"hungery, wery, sore traveled and much vexed with colde diseases," as we know it was, was led in person by Henry, the incomparable leader of men, while the right wing, which formed the vanguard, was entrusted, at his particular request, to the Duke of York. The disposition of the French army was extremely injudicious, the horsemen crowded together in close masses in front, the archers and crossbowmen in dense masses behind them.[1] According to *Titus Livius* the French line was thirty-one men deep, the English only four, and the bowmen were in front. When Sir Thomas Erpingham, according to Monstrelet, threw up into the air his warder, crying out "Nestrocque," a word that has much puzzled historians, and which probably was "Now strike," the English army advanced, the archers[2] darkening the sky with their arrows, which they began to discharge at a great distance. These carried dire confusion into the closely packed ranks of the French horsemen, whose steeds became unmanageable, and goaded by the arrows rushed about among the dense French files. Twice the French knights charged the archers: the first time eight hundred men-at-arms under Clugnet de Brabant dashed at the archers, but were foiled by the stakes, leaving all but seven score on the field. The second charge, under Duke Anthony of Brabant, met the same fate. At what period of the battle the Duke of York was killed is a disputed point. According to Leland he was "smouldered to death by much heat and thronging," as he was a very stout man. Sir Harry Nicolas, on the other hand, lets him perish by the hand of the Duke of Alençon, who managed to break through the English line, wounding and striking down the Duke of York. King Henry, seeing this, rushed forward to his uncle's assistance.[3] As he was stooping to raise him, Alençon gave the King a blow on his bacinet which struck off a part of the crown which Henry had placed on his helmet ere the battle commenced. Being surrounded by the King's bodyguard, Alençon found himself in the utmost danger, and lifting up his arm, cried out that he was the Duke of Alençon, yielding himself to the King. Whilst the King was extending his hand to receive his pledge Alençon was slain (Nicolas, p. cclii.). St. Remy, who fought on the English side, states that the blow which struck off part of Henry's crown was dealt by one of a body of eighteen French knights, who had sworn that they would force themselves as near as possible to the King in order to strike the royal crown from his head,[4] or that they would die in the attempt, a vow which was literally fulfilled, for though one of them did succeed in striking a point from the crown, they were all cut to pieces. As the Duke of Alençon was among the four or five thousand French nobles who died that fateful October 25, it is very likely that he was one of the eighteen.

The Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk were the only great English nobles that paid with their lives for that memorable victory. In the former's case no better expiation for his treason to two of his royal kinsmen in his earlier career could have been offered. That he felt guilty of treachery is shown by his will, which he made two months before his death, while the English army was besieging Harfleur.[5] In it he calls himself "of all sinners the most wicked and culpable," "the most criminal and unnatural of created beings," and he provides that in the masses that shall be said for his soul's salvation King Richard and King Henry IV. shall always be mentioned first (*pour quex je suy tenuz en ma conscience a faire prier, soient compris aussi avant come moy*

[1] Henry had in his pay crossbowmen, but none appear to have been at Agincourt.—Nicolas.

[2] The English archers wore very little armour; they were habited in jackets and had their hosen loose, with hatchets hanging from their girdles, many being barefooted and without hats, whilst others wore ozier caps. Lefèvre de Saint Remy, eye-witness of the battle of Agincourt, says the English archers were barefooted and without armour. They carried two *carquois* or quivers, the one held 24 arrows, the other contained the bow. The mounted archers established later on by Charles VI. had shields (*jaques*) made of stag's skin and thirty layers of canvas.

[3] Elmham says that it was the Duke of Gloucester to whose aid the King rushed.

[4] Sir James Ramsay, the historian, falls into a prevalent error when stating (vol. i. p. 222) that the so-called Agincourt helmet in Westminster Abbey is the one that actually figured at this famous battle. Reference to the Deanery Guide to Westminster Abbey, 1900 edition, p. 67, shows that this helmet "is not, as tradition says, the casque of Agincourt, but a tilting helmet purchased for the funeral."

[5] Nichols, "Royal Wills," says the will is dated August 22, 1415, but this is not correct, the date being August 17. The English fleet left Southampton on August 7, 1415, the army was landing on the 15th at Kideaux, near Harfleur, and the siege was brought to a successful termination on September 22, when Harfleur surrendered.

mesmes), which shows that his conscience was not as clear as his gallant death would make us wish.

St. Remy relates the curious fact that the bodies of the Duke of York and of the Earl of Suffolk were boiled, so as to enable the King to carry the bones back to England, where the former's remains were buried in the choir at Fotheringay, which his father had commenced to build,[1] and which one hundred and seventy-two years later was the scene of the dramatic execution of Queen Mary.

The strangely varied career of this tumultuous Plantagenet prince is fitly illustrated by the countless royal grants and subsequent cancellations of which the records of the time give a dry but yet interesting account with which many pages might be filled. The privileges and franchises then still vested in the King's hand were as numerous as they were varied. Manors, lands, fee-farms, rents, services of tenants, reversions, knight's fees, advowsons, courts, sheriff's turns, views of frank pledge, rhaglawships, ryngildships, stewardships, amobrages, excheats, treasure trove, forfeitures, deodands, wreck of sea and royal fishes, customs, prises of wine and other merchandise, fairs and market franchises, liberties, mines of lead and other metals and stone, chaces, warrens, stanks, stews, marshes, moors, woods, chattels of felons, fugitives and intestates, escape of felons, amercements, fines, and ransoms for felonies and toll of all persons; these and many other emoluments Richard II. and Henry IV. granted or cancelled. One of the most curious privileges of which the Duke of York at one time stood possessed was the grant of the fees and profits of the butchers' stalls at Bristol, which were worth the then considerable sum of £24 p.a., and of which he was deprived on December 6, 1 Henry IV.

Edward of York was also one of the two keepers of the lands and possessions of the late Anne of Bohemia, Richard II.'s Queen.

We are unfortunately unable to trace whether Henry IV. renewed in Duke Edward's favour the grant made 20 Richard II. to his father, Edmund of Langley, of the Castle of Mouretaigne on the Gironde in Aquitaine.

Edward was succeeded in his dignities by his nephew Richard, only son of Richard of Conisburgh, who, as we have already heard, was beheaded in the earlier part of the same year, and the future York kings were his descendants.

Henry V. did not forget the Duke of York's widow, for he granted to her (December 10, 1415, Pat. Rolls) the Isle of Wight and castle Carisbrooke and all lordships pertaining to them, except the constableship of the latter. Of the "castle of Caresbrok" itself Philippa was already possessed, for on October 26, 1400, Henry IV. had granted to her on her marriage this important fief as dower. She died in 1431, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

[1] St. Remy says that Fotheringay was founded by Edward's father, but this is not quite correct. The castle of Fotheringay which was in existence in King John's time, was granted by Edward III. to his fifth son Edmund of Langley, and when the latter's son, our hero, died without issue, it descended to his nephew Richard, the son of his brother Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded in 1415. It was the birthplace of Richard III. The college and church of Fotheringay must be separately considered. Edmund of Langley was the original proprietor of the former, and began to fulfil his intention by erecting a "large and magnificent choir." His son increased the foundation, and proposed to rebuild the nave of the church upon the same plan as the choir, but this was not done until after his death. When Queen Elizabeth visited Fotheringay in one of her progresses, she observed the graves of her ancestors, the Dukes of York, neglected amongst the ruins of the choir. She ordered that their bodies should be removed into the present church and monuments to be erected in their memory. The latter are, of course, in the taste of the time and specimens of the bad taste of the age.—Bonney's "Fotheringay."