

**'Bore by discent and by title of right, justly to reigne in England and in
Fraunce': Literature Directed at English Kings During the Hundred
Years War**

by

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ABSTRACT

‘BORE BY DISCENT AND BY TITLE OF RIGHT, JUSTLY TO REIGNE IN ENGLAND AND IN FRAUNCE’: LITERATURE DIRECTED AT ENGLISH KINGS DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

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This thesis attempts to fill a gap in the scholarship of the Hundred Years War by analysing the literature directed at four of the five successive English kings who took part in the conflict – Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI (c. 1377-1453) – by way of manuscript dedications, addresses, and gifts. The works of writers such as Geoffrey Chaucer, Thomas Hoccleve, and William Worcester, among others, not only mirrored the various phases of the war but also attempted to guide its progression by contributing to the wider discourse on war and peace, educating their recipients on their kingly responsibilities, and celebrating and cementing their rights to the French crown.

In order to emphasize the purpose of these works, efforts by English writers are contrasted with the works of their French counterparts – including Philippe de Mézières, Christine de Pizan, and Alain Chartier – who dedicated and addressed a number of works to Charles VI, the Dauphin Louis, and Charles VII. These French works equally contributed to the discussion on war and peace, attempted to educate French kings on their responsibilities, and importantly urged them to challenge the English claim. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that a number of English writers active during the conflict used their texts as tools of indirect diplomacy, advice, and education to compliment and achieve English aims in the Hundred Years War.

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INTRODUCTION

The Hundred Years War (1337-1453) is one of the most notable conflicts from the Middle Ages, and also one of the largest and longest military engagements of the period. Five successive English kings from the Plantagenet royal house waged war against the French House of Valois over the right to rule the Kingdom of France. Moreover, domestic conflict in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, notably the English usurpation of 1399 and the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War (1407-1435) brought on by Charles VI of France's (r. 1380-1422) 'madness,' heightened the tension of the conflict. As a means of representing, remedying, and guiding the conflict, a number of English and French writers directed their works at these kings urging them to sue for war or peace. They also used their works more broadly to educate them on their responsibilities as rulers and to protect and advance the claims of their respective kings.

In line with the development of a closer relationship between king and poet, many of these writers explicitly directed their works to Richard II (r. 1377-1399), Henry IV (r. 1399-1413), Henry V (r. 1413-1422), and Henry VI (r. 1422-1460; 1470-1471) through dedications, addresses, and gifts. Although more attention will be given to works received by English monarchs in this study, due to their inextricable connection to one another as caused by the conflict, it is also necessary to analyse works directed at French monarchs and princes by French writers during the period – Charles VI, the Dauphin Louis (1397-1415), and Charles VII (r. 1422-1461) – so as to provide an indication of how these writers approached the war and the education of the monarch. Thus, this thesis attempts to determine what these works, which were directly aimed at these monarchs, can tell us about how writers of this period responded to the war. That is, how did they respond in times of war and peace, secondly, how did the educational programs that they aimed at these kings not only attempt to guide the recipient's rule but also contribute to achieving the

respective aims of their kingdoms in the conflict, and finally, how were these kings' rights protected and advanced?

A number of works written by some of the most notable English and French writers of the late medieval period reflect how the Hundred Years War was represented in literature and how its various phases were discussed. Further, as will be seen by these works, advising and educating the monarch in matters of kingship and warfare took on greater importance during the conflict. Finally, by dedicating, addressing, or gifting their works to these monarchs, it was hoped that the goal of their text would be best achieved. Both Richard II and Henry IV's reigns saw a relative lull in armed engagement. As such, writers active under these reigns attempted first to encourage peace, then advise these kings on how to most effectively sustain peace and ultimately achieve a permanent resolve. Writers of this period, first under Richard II also endeavored to remind the king of the responsibilities of his office, and then under Henry IV, exploited his anxieties over his legitimacy to the crown of England in order to maintain the peace earlier concluded in Richard II's reign. Similarly, French writers under Charles VI educated the king on the importance of peace and of ensuring that the royal government remained unified during the times of his 'madness'.

Henry V's great military victories on the continent and reconquest of Normandy, which culminated in the Treaty of Troyes (1420), received notable praise from writers who emphasized Henry V as the model of kingship and championed the English ruler's right to the French throne. The same efforts were made in works directed at Henry V during his tenure as Prince of Wales and we can see a similar attempt in works directed at Louis, Dauphin of Viennois. Finally, Henry VI was the recipient of a number of works that tried to inspire the young king to emulate the qualities of his warrior-king father whose conduct had won the English the French throne. They also worked to bolster Henry VI's right to the French throne and from the 1430s onwards

increasingly tried to persuade him into defending his claim when the dual monarchy was endangered. At the same time, writers of Charles VII's reign attempted to impart on the king that the English were enemies of the French and that he should do whatever necessary to dispel them their power from the continent.

Writers and Genres

It is necessary to understand that while dedications, addresses, and book gifts differ as literary tools, they are being studied together because, in the case of this study at least, most of them were unsolicited. With the exception of a few works, none of these monarchs specifically asked for any this literature. Now, while it is true that the majority of this literature was given to these kings without being requested, many of these writers had ulterior motives in writing to these kings. For example, in writing to Henry IV, Geoffrey Chaucer received a doubling of his annuity, and John Gower, the SSS Livery collar.¹ Similarly, as will be seen, John Lydgate and John Capgrave both used their works presented to Henry VI in order to advance the interests of their religious houses. Regardless, these works, whether dedicated, addressed, or gifted, were ultimately given to these kings to compliment what these writers believed their interests to be, not vice-versa.

Some of the most prominent English and French authors of the medieval period wrote to their sovereigns. Those that wrote to Richard II include Chaucer, Gower, and Philippe de Mézières. For a short time, Chaucer and Gower continued their literary careers under Henry IV as did the great French woman writer Christine de Pizan. Richard II and Henry IV's contemporary, Charles VII in addition to receiving a work penned by Honorat Bovet, also received works by Mézières and Christine. As Prince of Wales, Henry V was recipient of works by Henry Scogan and Thomas

¹ On the importance of the SSS Livery collar see Doris Fletcher, "The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: Its Origins and Transformation down the Centuries," in *The Age of Richard II*, ed. James L. Gillespie, 191-204 (New York, Sutton, 1997).

Hoccleve, and the Dauphin Louis was the recipient of didactic texts by Christine and Pierre Salmon. Once Henry V became king, Thomas Walsingham and John Lydgate directed works at him. Finally, Henry VI received works by John Lydgate, Tito Livio Frulovisi, John Capgrave, and William Worcester, and Charles VII from Alain Chartier, Christine, Jacques Gelu, Jean Juvénal des Ursins, and Jean de Rouvroy.

Broadly, the literature stretches across the genres of histories, ballades, and even begging poems, the most common types being histories and “mirrors for princes.” These works which include Lydgate’s *Troy Book* and Hoccleve’s *Regiment of Princes*, respectively, were the most effective way in which the aims of these writers relating to the Hundred Years War could be achieved. Histories such as Walsingham’s *Ypodigma Neustriae* (*The Symbol of Normandy*) and the *Troy Book* highlighted the long association between the kings of England and France. Similarly, hagiographical works including the *Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund* and Frulovisi’s *Vita Henrici Quinti* portrayed appropriate models of kingship by emphasizing the various deeds and conduct of successful rulers, such as Henry V. In a similar way, a number of writers – Mézières, Bovet, Christine, Hoccleve, and Capgrave – wrote “mirrors for princes” which not only formally attempted to model the perfect ruler but aimed to equip their recipients with the necessary tools and knowledge which would enable them to pursue or defend their claims. At the same time, they acted as educational texts or pieces of poetry many of these works were also propagandistic in nature and attempted to advance or refute the English claim through picture and words, as in Christine’s *Chemin de long estude* and Lydgate’s *Mumming at Windsor*.

In regard to these “mirrors for princes,” because of their formulaic and repetitive nature, it is often difficult to view them as providing any earnest and useful counsel with some degree of bearing to the individual prince or ruler. Richard Firth Green who sees these works as basic texts

in a prince's education admits that they seldom stray from general commonplaces to offer advice on specific matters.² Judith Ferster, however, argues that: "the mirrors for princes" are not only more topical than they appear to be but are also more critical of the powerful than we might expect," and that even the most positive poetry contains "the possibility of resistance."³ Yet Ferster may assign too much weight to an author's more analytical comments as many were cautious about outright criticizing the king, and those who did often clouded their opinions with unclear and non-committal words. More likely than Green and Ferster's conclusions is Pearsall's assessment that:

Princes welcomed them and on occasion commissioned them, not because they specially desired to have instruction in the business of government from clerks, nor because they would much appreciate being told things they did not wish to hear, but because it was important that they should represent themselves as receptive to sage counsel. They are not simply political public relations exercises but, equally, they are not 'books of instruction.'⁴

Yet as there is no way of telling whether or not these kings flipped through their pages the influence of "mirrors for princes" on these kings must not be overemphasized. However, the monarchs who appeared to follow the advice expressed in these works, such as Henry V, were perceived during and after their reigns as effective monarchs. As such, these texts do carry a certain amount of weight, and men of the day certainly took these didactic works seriously.

Almost every late medieval ruler owned some form of a "mirrors for princes" and many more commissioned them. The library of Charles V and VI, for example, contained at least twenty-two and Hoccleve's *Regement* survives in forty-five fifteenth-century manuscripts.⁵ Vegetius' fifth

² Richard F. Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 165.

³ Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*, (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 1996), 3-4.

⁴ Derek Pearsall, "Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*: The Poetics of Royal Self-Representation," *Speculum* 69, no. 2: 386.

⁵ Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 140-141.

century *De re militari*, the most authoritative military manual of the Middle Ages, which circulated in England in Latin, Anglo-Norman, French and English, survives in 148 manuscripts from the fifteenth century alone.⁶ Thus, all of these works, regardless of genre or the way in which they were directed at these kings (dedications, address, or gift), used their indirect nature to contribute to the wider political discourse of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Historiography

Despite the vast amount of modern historical commentary on the Hundred Years War there is still much to be done in regard to its literary representation.⁷ Understandably the focus has commonly been on the military and political aspect of the conflict but also on its social, cultural, and religious impact.⁸ Recently however, a number of historians have turned their attention to the literature composed during the period. Denise N. Baker's edited collection *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures* begins with the earliest accepted literary treatment of the war – *Les Voeux du Heron* – composed in the first decade of the conflict and ends with an analysis of the relationship between the Hundred Years War and national identity. The collection is successful in demonstrating the interdisciplinary 'reciprocity' of its subject and "the ways in which ... history influences literature ... and literature intervenes in history," but disappoints in providing an inadequate discussion of the association between war, monarch, and literature.⁹

⁶ C. R. Shrader, "A Handlist of Extant Manuscripts containing the *De re militari* of Flavius Vegetius Renatus," *Scriptorium* 33 (1979): 280–305.

⁷ Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years' War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 17.

⁸ See for example David Green, *The Hundred Years War: A People's History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); and John Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society: Social Values in the Hundred Years War, 1337-99* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1974).

⁹ Denise N. Baker, *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 3.

Catherine Nall somewhat remedies the latter in *Reading and War in Fifteenth-Century England: From Lydgate to Malory* but due to the period of her focus, the discussion is focused mainly on the second and third Lancastrian kings and is not entirely devoted to the Anglo-French conflict but also to the War of the Roses.¹⁰ Finally, while Joanna Bellis' *The Hundred Years War in Literature, 1337-1600* demonstrates its central argument that "in medieval and early modern war literature, words and war developed an intense mutual identification," and that the English language and national identity were foundationally shaped by French conflict, it again falls short in discussing how the Hundred Years War was *talked about* and *talked to* English monarchs.¹¹

Thus, this thesis aims to fill a gap in the study of literature composed during the period of war by approaching it via its connections to the individuals at the centre of the conflict – the kings of England (Richard II to Henry VI) and France (Charles VI, the Dauphin Louis, and Charles VII). In sum, it explores how literature during the conflict attempted to guide and influence these kings' conduct and diplomatic policies.

This study intends to achieve that aim through an analysis of manuscript dedications, address, and gifts received by English kings c. 1377-1453. This brings us to another area of inquiry that this thesis hopes to address, for the use of dedications as a serious tool of analysis is a relatively new development. Much work has been done on the early modern book dedication.¹² But little has

¹⁰ Catherine Nall, *Reading and War in Fifteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 114-158.

¹¹ Joanna Bellis, *The Hundred Years War in Literature, 1337-1600* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2016), 1-2.

¹² For a wide-ranging catalogue see Franklin B. Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1962). Studies of individual subjects include: Valerie Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), John Buchtel, "Dedicating Books to Henry, Prince of Wales," in *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England*, ed. Timothy V. Wilks (London: Holberton, 2008), and

been done in regard to the medieval dedication in an English context, aside from a very few specific studies or the casual mention of a dedication in a much broader study.¹³ Upon further consideration, however, the oversight may at first seem understandable. Aside from Henry II (r. 1152-1189) and his queen Eleanor, England's medieval rulers are not typically considered active and enthusiastic patrons of the literature. In a late-medieval context their apparent lack of literary interest is only heightened when compared to their French, Bohemian and Italian counterparts.¹⁴ As a result, the first detailed inventory of English royal books dates to 1535 when Henry VIII had his 143 books at Richmond catalogued; this is long after Charles V's of France enormous library of over 900 volumes was detailed in 1373.¹⁵ As such, although not entirely similar categories, the apparent lack of a medieval English royal book collection has prevented a sustained study of the dedications, addresses, and gifts that they received, for example, during the Hundred Years War.

Yet English monarchs did not wholly deprive themselves of books, instead quite the opposite is true. From John's reign (1199-1216) the presence of books in the possession of England's kings and queens only increases, and from 1350 onwards Isabella, as dowager-queen,

Tara S. Wood, "'To the Most Godlye, Virtuous, and Mightye Princes Elizabeth:' Identity and Gender in the Dedications to Elizabeth I" (PhD thesis, Arizona State University, 2008).

¹³ Notable ones include Terry Jones, "Did John Gower Rededicate His *Confessio Amantis* Before Henry IV's Usurpation?" in *Middle English Texts in Transition: A Festschrift Dedicated to Toshiuki Takamiya on His 70th Birthday* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 40–75 and Rory Critten, "The King's Historiographer: John Capgrave, Austin Identity, and the Pursuit of Royal Patronage," *Viator* 46, no. 3 (2015): 277–300. For a broader study see V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne, eds., *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983).

¹⁴ J. A. Burrow, "Introduction," in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), x.

¹⁵ See Henri Omont, "Inventaire Des Livres Estans Ou Chasteau de Richemont En Angleterre," in *Études Romanes Dédiées à Gaston Paris* (Paris, 1891), 5–13; and Léopold Delisle, *Recherches Sur La Librairie de Charles V, Part I* (Paris, 1907), 23.

was at the centre of an international literary culture emerging at the English court.¹⁶ Edward III (r. 1327-1377) and his queen, Philippa of Hainault, extended the trend of English royal patronage of French writers and by the late 1350s, with John II of France (r. 1350-1364) as prisoner in London after the Battle of Poitiers (1356), the English royal court could claim to be the centre of the French speaking world.¹⁷ However, no Middle English text is associated with the king.¹⁸

From Richard II to the last Lancastrian king, the English kings' association with books continued to increase. The Memoranda Roll of 1384/85 lists fourteen books in Richard II's possession, most of which were inherited from his grandfather and were later sold to relieve royal debts.¹⁹ Notably, Richard II owned a collection of love poems penned by the renowned Frenchman Jean Froissart.²⁰ The survival of a short list of some of Henry IV's books shed light on the value that the Lancastrians gave to the written word. He owned a number of secular and religious works, including the first vernacular bible of an English king and the first known keeper of the English kings' books – Ralph Bradfelde – is recorded under his reign.²¹

¹⁶ See Susan H. Cavanaugh, "Royal Books: King John to Richard II," *The Library* s6-x, no. 4 (1988): 304–16; and Michael Bennett, "Isabelle of France, Anglo-French Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange in the Late 1350s," in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J. S. Bothwell (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), 223.

¹⁷ Michael Bennett, "France in England: Anglo-French Culture in the Reign of Edward III," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England: C.1100-c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 327.

¹⁸ Anthony Ian Doyle, "English Books in and out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII," in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 165.

¹⁹ Richard F. Green, "King Richard II's Books Revisited," *The Library* s5-XXXI, no. 3 (1976): 235.

²⁰ Godfried Croenen, Kristen M. Figg, and Andrew Taylor, "Authorship, Patronage, and Literary Gifts: The Books Froissart Brought to England in 1395," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 11 (2008): 5.

²¹ Henry Summerson, "An English Bible and Other Books Belonging to Henry IV," *Bulletin John Rylands Library* 79 (1997): 109–15.

K.B. McFarlane suggested that Henry V owned 160 books, but there is no record of this and Jeanne Krochalis indicates that that this figure refers either to Thomas of Woodstock's late fourteenth-century library which numbered 127, or the 109 that the king took from the Siege of Meaux in 1422.²² The victor of Agincourt did however own the earliest and best copy of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, and this is actually the only extant Chaucer manuscript that royal ownership can be proven for.²³ Further, Henry V was likely the first king to suggest the possibility of a royal library.²⁴ Unfortunately, his son Henry VI seemed much more concerned with dispensing royal treasures rather than with amassing a sizeable royal collection. For example, of the 109 books taken from Meaux, Henry VI gave seventy-seven to King's Hall, Cambridge.²⁵ Regardless, while Edward IV (r. 1460-1470; 1471-1483) is generally viewed as the founder of the English royal library, the kings of the Hundred Years War evidently possessed at least a mild appreciation of books.²⁶ That this period saw an increase in English kings' book ownership signifies the growing importance that books held as tools of education and confirmation of one's status. Thus, the overt

²² K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 244; Jeanne E. Krochalis, "The Books and Reading of Henry V and His Circle," *The Chaucer Review* 23, no. 1 (1988): 61, 68. Beyond the 109 taken at Meaux, John, duke of Bedford, the late king's brother and regent of France purchased Charles V's remaining 843 manuscripts held at the Louvre in 1424. Transported to England in 1429, they were dispersed in 1435 after the duke's death: Marie-Hélène Tesnière, "Medieval Collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: From the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century," in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, ed. Marie-Hélène Tesnière and Prosser Gifford (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 27.

²³ Krochalis, "The Books and Reading of Henry V," 50.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁶ Janet Backhouse, "Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts," in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. David Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 23. More than thirty volumes are associated with the king, all of which are in French.

political statements that were expressed in these dedications, addresses, and book gifts were recognized, if not at least valued, by their recipients.

Consequently, in combination with the perceived scarcity of English royal book collecting, the minimal literary treatment of the Hundred Years War, and the relatively new use of dedications as a tool of analysis, it is no wonder that this approach has yet to be taken. Granted, historians must be careful in ascribing too much weight and concreteness to these unsolicited works. While they provide a unique window into the societies in which they were created in, in many ways that is all that they are. They act as a mirror of the societies that they were born in. By no means should dedications and gifts be used to definitively prove what people read. Moreover, it is impossible to determine if the dedicatee even read the works contents, unless they acknowledged such engagement. Finally, aside from a few unique instances in which the Lancastrian king's requested or pressured these writers into picking up their pens, those who gifted and dedicated often viewed the recipients of their works as vehicles of patronage and passive agents who might be convinced to subscribe to a specific political or war programme. Ultimately, however, that is exactly why these literary functions must be considered. For the works that were directly aimed at these monarchs do reflect contemporary opinion on the Hundred Years War and the way that literature could be used to advise and guide the king in his education and diplomatic policies.

Historical Context

As the various periods of war and peace and the general progression of the conflict is central to understanding the importance of the works directed at these kings, the broad strokes of the Hundred Years War must be outlined briefly. The conflict is commonly divided into three phases separated by truces: the Edwardian War (1337-1360), the Caroline War (1369-1389), and the Lancastrian War (1415-1453). Christopher Allmand, however, adds a fourth period with

slightly different dating: 1337-1360, 1360-1396, 1396-1422, 1422-1453.²⁷ As Allmand's organization takes into better consideration more concrete truces and regnal dates, I have chosen to adhere to his periodization. For our purposes, only the last three are necessary.

The first phase of the war had been dominated by continuous warfare, save for a brief period following the Black Death. However, both Edward III (r. 1327-1337) and Charles V's (r. 1364-1380) successors, Richard II and Charles VI, respectively, favoured peace. Therefore, for the remainder of the fourteenth century little war was waged between the two kingdoms and peace was formally sought from the 1380s onwards.²⁸ These efforts first culminated with a temporary truce at Leulinghem in 1389 and then in 1396 when Richard II, by now widowed, married Charles VI's daughter Isabella and a peace of twenty-eight years was settled.

Yet as with other peace agreements of the Hundred Years War, such as the Treaty of Brétigny (1360), the twenty-eight-year truce of 1396 proved to be fragile. Richard II's deposition and murder, likely at the hands of Henry IV, turned French opinion against the new king.²⁹ Nonetheless, neither side appears to have wished to raise fundamental issues (i.e. sovereignty of Aquitaine). In France, domestic divisions were becoming more pronounced in the first decade of the fifteenth century thus making extensive warring impossible; and in England, Henry IV seems to have possessed little ambition to secure the French crown, likely because his place on the English throne was so precarious.³⁰ During his reign Aquitaine, whose legal status was a major

²⁷ Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c. 1300-c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 6-36.

²⁸ The last English expedition to France, which occurred in 1380 under Richard II's uncle Thomas, earl of Buckingham, was a failure, as was Phillip, duke of Burgundy's planned Franco-Burgundian-Scottish invasion of 1386.

²⁹ Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, 26.

³⁰ For the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War see R. C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420* (New York: AMS Press, 1986), 85-110.

contentious issue of the conflict, even suffered from relative neglect.³¹ Still the truce of 1396 was never properly observed and by the close of Henry IV's reign the resumption of hostilities appeared inevitable.

When Henry V ascended to the throne in 1413, he immediately attempted to re-establish formal peace, but when the French refused further settlements in 1414 and 1415, Henry V used their rejection as just terms for reopening the war. In August 1415 an English force landed in Normandy and captured Harfleur. On October 25, although outnumbered, Henry V and his forces were victorious at Agincourt. By the summer of 1419 all of Normandy was his. Henry's successes during these years was partly facilitated by the increasing divisions between the Armagnac and Burgundian factions which culminated in the murder of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy in September 1419. John's death gave Henry V the chance he needed, and the English king and John's successor Philip the Good, joined in an alliance which would last for fifteen years. The alliance led to the Treaty of Troyes on May 21, 1420. Henry V was named heir to Charles VI, who was to remain king until his death; until that point however, Henry V would act as regent. The Dauphin was disinherited, and it was agreed that Henry V would marry Catherine, Charles VI's daughter.

Although the treaty came to be termed as the "Final Peace" hostilities continued, culminating in Henry V's death at the end of August 1422. His father-in-law followed him two months later. Henry VI, not yet one, but already king of England now assumed the French throne. However, the loss of Henry V's leadership did not immediately prove disastrous and the English saw back-to-back victories in 1423 and 1424. In April 1423 Anglo-Burgundian relations were cemented when the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy and Brittany signed the Treaty of Amiens. This "triple alliance" helped extend English successes and by 1427, much of Maine and Anjou was in

³¹ Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, 27.

English possession.³² However, in the late 1420's, as in the last decade of Edward III's reign, the kingdom began experiencing a reversal of fortune.

French victory at the Siege of Orléans, led to the coronation of the Dauphin (Charles VII, r. 1422-1461) which occurred on July 17, 1429. To challenge Charles VII's coronation Henry VI was crowned in Paris in December 1431. Nonetheless, neither side was able to gain the upper hand and the conflict stood at a deadlock until 1435 when the Burgundians reconciled with the French crown at the Congress of Arras. In the same year, Henry VI's regent in France, John, duke of Bedford died. Over the next fifteen years, the English lost the majority of their territories in France. In response, peace talks occurred in the late 1430s and a more permanent truce was concluded in 1444 when it was agreed that Henry VI would marry Charles VII's niece by marriage, Margaret of Anjou. Once again, however, permanent peace appeared unattainable and the war resumed in 1449. With the Battle of Castillon on July 17, 1453, the French had finally retaken all territory previously held by the English, except Calais. Although people of the day may not have known it, the Hundred Years War was effectively over.

A few other events of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries require mention. Running alongside the Anglo-French conflict were also religious and domestic crises that accentuated tensions between England and France. The Western Schism (1378-1417), which pitted against each other rival popes, one in Rome and one in Avignon, supported by England and France, respectively, removed a central mediator and impeded formal peace.³³ In England, Henry Bolingbroke's revolution, which resulted in the deposition of Richard II and the establishment of

³² Mark Warner, "The Anglo-French Dual Monarchy and the House of Burgundy, 1420-1435: The Survival of an Alliance," *French History* 11, no. 2 (1997): 108.

³³ See J. J. N. Palmer, "England and the Great Western Schism, 1388-1399," *The English Historical Review* 83, no. 328 (1968): 516-22.

the Lancastrian dynasty under Bolingbroke as Henry IV, seriously threatened the peace of 1396 and led to a permanent change of course in the conflict: the lull in hostilities during Richard II's reign was followed by minor engagements under Henry IV, then all-out war in Henry V's reign.

Finally, Charles VI's 'madness' which first occurred in 1392 split the French government between two rival parties. The forty bouts of schizophrenia that the king experienced between 1392 and 1422 lasted anywhere from one week to six months, and often left him incapable of ruling. Thus, a regency counsel led by Charles VI's wife Isabeau, the king's brother, Louis, duke of Orléans, and Philip, duke of Burgundy was established to preside over the affairs of France when the king could not.³⁴ However, tensions between Louis and Philip's son and successor, John the Fearless soon emerged as they fought for control over the king. In 1407, on John's orders, Louis was murdered. Louis' murder resulted in the formal outbreak of the Armagnac (Orléans)-Burgundian Civil War three years later and the conflict lasted until 1435.³⁵ The division of the French government, like Henry IV's usurpation, seriously threatened the Anglo-French peace. Whereas the Burgundians favoured peace due to John's assassination in 1419 by the Dauphin Charles, the Armagnacs were opposed to any kind of settlement, especially after Agincourt which resulted in the imprisonment of Charles, Duke of Orléans, that lasted for twenty-five years after.

Structure and Conclusion

Although I have alluded to it, Edward III will not be discussed in this thesis. This has been decided so that greater attention can be given to the usurpation of 1399 and its effect on the direction of the Hundred Years War. The queen consorts of Richard II to Henry VI have also been omitted. As will later be seen, especially in the case of Catherine of Valois and Henry V, while a

³⁴ For Charles VI's mental disorder see Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, see 1-23.

³⁵ Again, for a sustained discussion of the Civil War see Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 85-111.

number of these marriages were directly tied to the conflict writers often downplayed these queen's importance as wife and progenitor in order to heighten English claims to the French throne, in effect, erasing the typical function of a medieval queen. More importantly, concrete associations between these queens and literature is seriously lacking, except the gift of the Talbot Shrewsbury Book to Margaret of Anjou in 1444/5, who may have not even been its primary subject.³⁶

As such, this thesis examines the dedications, addresses, and gifts that English kings received from 1377 to 1453. Chapter One focuses on the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV and Charles VI, taking the relative peace present under these kings, and Henry IV's efforts at legitimization as well as Charles VI's 'madness' as its guiding focus. Chapter Two compares first how Henry, as Prince of Wales and the Dauphin Louis were presented as capable rulers, but also explores how they reacted to the move towards war. Next it explores how Henry V's victories and the possibility of English rule over France were first celebrated, then conceptualized by writers in England and refuted by those in France. Finally, Chapter Three discusses how writers on both sides of the Channel responded to English defeat and French ascendancy during Henry VI and Charles VII's reigns, and the role that their works had in attempting to guide and writing about those developments.

³⁶ Craig Taylor suggests that it was likely intended for Prince Edward: Craig Taylor, "The Treatise Cycle of the Shrewsbury Book, BL Ms. E. Vi," in *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe*, ed. Karen Fresco and Anne D. Hedeman (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2011), 144-146. While Richard II's first queen, Anne of Bohemia, has more recently been put forth as one of Chaucer's primary patrons, not the king, the evidence for such a conclusion is dubious; See Alfred Thomas, *Reading Women in Late Medieval Europe: Anne of Bohemia and Chaucer's Female Audience* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); and Andrew Taylor, "Anne of Bohemia and the Making of Chaucer," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 19 (1997): 96.

CHAPTER ONE: RICHARD II, HENRY IV, AND CHARLES VI – *PEACE*

The late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries marked a relative lull of hostilities in the Hundred Years War. As a reflection of that degree of peace, the literature directed at Richard II, Henry IV, and Charles VI aimed at first promoting that peace, second, confirming that peace, and finally, maintaining that peace. Of secondary importance, but all of which impacted designs for peace, the increasing burden of wartime taxation in England, and the crises created by Henry IV's usurpation and Charles VI's 'madness' were also represented in these works. Importantly, a number of writers wrote to more than one of these kings – Chaucer and Gower to Richard II and Henry IV, Mézières to Charles VI and Richard II, and Christine to Charles VI and Henry IV – demonstrating that despite writing in opposite camps their objective remained the same: peace.

From the 1380s onwards, both Richard II and Charles VI worked towards establishing a permanent peace between their kingdoms. For example, although it failed to find fruition, in 1383 a draft was proposed which would have separated England and Aquitaine, thereby establishing a separate English dynasty in the duchy.¹ The most significant step in peace since 1360 came in 1389 when the Truce of Leulinghem was confirmed by Richard II and Charles VI. Both kings agreed to continue peace negotiations, to embark on a joint crusade against the Turks to retake the Holy Land, Richard II would support France's plan to end the papal schism, and a marriage alliance would be made between the two kingdoms to formally seal the peace.² Additionally, as a result of England's recent defeats along with the increasing burden of wartime taxation, the greater political community (i.e. the middling ranks represented by the Commons) came to dislike the conflict. Thus, the works directed at Richard II and Charles VI before 1399 can be seen as not only a

¹ Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, 25.

² Ibid., 25-26.

reflection of the peace pursued by these kings but also of popular opinion regarding the war, as advanced in Chaucer and Gower's writings. The twenty-eight year peace of 1396 then can be seen as the culmination of these writers' efforts; however, Henry IV's usurpation of the throne in 1399 and the divisions in the French government following Charles VI's 'madness' threatened that peace. In response, the literature directed at Henry IV and Charles VI, post-1399, attempted to impart to these kings that peace needed to be maintained for the welfare of both of their realms and exploited each kings' anxieties – Henry IV's legitimization and Charles VI's divided government – to achieve that aim.

SECTION I: RICHARD II

Richard II is perhaps one of England's most enigmatic kings and one whose reputation is the cause of much debate. If we adhere to the late medieval concept of masculinity applied to kings, Richard II failed on all accounts: he did not possess the military acumen of his father and grandfather, he failed to produce an heir and was unable to take appropriate counsel.³ In fact, his nobles viewed him as such a disastrous ruler that there were two instances in which he was effectively stripped of power, the last of which resulted in his death. Consequently, the literature directed at the king reflects the various facets of Richard II's reign: political dissent and recovery, popular opinion regarding the Hundred Years War, and the king's increasing unpopularity. These include Geoffrey Chaucer's *Lack of Steadfastness* (1389), John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (1390), Philippe de Mézières *Epistre au roi Richart* (1395/6), and two breviaries from Charles VI and Phillip, duke of Burgundy (1396). Similarly, Charles VI received a number of works that promoted peace but also denied the English claim to the French throne – Philippe de Mézières's *Songe du viel pelerin* and Honorat Bovet's *Arbre des batailles* (1389).

³ Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity* (London: Routledge, 2013), especially 17-44.

Dedications, Gifts and Addresses in the Reign of Richard II

Despite Geoffrey Chaucer's (c. 1343-1400) close connection to Richard II and his court, the only poem of the writer's unmistakably intended for the king seems to be *Lack of Steadfastness* dated to 1389.⁴ This is surprising given that Chaucer had been a member of the royal court since 1367 when Edward III employed him as a yeoman. In 1374 he was given the considerable job of comptroller of the customs port of London, a post which he held for twelve years. Under Richard II he acted as diplomatic envoy to France on numerous occasions in the 1370s and 1380s, was given a monetary grant in 1378, and in 1389 was appointed the clerk of the king's works.⁵ Regarding Chaucer, his exact relationship with Richard II is unclear and the conclusion that some of the English poet's most famous works, *The Parliament of the Fowls*, *The Second Nun's Tale*, *The Knight's Tale*, and *The Prioress's Tale*, were written at the king's request has been increasingly challenged.⁶ Moreover, many historians question if whether Richard II presided at the centre of a literary court whatsoever.⁷ Nonetheless, due to his posts, if nothing more, Chaucer was innately tied to the English court during this period. Beyond this association, he also wrote in the interests of London's, and more broadly, England's middle classes.⁸ This role, most prominently

⁴ Edith Rickert, "King Richard II's Books," *The Library* s4-XIII, no. 2 (1932): 147.

⁵ For discussion of Chaucer's various positions and how these and his role at court informed his writings see David R. Carlson, *Chaucer's Jobs* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 1-32.

⁶ See note 36 in Introduction.

⁷ See V. J. Scattergood, "Literary Culture at the Court of Richard II," in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 30; and J. W. Sherborne, "Aspects of English Court Culture in the Later Fourteenth Century," in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 6.

⁸ Ardis Butterfield, ed., *Chaucer and the City* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006).

studied in his *Tale of Melibee* and *The Parliament of Fowls* for their representations of the parliaments of 1386 and 1388, can also be seen in *Lack of Steadfastness*.⁹

The ballade essentially laments the current state of England. But in the poem the reader can also detect possible evidence of Chaucer's disillusion with the French war.

Somtyme this world was so stedfast and stable
That mannes word was obligacioun;
And now it is so fals and deceivable
That word and deed, as in conclusion,
Ben nothing lyk, for turned up-so-down
Is al this world for mede and wilfulnesse,
That al is lost for lak of stedfastnesse.

What maketh this this world to be so variable
But lust that folk have in dissensioun?
For among us now a man is holde unable,
But if he can, by som collusion,
Don his neighbour wrong or oppressioun.
What causeth this but wilful wrecchednesse,
That al is lost for lak of stedfastnesse?

Trouth is put down, resoun is holden fable;
Vertu hath now no dominacioun;
Pitee exyled, no man is merciablen;
Through covetyse is blent discrecioun.
The world hath mad a permutacioun
Fro right to wrong, fro trouthe to felnesse,
That al is lost for lak of stedfastnesse.¹⁰

Lack of Steadfastness closes with an address to Richard II, imploring him to remedy the situation by ruling justly, honouring the needs of his people, and ending the extortion of the common folk:

O prince, desire to be honorable,
Cherish thy folk and hate extorcioun ...
Dred God, do law, love trouthe and worthinesse,
And wed thy folk agein to stedfastnesse.¹¹

⁹ Matthew Giancarlo, *Parliament and Literature in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 164-169.

¹⁰ Larry D. Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1987), 654, ll. 1-21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 654, ll. 22-23 and 27-28.

Chaucer has often been viewed as avoiding particularly sensitive issues in his works, such as the Hundred Years War. When he did in fact explicitly tackle the subject of warfare elsewhere in other works it was done indirectly through one of his characters. As such, Chaucer was able to couch his own views and criticisms in those of his fictional characters. His hesitancy to explicitly state his political views may be due in part to Chaucer's long-held relationship with and position at court, which contributed to his success as a writer. Further, the poet's silence on the topic of peace was likely influenced by his fear of angering the leading magnates of the time, many of whom had benefitted greatly from the conflict. Chaucer had gained first-hand experience of what these lords were capable of, having witnessed a number of deadly episodes at the court of London, such as the Merciless Parliament of 1388. Ultimately, vocalizing anti-war sentiments often came with a great deal of risk, potentially resulting in the termination of a post or even one's life, and Chaucer appears to have been well-aware of this.¹²

In this ballade, however, Chaucer is implicitly remarking on the taxation burdening the lower classes. In the late fourteenth century, more than one million pounds was raised for the Anglo-French conflict.¹³ But there was little to show for these immense costs: although Calais, Bordeaux and Bayonne remained under English rule and Brest and Cherbourg had been added, great areas south of the Loire, ceded to them in and after 1360, had been recovered by the French, and the English hold on Gascony was seriously fragile.¹⁴ Moreover, in the span of five years (1376-1381) nearly half a million pounds had been spent on the war, and the last English force sent to France during the century – Buckingham's failed 1381 chevauchée – cost 100,000 pounds alone.¹⁵

¹² Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society*, 131.

¹³ J. W. Sherborne, "The Costs of English Warfare with France in the Later Fourteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 50, no. 122 (1977): 136.

¹⁴ Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, 23.

¹⁵ Sherborne, "The Costs of English Warfare," 148-149.

Whereas English leaders of the conflict, such as John of Gaunt, were receiving a third of the profits for the war, the common people of England, who bore the brunt of taxation and suffered the financial strain of the unpopular poll tax, introduced in the last year of Edward III's reign to pay for the war, could expect no such return on their 'investments.'¹⁶

As a result of the unpopular poll tax – which affected nearly everyone in the realm – the Peasants' Revolt erupted in 1381. The rebellion was a demonstration of the lack of willingness on the part of the lower classes to pay for a futile war.¹⁷ The rebellion heightened the Commons' own dissatisfaction with the war, and being fearful of another uprising, it came to resist exploiting taxation to the pay for the war.¹⁸ Evidently, shortly after Buckingham's failed expedition, the Commons refused a subsidy in November 1381 and in the parliaments of May 1382 and February 1383 refused a grant in spite of considerable pressure from the lords and the council.¹⁹ Crucially, W. M. Ormrod has shown that as the conflict progressed its general course was increasingly determined by domestic public opinion.²⁰ This also explains Richard II's own desire for peace, which may have been guided by a lack of financial resources more than anything else.²¹

In short, when the expectations of the greater political community were being met, war could proceed (see Edward III and Henry V's reigns), but when the interests of the king and elites

¹⁶ Denys Hay, "The Division of the Spoils of War in Fourteenth-Century England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1954): 96.

¹⁷ Christopher Dyer, "The Social and Economic Background to the Rural Revolt of 1381," in *The English Rising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 38.

¹⁸ Anthony Tuck, "Nobles, Commons and the Great Revolt of 1381," in *The English Uprising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 208-209.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 208.

²⁰ W. M. Ormrod, "The Domestic Response to the Hundred Years War," in *Arms, Armies and Fortification in the Hundred Years War*, ed. Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), 96.

²¹ Anthony Tuck, "Richard II and the Hundred Years War," in *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. John Taylor and Wendy R. Childs (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), 122.

superseded those of the “common profit” of the realm, as in the reign of Richard II, war and its associated costs were met with resistance.²² As such, in *Lack of Steadfastness* the anti-war interests of the middling classes were being expressed to the king by Chaucer. These competing narratives between the middle classes who came to oppose the war versus the elites who had greatly profited from the conflict, many of whom also held land in France, will be seen in Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* and later in Chaucer’s *Complaint to his Purse*, addressed to Henry IV following the change in sovereign.

Nonetheless while Chaucer’s pacifism may be a little more difficult to identify than that of his contemporary Gower, his preference for peace may have been guided by two things. First and most obviously, Chaucer may have merely been mirroring Richard II’s and other Englishmen’s inclination for peace during the closing years of the fourteenth century. More important, however, may have been Chaucer’s own first-hand experience with the war. While serving under the Black Prince and his younger brother Prince Lionel at the Siege of Rheims he was captured by the French, likely between early December 1359 and January 1360. Chaucer remained hostage until March 1, 1360 when Edward III paid sixteen pounds to ransom him, yet he remained in French possession for many weeks, if not months afterwards.²³ Even if he was not brutalized and physically mistreated, he likely came away from the experience with a deep dislike of the French and the conflict itself which had caused his capture. Chaucer’s pride was certainly damaged as his captors reportedly ridiculed his mother-tongue.²⁴ It is interesting, however, that Chaucer called for peace

²² See W. M. Ormrod for a discussion of this term and its role in late medieval politics, W. M. Ormrod, ““Common Profit” and “the Profit of the King and Kingdom”: Parliament and the Development of Political Language in England, 1250-1450,” *Viator* 46, no. 2 (2015): 242-251.

²³ John M. Bowers, “Chaucer After Retters: The Wartime Origins of English Literature,” in *Inscribing the Hundred Years’ War: In French and English Cultures* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 94.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

rather than revenge on his captors. Yet, when this work is set within Richard II's own preference for peace and those of his people, along with a general lack of resources, peace was not only the more attainable option, but was also better aligned with the interests of the king and the wider political community.

The first significant work that was directed at Richard II appears to be John Gower's (c. 1330-1408) *Confessio Amantis* completed in 1390. The prologue of the first recension recounts how Richard II personally commissioned the poem from Gower after the poet had a chance meeting with the royal barge on the River Thames.²⁵ This work has traditionally been used by historians to demonstrate Richard II's increasing unpopularity in the last decade of his reign, as sometime in the early 1390s (1391-1393) Gower supposedly retracted his dedication to Richard II and rededicated the work to his cousin Henry Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV.²⁶ Therefore, the *Confessio Amantis* cannot only be used to shed a light on the political and social climate of 1390s England, but also to show how writers such as Gower treated the Hundred Years War. But first Gower's own expectations of a king must be considered.

As related to the social ideals of England, particularly the notion that the common good was best served under a fair judicial system, Gower emphasized three specific themes: virtue, legal justice, and the administrative responsibilities of the king.²⁷ The common good/ "common profit" was an immediate concern of many Englishmen in the fourteenth century. The defeats in France of the 1370s were met with protests, eventually culminating in the Good Parliament in 1376. Its members suspected that the search for personal profit had, in some cases, taken precedence over

²⁵ G. C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower*, vol. 2, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899-1902), prologue, ll. 24-92.

²⁶ Terry Jones, "Did John Gower Rededicate His *Confessio Amantis*?", 40.

²⁷ George B. Stow, "Richard II in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*: Some Historical Perspectives," *Mediaevalia* 16 (for 1990 1993): 5.

the pursuit of the national advantage, or the “common profit.”²⁸ Further, although Gower stressed the idea that the common good was best served when all estates were fairly governed, his interests lay more often with the increasingly powerful middle class, many of whom, as already discussed, no longer wholly supported the war as they derived no immediate profit from it.²⁹ In late-medieval England, it was expected that the king’s policies aid in “the profit of the king and kingdom.”³⁰ With this understanding, in *Confessio Amantis*, as the war no longer benefited the people due to its cost, Gower can be seen continuing Chaucer’s earlier efforts in advancing the interests of the Commons.

But at the heart of Gower’s ideals was the concept of justice and that the king carries it out through his own self-governance. Essentially, if a king could master his own person (avoiding vice, greed, tyranny, etc.) he could rule his kingdom properly. These concepts of ethical self-governance and just governance of the realm were ideas Gower borrowed from what earlier “mirrors for princes,” such as *Secreta Secretorum* and *De Regimine Principum* expressed.³¹ Moreover, a recurring theme in the *speculum principis* tradition is that the just ruler will surround himself with equally virtuous counsellors rather than with flattering young favourites. All of these themes are found in *Confessio Amantis*. In Book VII Gower ponders the value of law and sets out a few considerations:

What is a lond wher men ben none?
 What ben the men whiche are al one
 Withoute a kinges goverenance?

²⁸ See John Taylor, “The Good Parliament and Its Sources,” in *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England*, ed. John Taylor and Wendy R. Childs (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), 82-83.

²⁹ Janet Coleman, *Medieval Readers and Writers: 1350-1400* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 130.

³⁰ Ormrod, “‘Common Profit’ and ‘the Profit of the King and Kingdom,’” 221-222.

³¹ Elizabeth Porter, “Gower’s Ethical Microcosm and Political Macrocosm,” in *Gower’s Confessio Amantis: Responses and Reassessments*, ed. A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 135.

What is a king in his ligance,
 Where that ther is no lawe in londe? ...
 For thing which is of kinges set,
 With kinges oghte it noight be let.
 What king of lawe takth no kepe,
 Be lawe he mai no regne kepe.³²

On the theme of just and equitable law, Gower concludes that a virtuous king provides virtuous law:

For as a king in special
 Above all othre is principal
 Of his pouer, so scholde he be
 Most virtuous in his degree;
 And that mai wel be signified
 Be his corone and specified.³³

Beyond all this, however, Gower tells Richard II to steer clear of evil flatterers:

The kinde flatour can noght love
 But forto bringe himself above;
 For hou that evere his maister fare,
 So that himself stoned out of care,
 Him reccheth noght: and thus fultofte
 Decived ben with words softe
 The kinges that ben innocent.³⁴

In this work, Gower seems to be concerned with avoiding a reoccurrence of the events of the late 1380s. Throughout the decade Richard II's conduct increasingly came into question, first at the Wonderful Parliament of 1386 which called for reforms of the king's government, blamed the king's advisers for England's military failures in the past decade, and further accused them of misappropriating funds intended for the war.³⁵ Later, at the Merciless Parliament of February to

³² G. C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower*, vol. 3, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899-1902), VII, ll. 2695-2699; 301-374.

³³ Macaulay, *The Complete Works of Gower*, vol. 3, VII. ll. 1745-50.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, VII. ll. 2491-2497.

³⁵ J. J. N. Palmer, "The Parliament of 1385 and the Constitutional Crisis of 1386," *Speculum* 46, no. 3 (1971): 488.

June 1388 parliament accused Richard II of tyrannical rule and arrested and executed a number of the king's circle who were apparently to blame for Richard II's poor rule.³⁶ He was effectively stripped of power and the kingdom was ruled by the Lords Appellant, led by the king's uncle Thomas, duke of Gloucester, Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel and Surrey and Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick for the next year. At the sessions start, the lords repudiated all of Richard II's dealings with France and replaced the commanders of the English garrisons in France with men loyal to the Appellants, who began to pursue an aggressive war policy.³⁷ However, as a result of their own divisions and unpopular policies, which better served England's elites, Richard II was able to regain control of his government from the Lords Appellants a year later.

One more aspect of Gower's character and writings must be explored in relation to this period in the Hundred Years War. As already mentioned, the latter decades of the fourteenth saw increasing efforts towards peace as the young kings of England and France displayed little desire to continue the fighting begun by their predecessors. Similarly, their people saw little gain in continued warfare, and many writers appear to have shared this sentiment, Gower among them. The only parties who resisted settlement were the great English and French princes and magnates who had derived much profit and glory from the war. Significantly, in *Confessio Amantis* Gower concludes that all wars, including England's with France are concentrated more on money than justice.³⁸ Here again is Gower's special interest in justice. But beyond that, this work is a direct reflection of the criticism facing the royal government related to the cost of war since the Good

³⁶ Michael Hanrahan, "Defamation as Political Contest During the Reign of Richard II," *Medium Ævum* 72, no. 2 (2003): 268.

³⁷ Anthony Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1971) still offers the most comprehensive account of the Appellant government.

³⁸ R.F. Yeager, "Pax Poetica: On the Pacifism of Chaucer and Gower," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 9 (1987): 104.

Parliament of 1376 and echoes the writer's earlier *Vox Clamantis* which predicted a revolt on the basis on the burden of wartime taxation.³⁹

Further, in the spirit of Augustine who emphasized the qualities of charity, mercy, and grace, Gower makes it clear in *Confessio Amantis* that peace, not victory, is the only proper end to war.⁴⁰ For example, in the "Tale of Telephus and Teucer" Achilles, about to slay King Teucer in battle, is urged to mercy by his son Telephus, who says that "Whilom Theucer in a stede / Gret grace and sucour to him dede."⁴¹ Achilles spares the king, and Teucer rewards Telephus' charity by making him his heir. Thus, in the first version of *Confessio Amantis* Gower simultaneously praised Richard II and offered him an educational program, but also offered a gentle nudge to the king to continue peace talks and to remain steadfast in his adherence to peace. Similar to the efforts of Chaucer and Gower, the French writer Phillippe de Mézières also encouraged peace in a work directed at Charles VI.

By the late 1380s, with an initial peace established by the Truce of Leulinghem, Philippe de Mézières (c. 1327-1405) dedicated his *Songe du vieil pelerin* to Charles VI. As a typical "mirror for princes," the *Songe* is mainly concerned with educating Charles VI, who had announced his personal rule a year earlier, on the proper exercise of kingship. Its broader focus, however, is attempting to establish permanent peace between England and France and in ending the divisions of Christian kingdoms resulting from the Schism. In order to lend authority to his advice and to justify his political intervention Mezières reminds the king of his long association with the French

³⁹ The first of seven books is a dream vision which gives a vivid account of the Peasants Revolt of 1381. The passage in question states, "unless it is struck down first, the peasant race strikes against freemen, no matter what nobility or worth they possess;" G. C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower*, vol. 4, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899-1902), V. I. 608.

⁴⁰ Yeager, "Pax Poetica," 105.

⁴¹ Macaulay, *The Complete Works of Gower*, vol. 3, III. 2669-2670.

royal court and of his service to the young king as tutor.⁴² The writer's educational advice is typical of the genre, but Mezières does make it a point to impart to Charles VI that "natural" kingship, that is kingship in terms of natural birth, is not natural at all, but learned. In order to ensure good rule, birth right alone is not enough, Charles VI must follow and enact the correct form of kingship.⁴³ As Mezières states: "you are not chosen, anointed, and confirmed by my Father as the natural king of the kingdom of Gaul in order to be idle, or to carry out your personal and insignificant desires, but to be alert and diligent in exercising the office of the ministry of the kingdom of Gaul, that is to say, your royal majesty."⁴⁴

The work also reinforces Charles VI's inclination for peace by characterizing him as the only earthly prince who can implement the own goal of peace of the author who during his lifetime was at the head of a group of "courtier-poets" focused on encouraging peace between England and France.⁴⁵ As a reflection of that aim, the *Songe* also expresses Richard's II pacifism. In the work Richard II's uncles – the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester – his father, Edward, the Black Prince, and grandfather, Edward III, are described as Black Boars, which have for years ravaged

⁴² Joël Blanchard, *Philippe de Mézières: Songe Du Vieux Pèlerin, Traduit de l'ancien Français* (Paris: Pocket, 2008), prologue 5 and II. 695-696. I would like to thank Kristin Bourassa for sharing a copy of her article on these dedications ahead of its publication: Kristin Bourassa "Using Dedications to Charles VI to Convey Political Messages: Honorat Bovet, Philippe de Mézières, Christine de Pizan, and Pierre Salmon," *Florilegium* 34 (forthcoming), 3.

⁴³ Daisy Delogu, "How to Become the 'Roy Des Francs': The Performance of Kingship in Philippe de Mézières's *Le Songe Du Vieil Pelerin*," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 149.

⁴⁴ Phillippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), II. 316. Translation in Delogu, "How to Become the 'Roy Des Francs': 150.

⁴⁵ See Michael Hanly, "Philippe de Mézières and the Peace Movement," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 61–82. Hanly also identifies Chaucer and William Langland, for their *Troilus and Criseyde* and *Piers Plowman*, respectively, as also belonging to this group.

the vineyards of France, but one of them has miraculously begotten a White Boar: Richard II. But the Black Boars have not only put restraint on the exercise of his royal powers – the Merciless Parliament – they have also impeded Richard II's efforts to achieve the peace with France which he desires. Understandably the older soldiers, veterans of the war, and the archers, who had witnessed England's glory days showed their disagreement with such a policy, but there were some among the knights, along with the merchants, who would have shown their dislike of the war had they not been fearful of the Black Boars, in particular, the earl of Arundel, who while not one of the king's uncle was one of Gloucester's closest allies.⁴⁶ Thus, Mézières presents peace to Charles VI as a joint venture requiring both his and Richard II's efforts. Yet it was something that the French king should pursue as Richard II had shown his own support of such a policy. In a later piece of writing titled *The Epistre au roi Richart*, Mézières continues to urge for peace.

Written near the end of Mézières' long career as writer, diplomat and friend to kings of Naples, Cyprus (as well as sometime Chancellor), and finally to Charles V and Charles VI of France, the *Epistre*, composed in mid-May 1395, and presented to the king by Robert le Mennot, an envoy of Charles V, shortly after, reflects the devastation Mézières had experienced as a result of the Hundred Years War.⁴⁷ From the opening passages of the letter its goal is clear. Mézières begins with:

A poor and simple letter, addressed by an Old Solitary, swelling in the Convent of the Celestines of Paris, to that most excellent, most puissant, worthy, Catholic and devout prince, Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, with the hope of confirming true peace and fraternal love between the said King of England and Charles, by the grace of God, King of France.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Coopland, *Songe*, I. 395-403.

⁴⁷ Phillipe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II: A Plea Made in 1395 for Peace*, trans. G. W. Coopland (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976), ix.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

As with other writers of the period, Mézières used the *Epistre* to set forth his own views and pleadings relating to the Hundred Years War, but by presenting it in a letter dedicated to Richard II, immediately gained the king's attention. While Mézières does discuss other issues of the period such as the division of Christendom caused by the Western Schism the letter's main focus is its criticism of the conflict and how peace between the two kingdoms should be sealed: marriage.⁴⁹

On the war, Mézières comments,

O evil, perilous and mortal wound, by whose poison so many kings, dukes, counts and barons, and the ancient and valiant chivalry, both of France and England, and elsewhere, have been brought so tragically to destruction of body and soul ... all this through pride, greed and envy, and for the sake of transitory and worldly possessions, which no king can hold for sixty years together, which is but a moment of time for the soul, which is eternal and which will possess for ever those things, good or bad, for which it has laboured in this world.⁵⁰

Here, Mézières continues the lamentations of Chaucer and Gower who like him deplored the current state of England and cite the greed of kings and nobles who desire to continue the conflict for their personal gain. Interestingly, other parts of the letter show that Mézières was not entirely convinced that Richard II wanted peace. Instead, it appears the writer actually thought the English king would reopen hostilities. To prevent such action, Mézières reminds the king that gathering the men, equipment, and funds necessary for battle, will make him a serf to his subjects.⁵¹ Further, war will cause many deaths and dishonour God.⁵² Such anxiety, may explain the writer's excessive flattery of Richard II as a man of peace.⁵³

⁴⁹ Ibid., for a general overview see xxv-xxxii.

⁵⁰ Coopland, *Songe*, 7.

⁵¹ Coopland, *Letter to King Richard II*, 51.

⁵² Ibid. See also Andrea Tarnowski, "Unity and the *Epistre au roi Richart*," in *Medievalia et Humanistica*, ed. Paul Maurice Clogan, 26 (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 72 emphasizes Mézières' urging of Richard not to make war.

⁵³ Anne Curry, "War or Peace? Philippe de Mézières, Richard II and Anglo-French Diplomacy," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 310-311.

Later in the letter, Mézières engages in a long discussion related to the merits of marriage, and why a king should marry. For the writer there are four reasons: “to obtain succession, to make honourable alliances, to achieve or preserve peace in their kingdoms, and in the fourth place, to avoid fornication and live honestly and chastely according to the sacrament of marriage.”⁵⁴ At the time, all four of these considerations had bearing on Richard II. By 1395, his first queen, Anne of Bohemia had been dead for a year and the marriage of twelve years had produced no children; while the Anglo-Bohemia alliance had of yet presented little political benefit to the English, aside from providing them with another ally in the Western Schism.⁵⁵ J. J. N. Palmer notes, however, that the *Epistre* was more than just a confirmation of the peace that would shortly be signed, but that it was actually intended to force Richard II into following a certain policy – that is an Anglo-French marriage, not the Anglo-Aragonese one which he had been entertaining.⁵⁶

While a marriage to the Aragonese heiress Joanna would have increased Richard II’s power and territory as he stood to inherit the throne of Aragon through her, a French bride only offered peace. Yet a marriage to the latter bride would have satisfied what many believed Richard II desired. That the king’s martial motivations appeared to compete with his inclination for peace reinforces Mézières anxieties over whether or not Richard II truly wanted Anglo-French peace. Further, it appears that Mézières started the work as a personal letter to Richard II, but that Charles VI hijacked the text in order to advance his own ideas: peace via marriage.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Coopland, *Songe*, 34.

⁵⁵ Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

⁵⁶ J. J. N. Palmer, “The Background to Richard II’s Marriage to Isabel of France (1396),” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44, no. 109 (1971): 10.

⁵⁷ Curry, “War or Peace?,” 304.

Whereas Mézières was indifferent in his treatment of the war, presenting peace as a venture that would only be successful if Richard II and Charles VI approached it jointly, another French writer – Honorat Bovet (c. 1340-c. 1410) – was much more explicit in his design for peace. In *Arbre des batailles* (*The Tree of Battles*), dedicated to Charles VI in 1389, Bovet, much like Mézières, explains that he has written the book for Charles VI because ancient prophecies state that a member of the lineage of France must be the one to solve the problems resulting from warfare, the papal schism, and the Neapolitan succession crisis, caused Joanna I's death in 1382.⁵⁸ Like Mézières, Bovet portrays Charles VI as a powerful European monarch capable of influencing Europe-wide peace and presents him as a “second Charlemagne.” The work's main focus, as given away by its title, is warfare and it acquired a wide appeal as a handbook on the various aspects of war, being copied and recopied more than fifty times through the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁹ Beyond its discussion of warfare, Bovet is concerned with peace for the benefit of France but is intent on dictating what that peace should represent.

In the frontispiece of the work, shields identify the armies of France, decorated with fleur-de-lis, and those of England, signified by a leopard (Fig. 1). That the English banner is charged only with leopards, and not with the accompanying fleur-de-lis that they had incorporated since the time of Edward III, serves to visually deny their claim to the French throne.⁶⁰ Bovet was

⁵⁸ Hélène Biu, “*L’Arbre Des Batailles* d’Honorat Bovet: Étude de l’oeuvre et Édition Critique Des Textes Français et Occitan, 3 vols.” vol. 2, (Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2004), prologue 599. Translation in Bourassa, “Using Dedications to Charles VI to Convey Political Messages,” 7.

⁵⁹ See especially N. A. R. Wright, “The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bouvet and the Laws of War,” in *War, Literature, and Politics in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher Allmand (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976), 12-13.

⁶⁰ For a further visual analysis see Sandra Hindman, *Christine de Pizan’s “Epistre Othéa”*: *Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1986), 159-160.

responsible for the organization of the text and its frontispieces, and provided an explanation of them in the prologue and first chapter.⁶¹ Evidently, peace for Bovet meant merely the end of conflict between the two kingdoms, not recognition that the English had any claim whatsoever to the French crown. Luckily for the English, the peace conceptualized by Mézières and not Bovet was the peace agreed upon in 1396. Nevertheless, Bovet's work is an apt representation of French opinion regarding the English's claim to the throne – that it was invalid. Whether or not Mézières' letter had any direct bearing on the peace negotiations of 1395 and 1396 or that the work is simply another reflection of what the kings of England and France desired, in October of 1396 a twenty-eight-year truce was signed, and Richard II agreed to marry the seven-year old Isabella of Valois.

Finally, on the occasion of his marriage to Isabella, Richard II received two book gifts. To celebrate the union, Richard II's new father-in-law Charles VI gifted him the Belleville Breviary.⁶² The manuscript is dated to 1323-1326 and was illuminated by one of the most noted miniaturists of the early fourteenth century, Jean Pucelle. It is one of the most important surviving fourteenth-century French illuminated manuscripts.⁶³ In addition, Phillip, first Valois duke of Burgundy gifted Richard II another breviary during the wedding festivities.⁶⁴ Importantly, these gifts affirm both kings' desire for peace – cementing it through truce, marriage, and the giving of two gifts. Phillip's gift is also indicative of his changing stance on the war.

⁶¹ Honort Bovet, *The Tree of Battles*, ed. G. W. Coopland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), 79.

⁶² Jonathan James Graham Alexander, "Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons in the Later Middle Ages," in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and James W. Sherborne (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 147.

⁶³ Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 1200-1400* (London: Pindar Press, 2008), 690.

⁶⁴ Muriel Hughes, "The Library of Phillip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders, First Valois Duke and Duchess of Burgundy," *Journal of Medieval History*, 1978, 162.

Early in the conflict, Phillip was a staunch supporter of the war but by the 1380s had become one of the primary proponents of peace, albeit peace through arms.⁶⁵ As Count of Flanders following the death of his father-in-law Louis of Male in 1384, Phillip was deeply concerned with maintaining free commercial intercourse across and through the Channel – impossible when a state of war existed between the powers on either side of it.⁶⁶ When the planned Franco-Burgundian-Scottish invasion of 1386 failed Phillip may have looked for a more permanent truce with England that would have protected the financial success of his territories. His efforts were first initially cemented in 1396 but confirmed in 1403 when Flanders and England concluded their own commercial truce which would remain in effect even if the two kingdoms resumed warring.⁶⁷

Gifts thus functioned as not only political weapons but as a way of establishing and maintaining social bonds. To offer a French example, although leaders of the Armagnac and Burgundian factions, Charles VI and John the Fearless, respectively, continued to exchange New Year's Gifts until the latter's assassination in 1419.⁶⁸ Moreover, the significance of these two book gifts is heightened once the fact that manuscripts were seldom exchanged between members of the same social strata is recognized.⁶⁹ These two breviaries then, confirmed the peace between the two kingdoms, the mentalities of both kings and a leading French prince and demonstrate the power that gifts had in reinforcing goodwill between the parties who took part in the exchange.

⁶⁵ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (London: Longmans, 1962), 48.

⁶⁶ S. P. Pistono, "Flanders and the Hundred Years War: The Quest for the Trève Marchande," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 49 (1976): 185.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁶⁸ Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, Cs. 1400," *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (2001): 602.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 604.

The Usurpation

The works of Chaucer, Gower, and Mézières appeared to be successful in their aim, and the two breviaries served as confirmation of that peace. By appealing to both Richard II and Charles VI's preference for peace, these writers were able to satisfy their own desires and, in the case of Chaucer and Gower, the interests of the greater political community. True peace, however, only lasted for short time. In February of 1399, John of Gaunt died and Richard II with no explanation cancelled the documents that would have allowed Henry Bolingbroke to inherit his father's lands automatically, instead requiring that he ask the king for them. In response, Henry met with the exiled Thomas Arundel, former Archbishop of Canterbury, who had lost his position as a result of his involvement with the Lords Appellant. Under those pretences, with Arundel as his advisor, Bolingbroke began a military campaign in England. However, he quickly gained enough power and support, declared himself Henry IV and imprisoned Richard II who through tyranny and misgovernment had rendered himself unworthy of being king.⁷⁰ On September 29, 1399 Richard II relinquished his crown and died under suspicious circumstances in February 1400.

Richard II's deposition and murder, likely at the hands of the Henry IV, turned French opinion against the new king.⁷¹ Reports of the English revolution had so shocked and stunned Charles VI that he was thrown into a fit of madness and only confirmed the truce in January of 1400 after being convinced that Richard II died in captivity not at the hands of Henry IV and when his daughter's return was confirmed.⁷² Similarly, Henry IV delayed confirming the truce until May

⁷⁰ See G. O. Sayles, "The Deposition of Richard II: Three Lancastrian Narratives," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 54, no. 130 (1981): especially 261-264.

⁷¹ Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, 26.

⁷² S. P. Pistono, "Henry IV and Charles VI: The Confirmation of the Twenty-Eight-Year Truce," *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977): 357.

after his plan to marry Isabelle to Henry, Prince of Wales fell through.⁷³ At the same time, Charles VI's bouts of 'madness' which left him incapable of governing created a power vacuum in the French government that was competed for by two warring factions of the royal family which further put the peace of 1396 in jeopardy. As a result, many in England and France feared that hostilities would reopen.⁷⁴ In response, the following works attempted to maintain the twenty-eight-year peace by repeating much of the same rhetoric in earlier works directed at Richard II and Charles VI warning about the dangers of resuming the war.

SECTION II: HENRY IV

Unlike his predecessor who came to the throne rather peacefully only to experience challenge to his rule later, Henry IV was met with opposition from the outset.⁷⁵ In order to strengthen his position and ensure his dynasty's survival Henry IV looked to literature, amongst other means. Well before his coronation Bolingbroke attempted to ensure that the chronicles and histories of the period reflected a favourable situation for the Lancastrians. Upon his return to London in late 1399 with Richard II as captive, Henry IV sent letters to all monasteries censoring their writings.⁷⁶ With his new position of power, he used the chronicles to present Richard II as a tyrant who deserved his deposition.⁷⁷ The Lancastrian's manipulation of the written word in order to satisfy their aims is a subject deserving further attention, but for the purposes of this thesis, the

⁷³ Ibid., 362.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 353.

⁷⁵ For example, the Welsh rebellion of 1402 and the more significant one led by Henry IV's one-time supporters, the Percy's.

⁷⁶ George B. Stow, "Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles," *Speculum* 59, no. 1 (1984): 101.

⁷⁷ In addition to Sayles, "The Deposition of Richard II," see Chris Given-Wilson, trans., *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400: The Reign of Richard II* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

king received a number of works which reflect the state of the Hundred Years War at the start of, and in the early fifteenth century.

Henry IV's usurpation of the English throne led to concerns in both England and France that hostilities would resume, a possibility that no one, save for the few who had prospered from the conflict, wished for. Yet his usurpation clouded his right to the French throne as it vitiated the blood connection that had been Edward III and Richard II's strongest argument. As a result, Henry IV did not possess an explicit French policy.⁷⁸ Consequently, the works that he received during his reign responded to the uncertainty caused by Richard II's deposition by attempting to create a war policy for Henry IV by emphasizing and reminding him of that peace concluded three years earlier. John Gower and Geoffrey Chaucer both directed works at the Lancastrian king: *Confessio Amantis* (1393?) and *In Praise of Peace* (1401), and *Complaint to his Purse* (1400), respectively. Finally, Christine de Pizan also sent Henry IV a number of works between 1400 and 1402, most notably *Epistre Othéa*. When the focus is turned towards the French, Christine's *Chemin de long estude* dedicated to Charles VI between 1402-1403, efforts by both English and French writers at maintaining that peace – threatened by domestic crisis in each kingdom – is further reinforced.

Dedications, Gifts, and Addresses in the Reign of Henry IV

The writer with whom Henry IV is most associated with is John Gower. The poet dedicated and addressed a number of his works to the king, most prominently *Confessio Amantis*, *Vox Clamantis*, *Cinkante Balades*, *Traitie*, and *In Praise of Peace*. For this discussion, the first, which is a rededication originally dedicated to Richard II, and the last work, appropriately titled *In Praise of Peace*, are key to the discourse on war and peace of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth

⁷⁸ R.F. Yeager, "Politics and the French Language in England During the Hundred Years' War: The Case of John Gower," in *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures*, ed. Denise Nowakowski Baker (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 151.

centuries as they continue the discussion raised earlier in the 1380s and 1390s when peace had not yet been firmly established.

Gower's rededication of *Confessio Amantis*, as already noted, has often been taken as indicating the poet's dissatisfaction with Richard II. Whether or not that was in fact the cause of Gower's recension will never be known. It should be noted, however, that it was not uncommon for authors to redirect or rededicate their works. Christine, who was never formally attached to any court, is a perfect example of this as in one of several instances she redirected a work commissioned by Philip, the Bold, duke of Burgundy to John, duke of Berry following the former's death.⁷⁹ Many English authors also followed this practice, especially under Henry VI, notably John Capgrave and William Worcester. What is clear, however, is that the date that Gower ascribes to the rededication, 1393, is likely false. Through pictorial and scribal analysis of two surviving manuscripts, Terry Jones has convincingly shown that the rededication very likely only occurred after the usurpation.⁸⁰ If Jones' conclusion is correct it has a few important implications.

First, it is a demonstration of the extensive propaganda campaign that Henry IV and his dynasty engaged in. Regardless of Gower's political affiliation, which is always the cause for much debate, it is clear that after Henry IV's accession he made a concentrated effort to demonstrate that his allegiance had always lain with the new regime.⁸¹ He may have also believed that Henry IV offered the best prospects for the future.⁸² This conclusion can also be supported by Gower's rededication of *Vox Clamantis*. As with the *Confessio Amantis*, Gower claims to have made the

⁷⁹ Buettner, "Past Presents," 618.

⁸⁰ Jones, "Did John Gower Rededicate His *Confessio Amantis*?", 45-56.

⁸¹ See the discussion put forth in Judith Ferster, "O Political Gower," *Mediaevalia* 16 (for 1990 1993): 33-54; and Nigel Saul, "John Gower: Prophet or Turncoat," in *John Gower, Trilingual Poet Language, Translation, and Tradition*, ed. Elisabeth Dutton, John Hines, and R.F. Yeager (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 85-97.

⁸² Saul, "John Gower: Prophet or Turncoat," 91.

change pre-usurpation, however it is clear that this occurred after 1399 as Gower inadvertently reveals that he knows of Richard II's fate.⁸³ But more importantly, with its focus on just war it illustrates a concentrated effort to remind the new king, who had come to throne rather unpeacefully, that he should strive for peace. The discussion of money still remains in the work and thus, once again attempts to remind the king of the immense costs of war, a cost that the people were no longer willing to bear. This rededicated version also continues the discourse on a just war versus one motivated by greed and financial benefit. Peace is more explicitly reinforced in Gower's last known piece of writing.

In Praise of Peace, addressed to Henry IV sometime between 1401-1404, continues Gower's preference for peace. Similar to Richard II, Henry IV had little interest in aggressively pursuing his claims to the French throne, likely because his grasp of the English one was so fragile. As in *Confessio Amantis*, Gower's call for peace in this final writing is qualified by arguments both legalistic and doctrinal.⁸⁴ The success of the work, however, lies in its ability to associate peace with Henry IV's own interests. For Gower, the legacy of war is ephemeral, empty, and void whereas the legacy of peace is enduring: "The more he myghte oure dedly were cesse, /The more he schulde his worthinesse encresse."⁸⁵ As in the rededicated *Confessio Amantis*, Henry IV is presented as England's best hope for remedying the damages of Richard II's reign.⁸⁶ Further, both *Confessio Amantis* and *In Praise of Peace* praise Henry IV's quality as a peace-maker, both in and

⁸³ Macaulay, *The Complete Works of Gower, Vox Clamantis*, vol. 4, VI. Ll. 567-568, 573-574; and Terry Jones et al., *Who Murdered Chaucer?: A Medieval Mystery* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), 98.

⁸⁴ Yeager, "Pax Poetica," 99.

⁸⁵ Macaulay, *The Complete Works of Gower*, "In Praise of Peace," vol. 3, ll. 76-77.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, ll. 359, 366, 384-385.

outside the realm.⁸⁷ Gower praises peace in its truest form; Henry IV's new reign shall have none of Richard II's 'fake' peace:

The pes is as it were a sacrament
Tofore the God, and schal with words pleine,
Withouten eny double entendement,
Be treted, for the trouthe can noght feine.
Bot if the men withinne hemself be veine,
The substance of the pes may noght be trewe,
Bot every dai it chaungeth upon newe.⁸⁸

In this sense, Gower's last work attempts to reinforce the peace of 139 by aligning permanent peace with Henry IV's own attempts to cement the permanence of his dynasty. By maintaining peace with France, the first Lancastrian king might hope to achieve that aim.

Like Gower, Geoffrey Chaucer must have also felt it expedient that he fall in line with the discourse expounded by the Lancastrians. In 1400, he addressed *Complaint to his Purse* to the newly crowned Henry IV.⁸⁹ It deals with the mundane subject of royal arrears in the payment of Chaucer's services. For Chaucer, life goes on, even if the seat of power sees a change of occupants. Tellingly of the political climate at the turn of the century, the main body of the poem was written much earlier and was probably intended for Richard II.⁹⁰ However, with Richard II dead Chaucer was now in need of a new patron. Yet Chaucer had long served the House of Lancaster and was even more closely aligned to it as his wife, Phillipa, was the sister of Katherine Swynford, Gaunt's one-time mistress and eventual third wife. As such, this "new" allegiance may not appear surprising at first glance. Nonetheless, that no completely new poem was written may indicate that

⁸⁷ Sara V. Torres, "'In Praise of Peace' in Late Medieval England," in *Representing War and Violence, 1250-1600*, ed. Joanna Bellis and Laura Slater (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 114.

⁸⁸ Macaulay, *The Complete Works of Gower*, "In Praise of Peace," vol. 3, ll. 309-315.

⁸⁹ Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 75.

⁹⁰ Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 1088-1089.

Chaucer was in a bit of hurry to capitalize on the new power shift.⁹¹ Evidently his efforts paid off and on Henry IV's coronation day – October 13, 1399 – Chaucer's annuity was doubled to forty marks.⁹² However, the small poem is much more than a piece of begging on Chaucer's part as it reinforces the language of Lancastrian legitimacy and continued Chaucer's preference for peace, implicitly expressed earlier in *Lack of Steadfastness*.

Soon after his assumption of government, Henry IV and his council tasked themselves with attempting to legitimize his elevation to king. In a five-line envoy, Chaucer represents much of the key language and concepts used to achieve that aim:

O conquerour of Brutes Albyon,
Which that by lyne and free eleccion
Been verray kyng, this song to yow I sende;
And ye, that mowen alle oure harmes amende,
Have mynde upon my supplicacion!⁹³

He also reminds Henry IV that, whoever was king, royal servants needed a bit of salary every now and again. In this way, Chaucer was able to couch the more subversive dialogue of the poem in a plea for greater financial support, as he did in *Lack of Steadfastness*. However, when the poem is considered more carefully as by R. F. Yeager it becomes clear that it is wholly possible the words of the envoy may have either been fabricated by the Lancastrians after the poet's death or written by Chaucer but under duress and not willingly so.⁹⁴ In this sense it bears a similarity to Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. In a wider context, and when considered alongside Chaucer's earlier *Lack of Steadfastness* and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, the *Complaint* should also be viewed as a reflection

⁹¹ B. W. Lindeboom, "Chaucer's Complaint to His Purse: Sounding a Subversive Note?," *Neophilologus* 92 (2007): 746.

⁹² Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 1088.

⁹³ Ibid., 656; ll. 22-26. For a discussion of those methods see Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 77-80.

⁹⁴ R.F. Yeager, "Chaucer's 'To His Purse': Begging, or Begging Off?," *Viator* 36 (2005): 410-414.

of public opinion regarding the war. Although at face value, it appears to deal with Chaucer's plea for financial support, it should be taken as a piece of commentary on the people's refusal to contribute to the war if Henry IV broke the peace of 1396.

Finally, Henry IV's literary exchange with Christine de Pizan (1364-c. 1430) also supported the maintenance of peace. The poet had long been attached to the courts of French kings and princes: she grew up at the court of Charles V and found early support for her writings at the courts of Charles VI and Philip the Bold, first Valois duke of Burgundy.⁹⁵ In the fifteenth century patronage continued under Charles VI, John the Fearless, and Philip the Good; John even gifted her 100 crowns for works that she had offered and addressed to him.⁹⁶ Soon after his accession to the throne, Henry IV requested Christine's presence at his court. However, although she turned down the king's request, from 1400 to 1402 she sent a number of works to him.⁹⁷ Yet, her gifts should not be viewed as selfless generosity as she had her own motivations for pleasing Henry IV: the return of her son Jean du Castel who had been taken to England in 1396 under the wardship of William de Montagu, earl of Salisbury.⁹⁸

One of these works in question, the *Epistre Othéa*, includes a dedication to Henry IV which refers to him as "excellent and highly renowned prince and noble king."⁹⁹ The dedication, although of the very conventional sort, is interesting in its own right for it is the only example of a dedication

⁹⁵ See Hughes, "The Library of Phillip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders," 165; and Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 198-199.

⁹⁶ Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London: Longman, 1979), 235.

⁹⁷ Stephanie Downes, "A 'Frenche Booke Called the Pistall of Othea': Christine de Pizan's French in England," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England: C.1100-c.1500* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 459.

⁹⁸ J. C. Laidlaw, "Christine de Pizan, The Earl of Salisbury and Henry IV," *French History* 36, no. 2 (1982): 129-130.

⁹⁹ Downes, "A 'Frenche Booke,'" 462.

penned by the author to a non-French monarch.¹⁰⁰ The work is essentially a “mirror for princes” and involves Othéa, goddess of Wisdom, tutoring Hector of Troy on matters of statecraft, the political virtues and on how to become the ideal Christian knight. Since the beginning of the fourteenth century, Hector had been singled out among the Nine Worthies as a model for knighthood and kingship.¹⁰¹ In the text, Hector learns how to manage current affairs from Prudence, who is personified as Othea. Temperance, defined as the demonstration of Prudence, is taught by another female personification. Finally, the labours of Hercules teach fortitude, and Minos, as king of Crete and the underworld, teaches justice. Essentially, the proper exercise of these four virtues is fundamental to good government. Overall, however, the *Epistre* works to warn the king of the risks of not adhering to these virtues. The closing section of the work ends with Andromache, Hector’s wife, begging him not to go to battle. However, he ignores her advice and goes to battle with Achilles, who ultimately kills him.¹⁰² As is well-known, Hector’s death leads to the destruction of Troy. Thus, the *Epistre* is an explicit expression of the dangers of war. Its aim is heightened when the other recipients of the work are considered.

The dukes of Orleans, Berry, and Burgundy also received dedication copies of the work. A fourth dedication thought to have been composed for Charles VI, is more likely the one composed for Henry IV.¹⁰³ With its shared dedicatees, the *Epistre* offered a powerful reminder to the king of England and the French princes, who essentially controlled French politics at this point following Charles VI’s ‘madness,’ that peace should be favoured over war. The fall of Troy provided an even more effective example as to why the peace of 1396 should not be adhered to as

¹⁰⁰ Gabriella Parussa, *Epistre Othea* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), 107.

¹⁰¹ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan’s “Epistre Othéa,”* 34.

¹⁰² Christine de Pizan, *The Epistle of Othea*, ed. C. F. Bühler, trans. Stephen Scrope (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), chapters 88, 90, 91-92.

¹⁰³ Laidlaw, “Christine de Pizan,” 138.

both England and France were believed to be founded by descendants of King Priam of Troy – England by Brutus and France by Francus. Christine, therefore, exploited the kingdoms mutuality to maintain peace and protect the survival of her main patrons – the French king and princes. The work must have had some appeal on Henry IV as after receiving the *Epistre* he restored her son to her. With Jean's return however, the flow of works intended for Henry IV ceased.¹⁰⁴

Between 1402 and 1403 Charles VI a third dedication, Christine's *Chemin de long estude*. The work is similar to Mézières and Bovet's works in that it presents Charles VI as a universal monarch capable of ending conflict between Christian princes.¹⁰⁵ However, the work does not explicitly identity Charles VI as being that person, instead calling on the divided princes of the blood to unify, choose that universal monarch (Charles VI), and support the king who since 1392 has become incapacitated.¹⁰⁶ By forcing the princes to unite and work together in their support of the king, Christine was also promoting the survival of the peace of 1396 which was endangered by the strife between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, who held two opposing war policies. More important though is the work's message regarding the Anglo-French conflict.

In all dedication miniatures of the *Chemin* portraying the king, the necklace of The Order of the Broom Pod, acting as both an order and emblem, is worn by Charles (Fig. 2).¹⁰⁷ Named after the broom plant, called in Latin the *planta genesta*, it was usually depicted with the king's device, *Jamais*, with which it alternated. Thus, on necklaces, belts, and tapestries the letters of the king's device *Jamais* are followed by a representation of the broom, a pairing that was repeated over and over to form a kind of chain. A pun was communicated through this imagery: *Jamais planta*

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 134.

¹⁰⁵ Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de Longue Étude*, ed. Andrea Tarnowski (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000), ll. 6260-6263, 6374-6376.

¹⁰⁶ *Le Chemin*, ll. 6260-6261.

¹⁰⁷ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa,"* 176.

genesta.¹⁰⁸ This pun could be read in two ways, as either “I have loved the broom flower” or, and more significant to this discussion, “Never Plantagenet.”¹⁰⁹ When read the second way it is a forceful response to the English claim in that the French will never be ruled by an English king. Further, by presenting Charles VI as a universal monarch it not only highlights the supremacy of the French kingdom but subjugates England to the French king. The inclusion of the necklace and its political connotations are heightened by the fact that first, Christine oversaw the production of the *Chemin*’s miniatures, second, that the necklace does not usually appear in other portraits of Charles VI, and third, that it is included in all dedication copies of the *Chemin*, even the earlier, less executed copies.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

From the 1380s to the early fifteenth century, English and French writers worked to establish, confirm, and maintain what these kings, and the majority of their people, wished for. By working in the interests of the greater political community, Chaucer and Gower in *Lack of Steadfastness* and *Confessio Amantis*, respectively, presented peace as something that Richard II should strive for as it contributed to the “common profit” of the realm. At the same time, Mézèries’ *Songe* and *Epistre* also characterized permanent peace as a joint venture that both Charles VI and Richard II should work towards despite the influence of their councillors and powerful uncles. Competing French narratives, as embodied by Bovet’s *Arbre des batailles*, however, attempted to

¹⁰⁸ Hindman, *Christine de Pizan’s “Epistre Othéa,”* 177.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 173 and 176. Recently, it has become commonplace to credit Christine with a sustainable role in creating the pictures that decorate many of her manuscripts, even to the point that the illuminators received “explicit instructions” from Christine: Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), vol 1. 29. There are four earlier manuscripts of the *Chemin*, all of which were illustrated with only three of four miniatures, further reinforcing the significance of the necklace. These include Paris, BN MS fr. 1188; Chantilly, Musée Condé, MSS 492-493, and Brussels, Bib. Roy., MSS 10982, 10983.

create a settlement in the favour of the French. Yet the kings' and Philip the Bold's preference for peace was not only represented in the breviaries gifted to Richard II at his marriage to Isabella, but confirmed its agreeable terms, as explicated by Mèzèries.

Such a goal seemed achieved, however, Henry IV's usurpation and Charles VI's increasing 'madness' immediately threatened that peace. Therefore, Chaucer in the *Complaint* and Gower in a rededicated version of *Confessio Amantis* took up their pens a final time to remind Henry IV of that peace and why he should maintain it. Gower was especially successful *In Praise of Peace* by attaching peace with Henry IV's legitimization program. If Henry IV could see to the continuation of the peace of 1396, the survival of his dynasty would be ensured. With the same aim, Christine utilized her works – the *Epistre Othea* and *Chemin de long estude* – and the kingdoms shared descent to reinforce the agreement of 1396. She also appealed to the French princes of the blood to come together and aid Charles VI in keeping the peace with England. These latter efforts by Chaucer, Gower, and Christine, contributed to the relative peace that characterized the conflict in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, as hostilities would not reopen to the scale comparable to the 1340s and 1350s until Henry V's accession in 1413.



Figure 2: Christine presenting her book to Charles VI. The necklace of the Order of the Broom Pod can be seen around the king's neck. London, British Library Harley MS 4431, fol. 178r.

CHAPTER TWO: HENRY V, AND THE DAUPHINS LOUIS AND CHARLES – *WAR*

The Hundred Years War of the early fifteenth century was initially characterised by neither all out warfare or peace. Although Henry IV and Charles VI had confirmed the peace of 1396, as the decade progressed, neither totally adhered to it. In the early years of Henry IV's reign, the French gave their support to both the Scots and Welsh who caused trouble in the north and west, respectively. In August 1402, the Scots were the first to break the truce with an invasion of Northern England and in September 1403 the French formally re-entered the conflict by landing an army in Wales. For their part, the English raided the coast of Normandy several times between 1400 and 1410.¹ The peace was threatened to a new degree when in 1411, at the request of John, the Fearless, a small English force took part in the rapidly forming civil war in France.² But Henry IV quickly changed allegiances and in May 1412, for his support against the Burgundians, he and the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Orléans signed the Treaty of Burges.

The treaty gave Henry IV much of what his predecessors had spent their reigns fighting for: a recognition that Aquitaine was rightfully English, the cession of twenty important towns and castles, and agreement that certain lands, notably Poitou, were to be held by the English crown when the present holders died.³ Such concessions appeared momentous. However, the French dukes made peace between them three months later and when Thomas, duke of Clarence, brought a force of 4,000 in August 1412 to fulfil the terms of the agreement he was met with united opposition and forced to return back to England, once again cancelling another treaty.⁴ Thus, when

¹ Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, 26-27.

² Ibid., 27.

³ Ibid.

⁴ John Milner, "The English Enterprise in France, 1412-1413," in *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History*, ed. Dorothy J. Clayton, R. G. Davies, and Peter Mcniven (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), 81.

Henry V ascended to the throne in 1413 tensions had reached a culmination; unfortunately for the French, Henry V displayed every intention of having the terms of Burges recognized and of extending those concessions. From 1415 until his death in 1422 he saw major victories in France, all of which culminated in the Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the creation of the dual monarchy.

The literature that Henry V received during his lifetime can be roughly divided into two groups. First, from 1399-1413 when, as Prince of Wales, writers educated him on the responsibilities of princehood, worked to prepare him for the role he would inevitably assume, and highlighted his capabilities as a ruler – Henry Scogan’s *Moral Ballade* (1406-1407) and Thomas Hoccleve’s *Regiment of Princes* (1411-1412). Similarly, Charles VI’s son, the Dauphin Louis, received a dedicated copy of Christine de Pizan’s *Livre du corps de policie* (1406-1407) and was one of the intended recipients of Pierre Salmon’s *Dialogues* (1412-1415) both of which also attempted to educate him on his kingly responsibilities and urged him to unify the French government.. Second, as king, Henry V was the recipient of literature that represented him as a capable and worthy king, celebrated his victories in France and the establishment of the dual monarchy, and worked to and articulate its meaning – Thomas Walsingham’s *Ypodignma Neustriae* (*The Symbol of Normandy*) and John Lydgate’s *Troy Book*. On the other side of the Channel, Alain Chartier expressed much the opposite in his *Le Quadrilogue invective* (1422), this time addressed to the recently disinherited Dauphin Charles, wherein he warned the Charles of the English threat and urged him to challenge their presence in the kingdom.

Dedications, Gifts, and Addresses in the Reign of Henry V

SECTION I: PRINCE OF WALES (1399-1413)

Of all the kings in this discussion Henry V was the only one of the four who spent a significant time as heir and Prince of Wales (1399-1413). As such, it was imperative that Prince

Henry receive the necessary education that would prepare him for the role he would eventually assume. With this understanding then, the following works that may all be termed “mirrors for princes” and that Henry received between 1399 and 1413 reflect those efforts at making the Prince of Wales aware of his duties in a decade when the Anglo-French peace was strained.

The first significant work that Henry received was in 1406 or 1407 when the princes’ tutor Henry Scogan (c. 1361-1407) addressed *A Moral Ballade* “to my lord the Prince, to my lord of Clarence, to my lord of Bedford, and to my lord of Gloucestre.”⁵ Scogan’s association with the royal court dated back to at least 1394 when he accompanied Richard II to Ireland and after the deposition entered Henry IV’s household as tutor to his sons.⁶ The writer also appears to have been a close friend of Chaucer who composed a poem for the former in 1393 entitled *Envoy to Scogan*. Scogan’s ballade is essentially a minor “mirror for princes” and presents both positive exempla and negative exempla for the princes to follow or avoid.⁷ The main objective of the work, however, is to caution the princes against committing mistakes in their youth that they will come to regret later in life. As Scogan says:

My lordes dere, why I this complaint wryte
To you, alle whom I love entierly,
Is for to warne you, as I can endyte,
That tyme y-lost in youthe folily

⁵ W. W. Skeat, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894-1897), vol. 7, l. 237. Preceding Scogan’s work, Richard Ullerston, a fellow of Queen’s College Oxford, and later chancellor of the university, addressed a brief Latin letter to the Prince – *De Officio Militari*. The letter coincided with Henry’s time in Wales, suppressing revolts to his father’s reign, and attempted to educate the Prince on the duties of knighthood and princehood: Jeanne E. Krochalis, “The Books and Reading of Henry V,” 61. Advent 1403 is a likely date: Margaret Harvey, ‘Ullerston, Richard (d. 1423),’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, online edn., May 2011 {<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093>, accessed February 9 2019}.

⁶ May Newman Hallmundsson, “Chaucer’s Circle: Henry Scogan and His Friends,” in *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Paul Maurice Clogan, New Series 10 (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1981), 130.

⁷ Robert Epstein, “Chaucer’s Scogan and Scogan’s Chaucer,” *Studies in Philology* 96, no. 1 (1999): 12.

Greveth a wight goostly and bodily
 I mene hem that to lust vyve entende.
 Wherefore, I pray you, lordes, specially,
 Your youthe in virtue shapeth to dispende.

Planteth the rote of youthe in suche a wyse
 That in vertue your growing be always;
 Loke ay, goodnesse be in your exercise,
 That shal you mighty make, at eche affray.
 Passeth wysly this perilous pilgrimage,
 Thinke on this word, and werke it every day;
 That sal you yeve a parfit floured age.⁸

Scogan's advice on the dangers of youth appears moral at first. Yet the writer's advice also has political implications as Scogan associates a lack of virtue with potentially giving rise to dissatisfaction with Henry's rule among his people. A possibility that might endanger the throne he would soon inherit.

And if your youth no virtue have provyded,
 Al men wol saye, fy on your vassalage!
 Thus hath your slouth fro worship your devyded⁹

Aside from offering a model of conduct to Henry and his brothers Scogan's chosen theme of youth, with its dangers as well as its opportunities for reform, ultimately represents projections of Henry V's character, even in his own time. Upon his accession, Henry V cast aside the image of a rebellious and riotous boy, later epitomized by Shakespeare's Hal, and presented himself as a king with sober self-discipline.¹⁰ Henry V's self-representation supported his success as King of England and would later contribute to his candidacy as King of France.

Further, when compared to Chaucer's *Envoy to Scogan*, Scogan's *Moral Ballade* demonstrates how the form of Ricardian address and literature evolved under the Lancastrians.

⁸ Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ll. 33-48.

⁹ Ibid., ll. 147-149.

¹⁰ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 90.

Unlike his successors, while Richard II patronized men who were poets, it is not clear if he intentionally fostered the production of literature. What is clear, however, is that he did not expect his patronage to be poetically acknowledged, thus it was not typical for Chaucer to address himself in his poetry to Richard II.¹¹ This may in part explain why the nature of Richard II and Chaucer's relationship, the propagandistic purposes of Chaucer's writings, and the writer's dependence on the king are so unclear. Chaucer's *Envoy to Scogan* continues the theme of obscure begging and patronage in that he makes it impossible to discern to whom exactly he is turning to for support.¹² Such a tactic allowed Chaucer to maintain a sense of independence by erasing any suggestions of fiscal dependency and political inferiority, with such matters demeaning artistic integrity.¹³

However, while this may have been true in Richard II's reign, the opposite is demonstrated by writings under the Lancastrians, as represented by Scogan's *Moral Ballade*. In order to find recognition and support fifteenth-century writers had to present themselves as practical and moral mentors to their patrons.¹⁴ For example, French writers including Christine and Chartier, by claiming the role of truth-tellers in works such as *Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune* and *Quadrilogue Invectif*, respectively, gave authority to their words, thus allowing them to enter the political space.¹⁵ Consequently, in his piece Scogan refers to his service under Henry IV and his role as tutor – both a practical and moral mentor – to Prince Henry and his brothers. By doing so,

¹¹ Epstein, "Chaucer's Scogan and Scogan's Chaucer," 4.

¹² Ibid., 8-9.

¹³ J. A. Burrow, "The Poet as Petitioner," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 3 (1981): 69.

¹⁴ Richard F. Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 161.

¹⁵ Joël Blanchard, "'Vox Poetica, Vox Politica': The Poet's Entry into the Political Arena in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Selected Writings of Christine de Pizan: New Translations, Criticism*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, trans. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Kevin Brownlee (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), 363.

Scogan elevated himself and his ballade, turning it into a piece of writing that could be used as an educational tool for the young Prince.

In the same period that Henry was being prepared to succeed his father, French writers concentrated their focus on the educating the Dauphin Louis. Born in 1397 as the third son of Charles VI and his wife Isabeau of Bavaria, Louis became Dauphin following the death of his elder brother in 1401. Yet although born more than ten years apart, Henry and Louis were named their father's heirs only two years apart – 1399 and 1401. Thus, in the same way that Scogan's ballade articulated the ideals of kingship for Henry, Christine's *Livre du corps de policie* (1406-1407) did much the same for Louis.¹⁶

Written for a child – Louis was aged nine or then when he received the work – the *Policie* attempts to mould Louis into the perfect prince and alerts him to the potential dangers of court life.¹⁷ In this sense it is similar to Scogan's work which warned Prince Henry of the dangers of youth. The work followed on the heels of an attempt by Queen Isabeau and Louis of Orleans in the summer of 1405 to remove the Dauphin from Paris to Melun, away from the influence and control of his father-in-law, John the Fearless. Although it failed, the attempt brought hostilities to the brink and peace between the two rivals was not settled until October of that year.¹⁸ In response, in the *Policie* Christine appeals for unity and an end to the civil strife.¹⁹

¹⁶ Christine also wrote two other “mirrors for princes” for Louis: the *Livre de paix* (1412-1413) and another one, now lost: Angus J. Kennedy, “The Education of ‘The Good Prince:’ Repetition and Variation in Christine de Pizan's *Livre Du Corps de Policie* and the *Livre de Paix*,” in “*Contez Me Tout*”: *Mélanges de Langue et Littérature Médiévales Offerts à Herman Braet*, ed. Catherine Bel, Pascale Dumont, and Frank Willaert (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 507.

¹⁷ Ibid, 516.

¹⁸ Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 47-51.

¹⁹ Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre Du Corps de Policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Champion, 1998), xx-xxv.

The work is structured on the common assumption of other “mirrors for princes” that governance of the realm implies governance of the self. The book is tightly and logically structured, providing Louis with an easy reading experience, but also ensuring that he does not diverge from the text. Each of the three parts are devoted to one section of the body politic (the ruler, the knights, the third estate). It essentially provides Louis with all the necessary knowledge to be an able ruler: love of God, the public good, justice, qualities of a good military leader, the choice of counsellors and the avoidance of flattery, and the need for balance between work and relaxation.²⁰ Despite offering the Dauphin the standard advice and content of its genre, the *Policie* presents Louis with all the tools required to one day rule as King of France. Against the backdrop of Charles VI’s ‘madness’ and the consequent power struggle between the Houses of Orléans and Burgundy, it was inevitable that hopes for the recovery of the French monarchy should focus on Louis and this work is a reflection of that status. When considered alongside the literature that Henry received between 1406 and 1407, the similar political role that the Prince of Wales and Dauphin occupied during the first decade of the fifteenth century can be seen.

With the new decade Henry and Louis assumed greater political roles, and Thomas Hoccleve’s (c. 1368-1426) *Regement of Princes*, dedicated to Henry between 1411 and 1412, is a reflection of the state of English politics at the time. With Henry IV continually plagued by serious health issues from 1405 onwards, the Prince took an increasingly active role in governance of England.²¹ This growing role culminated between January 1410 and November 1411, when a council consisting of Henry and his closest friends, such as Henry Beaufort, ruled the kingdom in

²⁰ Pizan, *Le Livre Du Corps de Policie*, 9-13, 13-55, 62-89.

²¹ Henry IV suffered from a skin disease and acute illnesses in 1405, 1406, 1408, the winter of 1408-1409, 1412, and March 1413, the last of which was fatal: Peter McNiven, “The Problem of Henry IV’s Health, 1405-1413,” *English Historical Review* 100, no. 397 (1985): 747-772.

the king's name. As Henry IV had withdrawn from Westminster and was not seen in London again for more than a year, the hopes of many, including Hoccleve, lay with the Prince. Henry appears to have been up to the task: for example he attempted to set in order the royal revenues and pursued an active program of intervention in France by assisting the Burgundians against the Armagnacs.²² With this last endeavour, Henry demonstrated that he held a clearer policy regarding the French conflict than his father. By the time Henry IV reasserted control of government a year later his son had proven himself an adept and energetic ruler.

As with Scogan's work and other "mirrors for princes," the *Regement* provides unexceptional and traditional moral principles by which princes should abide by; its content was informed by Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* and the *Secreta Secretorum*, and Jacob de Cessolis' *Liber de Moribus Hominum et Officiis Nobilium ac Popularium Super ludo Scachorum*.²³ More importantly, with Henry IV's reign clearly reaching its end, the *Regement* can be seen as a direct attempt at securing the continuity of Lancastrian rule.²⁴ Hoccleve achieves this by scattering throughout the work invocations of Henry's long, legitimate, and honourable patrimony. His father, grandfather, John of Gaunt, and great-grandfather, Henry of Lancaster, are all referenced.²⁵ What is more significant, however, is the work's role in establishing the Henry's kingly abilities. Hoccleve even claimed that the Prince was so familiar with the standards of

²² McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), especially 102-113.

²³ See for example Lester Kruger Born, "The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Ideals," *Speculum* 3, no. 4 (1928): 470-504; and Stephen Rigby, "Aristotle for Aristocrats and Poets: Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* as Theodicy of Privilege," *The Chaucer Review* 46, no. 3 (2012): 259-313.

²⁴ Larry Scanlon, "The King's Two Voices: Narrative and Power in Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*," in *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380-1530*, ed. Lee Patterson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 232.

²⁵ Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regement of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), ll. 816-26, 1835, 3347-3367; 3347-3367; 2647-2653, respectively.

kingship that he did not actually need this book at all. Having introduced his sources, the writer remarks:

I am seur that tho books alle three
 Red hath and seen your innat sapience;
 And, as I hope, hir vertu folwen yee.
 But unto yow compile I this sentence
 That, at the good lust of your excellence,
 In short yee mowen beholde heer and rede
 That in hem thre is scattered fer in brede,

And although it be no maneere of neede
 Yow to consaille what to doon or leeve,
 Yit if yow list of stories taken heede,
 Sumwhat it may profyte, by your leeve;
 At hardest, what yee been in chamber at eeve,
 They been good for to dryve foorth the nyght;
 They shal nat harme if they be herd aright.²⁶

In practice it was true that Henry did not need to read a book to learn how to rule – his experiences in Wales and his recent foray into government between 1410 and 1411 had taught him all he needed to know – but in order to support and consolidate his current position, and potentially extend his rule to France, he needed to be represented as receptive to advice.²⁷

Chaucer has a large presence in the *Regement* where Hoccleve calls the dead poet his “maistir ... and fadir.”²⁸ He laments that Chaucer’s death has done irreparable damage to the realm and robbed it of “þe swetnesse of rethorik.”²⁹ Finally, the veneration of Chaucer culminates in the insertion of a portrait of the poet.³⁰ In effect, Hoccleve transforms Chaucer into a counsellor of

²⁶ Blyth, *Regement*, ll. 2129-2142.

²⁷ See Ferster, *Fictions of Advice*, especially 139-159.

²⁸ Blyth, *Regement*, ll. 2077-2078.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 2084-85.

³⁰ Pearsall, “Hoccleve’s *Regement of Princes*,” 401. For a further discussion of Hoccleve’s use of Chaucer in *Regement of Princes* see Pearsall, 398-408.

princes and poets – a role he never explicitly assumed during his lifetime – and a saint.³¹ In inscribing Chaucer with this new role, Hoccleve elevates his own role as a counsellor to princes by writing under the poet's tutelage. Like Scogan then, Hoccleve lends greater authority to his advice and conclusion that Henry will make a capable king. As such, the *Regement* is a reflection and justification of Henry's political role in the years preceding his accession.

Just as Prince Henry played a greater role in English politics as the century proceeded, Louis did as well. From about 1408-1409, although still largely under the control of his father-in-law John the Fearless, the Dauphin assumed a more active and increasingly important role in political life, representing his father in the Council during the periods of his illness, and attending the justification of Louis of Orléans' assassination on March 8, 1408, for example. More importantly, he played an significant role in the early period of the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War, taking part in the truces signed in 1412 and 1413.³² For these reasons, many of his contemporaries viewed Louis as a merciful peacemaker, who attempted to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, impose justice, and stamp out blasphemy within his own household.³³ With this understanding, although dedicated to his father, the second version of Pierre Salmon's (fl. early fifteenth century) *Dialogues* (1412-1415) is a key illustration of the Dauphin's growing political importance, who was very likely the intended audience for the text.³⁴

³¹ James H. McGregor, "The Iconography of Chaucer in Hoccleve's 'de Regimine Principum' and in the 'Troilus' Frontispiece," *The Chaucer Review* 11, no. 4 (1977): 338-350. For the discussion relating to *Regement of Princes* see 340-345.

³² No monograph has ever been published on Louis but R. C. Famiglietti, "The French Monarchy in Crisis, 1392-1415, and the Political Role of the Dauphin, Louis of France, Duke of Guyenne" (PhD, City University of New York, 1982) offers the most significant discussion and analysis of the Dauphin's political career.

³³ Kennedy, "The Education of 'The Good Prince,'" 513.

³⁴ Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon's Dialogues* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 43, 47-48.

As in the first version, the 1412-1415 edition is focused on advising Charles VI on his duties as king, parts one and two being entirely devoted to educating the king on how to be an ideal Christian monarch.³⁵ Similar to Christine's work and as a reflection of the power vacuum and infighting caused by Charles VI's mental illness, in the *Dialogues* miniatures Salmon encourages the princes of the blood to unite and remain loyal to their king.³⁶ Regardless, opposed to the 1409 version of the text, this later edition shows that Salmon has given up hope that the king will be capable of any earthly action.³⁷ In the rubric of part 3, the writer states that in a meeting with Pope Alexander V he asked the pontiff to pray for "the good health and prosperity of the king our lord in body and soul, of the queen, of monsieur de Guienne, and for all the other of his noble blood and generally, in conclusion, the good government of all his realm."³⁸ By expanding its audience to include the Dauphin, the *Dialogues* provided Louis with another "mirrors of princes." Coinciding with Charles VI's illness and his consequential inability to govern France, along with the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War, this work not only equips Louis with the tools necessary to rule and combat the growing hostilities between England and France, it implicitly urges the Dauphin to act now in assuming complete political power and reform the government, rather than waiting to inherit. In effect, it is a direct comparison to Hoccleve's *Regement*.

SECTION II: KING (1413-1422)

Once king, Henry V immediately turned his attention to fulfilling the terms of the Treaty of Bruges (1412) which was made null by the reconciliation of the Burgundians and Armagnacs.

³⁵ Anne D. Hedeman, "Pierre Salmon's Advice for a King," *Gesta* 32, no. 2 (1993): 115.

³⁶ Anne D. Hedeman, "Making Memories for a Mad King: Illustrating the 'Dialogues' of Pierre Salmon," *Gesta* 48, no. 2 (2009): 173. See Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France MS fr. 23279, fol. lv and fol. 53.

³⁷ Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 34.

³⁸ Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale de France MS fr. 9610, fol. 80v. Translated in Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings*, 29.

For the next two years Henry V and his government attempted to negotiate a new settlement with the French. In 1414 he demanded the crown of France. He then reduced this to the territories of the once vast Angevin Empire: Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Aquitaine, together with the remaining balance of John II's ransom and the hand of Charles VI's other daughter, Catherine. But by 1415 he was willing to accept a great deal less: the legal and territorial terms agreed at Brétigny more than half a century earlier and a smaller dowry.³⁹ When the French refused, Henry V used their rejection as just terms for reigniting the war.

From 1415 to 1422, the king engaged in a vast campaign across France attempting to bring the French to heel. These efforts resulted in the Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the creation of the dual monarchy. As such, the works that Henry V received during these years celebrated English successes on the continent, advised Henry V on how he might maintain and extend those successes, and finally championed the Treaty of Troyes. These include Thomas Walsingham's *Ypodignma Neustriae (The Symbol of Normandy)* (1419-1420) and John Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1420). In response to the Treaty of Troyes which disinherited the dauphin from the throne, Alain Chartier's *Le Quadrilogue invective* (1422), addressed to the whole of France, lamented its terms and called for unity against the English.

In August 1415 an English force landed in Normandy and captured Harfleur. On October 25, although outnumbered, Henry V and his forces were victorious at Agincourt. The victory was taken by the English as a sign of God's favour for their cause.⁴⁰ Over the next three years, Henry V continued his conquest of the region and by the summer of 1419 all of Normandy was his. During these years, many English, and surprisingly, some French writers lauded Henry V's

³⁹ Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, 28.

⁴⁰ See Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), especially 261-332.

kingship and what his victories meant for both England and France.⁴¹ Henry V's conquest of northern France was finally completed when on January 19, 1419 Rouen surrendered to the English. This victory marked the largest English territorial expansion in France since the reign of Edward III. However, unlike Edward III's raids which were of the traditional kind in that they focused on destroying the land and demoralizing the French, Henry V's programme of warfare was designed to lead to permanent territorial settlement.⁴² As such, the last years of Henry V's reign, especially after the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, were spent establishing a concrete Lancastrian presence in the region. In this context the two dedications that Henry V received in the same year as Troyes reinforced the king's French policy and victory at Troyes.

⁴¹Although news of Henry V's victory at Agincourt on October 25, 1415 was quickly reported and celebrated by writers, the government, and the Church alike, one letter was directly written to the king in the first half of November 1416. The letter, by the convocation of clergy provides a recap of events in France, lauding the unprecedented and marvellous scale of Henry V's victory against all odds, while observing: "Thy royal majesty deems and firmly holds, as I presume, that not thy hand, by the outstretched hand of God, hath done all these things, for His own praise, the honour and glory of the English nation, and the eternal memory of the royal name." The letter, in its direct address to Henry V highlights his dominance over the French and his model manhood. Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt*, 271.

In France, the Monk of St. Denis reinforced these perceptions of the king commenting that "Henry treated the knights and esquires [captured at Harfleur] with more softness and generosity than one might have expected:" Anne Curry, *Agincourt: A New History* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2005), 29-30. Further, at the end of 1417 the humanist, Nicolas de Clamanges, addressed the king in an *Epistola exhortatoria ad iusticiam et alias virtutes* in which he set off the king's numerous virtues – piety, a sense of justice, moderation, and a cultured mind – which made him into "the person by whom the house of France shall be revived, rebuilt and recalled to its former greatness:" F. Bérrier, "Remarques Sur l'évolution Des Idées Politiques de Nicolas de Clamanges," in *Pratiques de La Culture Écrite En France Au XVe Siècle*, ed. M. Ornato and N. Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1990), 45–79; translated in Nicole Pons, "Intellectual Patterns and Affective Reactions in Defence of the Dauphin Charles, 1419-1422," in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 54.

⁴² Neil Murphy, "War, Government and Commerce: The Towns of Lancastrian France under Henry's Rule, 1417-22," in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, ed. Gwilym Dodd (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2013), 249.

To commemorate the conquest of Normandy, Thomas Walsingham (d. 1422) dedicated the *Ypodigma Neustriae* (*The Symbol of Normandy*) between 1419 and 1420 to the king.⁴³ The work purports to be a history of Normandy from Rollo's conquest of the region in 911 to Henry V's own in 1419, however, aside from those events the work is mainly a history of England.⁴⁴ It was Walsingham's first chronicle project and, in its dedication, describes the king "as the most magnificent and illustrious Henry, king of the French and the English, conquer of Normandy, most serene prince of Wales and lord of Ireland and Aquitaine, by the grace of God, everywhere and always victorious."⁴⁵ Thus, the work not only justifies Henry V's victories in France but also presents him as king of France preceding the formal conclusion of the Treaty of Troyes. Rather than actually telling the history of Normandy, it exploited its role as a chronicle to emphasize that of England and Henry V's position as the monarch of both kingdoms. Lydgate attempted to do much the same with his work dedicated to the king shortly afterwards *The Symbol*.

John Lydgate (c. 1370-c. 1451) is perhaps the best-known Lancastrian propagandist and in June 1420, dedicated the *Troy Book* to Henry V, a work begun in 1412 at the Prince's urging.⁴⁶ The poem explores the history of Troy from its founding to the end of the Trojan War. However, like the *Symbol*, the *Troy Book* has an alternative motive as it was used to support Henry V's justification for the war. Just as the Trojans waged war on the Greeks only after they tried for peace

⁴³ Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II: C.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 126.

⁴⁴ Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae: A Thoma Walsingham, Quondam Monacho Monasterii S. Albani, Conscriptum*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁴⁵ Riley, *Ypodigma Neustria*, 3, full dedication 3-5. Translated in Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 143.

⁴⁶ Lee Patterson, "Making Identities in Fifteenth-Century England: Henry V and John Lydgate," in *New Historical Literary Study: Essays on Reproducing Texts, Representing History*, ed. Jeffrey N. Cox and Larry J. Reynolds (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 73.

and it became clear that the Greeks had no intention of ceding, Henry V tried to avoid war, even being willing to make diplomatic concessions, but was ultimately left with no other choice.⁴⁷ After hearing of the failed peace talks, Lydgate says that Priam, King of Troy ...

Was pure sory in his hert,
 (þat he constreyned, [riʒt] of verray need,
 Compelled was iustly to procede
 To han redress only by rigour;
 for profre of pes myȝt haue no fauour
 to be admitted, be title of riȝwisnes,
 þoruȝ hiȝe dispit of hasty wilfulnes;
 For euery mene of mesour was in veyn,
 Saue only were engendered by disdeyn,
 Be-gonne & caused al of olf hatred.⁴⁸

The work, like Walsingham's *Symbol* and Lydgate's other prominent work – *Siege of Thebes* – worked to advance Henry V's ambitions in France.⁴⁹ Further, by justifying Henry V's terms for going to war, the writer also justified Henry V's victories in France and the terms of the Treaty of Troyes concluded a month earlier. Beyond its discussion of war, one of the more prominent themes in the *Troy Book* is the concept of prudence or practical wisdom. In the work prudence is of the utmost importance as it translates to self-governance, something which kings were required to achieve.⁵⁰ Henry V was particularly noted for his own self-mastery, both during his reign and in death; and it was a trait that many credited with providing Henry V's victory in France.⁵¹ With this work, Lydgate exploited the English medieval fascination with Troy and attached it to Henry V

⁴⁷ Nall, *Reading and War in Fifteenth-Century England*, 83.

⁴⁸ Henry Bergen, ed., *Lydgate's Troy Book*, vol. 1, 4 vols. (London: Early English Text Society, 1906), II ll. 1772-1781.

⁴⁹ Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 187.

⁵⁰ Colin Fewer, "John Lydgate's 'Troy Book' and the Ideology of Prudence," *The Chaucer Review* 38, no. 3 (2004): 230.

⁵¹ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 91.

and the Lancastrian dynasty, thus lending more support to his war with France.⁵² Moreover, the symbolic appropriation of Troy and its history by Lydgate, which created a past, present, and future in accord with specific ideals, contributed more broadly to Henry V's efforts at establishing an sense of Englishness.⁵³

Of paramount importance during Henry V's reign was associating his victories in France with a growing sense of English nationhood. Such an alignment would not only combat the French threat, but also bolster, advance, and lend support to English interests on the continent.⁵⁴ In this way, Henry V and Lydgate offer a direct comparison to Richard II and Chaucer and Gower. Whereas Chaucer and Gower used their works to encourage peace when the English fared poorly in the conflict and the greater political community possessed little desire to continue the war, Lydgate exploited Henry V's successes, and by association England's, to garner popular support for the war. Regarding the *Troy Book*, Christopher Baswell notes that it supports Henry V's (and England's) imperial ambitions by explaining his motivation in commissioning an English translation of the earlier thirteenth-century history of Troy:

By-cause he wolde that to hyghe and lowe
The noble story openly were knowe
In oure tonge, aboute in eury age,
And y-written as wel in oure langage
As in latyn and in frensche it is;
That of the story the trouthe we nat mys
No more than doth exhe other nacioun:
This was the fyn of his entencioun.⁵⁵

⁵² Sylvia Federico, *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), see especially 99-142.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, xii.

⁵⁴ David Green, "National Identities and the Hundred Years War," in *Fourteenth Century England VI*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 126-129.

⁵⁵ Bergen, *Troy Book*, prologue, ll. 111-118; Christopher Baswell, "Troy Book: How Lydgate Translates Chaucer into Latin," in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeannette Beer (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), 215 and 219.

For Baswell, this passage shifts language distinction from the earlier model of class to that of geographical nationhood.⁵⁶ In effect, an inclusive consciousness of English nationhood, with Henry V at its head and his new status as heir to the French throne, is broadcast across the English. Thus, unlike works such as *Lack of Steadfastness* and *Confessio Amantis*, Lydgate's *Troy Book* presented the war as being in the interests of England's people. It was not a war motivated by the greedy desires of the kingdom's elites as in the fourteenth century, but rather one guided by the justness of Henry V's, and England's, claim to the French throne.

In the same year that these works were given to Henry V, the Treaty of Troyes was signed. Thus, *The Symbol of Normandy* and the *Troy Book* can be seen as reflecting and celebrating the culmination of nearly 100 years of Anglo-French warfare, from an English perspective at least. Yet although the treaty was viewed as an incredible victory, historians are divided on its success. Although the Treaty of Troyes achieved what Henry V's predecessors had been trying to gain since 1337, it came with its own consequences. Allmand warns that in taking the decision to win outright the French crown, Henry V failed to acknowledge the significant resistance he would receive from the Dauphin and his followers, as well as a growing sense of French national spirit which would never accept a foreign monarch.⁵⁷ In addition to this, England lacked the finances and manpower necessary to sustain a prolonged conflict which the treaty made inevitable. Most importantly though, now that England's rights were so formally acknowledged he and his successors could never give them up.⁵⁸

By doing so Henry V subscribed his kingdom to a war that they could neither get out of nor win. Nonetheless, such hindsight was not available to English people of the fifteenth century,

⁵⁶ Baswell, "Troy Book," 224.

⁵⁷ Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 441-442.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

and a formal confirmation of England's rights to the French throne was hailed as a great victory. At the same time, however, a number of Henry V's subjects were concerned about becoming subjects of the King of France. Further, there was anxiety over how Henry V would administer two kingdoms.⁵⁹ Walsingham and Lydgate's works were key pieces that celebrated the treaty and also attempted to curb some of those anxieties. *The Symbol* complimented Henry V's own conquest of Normandy but was careful to emphasize English history over that of Norman. Normandy, and by association France, would always come second to Henry V's first inheritance – England. In the same way, clause twenty-four of the treaty confirmed English interests by stating that each kingdom would be preserved in “its right, liberties or customs, usages and laws, not subjecting in any way either of the kingdoms to the other, nor that law, rights, customs, or usages of once realm to the rights, law, customs or usages of the other.”⁶⁰

In regard to the *Troy Book*, the work celebrates Henry V's marriage to Catherine and the treaty that it confirmed but makes it clear in the work that Catherine is not the source of Henry V's claim to the French throne, merely a signpost of that peace.⁶¹ As such, throughout the work, Lydgate constantly discredits the political importance of the marriage.⁶² The treaty was also careful to avoid the suggestion that it was through Catherine that Henry V became heir. In the preamble

⁵⁹ Anne Curry, “Two Kingdoms, One King: The Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the Creation of a Double Monarchy of England and France,” in *“The Contending Kingdoms:” France and England 1420-1700*, ed. Glenn Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 27-28.

⁶⁰ Translated in Curry, “Two Kingdoms, One King,” 39-40.

⁶¹ Bergen, *Troy Book*, V. ll. 3387-3391. There was good reason in 1420 not to link Henry's claim to the French throne to his marriage: Phillip of Burgundy, already in close kinship to Charles VI, was married to Catherine's elder sister Michelle and would therefore have a stronger claim to the throne than Henry.

⁶² Scott-Morgan Straker, “Propaganda, Intentionality, and the Lancastrian Lydgate,” in *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture and Lancastrian England*, ed. Larry Scanlon and James Simpson (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 146.

of the treaty, Henry V is described as “king of England, heir of France.”⁶³ In the first clause it states that “by the alliance of marriage made for the benefit of the said peace,” Henry V had become the son of Charles VI and Isabeau.⁶⁴ But it was not this situation which made Henry heir – the preamble already established that the treaty was agreed upon with Henry V was already designated heir. More important was the issue of succession. While clause six gave the crown of France to Henry V and his heirs; it did not say that these should be the heirs of his marriage to Catherine.⁶⁵ Such a distinction, or lack thereof, would avoid the issue of matrilineal descent encountered by Edward III. Thus, although Henry VI was left with the task of formally joining the crowns of England and France works such as the *Symbol of Normandy* and the *Troy Book* had done the task of initially promoting, articulating, and protecting such a union.

Yet while the Treaty of Troyes was celebrated as a great victory in England, it received a much cooler reception in France, as represented by Alain Chartier (1385 x 1395 – c. 1430). He made his first foray into literature with *Le Livre des quatre dames* (1416) – a response to the French defeat at Agincourt – after which he became secretary to the Dauphin Charles. In summer of 1422, likely between April 12 and August 31, Chartier penned his most famous work, *Le Quadrilogue invectif* (QI).⁶⁶ Although it predates the deaths of both Henry V and Charles VI and is not explicitly directed at the Dauphin, the work is an immediate response to the Treaty of Troyes. The work illustrates the political impact of the treaty in France and also sets the stage for Charles’ own understanding of his role as king.

⁶³ Curry, “Two Kingdoms, One King,” 35.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Curry, “Two Kingdoms, One King,” 36.

⁶⁶ J. C. Laidlaw, “Alain Chartier and the Arts of Crisis Management, 1417-1429,” in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 39.

The *QI* is an open letter addressed “to the most high and excellent majesty of the princes, to the most honoured magnificence of the nobles, the circumspection of the clergy and the good industry of the people of France ...” and was inspired by the threat of further English offensives which, if successful, might lead to the fall of France.⁶⁷ The work’s purpose was to unite the nation against the English, to keep up the morale of the Dauphin’s supporters, and to find wider support for his cause both in France and abroad.⁶⁸ Importantly, Chartier presented the Dauphin as France’s only hope. Further, in much the same way that English works directed at Henry V attempted to foster a sense of shared responsibility and unity, the *QI* declared that all Frenchmen had a natural duty to protect both their native land and the “commun salut”: those of noble birth in particular should instinctively serve the nation, just as animals defend their own lairs.⁶⁹

Chartier, just as Lydgate, attempts to achieve this by appealing to national pride and patriotic sentiment, presenting the English as the main danger and urging the nation as a whole to recover its pride and unite against “the King of England, the old enemy of this realm.”⁷⁰ The writer links the idea of the people’s *nativité*, suggesting both birthplace and birthright, with that of nature. Such a link reflects the late medieval political concept of the *naturel*, and it was used in order to refute and explain why the English kings had no right to the French throne.⁷¹ In essence, the *QI* is a form of the “mirrors for princes” directed at not only the Dauphin but the whole of France, providing them with the knowledge, tools, and justification for challenging Henry V’s claim to the

⁶⁷ E. Droz, ed., *Alain Chartier: Le Quadrilogue Invectif* (Paris, 1950), 1. Translated in Laidlaw, “Alain Chartier,” 37.

⁶⁸ Laidlaw, “Alain Chartier and the Arts of Crisis Management,” 39.

⁶⁹ *Quadrilogue Invectif*, 11-20 and 64.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 4. Translated in Laidlaw, 50.

⁷¹ Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, “Alain Chartier and the Crisis in Late Medieval France: Courtly and Clerical Responses,” in *Courtly Literature and Clerical Culture. Selected Papers from the Xth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society*, ed. H. Lähnemann and C. Huber (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 2002), 217.

kingdom.⁷² Thus, at the same time Henry V was being lauded as the next king of France, French writers were refuting that claim and encouraging the people of France, including the Dauphin, to unite in order to resist the Anglo threat. This spirit of unified resistance under the Dauphin and the idea that only he could protect France from the English came to characterize the last phase of the Hundred Years War.

Conclusion

As heirs to the thrones of England and France, Henry and Louis, respectively, were first presented with literature, in particular Scogan's *Moral Ballade* and Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, and Christine de Pizan's *Livre du corps de policie*, and the second version of Salmon's *Dialogues*, that educated them on the many aspects of kingship and attempted to prepare them for the inevitable resumption of warfare between their kingdoms. Yet only Prince Henry was able to realize the hopes of his people. Once hostilities did in fact resume and Henry V's conquests on the continent signalled the possibility and eventual creation of the dual monarchy works such as Walsingham's *Ypodignma Neustriae* and Lydgate's *Troy Book* championed Henry V as a worthy king of England and eventually France, and then worked to protect the Treaty of Troyes. In response, however, French writers such as Chartier in *Le Quadrilogue invective*, immediately opposed the possibility of an English king ruling over the kingdom of France and urged the Dauphin Charles to challenge the claim of Henry V and his heirs. For a time at least, the efforts of English writers appeared the more successful.

⁷² Craig Taylor, "Alain Chartier and Chivalry: Debating Knighthood in the Context of the Hundred Years War," in *A Companion to Alain Chartier (c. 1385-1430): Father of French Eloquence*, ed. Emma Cayley, Joan E. McRae, and Daisy Delogu (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 160.

CHAPTER THREE: HENRY VI AND CHARLES VII – *DUAL MONARCHY AND DECLINE*

With his father and grandfather's death, Henry VI, as dictated by the Treaty of Troyes, inherited not only the English throne, but the French throne before his first birthday. He would be the first and last English king to be crowned King of France. Yet, from the outset of his reign Henry VI's position on the French throne was constantly challenged. Further, from the 1430s until 1453 the French under Charles VII, who was crowned in 1429, retook the majority of the English's French possessions. Yet the English found themselves in a precarious situation in that they could neither forfeit their rights to the kingdom across the Channel nor achieve the degree of success characteristic of Edward III and Henry V's reigns.

Writers of Henry VI's reign, as will be seen, first responded to this stage in the war by defending his rights as set out in 1420 and throughout his long minority used their works to teach Henry VI about his kingly responsibilities as they related to the greater survival of the dual monarchy. After his personal assumption of power, writers continued their efforts, encouraging Henry VI to honour his duties as king and challenge the numerous French victories which dominated this phase of the conflict. From 1426 to 1436 John Lydgate wrote a number of works directed at the king, notably *Life of Saints Edmund and Fremund*. In the 1430s and 1440s he received a number of "mirrors for princes" including Tito Livio Frulovisi's *Vita Henrici Quinti* and John Capgrave's *Book of Illustrious Henries*. Finally, coinciding with the final battle of the Hundred Years War in 1453, Henry VI was presented with William Worcester's *Book of Noblesse*. Parallel with English writers' pleas for their king to pursue and protect his French rights, French writers expressed to Charles VII the exact same in works such as Jacques Gelu's *Dissertatio* written after the Siege of Orleans in 1429, Jean Juvénal des Ursins' *Loquar in tribulacione* (1439) and a translated version of Frontinus' *Strategemata* by Jean de Rouvroy (1450).

Dedications, Gifts, and Addresses in the Reign of Henry VI

SECTION II: MINORITY (1422-1437)

Just as Lydgate assumed the role of propagandist under Henry V, advancing his claim in works such as the *Troy Book*, he did so to a greater extent under his son. From Henry VI's accession until his own death in 1451, Lydgate acted as the voice of the dynasty and found particular support under the late king's youngest brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.¹ He championed the boy king through political pieces, religious writings, and proto-dramatic works. The earliest instance of this comes in the form of a poem commissioned by the Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick in 1426.² "The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI" is an English translation of Laurence Calot's French poem commissioned by John, duke of Bedford, regent of France, in 1423 which was used to encourage greater support for Henry VI's right to the French throne amongst the kingdom's people. Calot's poem was written to complement a pictorial manuscript genealogy (Fig. 3 and 4) which depicted Henry VI's descent from Louis IX of France (r. 1226-1270), otherwise known as Saint Louis.³ Both picture and poem were posted together in major churches of Northern France and acted as literal and pictorial representations of Henry VI's right to the French throne.⁴ In a similar way, Lydgate's English translation was used to defend the king's French title to the English public, many of whom had grown uncertain of the value to England of their acquired French lands.⁵

¹ See Nigel Mortimer, *John Lydgate's Fall of Princes: Narrative Tragedy in Its Literary and Political Contexts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), especially 51-94.

² J. W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 153.

³ B. J. H. Rowe, "King Henry VI's Claim to France in Picture and Poem," *The Library* s4-XIII, no. 1 (1932): 77-88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁵ McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy," 153.

In regard to the genealogical tree, it displays the descendants of Saint Louis but manipulates the family line to highlight Henry VI's greater descent. Henry IV had employed a similar tactic decades earlier to secure his own throne by attempting to displace the earl of March in the succession. Whereas Edward III is emphasized as Louis' grandson in the tree, Phillip of Valois is referred to merely as his nephew. Further, Edward's third son, John of Gaunt, by whom the Lancastrian kings were descended from, is included alongside his elder brother Edward the Black Prince in the artistic rendering. The goal of the picture becomes clear when the only child of Charles VI included is his daughter, Catherine, mother of Henry VI. The Dauphin has been omitted and Henry VI's portrait sits directly underneath Louis'.⁶ The poem further reinforces Henry VI's claim to the French throne as it states "that the kyng of England, Henry the Sext, is truly borne heir unto the Corone of Fraunce."⁷

Similarly, on the occasion of his English and French coronations in 1429 and 1431, respectively, Lydgate presented the king with a celebratory poem, "Ballade to King Henry VI," in which he is described as the "royal braunche descended from twoo lynes of Saynt Edward and of Saynt Lowys, hooly sayntes translated in theyre shrynes."⁸ In order to strengthen and date Henry VI's Anglo-French descent even farther back, King Arthur and Charlemagne are presented as two exemplary models for Henry VI.⁹ Although two of the Nine Worthies, and thus common models of kingship utilized in "mirrors for princes," when placed within the context of efforts to strengthen the dual monarchy, King Arthur and Charlemagne's political symbolism is heightened. The picture and poem, and coronation poem, thus, not only intensified Henry VI's position as king of France

⁶ For more a detailed description see Rowe, 80-81.

⁷ John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II: Secular Poems*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), ll. 2-3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 10-11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 13

but in highlighting the conduct of two legendary kings, well-known for their martial achievements, presented him with appropriate models of kingship and warrior-like behavior that the he could utilize in order to protect his French claim.

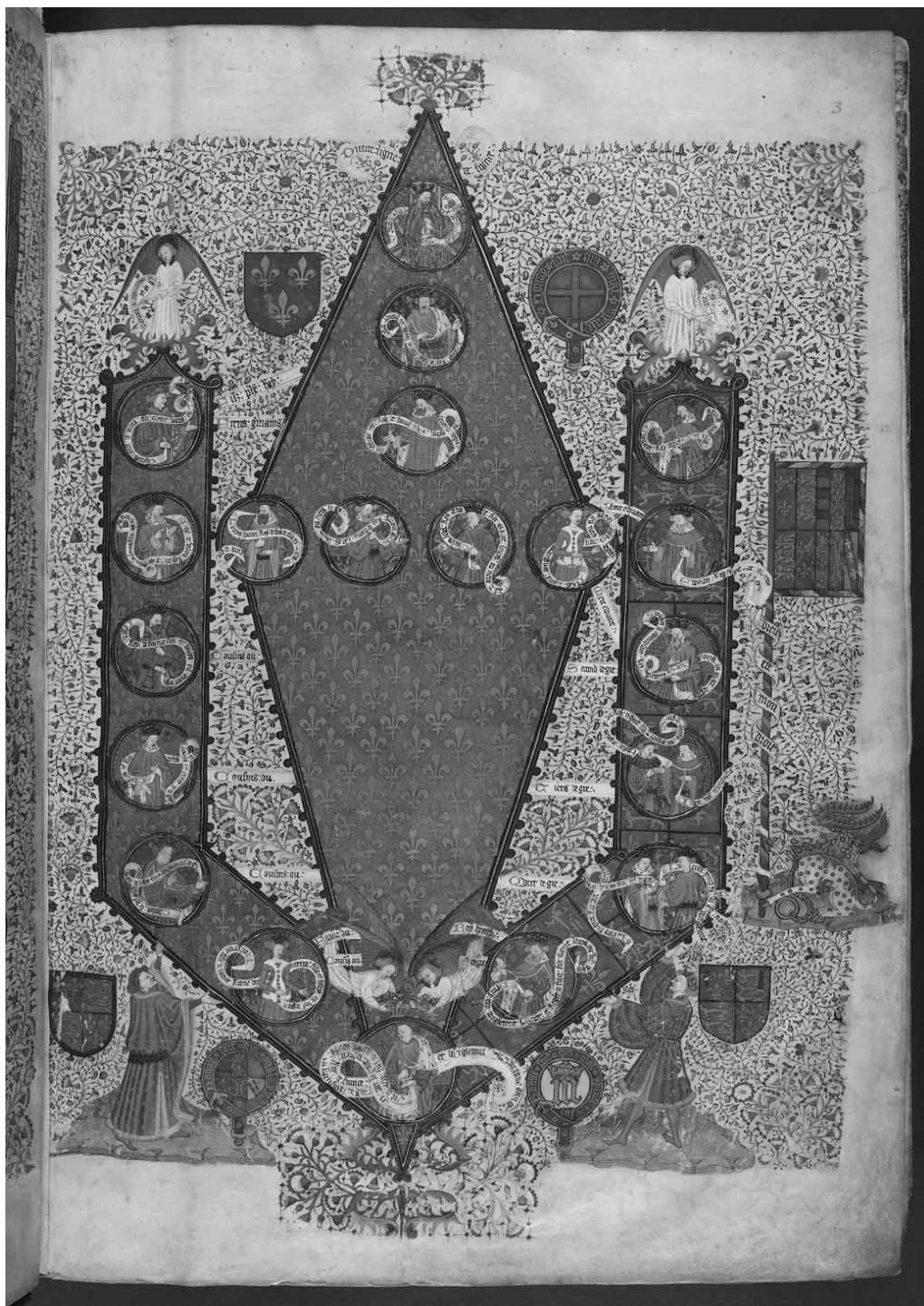


Figure 3: genealogical table. London, British Library MS Royal 15 E. VI, f. 3.

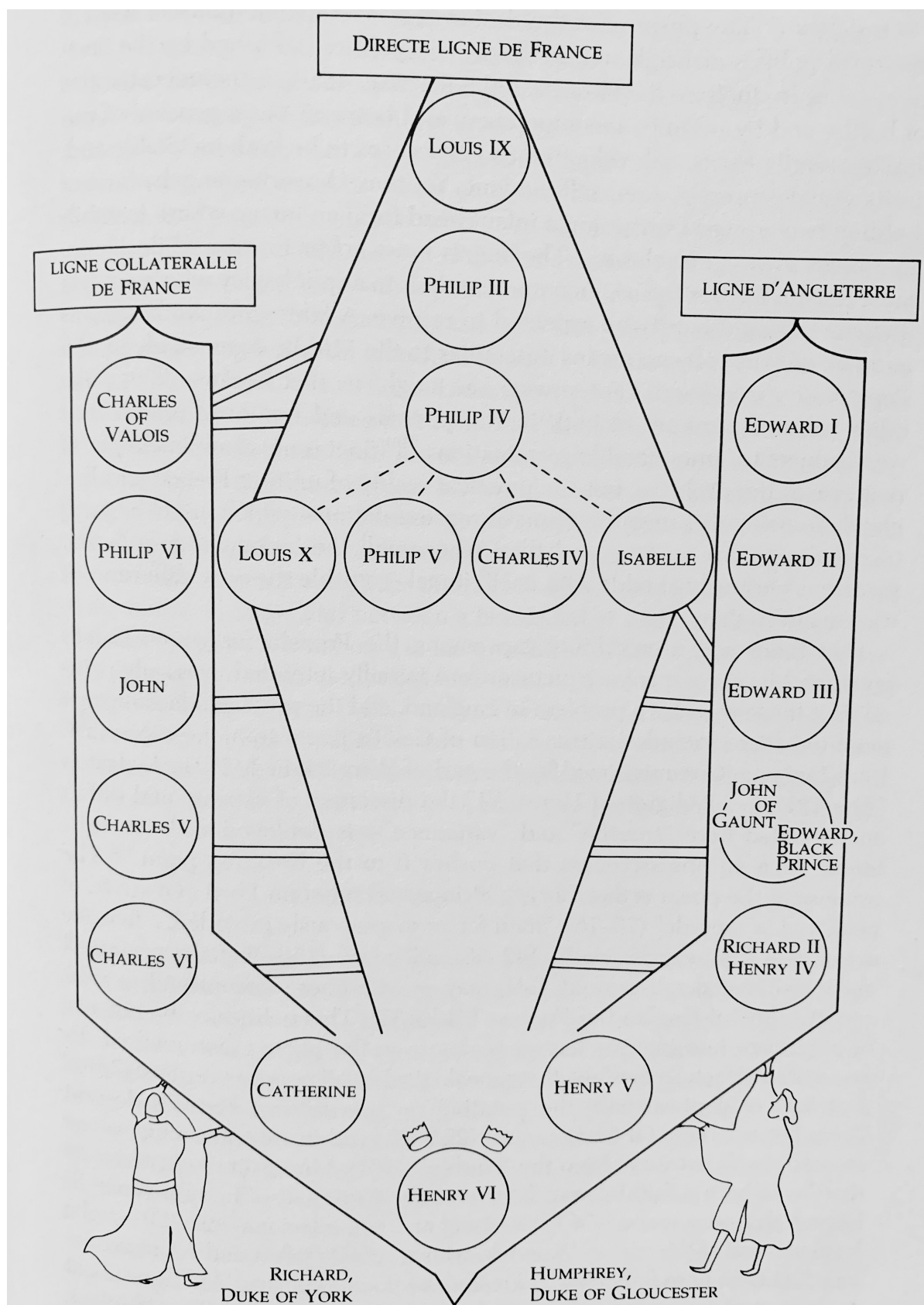


Figure 4: schematic representation of Figure 4. In Patterson, "Making Identities," 91.

In the last years of the 1420s, Lydgate further demonstrated his allegiance to the Lancastrians through his Mummings, three of which are particularly important to this discussion – *The Disguising at Hertford* (c. 1427), *The Mumming at Eltham* (c. 1428), and *The Mumming at Windsor* (c. 1429). All three were addressed to Henry VI, however, his mother Catherine was present at all of the performances and may have even commissioned one. In fact, Catherine may have been a more suitable audience as the mummings relate much more to her.¹⁰ Nonetheless, these performance pieces acted as another piece of propaganda for the young king and offered Henry VI further “mirrors for princes.”

Hertford begins with a direct address to Henry VI who is referred to as “moost noble Prynce,” and the remainder of the 253 lines of the work are spent attempting to prepare the king for his eventual personal rule.¹¹ The main focus of the mumming is warning Henry VI of female dominance over men, and thus, the presence of too much femininity rather than masculinity within the king. The presenter claims that “conquest of wyves is ronne thoroughe þis lande.”¹² The increased presence of female power was especially true in the early reign of Henry VI. His first decade was spent in the care of his mother and his education was provided by his governess, Alice Boteler.¹³ It was only around the time of *Hertford* that the circle of women surrounding the king was beginning to be displaced by men. When he reached the age of seven, the customary age at

¹⁰ Claire Sponsler, *The Queen's Dumbshows: John Lydgate and the Making of Early Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 168-169. Each mumming touches on the theme of female power and they reflect Catherine's predicament following Henry V's death until her departure from her son's household in 1432.

¹¹ MacCracken, *Minor Poems*, l. 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, l. 143.

¹³ R. A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422-1461* (Stroud: Sutton, 1981), 52.

which a boy's education became the province of men, not women, the earl of Warwick was appointed to govern and train Henry VI.¹⁴

This directly contrasts with the reign of his father, where there was not a significant presence of female power until Henry V's marriage to Catherine in 1420. In the medieval period, English kings were consistently warned about the influence of women: The *Brut*, for example, explained Edward III's decline in kingship as a result of his mistress, Alice Perrers and the *Secreta Secretorum* warned Alexander never to trust a woman.¹⁵ Thus, much of Henry V's domestic and foreign successes were accredited to his avoidance of women's damaging influence.¹⁶ In *Hertford* then we can see a concerted effort to advise the Henry VI that his kingship, and consequently his French throne, would be at a risk if he did not resist feminine power.

The king spent Christmas 1428 at the castle at Eltham and it is here that he received the second mumming.¹⁷ The *Mumming at Eltham* consists of twelve rhyme-royal stanzas introducing Bacchus, Juno, and Ceres who preside over a gift-giving ceremony during which a group of local merchants present Henry VI and his mother with wine, wheat, and oil. As consequence of the gifts, the narrator predicts a glorious future for the king. For example, it is promised that the gift of olive oil, a symbol of peace, will help end the war of his "rebelles," presumably the French, "wheve beon now rekless" and will bring Henry VI acclaim throughout the two kingdoms, thereby confirming his right to the French crown.¹⁸ Similarly, the narrator announces that Juno will bring

¹⁴ Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London: Methuen, 1984); N. H. Nicholas, ed., *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vol. 3, 7 vols. (London: HMSO, 1834), 296-300.

¹⁵ F. W. D. Brie, ed., *The Brut or the Chronicles of England* (London: Early English Text Society, 1908), 329-330; and M. A. Manzalaoui, ed., *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 20.

¹⁶ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 50-51.

¹⁷ Sponsler, *The Queen's Dumbshows*, 180.

¹⁸ MacCracken, *Minor Poems*, l. 24.

the king fame and protect him against “mescreantes in actes marcyal,” while Ceres will supply provisions wherever Henry VI rides so that he will lack for nothing.¹⁹ Of course there is no way of telling how much of this would have registered with a boy not yet ten, instead it is more likely that these sentiments were aimed at the adult spectators who likely possessed fears regarding their king’s success in the precarious political and military situation. The Siege of Orléans had begun two months prior and the English were finding little success, the primary commander of the siege, Thomas Montagu, the earl of Salisbury, having died in early November. Thus, Lydgate associated the boy king with these gifts and the glorious future they predicted in order to curb the anxieties of the court and any doubts they may have held regarding Henry VI’s abilities.

Unfortunately, after more than six months of siege the English were forced to retreat. Aided by Joan of Arc, Orléans was the French army’s first major victory since the 1370s. Less than a year later, the *Mumming at Windsor* was performed at Windsor Castle during the Christmas season of 1429. It coincided with Henry VI’s coronation as King of England at the age of eight and shortly before he was to leave for Paris to be crowned King of France. The mumming recounts the story of Clovis’ conversion to Christianity and how he was given the fleur-de-lis and baptized from an ampulla sent from Heaven, while once again celebrating the king’s French descent.²⁰ The poem concludes with the following address to Henry VI:

Nowe, Royal Braunche, O Blood of Saint Lowys,
So lyke it now to thy Magnyfycence,
That the story of the flour delys
May here be shewed in thyne heghe presence,
And that thy noble, royal Excellence
Lyst to supporte, here sitting in thy see,
Right as it fell this myracle to see.²¹

¹⁹ Ibid., l. 39.

²⁰ Karen A. Winstead, “John Lydgate’s ‘Mumming at Windsor’: Clothilda, Women’s Steadfastness, and Lancastrian Rule,” *The Chaucer Review* 49, no. 2 (2014): 230.

²¹ MacCracken, *Minor Poems*, ll. 92-98.

Therefore, regardless of having experienced defeat at Orléans, Lydgate presented Henry VI as next in line to wear the fleur-de-lis and to be anointed by the Holy Ampulla, the two national symbols of the French, and was thus a confirmation of his right to the French throne. As a result, the *Mumming at Windsor* was an explicit challenge to Charles VII's claim to the throne that he had been disinherited from, and his and his regime's efforts to crown him at Rheims following Orléans.

Despite the fact that Lydgate's role as Lancastrian propagandist has been challenged by recent historians, these mummings are usually taken as pure representation of his role as a mouthpiece of Lancastrian interests. For example, although Maura Nolan calls the Eltham and Windsor mummings simple royal entertainments, she also sees them as straightforward assertions of Henry VI's legitimacy to rule France.²² These mummings worked to strengthen the Lancastrian right to the French throne as dictated by the Treaty of Troyes and they also attempted, with various degrees of success, to imbue the king with some sense of his chief responsibilities, primarily military prowess and the avoidance of feminine power, which would aid in his ability to be victorious against the French.

Following victory at Orléans, credited primarily to Joan of Arc, prominent French writers such as Jean Gerson, Chartier, Christine de Pizan wrote in support of the Maid. However, in June 1429, the lesser-known Jacques Gelu (c. 1376-1432), Archbishop of Embrun, addressed a treatise to Charles VII entitled the *Dissertatio*, or *De Adventu Iohannae*, which urged the French king to follow Joan's desire in taking Paris from their Anglo-Burgundian allies, a policy that Charles VII did not agree with.²³ Yet Gelu initially held extreme reservations about Joan, believing like others

²² Maura Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 75, 88, and 86.

²³ For a discussion of the relationship between Charles VII and Joan see Malcolm Vale, *Charles VII* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1974), 45-69.

that she was an English spy.²⁴ Curiously it was only after Orléans that Gelu's attitude transformed dramatically, resulting in him producing a work that is one of the most positive contemporary accounts regarding the Maid. The work praises the king highly but makes it perfectly clear that real power lies with God who has come to help Charles VII by way of Joan. The *Dissertatio* ascribes the king's destiny to Joan. Further, in a highly unusual, direct, and admonitory tone Gelu not only makes it clear that Joan is responsible for the Charles VII's destiny, but that the king is bound to obey her, and is warned of the consequences should be not:

If he does not obey the Maid, the King ... must fear ... to be abandoned by the Lord, to be denied what he wishes and to see his desires frustrated. Even though the Maid's advice would not look logical, if she were steadfast in her affirmation, we would that the king comply with her advice as he would to a warning inspired by God for the execution of the trusted mission.²⁵

Gelu essentially suggests that Charles VII leave French policy regarding the war in Joan's hands:

... it is the Maid's advice that must be asked for, sought principally and before any other peoples ...

Let us hope that the Lord, making His the king's cause, will inspire everything which is necessary, in order that the Maid reaches the hoped-for end, and that the Lord leave not her works imperfect. We also feel it is advisable that every day the king accomplish something peculiarly agreeable to God; that he confer about it with the Maid and that after getting aware of her feeling, put it into practical use.²⁶

Importantly, it is possible that Gelu was commissioned to write the treatise by Charles VII's mother-in-law Yolande of Aragon, who was Countess of Provence of which a large part of the Archbishopric of Embrum lay within.²⁷ As a key figure in the Armagnac party Yolande was

²⁴ Benjamin Cornford, "Christine de Pizan's *Ditie de Jehanne d'Arc* : Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Charles VII," *Parergon* 17, no. 2 (2000): 89.

²⁵ All translations of Gelu's *Dissertatio* come from H. G. Francq, "Jean Gerson's Theological Treatise and Other Memoirs in Defence of Joan of Arc," *Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa* 41 (1971): Appendix 2, 72-74.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Cornford, "Christine de Pizan's *Ditie de Jehanne d'Arc*," 90.

vehemently opposed to any sort of truce between Charles VII and the Anglo-Burgundians, and she also largely funded Joan's army in 1429.²⁸ As opposed to his Armagnac relatives, Charles VII believed that peace may have led to more tangible gains than the prosecution of open war.²⁹ It not only attempted to justify Joan's cause theologically, it also argued definitively against Anglo-Burgundian propaganda (e.g. Lydgate's 1426 poem) and stated to Charles VII that he took great personal and spiritual risk in not following Joan and achieving a greater, more permanent, victory for France. For Gelu and much of France, there could be no peace with England while its king lay claim to the French throne. In this respect, it echoes Chartier's 1422 letter. Whether or not Gelu's treatise had any impact on Charles VII, two months after his coronation at Rheims on July 17, 1429, he and Joan attempted a failed siege of Paris.

With the conflict entering a new phase in the 1430s, marked by English decline and French ascent, Henry VI began receiving a number of "mirrors for princes" aimed at encouraging the king to follow a kingly model that would aid in his success in relation to the conflict. Lydgate's *Life of Saints Edmund and Fremund* dedicated to Henry VI c. 1433-1436, is one of the earliest examples of these initiatives. The work was written to commemorate Henry VI's visit to the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds from December 1433 to April 1434. It was likely completed sometime after the visit, possibly 1434-1436, as Derek Pearsall suggests.³⁰ The work is one of the most original experiments in English hagiography and it was used to not only educate the king but to also foster

²⁸ For a discussion of Yolande's role in the Hundred Years War see Zita Eva Rohr, *Yolande of Aragon (1381-1442) Family and Power: The Reverse of the Tapestry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 133-165.

²⁹ Vale, *Charles VII*, 58-59.

³⁰ Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (Charlottesville: University of California Press, 1970), 26-27.

a relationship of equality between the monarchy and one of England's wealthiest and most influential religious institutions, which had been challenged by his father.³¹

In Lydgate's narrative Edmund is a boy king like Henry VI – crowned at fifteen – yet he embodies the standards of ideal kingship, making him the perfect model for young king:

Yong of yeeries, old of discrecion
 Flouryng in age, fructuous of sadnesse,
 His sensualite ay soget to reson,
 And of his counsail discrecioun was maistresse.
 Foure cardinal sustre, fforce and rihtwisnesse,
 Weied alle his werkis by prudence in balance,
 Al passiouns voide in his attemperance.³²

Edmund's conduct and thus effective kingship is governed by the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude. The text further develops the depiction of Edmund's exemplary kingship by presenting him as a military hero for his successful engagements with the Danes:

For with his knyhtis that kyng Edmond ladde
 Of paynym blood ful gret plente he shadde.
 Edmond that day was Christis champion,
 Preuyng himsilf a ful manly knyht.
 Among Sarseyne he pleied the lion,
 For they lik sheep fledde out of his syht.
 Maugre the Danys, he put Hyngwar to flyht.
 For wher his swerd that day dide glyde
 Ther was no paynym afforn him durste abyde.
 The soil of slaughtre I-steynynd was with blood,
 The sharp swerd of Edmond turnyd red:
 For ther was noon that his strook withstood
 Nor durstre abide afforn him for his hed.³³

³¹ Sonja Drimmer, "Picturing the King or Picturing the Saint: Two Miniature Programmes for John Lydgate's *Lives of SS Edmund and Fremund*," in *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, 1350-1550: Packaging, Presentation, and Consumption*, ed. Emma Cayley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 49.

³² Anthony Bale and A. S. G. Edwards, eds., *John Lydgate's Lives of Ss Edmund & Fremund and the Extra Miracles of St Edmund* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2009), I. ll. 316-322.

³³ Ibid., *Lives of Ss Edmund & Fremund*, II. ll. 1413-1425

In military matters, here is a figure that Henry VI can perhaps better relate to: a king near his age rather than his famous father. Lydgate does however make reference to Henry V when he prays that Edmund will help Henry VI to “rassemble by triumphal victory / To his fadir, most notable of memory.”³⁴ Finally, the prayer at the end of the work implores Edmund to protect both Henry VI and his kingdoms and also ask that he should:

Encrease our kyng in knyghtly hih prowessse,
 with al his lordys off the spiritualte.
 Pray God to grante conquest and worthynesse
 By ryhtful tittle to al the temporalte.
 And to syxte Herry ioie felycyte
 Off his two rewmys, feith, loue, and obeisance.
 Longe to perseuere in his victorious se
 As iust enheritour off Ingelond and France.³⁵

But there is one aspect of Edmund’s life which contradicts medieval ideals of kingship and masculinity – his virginity. Ironically, this is one of the areas in which Henry VI aroused the most suspicion amongst his contemporaries.³⁶ Lydgate remedies this difficulty by emphasizing not Edmund’s virginity, but the concept of sexual temperance, something that the most well-known of “mirror for princes,” such as the *Secreta secretorum*, emphasized constantly. Returning to Lydgate’s earlier warning to the king regarding the danger of women’s influence, the *Secreta secretorum* states that chastity is extremely desirable in a king because immoderate indulgence in intercourse will have a disastrous effect on his manhood: “sett nought theyn hert in lecherie of women, for phat is the lyf of swine,” falling under the influence of women leads to the corruption

³⁴ C. Horstmann, ed., *Altenglische Legenden: Neue Folge* (Heilbronn, 1881), prologue, ll. 163-164.

³⁵ Bale and Edwards, *Lives of Ss Edmund & Fremund*, III. ll. 3564-357.

³⁶ Katherine J. Lewis, “Edmund of East Anglia, Henry VI and Ideals of Kingly Masculinity,” in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 166..

of virtues “and makith a man oft femynyne.”³⁷ Lydgate then uses his work to highlight and justify Henry VI’s own sexual temperance, therefore not only reinforcing his kingship but also encouraging the king to take military action as he possesses the requisite manliness.

Beyond the traditional discussion of appropriate kingship, Lydgate makes it known that Edmund is a saint because he is a king, not in spite of it. Crucially the reader, and Henry VI, is shown that Edmund achieved the correct balance between his spiritual and secular responsibilities. Lydgate explaining: “Thus toward heuene he was contemptlatiff, / Toward the world a good knyht of his liff.”³⁸ He further reinforces this point by describing Edmund’s father, King Alkmund in the same way: “Thus in two wise his noblesse did shyne: / Toward the world, in knyhtly hih prowesse, / And toward God, in parfit holynesse.”³⁹ The praise of characters who are able to reconcile spiritual and temporal pursuits was a constant theme of Lydgate’s work.⁴⁰ One of his earliest patrons, Henry V was an excellent example of this mastery.

Under Henry VI Lydgate found hagiography the most effective avenue in which to legitimize Henry VI’s rule, address the king, and champion the reputation and interests of Lydgate’s own abbey.⁴¹ Thus, in *Edmund and Fremund* Lydgate presented the king with a comprehensive model of kingship who exemplified the ideals of the office. This work is even more appropriate given the time of composition. Henry VI had been given his crowns five years ago and was now nearing the point at which he would assume personal control of his government. A guide

³⁷ Robert Steele, ed., *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum* (London, 1898), 14.

³⁸ Bale and Edwards, *Lives of Ss Edmund & Fremund*, I. ll. 993-994.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I. ll. 186-188.

⁴⁰ See Karen A. Winstead, “Lydgate’s *Lives of Saints Edmund and Alban*: Martyrdom and Prudent Pollicie,” *Mediaevalia* 17 (1991): 221–41.

⁴¹ Fiona Somerset, Larry Scanlon, and James Simpson, “Hard Is with Seyntis for to Make Affray”: Lydgate the ‘Poet-Propagandist’ as Hagiographer,” in *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture, and Lancastrian England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 261.

on how to rule was therefore, more than necessary. Of course, it is impossible to know whether or not the king read these materials, but if he did, he may have gotten the wrong idea of what kingship involved.⁴² This conclusion will become clear in the discussion of subsequent works.

SECTION II: PERSONAL RULE (1437-1453)

Since 1422, England and France had been governed by the king's uncles: Henry Beaufort and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester in England and John, duke of Bedford in France. Although Henry VI received his crowns of England and France in 1429 and 1431, respectively, they marked little increase in exercisable power – having mainly been a hurried response to the Dauphin's coronation in 1429. Henry VI was finally declared fit to rule in 1437. Yet power still mainly lay with the royal council, and some form of councillor government was in place until 1444.⁴³ When Henry VI did assume the reins of government his shy and pious nature immediately showed itself – a sharp contrast to Henry V. However, the events in the 1430s and 1440s will demonstrate that a king capable of defending English territories in France and the claim to the French throne was required. But by 1453 Henry VI would prove himself to be far from able.

To his contemporaries the king seemed more concerned with intellectual and religious matters, rather than temporal pursuits, and appeared blissfully unaware as of primary duty as king: the defence of his rights and those of his kingdom. Like Richard II, Henry VI showed little predilection for arms, instead preferring books and devotion; these were dangerous preferences for a king in Henry VI's position.⁴⁴ In response, the works that the king received from 1437 to 1453

⁴² John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 110.

⁴³ John Watts, "When Did Henry VI's Minority End?," in *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History*, ed. Dorothy J. Clayton, R. G. Davies, and Peter McNiven (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), 130.

⁴⁴ See Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 170-187, for efforts at reforming these interests.

attempted to make him aware of his responsibilities in the face of continued losses and when it appeared that Henry VI presented a sorry successor to his father.

Around the time of Henry VI's assumption of personal power, he received the *Tractatus De Regimine Principium ad Regem Henricum Sextum* (*On the Rule of Princes to Henry VI*), by an unknown author.⁴⁵ The manuscript likely dates from 1436 to 1437, but the mid-1440s may also be plausible as allusions are made to the royal foundation of Eton and King's College, Cambridge and Margaret of Anjou may be the queen mentioned in the first chapter.⁴⁶ The author opens with reference to contemporary events in France, noting the threats currently posed to the lands which Henry V had conquered there and notes recent successes in defending these:

Christ and God lead men in the right path, but the devil lays many traps for them. That is why kingdoms do not live in peace. Despite his youth, King Henry has already had to show his ability in avoiding the invasion of his lands, attacked at Calais by the Flemish soldiers of the duke of Burgundy, while Roxburgh has been besieged by the king of Scotland and the lands conquered by the king's father in France threatened. In times of misfortune, it is important to resort to the help of prayer. Therefore the young king must not moderate his godly fervour; he must on the contrary practise all virtues, and stir up his subjects' courage by his example. That is why this book was written.⁴⁷

Evidently, the author, likely a member of the king's own household – possibly John Somerset, Henry VI's physician and tutor – was apprehensive about the king's initial foray into government and felt that he needed continued guidance.⁴⁸ This was likely a sentiment shared by many close to Henry VI, as the next works will show. As the remainder of the work includes a discussion of the traditional sort and includes lengthy passages lifted directly from Giles of Rome's *De Regimine*

⁴⁵ Jean-Philippe Genet, *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 40.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, full Latin prologue on 53-55.

⁴⁸ Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, 240 and 265. For a full list of candidates see n. 47 in Griffiths.

Principium it is not necessary to explore it in its totality.⁴⁹ There is, however, one aspect of the text which deserves further attention.

The *Rule* follows close behind the death of Bedford, the breakdown of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, the loss of Dieppe and Harfleur in 1435, and Paris in 1436. As a result, the text includes many passages touching on the possibility of peace. In chapter three the author writes “... peace brings tranquillity and abundance ... what rapture of joy would be ours if peace could be established between the kingdoms of France and England! How happy the King who would make peace between the two kingdoms for ever!”⁵⁰ And in chapter four the author concludes that although Henry VI must always be ready to go to war, it is clear that his first quest must be peace.⁵¹ Here then can be seen a sense of anxiety regarding the war and that some of those closest to the king were encouraging him to sue for peace before their position in France suffered beyond repair. If this is true, the text may also date to 1439 as vague allusions to Anglo-French diplomatic exchange could represent Henry Beaufort’s failed peace talks with the French in 1439.⁵²

So far all of the texts directed at Henry VI implicitly suggested that he imitate the qualities of his father, however this receives explicit expression in Tito Livio Frulovisi’s (fl. 1430s-1440s) *Vita Henrici Quinti* dedicated to the king between 1438 and 1439.⁵³ Frulovisi spent two years in England in the late 1430s under the service of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, before returning to

⁴⁹ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 155.

⁵⁰ Genet, 48-49, full Latin version of chapter three on 67-71.

⁵¹ Ibid., 49, full Latin version of the chapter four on 72-85.

⁵² Ibid., 44.

⁵³ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 210-213.

his native Venice.⁵⁴ In fact, the writer states in the prologue of the work that he wrote the biography at Gloucester's behest.⁵⁵ In his address to Henry VI, Frulovisi urges the king to fight,

Not because I prefer you to have war instead of peace, but because you cannot have a just peace. You should resolve to imitate that divine king your father in all things, seeking peace and quiet for your realm by using the same methods and martial valour as he used to subdue your common enemies.⁵⁶

As the late 1430s were proving that the king was a vast departure from his father, the *Vita* can be seen as an effort on Gloucester's part to inculcate something of Henry V's style of kingship and military prowess in Henry VI. It also demonstrates Gloucester's continued attempts at controlling his nephew's development and government.

This anxiety regarding Henry VI's rule is reinforced by another biography about Henry V, the *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti*, composed at about the same time as Frulovisi's work. The text survives in two versions. The first, dating from the late 1430s was addressed to and commissioned by Walter, Lord Hungerford, and the second, composed between 1445 and 1446, was dedicated to John Somerset.⁵⁷ Both men played an important role in Henry VI's reign. Somerset's service to the king has already been noted, but Hungerford, who had fought with Henry V in France and acted as one of the executors of the late king's will, served on Henry VI's regency government.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ For a discussion of Gloucester's relationship with Frulovisi and other Italian humanists see Susanne Saygin, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447) and the Italian Humanists* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

⁵⁵ Tito Livio Frulovisi, *The First Life of Henry V*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 2.

⁵⁶ Kingsford, *Life of Henry V*, 6-7.

⁵⁷ David Rundle offers a new conclusion regarding the dates of composition for these texts, showing that the *Vita Henrici* was actually written after the *Vita et Gesta*: David Rundle: "The Unoriginality of Tito Livio Frulovisi's Vita Henrici Quinti," *The English Historical Review* 123, no. 504 (2008): 1112-1116.

⁵⁸ Charles Kightly, 'Hungerford, Walter, First Baron Hungerford (1378-1449),' in *ODNB*, online edn., January 2008 {<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14181>, accessed February 21 2019}; and Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI*, 55.

Thus, both *Vitae* attempted to mould the king's behaviour as based on his father's. While Gloucester and Frulovisi attempted to do this directly through the *Vitae Henrici Quinti*, if their advice failed to find an audience in Henry VI, the author of *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti* would achieve it through the men closest to the king. Interestingly, both Hungerford and Somerset had connections to Gloucester: Hungerford through his role on the regency council, and Somerset inherited the duke's books upon the latter's death in 1447.⁵⁹ This relationship between these three men further demonstrates a joint effort amongst the king's circle to shape Henry VI's conduct. Unfortunately, both works were unsuccessful in their aim. While it is true these last few works – Lydgate's *Lives*, *Tractatus*, and the *Vitae* – offered competing narratives to Henry VI, their shared goal, whether it be war or peace, was to encourage the king to do *something*, rather than nothing.

With English failures in the mid-1430s an attempt at peace was made in 1439. Although a 'half-peace' of anywhere between fifteen and thirty years was taken seriously at first, it was revoked when the English demanded a perpetual peace together with the grant of Normandy and an enlarged Aquitaine in full sovereignty.⁶⁰ When peace once again appeared futile, French writers such as Jean Juvenal des Ursins (1388-1473), a cleric and royalist who later became Archbishop of Rheims, addressed a letter to Charles VII in 1439 equipping him with the necessary tools so that French victories could be extended, perhaps forcing the English to sue for a final peace. *Loquar in tribulacione* voiced the suffering of the French people at the hands of both English and French soldiers, especially in the diocese of Beauvais of which des Ursins was bishop of at the time. He warned that royal soldiers were acting like tyrants and thereby alienating their own people.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 214.

⁶⁰ Christopher Allmand, "The Anglo-French Negotiations, 1439," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 40, no. 101 (1967): 24-29.

⁶¹ *Les Écrits Politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, ed. P. S. Lewis, 3 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1978-1993), I, 307-312.

During Charles VII's reign there was a serious problem of discipline and control over French troops: the army was fragmented into many clans, each under a prince or a great lord, and there was an increasing number of foreign troops serving in the French army. Further, facing greater financial difficulties the king was unable to offer regular pay, and wages were reduced to the lowest level. The result was a number of mercenary bands, who provided ready recruits for private wars and lived off the land by pillaging.⁶² In a work written a year after *Loquar*, the writer further stressed the danger posed by the English by presenting their army as an example to the French, observing that the enemy were united and obedient towards their captains, made effective use of both their cavalry and their infantry and were skilful in all ways of waging war.⁶³

In combination with his criticism of the French army des Ursins warned Charles VII of the threat posed by the English. "You have already seen," warned the writer:

That your English adversary has had a foot in the door was held to be king; if he comes back, given the oppression which your wretched people suffer, then there is a danger that things might come to a subverting of your lordship, and that you would be a king without a land or a people, or at least you have a very small one.⁶⁴

Considered together, these two works offered a lesson to Charles VII that the French needed to acquire similar skills and qualities through training and practice. Conveniently, both texts coincided with the significant military reforms that the king introduced at the turn of the decade, laying the basis for the famed *compagnie d'ordonnance*. Thus, the works not only stated to Charles VII the threat that the English posed to his sovereignty but also how he might counter that threat.

⁶² Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 25-26.

⁶³ Lewis, *Les Écrits Politiques*, I, 401-403.

⁶⁴ Ibid. Lewis, I, 310. Translated in P. S. Lewis, "The Centre, the Periphery, and the Problem of Power Distribution in Later Medieval France," in *Essays in Later Medieval French History*, ed. P. S. Lewis (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), 154.

In the 1440s opinion regarding Henry VI's rule intensified. England's continental possessions continued to be threatened, political divide amongst the king's two chief advisors, Beaufort and Gloucester, strained effective governance of the realm, and Henry VI's marriage to Margaret of Anjou which brought no dowry (instead Henry VI forfeited Maine to her father René) or any concrete relationship to the French was criticized by many in the realm.⁶⁵ The king, however, appeared incapable of dealing with these crises, and intervention seemed necessary. As an attempt at reforming Henry VI's kingship John Capgrave (1393-1464) presented the king with the *Book of the Illustrious Henries* in 1447.⁶⁶

The timing of presentation also presents an interesting consideration. The year coincides with Gloucester's death, with whom Capgrave had been associated with since at least 1390s.⁶⁷ Capgrave had often sought the duke's patronage and protection (as writer and Austin friar), however, after Gloucester's fall from power in 1441 following the accusation and a subsequent trial that his second wife, Eleanor Cobham, was a witch, the writer placed the king at the centre of his network. Like Lydgate, Capgrave used his works, especially this one directed Henry VI, to promote the interests and reputation of himself, his order, and his religious brothers.⁶⁸ Capgrave's newly-formed association with the king also reinforces concentrated efforts among Henry VI's political circle to guide and shape the king's rule.

The book contains portraits of other kings and princes who have shared Henry VI's name including his father, grandfather, his great-great grandfather, Henry, Duke of Lancaster and other

⁶⁵ B. M. Cron, "The Duke of Suffolk, the Angevin Marriage, and the Ceding of Maine, 1445," *Journal of Medieval History* 20, no. 1 (1994): 97.

⁶⁶ John Capgrave, *John Capgrave's Book of the Illustrious Henries*, trans. F. C. Hingeston (London: Longman, 1858).

⁶⁷ Critten, "The King's Historiographer," 286.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 278.

English royal Henries. It also includes emperors named Henry, French royal Henries, saintly Henries, and Henry Despencer, Bishop of Norwich and the lives of other kings not named Henry but who Capgrave believed were an appropriate model for the king, such as Saint Louis.⁶⁹ In his dedication, the writer states that he hopes “the king will possess in his acts the best of rules; in his faith the most firm assurance; and in judgment the safest guidance, from those men, of kindred to himself both in name and blood, who have gone before him.”⁷⁰ Significantly, of the twenty-three subjects (excluding Henry VI), Capgrave notes the military accomplishments of nineteen.⁷¹

Surprisingly, Capgrave’s praise of Henry VI is rather tepid. Further, the portrait of the king in the book was a later addition, possibly added after Henry VI discovered what Capgrave was working on and asked to be included.⁷² Thus, the work was likely intended to act as another “mirror for princes” not to extol the king. Tellingly, in his portrait of Henry VI Capgrave states: ‘What does it avail us to read of the examples of these illustrious men, and not imitate them?’⁷³ Accordingly, Capgrave placed more emphasis on what he hopes Henry VI will achieve in the future rather than what he has done. In particular, Capgrave hoped the king would ensure the stability and prosperity of the realm, through a combination of sensible rule and military victory, and also that he would father children. He laments the decline of the English navy commenting that “if the sea were kept by our navy, many good results would follow, – it would give a safe conduct to merchants, secure access to fishers, the quiet peace to the inhabitants of the kingdom,

⁶⁹ Hingeston, *Book of the Illustrious Henries*, for a full list of subjects see ix-x.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷¹ Excepting Henry, Archbishop of Sens, Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Henry, Archdeacon of Ghent and Henry de Urimaria who were noted for their learning.

⁷² Karen A. Winstead, *John Capgrave’s Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 161.

⁷³ Hingeston, *Book of the Illustrious Henries*, 155.

to our king himself a large measure of glory.”⁷⁴ On the topic of children, Capgrave expresses the hope that the marriage, which had yet to produce any heirs, will be fruitful:

And I pray Heavenly King that He will so protect them with His Own right hand, that their love may never be dissolved, and that such fruit of the womb may be granted unto them as the Psalmist speaks of when he says: - ‘Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine upon the walls of thy house, thy children like the olive-branches round about thy table.’⁷⁵

Capgrave is also not unaware of a popular criticism of Henry VI when he remarks “Alas for thee, O land, whose king is a boy, and whose princes eat in the morning.”⁷⁶ Capgrave challenges this by stating “... this saying of Solomon’s ought not, I apprehend, to be applied to the number of years, but to immaturity of manners.”⁷⁷ Lydgate’s earlier advice to Henry VI that he must balance both spiritual and temporal aspects of kingship is also reinforced by Capgrave with his inclusion of St. Louis whose canonization was attributed to his excellent rule, not piety.⁷⁸ Further, Capgrave is keen to promote the king’s grandfather’s (Henry IV) ability to balance his personal inclination towards study with the needs of his realm: “this man was a studious investigator in all doubtful points of morals, and as far as his hours of rest from the administration of his government permitted him to be free, he was always eager in the prosecution of such pursuits.”⁷⁹ Here, the writer is attempting to make Henry VI realize that while important, bookishness is a luxury that can only be enjoyed after the practical requirements of kingship have been fulfilled.

⁷⁴ Hingeston, *Book of the Illustrious Henries*, 155-156.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 156-157.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 148.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 149.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 150. For Louis’ kingship and how it led to his canonization see Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2008), 48-66 and 182.

⁷⁹ Hingeston, *John Capgrave’s Book of the Illustrious Henries*, 116.

With its repetitive guidance as expressed in other didactic works, Capgrave's *Illustrious Henries* represents a suspicion many must have had that the king had paid little attention to the instructional texts that he had received over the years. Regardless, Capgrave attempted to impart his own advice to Henry VI. Overall, the *Illustrious Henries* contained an implicit criticism of Henry VI's rule, which if he could detect would signify to him that his current style of kingship was less than appropriate, given the current state of the Anglo-French conflict.⁸⁰ For writers such as Capgrave and those closest to king, Henry VI would be wise to heed the advice and models of governance present in works directed at him.

Although arguably more successful than his English counterparts, French writers still found it necessary to direct works at Charles VII that would aid in finally expelling the English from France. This final French writing is an example of this. The Truce of Tours (1444) allowed Charles VII the opportunity to continue the military reforms he had introduced in 1439, and formally establish the first standing army of France (the *compagnie d'ordonnance*) which at the time stood at fifteen *compagnies*, for an army of 9,000 men.⁸¹ When hostilities once again reopened in 1449, apparently caused by the English breaching the terms of the truce, these reforms were key to the campaigns that returned much of France to Valois control and the eventual French victory in 1453.⁸² In this context, Frontinus's *Stratagemata* translated by Jean de Rouvroy (d. 1461) and dedicated to Charles VII in 1450 requires consideration.⁸³

⁸⁰ A more explicit criticism was, however, available in another of Lydgate's writings dating from the same time – *The Life of Saint Katharine of Alexandria*. See John Capgrave, *The Life of Saint Katherine of Alexandria*, trans. Karen A. Winstead (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011); and Karen A. Winstead, "Capgrave's Saint Katherine and the Perils of Gynecocracy," *Viator* 25 (1994): 362.

⁸¹ Paul D. Solon, "Valois Military Administration on the Norman Frontier, 1445-1461: A Study in Medieval Reform," *Speculum* 51, no. 1 (1976): 92.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 91.

⁸³ Vale, *Charles VII*, 99.

The work, dating from the first century, presents 580 short examples of effective actions by commanders, and was part of a wider tradition of ancient military manuals that were translated into French during the late medieval period, the most notable being Vegetius' *De re militari*.⁸⁴ In fact, the *Stratagemata*, whose manual does not survive, was often combined with Vegetius to offer its recipient a complete guide to warfare.⁸⁵ In this sense, the *Stratagemata* was likely offered to help Charles VII reorganize his armies.⁸⁶ It certainly discussed many aspects of warfare that aligned well with his reforms: for example: the need for better discipline and training of troops and the important rule that planning was more important than numbers.⁸⁷

With his reforms, Charles VII was able to recover the majority of his kingdom. In April 1450 the French retook Normandy at the Battle of Formigny. With the north conquered, the French king then turned his focus south towards Aquitaine and in 1451, took Bordeaux. As such, William Worcester's (1415-1482) *Boke of Noblesse* was a final plea to Henry VI to protect what little French territory remained in the English's hands and his French rights. In its final form the work was dedicated to Edward IV on the occasion of his planned invasion of France in 1475 but an earlier version was originally addressed to Henry VI, likely in March 1453, or soon after the Battle of Castillon in July 1453.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ See Robert H. Lucas, "Mediaeval French Translations of the Latin Classics to 1500," *Speculum* 45, no. 2 (1970): 225.

⁸⁵ Christopher Allmand, "A Roman Text on War: The *Strategemata* of Frontinus in the Middle Ages," in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2009), 155-156.

⁸⁶ R. Bossuat, "Jean de Rovroy, Traducteur Des Stratagèmes de Frontin," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 22, no. 2 (1960): 273-86; 469-89.

⁸⁷ For a full discussion of the text see Allmand, "A Roman Text on War," 156-159.

⁸⁸ K.B. McFarlane was one of the first to suggest the existence of this earlier copy, see K. B. McFarlane, "William Worcester: A Preliminary Survey," in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1981), 213. Katherine Lewis suggests March 1453: Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 218. Finally, Allmand and Keen date the address to just after Castillon: Allmand and Keen, "History and the Literature of War: The *Boke of Noblesse* of

If the first date is correct the address coincides with England's recent recapture of Bordeaux on October 23 and may have attempted to encourage Henry VI to personally lead an army into France, an action which many in the realm, especially those closest to the king may have hoped for. Between 1451 and 1452 Henry VI had even finally appeared to heed sensible guidance and showed signs of growing into his kingship; there were even indications that he intended to take a personal role in defending what remained of his territory in France, perhaps even adding to it.⁸⁹ On the other hand, if the latter date is accepted it suggests that many believed the English could still regain their lost possessions and reassert their claim to the French throne, even after Castillon. Either is a possibility as the address exhorts the king to renew attacks on France.⁹⁰

Further, the work employs history to underline and reaffirm England's ancient claims to France. Describing the English as descendants of Brutus, the work features a discussion of Englishmen who have successfully defended their rights such as King Arthur and John, duke of Bedford. In addition, all post-Conquest kings renowned for their military prowess are included.⁹¹ Thus, as with works by Lydgate and Capgrave, the *Boke* attempted to present appropriate models of kingship that Henry VI could and should follow. It also articulated what Henry VI's primary focus should be – defence of his French claims and rights. Unfortunately, Henry VI was unable to realize the counsel in Worcester's work and the Battle of Castillon, which lost England Aquitaine and left only Calais in their possession, marked the final battle of the conflict.

William Worcester," in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 94.

⁸⁹ Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 214-219.

⁹⁰ William Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse*, ed. John Gough Nichols (New York: Burt Franklin, 1972), 5.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, see for example 9, 9-19, and 43.

Conclusion

From their accessions, Henry VI and Charles VII were encouraged to fulfil the respective aims of their kingdoms, as represented by a number of works directed at these kings. During his minority, Henry VI received a number of writings by John Lydgate, including the *Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund*. Lydgate not only championed Henry VI's claim to the French throne, as expressed by the Treaty of Troyes, but also offered him a model of kingship that would aid in his defence of his rights in France. Conversely, at the same time writers such as Gelu attempted to encourage Charles VII to refute the English's claims. Once the tide turned in the favour of the French in the 1430s, English writers did all they could to force Henry VI into recognizing his responsibilities as king. These efforts included *Tractatus De Regimine Principium*, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, and Capgrave's *Book of Illustrious Henries*, amongst others. With the newfound success, French works such *Loquar in tribulacione* attempted to bring the conflict to a formal conclusion. When these aims failed and hostilities reopened, both Rouvroy and Worcester in *Stratagems* and the *Boke of Noblesse*, encouraged and provide their kings with the knowledge necessary to win the war for their respective sides. Unfortunately for the English, Charles VII appears to have been more receptive to his writer's advice than Henry VI.

CONCLUSION

Just as the Hundred Years War is divided into distinct phases, the literature directed at English and French kings during the conflict can be as well. From 1389 to 1413 English and French writers alike wrote a number of works in favour of peace to Richard II, Henry IV, and Charles VI. These literary efforts reflected the peace that these kings preferred, and just as formal peace was presented as a joint effort, writers of this phase such as Geoffrey Chaucer in *Lack of Steadfastness*, John Gower in *Confessio Amantis*, and Philippe Mézières in both *Songe du viel pelerin* and *Epistre au roi Richart* joined together to encourage their respective masters to pursue such a policy. Nevertheless, contemporary French opinion regarding their perceived invalidity of England's claim to the French throne found articulation in Honorat Bovet's *Arbre des batailles* which attempted, under the guise of promoting peace, to refute their claim. Yet the two breviaries that Richard II received from Charles VI and Philip the Bold in 1396 not only marked the culmination of peace efforts dating back to at least 1389 but also reinforced that this peace of twenty-eight years was meant to be adhered to, and one was one that was not going to be endangered by formally challenging the English claim.

Unfortunately, the continuity of the peace of 1396 was threatened following Henry IV's overthrow of Richard II in 1399 and Charles VI's increasing madness. In response, writers exploited Henry IV's lack of decisive war policy by using their works to encourage the king into following a certain policy, that of peace. Nonetheless, although early fifteenth-century writings such as Gower's rededicated *Confessio Amantis* and *In Praise of Peace*, Chaucer's *Complaint to his Purse*, and Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othéa* and *Chemin de long estude* – dedicated to Henry IV and Charles VI, respectively – were not entirely successful in their aim, it is significant that all-out warfare did not occur for the first quarter of the fifteenth century and only after until new

political players and events emerged in England and France: Henry, Prince of Wales and the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War formally erupted.

However, before the events of 1415 Henry Scogan, Christine de Pizan, Thomas Hoccleve, Pierre Salmon used their writings – *De Officio Militari*, *Moral Ballade*, *Livre du corps de policie*, *Regiment of Princes*, and *Dialogues* respectively – to not only confirm the political status of Prince Henry and the Dauphin Louis but to encourage them not to make war. Yet once the Anglo-French conflict was reignited, writers did not attempt to encourage peace as they had under England's previous kings. Instead Thomas Walsingham's *Ypodignma Neustriae* and John Lydgate's *Troy Book* supported Henry V's conquests in France and contributed to the broader effort, encouraged by Henry V and the Lancastrian regime, of representing the king as a just and capable ruler. Once English efforts culminated in the Treaty of Troyes of 1420, their works supported and articulated the treaty's meaning, attempting to ensure its realization in both England and France. At the same time, however, the French, as represented by Alain Chartier's *Le Quadrilogue invective*, showed themselves to be vehemently opposed to the dual monarchy. Chartier wrote the first of many works directed at the Dauphin, later Charles VII, which urged him to defend his kingdom from the English.

Once again though, the hopes of the English were left unsatisfied when Henry V's death preceded that of Charles VI in 1422, placing the dual monarchy in a precarious position. But English writers under Henry VI were not immediately deterred in realizing the terms of the Treaty of Troyes. Through propagandist writings such as *Disguising at Hertford* and the *Mummings at Eltham and Windsor*, Lydgate championed and reinforced the boy king's claim to the French throne, even after the Dauphin's coronation in 1429 after Orléans. The remainder of the conflict, however, proved to be disastrous for the English. Following Orléans, French writers such as

Jacques Gelu in *Dissertatio* further articulated Charles VII's responsibility as it related to the English threat and provided him the tools necessary to challenge that threat as embodied by Jean Juvénal des Ursins' *Loquar in tribulacione* and Jean de Rouvroy's translated version of Frontinus's *Strategemata*. On the other side of the Channel, English writers hurriedly transformed their writings less into pieces of propaganda, but rather educational texts aimed at forcing Henry VI to defend his rights to the kingdom across the Channel: Lydgate's *Life of Saints Edmund and Fremund*, the anonymous *Tractatus De Regimine Principum ad Regem Henricum Sextum*, Tito Livio Frulovisi's *Vita Henrici Quinti*, and John Capgrave's *Book of Illustrious Henries*. In a final futile attempt, William Worcester's *Book of Noblesse* was addressed to the king in the final year of the conflict to implore him to protect his French rights. Yet Henry VI was once again unable to make use of another work that he had been directed at him over the last twenty-five years.

Thus, despite the best efforts on the part of English writers, by the end of 1453, those of their French contemporaries appeared the more successful. Nevertheless, the usefulness of literature as an indirect means by which to affect the policy of kings was not lost on English writers, whose works evidently had a degree of success under Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V. Even after the Hundred Years War had reached an informal conclusion after the Battle of Castillon, Henry VI's successors, Edward IV and Richard III (r. 1483-1485) received rededicated copies of the *Boke of Nobleness* urging them to retake French territory previously held by the English and to reclaim the French crown.¹

This thesis set out to demonstrate how writings composed during the Hundred Years War, whether it be direct commentary on it (e.g. Walsingham's *Ypodignma Neustriae*) or indirect (e.g.

¹ Allmand and Keen, "History and the Literature of War," 94, and Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 14.

one of the many “mirrors for princes”), responded to, and attempted to guide the course of the conflict. While it is difficult to determine their true impact, it cannot be denied that writers of this period and the kings to whom they directed their works at certainly viewed them with a degree of importance, use, and purpose.

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