

worth 500 lances (*che Messer Giovanni Auto non valesse per cinquecento lance....*) ”

These allusions are found here and there in the interesting “Familiar letters of Ser Lapo Mazzei” written at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

In fact the best Italian condottieri who bore arms in Italy after Hawkwood, i. e. Alberico da Barbiano, Attendolo Sforza, Braccio da Montone, not less than Carlo Malatesta, Paolo Orsini, and Mostarda, may be considered as his disciples in the art of war, for if not wholly pupils they fought with or against him. As Ricotti justly observes: “I do not know if *Giovanni Acuto* were the last of the foreign condottieri or the first of the Italian ones, that is the first who designed and perfected those military factions with a certain science. Next in rank came Braccio and Sforza with their two schools,” the *Braccesque* and the *Sforzesque*.

### XLIII.

#### HEREDITARY LIQUIDATION.

[*Consulte e pratiche* and *Provisioni* of the Commune, in the State Archives of Florence — Article on the death of John Hawkwood by ANTONIO MEDIN in the *Archivio storico italiano*, 1886 — LAROUSSE, *Dictionary of the 19th century*, article Hawkwood — Registers of the Chamber of the Commune of Florence — *Capitoli* of ditto.]

The illustrious Condottiere being honorably interred, the Florentine Commune gave its attention to the execution of the compacts made with him almost *in articulo mortis*. The mercantile spirit of the citizens suggested the expedience of procuring some advantage, some *prerogative*, while giving effect to those stipulations, seeing that *chi muore giace* (he who dies lies still), they thought it urgent beyond everything to go directly and take possession of the Castle of Montecchio.

They easily induced the widow Donnina to write to the castellan that he should consign the fortress to them, and accompanied the letter with the following message which we translate :\*

1394.

" To Richard Kell, castellan of Montecchio.

" Our well beloved ! According to the agreement which we made not long ago with the magnificent Sir John 'Haucud' when he was in this life, his noble consort the lady Donnina writes that you may concede to us the fortress of Montecchio, with its guard and garrison. We require therefore that you consign the same, with all the munitions of war which it contains, to Antonio Materio, our well-beloved familiar, whom we send for this purpose, and who will receive it in the name of our Commune by public act of notary. Then, as soon as may be without inconvenience to yourself, we beg you to come into the presence of our Signoria, to the effect that we may know what is due to you for stipend and *provvigione*, which we shall pay integrally, and send you without delay."

April 25.

We see that if Florence demanded her dues, she did not refuse to give the same to others. The last contract was to the effect that the engagement of the twenty five lances, and the stipend of 1200 florins, and the pension of 2000 florins would not cease till the end of March.

It was therefore requested of the Signoria on behalf of his children that the payment might be effected for the whole month, although Hawkwood died on the 17<sup>th</sup>, subtracting only the payment of the fifteen lances, who were serving the Commune at Mantua, and were there directly paid by it ; and that the required payments should be made to any procurator of the late Sir John, who should have permanent power of attorney since his death. The petition

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\* See the text of Document LXVIII.

1394. was made " so that the said children may pay the expenses of the funeral and the domestics who had served Hawkwood during his life." On the whole it was a claim founded on justice, and was accepted with 188 votes against 28.\*

April 27.

Had Hawkwood made a will? It was asserted that he had, and it was even added (for example in the " Dictionary of the 19<sup>th</sup> century ") that he left a legacy to found in Rome a hospital for English pilgrims, as though in expiation for the rapacity of his career, and for not having taken the cross against the infidels as he had promised. It is certain that this problematic foundation had not a canonical institution. If he ever made a last testament, he did not make it in Florence; the archives of Florentine notaries exist in a complete and well-arranged condition, classified by quarters; the indices of the testator's name drawn up in Florence after 1350, were taken from the " Opera of the Duomo," which exacted a small tax for each will. We have found a mention of the will of John Berwick (*Giovanni Berichie*) *anglicus stipendiarius comunis Florentiae* in 1385, but no sign of that of John Hawkwood.

Nor does his name figure in the registers of the hospital of St. Maria Nuova, to which it was the custom in those days to leave some alms in every will.

But although he intended to return to England, he feared his end was drawing nigh; a deed executed on January 10<sup>th</sup> 1395, of which we shall soon see the substance, commenced by recalling the transaction of March 1394, with these particulars, " that Hawkwood, weighed down by old age and a certain singular infirmity (?) which almost continually keeps him in bed or in the house, not being able to fulfil his military or other duties, *but rather fearing a speedy death*, is prudently induced " etc.

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\* *Provisione* published by Antonio Medin.

Nor did Hawkwood die without leaving a general power of attorney in the interest of his children, to Giovanni di Iacopo Orlandini: and his faith was fully justified, for Orlandini executed the trust with much zeal. 1394.

The final compact with Hawkwood reserved to the Signoria the resolution of eventual questions, and these were not long in rising up.

By force of that contract the Commune was to pay 1000 florins to honor the departure of Hawkwood, who intended to go to England: death prevented the journey, — ought those 1000 florins to be paid notwithstanding?

And how could they pay the 2000 florins of wedding portion to Anna third daughter of the deceased? as she was under age, and had no guardian or possibility of having one, and being a minor she was not empowered to give a receipt? In every way the Signoria and the Councils, acknowledging the propriety of faithfully observing the agreement, deliberated to consider Orlandini as procurator of Anna the minor, and to pay to him her portion and the donation of 1000 florins. Decemb. 15.

Through Orlandini's zeal and the good will of the Signoria, the liquidation of accounts between Hawkwood's heirs and the Commune proceeded expeditiously. The Commune decided "that the noble man John *fil*s, and the daughters of the deceased John Hawkwood, and therefore his inheritance and estates, and the estates of the said John his son, shall not at any time nor by any claim be summoned, taxed or molested either in the city, country or district of Florence, by any one who is not of Florentine birth or of Florentine parentage on the male side, for any obligation contracted in his life by the aforesaid *quondam* John Hawkwood." Decemb. 22.

This was according to international private right, as it then existed, but it might happen that some Florentine

would buy the credits and in that case the benefit would all go to the usurers.

1395.  
January 10.

The widow Donnina, to obtain power of administration, declared that she required a tutor (*mundualdus*) who could authorise her legal acts instead of her deceased consort, and begged that the notary would allow Orlandini to be this legal guardian. This being done and drawn up, she, " with the consent, authority, and permission of the guardian, being certified by the notary of her rights, and of that which she was about to do, accepted the transaction of March 12<sup>th</sup>, inasmuch as regarded her annual pension of 1000 florins, and gave a receipt in full with a promise *in perpetuo* never to demand it again, under penalty of 2000 florins.

It is noteworthy that the deed was executed " in the house of habitation of the before mentioned lady — in the parish of Santa Maria di Quarto, *pieve* di Santo Stefano in Pane. She lived then in the suburbs, but not at San Donato, which confirms that Hawkwood must have effected the sale of his possessions in preparation for his intended return home, only reserving the temporary use of San Donato. Correlative to the above, Giacomo Orlandini as agent to the deceased Hawkwood gave on the following day a full receipt and promise never again to demand the annual pensions of 1200 and 2000 florins, nor the 2000 florins for Anna's wedding portion and the 1000 florins of yearly pension to the widow Donnina. He moreover ceded and transferred to the Commune the proprietorship and possession of the fortresses in the Arezzo territory. The said Orlandini besides, of his own spontaneous will, moved thereto by affection for the son of Sir John for whom he had long conducted negotiations, and so that the 1000 gold florins might be paid by the Commune besides the 6000 (according to the contract of March 12<sup>th</sup> and the declaration of December 15<sup>th</sup> 1394), en-

January 11.

gaged that Anna's wedding portion of 2000 florins should never be required of the Commune, he being himself the guarantee to hold the Commune indemnified for any pretension to the whole or a part of this claim.

1395.

A last difficulty arose, derived from a new law of December 1394, respecting the payment of stipends, which was resolved by abrogating this law for the occasion; consequently, recognising that to the late (*olim*) John Hawkwood 7000 gold florins, in all, are due, of which his agent has as yet received 5000, the chamberlains are authorised to place on the side of expenditure the payment of the entire sum.

February 25.

In fact the registers of the Chamber show that the payments, begun October 1<sup>st</sup> 1394, were completed and regulated under the two dates of March 4<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> 1395, i. e. :

March 4 <sup>th</sup> florins	2000			
	>	1333 soldi	6 danari	8
	>	1333	> 6	> 8
March 10 <sup>th</sup>	>	1000		
	>	1333	> 13	> 4
	>	6999	> 25	> 20

The 1000 florins, as we know, were those destined to compliment the departure of Hawkwood for England: but in the register of the chamberlains they are entered to *honor the son of Sir John*.

And in truth Hawkwood's son was flattered and favoured by the Commune in regard for the merits of his father. Whilst the suits relating to the liquidation of the paternal estate were pending, *Giovanni Augud junior* was engaged with two lances, comprising his own person and lance, from January 4<sup>th</sup> to the end of March 1395, with a stipend of 16 gold florins a month each lance. There is nothing to show that he was already a man of war, and this appears to be merely a mark of honorary courtesy.

1395.

Having terminated the arrangements of the patrimonial affairs in Italy, the widow Donnina decided to go to England with her children (i. e. John and the young girl Anna), for her husband had also left possessions in his native land, which required the eye of a master in those times which were so hard for orphans and widows.

The Signoria of Florence did not fail to introduce the widow and her children to the King of England by the following letter of recommendation, which we here translate : \*

" *To the King of England.*

" Most serene and most glorious prince, and our lord and singular benefactor.

" We cannot in any way neglect the posterity of your subject, the noble and brave knight Sir John Hawkwood, who for a long time has faithfully and with true honesty fought in our service, nor may we omit to render honor and service to him in every possible manner, the more so that the progeny of that man, whose glorious celebrity reflected honor on all the English nation,\*\* are left far away from their fatherland, and since the death of that worthy sire find themselves as strangers and pilgrims in Italy, although for the merits of the father, our city is disposed to embrace them, and welcome them as our own children. Therefore it is that their mother — a consort truly worthy of such a husband — having decided, as soon as the age of her children will allow of it, to transfer herself with them to England; we with all possible devo-

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\* See the text of Document LXIX.

\*\* How much Hawkwood's achievements raised the reputation of the English in the Florentine minds, is seen in the negotiations (see Documents LXX and LXXI) about the hiring of Nicholas Clifton, recommended by the King of England, and who had before been in the Florentine service (see Chapter XXI).

tion recommend the children and family of the aforesaid Sir John to your Highness, with every reverence, and with all the affection in our power, supplicating the clemency of your Sublimity, that from the height of your exalted state you will deign to receive these wards with benevolence, and aid their undertakings with your royal favor. And verily the estates under wardship are those of the widow and orphans, whom divine laws ordain shall be taken care of by the princes of the world, and judges of the earth. Therefore we add that it becomes your royal majesty to remember with grateful memory, even after death, the virtue of those subjects who shed honor on your country, so that the minds of others may be inspired to show themselves equally great, and the reward of their good works may be transferred to their heirs; so that they may hope to live in fame even after death, seeing that by the merits of their fathers the children of the brave receive especial favors and grace. As to us and our devotion, most benevolent prince, we cannot express how acceptable and pleasing any thing which may be done for the family of the aforesaid Sir John will prove to us.

1395.

" Given from Florence, March 29<sup>th</sup>. III indiction (1395)."

#### XLIV.

##### HAWKWOOD'S DESCENDANTS. — THE TWO ROSES.

[D. MARIA MANNI, Biography of Hawkwood in v. II of *Appendix to MURATORI [R. I. S.] -- Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, v. III — *Ancient wills* by H. W. KING, *The will of Sir Thomas Tyrell of Heron Knight ob. 1476* — CORIO, *Milanese history* — WRIGHT'S *History of Essex* — MULLMAN'S *History of Essex* — GOUGH, *Additions to Britannia* — JOHN WEEVER, *History of Essex* — MORANT, *Ancient funeral monuments* — FULLER, *Worthies of England — Parliament Rolls — Feet of Fines County diverses — Close Rolls*, 10<sup>th</sup> year of Henry IV — *Letters of St. Catherine of Siena*, commentated by NICCOLÒ TOMMASEO — SHAKESPEARE, *First part of Henry VI*, act II, scene IV; *Measure for measure*, act I, scene II, edition 1623.]

Notwithstanding the warm recommendation of the Florentines, it is not known precisely whether Donnina Vis-