



### CHAPTER III

## HOLLAND UNDER THE HOUSES OF HAINAULT AND BAVARIA

[1299-1436 A.D.]

THE general features of Netherlandish history thus far have been the feuds between the different sections of this small portion of Europe. The long struggle of Holland against the domination of Utrecht had left Holland, Utrecht, and Gelderland mutually independent in the upper part of Lower Lorraine at the opening of the twelfth century. About this time Lorraine had begun to lose prestige and the name itself to give place to the various synonyms for *terræ inferiores* or Netherlands.

Flanders fought Holland for centuries over the islands of Zealand. A still longer race-war embittered Holland and Friesland along the borders of Kennemerland, West Friesland, and Waterland. Holland and Brabant had fought. Holland had joined with Gelderland against Utrecht. Gelderland, itself a rival for power with Holland, had given sympathy to the Hohenstaufens and had been in collision with the Guelfic dukes of Brabant; her vassal counts of Looz, or Loon, and of Namur were in frequent war with Flanders, Hainaut, Limburg, and Brabant. The houses of Luxemburg and Limburg were united by marriage in 1246, and Count Henry IV of the dual line eventually became emperor of Germany after marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant. The embroilments with England and France have been indicated in the previous chapter, where the progress of Flanders has been recounted down to the accession of the house of Burgundy in 1384.

It is now necessary to bring the history of the northern provinces down to the same point. We left their chronicle at the year 1299, when the death of John I brought to a close the long and excellent line of the counts of Hol-

[1299-1304 A.D.]

land. The end of this dynasty threw the countship to an alien family — that of Avennes in the county of Hainault.

#### THE SWAY OF HAINAULT (1299-1356)

Though the name of Holland far outweighs the name of Hainault to-day, for a long period the latter name was the weightier in Europe, and the house of Hainault ruled over Holland for more than half a century. "Its position in Netherlandish history," says Blok,<sup>b</sup> "has been rarely understood."

Though now partly absorbed in Belgium and partly in France, it had an independent existence as early as the seventh century, when the name first appears. The first lords of the country were elective; in the ninth century the title became hereditary, and the nobility took a high rank in Europe, especially as Hainault was the home of chivalry and romance. It was indeed the native land of the chronicler Froissart, who, as we have seen, had the characteristic contempt for such presumptuous and independent burghers as those led by the Van Arteveldes. The contrast of Hainault with commercial Holland was extreme, and when, in 1299, they were united under one ruler, there was little sympathy. But by contagion the cities of Hainault began to grow independent and the people to rise in power, especially as the nobility perished rapidly in the wars.

We have already described in Chapter I the means by which the Hainault count, John of Avennes, became heir to the rule of Holland on the failure of the lineage of Dirks, by the death of his cousin John I. The history that follows is for fifty-seven years the history of Holland under the family of Hainault.

There was at first some friction with the emperor of Germany, who claimed Holland as an escheated fief, but he was forced to retreat and accept a mere homage. The bishop of Utrecht, in 1301, began hostilities, but perished in the first battle, and John's brother, Guy, procured the election to the see, ending the disturbances in that direction.<sup>a</sup>

The Zealanders now prevailed with Guy, son of the old count of Flanders, who was still a prisoner in France, to grant them large reinforcements of men and ships for the purpose of invading Walcheren. This he was now enabled to do, since the obstinate and decisive battle fought with the French at Courtrai (1302) had placed him in possession of Flanders, which they were forced entirely to evacuate.

Count John, unable from the feeble state of his health to undergo the slightest exertion, in 1304 surrendered the whole government of the county into the hands of his son William, now his heir, and retired into Hainault for the last time. The greatest zeal in the service of their country, under the young prince William, then just eighteen, was found to pervade all ranks of men. But a severe battle ensued, in which the Hollanders sustained a total defeat.

Nearly the whole of Holland was now overrun by Flemish troops. It seemed, indeed, as if the county had wholly fallen a prey to her ancient and inveterate foe, when it was at once set free by one of those sudden bursts of enthusiastic energy which are characteristic of this remarkable people. Witte van Hamstede, a natural son of Floris V, proceeded with a few followers to Haarlem, the only town of North Holland which had not submitted to the Flemings. From hence he sent letters to the other towns, upbraiding them with cowardice, and earnestly exhorting them to resist to the last their insolent enemies. Within two days the burghers of Delft, Leyden, and

Schiedam rose with one accord, slew or drove out the Flemish garrisons, and Nicholas van Putten, of Dordrecht, taking advantage of the occasion to attack the Flemings in South Holland, the county in the space of a single week was nearly cleared of her invaders.

The recovery of Holland was ere long followed by that of Zealand. Count William, hearing that Guy was preparing a fleet, sent to petition for succours from Philip IV of France. Philip sent sixteen Genoese and twenty French vessels to Holland, under the command of Rinaldo di Grimaldi, of Genoa. The French fleet united with that of Holland in the mouth of the Maas; and after being long delayed by contrary winds, came within sight



DUTCH SHIP OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

of the Flemish ships, eighty<sup>1</sup> in number, on the evening of the 10th of August, 1304, not far from Zieriksee. The Hollanders, encouraged by a short and spirited address from their leader,<sup>2</sup> with loud shouts of "Holland, Holland! Paris, Paris!" threw a shower of arrows and stones among the enemy, which the Flemings were not slow in returning.

The fight was continued by moonlight with unremitting fury until past midnight, when the victory proved decisive on the side of the Hollanders, most of the Flemish ships being either captured or destroyed.<sup>3</sup> Count Guy was carried prisoner to France. The Flemish troops now left the siege of Zieriksee in confusion and dismay, concealing themselves for the most part among the sandhills of Schouwen, where about five thousand were made prisoners.

The imprisonment of Count Guy in France terminated the war. Count John died on the 22nd of August, 1304. John of Avennes was pious, affable, humane, and beneficent, but indolent and irresolute; negligent in the administration of justice, and averse to any kind of business; passionately fond of hunting and hawking, and too much addicted to the pleasures of the

<sup>1</sup> It is not mentioned of how many vessels the French and Holland fleet consisted; but it must have been inferior to that of Flanders, since Melis Stoke<sup>e</sup> says that he thinks "it never happened before that so small a number should fight with so great a force." He says also that the Flemings were ten to one on the water, and three to one on land; but this assertion seems hardly worthy of credit. The Flemish historian of later times tells us, on the contrary, that the Hollanders excelled their adversaries in large ships, but that their number of small vessels was inferior.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the long and somewhat untimely orations which historians are apt to put into the mouth of their heroes, Melis Stoke<sup>e</sup> attributes to William merely these few words: "Let us defend ourselves bravely. I see the battle won: God will crown him who dies in heaven, and he who lives will be lauded through the whole world."

<sup>3</sup> Meyer<sup>d</sup> gives the number of captured vessels as one thousand, but it is scarcely credible.

[1304-1338 A.D.]

table; "he laughed in his very heart," says his historian, Melis Stoke,<sup>c</sup> "when he saw a jolly company assembled round him."

### William III

After the conclusion of the propitious peace which put a final termination to the long and desolating wars between Holland and Flanders,<sup>1</sup> William III (1304-1337) strengthened himself still further by alliances with the families of the principal sovereigns of Europe. The marriage of his younger daughter Philippa to Edward III of England in 1328 proved, in the sequel, an alliance no less honourable than advantageous to Holland. The old count expired at Valenciennes, on the 7th of June, 1337, leaving one son, William, who succeeded him, and four daughters—Margaret, empress of Germany, Philippa, queen of England, Joanna, married to the count of Jülich, and Elizabeth.

William III, besides the appellation of Good, or Pious, added to his name, was termed the master of knights and the chief of princes; he was brave in war, affable to his subjects, strict in the administration of justice. Yet was his government not altogether a happy one for Holland: he depressed the rising industry of the towns by the demand of enormous "petitions," to supply a lavish and often unnecessary expenditure; and he is accused of sacrificing the interests of Holland to those of Hainault, or, as his contemporary historian Gulielmus Procurator<sup>e</sup> expresses it, "forsaking the fruitful Leah for the more beautiful Rachel." Added to this, he was negligent of the commercial interests of his subjects.<sup>2</sup> He however effected a measure of great advantage to Holland, by incorporating with it the lordships of Amstel and Woerden after the death of his uncle, Guy, bishop of Utrecht; and from this time may be dated the rise of the city of Amsterdam.

### William IV

The first act of William IV's government was to renew the treaty made by his father with Edward of England, stipulating that, if summoned by the emperor, his vicar, or lieutenant, to defend the boundaries of the empire, he would supply one thousand men-at-arms to be paid by the king, at the rate of fifteen Florentine guilders or forty-five shillings a month, each man; and in case of necessity, the count should levy one thousand additional men at arms for the king's service: besides the expenses of the troops, Edward was to pay the count the sum of £30,000. The immense sacrifice at which Edward purchased the alliance of the princes of the Netherlands cannot fail to excite our astonishment, and events, in fact, proved that he rated it far above its value.

The allied armies united with Edward to lay siege to Cambray, in 1338; but, finding that its reduction would prove a work of time, the king broke up the siege and began his march towards Picardy. Thither the count of Holland refused to follow him, asserting that, being a vassal of the king of France,

[<sup>1</sup> These wars over Zealand had lasted a century and a half, and had involved most of the other Netherlandish states. At the same time the century-old feud between the Flemish houses of Avennes and Dampierre came to an end. The still longer war between Holland and Friesland was more of a race-war; in 1327 the Frieslanders acknowledged William's authority.]

[<sup>2</sup> Blok<sup>b</sup> does not agree with this severe judgment of William III, and calls him "by far the most able ruler who had ever held his seat in the Binnenhof at the Hague." Blok admits, however, that he ruled with an iron hand, though he insists that the country was very prosperous under him.]

in respect of Hainault, he was bound rather to defend than assist in invading his dominions. Edward, out of revenge, took his way through Hainault, which suffered grievously from the passage of his troops. William immediately joined the French camp.

In the next year, the count of Holland, exasperated at Philip, again returned to the English alliance, and declared war against France, which he now invaded. In compliance with the solicitations of his ally, Edward embarked on the 22nd of June, 1339, at Dover, and fell in with the French fleet of one hundred and twenty large, besides numerous smaller vessels, near Sluys. It does not appear that either William or the Hollanders had any share in the signal victory gained by the English and Flemish on this occasion; a truce for nine months was brought about, which was afterwards prolonged for two years. In 1345 the count declared war against Utrecht and laid siege to the city. He was induced to conclude a truce, to which he consented only on condition that four hundred citizens should sue for pardon, kneeling before him, barefoot and bareheaded, and that he should receive a sum of twenty thousand pounds Flemish for the expenses of the war. When we call to mind the termination of a like siege in 1138, we cannot help being struck with the vast change which had taken place in the relative situations of the count and bishop.

From Utrecht, William returned to Dordrecht, whence he sailed shortly after to the Zuyder Zee, for the purpose of chastising the Frieslanders, who, irritated by his continual and heavy exactions, had taken up arms against him (1345). A storm separating his ships, the troops were forced to land in small bodies in different parts of the country: the Frieslanders, attacking them while thus divided, slew thirty-seven hundred; and the count himself, with some of his nobility, being surrounded by a great number of the enemy, was killed exactly on the spot where the ancient sovereigns of Friesland were accustomed to hold their supreme court. He left no children by his wife, Joanna of Brabant. She afterwards married Wenceslaus, count of Luxemburg, into whose family she brought the rich duchy of Brabant.

William IV was the first count of Holland who resumed the imperfect fiefs which devolved to the county in default of direct heirs, and divided them amongst his vassals, instead of granting them to one of the nearest collateral heirs, upon payment of a reasonable price, as his predecessors were accustomed to do. It is under the government of this count, also, that we meet with the first mention of loans. To enable him to carry on the war with Utrecht, he urged the towns of Holland and Zealand to lend him a sum equivalent to three hundred English pounds, promising not to levy any more petitions till this debt were paid. The towns made it a condition of their compliance that he should grant them new privileges, and required that the nobles should become surety for him.

#### *Margaret and the Disputed Claim (1345)*

William dying without issue, his nearest heirs were his four sisters; and as the county had always been an undivided hereditary state, it appeared naturally to devolve on Margaret the eldest, wife of the emperor of Germany. Edward, king of England, however, the husband of Philippa, the second daughter of William III, put in his claim to a share of the inheritance.

As the emperor Ludwig considered himself entitled to the whole of the states, whether as husband of the elder daughter or as suzerain of a fief escheated to the empire on failure of direct heirs, he delayed not to invest

[1345-1351 A.D.]

his wife with the titles of countess of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault. In spite of the rigorous season, Margaret repaired in the month of January to Holland, to secure herself in possession of her states before the king of England could gain a footing there.

The people took advantage of her anxiety to be acknowledged, to obtain some desired rights and immunities, of which the most important was the engagement she entered into for herself and her successors never to undertake a war beyond the limits of the county, unless with consent of the nobles, commons, and "good towns"; and if she did so, none should be bound to serve except by their own favour and freewill. She was then unanimously acknowledged by all the members of the state, but shortly after recalled by her husband to Bavaria. As Ludwig, the eldest son of the emperor, had resigned his right to the succession, she sent her second son, William, then in early youth, to take the administration of affairs during her absence, surrendering to him Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault, and retaining for herself merely a pension of ten thousand crowns.

After the death of the emperor, which happened in the October of 1347, Margaret, finding that William was either unable to pay or purposely withheld this trifling annuity, and irritated at his breach of faith, returned to Holland, and resuming the government, obliged William to retire into Hainault. He did not, however, remain tranquil under this deprivation, but secretly used every means in his power to conciliate the favour of the nobles; and the dissensions that now arose between the mother and son gave form and vigour to the two parties of nobles and people, which in this century divided Holland, as well as Germany and France.

#### WARS OF THE "CODS" AND "HOOKS"

The nobles espoused the side of William, while the people and inhabitants of the towns, with the exception of the larger and more aristocratic cities, adhered to Margaret, who was supported besides by the lord of Brederode, and a few others of the most popular nobility. The former were called by the party name of *Kabbeljaaws* or "Cods," because the cod devours all the smaller fish;<sup>1</sup> and the latter by that of *Hoeks* or "Hooks," because with that apparently insignificant instrument one is able to catch the cod. It does not appear what occasion gave rise to these very primitive appellations, so characteristic of the people and their pursuits.

The cods, dissatisfied ere long with the somewhat feeble administration of Margaret, sent repeated messages to William in Hainault, entreating him to come without delay into Holland, and assume the government of the county. After some hesitation, he secretly repaired to Gorkum, and shortly after, most of the principal towns of Holland and West Friesland acknowledged him as count. As soon as Margaret could collect a fleet of English, French, and Hainault ships, she sailed to the island of Walcheren (in 1351), where she fell in with a number of Holland vessels, commanded by her son in person. A sharp engagement ensued, in which William was totally defeated, and forced to retreat to Holland. Margaret, anxious to improve her advantage, followed him to the Maas, where, William having received some reinforcements, another desperate battle was fought, ending in the entire discomfiture of Margaret. A vast number of her adherents were slain,

[<sup>1</sup> Blok thinks the name may have risen from "the light blue scaly-coat of arms" of Duke William. He believes that the guilds were involved and supported the Hooks, though William IV had sternly repressed and forbidden their organisation.]

and Dirk van Brederode, one of the few nobles who espoused her cause, and the chief stay of her party, was taken prisoner. The remainder of the hook nobles were afterwards banished, and their castles and houses razed to the ground.

Margaret fled to England, where she prevailed upon the king to mediate a peace between herself and her son. She was shortly after followed by William himself, who married there Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry, duke of Lancaster. William likewise accepted the mediation of Edward. According to the terms of the agreement of 1354, William retained Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, while Hainault remained in the possession of Margaret during her life, with a yearly income of about twenty-four hundred pounds.



SOLDIER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

*Wenzelburger on the Wars of the "Cods" and "Hooks"*

The cod and hook disturbances are no isolated phenomena; rather do they form a link in the great chain of historical processes of development under which Europe, during several centuries, trembled in the foundations of her social organisation, that she might make way for new conditions and new views.

It is not difficult for a dispassionate eye to find and pursue the same scarlet thread which runs through all the trials of strength of the various parties; on the one side the towns form the kernel of the party, on the other the old nobility. In the north, in Oostergoo, the Vetkoopers and Schieringers bear the same relation to one another as the cods and hooks; in Utrecht, the Lichtenbergen and Lockhorsten; in Gelderland the Heekerens and Bronckhorsten; in Liège the Waroux and Awans; in Brussels the Hetfelds and Lombecks; in Flanders the Clauwaerts and the Leliarts—stood opposed to one another.

"And if," says Löher,<sup>9</sup> "we cast our eyes on the great German Empire, here also we shall see the two groups step into the foreground. Here indeed they appear in a different costume and with different weapons, according to whether they belong to the eastern or western portion of the empire. But, amid the bewildered tangle of facts and circumstances, the same fundamental political and social ideas will unfold themselves before our eyes, just as has already been the case with regard to a later period, the beginning of the sixteenth century, since the art and penetration of our historians have set the days of the Peasants' War at the beginning of the Reformation in a new light."

Adolphus of Nassau and Albert of Austria, Ludwig of Bavaria and Charles IV are, when measured by a wider standard, nothing else than the representatives of the same principles for which the hooks and cods contended with

one another in Holland; and what other importance have the wars of the Jacquerie, of the Burgundian party with the Armagnacs in France, the civil wars in England, the rebellion of Wat Tyler, than that of strengthening the royal power by the humiliation of the great feudal nobility and making it the only authority in the state? The struggles of the cods and hooks must be understood in this connection, and only thus can we comprehend their long duration, which was only possible on condition that the parties received new impulse and fresh nourishment from without. As in many other questions which deeply concern the fate of a country, here also it is idle to attempt to measure the actions and desires of the various parties from the standpoint of abstract justice.

It must be confessed that if we apply to history the petty view of rights — which clings to yellow parchments and holds to the existing order with its chartered privileges, even though this may actually be the most crying injustice — then right is exclusively on the side of the hooks. They desired only the confirmation and maintenance of existing conditions, the secure establishment of the rights always claimed and exercised by the nobility; whilst the opposing party sought to destroy them. Moreover, the character of the hooks appeals far more to sentiment than does that of their opponents. There the true knightly spirit displayed its fairest blossoms, the fidelity of the hook vassal to his feudal lord shines in a halo such as streams forth only from the Nibelungenlied and the old German mythology. Miracles of self-devoted gratitude and manly contempt of death, unshakable composure in a desperate and hopeless situation, gloomy defiance and quiet contempt of the victorious enemy to whom necessity compels submission — these are only to be found in the ranks of the hook champions defending the rights of a persecuted lady.

Far otherwise was it with their opponents. As the towns formed the prevailing element of the party, so here every enterprise was the result of skilful and cunning calculation; their unwieldiness formed a striking contrast to the readiness to strike and the lightning rapidity of the noble troops: they were ever inclined to meet the enemy half way, and conclude a peace with him, to which they consented under any circumstances so long as it suited their interest to do so. The hooks are not, according to the excellent characterisation of Hugo Grotius,<sup>h</sup> to be regarded as exactly a party, but only as a section of the population which "remained steadfast in its duty, to defend the laws, usages, liberties, and privileges of the country, against which the cods waged war," so that they would never have consented if the territorial prince had laid a reforming hand on the existing order. The cods, on the other hand, were not so particular about the conscientious observance of chartered rights; they had no objection if the territorial lord demanded more than his due so long as he raised no barrier against personal liberty and the material pursuit of industry and especially of trade.

In a word, the hooks represented the conservative element of the society of the period, adhering stoutly to what was old and had been handed down from times past, whilst the cods instinctively followed the forward-impelling pressure of the times, and formed the progressive factor of contemporary civilisation. But as in general the romantic deeds of heroism of the valiant knight have a greater charm for the people of their own day and for posterity than the quiet effectiveness of the citizen who, peaceful and modest as he was, yet still laboured ceaselessly and conscious of his aim, so the sympathy of posterity has been directed almost exclusively, and in an extremely one-sided fashion, to the side of the hooks, round whom the ivy of poetic legend and the mournful halo of tragedy have twined themselves.<sup>i</sup>



THE BAVARIAN HOUSE IN POWER

Margaret did not long survive the reconciliation with her son; she died in 1356, and thus the county was again transferred to a foreign family, passing from the house of Hainault into that of Bavaria. We find no event worthy to arrest our attention during the reign of William V. In 1357 he began to show symptoms of aberration of intellect, which soon increased to uncontrollable frenzy. He killed with his own hand, and without any cause of offence, a nobleman highly esteemed in the country; in consequence of which act he was deprived of the government, and placed in confinement. He continued a hopeless lunatic until his death, which did not occur till twenty years afterwards.

As William and the emperor Ludwig, his father, had declared Albert, younger brother of the former, heir to the county, if he should die without issue, the government in the present case appeared naturally to devolve on him, as standing next in succession. The cods also, after some resistance, acknowledged Albert as governor or *ruward*<sup>1</sup> in 1359.

Edward III gratified the governor of Holland by a final surrender, in 1372, of all claims in right of his wife to a share in the inheritance of William III.

The extravagance and rapacity of Louis of Male, count of Flanders, had excited discontent and hatred among his subjects, especially the inhabitants of Ghent, and their rebellion under the Van Artevelde has been already described in Chapter II. The death of Louis in January, 1384, as we have seen, made way for the succession of Philip, duke of Burgundy, in right of his wife Margaret, the only legitimate child of Louis, to the counties of Flanders and Artois. Margaret was likewise heiress to the duchy of Brabant, through her aunt Joanna, the present duchess, who, in order to extend still further the influence of her family in the Netherlands, laboured effectually to promote a union between the houses of Burgundy and Holland. Through her means, a double marriage was concluded between William, count of Oosterhaut, eldest son of the count of Holland, and Margaret, daughter of Philip of Burgundy; and between John, eldest son of the duke of Burgundy, and Margaret, daughter of Albert the governor. Their nuptials, attended by the king of France in person, were celebrated at Cambray in 1385 in a style of unparalleled magnificence.

Albert, after the loss of his wife, formed an illicit connection with Aleida (or Alice) van Poelgeest, the daughter of a nobleman of the cod party, whose youth, beauty, and insinuating manners soon gained such an ascendancy over the mind of her lover that the whole court was henceforward governed according to her caprices.

The hook nobles, instigated at once by ambition and revenge, resolved upon a deed of horror and blood to which it is said, they induced Albert's son, William of Oosterhaut, to lend his assistance.<sup>2</sup> A number of them

[<sup>1</sup> Ruward, a word signifying "conservator of the peace."]

[<sup>2</sup> Petrus Suffridus<sup>3</sup> accuses William of participation in this crime, and the accusation has been adopted by later authors, but, as it seems, without sufficient foundation. Neither Jan Gerbrandszoon (John of Leyden) his contemporary, nor Beka<sup>4</sup> attributes to him any share in it: that he befriended the perpetrators, when brought to justice three years after, is undoubted; among them were some of the most illustrious of the nobility, and his personal friends; but that he should, if he had been a party concerned, have forsaken his accomplices to attend a tournament in England a month after, is highly improbable: he is mentioned by Froissart as being present at the one held about Michaelmas in this year by Richard II, when he was made knight of the garter.]

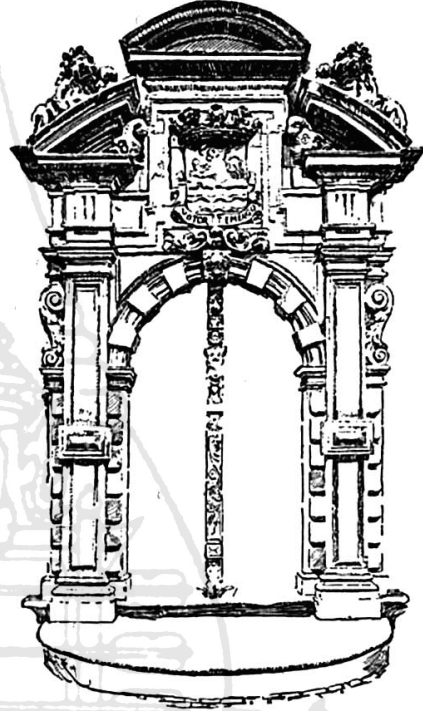
[1390-1400 A.D.]

assembled at the Hague, where the Lady Aleida was then residing, and on the night of the 21st of August forced their way, completely armed, into her apartment. The count's steward threw himself before them to defend the terrified girl from their violence. He was slaughtered on the spot; and, a moment after, Aleida herself fell dead, and covered with wounds, at their feet.

William of Oosterhaut repeatedly besought his father to pardon the criminals; but, finding him deaf to his entreaties, he retired in anger to the court of France. Philip advised him to seek a reconciliation with his father, by proposing an expedition into Friesland, that he might at once avenge the death of his uncle, William IV, and reconquer his inheritance.

Albert was readily induced to favour the designs of his son; he solicited succours from France and England, who each sent a body of troops to his aid. The allied troops set sail on the 22nd of August, 1396, in a fleet of four thousand and forty ships.<sup>1</sup> The Frieslanders, meanwhile, had made an alliance with the bishop of Utrecht, and assembled together in arms to the number of thirty thousand men. Unfortunately, however, they refused to follow the wise counsel of one of the chief of their nobility, Juw Juwinga. They were ill able to withstand the well-tempered weapons and heavy armour of their enemies. Fourteen hundred were slain, and the rest forced to take flight. The victorious army carried fire and sword through the country, until the approach of the rainy season obliged them to retire into winter quarters: they carried with them the body of Count William, which had been taken up from the place of its sepulture. Count Albert was, for the time, acknowledged lord of Friesland.

But little more than a year elapsed, however, before the Frieslanders again threw off their forced subjection, and at length, in 1400, Count Albert found himself obliged to make a truce with them for six years, without insisting upon their acknowledgment of him as lord of Friesland. The principal reason which prompted him to the adoption of this unpalatable measure was the exhausted condition of his finances; added to this was the rebellion of one of his own subjects, John, lord of Arkel, who had long filled the office of stadholder of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, as well as that of treasurer



DOOR OF OLD MIDDELBURG ABBEY

[<sup>1</sup> This number appears immense; but John of Leyden,<sup>k</sup> a contemporary, estimates the number of troops to be conveyed across the Zuyder Zee at one hundred and eighty thousand, in which the historian of Friesland agrees. Froissart<sup>m</sup> says they were more than one hundred thousand; consequently, if, as we may suppose, the vessels were for the most part small, they must have had this number for their transport, since five and twenty men would have been a sufficient average complement for each. The men of Haarlem alone are said to have supplied twelve hundred mariners.]

of the count's private domains, without having given any account of his administration of the revenues.

This was the last event of importance which occurred under Count Albert's administration. He died on the 15th of December, 1404, at the age of sixty-seven, having governed the county for forty-six years. By his first wife, Margaret, daughter of the duke of Brieg, he left three sons — William, who succeeded him; Albert, duke of Mubingen; and John, bishop-elect of Liège: and four daughters, Joanna of Luxemburg, queen of Bohemia, who died without issue; Catherine, duchess of Gelderland, who likewise died childless; Margaret, married to John, son of the duke of Burgundy; and another Joanna, wife of the duke of Austria. He had no issue by his second wife, Margaret of Cleves, who survived him.

Albert appears to have been, on the whole, a mild, just, and pious prince, but remarkably deficient in talent, energy, and decision. His constant necessities enabled the towns to purchase of him many valuable additions to their privileges. The debts which he left unpaid at his death were so heavy that his widow found it advisable to make a *boedelafstandt*, or formal renunciation of all claim to his estate.

#### William VI (1404-1417)

The animosities between the cool and hook parties, which appeared to have been mitigated for a few years, now revived with increased fury, and a number of the most respectable burghers lost their lives.

The Hollanders, under the government of William, entirely lost their footing in Friesland; and in the year 1417 the Frieslanders obtained from the emperor Sigismund a charter, confirming the entire independence of their state. William was the less inclined to undertake any expedition into Friesland, as the alliance he had formed between his only daughter, Jacqueline, or Jacoba, and a son of the king of France, involved him in some degree in the cabals of that court.

The insanity of the king, Charles VI., and the weak and vicious character of the queen, Isabella of Bavaria, had rendered the royal authority in France utterly inefficient, leaving the kingdom a prey to the fury of the rival factions, so celebrated in history, of Burgundy and Orleans. It was during the ascendancy of the former that John, duke of Touraine, second son of the king of France, had been betrothed to Jacqueline of Holland, niece of the duke of Burgundy. Owing to the youth of the parties, the marriage was not completed until 1415, when Jacqueline was declared heir to Hainault, Holland, and Friesland.

By the death of his elder brother, Louis, John succeeded, a few months after, to the title of dauphin, and became heir-apparent to the French crown, but he died in 1417.

To William his loss was irreparable. The succession to the county had been settled on his only legitimate child, Jacqueline, with the condition that the government was to remain in the hands of her husband. On both the previous occasions, when the county had been left without a male heir, a great proportion of the Hollanders had shown a vehement dislike to submit to the authority of a female, and he, therefore, dreaded lest the claims of his daughter might be set aside in favour of his brother John, bishop-elect of Liège. To guard against any such attempt, he assembled the nobles and towns of Holland, who, at his requisition, solemnly swore to acknowledge Jacqueline lawful heir and successor, in case he should die without a son. Most of the

[1417-1418 A.D.]

principal nobles and the large towns of Holland signed this agreement, as well as the states of Zealand; and William, thinking he had now placed the succession of his daughter on a firm footing, returned to Hainault. Here he soon after died at Bouchain, in May, 1417. During the reign of William the herring fishery, a source of such immense national wealth to Holland, began rapidly to increase.

## THE ROMANTIC STORY OF JACQUELINE

The death of William VI left the government of the county in the hands of his young and widowed daughter, who had barely attained the age of seventeen. Yet, endued with understanding far above her years and a courage uncommon to her sex, joined to the most captivating grace and beauty, the countess had already secured the respect and affection of her subjects, which, after her accession, she neglected no method to retain, by confirming everywhere their ancient charters and privileges; and the Hollanders might have promised themselves long years of tranquillity and happiness under her rule, had it not been for the unprincipled ambition of her paternal uncle, John of Bavaria, surnamed the Ungodly,<sup>1</sup> bishop-elect of Liège.

Being resolved to abandon the spiritual condition, and procure himself to be acknowledged governor of Holland, he repaired to Dordrecht, where he had many partisans, and was proclaimed there. The other towns, however, both of Holland and Zealand, and whether espousing the hook or cod party, refused to acknowledge him. Jacqueline assembled her troops, placing herself at their head. The followers of John were defeated, and more than a thousand men slain. The presence of so formidable an enemy in her states made it advisable that the young countess should marry without delay. Her father had in his will named as her future husband, John, eldest son of Anthony, late duke of Brabant, and first cousin to Jacqueline; and although she showed no inclination to the person of the young prince, the union was so earnestly pressed by her mother and John, duke of Burgundy, her uncle, that, a dispensation having been procured from the pope, the parties were married at Biervliet early in the following spring (1418).

John of Bavaria, to whom this marriage left no pretence for insisting on the regency, found means to induce the pope, Martin V, and the emperor Sigismund, to lend their aid to his project. John sent a trusty ambassador to resign his bishopric into the hands of the pope, and to solicit in return a dispensation from holy orders and liberty to enter the marriage state. Martin consented to his wishes, and a matrimonial alliance with Elizabeth of Luxemburg, widow of Anthony, duke of Brabant, and niece to the emperor, gained him the favour and support of Sigismund, who declared the county of Holland and Zealand a fief reverted in default of heirs male to the empire, with which he invested John of Bavaria, commanding the nobility, towns, and inhabitants in general, to acknowledge allegiance to him, and releasing them from the oaths they had taken to Jacqueline and John of Brabant.

John of Bavaria assumed the title of count, and was acknowledged at Dordrecht; but the other towns declared that the county of Holland and Zealand was no fief of the empire, nor was the succession in anywise restricted to heirs male.

[<sup>1</sup> *Sine pietate*, from his refusal to receive holy orders according to Monstrelet; others give him the surname of "pitiless," which it is said he obtained by his cruelties at Liège: but he gave no orders for executions there, except in conjunction with the duke of Burgundy and the count of Holland.]

So far from supporting the pretensions of John, the towns of Haarlem, Delft, and Leyden had raised a loan for Jacqueline, and they laid siege to Dordrecht, the expedition being commanded by the young John of Brabant. His troops were not in sufficient number to carry the town. John of Bavaria advanced to Rotterdam, the capture of which John of Brabant found himself unable to prevent, and the former, in consequence, became master of a considerable portion of South Holland. The feeble John of Brabant was reduced to make a treaty with his rival in 1420, whereby he ceded to him Holland, Zealand, and Friesland for the space of twelve years; and this conduct, without bettering the condition of his affairs, served but to increase the dislike with which he had for some time been viewed by the Brabanters.

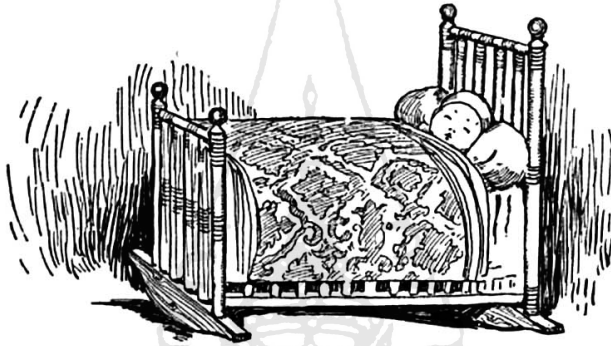
Nor was this feeling manifested by them alone. Countess Jacqueline had consented to the marriage with the young duke of Brabant, without the slightest sentiment of affection towards him, yielding her own inclinations on this point to the persuasions of her mother: nor were the circumstances of their union such as subsequently to conciliate her love or esteem. The princess was in her twenty-second year, of a healthy constitution and vigorous intellect, lively, spirited, and courageous; her husband, on the contrary, about two years younger than herself, was feeble alike in body and mind, indolent, and capricious. Through his incapacity, she now saw herself stripped of her fairest possessions, nor did there appear any security for her retaining the rest; he, moreover, maintained an illicit connection with the daughter of a Brabant nobleman; and, with the petty tyranny which little minds are so fond of exercising, he forced her to dismiss all the Holland ladies from her service, and to fill their places with those of Brabant. She secretly quitted the court; and, accompanied by her mother, escaped in 1421 by way of Calais to England, where she was courteously received by Henry V, and a hundred pounds a month allotted for her maintenance. In the winter of the same year she held at the baptismal font the infant son of the king, afterwards Henry VI.

Jacqueline was now determined at all risks to procure the dissolution of the bonds that had become so odious to her; and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, brother of the king, tempted by her large inheritance and captivated by her personal charms, eagerly entered into a negotiation with her for a future matrimonial alliance, which had been projected even before her flight from Brabant. An almost insurmountable difficulty, however, presented itself, in the necessity of procuring a dispensation from the pope. Martin V had granted one three years before, against the wishes both of the emperor and John of Bavaria, for her marriage with John of Brabant; and it appeared scarcely reasonable to ask him now to revoke it. Humphrey and Jacqueline applied to Benedict XIII, who had been deposed by the council of Pisa in 1409, and was acknowledged only by the king of Aragon. Benedict, flattered with the recognition of his authority, and pleased with the opportunity of acting in opposition to his rival, readily granted a bull of divorce, which they pretended to have obtained from the legitimate pope, and which Martin V afterwards publicly declared to be fictitious.

Although such a divorce could not by any means be considered as valid, the marriage between the duke of Gloucester and the countess Jacqueline was, nevertheless, solemnized in the end of the year 1422. But the proximity of his claims to the county of Holland rendered the marriage of the English duke with the countess in the highest degree distasteful to Philip of Burgundy. She had no children by the duke of Brabant, nor did it appear probable that she ever would; but her union with Humphrey might prove

[1422-1424 A.D.]

more fruitful, and the birth of a child effectually bar Philip from the succession. He therefore complained of this step as an affront offered to himself. He found Humphrey, however, determined to resign, on no consideration, either his wife or his claim to her states; but having obtained for her an act of naturalisation from the English parliament, in 1424, together with subsidies of troops and money, he set out for Hainault, where, Philip of Burgundy and John of Brabant being unprepared for resistance, the towns universally opened their gates to him. Little occurred during the campaign, except mutual defiances between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester; and Humphrey, accepting the challenge of the former to single combat, in



DUTCH CRADLE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

the presence of the duke of Bedford, returned to England under pretext of making the necessary preparations, but in reality, probably, from a conviction that he should not be able long to withstand the power of Burgundy. He left the countess in Mons, which, shortly after his departure, was threatened with a siege. Jacqueline wrote a letter, couched in the most moving terms, to solicit succours from her husband, which, unhappily, never reached him, being intercepted by the duke of Burgundy.

#### *Jacqueline's Letter to Her Husband*

The following is the letter as quoted by Monstrelet:

My very dear and redoubted lord and father, in the most humble of manners in this world I recommend myself to your kind favour. May it please you to know, my very redoubted lord and father, that I address myself to you as the most doleful, most ruined, and most treacherously deceived woman living; for, my very dear lord, on Sunday, the 13th of this present month of June, the deputies of your town of Mons returned, and brought with them a treaty that had been agreed on between our fair cousin of Burgundy and our fair cousin of Brabant; which treaty had been made in the absence and without the knowledge of my mother, as she herself signifies to me, and confirmed by her chaplain, Master Gerard le Grand.

My mother, most redoubted lord, has written to me letters, certifying the above treaty having been made; but that, in regard to it, she knew not how to advise me, for that she was herself doubtful how to act. She desired me, however, to call an assembly of the principal burghers of Mons, and learn from them what aid and advice they were willing to give me. Upon this, my sweet lord and father, I went on the morrow to the town-house, and remonstrated with them, that it had been at their request and earnest entreaties that you had left me under their safeguard and on their oaths, that they would be true and loyal subjects, and take especial care of me, so that they should be enabled to give you good accounts on your return; and these oaths had been taken on the holy sacrament at the altar, and on the sacred evangelists.

To this my harangue, my dear and honoured lord, they simply replied that they were not sufficiently strong within the town to defend and guard me; and instantaneously they rose in tumult, saying that my people wanted to murder them; and, my sweet lord, they carried matters so far that, in despite of me, they arrested one of your sergeants, called Maquart, whom they immediately beheaded, and hanged very many who were of your party and strongly attached to your interests, such as Bardould de la Porte, his brother Colart, and others, to the number of 250 of your adherents. They also wished to seize Sir Baldwin the treasurer, and Sir Louis de Montfort; but though they did not succeed, I know not what they intend doing; for, my very dear lord, they plainly told me that unless I make peace, they will deliver me into the hands of the duke of Brabant, and that I shall only remain eight days longer in their town, when I shall be forced to go into Flanders, which will be to me the most painful of events; for I very much fear that, unless you shall hasten to free me from the hands I am now in, I shall never see you more. Alas! my most dear and redoubted father, my whole hope is in your power, seeing, my sweet lord and only delight, that all my sufferings arise from my love to you. I therefore entreat, in the most humble manner possible, and for the love of God, that you would be pleased to have compassion on me and on my affairs; for you must hasten to succour your most doleful creature, if you do not wish to lose her forever. I have hopes that you will do as I beg, for, dear father, I have never behaved ill to you in my whole life, and so long as I shall live I will never do anything to displease you, but I am ready to die for love of you and your noble person.

Your government pleases me much; and by my faith, my very redoubted lord and prince, my sole consolation and hope, I beg you will consider, by the love of God and of my lord St. George, the melancholy situation of myself and my affairs more maturely than you have hitherto done, for you seem entirely to have forgotten me.

Nothing more do I know at present than that I ought sooner to have sent Sir Louis de Montfort to you, for he cannot longer remain here, although he attended me when all the rest deserted me; and he will tell you more particularly all that has happened than I can do in a letter. I entreat, therefore, that you will be a kind lord to him, and send me your good pleasure and commands, which I will most heartily obey. This is known to the blessed Son of God, whom I pray to grant you a long and happy life, and that I may have the great joy of seeing you soon.

Written in the false and traitorous town of Mons, with a doleful heart, the 6th day of June. Your sorrowful and well-beloved daughter, suffering great grief by your commands—your daughter, DE QUIENEBOURG.<sup>a</sup>

### *Last Days of Jacqueline*

The appeal never reached its destination and, on June 13th, Jacqueline was delivered by the citizens of Mons into the hands of the duke of Burgundy's deputies, and conducted to Ghent, to be detained there until the pope should decide the question of her marriage.

After remaining some little time in confinement, Jacqueline escaped, in male disguise, to Antwerp, and resuming the attire of her sex proceeded thence to Woudrichen, which opened its gates to her, as well as Oudewater, Gouda, and Schoonhoven. The citadel of the latter resisted for some days the army which the hook nobles assembled to besiege it, but was ultimately forced to surrender on conditions. Their lives and estates were granted to all the defenders except one named Arnold Beiling, the cause of whose reservation is not known. His conduct on the occasion proved that the high principle of honour and undaunted courage which we are accustomed to attribute peculiarly to the knightly and the noble animated no less strongly the breast of a simple Dutch burgher. He was condemned to be buried alive, but besought a respite of one month to arrange his affairs, and take leave of his friends: it was granted upon his word of honour alone, and he was permitted to depart without further security. He returned punctually at the time appointed, and the sentence was executed a short distance without the walls of the town. The confidence with which this singular request was granted, showing, as it does, the habitual reliance placed on the good faith of the Hollanders, is only less admirable than the courageous integrity with which the promise was fulfilled.

The death of John of Bavaria in 1425 by poison, administered, as some

[1425-1426 A.D.]

say, at the instigation of the countess-dowager, others, by his steward,<sup>1</sup> a knight of the hook party, some months after the return of Jacqueline to Holland, although it delivered her from an inveterate and powerful enemy, did not contribute to retrieve her fortunes. He had named Philip of Burgundy his heir in case he should die without issue, and that ambitious prince now took advantage of the event to obtain from John of Brabant the title of governor (or *ruward*) and heir to the county of Holland; John himself retaining the name of count, and being acknowledged as such by all the towns which had held to the party of John of Bavaria. From this time he does not appear to have concerned himself in any way with the government of the county. Philip came into Holland, where he was acknowledged governor by the greater portion of the towns.

The countess Jacqueline remained meanwhile at Gouda, where, hearing that some towns of the cod party had united their forces to besiege her, she obtained assistance from the Utrechters who had always remained faithful to her cause, and advanced at the head of her troops to meet her enemies near Alpen, where she gained a considerable victory over them. This success was followed by the welcome news that an English fleet had been equipped for her service by the duke of Gloucester, bringing five hundred choice land troops. It arrived, in effect, early in 1426 at Schouwen, under the command of the earl Fitzwalter, whom he had appointed his stadholder over Holland and Zealand. Philip assembled an army of four thousand men, and sailed to Brouwershaven, where the English, joined with the Zealanders of the hook party, were encamped. Immediately on the landing of the cods the troops came to a severe engagement, which lasted the whole day, and terminated to the disadvantage of the English and hooks; one thousand four hundred of the former and some of the principal nobles of Zealand were slain, Fitzwalter himself being forced to seek safety by flight.

This unfortunate encounter lost Jacqueline the whole of Zealand; nevertheless, she did not yield to despair, but, taking advantage of the absence of Duke Philip from Holland, she engaged the men of Alkmaar, with the Kennemerlanders and West Frieslanders, to lay siege to Haarlem: this undertaking also was unsuccessful; but the Kennemerlanders made themselves masters of several forts belonging to the cod party.

The advance of Philip in person did not permit Jacqueline to continue any longer in North Holland. She therefore retreated once more to Gouda, when all the towns in that quarter opened their gates to Philip. The hooks vented their rage upon the town of Enkhuizen; having collected a few vessels, they surprised it as the burghers were engaged in their midday meal, seized more than a hundred of the principal persons, and beheaded them. Under pretext of securing them from similar assaults in future, Philip placed foreign garrisons in the greater number of the towns, and erected a citadel at Hoorn.

The filling the towns with foreign soldiers, an act unprecedented in the history of the country, was the first of those violent and unpopular measures pursued by Philip and his successors which, in the next century, lost them so rich and fair a portion of their dominions. It was followed by others no less inimical to the ancient customs and privileges of the people; the Kennemerlanders were punished for the support they had given to their lawful sovereign, by the forfeiture of their charters and immunities; the towns and villages which had adhered to Jacqueline were condemned to pay a fine of

[<sup>1</sup> John van Vliet, who married Jacqueline's illegitimate sister, confessed to poisoning him by spreading on the leaves of a prayer-book poison bought from an English merchant. He was put to death. John of Bavaria was several months in dying.]



[1426-1428 A.D.]

123,300 crowns within six months, and to be subject to a perpetual tax of four groots (halfpence) for every hearth. Even those towns which had been friendly to Philip were obliged to contribute heavy "petitions" for the payment of his troops.

The countess Jacqueline found her affairs in a desperate condition. The pope had not only declared her marriage with the duke of Brabant valid, but prohibited the contraction of any future marriage between her and the duke of Gloucester, even after the death of John of Brabant,<sup>1</sup> whose health and strength were rapidly decaying. This event, which occurred within a short time from the issuing of the papal bull, and the intelligence that the English parliament had granted 20,000 marks expressly for her relief, inspired Jacqueline with hopes, nevertheless, that Gloucester would lend effective aid towards reinstating her in possession of her inheritance, and emboldened her to appeal to a general council of the Church against the decree of the pope. But the duke of Bedford, having concluded a truce for his brother with the duke of Burgundy, forbade him to go to Holland, and Gloucester himself showed no inclination to second the efforts of the countess.

In spite of her remonstrances, and of the reproaches of his own countrywomen, he forsook his noble and highborn bride for the charms of Eleanor Cobham, whom he now married, after her having lived with him some years as his mistress. Jacqueline, conscious of possessing, besides her princely birth and rich estates, all the alluring attractions of her sex, was struck to the heart by this cruel and unlooked-for desertion. Jacqueline and the hook nobles, seeing no chance of defending themselves, offered terms of compromise to the duke, to which he readily listened.

By this treaty [called the Reconciliation of Delft, July 3rd, 1428] Jacqueline was to surrender her states to the administration of Philip as heir and governor, but retain the title of countess, with an engagement not to contract another marriage without the consent of the duke, of her mother, and of the three estates; in which case, she was to resign, in favour of Philip, her claim to the allegiance of her subjects. The government of Holland, in the duke's absence, was to be entrusted to nine councillors, of whom the countess should name three, and the duke the six others—three natives, and three from other parts of his dominions. (It had been an express stipulation, in the marriage articles of Jacqueline with the duke of Touraine, that no foreigners were to be admitted to offices within the county.) The duke was to have the sole nomination of all the higher offices, both in the towns and open country. The future revenues of the county, after the subtraction of salaries to public officers, and other necessary expenses, were to be paid to the countess. The exiles on both sides were to be permitted to return to their country, and no one, under a penalty, should reproach another with the party names of hook and cod.

Jacqueline was obliged to go through the towns of Holland with the duke, and cause the oaths to be taken to him as heir and governor; and thus deprived of all authority in the government, she retired to Goes in South Beveland. One friend, and one alone, was left to her in this time of need. Francis van Borselen, although a conspicuous member of the cod party, and appointed by Philip stadholder of Holland, was ever ready to assist her with his purse and counsel, though at the risk of alienating his friends, and even of losing his valuable offices. The gratitude and esteem which such conduct naturally

<sup>1</sup> This prince, although from his deficiency in talent he appears in so contemptible a light, is said by historians to have been just, pious, and benevolent. His name is honourable to posterity as the founder of the university of Louvain in 1426.

[1428-1436 A.D.]

excited in the breast of the forsaken princess soon deepened into feelings of the tenderest attachment; and, under their impulse, she consented to a secret marriage with Borselen, though she well knew the penalty which must attach to a discovery. This event was soon known to Philip, who had too many of his partisans around her to admit of its remaining long concealed; nor did he delay to make use of it as a means of depriving Jacqueline of her title of countess, all that now remained of her birthright.

His first measure was to cause Francis van Borselen to be arrested at the Hague, and conducted prisoner to Ruppelmonde; after which, he allowed a report to go abroad that the unfortunate nobleman was to be released only by death; judging, with good reason, that the desire to save a husband so beloved would reduce the countess to such terms of submission as he should dictate.

The issue justified his expectations. Upon condition that the duke should release Francis van Borselen and confirm their marriage, she renounced in 1433 all right and title to the counties of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Hainault; in the event of the duke dying before her, the county was to revert to herself and her heirs. Philip afterwards appointed her grand forester of Holland and created Borselen count of Oosterhaut, but deprived him of the office of stadholder.

Such was the end of the troubled and disastrous reign of the countess Jacqueline. There are many points in the character and story of this lovely and unhappy lady which strongly remind us of the still more unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots: her personal beauty, captivating manners, masculine courage, and extraordinary talent; her early marriage to the heir of the French crown, with the disappointment of her high hopes, caused by his premature death; the disgust and misery attendant on her second union; and her final subjection to the power of an artful and ambitious rival. But, innocent of the crimes or indiscretions of Mary, she escaped also her violent and cruel death; and we may be tempted to believe that the period which she passed in obscurity, united, for the first time, by the ties of affection, to an object every way worthy of her love and esteem, was the happiest of her life. If so, however, her felicity was but of short duration, since in 1436 she died of consumption, about two years after her abdication, at the age of thirty-six.<sup>f</sup>

Of Jacqueline, Blok writes vividly: "Jacqueline was destined to play a romantic part in history. Poets have sung her fate, and even dry chronicles wax eloquent when she is their theme. The barren twigs of records begin to bear blossoms when her sorrows, her proud resistance, are recorded. She was a tall, well-formed, active woman, brought up in an isolated castle in Hainault, hardened by hunting and feats at arms, skilled in minnesong and tourneys, besides being at home in the English and French tongues. She was quite capable of leading troops, conducting sieges, and making plans of policy as well as the most skilled knight, the most experienced diplomat in her train. And she won many hearts by her courageous bearing. She was a woman in armour—the worthy granddaughter of the valiant empress Margaret; the worthy kinswoman of her famous great-aunt, Philippa of Hainault, queen of England; the worthy daughter of her proud mother, Margaret of Burgundy, and of her chivalrous father."<sup>b</sup>

It is a striking coincidence that this brave and beautiful princess, who often donned man's attire, should have been a contemporary of the warrior-peasant Joan of Arc. Jacqueline gave up her long struggle in 1428; Joan appeared at the French court and raised the siege of Orleans in 1429; Jacque-

HOLLAND UNDER THE HOUSES OF HAINAULT AND BAVARIA 349

[1431 A.D.]

line's enemy, Burgundy, was in alliance with the English and it was he who delivered Joan to them. Joan was burned in 1431 at the age of twenty; Jacqueline died five years later at the age of thirty-six. Her four marriages had all been childless, and her death left the rest of her territories to the undisputed rule of the house of Burgundy.<sup>a</sup>

