perilous state of the country—Suzerainty of the Emperor—Marriage of the Duke of Burgundy—Fortifications of Dijon—English invasion—Treaty with King Edward—Deaths of the Queen, of the Princess Jeanne, of the Duke of Burgundy—Extinction of the Capétienne House.

THE county of Burgundy, or Franche Comté, which Philippe, the young Duke, had inherited from his grandmother, Jeanne, the eldest daughter of Philippe le Long, was a fief of the Empire, as was explained in the life of Jeanne de Bourgogne. It will be remembered that Philippe le Long got it by marrying Jeanne, the eldest daughter of the Count Palatine of Burgundy. But as Philippe le Long, who came to the throne by the death of his elder brother and infant nephew, did not choose to be a vassal of the Empire, he never called himself Count Palatine, but left that title to be borne by his wife and transmitted by her to their eldest daughter, also named Jeanne, who married the Duke of Burgundy, and united the county to the duchy. Consequently the

grandson and heir of this Duke and Duchess of Burgundy was a vassal of France for the duchy which he inherited from his grandfather, and of the Empire for the county, through his grandmother.

The Emperor Charles IV., son of the King of Bohemia, who fell at Crécy, had hitherto dispensed with the ceremony of paying homage owing to the extreme youth of his vassal. But he now sent him a summons to appear on a certain day and take the oath of fealty. The Queen was much disturbed at this. The country, overrun by the enemy and infested with brigands, was altogether unsafe to travel in, and the foes of Burgundy were only waiting for an opportunity to cross its frontiers. Under these circumstances Jeanne decided that she would neither risk the child outside his own duchy at so perilous a time, nor yet weaken it by sending away any who might be wanted to defend it.

She therefore wrote to the Emperor explaining her reasons and begging him to accept the excuses for which there was such ample justification; and despatched the Sire de Grancey on the 14th of November, 1356, to carry her letters of apology and explanation to the Imperial Court.

That her fears were well grounded there was no doubt, for Amadeo VI., Count of Savoy, called the Green Count because of some green armour he had worn at a tournament he gave at Chambéry, took advantage of the troubles and difficulties in which the country was involved to invade Burgundy. Jeanne,

however, by negotiating with him, managed to persuade him to go away.

But in these troubled and perilous times she had no intention of trusting merely to negotiations for the protection of herself, her children, and people; therefore, not feeling satisfied about the security of the fortifications of Dijon, in the next year, 1357, she decided that new fortifications should be at once begun at the capital.

The Queen and the Countess dowager of Flanders, were anxious that the marriage of the two children, their son and granddaughter, should not be delayed any longer. The Duke was only about eleven or twelve, and the Princess seven years old, so that they were much too young for married life; but in those days the marriages of children were frequently celebrated when supposed to be very desirable and important, as even a formal and solemn betrothal was so much more easily set aside. If the Princess Jeanne, the Duke's sister, had been married instead of only betrothed to Amadeo VI., Count of Savoy, the King of France could not have put an end to the affair as he did; and both the Queen and the old Countess of Flanders had set their hearts on this alliance. Therefore preparations were made for the duke's journey to Flanders. The nobles and the towns made him large presents of money, and the Queen raised loans besides to defray his travelling expenses and those of his wedding. He set out for Flanders in April, 1357, and went to Arras where the marriage was to take place. On the 13th of May the little Princess arrived at that town with her mother and

grandmother, the Countess Margu rite. They took up their quarters at the abbey of St. Waast, where costly gifts were presented to the Princess. The marriage was celebrated the next day, which was the Sunday before the Ascension, in the abbey church of St. Waast, with great state, by the Bishop of Tournai. Multitudes of people pressed to see the ceremony; in fact, so great was the crowd that filled the church that the Duke and the Princess had to be carried through it up to the altar.¹ The marriage of course was one in name only.

In the following November the Queen summoned a parliament of the three estates of the duchy to meet at Beaune for the purpose of deliberating on the best means of protecting the state.

The fortifications of Dijon were pushed on as fast as possible. No matter what came in the way of them, everything had to give place to the work. Houses were demolished, gardens destroyed, and orchards cut down to make way for the new walls. Even those belonging to the Abbot of St. B nigne did not escape.

The Queen raised levies, and the castles all over Burgundy were garrisoned and put in order of defence, for an English invasion was expected. The castle of Argilly, near Nuits, was a favourite country resort of the Burgundian royal family. They were there evidently in the summer of 1358, as letters of the Queen's are dated at Argilly, in June of that year;

¹ "Extrait des m moriaux de l'h tel de ville d'Arras, communiqu  par O. Desmelles, religieux de Saint Waast" ("L'Art de v rifier les dates").

in which, by the advice of the council of regency, she orders a *rente*, assigned by Duke Eudes to the monks of St. Bénigne, to be paid to the community.

Meanwhile affairs were going badly in France. Edward III., notwithstanding his brilliant successes, had not conquered that kingdom. Without the consent of the nation it was certain that he could never become its King, and that consent he was evidently most unlikely to obtain. The war had gone on for more than twenty years, and King Edward himself desired peace, but a peace that should restore to him all the magnificent inheritance of the Plantagenets which had been lost by the infamy and incapacity of John. The terms he proposed were agreed to by Jean, but rejected by the Dauphin, now regent, and by the French nation, to which they would have been ruinous. Edward, therefore, prepared for a new invasion of France, which all this time was a prey to every kind of disorder. In April, 1359, there was a revolt at Dijon, where the populace rose and began to attack and pillage the houses of the superior classes. The young Duke of Burgundy, now fourteen years old, but, like his uncle, Duke Eudes, with courage and capacity far beyond his age, placed himself at the head of his gendarmerie and fell upon the insurgents whom he put to flight, hanged a hundred and twenty and restored order and peace in the city.

In October of the same year, King Edward, with his army, landed at Calais and took the road to Artois. With him were the Prince of Wales and three of his younger sons, and they were soon joined

by the Duke of Lancaster. The English King lay encamped for seven weeks before Rheims, and then, passing under the walls of Châlons-sur-Marne, Bar-le-Duc, and Troyes, entered Burgundy. Tonnerre and Flavigny were soon in his hands, and having found abundance of provisions and everything he wanted in the latter place, he seized the castle of Guillon and settled there for the winter. There the English leaders amused themselves with hunting, hawking, and fishing; and lived in comfort and plenty. They had many dogs and falcons, and little boats made of leather in which they went on the river and ponds.¹ Lent was partly over, and still they were there, and the English troops were everywhere overcoming the Burgundians and spreading all over the country. Dijon itself was in danger, and it was evident that some further steps must be taken to put a stop to this state of things.

Philippe, Duke of Burgundy,² though not yet fifteen years old, had begun to take part in public affairs, and sat at the council that was called in haste to decide upon what measures could be adopted to save the state in this emergency. Philippe was naturally under the influence of his mother, who had proved herself so admirable a regent and guardian of his duchy and himself. Now Jeanne was convinced in her own mind that France was hopelessly lost, and that nothing remained to be done but to save Burgundy from sharing the same fate. This could be accomplished by making a separate

¹ Paradin, "Annales de Bourgogne," p. 346.

² Idem.

treaty with the English ; and this accordingly she advised her son to do. It was of course a most serious and decisive step to take. The boy was premier peer of France, and his mother was her Queen. To make peace with her enemies in time of war was an action which might even be considered treasonable ; more especially as it seemed doubtful whether they could treat with King Edward without admitting his claim to the French crown. However, the situation was so alarming and its danger so great as to outweigh every other consideration. The Queen's advice was followed, and the Chancellor of Burgundy was sent on an embassy to Guillon, where he was favourably received by Edward, and negotiations for peace were begun. The affair was difficult to arrange at first ; the victorious English demanded so much, and the irritated Burgundians would yield so little.¹ But finally, on the 10th of March, 1360, a truce for three years was signed between "Edward, King of France and England, and Philippe, Duke of Burgundy and Count Palatine of Burgundy." The English king gave back Flavigny, which was then in his possession, and promised not to come into Burgundy, or to commit any act of hostility against that state.

The Duke of Burgundy, on his part, engaged to give no assistance to the regent of France, either in men or money. He agreed to pay within two years two hundred thousand *écus d'or au mouton* to King Edward ; of which fifty thousand should be

¹ Sismondi.

paid at midsummer of that year, 1360, a hundred thousand at Christmas of the same year, and the remaining fifty thousand at Easter, 1361. It was further stipulated that in case the city of Paris and the greater part of the kingdom should consent to Edward being crowned King of France, the Duke of Burgundy should not oppose it.

With the Duke the following towns bound themselves to pay the money :—Autun, Châlons, Dijon, Beaune, Semur, Montbard, and Châtillon; the following prelates : the Bishops of Châlons and Autun, the Abbots of St. Bénigne de Dijon, St. Etienne de Dijon, St. Martin d'Autun, St. Pierre de Châlons, St. Pierre de Flavigny, St. Seine, Tournais, Cîteaux, Fontenay, Maizières, La Ferté, La Bussière, Châtillon, Oigny, and Ste. Marguérite, besides fifteen nobles and seven citizens.

The King of England then withdrew from Aiguillon, and passing by Coulanges, he left Burgundy and entered the Gâtinais.

Jeanne, Comtesse d'Auvergne et de Boulogne, Regent of Burgundy and Queen of France, died at the castle of Argilly, near Nuits, on the 29th of September, 1360, at the age of thirty-six. Sismondi remarks that her death was very likely caused by the plague which again raged about France and Burgundy, but there is no certain authority in this matter. She left an excellent example of wise and energetic government to her son, whom she had so well guided and protected, and to whom her death was a great misfortune.

But neither of her children long survived her. On

the Friday after Christmas of the same year, Jeanne, called Mademoiselle de Bourgogne, whose fears were probably aroused either by the approach of the plague or by the recent and early death of her mother ; and who, it is recorded, "feared to die without leaving a will, made one, in which she left the place of her burial to the Duke, her brother, bequeathing a sum of money to the church, wherever it should be, to pray to God for her. She left money and clothes, &c. to the servants of her household, and everything else to her brother. The executors were la Dame de Muessant, Frère Guillaume de Châtillon, her confessor ; Pierre de Cuiret, and Jeanne de Cusance. The forebodings which the young princess seems to have had were realised, for she died shortly afterwards, probably at Easter.¹

Her will was confirmed by her brother, and she

¹ Sainte-Marthe gives Easter, 1361, as the date of the death of Philippe, Duc de Bourgogne. But as that historian also asserts that the duke brought his wife to Burgundy in July, 1361, his two statements are incompatible. It may have been the death of the Princess Jeanne, which took place about that time, to which he alludes, but there is so much discrepancy in the dates given by different historians, ancient and modern, French and Burgundian, of many of the events which took place during the years that elapsed between the battle of Poitiers and the death of the Queen, that it is difficult to give a clear account of this period of her life, which is, however, extremely interesting ; and it is only by carefully comparing many writers and referring their statements to certain well-known events about which there can be no doubt, that it is possible to arrive at any sort of conclusion.

One historian goes so far as to make Philippe de Bourgogne one of the hostages after Poitiers, and to say that he was in England until 1360, in spite of the frequent proofs of his presence in Burgundy during all those years, given in the writings of so many chroniclers and historians, and the record of his marriage at Arras in 1357 by one of the monks of the abbey at which it took place.

was buried in the chapel of the Dukes of Burgundy at Fontenay, for which religious house her father and grandparents had had so much affection. Jeanne was laid in the tomb of her grandmother, Jeanne de France, Duchess of Burgundy, eldest daughter of Philippe le Long, on which were afterward sculptured the figure of a Duke of Burgundy, with shield bearing the arms of Burgundy, and the figure of Jeanne de France and her granddaughter. The Duke founded two anniversaries for these two princesses and one for himself. He died on the 21st of November in the same year.¹ Sismondi attributes the deaths of the Duke of Burgundy and his sister, as well as that of their mother, to the plague, and remarks that it was probably out of respect for the royal family that this was kept a secret. There was, however, no secret about the deaths of Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philippe VI., of Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, or of the Duchess of Normandy, all of whom died of plague; besides which Sismondi places the deaths of the royal family of Burgundy nearer together than, according to other writers, they actually occurred; saying that they all died within a few weeks of each other.

One or two historians have asserted that in this year (1361) the Duke went to Flanders, where he ratified his marriage, and brought his wife back with him to Burgundy. But as she was only eleven years old at most at this time, it does not seem very likely, and besides this, many writers, in describing her

¹ "Grandes Chroniques de France," t. vii.

second marriage with the youngest son of King Jean, the successor of Philippe, and founder of the Valois house of Burgundy, state that her marriage with the Capétien duke had never been more than a ceremony.

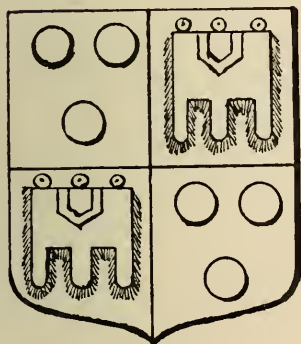
Philippe de Rouvre, Duke of Burgundy, died in the autumn of 1361. Having returned from an expedition against the companies of freebooters who were ravaging the country, he fell ill at his castle of Argilly. Conscious of his danger, he made his will and died a few days afterwards, to the despair of his people by whom he was adored. He was of an excellent disposition, possessing exalted tastes and a noble nature. None ever served him in vain, for he was eager to reward and faithful in keeping his own promises and those of his ancestors. He was deeply beloved by his officers and servants, whom he was always ready to help.

There was no cathedral, college, abbey, or convent in his estates which had not received benefit from him. He lived a short time and was long regretted.¹ Philippe, Duke of Burgundy, was buried at Cîteaux. He was the last of that great Capétienne line, which, descending from Robert-le-Vieux, son of Robert, King of France, had ruled Burgundy for three hundred and fifty-nine years and raised her to the height of power and prosperity. The Capétiens Dukes of Burgundy were the greatest nobles of Christendom,²

¹ "Hist. gén. et parti. de Bourgogne, par un relig. Bénéd. de l'abbaye de S. Bénigne de Dijon," t. ii.

² "Hist. ceremonial français," Théodore Godefroy, t. i. p. 39.

and for generations the grandeur of their position had been supported by the splendid talents and noble qualities which, long after their race had vanished from the earth, kept their memory alive in the hearts of their people.



Au 1 & 3. d'or
 au gonfanon de
 gueules, frangé
 de sinople, pour
 Auvergne. au 2.
 & 3 d'or à trois
 tourteaux de
 gueules, pour
 Boulogne.

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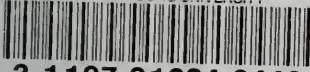
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