

HISTORICAL

RECORDS

HENRY THE SECOND

AND HIS REIGN

1154-1189

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E I G N
O F
HENRY THE SECOND,

A N D O F

RICHARD and JOHN, his SONS ;

With the EVENTS of the Period, from 1154 to 1216.

In which the Character of THOMAS A BECKET is vindicated from
the Attacks of GEORGE LORD LYTTTELTON,

Ut nihil nimie, nihil nisi verè dicatur. WIL. MALM.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH BERINGTON.

V O L II.

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THE HISTORY

OF

HENRY THE SECOND.

RICHARD and JOHN, his SONS.

With the Lives of the Kings of England from 1154 to 1189.

By the Rev. Joseph Berrington, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.

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BY THE REV. JOSEPH BERRINGTON.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E I G N
OF
KING RICHARD THE FIRST,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

BOOK IV.

Accession of Richard.—First measures of his government.—He goes to France.—Discontents in England.—The kings depart for Asia.—The march and death of Frederic.—The kings arrive at Messina.—State of Sicily.—They pass the winter in the island.—Curious interview between Richard and Tancred.—Eleanor having arrived with Berengaria, the fleets sail.—Ptolemais is taken, when Philip returns to Europe.—Richard's exploits.—Disturbances in England.—The king leaves Palestine.—Is taken prisoner.—Negotiations for his release.—He returns to England, and goes into France.—Miscellaneous occurrences.—Terms of peace between the kings.—Richard dies.—His character.

RICHARD left Fontevraud, having with a becoming piety attended his father's obsequies, when the pressing concerns of a wide and unsettled empire, at

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once, Richard.

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of

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once, demanded all his thoughts. He was in his thirty-second year, practised in policy, and inured in government, as far as he valued either; and he valued both, as they tended to gratify his ruling passion,—an immoderate thirst of military glory. The provinces of Aquitaine, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, he settled, as firmly as the press of business would allow, and hastened into Normandy. At Rouen, in the presence of the prelates and nobility, he received from the archbishop the ducal sword; and homage was done to him by all the vassals of the province. He and Philip then met on the confines. The demand of the latter of Gisors and other frontier castles, Richard rejected, alledging, that the surrender would be hurtful to his fame; but he offered to add four thousand marks to the twenty, which his father had covenanted to pay; and this being accepted, Philip resigned into his hands all the conquests he had made. The opening was auspicious^a.

He had sent orders to England, for the release of his mother from her long confinement; and with some instructions, dictated by a precipitate policy, he committed to her the sovereign administration

^a Hoveden. Dicet. an. 1189.

of the realm. Joyfully did she leave the castle of Winchester; and with a royal retinue appearing before the people, she proclaimed an universal discharge to all offenders, for the repose of the soul of her husband, and commanded the prison gates to be unbarred. The prisons, at Henry's death, were uncommonly crowded. She ordered an oath of allegiance to be taken to herself and son, whereby every freeman bound himself to defend them both, in life and limbs, against all men and all women. The process was extraordinary, but when a new prince comes, in the festivity of the moment, the forms of established order may be disregarded. Relaxed from the controul of a severe administration, the nation received the princely indulgence with unbounded applause; acclamation rang through the provinces: but there were men, who censured the proceeding as extravagant, and saw the danger, which threatened the future peace of society. Richard landed in England.

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In the choice of his ministers and confidential friends, he acted wisely, and shewed a proper deference to his father's memory, treating those, with a marked dislike, who, false to their allegiance, had abetted his own rebellions, and rewarding

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truth and fidelity where it was least expected. But he restored many forfeited estates; recalled the exiles; and permitted not, as far as in him lay, a single heart to ake, in the whole extent of his dominions.—To John he was improvidently profuse. Besides confirming to him the earldom of Mortagne in Normandy, with a pension of four thousand marks a year, and giving to him in marriage, as had been before settled, Avifa, the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, with the vast inheritance of that noble family, his generosity still knew no limits. He put him in possession of seven castles, with all the forests and honours annexed to them, and showered on his head six earldoms, Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster. That his intention was, to bind to him the heart of that vicious youth, cannot be doubted; but Richard was not aware, that, by such prodigal donations, he only increased his powers of doing mischief with more impunity.—On the third of September, the king was crowned at Westminster by the primate, says the historian who assisted at the ceremony, “after a solemn and due election ^b.” The

^b Radulphus de Diceto.

oath he took was, to maintain the peace and honour of the church, to administer justice to his people, to abolish bad laws and bad customs, and to enact good ones.

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A scene of horrid bloodshed disgraced this joyous day. The Jews, who were very numerous in England, and whom the late king had treated with lenity, came to Westminster with presents from their nation, and approached the hall, wherein the king was at dinner with the prelates, waited on by the nobles. Richard, with much zeal, had forbidden their appearance at the coronation. They were insulted therefore; insults were followed by blows; a commotion began; it spread into the city; it was said, that the king authorised the proceeding; and in a few hours, a general massacre of the unoffending Israelites was committed, while their houses were burnt and plundered, and many christians were involved in the general event of rapacity and devastation. Such as ourselves have witnessed, is, at all times, the licentious fury of a London-mob. Richard issued orders to quell the disorder, but they were not heeded; and on inquiry, it was found, that many distinguished persons were deeply concerned in it. The same tragedy was acted in
other

BOOK IV. 1189. other parts of England. Nor was it a common degree of iniquity which gave life to these atrocious proceedings. The Jews, by industry, frugality, and means not always honourable, had got into their hands the money of the nation, which they lent out at an exorbitant interest. That by destroying their persons, and consuming their bonds, every contract would at once be cancelled, was the base casuistry of their christian debtors ^e.— Philip also had signalised the opening of his reign, by great cruelties to that unhappy people.

First measures of his government.

Thus possessed of his crown, Richard received the homage of the English nation; and immediately turned his mind to the great object, which alone seemed worthy of his attention. To administer justice, and to rule a willing people, were to him no princely office: he would meet Saladin in the plains of Palestine, and rescue the holy cross from infamy. For this he prepared. His father's treasures he collected, which were more than a hundred thousand marks; and to these were added, if they were not comprised in that sum, the taxes, which had been levied by the statute of Geddington. But the sum he deemed inadequate to the exi-

^e Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. l. iv. c. 1.

gences of the undertaking, and he resolved to augment it, by every expedient, whatever might be the consequences of such rash and unprecedented measures. The demefne lands, the honours, and the public offices of the crown, he exposed to sale. To the bishop of Durham, Hugh de Pusey, a prelate of great wealth, he sold the royal manors in his diocese, for six hundred marks; and with them, for a thousand more, the earldom of Northumberland, to be occupied by him for life, with his castles and liberties.—The king of Scotland redeemed the independence of his country, with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwic, for the trifling sum of ten thousand marks, doing homage to him for the fiefs only which he held in England. Scotland was once more free. The witnesses to this deed, after eleven bishops, are Eleanor, and John earl of Mortagne: and it specifies, that the vassalage, to which William and his country had been subjected by Henry, was extorted during his captivity.—The deed of sale to the bishop of Durham was signed by ten prelates, and by nine of the first nobility, headed by John. Other considerable purchases were made from the crown; and when his friends dared to blame the improvident measure; “I would sell London itself,” he replied, “could

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BOOK “ could a purchaser be found.” Without
 IV. a single thought for the honour or well-
 1189. being of his own country, he acted, says
 the historian, as if he were never to re-
 turn to it. But the sums he thus collect-
 ed were immense, and his warmest views
 were answered^d.

Some modern historians have permitted their minds so to be warped by theory, that, though they see the most authentic documents attesting such facts, as I have here stated, still vainly think, they can discover an English monarch, even at this time, limited in his prerogative, and subjected to the legal controul of regular assemblies, which they have called a *parliament*, or the constitutional representatives of the people. Henry, the last king, often met his prelates and barons in council assembled, agreeably to the feudal form as prevailing in all parts of Europe, and was sometimes, I know, influenced by their advice: but the statutes of the most solemn enactment, as has been seen, he afterwards modified or annulled, knowing no constitutional authority, that could bind his own will irrevocably. In Richard we view a prodigal prince, who, the moment he has been seated on the throne of his ancestors, considers the royal demesne,

^d Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 5. Chron. de Mailros an. 1190

as a private property, and without consulting any council, disposes of it by public sale. He does more. The subjection of a foreign kingdom to his crown, which his father and the nation had deemed an event of the greatest magnitude, he severs from it, and gives it back its independence. Still, no public reclamation against these proceedings is heard from any quarter; the historians speak of them as of ordinary events; and the nation, doubtless, viewed them, as originating in no unconstitutional stretch of power. Men of the first dignity, even John more immediately interested in the concerns of the crown, unblushingly set their names to the deeds of sale and alienation of territory.

But embassadors from Philip now pressed the return of Richard to the continent. Having, therefore, filled the vacant sees, and given that of York to his brother Geoffry, the son of Rosamond, whom the reader has seen bishop elect of Lincoln, and then chancellor to his father, he settled the administration of the realm. Ranulph de Glanville, disgusted with his master's conduct, had resigned the important office of justiciary, preferring rather, in his old age, to travel into Asia; and the bishop of Durham, whose purse was not exhausted, had purchased his charge. To this prelate, and to Long-

champ,

BOOK champ, bishop of Ely, now chancellor,
 IV. a man of mean birth, a foreigner, with
 1189. neither talents nor probity, Richard com-
 mitted the general administration, nam-
 ing them justiciaries and guardians of
 the realm. Hugh took possession of the
 castle of Windsor, and Longchamp of the
 tower of London. But the latter was the
 favourite, and with him, says the histo-
 rian, the king left one of his seals, for
 the signing of his precepts. A fleet of
 ships waited his arrival at Dover, where
 he embarked with a vast retinue, and
 landing in Flanders was received by earl
 Philip, who accompanied him into Nor-
 mandy°. It was the month of December.

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He goes to
 France.

After christmas the kings met; but
 they saw it necessary to postpone their
 journey till midsummer. They reiterated
 their promises of friendship, and in the
 words which Louis and Henry, on a si-
 milar occasion, had adopted, they pledg-
 ed their faith to defend each other's ter-
 ritories, during the crusade; they mu-
 tually exchanged the asseverations of their
 prelates and the oaths of their barons, to
 the same effect; and they subjected them-
 selves to the penalty of censures, should
 they violate this solemn engagement.
 Should either of them die, during the
 expedition, the survivor is to take posses-
 sion of his treasure and armies, for the pur-

e Neubrig. Hoveden.

poses

poses first intended.—The principle of these reciprocal engagements is highly pleasing; and they seem to mark benevolence of character, upright views, and a noble sacrifice of every personal and interested competition. In the prosecution of the plan, had the same spirit uniformly prevailed, the crusades had proved a school, wherein, the bad passions being extinguished that injure man, we had seen society, in an accelerated process, advancing towards perfection.—The intermediate months the monarchs spent, in further preparations for the great undertaking; while every crusader, from the proud baron to the humble peasant, was busily employed in such adjustments of arms and equipage, as his abilities would admit.

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England, under its new guardians, was not long at ease. Rivals in power, they quarrelled: and we see them summoned into Normandy; and with them many bishops, and Eleanor, and Adelais, and John, waited on the king^f. For the first time is Adelais now mentioned, and she is mentioned in the company of a lady, from whom, it may be presumed, she suffered much. Eleanor, jealous and vindictive as ever woman was, when now she had power, would not be inclined to treat her gently, who, she had reason to

Discon-
tents in
England.

^f Hoveden. Gaufrid. Vinisaufr. an. 1189.

know,

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know, had possessed the heart of the late king. But it may be remarked, as something singular in the chroniclers of these times, that, detailing, as they do, minute events, they have recorded few anecdotes or court intrigues, which, while they animated a dull narration, would serve to portray the manners of the age. Of the private lives of princes they tell us nothing.—On Eleanor herself had been settled a noble dower; and she was in the plenitude of greatness, projecting a match for her son, in return for his munificent bounty, and preparing, it was thought, for a second pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Richard, still more to exalt his favourite Longchamp, with the advice, it seems, of the council he had summoned into Normandy, appointed him grand justiciary of England; and that no cause of dissention with his colleague might subsist, he confined the jurisdiction of Hugh to the country, between the Humber and Scotland. Longchamp returned; and after him soon followed legatine powers which his master had obtained from Rome. In pride of office, he encompassed, with a deep ditch, the tower of London, hoping that the Thames, in regal pomp, might be induced to flow round him; and then opened a scene of extortion and arbitrary exactions, still more to augment the splendid arrangements of the monarch.

General

General difcontents and alarms were raised. His colleague alfo came to England; when he feized his perfon, and compelled him to furrender the caſtle of Windſor, the honours of Northumberland, and every purchaſe he had made. And though Richard, afterwards, renewed to de Puſey the deed of ſale and other grants, he left his favourite in the uncontrouled poſſeſſion of power^s.—Apprehenſive of ſome danger from the popularity of the ſon of Roſamond, and the turbulent character of the duke of Mortagne, the king now exacted an oath from them, not to enter England, within three years: but in favour of John, moſt improvidently, he recalled that engagement. Extraordinary it is, that this prince had not taken the croſs, or that Richard did not compel him to be the companion of his journey.

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To avoid the manifold calamities, that the armies of the cruſaders had hitherto experienced, from the machinations of the Greeks, from the power of the infidel nations, through which their march lay, and from their total ignorance of a country, interſected by large rivers, and covered with foreſts and impracticable mountains,^h the kings determined to conduct their armies by ſea, to take proviſions with them, and, as far as might be, to

The kings
depart for
Aſia.

^g Hoveden an. 1190.

^h Hiſt. of Abeil. p. 362

maintain

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maintain a communication with their own states, and the west of Europe. The regulations made by Richard, for the preservation of good order in his fleet, merit notice. “ He that kills a man on “ board,” he ordains, “ shall be tied to “ the body, and thrown into the sea: if “ he kill him on land, he shall be buried “ with the same. If it be proved, that “ any one has drawn a knife to strike an- “ other, or has drawn blood, he shall lose “ his hand: if he strikes with his fist, “ without effusion of blood, shall be thrice “ plunged in the sea. If a man insult “ another with opprobrious language, so “ often as he does it, to give as many “ ounces of silver. A man convicted of “ theft, to have his head shaved, to be “ tarred and feathered on the head, and “ to be left on the first land, the ship shall “ come to.”—He had appointed officers and commanders of his fleet, two of whom were bishops, to execute these orders with the greatest rigour. He then went to Tours, where from the archbishop he took the scrip and pilgrim’s staff; but leaning heedlessly on it, it broke in his handⁱ.

Nor had Philip been less assiduous. Isabella his queen dying, at this time, he committed the regency of the realm and

ⁱ Hoveden. Vinis. Iter Hiero.

the guardianship of his son, to the queen mother and to her brother William, cardinal archbishop of Rheims. But he was also careful, to have this nomination ratified by the nobles of the land; and to them he read his will, purporting what his desires were, in case of death, and how the regents were to comport themselves, in the administration of justice, in the disposal of vacant sees and benefices, and in the general regulation of the finance. His conduct was at once wise and provident, and it censured the wild and intemperate precipitancy of the English king, who disposed of the administration of his country, with the selfish and arbitrary injunctions of a despot, and left it a prey to tyranny and ambition. Philip repaired to St. Denys, and receiving the badges of a pilgrim, took from the altar the Oriflamme, the sacred standard, at the sight of which, it was thought, the enemies of God had often been discomfited.

Midsummer was come, and the crusaders from England and the provinces of France, were assembled at Vezelay, the place of rendezvous. The reader will recollect a scene which, among others, had rendered the plains of Vezelay memorable^k. The royal pilgrims arrived, and saw, with rapture, the combined dis-

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^k Hist. of Abeil. p. 364.

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play of their mighty forces, amounting to more than a hundred thousand fighting men, provided with every implement of war, glistening in their arms and armour, glowing with the impulse of a bold enthusiasm, and eager for the march. In the front of the respective bands stood their chiefs; and the colour of the cross on the shoulder marked each nation. The presence of innumerable bishops, and abbots, and monks, and clergy, among whom was the primate of Canterbury, half-armed, and half-robed as the ministers of the altar, gave a curious variety to the scene. In settling the order of the march, two days were spent, when the signal was given, and the multitude moved. At Lyons the armies separated, Philip taking the road to Genoa, and Richard that to Marseilles, at which ports their fleets were appointed to meet them.

The
march and
death of
Frederic.

Though it is not my intention to give more than the outlines of this crusade, being tired of war, and having elsewhere detailed the character and extent of these expeditions¹; it might be deemed a culpable omission, not to mention the march of the German army, and the fate which, just before this midsummer, had reached their leader, Frederic Barbarossa. Acquainted as the reader is with that extra-

¹ Hist. of Abeil. p. 39, 362.

ordinary

ordinary man, he must feel an interest in the event. Let it be recollected, therefore, that he had taken the cross in a diet at Mentz, in 1188: and in the following year, soon after easter, with an army of ninety thousand men, setting forward, he passed through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, where he wintered, having been harrassed on his march by the troops of Isaac, emperor of Constantinople, not unreasonably jealous of the approach of so formidable a prince. Early in the next spring, he passed the Hellespont, and advancing, entered the territories of the sultan of Iconium. In this country it was, where, in the last crusade, accompanying his uncle Conrad, Frederic had witnessed the direful overthrow of a mighty army. The present sultan had promised him a free passage, being jealous of the power of Saladin; but faithless to his word, in the defiles of the mountains, he attacked his troops, and every where shewed a hostile countenance. Frederic advanced, fought, and conquered. He even assaulted Iconium, and took it by storm. Caramania was open to him, and it seemed, that the passage into Palestine would be easily effected. In the delightful plains of Cilicia runs a stream, called Salef, which some writers have been willing to confound with the Cydnus, ennobled by the bathing of Alexander in its

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1190. waters. Fatigued, and heated by a scorching sun, Frederic imprudently plunged into the Salef: but the sudden shock struck a chill to his heart; and he died in a few days, on the 10th of June. The command of the army devolved on Frederic, his second son, duke of Suabia, who continued the march to Antioch. But many had already perished, by the thousand accidents of so long a journey; and disease daily thinning their ranks, when the army arrived in Palestine, they did not number, it is said, even seven thousand men^m.

The kings
arrive at
Messina.

Arrived with his army at Marseilles, Richard was much disappointed to find his fleet was not there. Impatiently he waited some days, when hiring twenty gallies and ten large ships, he embarked, and sailed. Messina, in the island of Sicily, was the next place of general rendezvous; and it was now the seventh of August. The coasting of the fleet, with some description of the places which it passed, is minutely given by the historian. It touched at Genoa, where Philip was detained by illness; and then proceeding along the coast of Italy, entered the Tiber, where being met by the cardinal bishop of Ostia, Richard upbraided the Roman court with its venality, which he

^m Chron. Ursperg. Append. ad Radevic. Iter Hiero.

had

had lately experienced in the appointment of his legate, and advanced to Naples. Here remaining some days, himself went by land, and met his gallies at Salerno, on the eighth of September.

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The grand fleet had sailed from England and the English ports of France, as early as the easter-holidays. But a storm had dispersed many; and it was the twenty-sixth of July, when a hundred and six large vessels, full of men and military stores, assembled in the port of Lisbon, departed thence; and sailing along the coast, on the first of August passed through the straits, under Calpe, into the Mediterranean. We have then their progress along the Spanish shore, possessed by the Saracens, as far as Tortosa on the Ebro; and thence, where the kingdom of Arragon then began, to the port of Marseilles, which they reached on the twenty-second of the same month, in less than four weeks from the time they had quitted Lisbon. Marseilles also belonged to Arragon, the realm of which extended as far as Nice. Finding their king had been gone fifteen days, they waited to make some necessary repairs, and again setting sail on the thirtieth, boldly quitted the land, and on the fourteenth of September, entered the port of Messina, not having lost a single vessel.— Two days after, came the French fleet.

BOOK Philip was honourably received into the
 IV. city, and the royal palace was appointed
 1190. for his residence.

On the twenty-third, an armament was seen, proudly advancing between Scylla and Charybdis. The streamers floated on the wind, and the gorgeous appearance of glistening objects, announced the approach of an eastern monarch. But soon was heard the sound of music; and the clangor of horns and trumpets swelling the breeze, excited a general admiration. The nobles of Messina, with its priests and people, and Philip the French monarch, with his army, and the English crusaders, a vast multitude, hastening to the beach, gazed and listened.—It was Richard, king of England, with his gallees and their attendant vessels, from the port of Salerno, which he had left, when news came that his fleet was at Messina. He landed, and after some conversation with Philip, repaired to the apartments prepared for him, without the walls. Philip, on the same day, sailed for the Levant; but contrary winds compelled him to return into port, and the monarchs determined to pass the winter in Sicilyⁿ.—The principal author, who describes these events, was on board the English fleet.

State of
Sicily.

Tancred, on the death of William II.

ⁿ Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 12. Iter Hiero.

who,

who, as has been told, married Jane princess of England, had been, this year, called to the throne of Sicily. He was a natural son, as is generally thought, of Roger, duke of Apulia, and first cousin to the late king, who died without issue. But Henry, eldest son of Frederic, and now his successor in the empire, had married, it must be recollected, Constantia, aunt to William II. and also aunt, in a certain sense, to Tancred; and she was then acknowledged, it is said, by her nephew, to be presumptive heir to the throne. The Sicilians in general, and the court of Rome, under which the kingdom of Naples was a fief, had opposed the match. They hated the German name; and it could be for the interest of neither, that so powerful a family should occupy the throne. Influenced by these motives, the nation looked to Tancred, as the only surviving male of the Norman line, and him they chose for their king. Rome sanctioned the nomination. But it was evident, that in Henry he would have a competitor, whose title, in the right of his wife, was acknowledged by many, and whose power, at all events, was formidable. Thus stood Tancred, unsettled on his throne, and menaced with rebellion, perhaps, at home, and certain war in his Italian states, when the two armies

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of

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They pass
the winter
in the is-
land.

of France and England landed in the port of Messina^o.

The visitors seemed little ceremonious. Philip, it is said, before the arrival of Richard, had had an interview with Tancred, whose residence was at Palermo, or Catania; and to secure his friendship, the Sicilian had offered one of his daughters for his infant son. The offer was refused.—But Richard, immediately on his landing, sent messengers to the king, demanding the surrender of his sister, the dowager queen, who was confined at Palermo, and preferring other claims. Jane was released, and came to her brother. He then took possession of a strong fortress, near the entrance of the harbour, wherein he placed his sister; and the next day, seizing a convent, he expelled the monks, and there deposited his provisions and military stores. The Messinese were alarmed: mutual insults and attacks passed between them and the English, which Philip, accompanied by many noble personages, in a conference with the king of England, endeavoured to accommodate. While they were speaking, an affray happened, which was followed by a greater tumult. Richard called to arms; and his men forcing their way into the city, the standard of England was erected on the

^o Murat, an. 1190. Iter Hiero.

walls,

walls. The circumstance irritated Philip, whose quarters they were; and the most fatal consequences were apprehended, when Richard consented to remove his standard, and to commit the city to the guard of the knights templars, till his further claims on his Sicilian majesty were granted. The misunderstanding between the kings seemed compromised; and they jointly published other regulations, for the suppression of disorders in their armies^p.

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Richard claimed from the king of Sicily his sister's dower, and a golden chair for her use, which the queens of the islands had always possessed. He claimed for himself, as heir to his father, the legacy which the late king, on his death-bed, had devised to him. It consisted of a golden table, twelve feet long, and one foot and an half broad, supported by two tripods of the same metal; of twenty-four silver cups and as many dishes; of a silken tent, under which two hundred knights might dine; of sixty thousand measures (*silinas*) of wheat, of as many of barley, and of as many of wine; and of a hundred armed galleys, with all appointments of men and stores, for two years. In the present state of things, it was cruel to insist on the last article.

p Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

BOOK IV. Tancred, by the advice of his ministers, proposed a compromise, which was accepted; twenty thousand ounces of gold to the queen dowager, and as many to Richard, in lieu of every claim. It was also stipulated, that a daughter of Sicily should be affianced to Arthur, the infant duke of Bretagne, and presumptive heir to the English crown. A treaty, likewise, of perpetual peace and of defensive alliance, as long as Richard should remain in Sicily, was concluded between them; for the execution of which the pope was made a surety, Richard, in a letter to his holiness, subjecting his territories to the censures of the church, if he violated the covenant^q.—Thus was harmony restored; the English name was feared, if not respected, in Sicily; and Tancred hoped he might look to an ally, whose arms would awe the German emperor. Philip, he knew, was too much disposed to favour his enemy.

The leisure of the winter months was spent, in preparing the machines of war, and in careening and refitting the vessels. But the English king, of whom most is related, found ample time for the discordant pursuits of amusement and penitence. Impelled by such motives, as impetuous minds are prone to, he once as-

^q Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

fembled all his prelates, entered naked amongst them, with a rod in his hand, and prostrate at their feet, publicly confessed the enormities of his life. The historian speaks seriously of the event, and says that, from that hour, he feared God, and declined from evil.—In Calabria was a devout abbot, called Joachim, a prophet among the people, and peculiarly learned in the book of revelations. Him Richard sent for; and with his comments and erudition, he and his courtiers were much amused. Joachim expounded the sacred oracles, and by the remarks his majesty made, it appeared, that he also was not unversed in prophecy. Saladin, the holy man observed, was one of the seven heads or kings spoken of, persecutors of the church, but whose downfall was near. “How soon?” said Richard.—“In seven years;” replied Joachim.—“Then why did we come here so soon?”—rejoined the king.—The prophet then remarked, that antichrist was actually born in Rome, and that he would be raised to the papal chair. Richard combated the propositions, manifesting some shrewdness in his scriptural researches. The bishops then entered the lists; and from the arguments, urged on both sides, it is plain, that they, and Joachim, and Richard, were as intelligent in the mysteries

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BOOK myſteries of the evangeliſt, as any other
IV. interpreters, from that day, have been.

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But in ſports and feats of arms, Richard, perhaps, was more converſant. The French nobility often dined at his table; and it was uſual to ſpend the evening in tilts and other amuſements. William des Barres, called the Achilles of France, was one day his antagoniſt. They contended, and the monarch, by accident, was unhorſed. He called for another ſteed, and ruſhed furiously on the knight. Des Barres, though with difficulty, kept his feat. Words of reproach followed, and the king indignantly commanding him to begone, threatened him with his eternal enmity. On a former occaſion, des Barres had broken his word of honour to Richard. Great were the pains, which the French king and others took to accommodate this difference; but Richard was implacable, when Philip, with a becoming courteſy, ordered the knight to leave his ſervice. They were afterwards reconciled.—With a princely munificence, the Engliſh monarch then preſented Philip and his courtiers with many veſſels richly appointed; and amongſt his own knights, he diſtributed his treaſures with profuſion^r.—But though we have reaſon to know, that his

^r Hoveden. Iter Hiero.

retinue was crowded with bards and minstrels, of which society he was himself a member, no mention is here made of their performances. Yet to their songs, doubtless, he often found leisure to attend, when in the halls of his castles, they strung their harps, and recited the prowess and bold achievements of heroes. The hearers felt the impulsive strain, and grasping their arms, panted for the field of glory.—Still Philip supported better the kingly character, engaging in no frolics, no starts of hasty violence, nor by insults exposing himself and followers to repeated outrages and attacks: though somewhat jealous he might be of the superior riches and parade of Richard, by which he was far eclipsed.

At this time, which was the month of February, Richard dispatched galleys to Naples. News had come, that Eleanor, the queen mother, would be there, with Philip the earl of Flanders and other company. That active woman, since the departure of her son, had not lost a moment. Stimulated by revenge, and in concert, doubtless, with him, she was resolved, that Adelais should never wear the English crown; and yet was she sure that Richard, in his present intercourse with the French king, might not be prevailed on to take her to his arms? In his different expeditions into Guienne, he had
seen

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BOOK IV. 1191. seen and admired Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre. Eleanor waited on Sanchez: she negotiated with him, in her son's name; received Berengaria from his hand; and with her instantly departed for Italy. To conduct them from Naples were the gallies sent; but Eleanor, it seems, was not disposed to come, till Philip had left the island. The ladies proceeded to Brundisium, and the earl of Flanders only came to Messina.—Where Adelais had been left, is not said; but it was, probably, in Normandy, guarded by as many eyes, as had watched the favoured daughter of Inachus.

Curious
interview
between
Richard
and Tancred.

Richard had an interview at Catanea with the king of Sicily, which appears to have been their first meeting, and having prayed with him before the shrine of St. Agatha, he passed three days in his palace. Before parting, Tancred presented him with many rich gifts, out of which he would only take a small ring, as a pledge of mutual amity; and in return, Richard gave him *Caliburn*, the noted sword, which had once graced the thigh of the British Arthur. But our monarch did not refuse fifteen gallies and four other ships, which Tancred generously offered, and then accompanied him as

o Hoveden. Diceto. Iter. Hiero.

far as Taormina, on his return. Here BOOK
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1191. opened a scene of some baseness and intricacy. The Sicilian shewed Richard a letter, which the duke of Burgundy, he said, had brought to him from the French king. It purported, that Richard was a traitor; that already he had violated the treaty just concluded; and that, if Tancred were disposed to attack him, he, the king of France, would aid him with all his forces. "I am no traitor," replied Richard warmly, "nor ever will be. The treaty, I made with you, I have not violated, nor will I. But I can hardly believe, that the king of France would thus express himself. He is my liege lord; and in this expedition, bound to me by a sacred engagement."—Tancred said: "There is the letter, Sir, take it: and if the duke of Burgundy deny that he gave it to me, as from the king, I have lords in my court who shall maintain it with him."—Richard took the letter, and returned to Messina.—It is remarkable, that Philip himself, a few hours after, saw Tancred at Taormina, and spent the night with him.

The countenance and conduct of the English king soon manifested the perturbation of his mind; and Philip, as naturally, enquired the cause. He sent the earl of Flanders, therefore, to him, to say

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say what he had heard from Tancred, and to shew him the letter. Philip seemed confounded, says the historian, and was silent. "I now plainly discover," said he at last, "that the king of England seeks for matter of complaint against me. The letter is a forgery. But to this artifice he has had recourse, I believe, that he may break through his engagement with my sister Adalais. Let him know, however, that if he do it, and marry any other woman, he shall have me for an enemy, as long as this heart beats."—When the words were reported to Richard, he observed, that he could never consent to marry Adalais: "My reason," he continued, "is. She had a son by my father, and I have many witnesses ready to ascertain the fact."—Philip, on further examination, seemed convinced; and following the advice of his friends, he consented to release Richard from every engagement to his sister. Yet, for this release, the English king stipulates to pay ten thousand marks in silver, and at his return, to deliver up with Adalais, the castle of Gisors and whatever else had been settled as her dower. Philip, moreover, granted, that the sovereignty of Bretagne, about which, probably, some words had passed, should, in future, belong to Normandy, as an immediate fief, the

the latter duke doing homage to France for both provinces. This convention was solemnly sworn to, and signed by both princes, and every cause of difference seemed at once removed^t.

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It was the end of March, and the season for sailing: but Richard daily suggesting obstacles, the French monarch departed, and with him went some of the Anjevin barons. On the same day, came into the port of Messina, Eleanor and Berengaria, the beautiful Navarraise. Pleased with the late issue of her son's negotiation, the old queen only staid three days in Sicily; when leaving Berengaria to the charge of her daughter Jane, she again sailed for Italy, with a commission to the pope, (as the unsuspecting Richard had requested,) in favour of the son of Rosamond; in the way of whose consecration to the see of York, many obstacles had been thrown. Eleanor was in her seventieth year.—And a few days after her departure, Richard put to sea with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, fifty two gallies, ten large ships laden with provisions, and many small vessels. The number of the forces is not mentioned. But a furious tempest soon assailed the fleet. It was dispersed: three of the ships, on board of one of which

Eleanor
having ar-
rived with
Berenga-
ria, the
fleets sail.

^t Hoveden. Diceto. Iter Hiero.

were

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were the princesses, were driven on the coast of Cyprus; and of those three two were wrecked. Isaac, prince of the island, who had assumed the title of emperor, pillaged the stranded vessels, and threw into prison the mariners and men who had escaped. The discourteous savage, even refused liberty to the princesses of entering the harbour of Limisso, in the mouth of which they saw their companions perish. In this situation of distress they were soon found by Richard, who, with great moderation, sent to request the release of his men, and the restitution of their property. But receiving a peremptory and insolent refusal, he disembarked his army; defeated the tyrant who opposed his landing; entered Limisso by storm; gained, the next day, a second victory; obliged Isaac to surrender at discretion; and in a short time the whole island submitting and doing homage to him, he appointed governors over it, and sent the emperor in silver chains to Tripoli.

I cannot omit the description of Richard going to an interview with the prince, before his captivity, in the plain of Limisso, given by the historian who was present.—He entered the plain, he says, and his horse was led before him. The horse was of Spanish race, tall and elegantly built, his neck long and arched, his

his chest broad, his legs bony, his hoofs spreading; in a word, the proportion of his frame, and the round firmness of his limbs, defied the pencil of the ablest artist. He champed his golden bit, and with restless eagerness submitted reluctantly to the rein. Richard vaulted on his back. The saddle, spotted with precious stones, glistened to the sun, and two lions of gold, placed behind on the crupper, with one foot in act to strike, seemed to growl defiance. The monarch's spurs were of gold. A satin tunic, rose-coloured, was bound round his waist; and his mantle, striped in straight lines, and adorned with half-moons of solid silver, shone, besides, with brilliant orbs, in imitation of the solar system. His sword of tempered steel hung on his thigh. The hilt was of gold, the belt of silk, and silver plates bound the edges of the scabbard. On his head he wore a scarlet bonnet, on which were embroidered in gold the various figures of birds and beasts. He came forward with a truncheon in his hand, whilst the spectators eyed with wonder the gorgeous champion of the cross^u.

Now he married Berengaria, and crowned her queen of England. But, at the same time, he introduced to her a

^u Iter Hiero. l. ii. c. 36.

BOOK IV. 1191. dangerous rival, the only daughter of the Cypriot prince, whom he appointed the companion of their journeys. The fleet then sailed, and arrived before Acre or Ptolemais about the eighth of June^v.

It was as the fleet approached to Ptolemais, that happened the famous naval combat between a single ship of the Saracens, of unusual bulk, and the English gallies. Though often boarded, with great carnage, on both sides, the assailants were compelled to retire; when Richard commanded his men to sink the vessel. I have observed, that the gallies were armed with an iron spur at the prow. They withdrew to some distance, when the rowers furiously bearing forward, the iron points bored the vessel's sides: the sea entered; and she sank, with all her stores, her machines of war, her experienced soldiers, and her Greek-fire, designed for the relief of Ptolemais.

Ptolemais is taken, when Philip returns to Europe.

In the year following the loss of Jerusalem, when Lusignan, its king, had been rescued from captivity, was begun the siege of Ptolemais. The united forces of all the christians in Palestine conspired in the attack; and the chosen generals and troops of Saladin as bravely fought within its walls. It was now the third year of the siege. The remains of the Ger-

^v Hoveden. Diceto Neubrig. l. iv. c. 19. Iter Hiero.

man army, under young Frederic, had joined the besiegers, and separate bodies of adventurers continually poured in from the west. Saladin, knowing the valour of his men, had long disregarded the vain attack; but when he saw the mighty swell of enemies, for they could now number a hundred thousand men, he collected his forces, and sat down within their sight. Battles by sea and land, attacks on the walls, and furious sallies, now followed in direful succession. Ptolemais was not shaken. It stood near the sea, and could be supplied with provisions, and every necessary succour. In the christian camp, famine and disease had begun to rage, and the hopes of success daily weakened; when the arrival of the French king inspired new vigour into every arm. With great address, he disposed his forces, and, within the course of a few weeks, an assailable breach was made. But the kings, that the glory of the conquest might be equally divided, had agreed, before the separation, that the walls should not be assaulted, in the absence of either. Philip, therefore, waited the arrival of the king of England: but when that had happened, fresh causes of dissention arose, jealousies, were increased, and the different bodies of crusaders taking sides, as interest or caprice directed, helped to aggravate every offence,

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and every motive of suspicion. The place, however, surrendered on the twelfth of July^w.

The number of men said to have perished during this memorable siege, exceeds all belief, Historians speak of three hundred thousand, among whom were many of the first distinction ; Frederic duke of Swabia, Philip earl of Flanders, with a long list of French nobility ; and on the side of the English, Ranulph de Glanville, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, and many more.—The christian army was now ready for other achievements ; and Saladin, whose kingdom had lately been assailed by the sons of Nouredin, had reason to fear the progress of their arms, thus auspiciously begun.

What next should be attempted, was in anxious agitation—when Philip, ten days after the surrender of Acre, announced his intention of returning to Europe !—His health, it is known, was impaired : he might be jealous of the increasing popularity of his rival : it was evident, that their animosities must soon break through every barrier, which his policy and more prudent reserve had hitherto maintained : but an impelling motive, perhaps, was the death of the earl

^w Hoveden. Neubrig. Iter Hiero. et alii.

of Flanders, by which a considerable suc-
 cession devolved on him : and this it was
 the interest of his crown to secure.

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Powerful, at all events, were the motives,
 which could reconcile him to a step,
 that must expose him to the censure of
 the christian world, and blast, perhaps,
 the fair fame of his hitherto admired
 reign. Richard opposed the measure :
 and as they had mutually covenanted,
 that neither should desert the cause, with-
 out the other's consent, it was not with
 ease, that he complied ; and only, after
 Philip had renewed his oath, to do no-
 thing hostile against his dominions, till
 he should himself be returned to them.
 Philip then departed, leaving behind him,
 under the command of the duke of Bur-
 gundy, ten thousand foot, and five hun-
 dred knights ; and passing by Rome,
 arrived in France, towards the close of
 the year^x.

A few days after the departure of the
 French king, a horrid scene of barbarity
 was exhibited in both the camps. The
 terms of the capitulation of Acre were ;
 that the true cross, which had been taken
 in the battle of Tiberias, should be deli-
 vered up, and with it a certain number
 of christian captives ; that the Saracen
 prisoners should be redeemed, at a stipu-

Richard's
 exploits.

^x Hoveden. Neubrig. Iter Hiero. et alii.

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 1191. lated price ; and if these conditions were not complied with, within so many days, that the lives of the prisoners should be at the king's mercy. Richard apprised Saladin of the near approach of the fatal day. The sultan requested a prolongation of the term, and sent him presents of great value, hoping to bend his savage heart. But his request was refused, and the presents returned ; on which Saladin, in cruel resentment, ordered the christian captives to be executed. Richard, true to his honour, even when violating the laws of nature, waited as yet five days, because only then the term would be expired. He then drew out his prisoners, almost three thousand men, within sight of the Saracen camp, and, at a signal given, the three thousand heads fell. The duke of Burgundy also performed a similar tragedy, but not with the same parade. Richard, in a letter written on the occasion, speaks of the transaction, as a work of meritorious duty ; and the historian remarks that, when the bodies were opened, much gold and silver were found in them. The galls, he adds, were kept for medical purposes^y.

Now it was resolved to attempt the siege of Ascalon. Wherefore, having repaired the walls of Ptolemais, and ap-

^y Hoveden. Ep. Richard. ad Ab. Claraval. Itér Hiero.

pointed governors, Richard left behind him the queens and his fair Cypriot, and marched with all his forces towards the south. The sea was on their right hand, which they did not quit, whilst the fleet, freighted with stores and military engines, rowed within fight of the troops, and supplied them with necessaries. Saladin, with an infinite host, attended on the christian army, moving along the hills by their side, and watching the favourable moment of attack. Between Cesarea and Joppe, he made an attack on the rear; but was repulsed with considerable loss.—On this occasion it is, that some romantic writers of the age describe a pitched battle, fought on the seventh of September, wherein Richard was seen to perform feats of valour, which the eyes of mortals had not before witnessed. With his battle-axe, in the head of which were twenty pounds of tempered steel, he cleft the bones of the Saracens, rallied his men, restored the fight where it flagged, unhorsed Saladin, and gained a complete victory, leaving forty thousand of the enemy dead upon the plain! This is fiction. Richard himself relates the events of the day, which were only the attack, I mentioned, and the repulse; and with the modesty of a brave man, does not even say, that he was engaged in the affray. James de Avesnes, an officer of

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great

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great distinction, was the only man, he says, that was slain^z.—It is not willingly that I detract from the heroic achievements of our lion-hearted monarch ; but his own statement, as he writes it to his friends, might, I thought, be admitted as the best authority.

After this check, Saladin did not molest their march. They entered Joppe, the fortifications of which they restored ; and proceeding, heard that the enemy had also quitted Afcalon, and the other maritime places, having levelled the walls and laid waste the country. To repair these cities was a measure which the wisest policy dictated ; and Richard began the work, and, during the autumn, was busily employed in erecting fortresses, in sinking the ditches round the towns, and in raising such bulwarks, as were deemed most necessary. The coast from Ptolemais to Afcalon became a chain of well-fortified posts. He then returned with his army to Joppe, resolving, immediately after christmas, to march against Jerusalem. But his forces were now considerably diminished ; his treasures, which he distributed with an equal and lavish generosity wherever there was want, were nearly exhausted ; and he saw a disposi-

^z Hoveden. et ep. ut ante ap. eundem : Sed vide Vinifal, in Iter Hiero.

tion,

tion, as the enthusiasm of the mind, from a thousand causes, cooled, in the French crusaders particularly, to follow the example of their king. In some distress of mind, he wrote to the abbot of Clairvaux, whose interests in the courts of Europe was great, relating the events of the expedition, and earnestly entreating him, to rouse the princes and christian people to arms, that Jerusalem, the inheritance of the lord, might be rescued from the abominations of the infidels^a.

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Whilst Richard was thus occupied, great dissensions had disturbed the peace of England.—Longchamp by his arrogance, his pride, and more than regal ostentation, irritated and disgusted all orders of men. To the laity he was more than a king, says an historian, and more than a pope to the clergy. His colleague, the bishop of Durham, and others, by whose advice he should have acted, he utterly disregarded, and held in his single hand the reins of government. Prince John, restless and ambitious, thus debarred from all concern in an administration, to which he might deem himself entitled, listened to the complaints of the subjects, and thought he might draw advantage from the circumstance. His brother's return, from so distant and perilous an ex-

Disturbances in
England.

^a Ep. ut ante.

pedition,

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pedition, became daily more uncertain. But it was whispered, that young Arthur, his nephew, was destined to the throne, in case of the death of Richard without issue; and it was added, that orders had been sent from Sicily to the chancellor, to provide for the event of the succession; who, therefore, had proposed a covenant with the king of Scotland, for the support of the measure. To frustrate this scheme, did John now exert himself. He promised redress to the malcontents, thus extending his popularity; and finding himself strong, he resolved to attempt the ruin of the minister. A remonstrance, signed by names of the highest respect, was drawn up, stating the grievances of the people, and was sent to the king at Messina. The king acted with much prudence. Instantly he dispatched to England the archbishop of Rouen, who was with him, a man generally beloved and experienced in business, with a commission signed by himself, appointing him and four other noblemen, a council of advice to Longchamp, without whose concurrence no affairs should be transacted. The archbishop arrived; and what is remarkable, so formidable did he find the power of the minister, that he durst not communicate his master's orders to him^b.

^b Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 14. 15.

John was not so pusillanimous. Of his retainers and friends he formed an army, and threatened the chancellor with war : who, on his side, made equal preparations. Even conscious that he could not trust to the English, though, for some time, he had endeavoured to allure them to his interest, he purchased mercenaries from abroad. But prudent men averted the storm ; and a treaty of a singular nature was concluded between them, as formal and authentic, as if they had been monarchs of rival nations. By this treaty, witnessed by seven barons on each side, it appeared manifestly what was the earl's aim. Ten castles of the royal demesne were stipulated to be surrendered, without demur, into his hands, should news arrive of the king's death. It is also said, that Longchamp privately agreed, not to support prince Arthur's right. The infant was in his fifth year^c.

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The son of Rosamond having obtained a bull from Rome, not by the application of Eleanor, but by the urgent solicitations of a friend, was consecrated to the see of York, by the archbishop of Tours ; and immediately he set out for England, notwithstanding the oath he had taken to remain abroad for three years. Longchamp forbade him to enter. He disregarded the

^c Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 14. 15.

mandate,

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mandate, and landed at Dover ; when he was seized by the minister's guards, dragged through the streets in his robes, and thrown into the dungeon of the castle. The deed excited a general murmur ; and John assembling an army, which was joined by many prelates and noblemen, commanded his brother to be released. It was complied with ; when Geoffry hastening to London, laid his complaints before the prince, and the powerful attendants that were with him. They agreed to cite the chancellor to appear in the king's court ; but as he despised the citation, they summoned him before a council of the nation at Reading, and fixed the day. He did not appear : on which the prelates pronounced sentence of excommunication on him, and his accomplices in the imprisonment of the archbishop ; and the whole assembly marched to London, in military array. Longchamp with his forces retired to the tower. On the next day, a great meeting was held before the church of St. Paul, at which the citizens assisted. Charges were brought against the chancellor for his usage of Geoffry, and of his colleague, the bishop of Durham. The officers of the king, with whom he should have advised, accused him of an arbitrary administration, directed by violence and a selfish ambition. And then, which is remarkable, the archbishop of Rouen and the earl of Pembroke,

broke, for the first time, shewed the commission they had brought from Messina, which appointed the former joint governor of the realm with the chancellor. They likewise asserted, which was not true, that the patent empowered them to depose Longchamp, should he be found guilty of maladministration. The charges being heard, the meeting proceeded, and deposing Longchamp from his office, they named the archbishop his successor. Nor did the business of the day end here. The assembly-general, with John, solemnly agreed to grant to the citizens of London a charter of liberties and immunities, (*communam suam*), dependent on the king's approbation; and they, in return, taking an oath of fealty to Richard and his heir, declared, that this heir should be John, if the king died without issue; and thereon did homage to him. The same was done by all the prelates and barons present. Longchamp then promised to surrender all his castles, and depart from the realm; which soon after he effected in a female habit^d.

A curious, but indelicate, relation of this escape is given in a letter from the bishop of Coventry, interspersed with the severest remarks on the character and conduct of Longchamp, whose friend and con-

^d Hoveden. Diceto. Neubrig. c. 17.

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1191. confidential agent he before had been. Yet to show how little can be known of the real characters of men, there is also extant a letter of Peter de Blois, a name not unfamiliar to the reader, wherein he speaks most highly of the chancellor, calling him a person famed for wisdom and unbounded generosity, whose temper was amiable, benevolent, and gentle^c.

Being withdrawn into Normandy, Longchamp acquainted the pope, Celestine III, who, this year, had succeeded to Clement III, of the treatment he had experienced; and his holiness warmly espoused the quarrel, addressing a brief to the English bishops, wherein they are commanded to excommunicate John and his abettors, and to make immediate satisfaction to his legate.—The English council wrote to the king, informing him of the measures, they had been compelled to take; as did Longchamp, stating the designs of his enemies, who, he intimates, are the enemies of the crown. But neither were the comminations of Celestine, though canonically promulgated, at all regarded; nor could Richard yet attend to the advice of his minister, which most nearly concerned him. For it was evident, that the views of John were directed to the throne.

^c Ap. Hoveden.

As the name of the son of Rosamond often occurs, an anecdote may here be mentioned, in regard to the ashes of his mother, which belongs to the present year. It is known, that she was daughter of Walter de Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire, and was the favourite mistress of the late king. She bore him two sons, William, who will hereafter be mentioned, and Geoffry. Some years, before her death, she retired, it is said, to the nunnery of Godstow, near Woodstock, and was there interred. Henry, who survived her, bestowed large revenues on the convent. A tomb, to commemorate her frail memory, was erected in the choir, before the altar, covered with silk; and lamps and waxen tapers were commanded perpetually to burn round it. Hugh bishop of Lincoln, a prelate of great virtue, and deservedly enrolled on the register of saints, visiting the religious orders of his diocese, came to Godstow. He entered the church of the convent, and seeing the tomb and its brilliant decorations, naturally enquired, whose it was? "It is the tomb of Rosamond," said the nuns, "the friend of our late monarch; and who, in testimony of his regard for her, has been kind to our convent."—"Take her hence," replied the good bishop sternly: "She was a w—e. Bury her on the outside of the walls, that religion be

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" not

BOOK “ not vilified, and that other women,
 IV. “ awed by the example, learn to turn
 1191. “ from such ways of vice.” The body
 was removed^f.—This is all we know of
 Rosamond ; a name to which many ideas
 of beauty and misfortune have been play-
 fully annexed, from its allusive sound,
 and from the fiction of an old historian,
 who, in wanton mood, could form a la-
 byrinth for her retreat, into which might
 not penetrate the jealous eye of the injured
 Eleanor^g.

1192. Richard having spent the winter in for-
 tifying the maritime posts, was ready with
 the spring to march against Jerusalem.
 But dissentions and jealousies had multi-
 plied in the army, and men and treasure
 had decreased. Unfortunately, also, the
 marquis of Montferrat, whom the French
 and German factions had supported in his
 pretensions to the throne of Jerusalem,
 was, at this time, assassinated, and the
 crime most unjustly was imputed to Rich-
 ard. However, he was yet able, by a
 bold effort, to draw the jarring nations
 together ; and at their head he advanced
 towards the holy city. It was the month
 of June. As the army halted, the eager
 monarch rode forward, and ascending an
 eminence, surveyed thence the walls and
 towers of Jerusalem, to which glory and

Richard
 leaves Pa-
 lestine.

^f Hoveden.

^g Bromton.

the enthusiasm of religion called him. BOOK
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 His spies, at the moment, informed him, } 1192.
 that a rich caravan, laden with merchandize and provisions, and strongly guarded, was at a small distance. With a body of five thousand men, he attacked the caravan, and became master of the valuable spoil. It consisted of three thousand camels, and four thousand mules; and having distributed much of the booty, with his accustomed generosity, among the soldiers, he called a council of the chiefs.

Though the late success, the animating presence of the king, and more than all, the vicinity of the holy city, should have dispelled animosity, and united their resolutions, on symptom appeared, which could promise success to the prosecution of the great design. The duke of Burgundy held back, and his faction dissuaded from every further attempt. The city, it was known, was powerfully defended, and Saladin, with armed myriads, would attempt its rescue. They had done enough for their glory; and disease, and famine, and the sword, would soon dispatch their remaining squadrons. Richard despised the pusillanimous counsel, and offered solemnly to swear, that he would assail the city, and not desist, as long as a pound of horse-flesh remained to be eaten: and the like oath, he proposed should be taken by

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the army. The French not only refused it; but declared they would immediately return to Europe, intimating, that Philip had so commanded.—It is the relation of the English historian.—On this they separated. Nor could it be displeasing to Richard, thus to be furnished with a just cause of hastening back to his dominions, where matters, as it has been seen, of the greatest interest demanded his presence. But it could not be instantly executed. The king could not, in honour, leave the country exposed to the attacks of the enemy; and Saladin, well apprised of the situation of things, every where threatened invasion. The armies, near Ascalon, approached, and a general engagement seemed inevitable, when the sultan offered a truce to the christian generals. He respected, it is said, the valour of the English king; but it was his wish, doubtless, as circumstances were favourable, to accelerate his departure, without the further effusion of blood. The terms he proposed were; that Ascalon be dismantled, after Richard had been reimbursed the sums it had cost him; that the towns, on the coast, remain in the hands of the christians; and that the pilgrims have free access to the holy places. The army joyfully accepted the favourable conditions; and a truce was concluded for three years,

years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours.^h

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Henry, earl of Champagne, having married the relict of the marquis of Montferrat, had been chosen king of Jerusalem; and Richard, in compensation of the ideal crown which Guy de Lusignan thus lost, presented him with that of Cyprus, which remained, many years, in his family.—Nothing now detained the crusaders; they left Palestine, therefore, as they could. The queens, with their retinue, embarked at Ptolemais, on the twenty-ninth of September; and on the ninth of the following month, sailed Richard, with a single ship and a few companions. He wished to avoid every incumbrance, and by expedition to avert those evils which, he had reason to apprehend, now menaced his throne.—The reader, for a moment, may ruminate on the issue of another crusade, which had drained Europe of its treasure and its bravest men, few of whom ever again saw their native homes. And what were its fruits? Some towns on the coast, and some scattered castles! But the wretched phrenzy was not yet exhausted.

What route Richard had proposed to take, does not appear: but, at the beginning of November, he touched at Corfu, Is taken prisoner.

^h Hoveden. Diceto. an. 1192. Iter Hiero.

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an island at the entrance of the Adriatic sea, where he hired three gallies, and thence proceeding to Ragusa, was carried up the gulph, and by strefs of weather driven on shore, not far from Aquileia. Whether from apprehension of danger, if known, or not to be retarded, the king and his company wore the pilgrim's dress. His beard and hair were long, and in nothing was he distinguishable from the inhabitants of the country; only that he spent his money with a usual prodigality; and this circumstance raised a suspicion, that he was no common pilgrim. Of the suspicion he was secretly informed; when ordering one Baldwin, with the company, to remain in the same place for four days, and spend more profusely than himself had done, he took horse, late in the evening, with a single servant, and departed. Ignorant of the country, with no guide to point the way, he travelled nights and days, little fancying, that every step brought him nearer to Vienna, where resided Leopold, duke of Austria, his mortal enemy. They stopt at a little town in the neighbourhood; and the servant going to buy some provisions, Richard threw himself on a couch, and slept. The servant was known, was seized, and taken to the duke. They threatened him with the torture; when confessing where his master was, a body of

of men was dispatched to the inn. Richard ^{BOOK} was still asleep; and as his eyes opened, he ^{IV.} saw the chains that were to bind him. ^{1192.} He was led to Leopoldⁱ.

Duke Leopold had been in Palestine; and at the siege of Ptolemais, having taken one of the towers, he planted his standard on it. Richard ordered the vain ensign to be beaten down. It was so; and Leopold did not forgive the insult.—It was at the end of the month of December, that the king was taken; and soon afterwards, on a promise of a share in the ransom, the duke delivered him into the hands of the emperor, Henry VI. a more powerful, and not less inveterate enemy.

To England, under the prudent ad-^{1193.} ministration of the archbishop of Rouen, tranquillity had returned; and the measures of John were watched with a jealous eye. For a sum of money, he had made his peace with Longchamp, and had promised to restore him to his office. But the allegiance of the king's ministers, now animated by the presence of Eleanor, could not be shaken; and again homage was done to Richard.—In France, Philip, on his return, had demanded his sister Adalais, and the cession of Gisors with its dependences, as covenanted at Messina.

ⁱ Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 29.

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The governor of Normandy replied ; that he had received no orders from his master : on which the monarch threatened to invade the province. But when his army was assembled, the French nobles refused to accompany him, alledging the oath they had taken, not to make war on Richard, till he should be returned from the east.

Now rumours were heard of his captivity ; and hands of crusaders arrived who had beheld him sail from Ptolemais ; and the ship, on which he embarked, had been seen in the port of Brundisium. But to Philip came a messenger from the emperor, acquainting him, that the enemy was taken, and chained in Germany. —As men's dispositions and interest lay, so were they affected by the news. It was a shock to England, where the most serious consequences might be dreaded, from the ambition of Philip, and the disloyal machinations of John. Christendom, in general, viewed the event, as an irreligious violation of the sacred rights of crusaders ; and the thunder of Rome, it was expected, would soon be heard from the Vatican.

Negotiations for his release.

The archbishop of Rouen, as guardian of the realm, met the king's friends at Oxford, where it was decided, to dispatch messengers immediately into Germany. Two abbots were chosen for the purpose.

purpose. They departed. His next care was to secure the state, and to provide against the designs of the earl of Mortagne. But John was gone into Normandy.—Philip, on the news of the king's captivity, irritated by the recent conduct of the governor of Normandy, and feeling a resentment of mind, which he had long harboured, had acquainted the ambitious prince, that there was now a throne within his reach, and that he would aid him to ascend it, on conditions of easy compliance. But the loyal Normans, when John came amongst them, requested his immediate co-operation for the release of their sovereign; when he had the audacity to propose the surrender of their fealty to him. Receiving the answer, his baseness merited, he left them, and repaired to the French court. Here, we are told, he did homage to Philip for all his brother's transmarine possessions; and, it was said, for England also, promising, at the same time, to espouse Adalais, though he was already married, and to deliver into the king's hand's Gisors, with the whole Norman Vexin. Thus strengthened in his hopes, he drew together an army of mercenaries, and returned into England. The castles of Wallingford and Windsor were surrendered to him; and he came to London, every where proclaiming his brother's

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BOOK brother's death. He was not believed:
 IV. and the ministers of the king, to whom
 1193. he repeated the proposal he had made in
 Normandy, rejected it, with disdain, and
 were ready to meet him in arms. He
 flew to his castles, manned them, and
 laid waste the adjacent territory; while
 the royal party opposed his depredations,
 and were active in guarding the coasts,
 that no succours might land from France
 or Flanders. The rebel standard, how-
 ever, was joined by many^k.

The abbots, in the mean while, had
 reached Germany; and as romantic in-
 cidents, on every occasion, were to ga-
 ther round the person of Richard, it is
 related, that the place of his confinement
 could not be discovered. And then it is,
 that Blondell de Nesle, his friend and
 fellow poet, in anxious search of his
 master, came to a castle, where hearing
 that a king was imprisoned, his heart
 told him it must be he. He sat down,
 and sang the first part of a sonnet, which
 they had composed together; and paused
 —The royal voice was heard from the
 window, in responsive melody, complet-
 ing the stanza. Blondell sprang from the
 ground, and withdrew. This may be
 fiction.—Weary of their search, however,
 the abbots had entered Bavaria, says the

^k Hoveden. Diceto. an. 1193.

historian, when they met a guard of soldiers, and looking, they saw their king! He was on his road to Hagenau, where a diet was to be held, to which the emperor had called him. They made themselves known, and declared the purpose of their journey. Richard, unbroken by distress, with a joyous countenance received them. He enquired about the state of his kingdom, the loyalty of his subjects, and particularly, whether William of Scotland was well and prosperous? This verifies the circumstance I before mentioned. They told him, what had happened, and dwelt on the treasonable practices of his brother. "My brother," observed he, after expressing much indignation, "is not a man, however, to gain a crown by his prowess; if the weakest arm resist him."—On the journey, his behaviour excited a general admiration, being uniformly firm and unembarrassed, manifesting, that he was above the caprice of fortune, and that it was not only in the field, he possessed the powers of a hero^l.

Richard relates, that he was received at Hagenau with much respect by the emperor and his court^m. In the public interview, however, the first aspect was unpromising. Henry made many demands, with which the king would not

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^l Hoveden.

^m Ep. Rich. ap. Hoveden.

comply,

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comply, saying, they should take his life rather. On the second day, the list of charges was opened: That he had made an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily; that he had unjustly invaded the kingdom of Cyprus, and dethroned its prince; that he had impeded the progress of the christian arms, by his contest with the French monarch; that he had been concerned in the assassination of the marquis of Montferrat; that he had insulted the duke of Austria, before the walls of Ptolemais; and that he had concluded a base truce with Saladin, leaving Jerusalem in his hands.—Richard refuted these charges in so free, so manly, so intrepid a manner, that the whole assembly gave applause to his defence, and the emperor himself joined in the acclamation. But to obtain money for his ransom was the great object; and the king, in this transaction, either permitted himself to be imposed on, or saw the necessity of cheerfully complying with the unreasonable demand. Henry, with an affected benevolence, proposed to him a treaty of mutual defence against all men; and then promised to effect a permanent reconciliation with Philip. In return for the double favour, Richard engaged to pay the sum of a hundred thousand marks, (about two hundred thousand pounds of our money); while the duke of Austria generously

generously mediated in the honourable proceeding!—The abbots returned; and after them followed a letter, addressed to Eleanor, and through her, to all the people of England. Herein the king recounts part of what I have mentioned; and then entreats, that the stipulated sum be raised with all possible expedition. “Even were I at liberty, in my own kingdom,” he says, “willingly would I give a larger sum than this, to obtain the benefits of the treaty, I have made with the emperor^a.”

Longchamp, when the news of his master's captivity arrived, had gone over to him; and it appears, that he had served him with fidelity. Richard speaks of him in the warmest terms of friendship; calls him his chancellor: and he appointed him to carry into England a golden bull from Henry. He landed immediately after the king's messenger, and proceeding without pomp to St. Alban's, was there met by Eleanor, and the ministers of the crown. He presented the insidious instrument, saying, that he came, not as simple justiciary, nor as legate, nor as chancellor, but as a simple bishop; not even as a citizen, but as a guest, and as a messenger from his lord, the king. They received the Bull. It contained a confirmation of the treaty;

^a Ep. Rich. ap. Hoveden.

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it exhorted them to strenuous exertions in the service of his dearest friend, and faithful ally; and it tells them, that Henry shall regard every favour done to the king of England, as exhibited to the imperial crown, and that he will punish every breach of duty.

The insolent address either the ministers did not penetrate, or they concealed their feelings; for instantly measures were taken to raise the money. Without assembling any council of the nation, they ordained, that all subjects, clergy and laity, pay a fourth of their yearly rent, and a notable portion of their moveable goods; that twenty shillings be levied on each knight's fee; that the churches deliver up all their gold and silver plate; and that the Cistercian monks and those of the order of Sempringham, who till now had been particularly indulged, contribute all the wool of their flocks, in which their property consisted. But so exhausted had the nation been by its late contributions, that the money came in but slowly, and that at three different levies. Great severity, however, was exercised; and an historian accuses the collectors of oppression and speculation. The whole was deposited in the hands of commissioners, under the seals of Eleanor and the justiciary. In the king's foreign dominions the same tax was raised^o.

^o Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 35.

Whilst

Whilst England was thus employed, the king of France and John laboured to obstruct the negociation for Richard's deliverance. To the emperor they made proposals; and an interview was agreed on, which, fortunately for the prisoner, did not take place.—Again, after midsummer, he appeared before Henry at Worms, when the business of the ransom was resumed, and higher demands were made. Besides the hundred thousand marks, which were immediately to be paid, other fifty were demanded, for which hostages would be received, sixty to the emperor, and seven to the duke of Austria. To this Richard consented; as also to release the king of Cyprus and his daughter, and to give the young princess of Bretagne, his niece, in marriage to the son of the duke. When the first sum should be paid, and the hostages received for the remainder, then the royal prisoner should be released. The prelates and German nobles present witnessed this agreement.—Commissioners went to England, who received the hundred thousand marks; and, at the same time, the king ordered Eleanor and the justiciary, with many prelates and barons to repair to him. Hubert, who had lately been translated from Salisbury to the see of Canterbury, by the royal appointment, remained guardian of the realm. But the

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the emperor was not yet disposed to release his prisoner; and he amused his vanity with the promise of the kingdom of Burgundy, and many territories in Provence, the crown of which, he said, out of pure friendship, he would place on his head. Of the empty honour Richard speaks, with seeming complacency, in a letter to the new primate; not reflecting, that the emperor's own title to the territory was ideal, and that they would receive no master from his hand. The twentieth day after Christmas was now fixed for his deliverance; and in seven more, he would be crowned king of Provence or Arles, the region of minstrels and of Troubadours^p.

The king's friends, at home, remained firm and active, against the attempts of his brother, though they left him in possession of his castles, and did not impede his treacherous machinations with the French king. Letters also had been written, by Eleanor and the late justiciary, to the pope, urging his interference in a quarrel, that immediately regarded the honour of the holy see. Celestine was roused; and he threatened all the enemies of Richard with excommunication, if they detained him any longer, or dared to attack his territories. But Philip's

^p Hoveden. Pet. Blef. ep. 64, 144.

mind was still resentful ; and though he made little impresson on Normandy, he did not desist. Gisors and other castles surrendered to his arms, while Longchamp laboured to effect a treaty of peace, and strenuously to support the interests of his master. Before this, Philip had married Ingeberga, sister of the king of Denmark, with an intention, it was said, to revive the fallen claim of that country to the realm of England ; but he immediately quitted his bride, and confined her in a convent. The difficulties, in which this rash step involved him, were afterwards productive of much trouble.

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Understanding that the emperor would be necessitated to release the king, Philip now warned the earl of Mortagne of the approaching danger, saying, that the devil would soon be unchained, and proposing to him to attempt a last measure. They sent messengers to Henry with offers, which, they had reason to hope, his imperial virtue would be unable to resist. It was after Christmas, and the emperor had gone to Spire, where Richard and a great court were assembled, previously to his release. The messengers presented themselves, and declared their commission. It imported an offer from Philip of fifty thousand marks, and of thirty thousand from John, if the emperor would detain Richard in custody, till the following

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ing michaelmas ; or, if he rather chose it, they would pay him a thousand pounds of silver at the end of every month, so long as he should keep him prisoner ; or, they would give him a hundred and fifty thousand marks, on condition, the king were delivered into their hands, or not released for the space of one year.— The needy man listened to the shameless proposal, and appointed a more distant day, for the accomplishment of his sacred word to Richard. This was candlemas : when again they met at Mentz ; and before the whole court, and many English nobles. Henry did not blush to declare his unwillingness to let go the prisoner. Even the messengers were introduced ; and taking from them the letters they had brought from their masters, he gave them to Richard. With a confusion indescribable, he perused that from the French king, and that from his brother, purporting the offers, I have mentioned. That his chains must again be rivetted, he could not doubt ; and he stood pensive, desponding, motionless. But the German prelates and princes, who had been sureties for his release, were more honourable than Henry, whom, to his face, they upbraided with base venality, and a breach of the most solemn compact. Their remonstrance took effect ; when Richard was delivered into the hands of
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his mother, after the archbishop of Rouen and other hostages had been named to remain in the imperial court. Thus at liberty, he speedily left Germany, and passing by Cologne, arrived at Antwerp, where many ships from England waited for him. He there embarked on board the galley of Trenchemer, a famous naval officer; and on the twentieth of March, landed at Sandwich, after an absence of four years, fifteen months whereof he had passed in confinement^q.

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The joy was extreme on his arrival, and the magnificence exhibited by the Londoners, when he entered their city, struck the German barons, who accompanied him, with amazement. "Had our master suspected this," said one of them frankly to the king, "you would not have escaped so lightly." But the nobility were employed in besieging the prince's castles, and did not meet him. Various armies were on foot, at the head of which, in the north, were the bishop of Durham, and the son of Rosamond, the archbishop of York; and in the south the primate himself, justiciary of the realm, was in the field. He had assembled a great council, wherein John was declared a rebel, and all his possessions forfeited; and on the next day, the

He returns to
England,
and goes
into
France.

^q Hoved. Dicet. an. 1194. Neubrig. c. 38.

BOOK IV. 1194. bishops excommunicated him and his abettors. So great was the attachment to Richard, a prince possessed of no quality, which could make his people happy, and from whom they had as yet experienced only insult and oppression. But he was a soldier, and the glory, which his arms had acquired, dazzled the multitude. To the shame of human reason, such are the characters whom popular applause has magnified!

The castle of Nottingham still resisted, when the king landed, and he instantly marched against it. Here we find him, on the fifth day, after his landing, and on the eighth it surrendered. A council then was held, which was splendidly attended, the main design of which was to raise money. He confiscated the estates and honours of some barons, who had adhered to his brother; and he sold them in the face of the assembly, though they properly belonged to the royal demesne. John was cited to answer for his conduct, and forty days were allowed him. On the third day of the meeting, Richard demanded two shillings from every *carucate* or hide of land; and he ordered every knight, according to the nature of his fee, to give him a third part of his service, during the expedition he projected into France. The Cistercian monks were, likewise, again called on for all the wool
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of the present year. On the last day, it was determined, that the king should be again crowned at Winchester^r.—In all the transactions of this assembly, the language of the historian clearly insinuates, that Richard decided and enacted, without any reference to the opinions or votes of the meeting. In a subsequent negotiation with the king of Scotland, for the recovery of the northern counties, which his ancestors had held, the same historian relates, that the advice of a council was taken: of which the obvious reason was, that Richard disliked the proposal, and therefore wished the odium of a refusal to rest on them.

As with a shameful prodigality, before his expedition to the east, he had alienated many parts of the royal demesne; the same he now resumed with an unheard of rapacity, alledging, that the purchasers had amply reimbursed themselves, and that, in conscience, they could hold them no longer. They submitted.—He was crowned at easter, that every unfavourable impression, which his captivity had made, might be effaced by the ceremony; and soon afterwards he departed, with an army, for the continent. He landed at Barfleur, irritated by a series of ill-usage, and bent on revenge. Yet the

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^r Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 39.

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events which follow are so trifling, as hardly to merit notice. The siege of one place is raised, while another is taken: skirmish succeeds to skirmish; and villages and towns are desolated. A truce is proposed, which miscarries; after which, a rencounter ensued, in which the French were defeated, and the military chest, with the records of the crown and other papers, fell into the hands of Richard. It may appear extraordinary, that such valuable writings should have been moved from place to place: but as the kings had no permanent court, and the decision of many questions, in the feudal tenures, daily came before them, it was necessary to be provided with documents, whereby claims might be ascertained or refuted. The loss of these records might have proved irreparable: but it does not appear, that any real evil ensued. Richard was an undisguised enemy, and valued not those means, which a more politic prince would have turned to advantage. But the French historians say, he would never surrender the writings, and that they were compelled to repair the loss, by memory and the best methods they could devise^s. A truce for a year was finally concluded.

Prince John, by the mediation of Eleanor, had been reconciled to his brother.

^s Daniel, Mezer, &c.

When he heard of his arrival in Normandy, he quitted the court of Philip, and coming to Evreux, which that prince had taken and given to him, he invited the French officers to his table. Them, at the end of the repast, he ordered to be massacred; and the garrison shared their fate. The act of perfidy, he trusted, would recommend him to favour and with his bloody hands he waited on Richard, and implored his forgiveness. He forgave him; but did not restore to him either his castles or his lands.

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Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, guardian of the realm and grand justiciary, was indefatigable in the concerns of his office. Under his administration, a general tranquillity prevailed through the provinces; the justices made their regular circuits; and with order a spirit of industry returning, men began to recover from the late oppressions of taxes and enthusiasm. The absence of the king was a real benefit to the nation. Hubert had been educated under Ranulph de Glanville, and was expert in business, and the science of the English laws. But, on many occasions, he seconded, contrary to the conviction of his judgment, the schemes of Richard for raising money. His attachment to him was most sincere: he had accompanied him to the east, when he had been lately raised to the see of Salisbury,

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Miscellaneous occurrences.

BOOK IV. 1195. } lisbury, and there fought by his side. Richard, says the historian, was often astonished at his prowess^t.

Tournaments, in which the lives of the champions were sometimes in danger, had been prohibited by councils and decrees of popes. The English king viewed them with other eyes, and he ordered they should be practised in England, where as yet they were uncommon. But, besides the military advantage to be derived from the exercise, he looked to pecuniary profit. When we know how exhausted the royal coffers were, and how much money was wanted to carry on a most just war against Philip, we may be disposed to pardon these measures of a prince, otherwise unmercenary, generous and munificent. He decreed therefore, that whoever held, or was present at, a tournament, should pay for a license, in proportion to the rank he bore: an earl twenty marks, a baron ten, a knight possessing land, four, and those without land, two. The justiciary warmly seconded the measure.

Nor was Hubert less vigilant in his attention to the church. As primate, but more as legate of the holy see, to which dignity he had been promoted, on the dismissal of Longchamp, he held a council at York; wherein eighteen canons were

^t Aet. Pont. Cant. p. 1679.

Hoyeden. Diceto.

enacted,

enacted, to correct abuses, and to enforce a more regular discipline on the ministers of the altar. This synod he convened at York, in which himself presided, that his primacy over the whole English church might be declared. At all times, had this point been litigated between the metropolitan sees, and had not Geoffry been absent from the kingdom, the legate's design had assuredly been frustrated.

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The son of Rosamond, whose military accomplishments I have often mentioned; and who, when his brother's crown was lately threatened, had exhibited the same allegiance to him, as he had to his father, continued to manifest as little of the churchman's spirit, as when, in his youth, he had been elected to the see of Lincoln. His temper was violent and arbitrary, such as the maxims of the age impressed. From the moment of his elevation to York, quarrels with the chapter and with the bishop of Durham, unfounded pretensions, and a disregard to the rights and immunities of clergy and convents, had formed a scene of contest and opposition. Complaints were carried to Rome against him, which represented his conduct as highly criminal, and his character as profanely loose and uncanonical. Bigotry and malevolence had given their tinge to the colouring. Commissioners were nominated by the pope to examine these charges,

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charges, one of whom was the amiable bishop of Lincoln. They were examined and many of them, it appears, were founded: but Geoffry had interest, by appeals to Rome and other means, to avert the sentence of suspension, which his conduct merited. With Richard also he had disputes, who seized his archbishopric, and the many castles and honours he possessed^v.

I have mentioned the bishop of Lincoln, the same who, on a former occasion, had disturbed the ashes of the reposing Rosamond. He was a friend to the people, as he was a foe to vice and general oppression. It had been a custom in his diocese, to present the king annually with a mantle, lined with rich furs; and to raise this an immoderate tax was levied on the people. Hugh redeemed this obligation by a thousand marks. An order soon after came for a subsidy, which, it was said, the king much wanted. The good bishop saw the oppression, and answered the justiciary, that he would not consent it should be levied. Information of this was carried to the king, who, in a rage, commanded, that no mercy should be shewn to the refractory prelate. Regardless of the menace, Hugh repaired to Normandy; when his friends entreated him, not to appear before the king, apprehending the violence of his anger. Richard was at

^v Hoveden. passim.

mas,

mafs, and the bifhop entering the chapel,
 “ walked up to him. Give me a kifs.”
 “ faid he, in a low voice.—“ That you
 “ have not deferved ;” replied his majefty,
 “ turning to him. Indeed, I have,” re-
 “ joined the prelate; “ for I have made a
 “ long journey to fee you, and it fhall not
 “ be for nothing.” So faying, he took
 hold of the king’s robe, and drew him to
 one fide. Richard fmiled, and embraced
 him.—After mafs, they withdrew behind
 the altar, when the bifhop, taking a feat
 by the king, faid to him. “ In what
 “ ftate is your confcience? Sir.”—“ Why;
 very eafy,” replied Richard, “ barring
 the anxiety, which my enemies caufe.”
 “ Can you fay fo?” rejoined Hugh :
 “ Do you not daily opprefs the indigent ;
 “ and load your people with exactions?
 Befides, it is reported, that you have been
 “ faithlefs to your queen. Are thefe light
 “ tranfgreffions?”—He then exhorted
 him to an amendment of life ; and raif-
 ing his voice that the courtiers might
 hear, he declared from what motives he
 had acted, in his late oppofition to the
 fubfidy. The king’s behaviour was tem-
 perate, condefcending, and friendly. As
 the bifhop retired, Richard obferved to
 his courtiers: “ If all prelates were of
 “ that character, we kings and our ba-
 “ rons

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100 K⁴ " rons should have little sway over
 IV. " them^v."

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In this year, died the duke of Austria, whom Celestine had excommunicated; but before his death, he released the hostages, and remitted the part of the ransom, which was yet unpaid. The sister of duke Arthur, who had been promised to the son of Leopold, and the daughter of the king of Cyprus, were on their journey into Hungary, when the news arrived. The ladies returned.—Tancred of Sicily was also dead, and his crown devolved on William, an infant son. This was the moment for the emperor to make good his claim. He marched an army into Apulia, which submitted, as did the island of Sicily. At Palermo he was crowned, and thus ended the race of the Norman kings, nearly two hundred years, after the first conquests of the family. The riches of the kingdom were transported into Germany; its nobles massacred or imprisoned; and the dowager queen, with her son and three daughters, having graced the triumph of the conqueror, were consigned to perpetual captivity^x.

Elated with this success, and in prosecution of some plan which he seems to have formed with Richard, while he was a prisoner in his court, the emperor sent

^w c. 23.

^x Muratori an. 1195.

an embassy into Normandy. They brought a golden crown, of great value, to the English king, as a pledge of friendship from their master; and their instructions were, to propose an immediate attack on France, in which Henry would co-operate with a powerful army. Richard mistrusting the sincerity of the proposal, dispatched Longchamp, who still held the post of chancellor, to the German court, to procure certain information of the emperor's real designs. The negotiation was void of success; but Philip hearing of it, declared the truce was broken, and recommenced hostilities.—Another inglorious campaign began, marked by similar devastations; and soon another conference was held. On this occasion, Adelais was, at last, released, whom her brother married to the count of Ponthieu. Some months after, the kings again met, and a treaty of peace was settled: but as it was broken, almost as soon as made, to specify its articles is unnecessary.

Nothing could allay the mutual animosity of these monarchs, which the slightest irritation roused, while the frontiers of both countries were made a scene of havoc. But they were in awe of each other's power, and feared to bring their quarrels to the issue of a battle.—At the same time, the earl of Toulouse began to stir in the south; and the Bretons manifested a disposition

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position to revolt. Richard had demanded the tutelage of his nephew Arthur, then ten years old, from what motives, does not appear, and he had imprisoned Constance, his mother and guardian, married to the earl of Chester. The Bretons implored the protection of France, and began hostilities : but the English king invaded the province, on which they withdrew with their prince^v. I have said, how romantic were the expectations that people had formed, from the airy circumstance of the name of Arthur. They watched his growth, and augured empire from his looks. The prophecies of old Merlin were to be fulfilled in the child. The disturbances of Toulouse soon ended, when Richard gave to the earl his sister Jane, the queen dowager of Sicily. I have not said, that she had returned from Palestine, about two years before, with Berengaria and the Cypriot princess. They made some stay in Sicily ; then went to Rome, where Celestine entertained them for almost six months, and sailing under the charge of one of his cardinals, they landed at Marseilles, and were thence safely conducted into Aquitaine^z.

But Richard, by the money he had been able to extort from his subjects, now formed a formidable alliance. The young

Hoveden. 1196 Neubrig. l. 5. c. 16. ^z Hoveden. an 1194.

earl of Flanders joined him, and even the princes of the house of Champagne. But the vigour and activity of Philip could oppose this combination, and little was effected.—The most memorable incident was, the capture of the bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, and a near relation to the French king, Him Richard hated. He had ever shewn himself his enemy, and it was he who, sent by Philip into Germany, had done his utmost to prolong his captivity. The time of retaliation was come. Richard loaded him with irons, and ordered him to be confined in a dungeon at Rouen. Two of his chaplains waited on the king to request, they might be permitted to attend their master in prison. “Yourselfes shall judge of my conduct,” said he to them: “His general behaviour to me I forget; but one instance I cannot. When detained by the German emperor, in consideration of my royal character, I was treated more gently, and with some marks of respect. Your master came; and I soon experienced what was the design of his mission. Over night he had an interview with the emperor; and the next morning a chain was brought me, such as a horse would have hardly borne. What treatment he now deserves from my hands, say, if you are just.” The chaplains were silent, and withdrew.

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withdrew.—But the prelate sent a messenger to Rome, not doubting, but his holiness would patronise the insulted mitre. The letter, he wrote, is curious. “The king of England,” it says, “whose irreverent treatment of his liege lord is known to all the churches, confiding in the apostate cohorts of his Brabanters, brought fire and sword into our country. When I saw it, mindful of the legal axiom, *fight for your country*, I joined the bands of citizens and the martial array of nobles, and met the enemy. But fortune, that step-dame of human counsels, frustrated our wishes. I was taken, and was bound in chains. Nor has the dignity of my order, or reverence due to God, been able to lighten their burthen, or to give me relief. Thus, like a wolf, has he acted to me; nor is your holiness, I believe, ignorant of it. Why then do you dissemble?” He entreats him to avenge his cause; bewails his situation; and insinuates, that a further delay may involve the pontiff in Richard’s guilt.

Celestine was not imposed on. He knew the bishop’s character; and besides, conscious of the ill-treatment which Richard had experienced, he had declared himself his protector; had excommunicated the duke of Austria; and threatened the emperor with a similar sentence, if he did

did not release the king's hostages, and even restore the money he had extorted from him. In his answer to the bishop, he expresses himself in warm terms; he censures Philip, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, had invaded the territory of his ally, while he was in Palestine and in prison; he praises Richard, and applauds his just indignation, to whose arms he wished success. "The event of your captivity," says he, "was disastrous; but what wonder? Laying aside the papal prelate, you would put on the soldier. The shield, the sword, the coat of mail, pleased you best; the helmet rather than the mitre, and a spear in lieu of the pastoral staff. The order of things was inverted." He tells him, however, that he will write to the king to supplicate his release, or a mitigation of his confinement. "In the mean while," he concludes, "bear your chains with patience, and be moderate^a."—He was afterwards ransomed.

The confederates now gained many advantages, and Philip, seeing the danger to which his provinces would be exposed, endeavoured to make a separate peace with the earl of Flanders. This he could not effect; but the earl promised to become a mediator. And again the kings met near

^a Hoveden. Neubrig. c. 22.

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I have mentioned Andeli, which became the source of great altercation, and which in the next reign, will be the theatre of a memorable siege. It was situated seven leagues above Rouen, and with the adjacent country, belonged to that see. Richard, as the French, in their incurfions into Normandy, often came down the river, resolved to erect a castle on a rock, near Andeli on its banks; and at the same time, to fortify a little island, which lay in the stream. The archbishop, though strongly attached to the king, and whom, as we have seen, he had essentially served, opposed the measure. The monarch proceeded; on which the prelate had recourse to the arms of the church, and, with an intemperate zeal, laid the whole province under an interdict. The office of the church ceased, and in the streets and high ways, says the historian, lay the bodies of the dead unburied. Richard, with great moderation, endeavoured to relieve his people; but not succeeding, he dispatched

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ed three bishops to plead his cause before the pope. He could not place it in hands, more inclined to serve him. The envoys met the archbishop at Rome, and both parties exposed their grievances, in a public consistory. The decision was favourable to the king; and the prelate was advised to compromise the dispute, by accepting such a compensation, as wise arbitrators should adjudge: for the king, it was observed, or any potentate, had a right to fortify any weak places, to secure the country from danger. They returned; and Richard, with his usual generosity, made an ample compensation to the see of Rouen, giving, in exchange for Andeli, and its rock, and little island, the towns of Dieppe and Louviers, with their appurtenances, and other places. With alacrity, he then resumed his works, on which was exerted the skill of the greatest engineers of the age: and on the island he raised another castle, in which he meant often to reside. To the castle on the rock he gave the name of Chateau Gaillard, intimating, that it should brave, with gaiety, the stoutest efforts of the enemy^b. When he could repose from the toils of war, here Richard spent his days, in tracing lines of defence, and in viewing the mighty bulwark rise. The mil-

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^b Hoveden. Neubrig. c. ult.

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der arts of peace, which an imperfect polity and the languid state of society called for, he left in other hands. In his name, however, was a useful law, this year, made, which established one weight and measure, throughout the kingdom of England^c.

About this time, an embassador was sent by the emperor, who was in Sicily, to offer Richard an indemnification for the ransom he had forced from him, in whatever manner should please him best. The king had lately paid the remaining sum, and discharged the hostages. Celestine was the occasion of the extraordinary measure; for he had excommunicated Henry, nor would he relax the sentence, though the emperor had raised three armies, and sent them, under his generals, into Palestine. Saladin was dead, and his sons and brother contending for the empire, the moment seemed favourable for another crusade. But as the embassador was on his journey, Henry died at Messina, and his body was refused a grave. "He shall not be buried," said the pontiff, "unless the king of England consent, and the hundred and fifty thousand marks be restored to him." How the affair ended, we are not told; but the untimely death of Henry, whose son was

^c Hoveden.

only in his third year, involved the empire and the church in another sea of troubles. The crusade ended as others had done.

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Again was Richard in want of soldiers and money. The first he raised by a proclamation, that England should furnish him with three hundred knights, to remain one year in his service, or should levy a sum of money, whereby the king might be enabled to procure that number, at the rate of three shillings to each knight *per* day. No council was assembled to sanction the arbitrary measure. The bishop of Lincoln alone refused to comply, and he admonished the justiciary not to enforce the odious imposition^a.—The subsidy of money was raised, by a tax of five shillings, on every hide of land throughout England, (which hide measured something more than a hundred acres, and was commonly let at twenty shillings a year.) For this officers were appointed, and a severe enquiry taken in the several districts; when the country was said to consist of 243,600 hides. But some lands, such as the free fees of the parochial churches, were exempted from the tax^c. Nor is here any council mentioned.—Rigorous researches were also made, to recover all debts due to the

^a Hoveden. an. 1198.

^c Ibid.

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crowns; and its various claims, under each head, were distinctly ascertained, such as forfeits, escheats, amerciements, &c. The weight of these measures, says the historian, was felt from sea to sea^f; yet were they followed by others, still more oppressive, because more tyrannical.

He revived the shameful forest-laws of his great-grand-father, Henry I. which the late king had mitigated. Armed with the terrors of absolute controul, the foresters proceeded into every county, and the prelates, earls, barons, knights, and freemen were commanded, in the king's name, to appear before them, to hear the royal mandates, and if summoned, to answer to their charges. The punishment, on conviction for killing game or wasting the wood in the forests, which the late king had remitted to the forfeiture of chattels, was again to be mutilation and the loss of sight; or rather, as it appears from a further clause in the statute, this punishment only regarded the killing of game, and waste was punishable by pecuniary fines. In all cases, the offender lay at the king's mercy, who could forgive or mitigate the penalty^g.— And here I must again observe, that no consent or advice of a council was asked, even in measures, which so nearly con-

^f Hoveden. an. 1198.

^g Ibid.

cerned

cerned the common interests of the nation ; but the king repealed the late ordinance of his father, and revived an abrogated law with additional clauses, as if, in what regarded a supposed prerogative of the crown, he had been absolute lord of the persons and property of all his subjects. And such he deemed himself ; such also, I believe, the constitution of the country then considered him.

As the truce ceased, hostilities recommenced, and were managed with an uncommon fury. Ordinary acts of desolation satisfied, no longer, these hardened princes ; and they vented their rage by putting out the eyes of their prisoners. But the arms of Richard, whom the confederacy still supported, were most successful. Near Gisors a battle was fought, wherein the French were defeated, and Philip, in the retreat, nearly lost his life. The bridge into the castle broke down, as he crossed it ; and he was drawn with difficulty from the stream. “ He drank, that day, of the water of the Epte,” said Richard insultingly, in an account he wrote of the battle. Himself had unhorsed three knights at a single onset, and made them his prisoners. The country was then ravaged far and near ; and the enemy retaliated.—But the primate, who lately, at the entreaty of the pontiff, had been dismissed from his

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his high office, to which Geoffry Fitzpeter succeeded, coming into Normandy, undertook to pacify this inveterate animosity. His endeavours were not without success: when he was joined by a more able negotiator, deputed from the Roman see. Eager to stop the further effusion, of blood, and to draw these princes into another eastern expedition, the pontiff sent this minister. Who the pontiff was, I shall hereafter say. As the kings could not be disinclined from peace, they listened to the proposals of the mediators; and a day was fixed for a general interview^h.

There was in France a pious priest, to whom fame ascribed miraculous powers: who, at a word, could heal the sick, and expel devils, and what was more, could prevail on the miser and usurer to give their money to the indigent, and look for treasures in heaven. He could also prophecy: and he warned the monarchs, that one of them would soon die, if they continued their hostile practices. Richard, who admired these extraordinary characters, received a visit from him. “I exhort you,” said the priest, to marry off, as soon as may be, your three daughters, infamous as they are, lest something worse befall you.”—“Hypocrite,” replied the king; thy falsehood is palpable: I

^h Hoveden. Gervas.

“ I have

“ I have not a single child.”—You have
 “ there I say,” answered the priest; BOOK
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 “ pride, avarice, and luxury.”—Rich- 1198.
 ard called to the nobles who were with
 him. “ Attend,” said he, “ to the ad-
 “ monition of this good man, who main-
 “ tains, that I have three daughters,
 “ pride, avarice, and luxury, whom he
 “ commands me to dispose of. I will.
 “ I wed my pride to the Templars, my
 “ avarice to the Cistercian monks, and
 “ my luxury to the prelates of God’s
 “ church.”—How Fulco, such was his
 name, relished the witty reply, is not
 said; but the courtiers laughed, and the
 historian, who tells it, seems to have
 been scandalised¹. The prophet was, soon
 afterwards, ill-treated by the clergy of
 Lisieux, whose scandalous lives he cen-
 sured, and by the military at Caen: but
 neither dungeons nor chains could hold
 him, and he went about preaching, and
 doing good.

Richard passed the christmas at Dom- 1199.
 front, and Philip at Vernon; and the Terms of
peace.
 fourteenth of January was the day of in-
 terview. From Andeli, the English
 monarch sailed up the Seine, and Philip
 came on horseback, down its western
 bank. They met, and conversed famili-
 arly, one from the side of his boat, and

¹ Hovedeu,

BOOK the other from his horse. The circum-
 IV. stance betrayed a want of confidence. As
 1199. they were thinly attended, it seemed agreeable to both, that another day should be named for a more solemn decision of their differences. This they agreed on; when, on the day, Peter of Capua, cardinal legate of the holy see, and a train of nobles, attended. In the assembly was but one wish, that England and France should close their hostile contests. Still no peace was made; and the mediators were satisfied, that a truce of five years should be accepted; the terms of which were, that all things remained on their present footing. The kings consented, swore to observe the truce, and departing, mutually disbanded their armies.

Richard had been served by a body of Brabanters. As these were returning homeward, under Marchadée their leader, they were attacked by some French noblemen, and many of them were killed. Marchadée rejoined his late master, and complained of the unjust treatment: but Philip declared he had no concern in it. The English monarch then, who was called into Aquitaine, left Normandy, and took the remaining Brabanters with him. On the way, he heard that Philip had begun to erect a fortress near the Seine, and had cut down part of a forest belonging to the king of England,
 which

which impeded his works. This was an obvious violation to the truce. Richard, therefore marched back, and sent his chancellor, the new bishop of Ely, (for Longchamp was lately dead,) to tell the French monarch, that, if the works he had commenced were not instantly demolished, the truce was at an end. The legate also interfered; and Philip promised to comply with the just requisition. Richard was now sensible how unbinding was the compact they had formed, and that a measure of more efficacy must be adopted; wherefore, he proposed that a peace be concluded. A negotiation was opened, the proposals of which were, that the king of France restore all the places he had taken, Gisors only excepted, in return for which he consents to give up to Richard the nomination to the see of Tours; that Louis, son to the French king, shall marry Blanche of Castile, Richard's niece; that Philip shall swear to assist Otho, Richard's nephew, and son to the late duke of Saxony, who was now contending for the sceptre of Germany; that the castle of Gisors shall be considered as Blanche's marriage-dower, and shall go with her to the French prince, to which the king of England shall likewise add twenty thousand marks of silver. Such were the conditions; but as Richard could not delay his journey into Aquitaine,

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BOOK Aquitaine, it was agreed to put off their
 IV. final adjustment, till his return. He never
 1199. returned^k.

It was now that the king of France acquainted Richard, that his brother, the earl of Mortagne, was again treacherously deserting from him; and of this, he said, he had a written document which he could shew. John, since the last reconciliation, had manifested every symptom of sincere amity and allegiance, and he had been reinstated in his vast possessions. Too lightly therefore did Richard give ear to an accusation, which might not be strictly true; he was enraged, and once more dispossessed him of his lands and honours. The earl was amazed, and demanded the cause of this sudden anger: of which being informed, he dispatched two knights to the French court. Their orders were, to deny the charge, and to vindicate, in arms, the honour of their prince, in whatever manner the court should determine. But neither the king, nor any champion in his court, would accept the challenge. No event could have proved more fortunate. Richard was convinced of his brother's innocence; and in the moment a warm sentiment arose, of which the happy effects will be seen^l. It is in itself pro-

^k Hoved. an. 1199.

^l Hoveden.

bable, he had made overtures to Philip, though not in the decided form of treachery, which the latter had insinuated. Any thing may be believed of John; but the king of France was a prince of too much character, to descend to a measure of revenge, so base and unmanly.

While Richard was in Aquitaine, Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, his vassal, found a valuable treasure in his domain, part of which he presented to the king. He refused the present, and, as superior lord, laid claim to the whole, which the viscount would not surrender. Richard, whose mind never bent to opposition, with his wonted impetuosity marched an army against the castle of Chalus, which belonged to Vidomar; and where, he trusted, the treasure would be captured. The garrison offered to surrender; but the king replied, he would storm their fortress, and hang them up as thieves. In anguish they returned, and prepared despondingly for resistance.—The king, with his Flemish general Marchadée, then walked round the walls, exploring where an assault might best be made, and returned to his tent. He had been seen from the rampart, where a youth stood, by name Bertrand de Gourdon, who had charge of an engine. On it he laid a dart; raised his eyes to heaven; prayed, that God would protect their innocence; and

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Richard
dies.

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and drew the fatal cord. His aim, says an historian, was not distinctly pointed. But unfortunately, at the same instant, the king stepped from his tent; heard the cross-bow twang; and stooping his head, received the arrow in his left arm, just below the shoulder. He mounted his horse, and rode to his quarters, giving orders to Marchadée, instantly to assault the castle. He did so; and the castle was taken. He then ordered, as he had menaced, the whole garrison to be hanged, the man only excepted, by whom he had been wounded, probably meaning to reserve him for a more painful death. During this space of time, which must have been of some hours, the dart was in Richard's arm. Intent on revenge and savage butchery, he had not heeded its smart; but now Marchadée's surgeon attended, the expertest practitioner, doubtless, in the army. Long did he labour to extract the arrow; when the wood parted, and the iron point remained in the wound. He had recourse to his knife, which he used freely, and drew away the iron. As yet there was little danger; but, in a few days, from unskilful treatment, and more, it is said, from a disordered habit of body, bad symptoms appeared, and a gangrene ensued

fued. The life of Richard drew fast to its close^m.

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It was now his first solicitude, to settle the succession of his dominions, all of which he devised to John, requiring from those, who were present, an immediate oath of fealty to him, and commanding his castles to be surrendered into his hands, with three parts of his treasures. Such was the effect of the late favourable impression. To his nephew Otho, he left his jewels; and the remaining part of his treasure, to his servants and the poor.—Bertrand de Gourdon was then commanded to be brought in. He entered in chains, and stood before the dying monarch. “What had I done to thee,” said the king to him, “to draw this vengeance from thy arm?”—The youth answered intrepidly: “My father, and my two brothers, you slew with your own hand: for me the like fate was intended. Now take what revenge, you will: I shall bear joyfully any torments, if you only die, who have done such mischiefs.”—“I forgive thee my death,” said Richard:—“loose his chains, and put a hundred shillings in his purse.”—But the savage Marchadée did not let him go; and after the king’s death, he flead him alive,

^m Hoveden. Gerv. p. ult.

and

BOOK and hanged him.—His last orders were
 IV. now given. “Take my heart,” said he,
 1199. “to Rouen; and let my body lie at my
 “father’s feet, in the convent of Fontev-
 “raud.” Resigned, and acknowledging
 his crimes, he expired. It was the sixth
 of April, the eleventh day after he had
 received his wound, the tenth year of his
 reign, and the forty-second of his age^a.

His char-
 acter.

With pleasure I take my leave of this
 turbulent and warring prince; and I am
 dispensed from the labour of delineating
 his character. His contemporaries did it
 in a single word, when they called him
 the lion-hearted, *Cœur de Lion*. Had
 they looked to the tyger, rather than to
 the lord of the forests, they would have
 found, indeed, a more apt similitude;
 but, in a romantic age, just appreciation
 was not to be expected. The heart of
 Richard was throughout savage: it pos-
 sessed no elements of that noble magnani-
 mity, which has filled the breasts of he-
 roes. His vices, which were numerous,
 undisguised and prominent, flowed in a
 ruffled stream from their source; and if
 he had the seeds of any virtue, over-
 whelmed in the current, they never
 sprang into life. Historians have said,
 that he was open, frank, generous, sin-
 cere, and brave. Considered as habits

^a Hoveden. Diceto, Gerv.

of the mind, he did not possess those qualities. When they appeared, it was but as momentary effusions, or as casual modes of the ruling passion. In certain descriptions, I am well aware, that I have softened down too much the rude lines, I had before me. I did it not to veil their truth ; but when the eye, for some time, has dwelt on the roughest scenes, the harsh impression wears away, and we begin to be less disturbed, and less disagreeably affected.

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The people of his dominions were so dazzled by the splendour of his achievements, which fame, as she conveyed their story from the east, generally loaded with much romantic colouring, that, for the honour, they thought, it reflected on themselves, they could not be too loyal and too subservient to his will. With alacrity they submitted to the heaviest burthens ; and did not seem to feel, they were oppressed, and often insulted. Of the nine years he reigned, he did not pass more than four months in England : yet they were never drawn from their allegiance, though John, the presumptive heir to his crown, was present, and urged them to treason. Nor were his subjects in France less steady. Let this be compared with the events of the preceding reign, marred by internal broils, and incessant defections from a Prince, who,

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who, weighed against Richard, might be called the father of his people. It was the vain splendour of his name, which endeared him to the nation, and the pity which his captivity had moved. Had he lived, they would have seen another crusade; and would have cheerfully resigned their last shilling, to promote the wild undertakings of their lion-hearted prince. To this he had engaged himself, when he left Palestine; and the disturbances in France had alone diverted his thoughts from the theatre of glory.— One certain document we collect from the history of this reign, which is, that the government of England was most unsettled; and that the forms of a council, or a species of representation, to which Henry seemed often to refer himself, originated from his own politic and prudential views, and not from a supposed order, which legislation had established. As they arose, it was my aim to mark such circumstances, as could help to develope the growing features of our government. The word *parliament* I studiously avoided. It occurs, I think, in one ancient author, who writes on the events of this period; but he lived posterior to the times. °

° Joan. Bromton,

It was during the crusades, modern writers have observed, that the custom of using coats of arms was first introduced into Europe. The knights cased up in armour, had no way to make themselves be known and distinguished in battle, but by the devices on their shields; and these were gradually adopted by their posterity and families, who were proud of the pious and military enterprises of their ancestors.—Richard carried *three lions passant* on his shield, and he was the first of our kings who bore them.

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That he was a passionate lover of poetry, and himself a poet, is likewise said. I have not seen the sonnets which are ascribed to him; but their merit, I conceive, must be light. As to the Provençal bards or Troubadours themselves, who were the first of the modern Europeans, that distinguished themselves by attempts of that nature, from the silence of our historians in their regard, it may be inferred, that they were held in little estimation. But this is not the place for a discussion, on which, hereafter, possibly, I may enlarge, shall the subject, on reflection, seem deserving of it.

END OF BOOK IV.

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THE

The first of these was a paper of demands which was presented to the King on the 23^d of January 1628. It consisted of twelve articles which were in substance as follows. The first article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the North Sea, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The second article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The third article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The fourth article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The fifth article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The sixth article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The seventh article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The eighth article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The ninth article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The tenth article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The eleventh article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same. The twelfth article required that the King should give satisfaction to the petitioners in their petition of the 1st of August last, touching the free trade of the English coast, and that he should call in his charter, and take away the same.

END OF BOOK IV.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E I G N

OF
K I N G J O H N,
With the EVENTS of the Period.

B O O K V.

Accession of John.—Inauspicious opening of his reign.—Innocent III. and the first transactions of his pontificate.—Peace with France.—John marries Isabella of Angouleme.—Cause of Ingeburga, queen of France.—John meets the king of Scotland at Lincoln, and makes a progress through the realm.—The barons shew discontent, and John goes into Poitou.—Duke Arthur taken prisoner, and murdered.—Various reports of the murder, and its consequences.—Innocent espouses the cause of John.—The crusaders erect a new empire at Constantinople.—Normandy and other provinces taken by Philip.—A truce with France.—Stephen Langton appointed to the see of Canterbury.—Controversy between the pontiff and John.—England laid under an interdict.—The king's vengeance.—Otho succeeds to the empire.—Conduct of John, and the further designs of Innocent.—Langton, with views against the king, goes to Rome.—Philip, commanded by the pope, prepares to invade England.—Pandulphus, the papal nuncio, lands.—John submits, subjecting himself and kingdom to the pope.—The French king, checked by Pandulphus, enters Flanders.—The exiles return, and Langton administers an oath to the king.—Meeting at St. Alban's, and further proceedings of Langton.—He confederates the barons.—A legate arrives, before whom John renews his submission.—Crusade against the Albigenes.

THE earl of Mortagne was in Normandy, when his brother died. Conscious of his imperfect title to the succession, and that his conduct had not secured the predilection

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predilection of the people, the loss of a moment, he saw, might exclude him from the throne. In insincere and unavailing lamentations over Richard's grave, he spent no time; but sent Hubert the primate, who was with him, and William Mareschal, into England, there, with Fitzpeter the justiciary, to maintain the tranquillity of the realm, and to awe the barons. Himself hastened to Chinon, where the late king's treasure was, which, with the castle, was delivered to him. But the barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, met, and swore fealty to the duke of Bretagne, alledging, that it was the law of their provinces, that the son of the elder brother should succeed to his inheritance. This elder brother had been Geoffry, third son of Henry. The cities and castles followed their example, and declared Arthur their lord. He was but in his twelfth year; wherefore Constance, his mother, had recourse to Philip, who with his army was again on foot, and committed the youth to his care. He sent him to Paris, and in his name took possession of the provinces.—The earl of Mortagne, with the troops he had with him, furiously entered Maine, razed the walls and houses of its capital, and imprisoned its citizens; but he could make no longer stay. He returned to Rouen; and on the twenty-fifth

fifth of April, nineteen days after Richard's death, was girt with the ducal sword of Normandy, by the archbishop, who, at the same time, encircled his brows with a golden coronet. This prelate, it will be recollected, had been the favoured minister of the late king, and the earl's most strenuous opponent. The usual oath was then administered—to preserve inviolate the rights of the church, to administer justice, to annul bad laws, and to enact good ones. Thus was Normandy secured^a.

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Eleanor, mean while, vigorous still and enterprising, had been in Aquitaine, where her interest was irresistible; when she joined the savage Marchadée with his mercenary bands, and entering Anjou, spread devastation. John was her favourite child; otherwise the little Arthur, it was thought, might have found an advocate in the breast of his grandmother.—In England, the primate and his associates laboured strenuously, and obtained from many nobles and inferior citizens, an oath of allegiance to John, duke of Normandy. But the general aspect was unpromising. The bishops, the earls, the barons, repaired silently to their castles. They were seen with their workmen, examining the walls; while

^a Hoveden. Diceto, an. 1199.

men,

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men, arms, and provisions were conveyed into them. The triumvirate met at Northampton, to which place they summoned those noblemen, whose disaffection they apprehended most. They came: David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to the Scottish king, Richard earl of Clare, Ranulph earl of Chester, father-in-law to duke Arthur, William earl of Tutesbury, Waleran earl of Warwick, and William de Mowbray, with many more earls and barons. No more is recorded of the meeting, than that the ministers solemnly pledged their master's word, would the noblemen bear allegiance to him, that they should enjoy all their rights. *On this condition*, they swore to receive John for their sovereign^b.

What these rights were, is not said; nor do we discover whence arose the opposition, thus suddenly manifested. From no ideas of a superior claim in Arthur; or they would not have spoken of *their* rights only. It was dictated, probably, by a personal dislike to the prince, of whose character they had had experience. The intrepid spirit of Richard had long awed their turbulence; and it was the weakest policy in the triumvirate to court their favour, by so immature a compliance with their wayward demands.

^b Hoveden. Annal. de Margan.

immediately

Immediately the duke came to England, on the twenty-fifth of May, and he found the nation assembled to celebrate his coronation. It was performed at Westminster.—“Hear all ye people,” said the primate, rising from his seat: “It is well known, that no one can have a right to the crown of this realm, unless, for his extraordinary virtues, he be unanimously elected to it, and then anointed king, as Saul was, himself the son of no king, nor royally descended. Such also was David. And so was it ordained, to the end, that he, whose merit is pre-eminent, be the lord of all the people. If, indeed, of the family of the deceased monarch there be one thus nobly endowed, he should have our preference. This I have said, in favour of the noble earl John, who is present, brother of our late illustrious king, who left no issue. He possesses prudence, and valour, and eminence of birth. For these qualities, having invoked the holy spirit, we unanimously elect him our king.” So saying, while the assembly applauded the harangue, he proceeded to the ceremony. The usual oaths, to protect the church, to abrogate bad laws, and to administer justice, were tendered; when Hubert said: “I adjure you, in the name of God, and I enjoin you, not to under-
“ take

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“ take this high office, unless your mind
 “ be resolved to execute what your lips
 “ have sworn.”—“ With the assistance
 “ of heaven,” replied John, “ I will be
 “ faithful to my oath.”—On the follow-
 ing day, homage was done to him ; when
 instantly he repaired to St. Alban’s, there
 to pray before the martyr’s shrine : and
 the awful solemnity ended^c.—The king
 was thirty-two years old.

If this account of John’s *election* to the
 crown of England be true, of which
 may be entertained some doubt, from
 the silence of more contemporary histo-
 rians, I view it as the artful device of
 the triumvirate, to conciliate to their
 prince the disaffected minds of the nobi-
 lity. They would not speak of his here-
 ditary right, lest the claim of Arthur
 might be rather urged ; nor even of the
 will of the late king, which, at that time,
 might have been deemed to have given a
 sufficient title. A free and unanimous
 election would, at once, silence opposi-
 tion, and be paramount to every pre-
 tension. Of precedents they were little
 solicitous, which they knew, did not
 exist : but could they secure the crown,
 no jealous enquiries would be made, time
 would strengthen the nomination, and
 other measures might be adopted. The

^c Mat. Par. an. 1199.

prince himself, we may presume, was privy to the whole design. Afterwards, when the primate was questioned concerning this extraordinary transaction, he replied, says the same historian, that he foresaw, and had secret intimations which told him, that John would abuse his power, and disturb the realm; and therefore, that his hands might be less free, he had proposed the measure of electing him to the throne^d. A vain subterfuge to palliate a proceeding, which reason did not justify!—As to the right of Arthur, it was not generally admitted, as we may infer from the conduct of England and Normandy, after the three provinces, which adhered to him, had so decidedly announced their own resolution, founded, they said, on ancient usage. Richard, when in Sicily, had declared him his successor; but being returned to his dominions, he took no measures to secure to his nephew the title he had conferred, and dying, he left all to John. Thus, and by the preceding act, clearly signifying, that, in nominating his successor, as he was himself without issue, he had only his own inclinations to consult. Prince Arthur had now displeased him, and John possessed his heart. The authority of a will was great; but, as we have seen, the

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^d Mat. Par. *ibid.*

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agents of the duke would not risk it, against the disaffection of a party, whose enmity they feared. But I must likewise remark, how inconsistent their conduct was; first, by every exertion to influence the nation to receive him as their king, and to swear fealty to him; and when he presented himself before them at Westminster, then solemnly to declare, that he had no right, but what their suffrages should freely confer.

Inauspicious opening of his reign.

John, however, was in possession of the object of his wishes; nor did he forget his benefactors. On the day of his coronation, he invested Fitzpeter in the earldom of Essex, and Marechal in that of Pembroke; and the primate he named his chancellor.—But ambassadors arrived from the king of Scotland, William the Lion, no stranger to my reader, requesting the surrender of the provinces of Northumberland and Cumberland, which in the reign of Henry II. had been wrested from the patient hands of Malcolm. They had been held as a fief under England. If the king complied with his wishes, their master, added the ambassadors, would serve him faithfully; if not, he knew how to enforce the justice of his claim. John begged he might see their king; and sending the bishop of Durham, as he hoped, to meet him, he went himself to Nottingham. William refused

refused to move: but he ordered other messengers to repeat his petition to the king, and to say that, if he had not a decisive answer, within forty days, the army he was collecting, should enter the English borders. The young monarch disregarded the bold menace, and commanding William de Stuteville to take charge of the two provinces, he embarked for France^e.

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How portentous is the opening of this reign! On the continent, the defection of provinces, under a rival prince, and a potent protector:—At home, the lowering disaffection of a headstrong nobility:—On the northern frontier, a warlike prince, at the head of a ferocious people:—On the throne, a weak and a capricious king, not respected, not loved, not feared.

Philip, on the death of the English king, released from the truce he had made, had recommenced hostilities: besides, the protection he had given to Arthur, would itself provoke animosity. John returned to Normandy with an army, where many crowded to his standard; and the earl of Flanders, with the other nobles, who had confederated with his brother, brought in their forces. The king of France consented to a truce of six weeks;

^e Hoveden. Annal. Burton.

BOOK at the expiration of which, on the fix-
 V. teenth of August, the monarchs met.
 1199. The behaviour of Philip was high and
 indignant, irritated that his vassal had
 not offered him homage for the duchy
 of Normandy; and the demands he made
 were inadmissible. He demanded the
 annexation of a wide territory to his own
 throne, and the surrender to Arthur of
 all his French possessions, Normandy ex-
 cepted. No wonder, that they parted
 enemies.

There was an army in the field, com-
 manded by William des Roches, in the
 name of Arthur. The fate of this
 youth has a charm, which commands
 our interest!^f Philip, in ravaging the
 country, destroyed a castle, which now
 belonged to the prince; at which the ge-
 neral expressed much anger, and either
 because he suspected the sincerity of that
 monarch, or it may be feared, from a
 more unworthy motive, he resolved to
 withdraw Arthur from his court. He
 effected it, pretending to the child and
 his mother, that the king of England
 would be their surest friend. But on
 the very day he saw his uncle, it was
 whispered to the duke, that a dungeon
 was prepared for him. True or not, an
 alarm was taken, and in the silence of

^f See Shakepear's King John.

the night he was conveyed away, accompanied by Constance, and many others. They retired to Angers^s.—Soon after this event, the pope's legate, who was still in France, again mediated, and procured another truce, which should extend to the feast of St. Hilary.

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Innocent III. who, for many years, will occupy the fore-ground in the transactions of Europe, since the beginning of the last year, had been in the chair of St. Peter, a pope, whose actions will best portray his character, and of whom now I will only say, that he inherited all the spirit, which had once filled the breast of Gregory VII.^h When, on the death of Celestine, chosen for his talents, his learning, and his superior virtues, he was but in his thirty-seventh year, the age, indeed, of vigorous exertion, but what was deemed no recommendation to the sacred office. The empire, at that moment, was without a head; and Innocent seized the occasion to recover to his see privileges and territory, which his immediate predecessors had been unable to retain.—In Rome, the first magistrate was invested by him in the prefecture of the city, (a charge which hitherto the emperor had conferred,) who then did homage to him. He nominated the other officers, and re-

Innocent
III. and
the first
transac-
tions of his
pontificate.

^g Hoveden.

^h Hist. of Abeil. p. 23.

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ceived from the people an oath of allegiance. In the towns of the patrimony of the holy see, and in the castles of the barons, the same ceremony was performed, and Innocent was acknowledged their sole soveraign. The authority which till now the emperors had claimed, and had often exercised, ceased within the walls of Rome, and in its adjacent territoryⁱ. —The Germans were in possession of the marquisate of Ancona and of the duchy of Spoleto, with their dependances. Innocent, by menaces and a well-directed policy, expelled the intruders, whom the Italians hated, and re-annexed the provinces to his see. He then visited them in person, and every where received the homage of the people.—He confederated with the cities of Tuscany, whom the German tyranny had exhausted, and who now looked eagerly to the freedom, which the states of Lombardy enjoyed. His letter to them opens thus curiously:
 “ As God, the creator of the universe,
 “ placed two great luminaries in the firmament, the greatest to rule over the day, and the less over the night: so,
 “ in the firmament of the universal church, he has established two great dignities, the greater to rule over souls,
 “ which are days, and the less over bo-

ⁱ Gestæ Innocent n. 8. Murat. an. 1198.

“ dies,

“ dies, which are nights. These two dig-
 “ nities are the *pontifical*, and the *regal*,
 “ powers. But as the moon, which, in
 “ all things, is inferior to the sun, draws
 “ her light from him; so does the regal
 “ power derive the splendor of its digni-
 “ ty from the *pontifical* source^k.” On
 such allegorical jargon rose the theory of
 papal monarchy!—Innocent, by these ac-
 tive proceedings, gave a lustre to the tia-
 ra; and other towns having submitted to
 his controul, he reviewed the general
 state of his revenue, committed the ad-
 ministration to able officers, strengthen-
 ed the barrier and maritime places, at-
 tended in person to the decision of causes
 and the distribution of justice; and thus
 gaining the affections of the people, he
 could reward and encourage virtue, and
 strike a terror to the heart of vice. He
 was firm, magnanimous, liberal, infi-
 nuating^l.

On the death of Henry, the late em-
 peror, his queen Constance took possessi-
 on of the kingdom of Sicily, her claim
 to which has been related, and she pre-
 vailed on the Sicilians also to crown her
 son. He was an infant, in his third year,
 named Frederic after his grandfather;
 and the time will be, when Europe shall
 see him the greatest monarch of the age.

^k Bzovius Annal. Eccles. ^l Gesta Inn. ap. Murat.

BOOK V. The kingdom of Naples, it is known,
 1199. was a fief of the holy see: Constance,
 therefore, by her embassadors, humbly
 entreated the pontiff to grant to herself
 and son the investiture of its different
 provinces, on the same terms, as her pre-
 decessors had received it. By a formal
 compact between the kings of Sicily and
 the Roman see, which three successive
 popes had entered into or confirmed, the
 crown enjoyed certain ecclesiastical privi-
 leges. It elected bishops, it possessed le-
 gatine powers, it heard appeals, and it
 convoked councils. Innocent saw, with
 pain, this alienation of privilege from his
 own court, and he was willing to retrench
 it. But the circumstance clearly an-
 nounced to him, that what his predeces-
 sors had granted to a temporal prince, did
 not essentially appertain to the holy see.
 He informed Constance that, unless she
 surrendered these rights of her crown, he
 must refuse the investiture. It was an
 ungenerous proceeding; and Innocent,
 the greatest canonist and civilian of the
 age, could not be ignorant, that a com-
 pact of such importance was not to be
 broken. In vain did the empress strive,
 by presents, by prayers, by arguments,
 to prevail on the extortionary priest. She
 could obtain nothing, only on terms of
 great rigour, with which she could not
 refuse compliance. But as the negotia-
 tors

tors returned, and with them a legate, to execute the papal mandate, Constance died, and dying named Innocent the guardian to her infant son. There was great policy in the measure: for his claim must be at once suspended; and it did not seem, that a more active or more powerful guardian could be chosen, to protect the tender years of the prince^m.

Germany was a scene of discord.—Before the death of his father, this same infant had been chosen king of the Romans; and his uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, was appointed regent, during the minority. But now appeared the deep intrigue and political views of Innocent. Should this disposition of things prevail, he reasoned, and the crown of Sicily be united, on the same head, to the imperial diadem, and that in the house of Suabia, which had been ever hostile to the power of Rome, an interest must be formed against the latter, too irresistible for any policy. Hitherto, the kingdom of Naples, had, in every emergency, supported the tiara, on which it was dependent, and to which it owed many favours; but more from a well-founded jealousy of the imperial court, which long had seemed to aim at the empire of Italy. Measures then must be taken to

^m *Gesta ibid.*

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obstruct the completion of this alarming event. Frederic, it is true, was committed to his charge; and, in honour, he must promote his interest. He would do it, as far as this charge extended, which was to the throne of Sicily only. He had, besides, near to his heart an interest, which was paramount to every other; namely, the interest of the Roman see. To extend this, and to guard it, as far as might be, against every possible diminution, must be the ardent labour of his life.—Thus he reasoned, and formed his plan. A new king of Germany should be chosen, on whom might descend the imperial dignity; and his ward should be satisfied with the crown of Sicily.

But Philip, duke of Suabia, who suspected these designs, and whom ambition urged to the measure, was able to persuade the German states to elect him their king. No one, indeed, could be better qualified; but it was a step, on both sides, ungenerous and faithless. He was uncle to Frederic, and in Germany the guardian of his empire; and they, unanimously, but a year before, had conferred this empire on him. Innocent, with indignation, heard the news; for though it, in part, realised the scheme he had himself projected, Philip was, by no means, the person he would have chosen. He was of the house of Suabia,

which

which Rome and all the Italian states had reason to execrate; and before his brother's death, he had invaded certain districts of the holy see, for which he now lay under a sentence of excommunication. He prevailed, therefore, on the archbishop of Cologne and other nobles, to oppose the election of Philip, and to raise against him a competitor. They assembled, and chose Otho, of the house of Saxony, second son of Henry the Lion, and nephew to the king of England.—Thus was laid the foundation of an inveterate contest. On the side of Philip was by far the major part of the German states, and in Italy the Ghibelin faction, and the interest of the French court. Otho was supported, in Germany, chiefly by the ecclesiastical princes, by the pontiff and the Guelfs, and by the gold of England, which Richard had largely distributedⁿ.—I have mentioned the Guelfs and Ghibelins, two powerful factions in Italy, the former on the side of liberty, and the latter on that of the imperial power, and which, for many years, will be seen to wave the banner of discord, and to perpetuate the horrors of war.

Thus passed the first years of Innocent, and they have displayed, I trust, his character. We shall see it unfold more and

ⁿ Gestæ ut sup. Chron. Ursperg, &c.

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more. He had also an eye to Palestine, for the concerns of Europe could not engross his thoughts; and his agents, in the different kingdoms, were busily employed in forwarding the holy work. In France, his legate had been successful; and what other business here roused his zeal, shall be related.

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Peace
with
France.

The kings, as the truce expired, had again held a conference, in which the treaty of marriage with Blanche of Castille had been finally settled, and the preliminaries of a peace proposed. To negotiate with Alphonso, and to conduct the princess into France, no one was judged so proper as the yet active Eleanor. She departed, while winter was most inclement; visited the Spanish court; and before easter was returned to Bourdeaux with her grand-daughter. But the journey had fatigued her; wherefore, leaving her charge in the hands of the archbishop, she proceeded herself to Fontevraud, to which holy repository had lately been consigned, the remains also of her daughter Jane, countess of Toulouse, dowager queen of Sicily.—Peace was now concluded, on the same terms, as that with Richard, some years before, only that a new line of separation was drawn between Normandy and France. The other articles are of little moment.—Then arrived the princess at her uncle's court,
and

and a more solemn meeting was appointed, soon after midsummer, whereat Philip surrendered to the English monarch the city of Evreux, which he had lately taken, and its earldom, and all the castles, and towns and territory, which his arms had conquered. John bent his knees, and did homage for them; and instantly, as it had been previously agreed, gave back the whole, as the marriage portion with his niece, adding to it the sum of thirty thousand marks in silver^o.—Seldom had so lavish and improvident a contract been made; for France thus became possessed of many valuable and strong fortresses in the neighbouring provinces; while the lady had herself parents, better able than John, to endow their daughter.

But he was not so generous to his nephew Otho, now contending for the German empire, whom not to aid by men or money, he, on this occasion, solemnly promised. Even when he sent to demand the fiefs which Richard had given to him, and the legacy mentioned in his will, the base prince pretended that, by virtue of the oath he had made to Philip, he must refuse to comply.—The cause of Arthur was, at the same time, sacrificed by the French king, intent only on his

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^o Hoveden. an. 1200. Diceto. Annal. de Margan.

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own aggrandisement. To John returned the provinces, which had first declared for the duke, while he remained in possession only of Bretagne; for which he did homage to his uncle, as duke of Normandy, who consented that the youth should continue, under the tutelage of of Philip^p.

John mar-
ries Isa-
bella of
Angou-
leme.

John had been, many years, married to Avifa, heiress of the house of Gloucester, and a dispensation from Rome, which was thought necessary, had sanctioned the union. From what motives, is not said, he now found bishops who would dissolve this marriage, on pretence of consanguinity, which the original dispensation had relaxed. Thus free, he dispatched a brilliant embassy into Portugal, to demand the daughter of that crown, of whose accomplishments fame spoke loudly. The embassy departed; and the king, to wear away the dreary interval, at the head of a powerful army, marched through the provinces, into Aquitaine. Every where they received him as their lord. But at Angouleme his heart was taken. The earl of that name had a daughter, Isabella, long affianced to the count of la Marche. This was an obstacle; but John declared his love; the father consented; and Isabella, seduced

from the castle of her future husband, who, respecting her tender years, had not married her, was presented with the crown of England. The nuptials were celebrated at Angouleme, the archbishop of Bourdeaux officiating, who had been the principal agent in the divorce^q. How the embassy was managed, we are not told.—Hence the army, with their king, proceeded southward. He received the homage of the earl of Toulouse for the dower, which had been given with his late wife, Jane of Sicily, to remain for ever in his family, under the condition of serving the king with five hundred knights, in his wars in Aquitaine. He then turned towards the north, taking hostages from the lately revolted provinces, and arrived at Rouen, in all the splendour of triumph. Nor did he remain here. England should witness his glory and the beauty of his queen. With her, therefore, he sailed, in the month of October; and soon after their landing, they were together crowned at Westminster, by the hands of the primate^r.

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France, for many months, had been in a state of perplexity. It will be recollected, that Philip, after the death of his first queen, had married Ingeburga, Cause of Ingeburga, queen of France,

^q Hoveden. Diceto. Annal. Burton.

^r Hoveden. Annal. de Margan.

princess

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1200.

princess of Denmark, with whom he never cohabited, and from whom, prevailing on the bishops of his realm, he had obtained a divorce. She was said to be fourth cousin to the deceased Isabella. The king of Denmark carried his complaints to Rome; and Celestine then pope, roused, with some difficulty, to espouse the cause of the injured princess, finally annulled the sentence of divorce. But Ingeburga, mean while, was confined in a convent, without the limits of France, at a distance from every friend, and unprotected; and Philip had the audacity to take another lady to his arms, Agnes of the house of Meranie. At this time, Innocent came to the papal chair. Alive as he was to every impression, he ardently espoused the cause of Ingeburga, and became her champion. But it was not with the usual arms of chivalry that he fought. He admonished the king to remove the adulteress, and to take the queen into favour, having first examined the documents, which were said to establish the consanguinity of the queen. Philip disregarded the paternal admonition; on which the legate was commanded to lay the kingdom of France under an interdict. At once, all religious service ceased; the churches were shut; and the dead lay unburied on the ground. The king remonstrated, appealed, seized the livings of the clergy,

clergy, and with a high hand, forbad all obedience to the sentence. But neither money, nor menaces, nor promises prevailed: the sentence was obeyed; and Innocent triumphed in his superior power. "Your majesty must submit;" exclaimed the prelates and nobles, whose advice he had asked. He did submit; and the interdict was suspended, at the end of eight months, on condition that the king made satisfaction to the ecclesiastics he had injured; that those who had disobeyed the sentence should present themselves before his holiness; that Agnes be dismissed; that Ingeburga be treated as queen, whose cause should be again examined, by the decision of which he should abide.

BOOK
V.
1200.

A council met at Soissons. On one side was Philip, with the prelates and nobles of the land: on the other, Ingeburga with some bishops, and a retinue of friends, whom her brother had sent from Denmark. The cardinal legate presided. Canonists from both courts were appointed to manage the debate; and a numerous audience stood in silent expectation. Ingeburga was uncommonly beautiful, and the hard treatment, she had experienced, was known. Philip rose. "I demand to be separated from that lady," said he, "to whom I am related within the prohibited degree."—The Danish ministers

BOOK

V.

1200.

ministers replied, detailing the particulars of the marriage treaty, and the solemn promises which had been made; and then shewing, that the allegation of kindred was most unfounded. But they saw in the legate's countenance, a pre-determined partiality to the king. "We appeal from that judge," they said, "to the pope." Ingeburga repeated the same words; and thus the session ended.

Three days after, came another legate, a man of unshaken probity, and who refused the presents which Philip offered. The meeting was resumed: but the Danes, in consequence of their appeal, were gone; and Ingeburga was without an advocate. The king's council pleaded, and after many words, sitting down, called for a reply. No one rose. The queen's charms could give eloquence to no tongue. An ecclesiastic, at length, whom no one knew, meanly habited, and of an humble aspect, raised his voice in the croud, and begged permission to be heard. It was granted. With a flow of oratory he spoke; unfolded the intricacies, in which the question had been involved; repelled objections; demonstrated what the law was; and while admiration had seized the audience, he carried conviction to the breasts of the judges. They retired to prepare the sentence.—It was now signified to the king, that judgment would be

be pronounced against him. He, therefore, departed in haste, taking Ingeburga with him, and ordering the legates to be told, that he was satisfied, and should acknowledge her for his queen. Nothing more was done. But he confined this queen in the royal castle of Etampes, where she was treated with respect, though secluded, not from his society only, but from all free intercourse with the world. Innocent often wrote to her, and unceasingly urged the king to be kind to her, and to remember she was queen of France^s.

BOOK
V.
1200.

In this same year died Agnes, whom Philip had dismissed, leaving two children, who were afterwards legitimated. What was the real cause of his dislike to Ingeburga is only related on surmise: but the means which were used in her favour, could not possibly give life to any sentiment of affection. The reader may be pleased to hear that, twelve years after, they were reconciled.—I made no remarks on the unchristian practice of punishing kingdoms, in the manner France was, for the transgressions of their princes; nor on the deference shewn to the ecclesiastical sentence; nor on the boundless sway of power, which Innocent possessed, over the greatest princes of the earth.

1201.
John
meets the
king of
Scotland
at Lincoln,
and makes
a progress
through
the realm.

^s Gest. Innocent. n. 49, &c. ap. Murat. Hoveden.

After

BOOK

V.

1201.

After the ceremony of his coronation, John had sent an embassy into Scotland, hoping that William, whose resentment he feared, might be induced to visit him. It had been expected, he would have invaded the northern provinces; but in a night he spent before the shrine of Saint Margaret, he felt himself admonished not to hazard the expedition; and he had disbanded his army. Pleased with this attention of an embassy, he now complied with John's request, and met him at Lincoln, to which place the king had come to receive his royal guest. A more august assembly had seldom been seen.—There was a popular belief, that great calamities would fall on the king, who should enter the walls of Lincoln. Stephen had despised the superstitious notion, and his reign was miserable: and Henry, his successor, more prudent and sagacious, being at Lincoln, was not willing to risk the dangerous trial. But his son, on this occasion, against the advice of many, boldly passed the ominous gate, and offered a golden chalice on the new altar of St. John.—The kings then ascended Bore Hill, which was soon covered by spectators innumerable. They conversed; while the prelates and nobles stood round; and William, kneeling down, pronounced the usual oath of allegiance, whereby he renewed his vassalage, swearing on the
cross

cross of Hubert of Canterbury, to bear true fealty to his liege lord, and to maintain the peace of both kingdoms, *saving his own right*. Three archbishops, thirteen bishops, and twenty-nine noblemen of both realms, whose names are recorded, besides many others, and the croud of spectators, witnessed the extraordinary act. The royal vassal then rising from the ground, petitioned, that the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, be restored to him, as his just inheritance. A debate ensued; but nothing was determined; and the king requested, he might be allowed some months to deliberate. Early, on the following morning, William departed with the same noble escort, which had attended him through England.—For what lands he did this homage, unless for his own kingdom of Scotland, cannot be shewn; for he possessed not, at that time, a foot of earth in this country. But why, thus voluntarily, he again subjected himself to a vassalage, from which, by an authentic charter, he had been released by the late king, is not easily understood. It must have been from the hope, that the act of submission would move the king to comply more readily with his request.

BOOK
V.
1201.

* Hoveden. Annal. de Margan. Chron. Walt. Heming.

BOOK

V.

1201.

The king of Scotland was departed, when messengers arrived, announcing the approach of the citizens of London, with the body of Hugh, bishop of Lincoln. He has been, more than once, mentioned, and due praise has been given to his virtues and to his exemplary conduct. Returning from the Chartreuse of Grenoble^u, whither he had been to visit his brethren, (for he was of the Carthusian order), he fell sick in London, and died. John went to see him in his illness, and he confirmed his will, which was then necessary to give it validity. Hugh had requested to be buried in the new church at Lincoln, which himself had built; and from a respect to his high character, the citizens of London would attend him to his grave. As the procession came near to the city, the king and all his nobles went out to meet it. The bearers halted; when John, assisted by his attendants, took the bier on his shoulders, and bore it forwards. They were relieved by other noblemen, who proceeded to the porch of the great church. Here were the prelates, in their hallowed robes, who received the precious burthen, and conveyed it to the middle of the choir. On the next day the ceremony of interment was performed^v.—The reader will

^u Hist. of Abeil. p. 105.

^v Hoveden. Diceto. Annal. de Margan.

not be surpris'd to hear, that miracles, round the shrine of the worthy bishop, were said to be performed, as numerous as the credulity of the age was great.

BOOK
V.
1201.

From Guildford, where the monarch spent the christmas, we now follow him, in a progress through the kingdom; and Isabella was the attendant of his journey. They were again at Lincoln; crossed the Humber into Yorkshire; were at Beverley, at Scarborough, and proceeding northward, visited the extreme boundaries of the realm. It was in the most inclement months of winter. But not for pleasure, or to shew his fair partner only, did he travel. Oppression marked his steps: expensive entertainments drained the purses of the people; and he every where exacted large sums, on pretence of trespasses in his forests. Before this, he had demanded an aid of three shillings, on every hide of land. At York, through which he returned, his brother the son of Rosamond, met him, and a reconciliation took place. The high-minded prelate had not allowed the above aid to be levied within his liberties; he had given many other causes of offence; and as to his general conduct, it had continued to be insolent to his inferiors, hostile to the higher clergy, and indecorous to himself. But it was not, without a heavy amercia-

—Easter

BOOK — Easter now approached, when the royal
 V. } travellers hastened back to the south, and
 1201. } again were crowned at Canterbury. Hu-
 bert, as usual, performed the ceremony ;
 and at his own costs entertained munifi-
 cently the whole court, and the numerous
 attendants^w.

The ba-
 rons shew
 discon-
 rent, and
 John goes
 into Poi-
 tou.

The cloud, which we saw at a distance,
 now began to gather more visibly. News
 had come, that the barons of Poitou were
 in arms ; and on this John commanded,
 that the earls, and barons, and military
 tenants of his realm, should be ready
 with their arms and horses, in whitfun-
 week, at Portsmouth, to sail to the con-
 tinent. The late arbitrary, though, per-
 haps, warrantable, imposition of three
 shillings, and the more recent oppressions
 in the north, joined to the prodigality
 and ungraciousdemeanour of their prince,
 had still more soured the fullen humour,
 with which, at his accession, the nobles
 received him. The summons of attend-
 ing their lord to France was, they knew,
 no breach of privilege ; but it did not
 please them, and they assembled at Lei-
 ceister. On this they debated, and came
 to an unanimous resolution, which they
 signified to the king : “ That they would
 “ not sail with him, unless he restored to
 “ them their rights.”—What these were,

^w Hoveden. an. 1201. Diceto. p. ult.

remained

remained still unexplained. But so unsettled was the concert, they had formed, that John could break it by a menace. He ordered these refractory vassals to surrender their castles: to save which they gave their children into his hands, as hostages for their future fidelity; and, on the appointed day, were ready at Portsmouth. From this place, many were permitted to return home, on paying a scutage, the money they would have expended in the service; and the rest embarking with the king and Isabella, sailed to Normandy*.

BOOK
V.
1201.

Near Andeli, the French king received them; and they waited on him at Paris, where every attention was exhibited, Philip relinquishing his own palace for their more commodious accommodation. And here also the articles of the last peace were confirmed anew, under a more solemn guarantee of the barons of both nations. — Berengaria, the young dowager queen, has been long out of sight. Now she came to the king at Chinon, to which place he went on leaving Paris, where the object of her visit, viz. the settlement of her dower, was honourably compleated. It does not appear, that she was ever in England, of which she had been, some years, queen. Bayeux, with its depend-

* Hoveden. Annal. Burt.

BOOK V.
 1201. ences, and two castles in Anjou, and a thousand marks, to be paid half-yearly, were settled on her^y.

The disturbances in Poitou and Aquitaine continued; at the head of which was Hugh de la Marche, the baron, from whose arms John had ravished his queen, the beautiful Isabella. To chastise the rebels, the king advanced with his army; but he did not mean to engage in the toil of fighting battles and of storming forts. He had hired, and brought with him from England and other countries, champions, men expert in the use of arms; and as he entered Poitou, he halted, and forming his court, sent challenges to the principal rebels, first charging them with the crime of treason to himself and to the late king. The mode of warring was unprecedented, and in the true spirit of chivalry. But the barons, apprised of the insidious purpose, refused to appear, alledging that they were ready, indeed, to vindicate their honour; but that they should not contend with any but their peers. Thus illuded, the weak prince returned into Normandy, leaving Robert de Turnham behind him, to oppose the malcontents. Their disaffection gained strength and numbers from the

y Hoveden. Annal. Burt.

insolent

insolent measure, and its pusillanimous prosecution^z.

BOOK
V.
1201.

Another legate came into France, deputed from his holiness, to raise further supplies for the holy land. The kings readily promised a fortieth part of their annual revenue; and John ordered his chief justiciary Fitzpeter, now earl of Essex, to levy a similar contingent on his English subjects. It had been done in France. The instructions addressed by the justiciary to the sheriffs and bailiffs, of the different towns and counties, are conveyed in the most artful terms. He suspected, it is evident, that a precept would not have been complied with. “ At the earnest request of a cardinal from the pontiff,” he says, “ and with the advice of his nobles in France, our king has granted a fortieth part of the value of all his revenues, for the use of the holy land. His subjects there have voluntarily done the same; and at their prayer it is, that he has written to his nobles here, begging and exhorting them, with a pure heart, and from a motive of benevolence, to accomplish the same good work. It is not to be granted, nor is it asked on any pretence of right, or custom, or compulsion, or of any authority whatever from the

^z Ibid.

BOOK "court of Rome." The mode of levying the subsidy is then distinctly appointed; after which the particular sums were to be registered with the names of the persons, and their respective possessions, rated according to their annual value. They who paid this tax, and consequently every other, were earls, barons, military tenants or knights, and free tenants, otherwise called socmen: such of the clergy also, who possessed lay-fees. The justiciary finally orders, that the names of those shall be registered, and sent up to him, who may refuse to comply with the king's petition^a.—The instrument is curious, and closes the history of the minute and accurate Roger Hoveden. With reluctance I quit his honest page.

1202. The late peace had seemed to promise some years of tranquillity to both countries: but powers so constituted, as those of France and England were, could not possibly be friends. Philip was ambitious, and his rival was a weak prince.—The latter, besides, had now lost his confederates, particularly the earl of Flanders, who had taken the cross, and was departing, with many others, to Palestine. The barons of Aquitaine were in arms, and they called on their fuzerain lord, the French monarch, to aid them against the

Duke Arthur is taken prisoner, and murdered.

^a Hoveden. p. ult.

oppression of their immediate sovereign. And the claims of duke Arthur might, at all times, be made a source of plausible contention. On the mind of a politic prince, against these motives, the obligations of a treaty would weigh as nothing. Philip, resolved not to let pass the favourable occasion, in an interview with the English king, made on him the most exorbitant and unprovoked demands. In a moment, peace was at an end, and the French forces entered Normandy. Castles, as usual, were taken; while John made some resistance; but Gournai, a place of great strength, finally fell. Here the young duke joined his protector, and receiving from him the honour of knighthood, he was girded with the soldier's sword. At the same time, Philip promised him his daughter in marriage, Mary, an infant by Agnes de Meranie; and investing him in the duchy of Bretagne, which he held under his uncle, as also in the earldoms of Poitou and Anjou, the youth did homage for them in the hands of Philip. "Here," then said the king, "are two hundred knights; march with them, and take possession of the provinces which are your's^b." It was now the middle of summer.

BOOK
V.
1202.

^b Mat. Par. an. 1202. Guiel. Armoric. Annal. Waver.

BOOK V. 1202. The military band instantly entered Poitou, where hearing that the castle of Mirebeau was an object deserving of their first attention, it was resolved to besiege it. Queen Eleanor was there. Fontevraud, with its pious recluses, and the gloomy monuments of her deceased husband and children, had not detained her long. Mirebeau soon surrendered; but Eleanor had retired, with some chosen foldiers, to a tower which would not be so easily taken. Her unfriendly behaviour to Constance, the mother of Arthur, and the violence with which she had espoused, on a late occasion, her son's succession to the throne, justified this hostile attack. Arthur drew his men round the tower; and while he prepared to assault it, he was joined by the earl of la Marche, with a powerful reinforcement. Still resistance was made, and Eleanor had the address to dispatch a messenger into Normandy, to inform John of her perilous situation. At the head of an army, he flew to her relief, and was within sight of Mirebeau, before the enemy had been apprised of his march. A battle ensued, fiercely fought on both sides, in which Arthur bravely flung his maiden sword; but the fortune of the king prevailed. The duke was captured, and the earl of la Marche, and the English historians say, the whole force of the enemy. They were

were sent into different prisons, in Normandy and England; and the castle of Falaise received the expiring hope of Bretagne^c.

The unexpected success filled the English monarch with delight, as it did Philip with confusion. The latter retired to Paris; and John, after some days, repaired to Falaise. He ordered his nephew to be brought to him. With gentleness he spoke to him, exhorting him to renounce the friendship of Philip, and to prefer an interest, at once more honourable and more natural: "For I am your uncle," continued he, "and your liege sovereign. Be faithful only to me, and I will heap honours on your head."—The ill advised youth sternly replied: "Give me back the crown of England, and all the lands, which my uncle Richard held, on the day he died. They are my just inheritance; and till they be restored, I swear, you shall never long live in peace."—Troubled and provoked by the haughty answer, the king commanded his nephew to be taken to Rouen, and to be more strictly guarded. He was never more heard of^d.

The secrecy which veiled this murderous deed, while it added to its atrocity, gave rise to conjectures and reports, which,

BOOK
V.
1202.

1203.

Various reports of the murder, and its consequences.

^c Mat. Par. Ypodig. Neufr.

^d Mat. Par. 1203.

BOOK

V.

1203.

which, as the imagination formed them, were peculiarly affecting and lamentable. Tale grew out of tale, and the more accumulated it was, the more it was credited. The uncle, men said, was the murderer of his nephew. They talked of a dark night; of a boat rowing to the foot of the tower, where Arthur lay; of shrieks heard; and of fishermen, who had found the bloody corpse. A general horror seized the minds of all. But the Bretons were most affected. They had lost their darling prince, whose name, with a superstitious veneration, they had learned to cherish; Constance, his mother, was lately dead; and Eleanor his sister, called the *damsel of Bretagne*, was in the hands of her murderous uncle. The nobles assembled at Vannes, and Guy de Thouars, last husband of the deceased duchess, appeared at their head. He held in his arms Alice, a little infant, whom Constance had borne to him. The tale of the late assassination was now told, we may presume, and probably with the following circumstances, which are still related in the country. John, they said, to screen the deed, he meditated, taking his nephew from the dungeon in Rouen, proceeded with him towards Cherbourg, viewing the coast, as he passed along. Late, one evening, followed by a few attendants, whom he had commanded not

to approach, they came to a high cliff, which overhung the sea. The king looked down the precipice; drew his sword; and riding furiously against the prince, stabbed him. Arthur cried for mercy, and falling to the ground, the murderer dragged him to the brink, and hurled him, yet breathing, into the waves below^e.

BOOK
V.
1203.

The Bretons stood in need of no incentive to their just indignation. They unanimously swore to revenge their prince's death; they chose the infant Alice, for their sovereign; named Guy, her guardian, and the general of their confederacy; and at once resolved to carry their complaints before Philip, their suzerain lord, and to demand justice. He listened to their petition; and summoned John to a trial before his peers, as a vassal of the French crown. The process was in the regular order of feudal justice. But the ill-fated monarch did not appear; on which, with the concurrence of the barons, this sentence was pronounced on him:

“ That John, duke of “ Normandy, un-
 “ mindful of his oath to Philip his lord,
 “ had murdered his elder brother's son,
 “ a homager to the crown of France,
 “ within the feignory of that realm;
 “ whereon he is judged a traitor, and as
 “ an enemy to the crown of France, to
 “ forfeit all his dominions which he held

^e Argentré Hist. de Bretag. c. 78. Annal. de Margan.

“ by

BOOK " by homage, and that re-entry be made
 V. " by force of arms^f."

1203.

Philip, when the season would permit, entered Normandy; and the Bretons, co-operating with his designs, laid waste the neighbouring country. But no resistance was made: the castles opened their gates, and the towns every where received the victors. John, in the mean while, supinely indolent and immersed in pleasure, was at Caen, not solicitous, by any defence, to remove the charge of murder from his name, nor heeding the progress of the enemy's arms. "Let them proceed," said he listlessly; "in a single day, I will retake all their conquests." The English barons, who were with him, having in vain urged him to action, would no longer witness these dishonourable scenes. They obtained permission, and returned into England. He had now few soldiers left near his person; but he came to Rouen, smiling before the citizens, though every day brought the news of fresh disasters. "The king," the people said, "was infatuated by some spell or witchcraft." Isabella, only, never parted from his side^g. Thus passed the summer months.

^f Vit. Phil. Mat. West. an. 1202. Annal. de Marg.

^g Mat. Par.

But John, whom neither honour nor the preservation of his states could animate, had implored, ingloriously, the aid of Rome. Innocent espoused his interest; and by two envoys, whom he deputed to the French court, he commanded Philip to convene an assembly of his vassals, and to cease from hostilities. The duke of Burgundy and other nobles resisted the incongruous mandate, advising Philip not to listen to measures, which came thus recommended, and that they would oppose any violence, which should be offered to the independence of his crown. An answer, therefore, was returned, "that the quarrels of princes regarded not the see of Rome, and that in the concerns of his vassals, the king would attend to no orders from that source."—The pontiff, in his reply, insists, that it is an essential duty of his office, to interfere in all matters, which may affect the spiritual interest of the faithful, and that such are wars, and hostile invasions; that he assumes no undue rights, nor pretends to infringe the secular jurisdiction: but that he is the arbiter of peace and war. He wrote to the French bishops, enforcing the same maxims: "We pretend not," says he, "to trouble or to weaken the power of the monarch; nor should he oppose our jurisdiction. We do not call in question the feudal rights, which

BOOK
V.1203.
Innocent
espouses
the cause
of John.

BOOK " which belong to his crown: but we
 V. " pronounce on what is *sinful*, the cor-
 1203. " rection of which, over all descriptions
 " of men, appertains to the holy see."—
 The bishops supported their king, appeal-
 ed to Rome, and the controversy was sus-
 pended^h.—Under this broad pretext of
 impeding or chastising sin, an ecclesiasti-
 cal tribunal was erected, which drew to
 itself the cognizance of almost every pro-
 cess, and absorbed the nearest interests of
 states.

Philip had projected the attack of Cha-
 teau Gaillard, the raising of which by
 the hand of Richard I mentioned, and
 now, to convince the pontiff and the na-
 tion, that he would not be controuled
 in his purposes, even when the altercation
 was warmest, he drew together his army
 and machines of war, and sat down be-
 fore the proud fortrefs. Roger de Lacy
 commanded in it. The historians of the
 age have detailed the particulars of this
 memorable siege, which lasted for the long
 space of seven months. Wonderful ex-
 ertions were made on both sides; but on-
 ly one attempt was hazarded by John, to
 relieve the brave garrison. This failed of
 success, though conducted by the earl of
 Pembroke, a man of vigour and great ca-
 pacity. The king then hastened to the

^h Rigord. p. 46, 47. Inn. ep. 165, 167.

shore, and sailed to England, leaving this bulwark of his Norman territories a prey to the determined efforts of his rival^l.—

BOOK
V.
1203.

Nor was it to retrieve his fame, that he appeared amongst his English subjects. He accused the barons of having deserted his person, whereby the enemy had been empowered to invade his dominions with success; and under this plea, he seized the seventh part of all their moveables. To the clergy also he extended the same imposition, though they had given occasion to no such complaint. And the primate, and Essex the justiciary, were the instruments of these extortions^k.

I have said, that another crusade had been formed, under the animating influence of Innocent; and as those engaged in it were principally the French and Flemish noblemen, who had espoused the English interest, the circumstance, whilst it was most unfavourable to John, enabled Philip to pursue his designs more confidently. The place of general rendezvous was Venice, to which, in the year 1202, a great army had resorted. They were commanded by Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, under whom were the earl of Flanders and many puissant barons. The earl of Flanders was Baldwin, the ninth of the name. But, in-

1204.
The crusaders erect a new empire at Constanti-
nople.

^l Guil. Brito. l. 7. Annal. Waver.

^k Mat. Par.

BOOK
 V.
 1204.

stead of proceeding to the rescue of Palestine, they joined the Venetians, and failed to Zara, a town in Dalmatia, which the king of Hungary had lately taken from the republic. The pontiff opposed this expedition, as contrary to the vow of the crusaders, and threatened excommunication. His threats were disregarded, and Zara surrendered. Here the army wintered, and here the generals received a deputation from young Alexius, son to Isaac Angelo, emperor of Constantinople, whom his brother, named also Alexius, had, a few years before dethroned and imprisoned. Would they restore the emperor to his throne, the prince offered to re-establish, over the eastern church, the jurisdiction of the Roman see, to pay to the crusaders two hundred thousand marks, and to supply their armies with provisions, and moreover to aid them in their conquest of Palestine. The treaty, after some opposition, was accepted. But here again, notwithstanding the first article, Innocent interfered, from an apprehension that, by the power and treachery of the Greeks, the army would be dissipated, and the primary object of their expedition be lost. Still the flattering prospect prevailed, and the allurements of the treaty; and by this time, the prince himself had joined the army. They sailed from Zara, and within two months,

Left

on

on the twenty-third of June, appeared within sight of Constantinople.

BOOK
V.

1204

Alexius, seeing the armament approach, sent a nobleman to demand, what was the motive of their coming? If they wanted money or provisions, they should have both, provided they quitted his dominions; it would be at the peril of their lives, if they remained, or attempted any violence.—“Tell your master,” replied Conon de Bethune, in the name of the army, “that we are not in his territories; “but in those of his nephew, who there “sits before you. If he is disposed to “restore the empire to him, we will en- “treat the prince to pardon the tyrant, “and to permit him to live in splendour. “But come no more here, unless to fulfill “this condition.”—Advancing then nearer to the city, they shewed the prince to the people; but receiving no answer, instantly they landed, attacked the walls, and carried them by storm. Alexius fled: but the Greeks drew their dethroned emperor from prison, and seating him in his palace, announced the event to the victors. They demanded the ratification of the treaty, which had been made with his son; and this being complied with, the whole army entered Constantinople in triumph, conducting with them the prince who, a few days after, on the first of August, was also crowned emperor, in the church

BOOK

V.

1204.

church of St. Sophia.—Their next measure was to pacify the pontiff. The chiefs wrote to him, pointing to the hand of providence which had led them, they said, on their journey, the happy consequence of which would be the re-union of the churches. Of this also young Alexius assured his holiness. The answer of Innocent is wary and circumspect, intimating, that he was not to be deceived by professions, and that the event should prove the sincerity of Alexius, and justify the irregular conduct of the crusaders.

The face of things soon changed. Alexius, in possession of the throne, deemed himself secure, and began to treat his protectors with less respect, and to discontinue the contributions of money and provisions. They were not men to be insulted. The Greeks also, whom the conduct of their young emperor, in calling the Latins, had justly irritated, meditated his downfall. Hostilities opened. Another Alexius was proclaimed emperor by the people, and the reigning prince being seized, was massacred. Isaac did not long survive his son.—The Latin barons then assembled, and the delegates from Rome having pronounced, that it was lawful to wage war against a murderer, they unanimously resolved, for the honour of God and the prosperity of the church, boldly to attempt the conquest of

of the imperial throne of Byzantium; and they settled a treaty of partition, should their arms prove successful.

B O O K
V.
1204.

It was the month of March, in this year, when they again besieged the city. The usurper, with a large army, was within the walls; but he ignominiously retired, and Constantinople, within a few days, surrendered at discretion. Horrible was the scene which ensued; while the victors, with a sacred cross on their shoulders, committed every excess which cruelty, avarice, lust could instigate. Even their religious notions gave an ardour to their rapacity. In the churches and monasteries of Constantinople, had been deposited a great collection of relics, drawn from the eastern countries. On these the superstitious Latins seized with avidity, some, indeed, to possess the rich coverings which contained them, and others, from a veneration to the things themselves. And this holy pillage it was, which, at this time, filled the west with an overflow of bodies, arms, heads, and other members, on which a misguided piety could fasten with enthusiasm, not sensible how empty the devotion was, and how spurious, in general, were the objects of their veneration.

A pause from devastation, at length, ensued; when twelve electors were appointed, who chose Baldwin, earl of

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Flanders, emperor; and, on the seventeenth of May, he was solemnly crowned. Agreeably to their convention, a division was then made of the territory, and the Venetians, and the marquis of Montferrat, and other chiefs, were invested with great possessions. Thus began the empire of the Latins at Constantinople, which lasted for more than fifty years.—Nor was it any longer difficult to prevail on Innocent, to approve this glorious achievement. The revolution was unexpected, and he resolved to strengthen it by his utmost exertions. From Palestine now, and from every quarter of Europe, crowds hastened to Constantinople, to partake of the spoil, to join the victorious Franks, and to witness the fall of a proud and perfidious nation.

Normandy and other provinces taken by Philip.

The siege of Chateau Gaillard continued. But Philip, when he heard that the English king had left Normandy, sent to its governors and the barons of the neighbouring provinces, requesting to be received as their sovereign, since their immediate lord had deserted his station; otherwise, they must expect to feel the utmost vengeance of his arm. With great loyalty they rejected the proposal; but, hopeless of present succour, they agreed to offer hostages for a year's truce,

¹ Gest. Inn. Villehard. Nicet. &c. ap. Murat. Fleury, &c.

after

after which, should no aid come, they would receive Philip, they promised, for their master, and resign their castles to him.—John was in England, and he had the audacity, meeting his nobles at Oxford, to demand from them an aid of two marks and a half, on every knight's fee. They granted it. The church also promised their contributions.

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But news now came, that the brave de Lacy, defending the last stone of his castle, and in want of bread, had been taken prisoner, and that the fortress was in the hands of Philip. Messengers likewise, soon afterwards, arrived from the barons of Normandy, to implore assistance, as the year advanced, and the French king with a mighty force was prepared to invade their possessions. “They may act as they like best,” replied the monarch; “from me no aid will come.”—Philip entered Normandy. The castle of Falaise first surrendered, and then the towns of the lower province, while the Britons co-operated with the arms of France; and, in a few weeks, Rouen also capitulated, and Arques, and Verneuil. By midsummer, the whole province did homage to the French king, two hundred and ninety years, after it had been dismembered from the monarchy. Its fate was now fixed for ever.—In this unexampled tide of victory, Philip did not
L 2 relax.

BOOK V. relax. Maine submitted, and Touraine, and Poitou, and Anjou, a few castles only excepted, and la Rochelle^m.—Immersed in pleasure, and satisfied, says an historian, with the possession of his queen, John remained unmoved. He had collected much treasure, and on this he relied for the recovery of his dominions, whenever it should be his will to distribute it. “By God’s feet,” said he laughing, “some English sterlings shall soon redress these evilsⁿ.”—Queen Eleanor, who long had witnessed the glory of the English name, and to the exaltation of which she had so largely contributed, now saw its decline, and died in anguish. She was in her eighty-second year.

1205. The lethargy, for a moment, seemed to dissipate. In the spring of this year, John assembled a great army, announcing his intention to land in France; and a fleet attended him at Portsmouth. But the primate and others, from what motives is not said, opposed the design. Probably, they had been bribed by Philip, or acted even under a more base influence. The king therefore himself embarked with a small retinue; but, on the third day, he relanded on the same shore, furious, as it seemed, from reflection, and feigning disappointment. If his vas-

^m Mat. Par. Guil. Brito. Annal. Waver.

ⁿ Mat. West. an. 1204.

fals, he pretended, could thus desert him, when a cause of such magnitude demanded their service, they should feel, at least, that he was their sovereign: and on this pretence of disobedience to their lord, he exacted a heavy fine, from all orders in the state°. To this measure, it may be presumed, his ministers had advised him. The nation could, as yet, submit. Had he presented himself in force on the Norman coast, a powerful diversion had been made in his favour by Guy de Touars, father to the infant duchess of Bretagne, whom the conquests of Philip justly alarmed. He had sufficiently revenged, he thought, the murder of Arthur; but alone he could not oppose the arms of France. Thus was Philip permitted, in unmolested security, to enjoy the happiest fruits of conquest, in giving stability to his measures, and bending, by gentle impressions, the stubborn minds of his Norman subjects, particularly, to a yoke which, they had long professed to hold in detestation.

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1206.

But, in the summer of this year, John really led an army to the continent, which he landed at la Rochelle. The barons of Poitou were ready to join him; the country every where submitted; and he advanced against the capital of Anjou.

A truce
with
France.

° Mat. Par. an. 1205. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

BOOK V. Angers was taken, and in it many prisoners. But when Philip approached, and a battle was expected; to the surprize of all men, John consented to a cessation of hostilities. This was followed by a truce for two years; when the weak and misguided monarch, leaving his enemy in possession of the provinces he deserved to rule, returned, loaded with new infamy, to meet the curses of an insulted nation^p.

1206.

As no opposition had hitherto thwarted his most oppressive schemes, he could proceed, he doubted not, to fresh extortions. At Oxford, where the nobles and prelates were assembled, he demanded the thirteenth part of their chattels. They murmured, says the historian, but dared not refuse; and the tax was levied on laity and clergy. The son of Rosamond only, boldly withstood the measure, and secretly retiring from the country, denounced an anathema against the king's officers, who should collect the plunder, as he called it, in the diocese of York, or dare to lay hands on the possessions of the church, in any quarter of the realm^q.— He came no more to England.

Stephen Langton appointed to the see of Canterbury.

At this time, there was no primate.— Hubert had died two years before, when some young monks of the convent of

^p Ibid. an. 1206.

^q Mat. Par. Tho. Stubbs an. 1207. Annal. ut sup.

Christchurch, secretly elected Reginald, their subprior, and placing him on the archiepiscopal throne, in the silence of the night, exacted an oath, that he would reveal to no one what they had done, without their further permission. He swore it, and instantly with a few companions, set out for Rome, hoping that the pontiff would ratify the choice, which had been made. But the vain man had hardly reached the continent, when he publicly announced his election, and shewed the letters he bore with him to his holiness. He continued his journey.—Informed of the disingenuous conduct, the young monks angrily joined their brethren; and they agreed to petition leave from the king to elect an archbishop. The man of their first choice had violated the compact, by which his promotion held. John granted their request: but privately he signified to the messengers, that the bishop of Norwich would be peculiarly pleasing to him; that he only had been admitted to the secrets of his heart; and that his translation to the see of Canterbury would be advantageous to the kingdom, as to himself. The monks complied; and the bishop being chosen, was solemnly proclaimed primate, in the presence of the king, who, at the same time, invested him with all the possessions and

rights

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1207.

BOOK V. rights of the see.—Thus was opened a new source of contention, the progress of which will fill with misery the remaining years of John.

Apprehensive that Reginald, who was gone to Rome, might possibly obtain the good-will of Innocent, the king thought it more expedient, to send thither a deputation of monks, at the head of whom was Elias de Brantfield. Their expences were royally defrayed from the treasury; and the object of their mission was, to procure from the pontiff, the confirmation of the choice lately made by themselves and the king.—But the English prelates of the diocese of Canterbury, who had not even been consulted on the occasion, bore the neglect impatiently. If hitherto they had not singly chosen their primate, they had, at least, concurred with the monks, and the privilege, they maintained, was their equal claim. To support this claim, and to complain of the late transaction, the bishops also sent deputies to Rome. To the person of the new primate they had no objection.—Innocent was thus acknowledged supreme arbiter in the contest, and his decision, it seemed, was called for. The parties appeared, in a public consistory, before him; the agents of the bishops, the friends

† Mat. Par. an. 1205. Chron. Walt. Heming.

to Reginald, and the deputation of monks, in the interest of John.

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The cause of the prelates was first decided. It appeared, from ancient usage and special grants, that the right of election belonged to the monks. The bishops, indeed, only pretended that jointly with them, they had chosen the three last primates. It had been so; but the convent invariably resisted their interference, nor had they been influenced by their votes. The monks assembled in chapter: the bishops often at Westminster, and not on the same day. Innocent therefore, to decide a controversy, which had long been agitated, decreed that the monks, in future, should be the sole electors. The arrangement was indecent, and adverse to the genuine spirit of the ecclesiastical establishment; but a precedent, which centuries had confirmed, merited, perhaps, some attention.

Now pleaded the monks. The few who adhered to Reginald, requested the confirmation of their choice; and the king's deputies presented the bishop of Norwich. Thus the latter reasoned. Reginald, they said, was clandestinely elected in the night, without the usual ceremonies, without the royal assent, and not with the concurrence of the seniors of the convent. "We petition, therefore," they continued, "that John of Norwich
" be

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“ be confirmed our primate, whose election was canonically made, and in the presence, and with the consent of our lord the king.”—“ Your boasted election,” replied the solicitor for Reginald, “ must be necessarily void : because whatever ours was, irregular even and unjust, it should have been annulled, before you proceeded to a second choice. I petition, that Reginald be our primate.”—Much altercation ensued : it did not seem, that the parties could be induced to coalesce in one choice ; and Innocent judged that both candidates had been uncanonically elected. He took the advice of his cardinals, and pronounced sentence, whereby both elections were voided, and both candidates forbidden to prosecute any further claim to the see of Canterbury^s.—And the bribe which was offered to him, amounting, it was said, to eleven thousand marks, he rejected with indignation^t.—That the pontiff, on this occasion, exceeded the limits of his prerogative, as it was then admitted, and which the parties, by their application, themselves acknowledged, will not be easily shewn.

It was then signified to the deputies, that they were at liberty to elect whom

^s Mat. Par. an. 1207. Chron. Walt. Heming.

^t Gest. Inn. n. 131.

else they pleased, provided he were qualified, and a native of England. The latter condition might surprize, but it was soon unriddled; for the pontiff recommended to their choice Stephen Langton, a member of the sacred college, whose science, he said, and virtues were conspicuous, and whose promotion would be profitable to the king and the English church.—The king, it appears, had promised his deputies, to receive the primate they should elect; but they at the same time, had sworn to elect no other, than the bishop of Norwich. They replied, therefore, that, without the consent of their master and that of their community, no choice, they should make, would be deemed canonical, or agreeable to the laws and liberties of the king and kingdom. “Your power,” answered Innocent warmly, “is sufficiently ample; and as to the royal assent, learn, that here it has not been thought necessary, when elections are made in the presence of the pontiff. I command you, under pain of excommunication, to chuse him for your primate, whom I named to you.”—The monks intimidated by the menace, reluctantly and with murmurs, assented. Only Elias de Brantfield would not comply; while the others, singing the *Te Deum*, led Stephen

to

BOOK
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BOOK to the altar: and on the seventeenth of
 V. June, he was consecrated by Innocent
 1207. himself at Viterbo, where he then re-
 sided^u.

Stephen Langton, born in England, had studied at Paris, where his literary acquirements had raised him to offices of high dignity. He was a canon of the cathedral church, and chancellor of the university. There he remained many years. He also possessed a prebend in the church of York. But the fame of his learning and many virtues reaching the ears of Innocent, he called him to Rome, employed him in the concerns of the see, and promoted him to the dignity of cardinal priest, under the title of St. Chrysofonus. An ecclesiastic, in the confidence of the ambitious Innocent, and by him forced on the see of Canterbury, would be, it was with reason apprehended, a dangerous agent of his court. We shall see what his conduct was.

Contro-
 versy be-
 tween the
 Pontiff
 and John.

But the pontiff, well aware that a prince of John's temper would not be led without difficulty, wrote to him, in terms of much gentleness, extolling the merits of Langton, whose learning, he said, and virtues would be beneficial to him; and exhorting him to receive him kindly as his primate. Previously to this, he had

^u Mat. Par. Gest. Inn. Annal. Waver. Chron. Walt. Heming.

sent him four golden rings, richly set; and to enhance the value of the present, he explained, by various conceits, the mysteries they signified. John was pleased.—Innocent also wrote to the monks of Canterbury, commanding them to receive the archbishop, and to obey him.—The charms of the rings at once vanished, when the second letter came. Furious at the unexpected news, he turned his rage against the monks. They were all traitors, he said: had first chosen Reginald; then, to palliate their crime, had elected the bishop of Norwich; had taken money from his treasury; had gone to Rome to procure the confirmation of this measure; and to complete their infamy, had there chosen Stephen Langton, his declared enemy, and had obtained his consecration. He dispatched two knights, with an armed band, to drive the monks from their convent. They marched to Canterbury, and entering the cloisters drew their swords. “In the king’s name,” they exclaimed, “we command you, as traitors, to quit the realm; or, in a moment, we will set fire to these walls, and burn you with your convent.”—The menace sufficed. All the monks, whom sickness did not prevent, departed, and going into Flanders, they were received into the convents there. But their effects were seized and confiscated; and the

BOOK
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BOOK the lands of the archbishopric and of the
 V. monastery lay without culture^v.

1207.

He then sent messengers with letters to the pope. They contained, in reproachful and menacing language, that, having injuriously set aside the bishop of Norwich, he had made primate one Stephen Langton, a man utterly unknown to him, and educated in the kingdom of France, amongst his enemies; and what was still more prejudicial to the liberties of his crown, he had not even asked his consent to the unprecedented measure. It was truly wonderful, he continued, that neither his holiness, nor the court of Rome, should have reflected, how necessary his friendship had till now been to them, and that they drew more wealth from England, than from all other states on this side the Alps. The liberties of his crown, he added, he would defend, if necessary, with his life; and that no consideration should prevail on him, to relinquish the election of the bishop of Norwich. "If this be refused to me," he concluded, "no further journeys shall be made to Rome, to the serious detriment of my kingdom. And as the prelates, I have near me, are amply stored with science, I will no more beg from strangers either advice or justice^w."

^v Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

^w Mat. Par.

The reply of Innocent to the messengers, and by letter to the king, was temperate, firm, and in the genuine spirit of the Roman see. Having noticed the petulancy of his language, which he contrasts with the moderation of his own address, he proceeds to the objections made against the primate. He was educated in France, he allows, and what then? There he had gained renown and science. But he is a stranger, it is pretended. Yet to this stranger, he says, the king had thrice written, since his promotion to the sacred college, and it had been his wish to have drawn him near to his own person. By the ties of nature and duty he was attached to his king and country. As a man highly qualified to undertake the great charge, the monks had chosen him; and on that election he insists. But the royal consent, it is urged, had not been asked.—Here the pontiff informs us, what the historian had not related, that two monks had been deputed from Rome to the king, to obtain his consent, and to request that, he would send his agents who might witness the transaction. The monks had been detained on the road; but the letters they bore, had been delivered to the king's messengers. The electors also, he says, had by letter implored his assent. "And
 " I," continues Innocent, " who possess
 " supreme jurisdiction over the see of
 " Canterbury,

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“ Canterbury, and who know that, when
 “ elections are made at Rome, it was ne-
 “ ver customary to wait for the consent of
 “ kings, I implored your royal approba-
 “ tion. That I did, and to do more was
 “ not my duty. I then proceeded, as the
 “ holy canons have directed.” He ex-
 horts him to acquiesce in the just mea-
 sure, and not to involve himself in diffi-
 culties, which may prove inextricable;
 not to listen to the counsels of false friends.
 “ Resistance to God and the church,” he
 concludes, “ in a cause, for which the
 “ glorious martyr, Thomas, lately shed
 “ his blood, must bring danger to you;
 “ particularly as your predecessors, Henry
 “ and your brother, abjured the pernici-
 “ ous practice, in the hands of the apos-
 “ tolic legates. If you submit, it shall
 “ be my care, that the rights of your
 “ crown be not injured^x.”

Thus spoke the imperial Innocent: but
 neither were his maxims new, nor his
 conduct unconstitutional. If he was not
 free to decide on the merits of the electi-
 on, why were deputies sent to plead be-
 fore him? In them, by the king himself,
 was allowed to reside the power of chuf-
 ing a primate. They chose Stephen Lang-
 ton. His consecration only was precipi-
 tate; before which the royal approbation

x Mat. Par.

should

should have been received, whatever might be the prerogative of the Roman see. That decency demanded.

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In co-operation with the pontiff, other means were used to sooth or intimidate the king to submission. Nothing prevailed. The cardinals were, therefore, convened: after which, orders were sent to the bishops of London, of Ely, and of Worcester, to wait on the king, in the name of Innocent. Their further commission was, to exhort him, with a respectful liberty, no longer to oppose, what was called the will of heaven; but to receive Langton, and relieve the church of Canterbury. Should they find him obdurate, then were they commanded to lay England under an interdict, and to menace the king with a heavier rod, if he did not relent.—The same messenger brought letters to the suffragan bishops, requiring from them obedience to their primate, and strenuous exertions in the cause of their liberties.—He brought also letters to the English barons; wherein they were requested, to use their influence on the monarch's mind, and thus prevent the evils, which his rebellion against the church must draw on the nation.—Where was now the spirit of the lowly Jesus, whose vicars or immediate depu-

y Mat. Par. Inn. ep. 113, 159, 160. Annal. Waver.

BOOK V. ties these men, in their proudest domination, still dared to stile themselves?

1208.
England
laid under
an inter-
dict.

Early in the spring, the three bishops waited on the king. They declared their commiffion, and humbly entreated him, to admit the primate, and to recall the exiled monks. His happinefs, they faid, depended on it, and the welfare of the ftate; for that the pontiff muft be obeyed.—John grew pale with anger, and his lips quivered.—They proceeded to menace the interdict. “No more,” exclaimed the king furiously, and he inveighed againft the pope and his cardinals, “By God’s teeth, if either you, or any others, dare to interdict my territories, I will fend you and all your clergy to Rome, and confifcate your property.” And as to the Romans, he added, who might be found in his dominions, he would put out their eyes, and cut off their nofes, and difpatch them to his holinefs, that nations might witnefs their infamy. “You; begone from my fight, if you have any folitude for your perfons.” They trembled, and retired.

Some weeks paffed, and the facred mandate urged. It was Lent. The bishops, therefore, pronounced the fentence; and in a moment, the nation felt all its direful effects. I have faid what they were.

z Mat. Par. an. 1208. Annal. Waver.

The public functions of religion ceased, confession only excepted, the sacrament of the dying, and the baptism of infants. Not a bell was heard to toll; not a taper was lighted; not a canticle was sung, through the realm of England. The bodies of the dead lay unburied, or they were covered with unhallowed earth, in the fields or by the way side, without a prayer or the ministry of the priesthood^a. —But the bishops, having done their work, secretly withdrew to the continent, and with them went those of Bath and Hereford. Langton, mean while, had come to Pontigny, where he breathed the air, which Becket had breathed, and where, by contemplation, he might learn to emulate his zeal and his unbending firmness. But heaven had blessed him with a happier prudence.

Naturally impetuous, with no good sense to moderate the propensity, and now goaded by passion, and ill-adviced, the king, who should have striven to conciliate the minds of his people, and thereby strengthen a cause, which was, in some points, just, gave way to the extravagance of rage, and multiplied his enemies. As he had threatened, he sent officers to command the other bishops and their dependents, instantly to quit

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1208.

The
king's
venge-
ance.

^a Mat. Par. an. 1208. *Annal. Waver.*

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1208.

the kingdom, and to seek redress, if they wanted it, at Rome. He seized all the revenues of the church, appointing laymen to their administration: took possession of the abbey, and turned their wealth into the exchequer. Many ecclesiastics were imprisoned, or otherwise ill-treated; and their concubines, says the historian, were taken from them, and compelled to buy their liberty by heavy fines. But the prelates, directed by a wise policy, refused to leave the kingdom, and the officers had not been empowered to use force. They remained therefore, subsisting on the slender allowance, with which they were supplied^b.

A negotiation, at this time, was opened with Rome, but it ended fruitlessly: and John, fearing that a heavier sentence might follow the interdict, which he valued little, resolved to provide against it. Personal excommunication, he knew, would break asunder every tie, which bound his vassals to the throne. He appointed commissioners, with an armed force, to wait on all the nobles of the realm, and on them principally, whose allegiance he suspected most, requiring hostages from every family, that, in case of need, he might have it in his power to awe their conduct. Many obeyed the

^b Mat. Par. Annal. Waver-

mandate, and gave him the desired pledge; their children, or their nearest friends. They came to the castle of William de Braouse, a noble baron, and demanded hostages. "My sons shall not go near him," said Matilda their mother to the officers: "he murdered his own nephew, whom he should have protected."—"Thou hast spoken like a foolish woman," observed the baron chidingly.—Then turning to the officers: "If I have done any thing," said he, "against my sovereign, let a day and place be named; for I am ready, and ever shall be, to make him satisfaction, without hostages, according to the judgment of his court and of my peers." The answer was reported to the king, who tyrannically gave secret orders, for the immediate apprehension of the whole family: but they escaped into Ireland. They afterwards perished miserably^c.—Thus passed the first year.

Whilst England and its king, were thus involved in the consequences of an inglorious controversy, Otho, that king's nephew, had gained an empire. I related the beginning of the noble contest between him and Philip of Suabia, through which the latter was ever successful. The interest of the ecclesiastical princes and the

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1208.

^c Mat. Par. Annal. de Margan.

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 1208.

patronage of Rome, which sided with Otho, bent before the superior strength of his rival; and after a battle lost, in 1206, he was compelled to retire within his own territory of Brunswick. Then his friends deserted him; and soon afterwards, even Innocent, whose politics could move with the stream, became less obdurate, and listened to terms of peace. Otho came to England, and received from his uncle five thousand marks, the only aid it was in his power to bestow. And now the final exaltation of Philip seemed secure. He had an army in the field, ready to crush the weak remains of an expiring opposition; and his embassadors were gone to Rome, to prepare for his brows the imperial diadem; when, in a moment, the brilliant prospect vanished. Otho de Wittelspach, to whom he had refused his daughter, entered his chamber, and at a single stroke laid him dead at his feet. It was at Bemberg, on the twenty-second of June, in the present year^d.

The noble-minded Otho received the news with horror. But the states assembled, and unanimously elected him king of Germany and the Romans; and to secure, more lastingly, the return of concord, Beatrix, a minor daughter of his late rival, was affianced to him. To the

^d Chron. Ursperg, &c. ap. Murat.

states he granted their requisition of such ancient rights, as they demanded; and he renounced all claim to the immense territories, of which his father, Henry the Lion, had been despoiled. The next step was, to regain the love of Innocent. This he did; but the promises he made to him, of restoring to the church the lands of the countess Matilda, and other principalities, were highly imprudent, and proved the source of fatal disasters. At the head of a splendid army, Otho then marched into Italy, receiving, as he went, the homage of the people, and at Milan, the regal crown. The pontiff waited at Viterbo. Otho crossed the Appennines, and passing through Tuscany, joined Innocent at Viterbo. The meeting was most gracious; and together they proceeded to Rome, where, after repeating the engagements he had entered into, Otho was crowned by the pontiff. Clouds soon darkened this too refulgent scene^e.

The English monarch persevered in his mad career. He had led an army against Scotland, and compelled its king to purchase peace, and to surrender his two daughters, as hostages for its performance. And now returning, with the vain pomp of a conqueror, he commanded the hedges of his forests to be cut down, and the

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1208.

1209.
Conduct
of John,
and the
further
designs of
Innocent.

^e Murat, ut sup.

ditches

B O O K

V.

1209.

ditches to be levelled, that the deer and other animals might consume the produce of the fields. Before this, he had issued a proclamation, forbidding any feathered game to be taken. They were the acts of a tyrant: but he still hoped to secure the allegiance of his insulted subjects, by requiring a renewal of their homage. They renewed their homage; even children twelve years old^f.

But the pontiff, who, from the refractory spirit of the king, saw the little success which would attend the interdict, resolved to enforce his power; and the sacred college advised the measure. He sent orders to the three bishops, whom he had before employed, to excommunicate the king of England, and to publish the sentence in all the churches of the realm. But the Bishops were themselves absent, and their brethren, to whom they delegated the high commission, from motives of fear or favour, withheld the fatal censure. The mandate, however, was known; and the news, in whispers, was repeated from door to door. An officer of the exchequer quitted his post, alledging, that he might not serve an excommunicated prince^g.—The reader knows what were the direful effects of excommunication.

^f Mat. Par. Annal Waver. Chron. de Mailros.

^g Mat. Par. Mat. West an. 1219. Annal. Waver.

Christmas again returned, when the nobles met their king at Windsor; for the sentence still remained unpublished, and they feared, by fresh irritation, to excite his vengeful jealousy. But the Jews were now called on, to replenish his exhausted treasury; and that they might not evade the contribution, they were seized, and imprisoned, and tortured. Thus was a great sum collected; and with this he levied an army, and prepared to sail for Ireland. Not that any circumstances, then peculiarly alarming, demanded his presence; but it seemed his wish, to affect an appearance of occasional vigour, and to dissipate, by military parade, the sullen combinations of his English vassals.—Since the death of Henry, Ireland, a prey to faction and contentious feuds, had exhibited the same scenes of violence, as had long afflicted it. The English settlers, by various fortune, supported their conquests, and sometimes extended them; and sometimes the native princes prevailed. On the sixth of June, the king landed, at the head of a formidable army. No where was resistance made. The refractory barons, who had incurred his indignation, retired from the storm; while the Irish chieftains repaired to his court, consenting to pay tribute, and to make their submissions. It was then wisely ordained, that the English laws

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1210.

and customs should, in future, be followed; and a regular code or charter was established. The arrangement, doubtless, only extended to those, who acknowledged allegiance to the throne of England; but what province could, at that time, claim independent sovereignty? The monarch of the land had submitted. Thus, under the same head and the same system of polity, were both kingdoms united. For the more regular administration of the laws, a division, likewise, of some provinces into counties was made, over which presided sheriffs and other officers. No military exploit marked this auspicious journey, and John returned, after an absence of two months, leaving the bishop of Norwich, his deputy. His first care was, as he had received instructions, to cause money to be coined of the same weight and form, as that of England, for the convenience of traffic, between the two kingdoms, and which, by a royal proclamation, was made current in both^h.

John landed, in triumphant confidence, and summoned all the heads of the religious houses to meet him at London. Money was again wanted. They obeyed the call, men and women; to whom he declared his exigencies, and demanded an

^h Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

immediate

immediate aid. The fate of the Jews menaced them, and they complied; raising, says the historian, the sum of a hundred thousand pounds. With this he levied another army, and marched into Wales, striking terror to the hearts of its princes, and desolating the country, even to the foot of Snowdon. The princes submitted, and gave him hostages.—But at Northampton, which, on his return, he visited, he met the ministers of an all-puissant monarch, before whom the laurels of his late achievements faded. These were Pandulphus, a subdeacon in the Roman church and the confidential servant of Innocent, and Durandus, a knight of the temple. They were sent by the pontiff, to propose terms of accommodation, between the king and his clergy. In their first requisition, that Langton should be received, and the proscribed monks and bishops be permitted to return, he readily acquiesced. But when they spoke of the restitution of their effects, and a full reparation of the damages they had sustained, John rejected the demand. The conference thus closed, and the nuncios returned into France¹.

Before this time, also Otho had been excommunicated. He had violated his promise, made to Innocent; had even

¹ Mat. Par. Mat. West. Annal. de Marg. et Waver.

invaded

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 1211. invaded the territories of the holy see; and had dared to attack the possessions of young Frederic, king of Sicily, the vassal of Rome and the ward of Innocent. The sentence operated; and we shall see its completion, in the utter downfall of that incautious prince.—Mean while, the refractory behaviour of John had been reported at Rome; and Innocent, whose mind acquired vigour from the swell of obstacles, at once resolved to proceed in the display of the mighty power, which then attached to the tiara. Before it the imperial diadem and the crown of England should bend. He published a bull, which absolved all the vassals of the king from their allegiance, and expressly forbade them, under pain of excommunication, to hold intercourse with their prince, at his table, in the cabinet, or in private conversation. But he still had friends, who did not desert him, and who, perhaps, in an age of darkness, could appreciate this shameless abuse of power. Among these were three bishops, and William earl of Salisbury, and Fitzpeter the justiciary, and twenty-seven barons, whose names are recorded^k.

For the first time, has William, earl of Salisbury, been mentioned. He was the other son of Rosamond, better known,

^k Mat. Par.

in the annals of chivalry, by the name of Longsword. What had been his education, or the first incidents of his youth, is not, I believe, recorded; but, in the last reign, on the death of William, earl of Salisbury, son to him who was slain by Lufignan, Longsword married Ela, the heiress of the noble house, and with her received the honours and arms of Salisbury. In the troubles of this reign, with a brotherly attachment, he generally sided with the king.

The Welsh, impatient of their late submission, again broke from their mountains, and laying waste the country, returned laden with spoil. Acts of wanton barbarity had aggravated the insult. John, therefore, with a mighty force prepared to march against them, swearing, he would level their bulwarks, and erase from the earth the name of Welshman. He was at Nottingham; and before he would taste food, he commanded the hostages to be hanged, who had been surrendered to him, the year before. But as he sat at table, some minutes after, indulging himself with his usual intemperance, a messenger entered with letters from the king of Scotland. He was followed by another messenger from Llewellyn, a Welsh prince. He also brought letters. They whispered to him, that the contents were secret and important.

After

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After table, he retired; and the letters were read. They spoke of a conspiracy, and warned him to beware. John ridiculed the admonition, and ordered his army to proceed to Chester. But here other messengers came, and their advices still imported, that, if he pursued his plan of war against Wales, the conspirators, who were the nobles in his army, would avail themselves of the circumstance; and either slay him in the field, or deliver him to the enemy.—Though the minds of many had been long alienated from their prince, it rather seems, that the present was a scheme, devised by the Welsh princes, to avert a blow which, they had reason to apprehend, would fall heavy on their nation. The scheme answered. He read the last advice with horror, and in the consciousness of his own guilt could see, what grounds he had to fear. He reflected also, that he was an excommunicated man, and that his subjects had been released from their allegiance. He no longer hesitated: the army received orders to disband; and himself repairing to London, dispatched officers to such noblemen, as he most suspected, to require hostages from them. They complied, two only excepted, who immediately withdrew from the kingdom¹.

¹ Mat. Par. Annal. de Marg. et Waver. Chron. Tho. Wikes.

The fears of the king were somewhat allayed, and his indignation began to subside, when it was reported to him, that a hermit in Yorkshire had publicly predicted, that, before the next Ascension-day, his crown should be taken from him, and placed on another head. He ordered the hermit to be brought to him. "Shall I die then, at that time," said John to him, "or in what manner shall I be disposed?"—"Depend on it," replied the prophet, "that, on that day, thou shalt not be king. If I be convicted of a lie, punish me."—The king commanded he should be carefully guarded, till the issue of his prediction might be known. But the multitude, for whose faith no tale is too marvellous, gave full credit to the hermit, and looked eagerly to the completion of his words.—The historian, with some exaggeration perhaps, goes on to describe the inauspicious view of things: noblemen, whose wives and daughters, John had shamelessly insulted; others, whom his exactions had brought to extreme penury; and others, whose relations and nearest friends he had driven from their homes, possessing himself of their wealth and property. In every baron he had an enemy. With exultation they had received the papal mandate, which broke asunder the awful tie of allegiance; and they sent an instrument, signed,

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signed, it was reported, with their names, to Philip the French king, inviting him to come to England, where his standard would be joined, and a crown only waited his acceptance. So relates the historian ^m.

Langton,
 with views
 against
 the king,
 goes to
 Rome.

Stephen Langton, at the same time, and the bishops who were with him, seeing no end to the resistance of their prince, and well apprised of the state of parties, resolved to co-operate with the malcontents, and aid their wildest wishes. They went to Rome, and presented themselves before the pontiff. To him they detailed the enormous conduct of John, since the interdict had been laid on England; his oppression of the church and its ministers; and his obstinacy, which no measures could soften. "To your holiness," they said supplicating, "we have recourse: hear our prayer; give help to the church of England." Innocent was moved. He assembled a consistory; took their advice; and finally pronounced his decree. It was: "that John be deposed, and another, more worthy of the crown, be elected in his place, whom the pope should nominate."---Agreeably to this resolution, he wrote to the king of France, signifying his desire, that, for the remission of

^m Mat. Par. Mat. West.

his

his sins, he would undertake the laborious charge; and when he had dispossessed the tyrant of his throne, he and his descendants should inherit it for ever.—This nomination of Philip, than whom no prince was ever less subservient to the views of Rome, plainly indicates, that the wishes of the disaffected barons were known to Innocent, and which Langton also might have urged. The politic pontiff was aware, that no prince, whom they should disregard, would be admitted to the throne, and that the circumstance might strengthen the refractory John on it.

He then wrote to the great men, the knights, and warriors of different nations, exhorting them to take the cross, as if against the enemies of their faith, to follow the standard of France, and avenge the church's injuries. Who should give their money, or personally aid the expedition, should enjoy, he promised, the protection of the holy see. Pandulphus, the agent, whom we have already seen, received orders to return to France, and with him Stephen Langton and the bishops. "But should it happen," enquired the envoy in a private interview, "that I find in the English king symptoms of repentance, and a will to satisfy our church, and those he has injured, how must I proceed?" Innocent put into his hand a written form of peace or

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1212.

BOOK V. submission: "To which," said he, "if
 1212. "he will subscribe, he shall recover our
 "favour." They departedⁿ.

1213. The archbishop, with his associates,
 Philip, having reached France, convoked a so-
 command- lemn meeting, wherein they announced
 ed by the to the French king, to his prelates, and to
 pope, pre- the whole nation, the sentence of depo-
 pares to sition they had procured against their so-
 invade vereign. In the pope's name, and for the
 England. remission of their sins, they enjoined them,
 to invade the realm of England, and to
 throw the tyrant and the church's enemy
 from his throne. Pandulphus, it seems,
 was not present on the occasion.—Thus
 called on, Philip could not refuse a com-
 mission, which, to a prince less ambiti-
 ous, must have held out allurements irre-
 sistible. To Normandy, Touraine, Maine,
 and Anjou, which were now his, he
 might add Aquitaine, and with it the im-
 perial crown of England. He summon-
 ed all his vassals to meet him at Rouen,
 in the easter-holidays, with their arms
 and horses, under pain of felony. His
 navy also, and what other ships he could
 collect, were ordered to rendezvous in the
 mouth of the Seine, and to take on board
 provisions, and what else the momentous
 expedition might demand^o.

ⁿ Mat. Par. Mat. West.

Mat. Par. Mat. West. Annal. Waver.

The news of these preparations roused the English monarch; and he prepared to resist. It was the month of March. He issued writs to the bailiffs of the seaports, commanding them to register all ships, and to take care, they were equipped, and anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, by the middle of lent. The sheriffs of the counties received other writs, directing them to summon all the tenants of the crown with their retainers, and every man capable of bearing arms, whatever his condition might be, to meet him, near Dover, in the easter-week, under the severest penalties. So general a call on the services of the subject, had not been witnessed, since the conquest; but, in cases of invasion, the feudal law had ordained the generous provision. Awed by the sudden summons, the nation, in a moment, was in arms; and they marched, from all quarters, to the place of rendezvous; while the channel swelled with the spreading armament. In a short time, Kent had not provisions for the multitude; when it was settled to dismiss those, who came without arms, and to retain only such, who were equipped for immediate service. Now landed from Ireland the bishop of Norwich, with five hundred knights, and other soldiers. The army encamped on Barham-down, sixty-thousand fighting men, whose breasts, says

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BOOK the historian, had loyalty animated,
 V. no prince in christendom had matched
 1213. their prowess. The fleet of England,
 also, outnumbered that of the enemy;
 and John had resolved, that the ocean
 should first witness the superiority of his
 arms^p.

Pandul-
 phus, the
 papal nun-
 cio, lands.

Thus the solemn crisis seemed to ap-
 proach.—The monarchs, in anxious ar-
 dour, weighed the great event:—The
 troops, on the opposite shores, with minds
 variously agitated, indulged their expect-
 ations:—And the ships were preparing
 to unfurl their canvas to the winds;—
 when lo!—two knights of the temple
 landed at Dover, and proceeding to the
 English camp, were admitted to the king.
 “We come,” said they, in a tone of
 much respect, “from Pandulphus the
 “subdeacon, and the servant of our lord
 “the pope. For your advantage, and
 “for that of the realm of England, he
 “petitions to see your majesty.”—John
 heard their address, and assented. “Let
 “him immediately come to me;” he re-
 “plied, and dismissed the messengers.—
 In a few days, Pandulphus arrived, and
 being introduced to the king, he spoke:
 “At this moment, Philip, the French
 “monarch, escorted by ships innumera-
 “ble, and at the head of his army, only

^p Ut supra.

“delays

“ delays his departure from the Seine, ^{BOOK}
 “ that, with greater multitudes, which ^{V.}
 “ still crowd to his standard, he may in- ^{1213.}
 “ vade your realm; eject you from it,
 “ as a rebel to the Lord and to the Ro-
 “ man pontiff; and by his grant, take
 “ possession of your throne. The exiled
 “ bishops come with him, and the clergy
 “ and laity, whom you proscribed; un-
 “ der his auspices, to re-occupy their fees
 “ and possessions, and to transfer to him
 “ their fealty, which once was due to
 “ you. He declares, besides, that he
 “ has the names of the nobles of your
 “ land, pledged to him for their liege
 “ submission. He doubts not, therefore,
 “ of success. Now look to your own
 “ good: repent, and avert the wrath of
 “ heaven. As yet you may regain the
 “ throne, from which you have been cast
 “ down, for contumacy, by our lord the
 “ pope. Promise to stand to the award
 “ of the church, and you shall experi-
 “ ence the clemency of the holy see. But
 “ for the fulfilling of this promise, sure-
 “ ties must be given^a.”

The weak prince, as the nuncio spoke, grew pale, and trembled; and the confidence which, a few days before, the presence of his army had inspired, at once gave place to a general distrust. The

^a Mat. Par. an. 1213.

BOOK ^{V.} fifty thousand men, he thought, were
 1213. leagued, in secret treason, against him ;
 and the former notices, he had received
 of designs against his life or liberty, fell,
 with heavier recollection, on his mind.
 The fatal day also approached, which the
 hermit had predicted. Thus abashed, he
 saw little room for hesitation, and con-
 sented to the measures of Pandulphus,
 however generally they had been propos-
 ed. In the presence of sixteen earls and
 barons, the chief men of his kingdom,
 and with his hand on the gospels, he then
 swore to obey the sentence of the church ;
 and on the life of the king the sixteen
 nobles swore, should he recede from his
 oath, that, to their utmost, they would
 compel him to fulfil it.—From this cir-
 cumstance, which we shall see confirmed,
 it appears most evident, that even the
 ministers of the crown approved the mea-
 sures of the nuncio, and acted in concert
 with him. From any controul of the
 papal power, in whatever form they should
 now admit it, it would be much easier,
 they might plausibly reason, afterwards
 to relieve the nation, than from the
 strong arm of Philip, should he land with
 his mighty army. Land he would, if no
 secret stratagem impeded it ; and in the

r Mat. Par. Mat. West. ib.

discontented

discontented state of things, the event of another conquest threatened.

On the thirteenth day of May, the Monday preceding the feast of the Ascension, the king and Pandulphus, the earls and barons of his court, and a vast concourse of people, assembled at Dover; and before them John solemnly swore to the following articles:—To obey the pope in all things, for which he had been excommunicated; to receive into favour the proscribed bishops, and others, particularly cardinal Langton, and the prior and monks of Canterbury; to make full satisfaction to the clergy and laity, for the damages they had suffered, on account of their compliance with the interdict; to pay down, in part of restitution, the sum of eight thousand pounds sterling; to give letters of safe-conduct to the primate, and the other exiled prelates, that they may return to their churches; not to prosecute any person, layman or ecclesiastic, for any matter relating to the late disagreement; to confirm these things by letters patent, in the manner the injured parties shall require, with which should he not comply, they shall be empowered to adhere to the pope, and himself shall lose all the right of patronage, he now holds in the English church. When these conditions shall be executed, the king to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and

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John submits, submitting himself and kingdom to the pope.

BOOK V. — the interdict to be taken from the realm. — Such were the leading articles, drawn up in the form of a charter, to which John set his seal; when four great barons, William earl of Salisbury, Reginald earl of Boulogne, William earl of Warren, and William earl of Ferrars, swore, as their peers had before done, on the soul of the king, that he would inviolably adhere to the compact^s.

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But as yet enough had not been done to satisfy the insulted honour of the pontiff; to secure the nation, under his patronage, from the danger of an invasion; or to answer the views of the disaffected nobles, who saw, with pleasure, the tyrant thus brought low. Tuesday passed, and we may presume, that it was a day of anxious deliberation; for, on the morrow, the same great council, with the king and Pandulphus, again met near Dover.—Had any part of the projected measures been adverse to the wishes of the proud peers of England, can we persuade ourselves, they would have tamely witnessed their completion, or have followed the heels of a Roman nuncio, from their camp to Dover, co-operating with his schemes, as they are called, and giving a legal sanction to them?—Now did John resign his crown, with the kingdoms of

^s Mat. Par. ib.

England and Ireland, into the hands of the pontiff, whom Pandulphus represented. The instrument of conveyance specifies; that having offended God and the holy church, no means of just satisfaction remained to the king, but to humble himself and his dominions: "Wherefore," it goes on, "willing to do it, under the influence of the holy spirit, not compelled by the interdict or by any fear, but of my own free will, and *with the general advice of my barons*, I concede to God, and to the apostles, Peter and Paul, and to the Roman church, and to our lord Innocent, the pope, and to his lawful successors, the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances, for the remission of my sins and those of my family, in future to receive them from, and to hold them under him and the Roman see. And to this submission of fealty and homage, I hereby bind my heirs and successors; in sign of which, it is my will, and I decree that, from the revenues of the said kingdoms, the sum of a thousand marks be annually paid to Rome, seventy for England, and thirty for Ireland, in lieu of every other service and obligation, and with the reserve, to myself and heirs, of the administration of justice, of the liberties of the

" realm,

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“ realm, and of the peculiar rights of the
 “ crown. And should I, or any of my
 “ successors, presume to infringe this
 “ charter, they shall forfeit, unless on
 “ admonition they repent, all right to the
 “ throne. May this concession and duty
 “ remain firm for ever.—Witness my own
 “ hand, in the presence of Henry arch-
 “ bishop of Dublin, John bishop of Nor-
 “ wich, Geoffry Fitzpeter, William earl
 “ of Salisbury, and nine other barons.”
 Their names are recorded†.

The charter, as it is termed, being duly framed, John presented it to the nuncio, to be delivered to the pontiff. Then, before the whole assembly, but not, it seems, with the usual rites of vassalage, or in the hands of Pandulphus, he pronounced the following form of homage:—“ I John, by the grace of God, king
 “ of England, and lord of Ireland,
 “ henceforth will be faithful to God, and
 “ the blessed Peter, and the Roman
 “ church, and to my lord the pope lord
 “ Innocent, and to his lawful successors.
 “ I will not devise by deed, word, or
 “ counsel, that they be injured in life or
 “ member, or be circumvented by snares.
 “ I will impede their harm, and avert it,
 “ as far as I may be able. The advice,
 “ they shall intrust to me by themselves,

† Mat. Par.

“ their

“ their nuncios, or their briefs, I will
 “ hold secret, nor ever reveal it to their
 “ injury. The patrimony of St. Peter,
 “ and especially the realm of England,
 “ and that of Ireland, I will assist to
 “ hold and maintain against all men.
 “ Thus may God aid me, and these his
 “ holy gospels; Amen”.—In speaking he
 had held his hands, we may presume, on
 the sacred volumes. The prelates before
 mentioned, and the barons, were wit-
 nesses, also, to this extraordinary deed.
 But Pandulphus, a man of singular mo-
 deration, and who, in a transaction of
 peculiar delicacy, had conducted himself
 with a temper, equally pleasing to all par-
 ties, and seldom before seen in a Roman
 envoy, is, on the occasion, charged with
 an act of intemperate exultation. Some
 money, which the king had offered, says
 the historian, as an earnest of his subjec-
 tion, he trampled under his feet; at
 which the archbishop of Dublin expressed
 his displeasure, and remonstrated^v. The
 act, doubtless, was meant to signify, that
 the spiritual controul of his master look-
 ed down on kingdoms and spurned their
 riches.

So ended this memorable day, the
 fifteenth of the month of May.—With

^u Mat. Par.

^v Mat. Par. Chron. Tho. Wikes, et Walt. Heming, et
 Mailros. Annal. Waver. et Burt.

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regard to the transaction itself, which modern writers know not how to view with decent compofure, I will obferve, that, had themfelves been eye-witneffes to it, their indignation had been lefs violent. With difficulty, fome minds divest themfelves of their common habits of thought, and go back, in imagination, to ages which have paffed away. An extraordinary power, which I have feduloufly traced, was then afcribed to the Roman bifhop, and of more kingdoms, than of Sicily, he was acknowledged to be the fuzerain lord. Acts of feudal homage were common, and were not attended with difgrace. We faw the king of Scotland voluntarily furrender the independence of his crown; and princes and the great barons daily transferred their fealty, on the flighteft provocation; and the Englifh monarchs were in the constant habits, of performing the humiliating ceremony, as to us it appears, in the hands of the kings of France. But however this may be, the furrender, which John made of his crown, was the authentic act of the nation, expreffed in as full a manner, as the moft folemn deeds then were. The primate was not prefent, for an obvious reafon, nor the archbifhop of York, the fon of Rofamond, who was then dead: but the archbifhop of Dublin witneffed the charter, and the bifhop of Norwich,

Norwich, deputy of Ireland, and Fitz-
 peter, the justiciary of the realm of Eng-
 land, with other barons. The great coun-
 cil of the nation, as it is called, seems to
 have been assembled in its wonted solemn-
 ity. Such meetings, by some writers, on
 less important occasions, have been dig-
 nified with the appellation of *parliament*.
 What probably were the motives which
 induced the justiciary, a man of great
 experience, as he is represented, and of
 consummate wisdom, to forward the ex-
 traordinary measure, I have said. Others
 might be variously influenced. The bi-
 shop of Norwich, in particular, was an
 enemy to Innocent, whose promotion to
 the see of Canterbury he had impeded.
 This only may be affirmed with confi-
 dence, that they preferred the measure,
 on the best view of things, as most tend-
 ing to the good of the nation; and that
 to their eyes it carried little of the igno-
 miny, which we have affixed to it. Pan-
 dulphus seems to have co-operated with
 the wishes of the prelates and barons at
 home, as he had with those of the exiled
 party; and what is remarkable, the his-
 torian, who can often be severe when
 Rome is concerned, neither reflects on
 the nuncio, or his proceedings; nor does
 he intimate, that any part of the transac-
 tion raised the smallest opposition, or gave
 offence,

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BOOK V. offence, excepting in the single instance which I mentioned.

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The
French
king
checked
by Pan-
dulphus,
enters
Flanders.

Having executed his commission, Pandulphus, taking with him the charters and the eight thousand pounds, which had been paid for the immediate relief of the exiles, sailed to France. He waited on them, and shewing them the terms of pacification, which pleased them well, exhorted them to return to England, with the dispositions of cordial amity, where they would receive an ample reparation of all their wrongs. Thence he repaired to Philip, who was on his march towards Boulogne, and recounting the success of his negotiation in England, he addressed the astonished monarch, exhorting him to desist from his enterprize, and to return home. "Without offence to the Roman bishop," he continued, "you cannot pursue your designs on England and its king. He is ready to make satisfaction to God, to the holy church, and to her ministers; and to obey the commands of our lord the pope."—Philip did not restrain his anger. "Already," said he, "I have expended more than sixty thousand pounds on this expedition. I undertook it by the pontiff's command, and for the remission of my sins."—Pandulphus withdrew, reiterating the inhibition, in his master's name. But the army continued their march; and
Philip

Philip dispatched orders to his fleet, instantly to leave the Seine, and join him in the port of Boulogne^w.

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In the French army, which all the great vassals of the crown followed, was Ferdinand, recently advanced to the earldom of Flanders. He had refused, indeed, to join the enterprize, unless certain towns, which had lately been annexed to the French crown, were restored to him. The truth was, that he was actually confederated with John, through the insinuating persuasion of Reginald earl of Boulogne, his relation, who, not long before, in disgust, had relinquished the interest of France. At this crisis, therefore, he signified to Philip, that he should favour no longer the unjust attempt on England; and sullenly retired. The monarch, with the advice of his generals, at once resolved to enter Flanders, and to put it out of the earl's power, to obstruct the immediate prosecution of his design. But already Ferdinand had apprised the English council of the danger, which he apprehended; and a powerful army, commanded by the earl of Salisbury, with many ships, had been ordered to sail to his assistance. The French fleet had arrived on the coast; when Philip marched into Flanders. The impetuous incurfion

^w Mat. Par.

BOOK was irresistible, and many towns fell. In
 V. the mean while, the English fleet anchored,
 1213. ed, and finding that of the enemy almost
 deserted by the troops, who were pillag-
 ing the country, they attacked them, cap-
 tured three hundred, and sank and burnt
 a hundred more, Philip, engaged in the
 siege of Ghent, flew to the rescue of his
 fleet. It was too late. Some advantage,
 indeed, he obtained over the enemy,
 who had landed; but seeing it impracti-
 cable to save the remaining ships, he or-
 dered them to be fired, and withdrew with
 his army. So vanished the prospect he
 had indulged, of adding a second crown
 to his empire. But the English generals
 joined the earl of Flanders, with whom,
 it seems, a plan was in agitation, for the
 recovery of the lost provinces in France,
 and to break down the power of Philip*.

The exiles
 return, and
 Langton
 admini-
 sters an
 oath to the
 king.

John heard the news of this success
 with rapture, and understanding that all
 danger of an immediate invasion was at
 an end, he disbanded his forces. He
 likewise sent money to his troops in Flan-
 ders, promising that, with the spring, a
 powerful ally would join their arms; and
 in the mean while, he urged them to in-
 fest and pillage the territory of his ene-
 my. Another army he then ordered to
 attend him at Portsmouth, where it was

* Mat. Par. Daniel p. 558.

was his intention, he said, to embark, and from the ports of France, to carry devastation to its centre. The vassals assembled, as the summons directed; but their chiefs refused to proceed, unless the sentence of excommunication were first taken from the king. With reluctance, the disconcerted monarch listened to the stubborn resolution, which discontent had dictated; and in compliance with it, sent messengers to the exiles, bearing with them letters from twenty-four barons, as a pledge of the security, in which they might return, agreeably to the settled form of pacification, and be indemnified for the injuries they had sustained.

The exiles received the joyful tidings, and came to England with speed; Stephen Langton, the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, and a croud of inferior clergy, monks, and laity. The king, who was at Winchester, went out to meet them. He fell at the feet of the prelates, and imploring their forgiveness, was re-conducted by them to the door of the principal church, where the multitude waited. The primate here pronounced his absolution, and immediately entering the church, presented to him a book of the gospels, and with it the heads of an oath, he had prepared. Without hesitation the king took it. "I swear," he said, "to love the church and her mini-

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“ fters, and to defend and maintain them,
 “ againſt their enemies, to the utmoſt of
 “ my power. The good laws of my
 “ predeceſſors, and eſpecially thoſe of
 “ king Edward, I will renew. Bad laws
 “ I will annul. I will adminiſter juſtice
 “ to all my vaſſals, according to the juſt
 “ judgments of my court, and give to
 “ every man his rights. Before eaſter
 “ next, I will make full ſatiſfaction for
 “ all the damages I have cauſed, on ac-
 “ count of the interdict, or again fall un-
 “ der the ſentence from which I am now
 “ releaſed.” He then renewed his oath
 of fealty and obedience to the pope and
 his ſucceſſors, in the words of the late
 charter given to Pandulphus. Thus cloſed
 the ceremony, and the king, with the
 the cardinal, the prelates, and the nobles,
 dined at the ſame table in great feſtivity.
 This was on the ſixteenth of July’.

The oath which the cardinal primate,
 with an aſſurance, that courtly politici-
 ans might condemn, thus dictated to his
 prince, ſeems to have originated in a
 ſcheme, boldly projected and maturely
 weighed. It differed, indeed, little from
 the coronation-oath, which he and his
 immediate predeceſſors had taken; but
 the preſent occaſion of its renewal was
 ſingular, and it brought it, with no

y Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

common

common impresson, to the recollection of the public. We shall soon see the important purpose, which it was meant to serve. Why Langton, at the same time, caused the oath of fealty to the pontiff to be repeated, is not so evident. But the circumstance proves, that, as he originally moved his holiness to adopt the extravagant measure, from motives which we do not sufficiently penetrate, so he would shew that he still approved the same, and would call on the nobles of the land, a second time, in their collected capacity, to give it the sanction of their presence. That the reconciliation, between this politic churchman and the king, was sincere, we may not suppose. John viewed him as an intruder into the see of Canterbury, whose entrance he could no longer impede, and as the principal author, doubtless, of the late attack on the independence of his crown. If Langton despised the unsteady and inglorious prince, it was but natural. He forgave, perhaps, the opposition, he had experienced from him, which his good sense would be ready to justify; but he had taken his resolution, we know, to avail himself of the general discontent and the weakness of the monarch, thereby to rescue his country from oppression, and to give it the benefit of better laws.

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Meeting at
St. Alban's, and
further
proceed-
ings of
Langton.

John now presumed, that he could call on his vassals to follow his standard, and be no longer waywardly opposed. But his first step was, to command the sheriffs of counties to chuse four commissioners, with an officer in each district, whose business it should be, to enquire into the losses the exiles had sustained, and to report the same before a council, appointed to meet at St. Alban's, on the fourth of August. This, he hoped, would be received as an earnest of his sincere design of fulfilling every part of his engagement. He then committed the care of the realm to the justiciary Fitzpeter, and to the bishop of Winchester, commanding them to do nothing, without the advice of the cardinal; and again hastened to Portsmouth. Here his army had remained; but they now informed him that, in waiting his return, their money was spent, and that they could not proceed, unless they were supplied from his treasury. John rejected their demand, and angrily sailed with his family, trusting he should not be deserted by men, on whose allegiance, he vainly fancied, he might rely. But the nobles, with indifference, saw him embark, and themselves returned home. He landed on Jersey, and waited; but as no one came, again, in indignation,

nation, he ordered his vessel to depart, and regain the English port^z.

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The fourth of August, mean while, had passed, when the great council assembled at St. Alban's. Fitzpeter and his colleague announced to them the terms of pacification, which had been settled with the king, and then, in his name, ordained; "that the laws of the first Henry be every where observed, and all unjust laws be utterly abolished." They commanded the sheriffs, the rangers of the forests, and all other the king's officers, as they valued their lives and members, to be guilty of no extortion, to offer no injury, and to cease from such oppressions, as hitherto they had practised with impunity^a.

Such were the wise ordinances of St. Alban's, made in the absence of the prince, and under a commission, we may presume, with which he had invested his ministers. We now see the tendency of the oath, which Langton had extorted from him; and his deep-laid plan begins to open. But here the laws of Henry are only mentioned; and in the oath, a more general expression was used, with a particular reference to the laws of St. Edward. The reason of this will soon appear. I wish also to notice the good understanding that

^z Mat. Par.

^a Idem.

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 1213. subsisted between the primate and the ministers of the crown, of which an undeniable instance here occurs, which shews, that they proceeded in concord to the accomplishment of one design.

The irritated monarch, who wanted capacity to fathom the views of the cardinal and his associates, only meditated vengeance. He collected another army, resolving to chastise the refractory nobles, by whom he was lately deserted; and he advanced to Northampton. Hither came the primate: "This proceeding, Sir," said he, "tends to the violation of the oath, you took before me. Your vassals must stand to the judgment of your court, and not be thus wantonly harassed by arms. It was that you swore to."—"The concerns of my realm," vociferated John, "shall not be impeded by you, my lord; nor do they appertain to you;" and the next morning, early, he marched towards Nottingham. But Langton, unintimidated, followed him: "Either desist," he proceeded, "from this attempt, or I will excommunicate all those, your majesty only excepted, who shall presume to bear arms, till the interdict, which still holds, shall be withdrawn." The menace succeeded: but the cardinal did not quit the king, till he had prevailed on him to name a day, on which the barons, who had

had offended him, should appear in his court, and answer to his charges^b.

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Modern men can applaud this behaviour of Langton, insolent as it was, because, they say, it was the cause of civil liberty which he patronized; and in that cause, the common rules of decency bind, it seems, no longer. On Becket they can be severe and unrelenting; though to his prince he never uttered language so unseemly, and the cause he maintained was to him and to thousands, equally momentous, and far more sacred. But the policy of the cardinal was here transcendent. From his sovereign he drew an oath, to the observance of which, by a bold importunity, he compels him to adhere, while the clause, which he principally urges, embraces that privilege, which the nobles, he knew, held most dear. Thus did he make their cause his own, attaching them to himself by such a tie of interest, as, on a future day, he could not doubt, would give confidence, and rouse the most timid to a manly cooperation with his best designs.

Within three weeks, from the last great meeting, again assembled the prelates, abbots, priors, deans, and barons of the realm, at London, in the church of St. Paul. Nor was the king here present.

The primate confederates the barons.

^b Mat. Par.

What

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What was the ostensible motive of the convention, is not related; but, probably, it regarded the cause of the exiles. In it the primate relaxed some part of the interdict, which was to continue, we know, till the whole treaty should be fulfilled. But so fortunate an occasion was not thus lightly to pass away. In the unsuspectful hour of general debate, Langton called aside, as it was reported, certain barons, whom, with an air of solemn secrecy, he thus addressed: "You heard that I absolved our king at Winchester, where I forced him to swear, that he would abolish unjust laws, and re-establish good ones, namely, those of king Edward, and that these should be observed by all his subjects. I have lately found a charter of Henry I. by which, if you be so disposed, the liberties we have long lost may be restored to our country." So saying, he produced the charter, and caused it to be read to them.

It was that which Henry I. had granted, in the first year of his reign; which Stephen had renewed; and which Henry II. had confirmed. It contained some laws of the Confessor, with such amendments as the conqueror, with the consent of the barons, had introduced: and,

c Mat. Par.

as

as many transcripts of it having been taken, as there were counties, they had been deposited as records, in the abbeys of each county^d. But little attention was paid to this important instrument. The government of the kings continued irregular, if not unlimited; and in an age, when few could read, when arms engaged their thoughts, and not the discussion of laws and polity, the charter was neglected; and gradually its memory sank. The number of copies secured it, indeed, from destruction, but not from oblivion. Yet, at all times, a traditional recollection, indistinct in many, of days long passed, when, under another race of kings, their ancestors were reputed more free and happy, attached itself to the mind; and the name of Edward and his laws was repeated with a warmth, approaching to enthusiasm. This, in the Saxon families, was most natural; but the Normans also imbibed the impression, and as the conduct of their kings aggrieved them, their partial fondness ceased, and they looked anxiously to the restoration of the rights of Englishmen, and the re-establishment of better laws.

The barons listened, while the charter was interpreted, and their looks and gestures expressed the warmest joy. "For

^d Mat. Par. an. 1100.

" those

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 1213. “those rights,” they exclaimed, “when the proper season shall come, if necessary, we will die.”—“Swear it,” said the primate. They swore. Himself then promised them his utmost assistance. Thus was the confederacy formed, and the assembly separated.—We may now understand that, by the laws of the Confessor and the charter of Henry, was meant, in a vague acceptation, the same code of rights and liberties.

Fitzpeter earl of Essex, the justiciary, seems not to have been present on this memorable occasion. It was sickness, probably, which confined him at home; for early in the next month he died. His loss, says the historian, was to England irreparable. He was the pillar of the state, versed in its laws, generous in his dispositions, affluent in the gifts of fortune, and allied in blood or friendship to all the noble families of the realm. His sovereign feared him; but he permitted him still to hold the reins of government. When the news came of his death; “It is well,” said John, laughing violently; “in hell he may again shake hands with Hubert, our late primate, whom he will surely find there.” Then turning to those who were with him, he subjoined: “By God’s feet, now, for the first

c Mat. Par.

f Mat. Par.

“time, I am king and lord of England.” BOOK V.

And, in truth, released from a minister, 1213.

who could controul his wayward character, he regarded less the engagements he had been induced to make, and thought by what means he could best annul the whole obligation of the late treaty^f.—

With this view, and on this occasion, it was reported, that he sent an embassy to Miramoulin, emperor of Morocco, offering to resign his kingdom to him, and to hold it under tribute; to renounce the law of Christ, and to become Mahometan, in order to purchase his protection.—

Modern historians reject the story as incredible, and as fabricated by the monks, to vilify the memory of their sovereign.

But to them he was not peculiarly obnoxious; and so circumstantially is the tale told by the historian^g, who heard it, he says, from the mouth of Robert of London, one of the envoys, that to critics less fastidious it may bear many marks of authentic truth. The folly of John was adequate to the wildest undertakings.—

Miramoulin despised the weak monarch, and rejected the profered submission.

The league of the barons, or, at least, their general views, which the conversation of each day circulated, could be no longer hidden from the king. But how

A legate arrives, before whom John renews his submission.

^f Mat. Par.

^g Ibid.

could

BOOK V. 1213. could he dissipate their designs? By experience, says the monkish historian, he had learned, that the pontiff was of all men the most proud and ambitious, insatiable of money, and prone to every crime, when allured by rewards or promises.—Innocent was ambitious; but the other charges applied not to him.—The king dispatched messengers to Rome, loaded with presents, and by them he promised still larger gifts; and he vowed an eternal fealty, would he engage, as the occasion offered, to confound the machinations of the primate, and to excommunicate the barons whose confederacy he feared. But already a legate had been appointed, and was on his road to England.—This new proposal of the king contained matter of great delicacy. Innocent weighed it maturely, and dismissed the messengers, with various letters of instruction to the king and his legate. This was Nicholas, bishop of Tusculum, who arrived in England about the end of September^h.

A council met in London before the king and the legate, where was first discussed the question, of the reparation to be made to the exiles. The terms which the king offered seemed highly equitable, and Nicholas approved them; but the car-

^h Mat. Par. Inn. ep. 130, 131.

dinal, with the other sufferers, would not consent, insisting, that the whole of their losses should be first ascertained, and the debt be at once discharged. The legate, they discovered, was wholly devoted to the king.—On the following day they debated the question of the interdict; but neither here was any thing decided: when John, whose cause was now in the hands of the legate, at his requisition, came forward, and before the altar, in the church of St. Paul where the council was held, repeated the act of submission, whereby he had, on a former day, subjected his crown, and the realms of England and Ireland, to the Roman see. Even the charter of resignation, which, sealed with wax, had been given to Pandulphus, now received a golden seal, and was delivered to the legate, to be presented to his holiness. The council adjourned. Other meetings, in the succeeding months, assembled; but nothing was concluded, and the interdict remained, and justice was not done to the sufferers¹.

The conduct of the legate soon roused the further resentment of Langton and the English bishops. He had been empowered by the pope, to fill the vacant churches and abbeys, with the king's consent: but he complied ill with his in-

¹ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

structions,

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 1213. instructions, nominating men, whom neither science nor virtue qualified for the office. In vain were complaints made; and Langton called a synod at Dunstable. They agreed to appeal to the pope; on which the cardinal sent a messenger to Nicholas, apprising him of the appeal, and forbidding him to proceed to any other appointment, which was the known privilege, he said, of the metropolitan see of Canterbury. The legate disregarded the inhibition; but consulting with the king, he dispatched Pandulphus, who was lately come to England, with proper instructions to the pontiff. Arrived in Rome, Pandulphus represented, in dark colours, the behaviour of the primate, and his views, urging, that he and his colleagues loved money; and that, in the reparation which they demanded of their losses, they were too rigid and exacting: "Besides," he added, it is their aim to "reduce their sovereign to undue sub-
 "missions, and to abridge the liberties of
 "the realm." He then spoke of the king, on whom he lavished praises, and than whom, he said, he had not seen a more humble and more modest prince. Here he presented the charter, with its golden seal. Simon Langton, the primate's brother, who assisted at the interview, attempted to reply; but his voice gained

gained no attention. The eloquence of the golden seal was irrefragable^k.

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But whilst occurrences such as these, the preludes to a greater event, have engaged our thoughts; in the southern provinces of France, a scene was exhibited, from which reason and religion turn with horror. Already I have said, who were the Albigenes, and what their principal tenets. In vain had these been condemned, and their abettors punished, when legates came from Rome, by their presence, to check the spreading evil. It only spread the more; for the pageantry of dress and equipage, which attended these courtly missionaries, served to give an edge to the declamations of the sectaries, whose favourite topic of invective was, the wealth and worldly demeanour of churchmen. Soon then it appeared, that all orders of men had tasted of the poisoned cup: towns, villages, and hamlets, in the provinces especially of Gasconne and Languedoc, swarmed with them; and what was extraordinary, when we consider the tenets of those men, tending to pull down grandeur and level distinction, even the nobles quitted the splendid worship of their ancestors, and joined their vassals in the rustic faith. Then it was, in the year 1208, that In-

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Crusade
against the
Albigen-
ses.

^k Mat. Par.

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nocent commanded a crusade to be preached against them, and sent his legates, for that purpose, into France. Philip received them, and applauded the measure; but he could not, engaged as he then was, do more than promise a powerful body of men, and permit his subjects to enroll themselves, as their zeal might direct. The promulgation of the crusade was attended with great success; for the expedition seemed to threaten few difficulties, and all the pardons, rewards, and privileges, which other crusaders had enjoyed, were held out to them. By way of distinction, these wore the cross on the breast. The duke of Burgundy, the earl of Nevers, the earl of Montfort, and other great barons, with many prelates and abbots, were soon in arms.

Raymond VI. earl of Toulouse, had declared himself the protector of the Albigenses, and had warmly imbibed their doctrines. This drew on him the hatred of the orthodox, and the vengeance of Rome. He was excommunicated. Could we credit the representations of his enemies, (and such were his historians,) Raymond was the most brutal and infamous of mortals. By what art could he now avert the impending storm? He appeared before the legate, and casting himself on his mercy, consented to abide by his decision. It was instantly decided, that he should

should surrender seven castles into the hands of the legate, and give sureties for his future submission. This being done, he received absolution, standing in his shirt, and was led by the neck into the church, while the legate, as he slowly passed through the croud, beat him with rods.

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The army of the crusaders entered Languedoc. Toulouse, indeed, and other places immediately dependent on the count, were, by his submission, secured from their attack; but his vassals, the lords of other districts, equally infected with error, and less pliant than himself, might expect no mercy. Beziers was taken by storm, and in it thirty thousand souls were massacred. Carcassonne, a neighbouring town, capitulated, and its fate was less bloody. Here, while the soldiers were busied in moving the engines, and scaling the walls, the ministers of religion had assembled, and had dared to invoke the father of mankind, in addresses to his holy spirit! Such was their enthusiasm; a passion, which can sanctify excess, and veil with piety the wildest crimes.

As yet the crusaders were without a general, acting under the guidance of their respective leaders, or all directed by the legate's voice. It was thought necessary to chuse one; and the election fell on the earl of Nevers, who declined the

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honour; and then on the duke of Burgundy, who likewise refused it. A committee, therefore, was appointed, who nominated the earl of Montfort; and he reluctantly consented to accept the important charge.—Simon de Montfort, from the honours he had possessed in England, sometimes called earl of Leicester, was nobly descended; and the historians of the day lavished all their powers, in praising the endowments of his mind and the accomplishments of his person. His piety, they say, and his love of virtue equalled these. What was his real character will best appear from his conduct.—Invested with supreme command, he took possession of many castles, which had surrendered, and sent missionaries to convert their inhabitants. But already the term being expired, for which the crusaders had enlisted, many of them retired, at the head of whom was the count de Nevers. Nor did the duke of Burgundy long remain. De Montfort saw himself deserted by the army, while the winter-season came on. He had resources, however, within himself, which could counteract these untoward events. The splendor of his name kept the enemy in awe, and his address and engaging manners drew strangers to his standard. With these he took the field, whilst the inclement blast still howled; and conquered

quered many places. The count de Foix, a powerful baron, and a protector of the heretics, then submitted to his arms.

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With pain had Raymond witnessed these successes, which he could not impede, and he knew not where their progress might terminate, unless in the utter ruin of his vassals. Thus was he anxious, when a messenger came from the general to propose, that he would surrender to him the domain of all the places and territory, which he had already subdued. It was the advice, he added, of the legate; and should he refuse it, he must expect a declaration of war against himself. The secret views of Montfort were at once disclosed.—The earl resisted the unjust demand, urging his rights and the treaty he had concluded with the legate, when his excommunication was reversed; and he would himself, he said, instantly claim justice at the foot of St. Peter's chair.—With this view he went to Rome.

The ambitious designs of Montfort also roused a more potent enemy. This was the king of Arragon, whose sister the earl of Toulouse had lately married, and who, besides, was count of Provence, and lord of many towns in Languedoc. His faith was orthodox; but that did not incline him to surrender his just rights, into the hands of a man, whose only claim was a successful invasion. In vain did

BOOK V. 1214. Montfort strive to allure the king, who not only refused to comply, but, underhand, signified to the barons and men of power in the neighbourhood of Beziers and Albi, that, would they resume their arms, he would assist them with all his forces. Men, whom the want of an animating ally had only driven to submission, took fire at the proffered aid, and seized their arms. In a moment, the general saw a host spring up before him, whose activity was such, that, before he could make resistance, only three towns and five castles remained in his possession.

In the spring, the countess brought him a reinforcement of troops, with which he recovered some castles; and other crusaders joined him from different countries. To draw any advantage from such auxiliaries, no common address was necessary. They were raw and undisciplined, whose period of service did not exceed forty days; but they glowed with zeal, looking to the crown of martyrdom, if they fell, or else to the remission of all their sins. Montfort led them into action, and no danger could appal them, or fortrefs withstand their furious onset.

The earl of Toulouse was returned from Rome, where he had experienced some lenity from the pontiff; and he had waited on the emperor Otho, and had seen his sovereign, the French king. With these

no artifice succeeded; for they beheld in him, what in their zeal they hated most, the secret advocate of heresy. It was well known, what had been the motive of his submission, and himself seemed little disposed any longer to wear the mask. During the siege of Lavaur, he gave assistance to the enemy. The king of Aragon began to waver in his attachment; and again the legates pronounced Raymond excommunicated.—I describe not the streams of blood, nor the flaming piles, which every where marked the progress of the orthodox army; while it is not my intention to insinuate, that excesses were not committed, which provoked resentment, and justified some retaliation. But who first drew the sword? Or was it so great a crime, to have dissented from the faith of Rome?

Twelve strong places, now fell before de Montfort; and he marched against Toulouse. It was the third year of the war. Toulouse was then a vast city, nor were the besiegers sufficiently numerous to encompass its walls. The general saw his error, and having retreated towards Cahors, which surrendered to him, he had the mortification, in a few weeks, to see himself almost wholly deserted. So uncertain was the state of this varying warfare. An army of feudal vassals, I have elsewhere observed, ebbcd and flowed, as
does

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does the ocean ; but an army of crusaders, within reach of their homes, as this was, still more resembled that changeful element. Many towns were then retaken, and a general less expert than de Montfort, must have beheld every fortress torn violently from his arms. He, with the intrepidity of a hero, coolly maintained the ground he had taken, and in all his losses still kept the advantage of conquest, waiting till an army might return, which he should lead to other victories. He was in Castelnaudari, a town of some strength, when news was brought, that the earl of Toulouse and other barons, at the head of a great force, were marching to invest the place. The general, with his little army, retired to the castle. I shall not describe the series of this siege, which raised to higher fame the warlike name of de Montfort ; for he foiled, by repeated sallies, every effort of the enemy, and defeating him in the field, compelled the count to raise the siege with ignominy. Nor was this all. Soon fresh succours arrived, when he extended his conquests, and by the beginning of the next year, 1212, we find little more than Toulouse and Montauban, in the hands of the enemy.

While the horrors of war thus raged, an underpart, often more atrocious, was acted by those, whom the canons of the church

church forbad to stain their hands with blood. Some, indeed, there were, whom a benevolent zeal moved, and these by means which reason must applaud, strove to convince the understanding, and to draw the heart from error. Their endeavours were not without success. The more ardent missionaries accompanied the army, projecting, with the generals, plans of battles and sieges; marking for destruction those, whose erroneous conduct had been most conspicuous; animating the soldiers, by prospects of an eternal crown, to deeds of carnage; and preaching the tenets of him, who was meek of heart, to the prisoners, the wounded, and the dying, while the butcher held his dagger to the throat, and the piles blazed round them. If few were reclaimed from error, who can wonder? We see them, as the historians relate, insulting the ministers, rejecting their advice, braving the executioners, and either, with the cool fortitude of conviction, stepping forward to death, or with an impetuous enthusiasm, as ancient martyrs had done, rushing to its arms. And, surely, these men had better pretensions to the appellation of martyrs, than they who wantonly courted danger, and when they fell, had on their heads the crimes, which unprovoked hostility, licentious devastation, and premeditated murder could perpetrate. These

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 1214. no papal decrees could authorise. Men, from obstinacy of character or from views of interest, may sacrifice much in the cause of error; but they will not steadily die in its defence, unless that error has impressed on their minds all the conviction of truth. Then are they martyrs.

De Montfort, now in possession of an extensive territory with its towns and castles, viewed himself as its lord, and convened an assembly at Pamiers. The ordinances here made, for the partition of lands amongst his barons, and for the re-establishment of general tranquillity, of a better police, and of the services of religion, were wise, and breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance.—The cause of count Raymond seemed irretrievably lost; and again he had recourse to the king of Arragon, imploring his mediation. This prince was returned triumphant, from a great victory gained over the Saracens in Spain. He consented to be his brother's friend. A long negotiation commenced, first with the legates and with the prelates assembled at Lavaur, and then with the pontiff. But the interest of de Montfort prevailed, which was deemed the interest of religion. The pope wrote to the king of Arragon, warmly entreating him to renounce the cause of the heretic, and menacing censures, if he persisted. The
 menace

menace he contemned, and at once declared war against the darling of the church. Simon expostulated on an attack, which, he said, was unprovoked, and sent a defiance to the king.

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Hitherto the French monarch had himself taken no active part in a war, which his vassals principally had waged; but now unexpectedly he saw himself involved. Two prelates had come to Paris, from the catholic army. They were introduced to Louis, the young prince, then in his twenty-fifth year, and working on his ardent character, they prevailed on him to vow, that he would take the cross, and lead an army against the Albigenses. Philip, from whom the measure was concealed, heard it with much anger, but he could not withhold his consent. He consented; and that a becoming magnificence might attend the expedition, he summoned a meeting of his nobles, when the number of men, the order of the march, and the time of departure, were regulated. But the report of a league between the emperor and the king of England, which threatened France with an invasion, at the moment transpired, and frustrated the expedition.

De Montfort, whom the prospect of the splendid succour had elated, was left exposed to the swelling power of the enemy. Nor was this his greatest trouble. The agents

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agents of the king of Arragon at the court of Rome, so well employed their eloquence, that Innocent was prevailed on to espouse their cause. They represented, that the ambition only of de Montfort upheld the war in Languedoc; that the heretics were broken down; that the few barons still in arms, were contending for their possessions, which had been violently wrested from them; that were these restored, peace would return, and the missionaries, unmolested, might diffuse the blessings of truth; that whilst the unfatiable interest of one man, under the mask of zeal for religion, drew armies to his standard, the cause of the church was sacrificed in Spain; that there was still a greater cause, which remained neglected in the east, and which he, emulating his predecessors, had nobly vowed to maintain: but did it become his wisdom, they concluded, than whom no wiser had graced the tiara, thus to abandon the glorious enterprise, in support of a man, who abused his favour, to rise to greatness on the ruins of provinces and the blood of their inhabitants?

The forcible address, in which there was much truth, succeeded. Innocent sent orders to de Montfort to surrender to the barons, who claimed them, the places he had taken, and to desist from further enterprises. At the same time he recalled the

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the indulgence, and commanded a crusade to be preached against the Saracens of Palestine. In amazement, the general convened the legates, and the chiefs of the army; when it was resolved instantly to dispatch a deputation to Rome. By their means, says the historian, Innocent was disabused of his error, and renewing his first order, strengthened the commission of his legates, and empowered them to pursue the war, with renovated vigour. But the imprudent measure had disconcerted the plans of de Montfort. Few soldiers came; many retired; and the king of Aragon, with a great army, was ready to enter Languedoc.

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On the tenth of September, he entered, at the head of a hundred thousand men, and sat down before Muret, a small town on the Garonne, three leagues below Toulouse. In its neighbourhood, says an historian, lived a lady whom the king loved, and her he wished to free from the inquietude which the garrison of Muret often occasioned. This gave motion to a hundred thousand men! With him were the earls of Toulouse, of Foix, and of Comminges.—De Montfort was at Fanjaux, eight leagues distant, when the news came to him. He was aware that Muret could make no resistance, and he hastened to its aid. But his whole force, when collected, hardly amounted to

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to one thousand men. With these he advanced, and entered the town, on the opposite side of the river. Terms of peace were then offered to the king, which he rejected, and the general was made sensible, that the day was come, which should crown all his victories, or number him with the departed champions of the cross. Full of the glorious thought, he told his soldiers, that he meant not to endure the slow horrors of a siege, or to waste his time in sallies; he would meet the enemy in the field, and offer him battle. The bishops assembled, and one of them, in the hearing of the troops, pronounced an anathema against the earl and his accomplices. He then advanced in his robes, holding a portion of the true cross in his hands. The soldiers, armed as they were, alighted from their horses, and coming up, each in his turn, bowed before the sacred sign. But the ceremony would be tedious; wherefore the bishop of Comminges, impatiently took it into his hand, and stepping forward, with it blessed the multitude: "Go," said he, "in the name of him who died on this cross: I pledge myself for you at the day of judgment, that he who shall fall, this day, in battle, shall rise to the crown of martyrdom." More than once he repeated the solemn words. They mounted their horses.—De Montfort also, with his eyes raised

raised to heaven, prayed: "God of ar-
 "mies," he said, thou didst chuse me
 "for thy general. In this day of trial,
 "hear my supplication; and let the world
 "know, how just is the cause, which
 "thou hast committed to me." He rose
 from the ground; and the trumpet
 sounded.

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The army, not more than nine hundred men, all cavalry, left the town, and as they entered the plain, formed into three bodies. The enemy, prepared to receive them, did not deign to move. The circumstance was perhaps favourable. De Montfort saw the royal ensign, and rushing forward, broke the first line. The king was in the second. Him he assailed; the battle thickened; and in a few moments, the monarch fell. Dismay at once spread through the ranks; no order prevailed; and thousands were butchered without resistance. The victory of de Montfort, in a few hours, was complete; for the historians relate, that nearly twenty thousand men were slain of the enemy, while the crusaders did not lose more than one knight and a few soldiers! —The general, ceasing from the carnage, halted, and offered up his vows to heaven. Such was the battle of Muret.

It might have been expected, that the war was at an end. But destitute of troops, as de Montfort was, he could draw little
 advantage

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 1214. advantage from his victory. Only he ravaged the country, unmolested, and kept the enemy in alarm. Soon afterwards, a new legate came from Rome, to negotiate a peace, and a numerous re-inforcement, whom the fame of the late victory roused, joined de Montfort. With these he extended his conquest; and soon the most refractory, awed by the impression of his name, listened to terms of accommodation. The principal barons submitted, and the bold zeal of the heretics was, for a time, suppressed¹.

¹ Hist. Albigen. et scrip. contemp. passim.

END OF BOOK V.

THE

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E I G N
OF
K I N G J O H N,

With the EVENTS of the Period.

B O O K VI.

John lands at la Rochelle.—The emperor Otto is dethroned.—Battle of Bouvines.—The interdict is taken from England.—The barons meet at St. Edmundsbury.—Their further proceedings.—Runnemedes.—Magna Charta.—John meditates vengeance, and retires.—Conduct of Innocent.—Preparations for a civil war.—The barons are excommunicated, and Langton goes to Rome.—Fourth council of Lateran.—England desolated by the king's forces.—The barons excommunicated by name.—Prince Louis is invited over.—A Roman legate obstructs his design.—The prince lands.—His cause is agitated at Rome.—He pursues his conquests, and lays siege to the castles of Dover and Windsor.—John takes the field.—Perplexity of the barons.—The king falls sick and dies.—General view.—Conclusion.

FROM the horrors of the war, I have described, so adverse to the mild spirit

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rit of truth and the best interests of human reason, I return, with pleasure, to the troubled politics of England. Reason here applauds the strife, which the oppression of an unworthy prince provoked; while religion does not condemn it; and the eye of the spectator carried forward on the scene, beholds, with a secret rapture, the dawn of freedom slowly emerging from the gloom.

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John
lands at la
Rochelle.

Early in the present year, John, to whom no view of things at home could give pleasure, and whom the reason pressed to execute his part of a league which had been lately formed, again prepared to embark for France. The barons, he now, at least, hoped, would be subservient to his wishes. They obeyed his summons. And still more to gain the good will of the people, and of the church, he dispatched messengers to Rome, who might obtain, on terms they should propose, the final relaxation of the interdict. On the second of February, with his queen, he went to Portsmouth, and thence sailing, landed with a powerful army at la Rochelle^a.—The league, I have mentioned, was with his nephew the emperor Otho, and with the earl of Flanders; the leading clause of which was, that, while John, on the side of Aquitaine, insulted

^a Mat. Par. an. 1214. Annal. Waver.

the French provinces, the emperor, at the head of the allied army, should enter France, by the north-eastern frontier.---

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A momentary digression is necessary.

Otho, whose ascent to the imperial throne I described, by a series of imprudences had seemed to have projected his own downfall. By retracting the promise he had made to Innocent, to surrender to the holy see certain possessions, which he claimed, and by urging rights which, perhaps, were due to his crown, he provoked the indignation of the haughty pontiff. Not satisfied, he cited young Frederic king of Sicily, the ward of Innocent, to do him homage for his territories, the avowed fief of the Roman court; and when the prince, as became him, refused compliance, Otho ordered his generals to enter Apulia. In vain did Innocent remonstrate; and as it was not in his character long to endure controul, he excommunicated the emperor. Maturely had the pontiff weighed this last exertion of power, from the accomplishment of which he resolved not to recede. The Romans hated Otho: the interests of Sicily must be combined with his own: he could expect much from many German princes, naturally allied to the house of Suabia: the Ghibeline faction in Italy was powerful: finally, the French monarch, who had opposed his elevation,

The emperor Otho is de-throned.

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and had leagued with his rival the late emperor, must warmly espouse any measure, which should tend to the humiliation of a man, the nephew of him he hated. So reasoned Innocent.—But Otho, notwithstanding, had himself marched into Italy; and Calabria being over-run, and the neighbouring provinces, little remained to oppose his arms. In the island of Sicily, a conspiracy formed in his favour, invited him to the throne; and fortune, he thought, was ready to crown his brightest wishes, when a mine suddenly sprang, against the effects of which no measures had been taken.

The relentless Innocent, aided, we are told, by the politics of the French king, had projected the great design. He had a legate also in Germany, the archbishop of Mentz, well-disposed to co-operate with his views. To him he proposed, and through him to other bishops, to publish the sentence of excommunication, he had himself issued against Otho. The sentence was published; and agreeably to its spirit, a league with many German princes was, at the same time, formed, who swore, instantly to proceed to the deposition of the emperor, and to raise young Frederic to his throne. Otho heard the news, and leaving his conquests behind him, returned towards Germany. But as he passed through Italy, and the
free

free states of Lombardy, he had the mortification to find, that his wily enemy the pontiff, had debauched the allegiance of many, and that they were leagued against him. He proceeded, and in a diet at Nuremberg threw himself on the loyalty of his vassals. The generous measure gave audacity to the faction. They seized their arms, and proclaimed Frederic. Otho, thus braved, carried fire and sword into the territories of his enemies, the principal of whom were the king of Bohemia, and the duke of Bavaria. Meanwhile, Frederic, urged by repeated calls, through many difficulties, made his way to Constance. He was received by his friends, and crowned at Mentz, with an applause, that spoke the increasing power of his faction; for the exertions of Innocent had been unceasing, and the king of France loudly proclaimed himself his ally. Otho, whose falling interest every hour witnessed, retired to his patrimonial estates of Brunswick. Now it was, that he entered into the league I mentioned. His empire in Germany was at an end, he saw; but he might be able to revenge himself, in his fall, on Philip, the instrument of his ruin^b.

Landed with his army at la Rochelle, the English king cast his eye to the

^b Murat. citans auctores coæt. Chron. Ursperg.

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northern provinces, which lately had been severed from his crown. Many barons of Poitou, impelled by threats, or allured by promises, came in, and renewed their allegiance; amongst whom was the earl de la Marche, to whom Isabella, the English queen, it will be remembered, had been once affianced. He then traversed the province, and entering Anjou, took its capital by storm, and conquered other places. The brilliant scene soon clouded. Philip commanded his son to make head against the king of England, who, by this time, had entered the Lower Bretagne, and was besieging an important castle. The English army outnumbered the enemy; but when John prepared for battle on their approach, the Poitevin barons acquainted him, that they were not disposed to fight. He quitted the field, and leaving his conquests to the mercy of the young prince, precipitately withdrew to Parthenai, a castle at the extremity of Poitou^c. Here closed his exploits and the campaign of Aquitaine, when he was at liberty to contemplate the operations of the allied army, on the side of Flanders.

The battle
of Bou-
vines.

Otho, with what troops he could collect, in the spring had quitted Brunswick, and he was permitted, unheeded by his rival,

c Mat. Par.

to

to advance into Flanders. The impolitic measure is not accounted for by the historians. In Flanders he was joined by other German troops; and here he found the dukes of Brabant and Limbourg, the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, and William earl of Salisbury, with other great men and generals, at the head of their respective forces. An English army had been there since the preceding year, when they failed to assist Ferdinand against the French monarch; and John, before he left England, had transmitted to them great sums of money. The chiefs reviewed their forces, when they were found to amount to a hundred and fifty thousand men. The heart of Otho once more beat high.—Philip, on the other hand, did not shrink from the mighty contest. He visited the frontier of his country, and left his son, with a sufficient force, to watch the motions of the English king. Now it appeared, that the plan of operations had been well concerted; for being thus obliged to divide his forces, the great strength of the nation was no longer at his command. Under the walls of Peronne, his faithful barons had marshalled their vassals; and hither Philip came, about the twentieth of July. The army did not exceed fifty thousand men. They marched; and on the twenty-seventh, which was a Sunday, near the bridge de Bouvines,

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1214. Bouvines, between Tournay and Lille, both armies came in fight. In the centre of the French line was the king, and in the opposite battle stood Otho: on the left was the count de Dreux, facing the earl of Boulogne, and Salisbury with the English forces, and on the right, was the duke of Burgundy, facing the earl of Flanders.

I shall not detail the various chances, nor the achievements, of this memorable day, than which none so brilliant had yet graced the annals of France. Philip, whose prowess was unrivalled, and whose conduct, as a general, fame loudly echoed, narrowly escaped with his life; as did Otho. Their armour, tempered by the ablest workmen, shivered or blunted the recoiling weapons, and bent to no concussion. Dragged from his horse by a German soldier, who had fastened his barbed javelin on the top of his cuirass, the king, with all his armour on, sprang from the ground, and extricating himself, mounted the horse of Peter Tristan, a valiant knight, who nobly preferred the prince's safety to his own. Otho, in similar danger, resisting a hundred swords, and seized round the body by William de Barres, the bold knight, who had foiled our Richard, when tilting with him on the plains of Sicily, was rescued by the impetuous fury of his horse, wounded mortally

mortally in the eye.—But the French knights were every where irresistible; and the glory of the day was theirs. Formed into a squadron, they guarded their king and the royal banner, which, for the first time, is mentioned to have borne its *fleurs de lis*; and, as the tide of battle swelled, they mixed in the thickest conflict.—On the right wing of the enemy, the earl of Flanders, thrown from his horse and bleeding, when his troops were broken, surrendered his arms to the lords de Mareuil. Here the Burgundians fought, and their duke owed his life to the attachment of his soldiers.—The earl of Boulogne, late in the day, and when all was lost, still obstinately resisted. But his horse being stabbed under him, he fell; and as three knights contended for the honour of making him their prisoner, he gave his sword to the chevalier de Guerin, who fortunately came up. De Guerin, elected bishop of Senlis, this day acted as *marechal* under the king, in the arrangement of the battle. The son of Rosamond, also, William earl of Salisbury had surrendered himself to the bishop of Beauvais. He was the prelate whom Richard, as has been told, confined so long in prison, and at Bouvines he fought with a ponderous club, alledging, that the church-canons did not permit him to shed blood. He met Salisbury, busied in carnage,

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BOOK VI. 1214. carnage, and beat him to the ground.—
Night began to fall, and as the defeat of
the enemy was complete, the battle
ceased^d.

Otho, having escaped from the field, withdrew, as he could, into Brunswick, where he is no more heard of, leaving his rival in the quiet possession of the empire, and where, four years after, he died.—The conqueror, by slow marches, proceeded to Paris, distributing his prisoners, who were numerous, in the castles as he passed; only reserving the earl of Flanders to grace his triumph. He entered his capital, and for eight days, all was festivity and gladness.—As the historians, who relate this great event, were principally of the French nation, we may be allowed to suspect some partiality in the narration. They augmented, perhaps, the number of the enemy, or they diminished their own; and the same may be said of the wounded, the killed, and the prisoners. No troops were braver or better disciplined than the Brabanters, the Flemings, the Germans, and the English, and their generals were the greatest warriors of the day; but the battle was won by the knights, or cavalry, which, on the side of Philip, was uncommonly numerous.

^d Guil. Brito, Rigord. Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

It was not, it is said, till after his return to Paris, that Philip was fully sensible of the great importance of the victory he had gained; for he now discovered, that secret intrigues had been carried on with many barons of the realm, and that they only waited the moment of his defeat, publicly to take up arms. This would have been on the south of the Loire, and in Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, the nobles of which provinces, allured by promises, or the prospects which another change might open, shewed a wish of returning to their former sovereign. The victory of Bouvines dissipated their rash design; and Philip prudently dissembled his knowledge of it. But, not long afterwards, he advanced with an army into Poitou, where the king of England was, and by the mediation of the legate, concluded with him a truce of five years. What policy induced Philip to adopt this measure, when, with ease, it seems, he might have dispossessed the English of their remaining territory in France, does not appear. Probably it was owing to the disaffection in the barons, which had appeared, and which he feared to stimulate.

Before this time, the interdict had been taken from England. The messengers returned from Rome, bringing letters to the legate, who had not quitted the realm, which

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The interdict taken from England.

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which empowered him to remove the heavy grievance, and to compromise the dispute with the exiles. On this he summoned a great council to meet him in London, before which an accurate statement was laid of the money already paid, and of the debt still due. This amounted to thirteen thousand marks, for the payment of which two bishops stood sureties. Thus ended this irksome business. And then the legate, on the twenty-ninth of June, solemnly withdrew the interdict. It had lasted more than six years, to the injury of religion, the confusion of all order, and the detriment of the state. The tidings rang through the land, and the hearts of the people thrilled with gladness^e.

The barons meet at St. Edmundsbury.

Concord thus restored, though shame had marked his own arms and those of his allies, John might expect to find more good humour in his vassals, than hitherto he had experienced. On the twentieth of October he returned to England. The absence of many in the expedition to France, and the eventful crisis of the war in Flanders, had, for a time, suspended the deliberations of the friends to liberty. The cardinal also, whose mind of superior energy invigorated, whilst it modelled, the great design, had been en-

^e Mat. Par. Mat. Annal. Waver.

gaged in the concerns of the interdict. But now no motive of further delay operated; and as the weeks of winter, the season of purposes and stratagem, came on, the barons met their friends, and they talked of the league they had formed with Langton, and of the oath they had taken. "The time," they said, "is favourable: and the feast of St. Edmund approaches, when multitudes resort to his shrine. There we may assemble, without suspicion," It was resolved.

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The day came, the twentieth of November; and as the devotion was fashionable, the barons repaired to St. Edmundsbury, unobserved. Their meetings here were frequent, but secret; and in one of them, again was the charter produced, containing, in substance, the laws, of the Confessor, which the primate had put into their hands. The sight of the venerable instrument roused the spirit of freedom; and without further deliberation, they hastened, in a body, to the church of the martyr. A more solemn and heart-swelling ceremony had never been witnessed. As seniority gave precedence, the barons advanced to the altar, and with their hands laid on it, swore: "If the king refuse to grant the rights, we claim, we will withdraw our fealty, and wage war on him, till by a charter, under his own seal, he shall con-
firm

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 1214. “firm our just petitions.” Each baron pronounced the oath. It was then agreed that, after christmas, they should wait on the king, and present their petition to him; and, in the mean time, should provide themselves with arms and horses, that, if he receded from his oath made before the primate, which was probable, they might be in readiness to seize his castles, and force him to compliance. This done, they separated, and withdrew^f. —Langton, it appears, was not present on the occasion.

1215. The king, when christmas came, held his court at Worcester. But alarms disturbed its festivity, and on the day itself, departing, he repaired to the New-Temple in London. The barons were here; and in a military array, which announced their purpose, they waited on the king, and presented their petition. It was, “that he would *confirm* certain liberties and laws of the Confessor, with other privileges, granted to themselves, to the realm of England, and to the English church, as are contained in the charter of Henry I. and in the laws just mentioned.” They added: “At Winchester, Sir, when you were absolved by our primate, that was your promise; and the oath you took, binds

^f Mat. Par.

“ you

“ you to a compliance.”—John, with much agitation, heard the bold address, and surveying their arms, said: “ Your petition contains matter, weighty and arduous. I must have leisure till easter, that, with due deliberation, I may be able to do justice to myself, and satisfy the dignity of my crown.”—Debates ensued, and, on both sides, proposals were made; when the king finally consented, that the cardinal, the bishop of Ely, and William earl of Pembroke, should be his sureties, that, on the appointed day, he would give them the satisfaction they demanded. On this the barons returned home.—But from this delay, John vainly fancied great advantage might be drawn. He caused the oath of fealty to be renewed by his subjects, and the act of homage by his vassals. And then, (which would shield him, he thought, from every danger,) on the second of February, he took the cross, declaring his intention of leading an army into Palestine^s. But, by no precaution, did he attempt to recover the favour of the people, or to weaken the combination of the nobles,

In easter-week, the barons met at Stamford, in great military pomp, numbering in their retinue two thousand knights,

g Mat. Par. an. 1215. Annal Waver.

with

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with their retainers variously armed, and pledged to the cause of liberty. The names of the barons, as recorded by the historian, are forty-five; but it seemed, he says, that nearly the whole nobility of the realm had now joined the league.—The king was at Oxford.—On the Monday, therefore, after easter, (which was the appointed day,) the barons proceeded to Brackley, where a deputation, composed of the primate, the earl of Pembroke, and some others, met them from the king, requesting to know, in his name, what were those laws and liberties, which they demanded from their sovereign? They delivered to the deputies a schedule, containing the chief articles of their petition. “These are our claims,” they said, “which if not instantly granted by the king, and confirmed to us under the royal signet, our arms shall force him to compliance.” The deputies returned, and the cardinal, with the schedule in his hand, expounded its contents. “And why do they not demand my crown also?” exclaimed John furiously: “These things are vain and frivolous, contrary to the plainest reason.—By God’s teeth, I will not grant liberties to them, that shall make me a slave.” It was to no purpose, that they urged every argument to obtain his compliance.

pliance. He ordered them to return, and to let the barons know, what his resolution was^h.

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The confederated nobles stood not in hesitation. They received the king's reply, and at once chose Robert Fitz-Walter their general, naming him the *marshal of the army of God and of the holy church*; which signified that, as the king had violated his oath, they viewed themselves, in the language of the times, as engaged in a holy war, against the enemy of justice and of the church: and seizing their arms, they marched against the castle of Northampton. But they were without engines, and their attacks on the walls were fruitless.—When we know how premeditated the insurrection was, this improvidence must surprize us.—Fifteen days passed, when they raised the siege, and proceeded to Bedford, which was delivered into their hands. Here messengers arrived from the capital, with secret advice, that the principal citizens were in their interest, and that the gates would be open to receive them. The tidings gave them joy. They marched to Ware, and on the following morning, which was Sunday, the twenty-fourth of May, while the people were at mass, the army, in silence, entered the city.

^h Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

And

BOOK VI.
 1215. And now conscious of their superior strength, the barons issued proclamations, requiring all such, who had hitherto remained neutral, to join them against their perjured prince, and menacing, in case of refusal, to treat them as the public enemies of the state. The commination was hardly needful, for few, it seems, were sincerely attached to the royal party; and as the proclamation called for a decision, they quitted their castles, and joined the standard of freedom. Some only, at the head of whom was the earl of Pembroke, and Salisbury now returned from captivity, judged it most expedient, not to depart from court. The bishops also remained, with the primateⁱ.

Runne-
mede.

Great, at this moment, was the terror of the king. He saw himself deserted, scarcely seven knights remaining near his person; and it was evident, should the barons proceed, that all his castles must fall, and himself become their prisoner. The duplicity, he had often practised, it would be now, he thought, most expedient to exercise; and circumstances might arise, which would dissipate the league, or lull its leaders into a fatal security. He resolved to give them their terms, and to throw himself on fortune, for such redress or vengeance, as time

ⁱ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

should

should offer. "Go," said he to Pembroke and other deputies, "inform the barons, that, for the good of peace and the exaltation of my realm, I will freely grant them the laws and liberties, which they ask. Tell them to name a day and a place, where we may meet to adjust our differences." The deputies repaired to London, and announcing the king's proposal, it was received with unbounded joy. "Let the day," replied the barons, "be the fifteenth of June; and the place be Runnemedek."—Runnemedek, which has been interpreted the *mead of council*, was a meadow between Staines and Windsor, where, in ancient times, great assemblies had been often held¹; but to which the approaching event would give a never-ending celebrity.

On the day, both parties appeared on Runnemedek. With the king were the primate and the archbishop of Dublin, seven bishops, Pandulphus the pontiff's friend, and Almeric the master of the English Templars: of the laity, the earl of Pembroke, and fourteen other earls and barons.—To enumerate the opposite party, observes the historian, would be needless, which comprehended the remaining nobility of England. They

^k Mat. Par.

^l Hat. West. an. 1215.

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stood apart, waiting the important interview.—In what form the conference opened, is not said; nor who were the mediators. We only know, that debates, as was natural, ensued; and that various proposals were made. But the king was soon sensible, that he must comply. With a facility, therefore, which might justly have raised suspicion, he acquiesced in their demand, and signed the charter of laws and liberties, which the barons presented to him^m. This was the GREAT CHARTER.

Magna
Charta.

The *preamble* states that, “for the salvation of his soul, and the souls of his ancestors and heirs, to the honour of God, and the exaltation of the holy church, and amendment of the kingdom, by the advice of his prelates and nobles, (whose names are mentioned,) the king had granted to God, and confirmed by the present charter, for himself and heirs for ever,” the following rights and liberties.

1. “That the church of England shall be free, and enjoy her whole rights and liberties inviolable.”—It then mentions a charter, which, some time before, he had granted, with a view to those liberties, and which the pope had confirmed, establishing the *freedom of elections* in all

^m Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

cases of vacancy; whether in churches or monasteries.

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In such general and unrestricted terms is this article conveyed, which might well prove a source of endless altercation. The *Constitutions of Clarendon* seem to have been forgotten, while the church was thus *established*; in the full possession of whatever might be called her *rights* and *liberties*. Such had been the language, though not quite so general, of the preceding charters of Henry I. Stephen, Henry II.

2. "To all the *freemen* of the realm the underwritten liberties are granted."

By *freemen* is meant every description of subjects, from the highest to the lowest order of vassals, who were not slaves or bondmen. This will appear.

3. "If any earl, or baron, or others, who hold of the king in *chief*, by military service, shall die, and at the time of their death, the heir is of *full age*, and owes a *relief*, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by a hundred pounds: the heir or heirs of a baron, for a whole barony, by a hundred marks: the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by a hundred shillings at most: and he who shall owe less shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees."

R 2

When

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When any of the king's tenants *in capite* died, the king seized the estate, and the heir, though of the age of twenty-one, before he recovered his right, was obliged to sue for his lands, the possession of which he received on doing homage, and paying a certain composition called *relief*. Many abuses, during the arbitrary reigns of the Norman kings, had rendered this custom peculiarly grievous. The charter of Henry I. had ordained, that the *relief* should be *meet* and *equitable*; but neither was that charter, though renewed by Henry II. ever executed, nor could a loose expression be any check, on the exorbitant demands of power.

4. "But if the heir of any such be *under age*, and shall be *in ward*; when he comes of age, he shall have his inheritance *without relief*."

During the nonage of such heirs, their persons and estates were in the custody of the crown, which received all the profits. *Wardships* and *reliefs*, as has been shewn, were branches of the royal revenue. The practice of *wards* was founded on the notion, that every *fief* was a benefice; and therefore that, while the heir, as a minor, could not perform his military services, the issues thereof naturally reverted to the superior, who could employ another in his stead. But in the charter of Henry I. this feudal right had been surrendered

surrendered to the widow of the deceased, or to the nearest relation of the heir. That here the crown should have been permitted to resume it, may seem extraordinary.

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5. “ The warden of the land of such
“ heir, shall take therefrom only reason-
“ able profits, and that without destruc-
“ tion and waste of the men or things.
“ And if the guardianship of the lands
“ be *committed* to the sheriff, or any other,
“ and he make destruction and waste, the
“ king shall compel him to give satisfac-
“ tion, and the lands shall be committed
“ to two lawful and discreet men of that
“ fee, who shall be answerable for the
“ issues. And if such wardship be *given*
“ or *sold* to any one, and he make de-
“ struction or waste upon the lands, he
“ shall lose the wardship, which shall
“ be committed to two men, as before.”

Thus was the lord empowered to dispose of his *wardship*, by appointing a warden, or by a deed of gift or sale, for the term of nonage; in all which cases, considerable sums of money were generally raised.

6. “ But the warden, so long as he
“ hath the wardship of the land, shall
“ maintain the houses, parks, warrens,
“ ponds, mills, and other things pertain-
“ ing to that land, out of the issues of the
“ same land; and shall restore to the heir,
“ when

BOOK VI. 1215. “when he comes of full age, his whole land stocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the time of wainage shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear.”

These regulations might prevent some abuses; but the practice of *wardships* was in itself highly oppressive. Let it not be asked, why the barons did not demand their suppression; or rather, that the grant of Henry I. in this instance, should be renewed? It is too obvious, that the feudal rights which the sovereign was here permitted to retain, would, by the same act, be confirmed to themselves, in regard to their own vassals.

7. “Heirs shall be married without *disparagement*.”

That is, agreeably to their rank. The king could dispose of them at pleasure, provided that, before the marriage was contracted, the nearest relations were made acquainted with it^a. The same was the power of all other lords. It was another source of abuse and oppression; but it was likewise a source of wealth.

8. “A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith and without difficulty, have her marriage portion

^a Mat. Par.

“ (*maritagium*) ”

“ (*maritagium*) and her inheritance; nor
 “ shall she give any thing for her dower,
 “ or her inheritance, which her husband
 “ and she held at the day of his death:
 “ and she may remain in the mansion of
 “ her husband, forty days after his
 “ death.”

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9. “ She shall not be constrained to mar-
 “ ry, so long as she shall be willing to
 “ live without a husband. But she shall
 “ give security, that she will not marry,
 “ without the royal assent, if she holds
 “ of the king; or without the con-
 “ sent of the lord, of whom she holds.”

Nearly the same clauses are in the charter of Henry I. which contains regulations about female heirs, that are not repeated here.

10. “ Neither the king nor his officers,
 “ shall seize any land or rent for any
 “ debt, so long as the chattels of the
 “ debtor are sufficient to pay it.”

11. “ If the principal debtor fail in
 “ the payment of the debt, then the
 “ sureties shall answer for it.”

These are restraining statutes, and shew what before had been the power of the monarch.

12, 13. “ Money borrowed from a
 “ Jew shall pay no interest, while the heir
 “ to the borrower continues under age, of
 “ whomsoever he may hold.—And if any
 “ one

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“ one die indebted to the Jews, his wife
 “ shall have her dower, and pay nothing
 “ of that debt; and his children shall
 “ be provided with necessaries, according
 “ to the estate of the deceased; and out
 “ of the residue the debt shall be paid,
 “ saving the service of the lords. In
 “ like manner it shall be with the debts,
 “ due to other persons than Jews.”

The last clause is only to be referred to the words, “ saving the service of the lords.”

14. “ No *scutage* or *aid* shall be imposed on the kingdom, unless by the common council of the kingdom, except to ransom the king's person, and to make his eldest son a knight, and to marry his eldest daughter once: and for this shall only be paid a reasonable aid.”

By *scutage* (*servitium scuti*) was meant military service, due to the king from the tenants in chief. It likewise signified the pecuniary aid, often paid to the king *in lieu* of that service; and sometimes the tax, which was imposed on each vassal, for the service of the public. *Scutages* and *aids* (which latter always mean a pecuniary subsidy) had often been arbitrarily imposed. This clause, therefore, which forbids the levying such subsidies, without the sanction of the national council,

council, becomes infinitely important. The three great feudal cases were excepted, however, from the rule, and that under a specious stipulation, which still left an exorbitant prerogative in the hands of the crown. But the barons, also, over their respective vassals, were to enjoy the same arbitrary privilege.

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15, 16. " In like manner it shall be concerning the aids of the city of London; and that city shall have all her ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water.—Furthermore, all other cities, and burghs, and towns, and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs; and shall have the common council of the kingdom, concerning the assessment of their aids, except in the three cases aforesaid."

Cities, therefore, and towns contributed to the national subsidy, as did the tenants of the crown; and they were a part of the royal demesne, or invested by feoffment in the clergy or baronage. They held their liberties and customs under certain tenures, or the obligation of annual payments to their lords: but their privileges were now secured to them, and arbitrary assessments were removed.

17, 18, 19. " And for the assessing of *scutages* shall be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater
" barons,

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“ barons, *singly*, by writs from the king.
 “ —And furthermore, shall be summoned,
 “ *in general*, by the sheriffs and bailiffs of the crown, *all others who hold of the king in chief*, to a certain day, that is, at the end of forty days at least, and to a certain place: and in all writs of such summons, the cause of the summons shall be expressed.—And summons being thus made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of such as are present, although all that were summoned come-not.”

Thus was formed the *common council of the kingdom*, such as, in the preceding history, we have seen often assembled. It consisted only of the king's *immediate* vassals, of such as held of him in chief, with an exclusion of all other orders of citizens. The same term of *common council of the kingdom* occurs in the charter of the conqueror. It was no new establishment: but strange it is that, in this feudal congress, many writers should have discovered *all* the organs of a *parliament*, arising from the equal representation of the people! As the kings, in matters of great national concern, had often acted *without* the advice of this council, the present clauses were introduced, to restore to it its constitutional vigour.

20. "The king shall not in future
 " grant to any one, that he take *aid* of
 " his own free vassals, unless to ransom
 " his body; and to make his eldest son a
 " knight; and to marry his eldest daugh-
 " ter once; and for this shall only be
 " paid a reasonable aid."

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The power of the barons had been hitherto as tyrannical, as that of the crown, only that the royal permission seems to have been, sometimes, necessary, to sanction their oppression. And the discretionary power, in certain cases, of levying a *reasonable aid*, thus still entrusted to them, shews how little they had in view, the general interest of the people.

21. "No man shall be compelled to
 " perform more service for a knight's
 " fee, or other free tenure, than is due
 " from thence."

A *knight's fee* denoted the complete service of one knight. Baronies consisted of these fees, in a greater or less number, according to the original charters of feoffment or investiture. Each fee being charged with the service of one knight, if a barony held two fees, it sent two knights, at the call of the king, or subsidised for two, as the summons might direct, and so on, in proportion to the number of fees. But these fees were held by knighthood, as well as by barony; and this constituted the two orders
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of knights and barons. The lands or honours, to which the fees were annexed, were very disproportionate in extent and real value.

22, 23. “ *Common pleas* shall not follow the court, but be holden in some certain place.—And trials *de nova disseisina*, *de morte antecessoris*, et *de ultima presentatione*, shall be taken in their proper counties, by two justiciaries, sent four times a year, for that purpose.”

The *court of common pleas* was, at this time, erected, or received a legal confirmation; and by that establishment, the *curia regis*, which generally attended the royal person, and was the great seat of judicature, became relieved from a variety of causes.—The appointment also of justices, at stated times, to hold assizes in the counties, tended much to the ease of the people, and the preservation of order. We noticed, in the foregoing history, many transient attempts to establish that wise regulation.

24, 25. “ A *free man* shall not be amerced for a small fault, but according to the degree of the fault; and for a great fault, in proportion to the heinousness of it; saving to him his *contementum* (means of livelihood:) and after the same manner, a merchant, saving to him his *mercandisa* (means of trading).—And a husbandman (*villanus*) shall

“ shall be amerced after the same manner,
 “ saving to him his wainage (implements
 “ of husbandry) : and none of the afore-
 “ said amerciaments shall be assessed, but
 “ by the oath of honest men of the neigh-
 “ bourhood.”

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Amerciament was a pecuniary punishment for trespasses of various kinds, and was distinguished from *fine*. The offender was supposed to lie at the *mercy* of his lord, whence the word came.—The provisions of these two articles are peculiarly interesting, being calculated to relieve an order of citizens, who, till this time, had been much oppressed. I translate the word *villanus* husbandman, rather than *villain*; because the latter sometimes imported a *slave* or *bondman*, which, as is evident, was not here meant. The charter professes to have in view the *freemen* of the kingdom only, (art. 2.) among whom were such merchants and husbandmen, as possessing certain fees, were denominated *libere tenentes*. The class of *free socmen*, or tenants in socage, is well known. Villains or slaves, properly so called, were either bound to the person of the lord and his heirs, or were annexed to the manor, as a part of the owner's substance. They were not deemed members of the common-wealth, or entitled to any rights of vassals. For such no charter provided liberties, though that of the conqueror, in
 certain

BOOK VI. certain cases, provided for their emancipation.

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26, 27. "Earls and barons shall not be amerced, but by their peers, and according to the quality of the offence.— And no clerk shall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the proportion aforesaid, and not according to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice."

28, 29, 30. "Neither town, nor any person, shall be distrained to make bridges over rivers, unless anciently and of right they are bound to do it.—No sheriff, constable, coroners, or king's bailiffs, shall hold places of the crown.—All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and trethings (third part of a county, vulg. *riding*,) shall stand at the old ferm, without any increase, except in the demesne lands of the crown."

31, 32. "If any one, holding a lay-fee of the crown, dies, the debt he may owe to the king shall be first discharged, and the executors shall then fulfil the will of the deceased:—And if any freeman dies intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by his nearest relations and friends by view of the church, saving to every one his debts, which the deceased owed."

33, 34, 35. "No constable or bailiff of the crown shall take corn or other chattels of any man, unless he presently gives
" him

“ him money for it, or hath respite of pay-
 “ ment from the feller.—No constable
 “ shall distrain any knight to give money
 “ for the castle-guard, if he himself will
 “ do it in his own person, or by another
 “ able man, in case himself is hindered
 “ by any reasonable cause.—And if the
 “ king leads him, or sends him, into the
 “ army, he shall be free from castle-guard,
 “ for the time he shall be in the army by
 “ the king’s command.”

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36, 37. “ No sheriff or bailiff of the
 “ crown, or any other, shall take horses
 “ or carts of any for carriage, without
 “ the consent of the freeman.—Nor shall
 “ the king, or his officers, take any man’s
 “ timber for his castles, or other uses, un-
 “ less by consent of the owner of the
 “ timber.”

38. “ The king shall retain the lands,
 “ of those, who are convicted of felony,
 “ but one year and a day; and then they
 “ shall be delivered to the lord of the fee.”

39. “ All weirs shall be destroyed in
 “ the rivers Thames and Medway, and
 “ throughout all England, except on the
 “ sea-coast.”

40. “ The writ, which is called *præcipe*,
 “ shall not be granted to any one of any
 “ tenement, whereby a freeman may lose
 “ his cause (or right of pleading.)

Præcipe quod reddat was a writ, or in ge-
 neral an order from the king, or some
 court

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court of justice, to put in possession one who complains of having been unjustly ousted.

41. "There shall be one measure of wine and one of ale, through the realm, and one measure of corn; that is, the *London-quarter*: and one breadth of dyed cloth; and the weights shall be as the measures."

42. "From henceforward nothing shall be given or taken for a writ of *Inquisition*, from him that desires an inquisition of life or limbs, but it shall be granted *gratis*, and not denied."

43, 44. "If any one holds of the crown by *fee farm*, or *socage*, or *burgage*, and holds lands of another by *military service*, the king shall not have the wardship of the heir and land, which belongs to another man's fee, by reason of what he holds of the crown: nor shall he have the wardship of the fee-farm, socage, or burgage, unless the fee-farm is bound to perform military service.—Neither shall the king have the wardship of an heir, or of any land, which he holds of another by military service, by reason of any *petit-serjeanty* he holds of him, as by the service of giving the king daggers, arrows, or the like."

To hold in *fee-farm* was, when some rent was reserved by the king or lord on the creation of the tenancy; in *socage* on condition

condition of plowing the lord's land, or doing other offices of husbandry: in *burgage*, when the inhabitants of a borough held their tenements at a certain rent. *Petit-serjeanty* is explained. There was also *grand-serjeanty* of a higher order. But the tenure of *military service*, in an age of chivalry, was deemed the most honourable.

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45. " No bailiff, in future, shall put any man to his law (his oath,) on his single accusation, without credible witnesses produced to prove it."

46. " No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised, (of his rights,) or outlawed, or banished, or any ways destroyed, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

47. " Right or justice shall be sold to no man, denied to no man, or deferred to no man."

48, 49. " All merchants shall have safe-conduct, to go out of, and to come into, England, and to stay there, and to pass as well by land as by water, to buy and sell, without any evil tolls, by the ancient and allowed customs, except in time of war, or when they are of any nation in war with the king.—And if any such be found in the land, in the beginning of a war they shall be attached (apprehended)

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“ without damage to their bodies or
 “ goods, until it be known how our mer-
 “ chants be treated in the nation at war
 “ with the king; and if ours be safe
 “ there, they shall be safe here.”

50. “ It shall be lawful, in future, for
 “ any one to go out of the realm, and to
 “ return safely and securely, by land and
 “ water, saving his fealty to the king;
 “ (unless in time of war, for a short
 “ space, on account of the common be-
 “ nefit of the kingdom), except prisoners
 “ and outlaws, according to the law of
 “ the land, and people in war with the
 “ king, and merchants, as just said.”

51. “ If any man holds of an *escheat*,
 “ which is a barony, and in the king’s
 “ hands, his heir shall be bound to no
 “ other relief or service, than if the ba-
 “ rony had remained in possession of the
 “ baron.”

Escheats were lands or honours, distin-
 guished from the ancient demesnes of the
 crown, and which had devolved on it by
 default of heirs, or from crimes, or breach
 of duty. They were a great source of
 power and revenue; and the prince was
 at liberty to retain them in his hands or
 to alienate them by sale or donation to his
 friends and servants.

52. “ Men who dwell without the fo-
 “ rest, from henceforth shall not come
 “ before the justiciaries of the forest up-
 “ on common summons, unless they be
 “ impleaded

“ impleaded, or be pledges for any who
 “ were attached for something concern-
 “ ing the forest.”

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53. “ None shall be made justiciaries,
 “ constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, but
 “ who are knowing in the law of the
 “ realm, and are disposed duly to ob-
 “ serve it.”

54. “ All barons, who are founders of
 “ abbeys, and have charters there of from
 “ the kings of England, or an ancient
 “ tenure, shall have the custody of them
 “ when void, as they ought to have.”

55, 56. “ All woods that have been affo-
 “ rested, in the time of the king, shall
 “ forthwith be disforested, and the like
 “ shall be done with the embankments
 “ of rivers, of the same date.—All evil
 “ customs concerning forests, warrens,
 “ and foresters, warreners, sheriffs, and
 “ their officers, rivers and their keepers,
 “ shall forthwith be enquired into, and
 “ be utterly abolished.”

57, 58, 59. “ Hostages, which the
 “ king had taken from his English sub-
 “ jects, shall be given up.—Certain fa-
 “ milies of foreigners (whose names are
 “ mentioned) shall be removed from their
 “ employments—And when peace shall
 “ be restored, all foreign soldiers, cross-
 “ bow-men, and mercenaries, shall be
 “ sent away, who came with horses and
 “ arms to the injury of the kingdom.”

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60, 61, 62, regard the restitution of lands, castles, or rights, which the king had unjustly seized—also the reparation of injuries, which his father and brother had committed—and the disforesting of woods they had inclosed, with a general satisfaction for wardships and abbeys, which belonged to the fees of his subjects. A respite for these discharges is allowed, such as was granted to crusaders.

63. “ No man shall be taken or imprisoned, upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other man than her husband.”

64. “ All unjust and illegal fines, levied by the king, and all amerciaments imposed unjustly, shall be entirely forgiven, or be left to the decision of the twenty-five barons, hereafter to be appointed for the preservation of peace.”

“ 65, 66, 67, promise justice to the Welsh for any wrongs they had endured—even from his father or brother—and the release of their hostages.

68, regards the hostages, and the right and liberties of the king of Scotland.

69. “ All the aforesaid customs and liberties, which the king has granted to be holden in his kingdom, as much as it belongs to him towards his people; all his subjects, as well clergy as laity,

laity, shall observe, as far as they are concerned, towards their dependents.”

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This clause is important: and the gradation of feudal dependences required it, whereby each lord stood in the same relation towards his vassals, as did the king towards his barons, or the immediate tenants of the crown. As the system of oppression had been regularly diffused, in the same order, was justice, in future, to be administered.

70. “ And whereas, for the honour of God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and for quieting the discord that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all the things aforesaid; willing to render them firm and lasting, we do give and grant to them the following security:”---It then enacts, that the barons chuse twenty-five of their order, who shall take care to observe, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties thus granted, and by the present charter confirmed. If the king, his justiciary, or officers shall not perform, or shall break through, any of these articles, and the offence be notified to four barons to be chosen out of the twenty-five, they shall repair to the king, or, in his absence, to the justiciary, and laying open the grievance, shall petition for redress without delay; and if it be not redressed, within forty days, from the notification, then

BOOK VI. then shall they lay the cause before the rest of the twenty-five barons; and these together with the community of the whole kindom, shall distrain and distress the king all the ways possible, namely, by seizing his castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance be redressed according to their pleasure, saving harmless the person of the king, of the queen, and his children; and when it is redressed, they shall become obedient as before.

71, 72. "Any person whatsoever in the kingdom may swear, that he will obey the orders of the twenty-five barons, in the execution of the premises.—And as for those who will not, on their own accord, swear to join them, in distraining and distressing us, we will issue our order to make them take the oath to that effect."

73. 74. "If any one of the twenty-five dies, or quits the kingdom, or is hindered any other way from executing these things; the rest of the twenty-five shall chuse another, at their discretion, who shall be sworn in like manner.—And in all things that are committed to their charge, if, when they assemble, they shall disagree, or some of them, when summoned, will not, or cannot, come; whatever the major part of those present shall agree on or enjoin, shall be reputed

as

as firm and valid, as if the twenty-five had given their consent.”

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75. “ And we will not, by ourselves, or others, procure any thing, whereby any of these concessions and liberties be revoked, or lessened; and if any such thing be obtained, let it be null and void; neither shall we ever make use of it, either by ourselves, or any other.”

76, 77. “ And all the ill-will, anger, and malice, arisen between us and our subjects, of the clergy and laity, from the beginning of the dissention, we have fully remitted and forgiven: moreover all trespasses from the sixteenth year of our reign.—To this effect, we have given letters patent.”

78. “ Wherefore, we will and firmly enjoin, that the church of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom, have and hold, all the aforesaid liberties, rights, and concessions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to themselves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places for ever, as is aforesaid.”

79. “ It is also sworn, as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all the things aforesaid shall faithfully and sincerely be observed.”

Given under our hand, &c.

o Mat. Par. et Mag. char. ex Autograph. Cot. ap. Rapin.

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Such was *Magna Charta*, and such the laws, we may infer, of the Confessor, the renovation of which had been so ardently desired. The concluding articles, which invested the council of twenty-five with the real sovereignty of the realm, may be viewed as an unwarrantable invasion of the prerogative: but the tyrannical and faithless character of John was known, against which some barrier must be raised, or what availed it, to have drawn from his reluctant hand a written charter of liberties?—At the same time was granted a *Charter of Forests*, comprised in eighteen articles, each of which tends to prove how great had been the oppression, under pretence of supporting the prerogative of the crown^p.—The *Charter of liberties* being signed and sworn to by the king and nobles, the council of twenty-five was chosen. Their names are recorded. These swore, on their souls, to be faithful to the great commission they received; and the assembly promised obedience to them. Writs, under the royal signet, were then sent to the sheriffs of the counties, ordaining that all orders of men observe the laws of the charter; and the compulsory means to be used, should the king recede from his engagements, were universally prescribed. Thus closed the transactions of

p Mat Par.

Runnemedes;

Runnemedé; when the barons departed, some to London, which was still to remain in their power, and the rest to their castles, anxious for the general issue, notwithstanding the precautions they had taken, and the exultation that weak minds felt^a.

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John, with a few followers, spent the night of the conference at Windsor, in gloomy, reposeless agitation; and hither came the men, foreigners mostly without fame or fortune, who had gained his confidence, and whom the fifty-eight article of the charter proscribed. In taunting irritation they addressed their monarch: laid before him his fallen state; and roused, with ease, the latent spirit of repentance and revenge. In describing the ferries of this growing passion, the historian portrays the wild deportment of a maniac. But with some composure, he dispatched messengers to such governors of his castles, as were foreigners. and devoted to his cause, commanding them to lay in provisions, to strengthen the walls, to prepare machines, and to hire what mercenary forces could be collected; but let it be done without noise, he added, and with caution, lest the barons be alarmed. The alarm was unavoidable. Himself then, to prepare what schemes of vengeance

John meditates vengeance, and retires.

^a Mat Par.

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might please him best, and to indulge, far from the prying eye of curiosity and the vigilance of his enemies, the wayward rancour of his heart. hastily quitted Windfor, and retired, in disguise, to the Isle of Wight. And here he soon took the resolution of applying to Rome for the aid of Innocent, and to the neighbouring countries for a supply of mercenary forces. The seventy-fifth article of the charter he as little heeded, as those which gave relief to his vassals. Pandulphus, whom the prospect of some promotion which should reward his labours, still detained in England, was, with other messengers, sent to Rome; and the bishop of Worcester, who was chancellor, and the courtly bishop of Norwich, with some soldiers of fortune, undertook to raise the necessary supply of men. They sailed to the continent.

The king, with a few companions, remained in the island, waiting, in dark impatience, for the issue of his plans; and sometimes mixing with the fishermen and mariners of the neighbouring ports, he strove by the bold manners of a pirate, to gain the friendship of that hardy race.—What, in the mean time, were the suspicious thoughts of the nobles? The king had disappeared, and fame had not yet disclosed his retreat. But they saw the hostile preparations, in his castles, and soon they
knew

knew, where he was, and what were the measures he had taken. To relieve the toils of their late attention to business, a tournament had been appointed to be held at Stamford. They now put off its celebration to a more distant day, and named another place, less remote from London. In this city the great body continued: but, from the letters they addressed to the absent barons, their thoughts, it appears, ran more on the approaching tournament, than to provide resistance against the exertions of the enemy^r.

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Pandulphus, with the speed of a faithful minister, had hastened to the feet of Innocent. There he exposed the cause of his journey, and implored the pontiff's aid against the barons of England. "They have raised a rebellion in the land," he said, "and have demanded from their prince laws and evil liberties, which to grant became not the royal dignity. The king publicly protested, that his realm was a fief of the Roman church, and therefore that, without the knowledge of the pontiff, he was not free to enact new statutes, or to prejudice in any thing the rights of his lord. He appealed then, thereby subjecting himself and realm to your protection. This the ba-

Conduct
of Inno-
cent.

^r Mat. Par.

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rons heeded not: they marched to London, and having seized that capital of the empire, hold it still. Then, in military array repeating their demands, the king submitted, for he could no longer withstand their violence." So saying, the messengers presented certain heads of the charter, which seemed best to favour the royal cause. Innocent read, and frowning indignantly, exclaimed: "Do these barons then aim to dethrone a prince, crossed for the holy land, and protected by the apostolic see? Or would they transfer our sovereignty to another? By St. Peter, this outrage shall not go unpunished." He convened the cardinals, and taking their advice, addressed a bull to all the faithful. It is dated from Anagni, August twenty-fourth^s.

It states that John, though by his crimes he had drawn on himself and kingdom the sentence of excommunication and interdict, had repented, and made satisfaction to the church; that he had subjected his realm to the holy see, under an annual tribute, and sworn fealty to it; that he had taken the cross, and was preparing to make war on the infidels; that, in this crisis, the barons of England, instigated by the devil, had rebelled against him; that himself (Inno-

^s Mat. Par.

cent) had used every means to restore concord; that the king had been disposed to listen to moderate counsels, and to correct abuses; that he had appealed to Rome; and that the barons, regardless of every duty, had persisted in their measures, and finally compelled their prince to grant them terms, derogatory from the rights and dignity of his crown. It concludes: "But since it was said to us by the lord, *I appointed thee over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to destroy, to build and to plant*; not willing to dissemble the audacious deed, which brings contempt on the holy see, ruin on the rights of kings, shame on the English nation, and threatens to annul the great concerns of the cross of Christ; we reprobate and condemn the proceeding, forbidding the said king to observe the charter, and the barons to require its execution; and we pronounce it, in all its clauses, null and void, that, at no time, it may have validity."—Another bull of the same date is addressed to the barons, wherein, having repeated the substance of the first, he commands them, as their spiritual father and suzerain lord, to renounce the charter, and to be reconciled to the king, who may then be disposed to listen to their just petitions, in which himself promises to be their mediator: "and what shall then be obtained," he says, "shall be firm

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BOOK VI. firm and permanent for ever." He exhorts them to submit, lest something worse befall them; and to send their proctors to the general council, which was soon to be assembled, surrendering themselves in confidence to his award. "With the blessing of heaven," he concludes, "we will then adopt measures, whereby, every grievance and abuse being utterly abolished, your king shall be satisfied in his rights, and the clergy and all the people shall enjoy peace and liberty."

Preparations for a civil war. The representation of facts, which the bulls exhibited, was, in some instances, untrue; in others, overcharged. So it is, when party-views distort the eye of equitable judgment. They were sent to England; on which the barons, regardless of their contents, and well-aware that further dalliance might bring ruin on their measures, resolved again to take up arms, and to secure the possession of the capital. William de Albiney, a nobleman of great military fame, at the head of a chosen band, entered the castle of Rochester, having been solemnly assured by the confederated barons, before he left London, that, in case of an attack, they would fly to his rescue. The castle, not long before, had been committed by the king

^t Mat. Par.

to the custody of the primate. It was ill-stored with provisions, and worse with engines of defence: but de Albiney entered, and with him a hundred and twenty knights, with their retainers.

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John had passed nearly three months in the Isle of Wight, and the time was come for the return of his agents. He sailed to Dover, where he had the satisfaction to be informed, that a vast armament was approaching to his assistance. The prospect of sharing the spoils of England, and the lands and honours of the opulent barons, which the king's emissaries had been empowered to offer, allured thousands to his standard. From Poitou and Gasconne, came Savaric de Mauleon, and Geoffry and Oliver de Buteville, brothers, with a formidable troop of knights and armed men: from the side of Brabant, came Walter Buck, Gerard Sottini, and Godeschal, with three legions of heavy-armed foldiers and cross-bowmen: and from Flanders, came a multitude, which is not numbered, men inured to rapine and blood-shed, the outcasts and freebooters of society. These John received exultingly on the beach of Dover. They swore fealty to him, and with them he marched to Rochester. De Albiney had been three days in the castle. The engines of attack were soon brought up, and the

BOOK VI. the savage army encompassed the walls.
 It was now the end of September.

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But hardly had the siege opened, when a furious tempest began to howl, such as, even in the equinoctial season, no man had witnessed; and in that tempest perished Hugh de Boves, with an army, or rather a colony, of forty thousand souls, whom he had embarked in the port of Calais. He was a bold and experienced adventurer; but a man of the basest principles, who had long served the king, and on whom, it is said, he had promised to settle the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. The hand of heaven seemed visible in his overthrow; but the king wailed his loss, with the frantic effusions of a madman^u. The castle of Rochester bravely resisted, looking hourly for the promised succours. The barons, indeed, once advanced to its relief; but with no views, it seemed, of manly resolution; for, without having seen the enemy, they returned, to indulge, says the historian, in the excesses of play and prodigality, and the enervating pleasures of the capital. De Albiney then, only reduced by famine, though scarcely a stone was standing round him, with the concurrence of his brave companions, surrendered. The siege had lasted two months. With the

^u Mat. Par. Chron. de Mailros.

ferocity of a monster, John commanded the general and his whole garrison to be hanged; but William de Mauleon suggesting to him the danger of reprisals, he was contented to butcher the inferior prisoners, while the knights, with de Albiney, were sent to the castles of Corf and Nottingham. The cause of the barons received a mortal wound.

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While these things were doing, Innocent, in great irritation, that his advice and menaces were disregarded, had excommunicated the barons, committing the execution of the sentence to the bishop of Winchester, the abbot of Reading, and the noted Pandulphus. In a brief written to them, he complains of the primate and his suffragans, who, for not having succoured their king against the rebels, were, with reason, suspected of being accomplices in their guilt. "Lo!" says he, "how they defend the patrimony of the Roman church; how they protect the champions of Christ." Aiming to dethrone him, from whose arms the christian cause looked for aid, they are become worse than Saracens. Wherefore, we excommunicate all disturbers of the public peace, with their accomplices and abettors, and we lay their lands under an interdict; strictly enjoining the primate and his bishops,

The barons are excommunicated, and Langton goes to Rome.

v Mat. Par. Mat. West.

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T

solemnly

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solemnly to announce this sentence, through the realm of England, and to command all subjects to give aid to their sovereign. Should any bishop not comply with this order, he is suspended from his functions, and obedience is no longer due to him."

Armed with the powers of Rome, the commissioners waited on the cardinal, who had actually embarked for Italy, to which the meeting of the general council called him. They signified their commission, and, in the pontiff's name, commanded him to execute the sentence, in the manner specified by the brief. He hesitated, and begged a respite, till he should himself have seen his holiness, urging, that the sentence had been surreptitiously obtained. "Truth has been with-held," he continued; "nor will I publish the sentence, unless I know more of the pontiff's will." The commissioners then, without further ceremony, declared him suspended from all the functions of his office; to which Langton tranquilly submitted, and departed for Rome. Their next step was, to pronounce excommunication against such barons, as were in arms; but as the brief did not specify their names, the casuistry of the age taught them to regard the censure, as nugatory and null^w.

^w Mat. Par.

When the primate arrived in Italy, towards the end of October, he found the prelates of christendom assembling from various nations, with numerous abbots and the heads of religious orders, and the embassadors of princes. Among the latter were three envoys from the king of England, the abbot of Beaulieu and two knights. Before the solemn opening of the council, many private causes were heard in the presence of the pontiff; and Langton was cited to appear. His accusers were the agents of the king. They accused him of conspiring with the barons, who, advised and favoured by him, were in arms to dethrone their prince; and they urged that, though commanded by his holiness, as he had recently been, to check the rebellion by excommunicating its leaders, he had disregarded the injunction, and had therefore been suspended. "And in that state of suspension, here he comes to the general council!" they said, and they pressed many other charges. Langton made no reply, and in much confusion, observes the historian, only prayed to be absolved from the censure. "Nor shall that, by St. Peter, come so easily, brother," exclaimed the indignant pontiff, "after the manifold injuries which thou hast thus done to thy king and to the Roman church. The advice of my brethren shall be taken." He

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conferred with the cardinals, and by their advice confirmed the sentence of suspension, which was immediately notified to the suffragans of his see. On the same occasion, the election of Simon de Langton, the primate's brother, to the see of York, was voided, a man obviously obnoxious to the king, but endowed with learning and many virtues. "We petition then for Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester," said the canons of York, who were present, "renowned for his singular purity." "By saint Peter," replied Innocent, "that is a great virtue; and you shall have him." De Gray was attached to the Royal party. But though his holiness could admire his virtue, he did not escape from Rome, without having involved himself in the enormous charge of ten thousand pounds sterling, equal, at this time, to fifty thousand pounds^x.

Fourth
council of
Lateran.

The council opened on the eleventh of November. Innocent presided, and addressing himself to the assembly in a sermon of tasteless allegory, professed his willingness, should the synod approve it, to go himself to the princes of Europe, and rouse them, by his entreaties, again to take up arms, and avenge the injured honour of Christ. The land, he had pur-

^x Mat. Par.

chased

chased by his death, was possessed by unbelievers. The decrees of this council are comprised in seventy canons, of which the nine first are chiefly directed against the errors of the Albigenes; and the seventh, teaching "that the body and blood of Christ are truly present in the eucharist, under the forms of bread and wine," uses the word *Transubstantiation*, to express the sacramental change. The thing signified, but not the mystic word, had been before adopted in the canonical language of the church. I find it in writers, who lived anterior to the time. The synod then proceeds to censure a treatise of the abbot Joachim on the Trinity, the prophet with whom our Richard had been delighted in the island of Sicily; and the opinions of Amauri, a Paris professor. Then come the decrees against heretics, enacting that they, who are convicted of error, shall be delivered up to the secular power to be punished; that even those suspected of heresy, if they do not clear themselves, shall be excommunicated; that states shall be admonished, and even compelled by censures, to expel all noted heretics from their jurisdiction; that princes or lords, not obeying this admonition, and report being made to the pope, he may declare their vassals absolved from their allegiance, and give up their territories to be conquered
and

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and possessed by the orthodox, saving the rights of the fuzerain lord, provided he oppose not the execution of the sentence.

—The embassadors of the fovereign princes, let it be observed, who were present in the council, reclaimed not against these indecent and arbitrary statutes.—After some regulations concerning the Greeks, who returned to the western communion, and fixing the precedency of the four eastern patriarchs, who, at that time, acknowledged the jurisdiction of Rome, the council goes on to enact canons of general discipline. In them is much good sense; but they shew how undefined were then the limits of the ecclesiastical and civil powers; and they became the basis, on which was raised that general system of church-legislation, which has prevailed to the present day.—After these canons follows a particular decree, which fixes the crusade, and the day of general rendezvous, for the year 1217, and in the kingdom of Sicily.—The cause of the count of Toulouse was then heard, petitioning against the earl of Montford for the restitution of his territories; but the former was declared for ever excluded from his lands, and the possession of them was confirmed to the conqueror. The sentence of excommunication was then repeated against the English barons and their accomplices, and the council ended.

It

It is deemed the twelfth ecumenical synod^y. BOOK
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John, on the return of his agents from Rome, which was soon after the taking of the castle of Rochester, heard with pleasure the success of their embassy. The barons were excommunicated, the primate suspended, the election of his brother annulled, and Walter de Gray raised to the see of York. He marched his army from Kent to the neighbourhood of St. Alban's. Here, in the convent of the monks, he commanded the letters of suspension against Langton to be publicly read, enjoining them to signify the happy event to all the churches of his realm. Then retiring to the cloister, with his confidential advisers, he arranged the double plan, of annoyance of the barons, and of providing money for the support of his mercenaries. Could the first be well executed, it would itself, he knew, realise the second. It was agreed, therefore, to divide the grand army; and that the king, at the head of one division, should advance into the northern provinces, while the other remained in the vicinity of the capital, to check any attempts of the barons. The nobles of the north had been particularly active in their claims for liberty.

y Auct. varii.

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To measure the baleful characters of these two armies, or to exhibit their views, is unnecessary. They were both intent on rapine, both hardened to the cry of distress, both incited to the perpetration of excess, by a cruel and vengeful prince. The name of Salisbury and of other English barons, it gives me pain to see registered with those of Falco without bowels, of Mauleon the bloody, of Walter Buck the murderer, of Sottini the merciless, and of the iron-hearted Godeschal. It was the month of December. The king moved to Dunstable, thence to Northampton, thence through Leicester, towards Nottingham; and as he advanced, flames, and carnage, and devastation marked his progress. The counties were a scene of horror; and the inhabitants fled, or fell, or were captured, without resistance.--- Leaving a sufficient force to awe the Londoners, and the barons who were with them, Salisbury entered Essex, ravaging the county, and that of Middlesex, and Hertford, and Cambridge, and Huntingdon; when returning with spoils and prisoners, he set fire to the suburbs of the capital, and permitted his men to divide their plunder, and to relate their feats of blood.

y Mat. Par. Annal Waver.

The

The barons, in wild consternation, did not move. But strange it is, that, Pre-
 advised as they were, and united with the
 nation in their general views, they had
 concerted no plan of resistance, raised no
 armies, strengthened no castles. The in-
 fatuation was incredible. Cooped up
 within the walls of London, or insulted
 in their castles, or at the head of a few re-
 tainers in the remote provinces, they heard
 of the disasters which fell on their
 friends, and the setting sun of each day
 announced the nearer approach of ruin
 on themselves. In unmanly wailings or
 the composure of affected resignation,
 they bore their fate, upbraiding their
 prince with perjury, and the pontiff with
 the basest sacrifice of character. "Such,"
 they exclaimed, "are the achievements
 of the beloved son of our holy father!"

Christmas came, whilst John was at
 Nottingham; nor could that awful solemnity,
 with its ceremonies and impressive
 lessons, still the raging tumult of his mind,
 or call back one generous or gentle feel-
 ing. As the piercing blast blew, the tem-
 pest of his soul could best sympathise with
 it; and though the earth was deeply covered
 with snow, he departed, raging on-
 ward, through the northern counties.
 Every hamlet, which was not his imme-
 diate property, he viewed as hostile to his
 interest; and it felt his fury, as did the
 castles

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castles, the houses, the parks, of their more noble occupiers. The description, which the historian gives, of villages, towns, and castles reduced to ashes, of the consternation of the inhabitants, of the bloody executions, and of the tortures exercised by the soldiery, to draw from the sufferers the revealment of their supposed treasures, far exceeds belief, and seems rather the laboured offspring of an irritated imagination. He passed the Scottish borders; and then returned more by the western line, every where rewarding his soldiers with plunder, and presenting his generals with the castles and domains of the vanquished and flying nobles.—Where the king was not, the like scenes were perpetrated; and the contest seemed to be, who should injure the wretched people most, and spread the flames of desolation widest^a.

The barons ex-communicated by name.

Nor had the inflexible Innocent receded from his purpose. Hearing that the barons disregarded his sentence, though the same messenger, doubtless, carried the news of the savage vengeance of the king and the miseries of the people, he directed another brief to the abbot of Abingdon and two other ecclesiastics, in which he repeats the former sentence, and commands them again to announce it to

^a Mat. Par. an. 1216. Chron. de Mailros.

the

the nation. He names the citizens of London, who had been principally active, and Robert Fitzwalter, the general of the confederacy, and twenty-five barons, with their aiders and accomplices.---The agents receiving the mandate did not delay its execution, and addressed letters to all the churches of the realm. They repeated the words of the brief, adding the names of thirty other noblemen, on whom should fall the papal anathema, and on their lands an interdict. The sentence, therefore, was soon promulgated, and there appeared a general disposition to submit. Only the Londoners had the good sense to oppose the arbitrary measure; and they maintained that, neither ought the barons to observe, nor the prelates to publish, a censure so incongruous. "It was obtained," they insisted, by false suggestions, and was consequently null; from this reason principally, that it belongs not to the pope to interfere in state concerns. God gave to Peter and his successors the administration only of the church. Why then shall Roman ambition extend itself to us? Does the war, in which we are engaged, challenge their concern? These pontiffs, truly, are the successors of Constantine, and not of Peter, to whom nor in deserts nor actions, do they bear resemblance. And the world then shall be ruled by censures!" So, with a just discrimination,

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discrimination, they murmured; and in despite of the interdict, the bells rang through the city, and the churches resounded with songs of unusual festivity.

Prince
Louis is
invited
over.

But the barons, whom a timely sense of impending ruin had not roused from their supineness, now behold the desperate extremity, in which must soon be involved all their liberties, their properties, and perhaps their lives. The sentence just pronounced must sever from them, they saw, the few vassals, who could yet support their expiring interest; while the royal party, it was evident, acquired, by their impetuous movements, an increasing power to complete the desolating plan they had projected. The kingdom lay at their mercy. Anxious what measure to adopt, they proposed many. They hesitated, debated and finally resolved to implore the aid of Louis, the eldest son of the French king. To him they would offer the crown of England: for he could best protect them against the fury of the tyrant John; and he was allied by his wife the daughter of the queen of Castille, to the royal house of Plantagenet. Should he land amongst them, it would be a means also, they doubted not, of drawing from the kings' standard many of the mercenary bands, who being levied

b Mat, Par.

in

in Flanders or the provinces of France, would refuse to serve against the heir of their monarchy. Deprived of auxiliaries, whose arms they had so fatally experienced, their own prince, they flattered themselves, would be induced to listen to reason, should it be deemed expedient by the nation not finally to confirm the sceptre to Louis. which it was their present design to offer to him. In the main plan they all agreed: and Saher earl of Winchester, and Robert Fitzwalter were appointed to the great embassy. They bore letters with them, signed with all the names of the confederated nobles^c.

With hasty dispatch, the negotiators crossed the sea, and appearing in the French court, laid before Philip and the prince, the weighty object of their embassy. The monarch heard their proposals; read the letters they presented; and after mature reflection, replied with this cool reserve: "I cannot permit my son to go, unless, for greater security, at least four and twenty hostages be sent to me, from the noblest families of your realm."—The ambassadors did not oppose the cautious resolution; and immediate notice being sent to the barons, they consented, and commanded their hostages to sail. Their arrival in France gave confi-

^c Mat. Par. Annal. Waver. Chron. Walt. Heming.

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dence to the measure, and Compiègne being assigned for their place of residence, Louis, with an alacrity inspired by the great occasion, opened his preparations. He was in his nine and twentieth year, and had lately returned from an expedition of forty days, against the heretics of the south. But as the present undertaking demanded many previous arrangements, which precipitancy might frustrate, he deemed it expedient to send before him a reinforcement of men, whose presence might animate the confederates, and fix their resolution. At their head were ten experienced chieftains. They embarked, and entering the Thames, were received into London by the barons, towards the close of February.

The agents of Innocent were not insensible to the insulting measure. Again they repeated their anathemas, and by name, involved in the censure the French troops, who, in contempt of the papal injunction, had dared to succour the enemies of the king.—But soon also letters came from the prince, addressed to the barons and citizens of London. In them he assures his friends, that, when easter comes, they shall hear of him from Calais, ready to sail to their relief. He exhorts them to persevere with the firmness, they had till now exhibited, and requests that they will listen to what they may

may hear from him, and not to the re-^{B O O K}
presentations or vain rumours of design-^{VI.}
ing men. 1216.

But though the weightiest concerns, which could occupy man, now called for immediate attention, the barons would not forego the occasion, of appearing before their new friends, with the gallant pageantry of the age. They appointed a tournament, without the walls of London. Here they met on horseback, with the accustomed arms and armour, and having spent some hours in the martial exercise, Geoffry de Mandeville, earl of Essex, was mortally wounded by a French knight. His death, which soon followed, was much lamented; but it did not excite animosity, and with his expiring breath he forgave his antagonist^d.

The preparations of the French prince were in forwardness, when a legate from Rome arrived at Lyons, in which city the court was. He presented his letters, and in his master's name, entreated Philip not to permit his son to invade England, or in any thing to molest its sovereign: "Protect him rather," he continued, "as the vassal of the Roman church, defend him, and love him; for his realm appertains to our sovereign lord."—"That realm," replied the monarch indignantly

A Roman
legate ob-
structs his
design.

* Mat. Par.

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was never the patrimony of Peter ; nor ever shall be. The present occupier of the throne, John, many years ago, plotting against his brother's crown, was accused of treason, and convicted : therefore, he had no right to reign. Had it been otherwise ; he afterwards forfeited his crown, by the murder of Arthur, of which crime he was found guilty in my court. Moreover, where is the prince that can give away his realm, without the consent of his barons, whose duty it is to protect the state ? And if the pontiff has resolved to support this error, he holds out a pernicious example to all the nations of the earth."—" We will die in defence of that maxim," exclaimed with one voice the nobles of the court ; " that no potentate, by his own act, can give away a kingdom, or make it tributary to another, and thus enslave its nobles."

On the following day, was another meeting, to which the prince came ; and with a lowering eye having viewed the legate, he took his seat near his father. Gallo (that was the legate's name) first addressed the prince, earnestly begging him not to attack the patrimony of the church ; and then turning to Philip, he repeated the request of the preceding day. ---" Hitherto," replied the king, " faith-

c Mat. Par.

ful

ful as I have been to the pontiff and the Roman church, I have ever promoted his interest. Nor now, with my advice or aid, shall my son attempt any thing against either. But if he claims any right to the realm of England, let that claim be heard, and justice be awarded to him." On this a knight, whom Louis had charged with the commission, rose, and spoke. He observed that John, for the assassination of his nephew, had been sentenced to death, by his peers in the French court; and that the barons of England, on account of his multiplied crimes, had deemed him unworthy of the throne; and had levied war against him: that having subjected his kingdom to Rome, under an annual tribute, without the consent of his nobles, he had deposed himself: he ceased, therefore, to be king, and the throne was vacant. Then did the barons, he continued, exercise their right. They elected the son of our king, in right of his wife, whose mother, the queen of Castille, alone survives of all the female issue of the late Henry Plantagenet.

Confounded by the bold misstatement of facts and the hollow reasoning, the legate urged; that John, at least, had taken the holy cross, and therefore, as the great council had lately decreed, he was not to be molested, during the space of four years; and that all his possessions

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were within the protection of the apostolic see. The knight answered: That, before that event, the English king had made war on the prince, and invaded and spoiled his domain in Flanders; and that even now he was in arms against him. "Under pain of excommunication," exclaimed the legate, when he saw that argument would not silence the worthy orator, "I forbid the prince to enter England, and his royal father to permit it." The prince turned to his father: "For the possessions, Sir," said he, "which I have received from your hand, I acknowledge myself your liege vassal: but the realm of England is not one of them, and I challenge the judgment of my peers, whether it appertains to you to obstruct the prosecution of my right, when it is not within the competence of your majesty to do me justice. Oppose not my design; for, shall it appear necessary, I will support to death my wife's claim to her inheritance." So saying, the prince, with his followers, withdrew; and Gallo, meaning to embark for England, requested a safe-conduct to the sea's side. "Through my own territory," replied Philip, "you shall have it: but take care how you set your foot on my son's lands." The legate retired in anger^f.

The
prince
lands.

In a few days, the prince again waited on his father: "I have solemnly pro-

^f Mat. Par.

mised the English barons," said he to him, "to carry them assistance; and rather than forfeit my honour, I am disposed to undergo the censures of the pontiff." Philip could no longer withstand the just entreaty. He consented; but in a manner that might seem reluctant; and blessed his son. The fear of the indignation of Rome had awed the high spirit of the monarch; and even Louis deemed it prudent, notwithstanding the firm language he had held, to dispatch messengers to Innocent, who should lay before him the equity of his claim to the English throne. Then at the head of an army, numerous and well-appointed, he marched to Calais, and embarking on board six hundred ships and fourscore other vessels, which the monk Eustach had prepared, he came to land in the isle of Thanet, on the twenty-first of May.

John, with all his forces, was at Dover. But he dared not meet the invader, conscious of the uncertain attachment of his mercenary bands: he retired, therefore, by precipitate marches, first to Guildford, and then to Winchester. The prince proceeded to Sandwich, and the whole province, as he advanced towards London, with the castle of Rochester, submitted to him, only Dover which he left behind him, remained in the hands of Hubert de Burgh. The acclamations, with which

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he entered the capital, were unbounded, the citizens and barons vieing in their expressions of joy. Here he received their homage, and the allegiance which they swore to him; while himself, with his hand on the gospels, at the same time, also swore, to restore to all orders their good laws, and to each individual the possessions he had lost.—It is remarkable, that the barons should have been satisfied with the vague expression of *good laws*, and that their *Great Charter* was not mentioned.—Louis then published a manifesto, addressed to the king of Scotland, and the absent nobles, commanding them immediately to swear fealty to him, or to retire from the realm; and he marched his army into the neighbouring counties, which submitted. The manifesto had the wished-for effect; for many (among whom was the earl of Salisbury, who had joined the king in his late excesses,) now left him, under the immediate impression, that fortune had chosen a new favourite, and that already he was in possession of the throne^s.

His next step was, to appoint Simon Langton his chancellor, whose influence became highly serviceable to his cause; for he confirmed the Londoners and the barons in their contemptuous neglect of the interdict, and persuaded Louis him-

self, a prince of a religious character, that it merited no respect.—The opening of this great revolution was uncommonly auspicious: but it must have seemed somewhat singular, considering the imposing consequence which has been ascribed to the ceremony, that the prince was not crowned, while the tide of popular favour ran so high.—The primate, whilst his brother thus came forward on the scene, continued at Rome, released, indeed, from the sentence of suspension, on condition that he returned not to England, till its troubles should be ended^h.

But the legate was not idle. He came to England soon after the prince, and immediately repairing to Gloucester, whither John had now retired, he offered him his warmest support, against the successful progress of the enemy. The monarch was over-joyed, presuming, from passed experience, that the arms of Rome could give vigour to his cause. Gallo summoned all the prelates and clergy, who would obey the mandate, to meet him; and having excommunicated, by name, with the usual rites of terror, the French prince and all his adherents, at the head of whom he placed Simon de Langton, he commanded them, on every sabbath and festival-day, publicly to re-

^h Mat. Par.

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repeat the sentence. But when the menaces of power and its exertions, have once ceased to operate on the minds of the multitude, it is long before they again recover their wonted vigour. The anathemas of the pontiff, therefore, fell in vain; and de Langton publicly declared that, in the cause of the prince, an appeal had been made to Rome, and that the acts of her agents were an impotent abuse. Even a more ominous circumstance confounded the wavering counsels of John. The mercenaries, as had been hoped, insensibly quitted his standard, the troops from Aquitaine alone remaining faithful, and of these even some joined the prince, and others returned home. Nor was it long before all the southern provinces submitted to Louis. The castles only of Windsor and Dover, lowering defiance, shewed a disposition to resist; and the king gave orders to furnish the eastern castles with men, arms, and provisionsⁱ.

His cause
is agitated
at Rome.

Meanwhile, the cause of Louis was agitated in the Roman court. His agents presented themselves before the pontiff, who eyed them with an austere look, they saluted him in their master's name. "Your master," he replied, "deserves not my salutation." "Your holiness," answered one of the agents, "would think otherwise, were his

ⁱ Mat. Par.

OF KING JOHN.

cause fully expounded." Here ended the first day's interview. But when, a second time, they were sent for, and had opened their commission; Innocent, at large, entered on the question, and with the acuteness of a profound civilian, the science he eminently possessed, refuted their various arguments. Then striking his breast, with much agitation, he proceeded: "But the church, alas! cannot here escape confusion. If the English king falls, who is our vassal, and whom, as such, it is our duty to defend, shame must redound on us: and if the prince be conquered, which God forbid! the Roman church must suffer in his ruin; for to him we have looked, as to a certain refuge, whenever distress shall fall on our see." The conference here ended, and the agents waited the final decision of the controversy.

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It is not necessary to detail the arguments, which were urged on both sides, and which the historian has minutely stated. They are comprised in three leading propositions, the heads of which I have already mentioned.—The first charge is; That John had murdered his nephew Arthur, for which crime he had been condemned to death, the agents said, by his peers in the French court.—It was replied, that John was a king, and, as such, being superior to the barons, he was not
their

BOOK VI. 1216. their peer; besides, that it was contrary to the laws and the canons, to condemn any person, unheard and unconvicted.—The agents observed that, though a king, John was an earl and duke, and therefore the liege vassal, under this denomination, of Philip, whose jurisdiction over him was complete. Even had he not been his vassal, and such a crime had been committed in France, the laws of the realm subjected the offender to the judgment of his peers.—Many princes and even kings of France, it was said in reply, had taken away the lives of innocent men, yet had they not been sentenced to death. But Arthur was not innocent; he was taken in arms against his uncle and liege sovereign, and could therefore lawfully, even without judgment, have been condemned to die.

Secondly:—To the argument in favour of the claim of Louis, as husband to Blanche of Castille, it was said, that, granting John, by the sentence of the French nobles, had been legally disinherited, that not she, but the offspring of the elder children of Henry, that is, the sister of Arthur, or the emperor Otho, had a juster claim to the English throne. Blanche even had a brother, the present king of Castille.—The agents answered, that as Geoffry, duke of Bretagne was dead, as also the dukes of Saxony, when
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the sentence was pronounced on John, their issue could pretend no claim to a succession, that otherwise might have devolved on them. This, they insisted, was a received maxim. But the queen of Castille was then living, to whom the legal succession first belonged, and on her death, it descended to her daughter Blanche. It is true, they proceeded, that Blanche has a brother, and even an elder sister; but where there are many heirs, any one of them may seize the inheritance, saving the rights of the other claimants. The prince has entered England; but if a nearer heir to the throne challenges his right, justice will be done to him.

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Thirdly:—It was objected to the prince, that England belonged to the holy see, by reason of the oath of fealty taken to the pontiff, and of the tribute annually paid; war therefore was not to be made on the sovereign rights of him, who had been guilty of no crime, and particularly as John possessed other dominions, which Louis might have attacked; complaints rather should have been preferred against the vassal, in the court of his sovereign lord.—Hostilities, they replied, had been commenced, before that transfer of the kingdom; and it is a maxim, that the vassal, who provokes a quarrel, may be attacked in person, without the ceremony

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ny of a previous complaint. But if the lord will protect his vassal, he makes the war his own.—As to the decree of the council, ordaining a general truce for four years, and the circumstance of John's having taken the cross, it was likewise insisted, that hostilities had preceded those events, to which the king had pertinaciously adhered.—But the barons, it was objected, and their abettors, had been excommunicated even by the advice of the council, and the prince, therefore, was involved in the sentence.—“Our prince,” replied the agents, “does not aid the barons, nor is he their abettor: he prosecutes his right. He does not, nor ought he to believe, that the pontiff, or so great a synod, would pronounce an unjust sentence. At that time, it was not known, that he claimed, as his right, the English throne. And had it been known, the prince presumes, that the council could not annul his right.”

Thus was a question debated, which throws some light on the manners and feudal laws of the age; when the pontiff, in the plenitude of his jurisdiction, pronounced, that the controversy should not be decided, before the return of his legate^k.

^k Mat. Par.

But

But Louis, (to whom the call of the barons, to rescue their country from the oppression of a tyrant, gave a better title, than what a pretended hereditary right, or the approbation of Rome could confer,) in the mean time, neglected not the obvious means of conquest. He spoiled the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and reduced them to his obedience; while that of Lincoln also submitted; and in the north, his adherents subdued Yorkshire, and the Scottish king, Northumberland.—The experienced Philip, notwithstanding this success which attended his son's arms, heaved, with regret, that he had left behind him the castles of Dover and Windsor, on the reduction of which, he knew, more must depend, than on the easy subjugation of many provinces. He acquainted him, therefore, that the castles must be reduced, alleging, that the first rules of war required it.—Louis, obedient to his instruction, having sent to him for *malveisine*, a huge engine to throw stones, at the head of a great army, surrounded the castle of Dover. This was in the month of August. Hubert de Burgh, it has been said, commanded there, and he was well supported by a band of knights and their retainers. The utmost efforts of the enemy made no impression: on the contrary, their tents, their machines, and their

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He pursues his conquests and lays siege to the castles of Dover and Windsor.

BOOK VI. 1216. men were destroyed by furious and repeated sallies. Hopeless of immediate success, the prince withdrew his army to a greater distance; and continuing the blockade, he swore not to raise the siege, till famine had reduced the proud walls, when the whole garrison, he threatened, should be hanged up in his presence.—At the same time, the barons with an army marched into the eastern counties, which having desolated, they returned to London, and collecting a great force, proceeded against the castle of Windsor. Ingelard de Achie, an approved soldier, was the governor. Alike to that of Dover, was the bold resistance of this castle; nor were the besiegers more successful¹.

John takes
the field.

John, who till now had not ventured to take the field, seeing that the enemy was engaged, issued, with resistless rage, from the city of Winchester. Some troops, from other castles, had joined him; and many desperate men still adhered to his cause. What the utmost fury, with fire and sword, could perpetrate, that was done. The houses and lands of the neighbouring barons first suffered; and he proceeded, like a blasting tempest, and entered the eastern counties.—With dismay did the barons, round Windsor, hear the report of this exterminating

¹ Mat. Par. Annal. Waver.

havoc, and assembling, they resolved to raise the siege, and to impede, if possible, the tyrant's return to the south. The historian talks of treachery, inspired by royal bribes, which prompted this design. The king was in Suffolk, wasting all its maritime district, and intent on spoil, when he heard that the Windsor army was in motion. They left their tents, and moved rapidly towards the side of Cambridge. But John by his spies, knew their line of march; and while they imagined, the game could not escape their toils, he had wheeled round, and gained the town of Stamford. He advanced still northward; and forcing the enemy from Lincoln, entered its castle, the confederates every where flying, with the timidity of hares, from his impetuous approach. The barons thus illuded, wreaked their vengeance on the innocuous people, and returning with spoil, passed through the capital, and joined the prince's army near the walls of Dover. To this place also came Alexander, the Scottish king, and did homage in the hands of Louis, for the fiefs he held under the crown of England^m.

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Such was the position of things and their dubious aspect, when an event happened, or was said to happen, which cast

Perplexity of the baron.

^m Mat Par. Chron. de Mailros.

a gloom

BOOK VI. a gloom over the counsels of the allies,
 1216. and generating mutual distrust, served to confirm the lightest suspicions, which, till now, either ill-humour, or the necessary character of events, had formed. The viscount de Melun, a nobleman who had come with the prince, being seized by a mortal distemper in London, requested, that such of the English barons, as remained there for the defence of the city, might be sent for. They came. With a dying voice he then addressed them. "The desolation and ruin, which hang over you, give me pain," he said; "and you know not what the danger is. The prince, and sixteen nobles of his army, have bound themselves by oath, shall the realm be conquered and he be crowned its king, to banish for ever those, who have joined his standard, as traitors to their sovereign. Their whole offspring shall be exterminated. Doubt not my words; for I, who here lie gasping before you, am one of the conspirators. I intreat you, therefore, to provide, in future, for your own safety, and not to reveal what you have heard." So saying, he expiredⁿ.

That so foul a design should have been formed, in this early stage of the revolution, and in the presence of sixteen

ⁿ Mat. Par. Chron. Wal. Heming.

witnesse,

witnesſes, exceeds all belief. But though the tale was obviously invented, it was not leſs ſucceſſful: the ſecret whiſper paſſed, and the minds of the barons received its baleful impreſſion. The prince already had beſtowed lands and caſtles on his foreigners; and themſelves had murmured at the partial diſtribution in vain. His views they could now ſee through; and the plot of deſtruction began to open. Even he had called them traitors, (ſo ſaid the dying viſcount,) when they were bleeding in his cauſe.—Thus they reaſoned, actuated by ſuſpicious and looſe ſuſpicions, while the moſt trivial events, on which jealousy could faſten, did but confirm the evil, and ſpread it more. The deſtruction alſo of their lands and houſes; the diſperſion and miſery of their families; the further ruin, which might fall on them, from their enraged, and yet unconquered, ſovereign; the ſentence of excommunication which preſſed on their ſouls, and that of interdict on their vaſſals and poſſeſſions; all, at once, conſpired to thicken the gloom, and to perplex their wayward counſels. It was the wiſh of ſome, to return to their allegiance; others, in dubious anxiety, ſuſpended all reſolution; while many ſeemed diſpoſed, patiently to wait the uncertain iſſue of events. But all knew the cruel and revengeful temper of the king, whom none might

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BOOK VI. might venture to trust, and whose indignation, now justly moved, could almost be vindicated in its worst excesses.

1216. The king falls sick, and dies. Agitated by passion, restless through fear, and suspicious even of those, whom he called his friends, John, meanwhile, had moved from place to place. He had been on the Welsh borders, wasting, as he went, the whole face of the land and the dwellings of the nobles; and now again he turned eastward, through the counties of Worcester and Northampton. He was surrounded by his mercenaries and other troops, an army bent on blood and rapine, and he carried with him, in many carts and on horses, his treasures, all his valuable plate, and the regal ornaments, on which, with the propensities of a little mind, his affections seemed to rest. Whether it was his intention to lodge these in a place of safety, does not appear. Through Peterborough he entered the district of Croyland, famous for its monastery, which he plundered, and having burned the stacks of corn, and ravaged the lands of the abbey, he continued his course through Holland into Norfolk. The inhabitants of Lynn received him with much loyalty; and here he formed the design of crossing the Wash, which parts the two counties, and of penetrating more to the north of Lincolnshire. When the water ebbs, this estuary

estuary is passable. With his army and rich baggage, John began his march over the sands; and he had nearly reached the opposite point, when the returning tide began to roar, and its swelling waves to press forward on the land. It was a moment of extreme peril. The army, with great rapidity, advanced, and escaped on the side of Fosdike; but turning, they beheld the carriages and sumpter horses overtaken by the waters. The surge dashed furiously on them; and soon they disappeared.—In silence, which oaths and execrations only interrupted, the troops, with their king, proceeded, and arrived, on the same night, at the Cistercian abbey of Swineshead^o.

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Vexation at a loss, which in the present circumstances was irretrievable, and the boisterous agitation of contending passions, which reason nor religion had ever checked, now produced in the king the alarming symptoms of disorder; and a fever ensued. Yet prompted by hunger, or rather by a gluttonous habit, he ate voraciously of some peaches, which the hospitable monks served up, and drank new cider as immoderately. The intemperate excess added to the growing evil. In reposeless horror the night passed; but, early on the morrow, he rose, and mount-

^o Mat. Par. Mat. West.

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ing his horſe, ſeemed willing to conceal from obſervation the pain he ſuffered, or by exerciſe to diſperſe it. Soon, however, he was compelled to diſmount ; when entering a litter, he was carried to the caſtle of Sleaford : and though his diſorder, in the night he ſpent here, was much increaſed, he proceeded the next day, and with difficulty reached the town of Newark. Here was his life to cloſe.

To make ſome preparation, if it might be permitted, for eternity, and to ſettle the ſucceſſion of his crown, became his only care. The abbot of Croxton, a neighbouring convent, a man well ſkilled in medicine, and who attended the dying monarch, officiated alſo, as the miniſter of religion, in the laſt ſad ſcenes of remorse and penitence. To his houſe he left ſome valuable eſtates, vainly conſiding, that the opulent donation would ſerve to atone for a life of crimes. He then named his eldeſt ſon Henry, his ſucceſſor, and begged that homage might be done to him. Letters alſo, under his ſeal, were directed to all the ſheriffs of counties and the governors of caſtles, commanding them to bear in mind the duty, which they owed to the prince. Now he was informed, that meſſengers were arrived from ſome of the barons, about forty in number, with propoſals of returning to their allegiance. The
momentary

momentary gleam cheered his soul: but all his strength was spent, and attention languished. “Where,” said the abbot of Croxton, “does your majesty chuse to be buried?”—“To God,” replied the king, “and to St. Wulstan, I commend my soul and body.”—Soon after this he expired^p.

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On the eighteenth of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign, thus died John, the worst of English kings. His body, agreeably to his last request, was conveyed to Worcester, and there interred. St. Wulstan was the patron saint of the cathedral.—By Isabella of Angouleme, his last queen, he left two sons and three daughters. Of virtues John possessed not the weakest semblance; and all his vices were such, as most vilify and degrade the nature of man, in their immediate effects ruinous to himself, and destructive to his people. A transient review of the events, I have described, will sufficiently justify the general assertion, and prove the judgment of the old historian^q to have been led by no undue bias, when he heaped infamy on his name. I shall dwell no longer on it.

At the time this inglorious monarch died, some changes, which I have not

General
view.

^p Mat. Par. Mat. West.

^q Mat. Par.

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noticed, had taken place on the continent. Rome had a new sovereign. Engaged as he had ever been in politics, Innocent pursued unremittingly his favourite scheme, of carrying aid to the eastern christians. The unsettled state of Germany impeded his design, and the ambitious views of Philip. He laboured to establish a general peace. But when he heard, notwithstanding his remonstrances, that the French prince did not desist from his undertaking, his zeal kindled, and preaching before the people at Perugia, from the text of Ezekiel, *Let the sword, the sword, be unsheathed*, he fulminated anathemas against Louis and his abettors. Nor did his indignation rest here. He prepared to pursue the severest measures, against Philip and his realm. But a fever surpris'd him in his career of vengeance. His constitution, which incessant labour and the agitation of great passions had undermined, sank before it, and he died on the sixteenth of July.

Innocent had virtues. He was learned, magnificent, perseverant, wise. In the knowledge of laws and politics he had no equal: he possessed the art of government; and he was obeyed, more from fear than love. Ambition was his ruling passion, to gratify which, he overstepped

r Rigord. Murat. an. 1216.

the bounds of decency and justice, playing as wantonly with the solemn censures of the church, as if they had been instituted, for the common purposes of wayward caprice or resentful vengeance. To look into him for the amiable virtues of life, or for those, which should form the pastoral character, would be loss of time. The prerogative of the holy see, built up by adulation and misjudging zeal, filled his mind: its aggrandisement he sought, sometimes, perhaps, from motives which the cool reasoner may excuse: and the meteor of universal empire gleaming on his senses, did not permit the operations of a dispassionate and unbiassed judgment. No tears were shed when Innocent fell, but those which religion wept, too justly pained by the inordinate exertions and worldly views of her first minister. The maxims of the age, however, must not be forgotten. They will throw some veil over the failings of Innocent; will extenuate the intemperance of his measures; and blunt the edge of censure. He was succeeded by Honorius III.

In Germany, the fortune of young Frederic kept the ascendancy it had acquired, advancing by sure steps to the meridian of greatness. As he owed much to the fostering care and superior influence of his guardian, the Roman bishop,
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it might be expected, that a grateful return would be demanded from him. It was demanded; and promises and engagements were liberally made. But Innocent still held back the imperial crown. His fear was, as I have observed, that Sicily and the empire should be held by the same person. To lull these suspicious apprehensions, Frederic now took the cross; and proclaiming his son Henry king of Sicily, he assured the pontiff, that its government, with the ancient dependences of feudal vassalage on the Roman see, should be conferred on him, the moment himself obtained the imperial diadem. Otho was still living in the retirement of Brunswick; and it was well known, that the arm, which had cast him from his throne, could, with ease, again call round him all the dangerous powers of a rival. This Frederic knew, and it disposed him to manage, by concessions and an apparent subserviency, the irritable and vindictive temper of Innocent. His timely removal made way for other politics and other plans. Rome, in the person of Frederic, had nurtured a prince, who, when time should develope his character, would exhibit, in her regard, those stern features of independent sufficiency, which his grandfather Barbarossa bore*.

* Murat. Peeffel. Chron. Ursperg.

The Italian states maintained their liberty: but the dissentions, which jealousy created and kept alive, had a permanent tendency to weaken the confederacy, and to make them a prey to internal strife, provoking foreign invasion. The Milanese had not yet forsaken the fallen cause of Otho. But it was the faction of the Guelfs and Ghibellins, daily gaining strength from fresh irritation, that prepared the way for dreadful evils.

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The state of France it is unnecessary to exhibit. Having annexed to his crown the noble provinces, which once were England's, and Artois on the side of Flanders, Philip Augustus, in the plenitude of years and power, looked eagerly to the conquest of another empire. But they were the menaces of Rome, it appears, which checked even the ambition of Philip; otherwise his reluctant compliance with the wishes of the English barons, and the feeble support he gave to his son, will not be reconciled with his character and the general policy of his government. Had he exerted the resources of his nation, to which, from foreign enemies or internal commotions, there was no impediment, it cannot be doubted, but complete success would have crowned his arms, and England, for a

† Mat. Par.

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time at least, had been a province of France. The power of the pontiff averted the blow; while the chains of vassalage, in which he held us, were but a nominal evil we could cast off at pleasure. That Philip should have left unconquered the extensive province of Aquitaine, may to some appear extraordinary. It was owing, I think, to the dispositions of the nobles of the country, who then were, and continued long to be, averse from the government of the French crown. But it is wonderful with what alacrity, Normandy, in particular, embraced the sovereignty of the victor^u.

Ireland, at this time, though John, as has been noticed, had, in his last expedition, established a form of legal government, was returned to anarchy and disorders, the obvious consequences of the temper of the natives, and the oppressive views of the new settlers. When the Great Charter was obtained from the king, no requisitions were made in behalf of Ireland: yet the archbishop of Dublin was present, and his name is recorded in the preamble to the deed. As yet no advantage had been derived to that nation, to counterbalance the loss of independence, from the superior character and constitution, as even then they were

^u Hist. var.

esteemed,

esteemed, of their ambitious and haughty conquerors.

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In Scotland, Alexander II. a youth of sixteen years, but blessed with great abilities and uncommon prudence, had succeeded to his father, William the Lion, whose name has been so often mentioned. He sided with the English nobles, and did homage to the French prince, not for the kingdom of Scotland, which, by the wanton concessions of Richard, had recovered its independence, but for Northumberland, which he held under the English crown.

On Wales our historians are silent. Its princes had long enjoyed an honourable dependence; and as peace dwelt on her borders, while England felt the horrors of intestine war, the hardy race lay secure on their mountains, and listened to the songs of their bards.

England, of all the states I have enumerated, saw before her the most uncertain and gloomy prospect. The Charter of Liberties, to obtain which she had nobly struggled, as yet was without effect; and did she know, what scheme of councils or series of events, would best secure its execution? Perhaps the same steps, which, with irksome toil, she had trodden, must again be measured. A foreign prince, with a powerful army, she had called

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called into her bowels ; while that prince's father, the greatest monarch of the age, was at hand with all the resources of his realm. Should the nation, which, in the obvious course of things, must be, submit to their controul ; where then would be her rights and liberties, under the resistless claim of conquest ? Her late king had left an infant son. If she carried her allegiance to him ; could he protect her ? Or would it be politic to acknowledge him for her sovereign, in whose veins was the blood of a tyrant ; and who, when years should give him strength, would be most inclined to retaliate on her, the usage his parent had experienced ? So lowered the scene before the barons and the English people.

Conclu-
sion.

I have finished the period of sixty-two years, which measured the reigns of Henry II. and of Richard and John, his sons, a term, in the retrospective view, of short duration, but filled with events, and marked by characters.—In Henry we beheld a prince of great and splendid talents, early tutored in the school of adverse fortune, and raised, by his own prowess, to a mighty empire. The out-setting of his reign was prosperous ; but an unfortunate contest with the church ensued, in which no glory could be gained, and which brought to nearer view a degrading

degrading series of affections and conduct, which, in other circumstances, might never have been exhibited. The close of it, we saw, was most unhappy; and it raised the indignation of christendom. But the submission of Ireland relieved the gloomy aspect, which the rebellion of his sons again obscured; and in various occurrences, which too often tended to diminish the lustre of his early days, the eventful period of Henry's reign hastened to its melancholy issue. Within himself, it seemed, lay the source of every evil. For a more guarded temper would have reconciled him to the church, at that time, too dangerous a power to contend with; and more attention to Eleanor, his queen, would have chained her ardent spirit, and have secured the obedience, at least, of his children.—The men, who served near his person, or whom he employed in the concerns of state, were eminent, and well chosen. I brought them into view. Becket, of all others, from a certain similarity of character, was best qualified to have possessed his confidence; and together they had been an overmatch for secret machinations, or the bold designs of public enemies. But the very circumstance of similarity of dispositions was the cause of their disunion, and led to contests. The possession

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possession of a friend has seldom fallen to the lot of princes.—The concomitant characters of Henry's reign were, in France, Louis, weak, honest, and brave; in Germany, Frederic, bold, imperious, and enterprising; in Italy, Alexander, whose virtues and unambitious views in a better age, had dignified the tiara. And round these princes we saw collected many distinguished personages; and the events of their days were striking, in the exile of the Roman pontiff, in the successful struggles of the Lombards, and in the preparations for the third crusade.

The reign of Richard, opening with improvident and arbitrary measures, and throughout disfigured by discontents at home, and abroad by a lavish waste of men and treasure in the wild wars of Palestine, had nothing to engage the attention of the philosophic historian. Only that the errors of the human mind, if duly contemplated, may become a source of as much instruction, as its most steady adhesions to truth and equity. We pitied him in his captivity; but the heavy charge, which fell on an exhausted people, to ransom the worthless prisoner, soon stifled that pleasing emotion; and no event succeeded to prepare the mind for compassion, when his untimely death came on.—His ministers and the great personages of
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the realm deserved little praise. The truth, however, is, that the writers of the times were so engaged in relating the feats of their king, and the achievements of a ruinous expedition, that domestic characters and the events of peace were lost in the turbid stream, and died away unrecorded.—But, in France, for some years, we had beheld the growing greatness of Philip Augustus; while, by the side of Richard, whether in his own territories, or at Messina, or in Palestine, his temperate, but manly character, commanded our admiration, and defied competition. Frederic had perished in the Salef: the Norman line of kings was at an end on the throne of Sicily: and at Rome, after a succession of five less illustrious bishops, from the death of Alexander, was seated Innocent III.

The conduct and character of John, and the events of his reign, are recent on the memory. We saw its inauspicious opening, his weak treaty with France, his ungenerous marriage of Isabella, and his vain and oppressive progress through the provinces of England. The barons shewed their discontent, when he passed into Poitou, took Arthur prisoner; and we heard the rumours which followed his death, and which was succeeded by the loss of Normandy and

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and other possessions. Stephen Langton came forward on the scene, which gave rise to altercations between John and the pontiff. The kingdom fell under an interdict, and the rage of the king broke loose. Then opened the important contest, which, after various occurrences, led to the submission of John to the mandates of Rome, and which produced the meeting of the barons, and their confederacy. We beheld them at St. Edmundsbury, after the taking off of the interdict, and their successive proceedings, till they met on Runnemede. MAGNA CHARTA. The dark vengeance of John followed, and the preparations for war. The barons were excommunicated, the country laid waste, prince Louis invited over, landed in spite of the pontiff's injunctions, and while he besieged the castles of Windfor and Dover, John took the field, and as a gloom spread round the general aspect of things, he died. The under-actors, who chiefly claimed attention, were Stephen Langton, and the Roman Pandulphus, and the barons pressing forward, with a restless ardour, to the new dawn of liberty. In France, Philip had still kept the ascendant, rather he had risen higher, in competition with our inglorious monarch,

narch, and had added territories to his crown. The brave Otho had fallen from the German throne; while from Sicily came another Frederic, who would eclipse the fame of his grandfather Barbarossa. In the chair of the humble fisherman, was seen Innocent!

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THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.

A P P E N D I X I.

ON THE MANNERS, ARTS, AND LEARNING OF THE PERIOD.

Manners of the English and Normans at the conquest.—Progressive change.—Chivalry.—Amusements.—Dress.—Agriculture.—Architecture.—Arms and armour.—Arts of clothing.—Sculpture.—Painting.—Poetry.—Music.—Trade.—Value of money.—Intercourse with France.—General influence of Rome.—Monastic institutions.—Francis of Assisum.—Dominic.—Crusades.—Learning.—Grammar.—Rhetoric.—Logic, metaphysics, physics, ethics.—Scholastic divinity.—Canon and civil law.—Oxford.—Cambridge.—Cathedral and other schools.—Paris and Bologna.—General view of learned men.—The Polycraticon.—Conclusion.

THE monk of Malmſbury has told us, what were the characters of the English and Norman people, when the island, in 1066, submitted to the conqueror

Y

Manners of the English and Normans at the conquest.

queror.—But a few years, he observes, before that event; the study of literature and of religion had decayed. The clergy could hardly stammer through the necessary service of the church; and he who knew the rules of Grammar, was viewed as a prodigy. The monks, elegantly habited, and regardless of forbidden meats, ridiculed their holy institutes. The nobility, gluttonous and sunk in licentious pleasures, neglected the common practices of religion. And the people were a prey to the rapacious violence of their lords. But to drink was the common occupation of all orders: in this they spent their nights and days; and in low and mean houses they consumed their substance. The vices which attend on ebriety, and which enervate man, came along with it. Hence, by a mad and headstrong rashness, which no military science governed, in a single battle, and that easily gained, they gave themselves and country to slavery. Their garments were short, reaching to the knee: their hair shorn, and their beards shaven, excepting on the upper lip: and, with painted figures marked on the skin, they wore on their arms heavy bracelets of gold. But their intemperance only they communicated, themselves, in other regards, acquiring the manners of the victors.

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The Normans, on the other hand, were then, and continued to be, ostentatiously fond of dress; and the delicacy they affected in their food, was vitiated by no excess. Their hair was long and curled; their chins entirely shaven. Inured to arms, and only pleased with the occupations of war or the field, they excelled in the arts of attack; and what strength could not effect, they attempted by bribes and stratagem. In their buildings they were magnificent; in their expences temperate. Jealous of their equals, they sought to emulate their superiors, and though they treated their inferiors with harshness, they would protect them from injury. Their allegiance was sincere, but which the slightest offence could break asunder. Of all men they were the most kind to strangers; they intermarried with those they had conquered; and reviving amongst them the spirit of religion, which was extinct, they erected churches, and, in a new style of architecture, decorated with convents the hamlets, the towns, the cities. The country, in its novel garb, again flourished; while he, whose means were ample, deemed the day lost, which some beneficent deed had not illustrated^a.

Thus wrote William of Malmfbury,

^a Wil. Malm. l. iii. p. 57.

nearly a hundred years after the conquest, and as in blood he was allied to both people, we may conclude, that no undue partiality had biased his judgment. In the scale of excellence much did the Norman character preponderate, meliorated as itself had been, from the days of Rollo, through the lapse of almost two centuries, by the genial climate and fertile soil of Normandy, by their intercourse with the French provinces, and by the happy influence of christian morality. But though nothing, in the ordinary course of things, be so difficult to eradicate as national characters, manners, and customs, which, in the northern and western districts of this island, have resisted the impression of ages, and are yet unchanged; yet, at that time, fortunately, there was a circumstance in the English character, which had prepared the way for such improvement, as the Norman manners seemed best calculated to induce. No uniform series of impressions had given stability to any system of effects. Britain had been exposed to the influence of Roman manners; the Saxons had exterminated in part, and in part new modelled, the British constitution; the Danish settlement had effected another change; and now came the Norman conquerors. In a people, so heterogeneously constituted, in blood, in manners, and
in

in language, there must have been an aptitude to take new forms; and our historian has said, that the effect corresponded, that they gave to the victors their gluttony and love of liquor, and in return put on the noble endowments of generosity and public munificence.

It is curious to trace this progress of national improvement, the more prominent lines of which, in the arts of peace and war, our historians have been careful to mark; whilst every change in the manners of the multitude, agreeably to the common phenomena of human nature, advances in a more slow and silent process. Here ages must elapse, before a new trace, perhaps, will be uniformly produced; for even at this day, I doubt not, the common people of England retain much of the character, of the manners, and of the customs of their Saxon ancestors. They would be Britons even, as the Welsh are, had not that race been driven to the western mountains of the island. In the higher ranks of life, with which the kings, the nobles, the clergy, mixed, who were Normans, or of Norman origin, the manners of the ruling party would soon preponderate. Indeed, the name of Englishman, by a well-concerted policy, became a term of reproach, and the natives, for a time, sank in contempt and wretchedness. By degrees,
the

the odious stigma wore away; the victors, as I have remarked, could even admire the system of Saxon legislation, which had before prevailed in the island; and animosities and mutual jealousies ceasing, the discordant factions coalesced into a mighty people. Towards the close of the period I have described, this had visibly happened. But then also the Norman manners very generally prevailed.

The system of education established in the grammar schools, with a view to extirpate the English language, spread widely the knowledge of the French tongue; and as this continued to be alone spoken at court, and the laws and law-proceedings were administered in it, he who looked for favour or preferment, would be compelled to learn it. But the vulgar tongue of the great body of the people resisted every effort, unless in such slight and gradual changes, as time would naturally introduce. They frequented not the schools of grammar, and other motives, in their regard, had no effect. However, the language of the ruling party, in the higher orders of society, did prevail; and in its extent, it became the vehicle of ideas, and with ideas the vehicle of new tastes and manners.

Chivalry. Such were the spirit of chivalry and the love of martial sports, little known in the island before the coming of the Normans. But now the genius of the
great

great was wholly modified by them, and they drew into energy the nobler passions of the heart. The school of chivalry, indeed, was the school of public virtue; but many authors have viewed it with an eye too partial. It only qualified for the profession of arms, which soon became so imposing, from the lustre of knight-hood and its manifold honours, that, in the false blaze, the worth of domestic virtues was lost, and to be martial and magnanimous alone excited ambition, and called for praise. We have seen how the general propensities of the age submitted to the impulse, and were led by it. The lessons of education had that tendency; and the castle of every baron was a school of arms, in which the rudiments of chivalry, under the laws of courtesy and politeness, were instilled, and the noble youths, in the exercises of dancing, riding, hawking, hunting, tilting, prepared for the higher offices, to which they aspired. These exercises, called the preludes of war, have been often described.

In the court of the sovereign, or in the castles of the barons, the ladies, also, under similar impressions, received their education. They were often the wards of their lord, and were bred up under his eye, or that of his lady. But as courtesy, valour, and gallantry were the qualities, which one sex would be taught
most

most to cultivate, so would gentleness, a modest reserve, and chastity be the peculiar endowments of the other. These virtues, by a charming contrast, would mutually blend, and give to their respective votaries the powers of mutually pleasing. But though such was the tendency of chivalry, and its lessons, the reader will have seen that the effects did not correspond with the romantic system. Ignorance of the rights of men and of the pure maxims of morality, and the reaction of headstrong passions, which rapacity and the licence of arms fomented, stood in the way, marring its happiest influence. Theoretic schemes of virtue, at best the playful offspring of ingenuity, can then do little, when the elements, which constitute probity and justness of character, have not been implanted. But I meant only to instance, and not to appreciate the merits of, a cause, from which, with the rest of Europe, the manners of Englishmen received a peculiar tincture.

Tournaments were the great sport which chivalry introduced. But till the reign of Richard, they appear not to have been held in this country with any marked festivity; a circumstance which proves, with what reluctance, the genius of the nation adopted novelty even in its amusements. Yet tournaments, from their
 pomp

pomp and princely splendour, could interest the proudest passions of the heart, and become the theatre of glory. Our princes and nobles, as I related, debarred from the amusement at home, eagerly sought it on the continent; but when Richard had given vogue to the martial sport, the phlegmatic islanders adopted it with ardour, and we saw the barons sacrificing to it their own and their country's most important interests.

Hunting and hawking were the other principal diversions, which the Normans introduced, if that may be called a diversion, which tended to oppress the weak, to dispeople the country, and to give energy to the brutal and selfish affections. "At this time," says John of Salisbury, "hunting and hawking are deemed the most honourable employments; and in them to spend their whole time, the nobility think the supreme felicity of life. For these sports they prepare with more anxiety and expence, than they do for war; and they pursue wild beasts with greater fury, than the enemies of their country. Thus they lose the best part of their humanity, and become almost as savage as the animals they pursue. The husbandman with his herds and flocks, is driven from his fields, his meadows, and his pastures, that room may be made for

for the beasts of the forest^b." We know, how the country was covered with royal forests, and the inhuman laws which were made to protect the game; while round the castle of every baron the best lands were emparked, or wooded, and the little sovereign in selfish tyranny, indulged the savage sport of the field. But so fascinating are those diversions, which, by the combined action of novelty, variety, and exercise, can interest the feelings, and rouse them into tumult, that men of all descriptions, when no contrary views or propensities were thwarted, became enamoured of the sport, and followed it with ardour. Even the clergy and the ladies were so far seized with the general rage, that, to check the unseemly passion, in the former, the church enacted many canons, and the writer, I have quoted, remarks, that the ladies so much excelled in hawking, as to surpass the gentlemen in the frivolous amusement. So he rudely termed it.

Dress.

The English also soon imitated their gay masters in the elegance and richness of their dress, and in the fashion of the hair. But it was not, without much reluctance, that they resigned their whiskers, some of them, as our historians have related, rather preferring to abandon their

^b De nugis curial. l. i. c. 4.

country;

country; and they represent the ordinance of the conqueror, which compelled them to shave the whole beard, as a wanton act of tyranny. The flowing ringlets of the Normans, in return, were persecuted with a no less relentless zeal by the clergy, who, themselves deprived of the becoming ornament, treated it with every indignity, and as the mark of certain reprobation.

But England was indebted to her conquerors for better improvements, than their chivalry, their sports, or the fashion of their beards, could induce. I mean the *necessary* and the *pleasing* arts. Of the first kind, were agriculture, architecture, clothing, and the arts of defensive and offensive war; and by the latter may be understood sculpture, painting, and whatever tended to the comforts or embellishments of life.

Agriculture, in its various branches, ^{Agriculture.} was much improved. From the fertile and cultivated plains of Flanders, France, and Normandy, had come over with the conqueror many thousand hands, who settled in the island, practising the methods of culture, they had been used to at home, and importing their implements. Also, in the succeeding reigns, many Flemings continued to come amongst us. We read of Norman barons, whose attention to agriculture was great, who planted

ed orchards, cultivated wastes, and inclosed and drained extensive lakes and fens. But to the monks the greatest obligations were due. Five hundred and fifty-seven religious houses are said to have been founded, between the conquest and the death of John. Their site was, generally, on some barren spot, and the lands, which the pious donors settled on them, covered with brakes or immersed in water, had never felt the scythe or sickle. These were cleared, and drained, and tilled, often by the hands of the monks themselves; and rich fields, meadows, and pastures were soon seen to smile, where the bramble before had crawled, and the bulrush only had nodded.—William of Malmſbury celebrates the vale of Gloucester, famous, he says, for its fertility in corn and fruit-trees, some of which the soil spontaneously produced, and the sides of the public roads were decorated with their richness. “This vale,” he adds, “is more thickly planted with *vines*, than any other part of England, and here they are more productive, and their flavour is more grateful. The wines made from them have no harshness in the mouth, and are little inferior to those of France^c.” We have other proofs of the existence of vineyards,

^c Pont. Angl. p. 161-

which

which the monks and clergy, for their own benefit, principally cultivated.

Architecture, perhaps, still flourished more, sacred, civil, and military.—The churches of the Saxons were low, unornamented, and dark. But now a better taste began to prevail, which led soon to the accomplishment of those noble structures, which, at this day, we view with pleasure and admiration. In the reign of Henry II. appeared the *modern Gothic*.—Cathedral and other churches were every where erected, often on the ruins of the ancient edifices; and convents and cloisters rose, at once the monuments of the piety, the magnificence, and the taste of the age. But the materials, the stone and marble, were often both brought from foreign quarries, and the principal artificers were foreigners. We have accurate accounts left us of the manner of raising these edifices, and of the means, not unfrequently, employed to procure supplies. When the energies of religious zeal have been duly excited, no obstacles will impede the execution of its bold designs.

Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, who was an eye-witness, has related the burning of the choir of the cathedral of Christchurch, in that city, in 1174, which Lanfranc had erected, and its immediate reparation, in less than ten years. He details, through each year, the general

ral progress of the work, in the preparation of the materials, the erection of the walls and columns, in stone and marble, the turning of the arches, the placing of the windows, and the labours of the sculptors and carvers in completing the admirable plan. The architect was a Frenchman from Sens, who gave and executed the design; but he being hurt by a fall, in the beginning of the fifth year, an English artist was employed to finish the work^d.—Earlier than this, and in the same century, were rebuilt the abbey and church of Croyland, which a fire also had destroyed. The abbot had obtained from the archbishops of England and their suffragans, an *indulgence*, which dispensed with the third part of all penances for sin to those, who should contribute any thing towards the pious work; and it was directed to the king and his people, and to the kings of France and Scotland, and to all other kings and their vassals, rich and poor, in all parts of the christian world. Two monks carried the animating instrument into France and Flanders, two others into Scotland, two into Denmark and Norway, two into Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, and others into the counties of England. Four years were spent, when mountains of

^d De combust. et repar. Dorob. eccles. p. 1290.

marble,

marble, says the historian, were collected round the spot, with immense heaps of gold and silver, of iron, brass, cement, and every necessary material. The day was fixed for laying the foundation.

On the day, a great multitude, from the neighbouring districts, met at Croyland, earls, barons, and knights, with their ladies and families, abbots, priors, monks, nuns, clerks, and persons of all ranks.—The abbot Joffred prayed, and shedding tears of joy, laid the corner-stone of the eastern front to the north. The next was laid by Richard du Rulos, a knight much attached to the abbey, and on it twenty pounds. Then came Geoffry Ridel, a knight, and his sister Avicia, the first laying on his stone ten marks; and the ladies having placed their stones, presented each a stone-cutter to serve, at their expence, for two years.—The next corner stone, to the south of the same front, was laid by the abbot of Thorney, Joffred's brother, and on it ten pounds. Alan de Croun a baron, with his lady, and their eldest son and daughter, placed the next four stones, offering on them the title-deeds of the advowsons of four neighbouring churches.—The earl of Leicester, and the baron de Canteleupe, with his lady, and Alan de Fulbek, and Theoderic de Botheby, with his lady, and Turbrand de Spalding, knights;

knights ; and then the earl of Northampton, followed by four knights, and three ladies, placed their respective stones, in the circle of the same front, each, in order, offering on them, forty marks, twenty marks, a hundred shillings, the gift of a messuage and two acres of land, the tithes of sheep, a hundred marks, the service of two stone-cutters for four years, and the tithes of Kirkby and of four other livings.—The foundation stones of the north and south walls were then laid by the same two abbots and the monks of the convent ; when the priests of three neighbouring parishes advanced, and laid the bases of the three columns of the north wall, the first attended by a hundred and four men of his parish, offering their labour for one day in every month ; the second with sixty, and the third with forty-two men, making the same offering, till the work should be completed. The three columns of the south wall were then laid by the priest of Grantham, with two hundred and twenty men, offering ten marks ; and by the priest of Hockam, with his men, presenting twenty quarters of wheat and as many of malt ; and by a third priest, with eighty-four men, offering six marks, two stone-cutters in their own quarry, and the carriage of the stone to Croyland.

Joffred,

Joffred, who had addrested each one as he laid his stone, now having admitted them to the fraternity of the abbey, and, with the benefits of the indulgence, to the participation also of their joint prayers and good works, invited the vast concourse, more than five thousand persons, to dinner. The day passed in hilarity, when the strangers retired, and the great work began. And soon, concludes the historian, the public apartments of the monks were completed, while the church, rising to the clouds, looked down on the neighbouring forest, inviting the traveller to approach^e.

By means like these were those noble structures raised, which, at this time, wealthy, and munificent, and skilful as we are, nations hardly dare attempt. That superstition, as we conceive it, was the animating principle, which planned and accomplished the designs, I am ready to allow; but, by what name shall that reforming zeal be called, which, some hundred years afterwards, could raise the massive hammer, and crumble in the dust the proud materials?

The improvements in *civil* architecture, as the author I first quoted, has remarked, were not less progressive. But we must confine them to the palaces, or ra-

^e Continuat. hist. Ingulph. p. 118.

ther castles, of the nobility; for the buildings of the common people in the towns and country, made of wood and covered with straw or reeds, continued to be mean and comfortless. Every-where castles were raised by the kings and barons, for their defence, as well as residence, particularly under the first kings; and in the reign alone of Stephen, no less than eleven hundred and fifteen. They encumbered the land, lowering oppression and defiance, and were often the seats of rapacity and plunder. In their construction we must not look for elegance, or the display of the finer arts, which decorated the monasteries and churches. Properly, therefore, they come under the description of *military* architecture, and from the few which as yet stand, we may form a just idea of their former strength and structure. They were generally covered with lead, as were the churches, and the narrow windows were glazed, admitting a scanty and enfeebled light. The great hall alone could cheer the welcome stranger, in which the noble landlord sat, encompassed by his friends and retainers, whilst the full bowl went round, and the jocund minstrels swelled the dank air with their songs.

Arms and
armour.

The arts of offensive and defensive war, in the raising and marshalling of armies, in their armour and arms, their shields, spears,

spears, swords, lances, darts, bows, arrows, slings, with the various machines for throwing darts, and stones, and battering walls, in the attack and defence of places, it is unnecessary to exhibit. The foregoing history has sufficiently detailed their use, and marked their rapid progress to great perfection. But the battle of Hastings had clearly evinced the superior skill of the Normans. And here I wish to notice the admirable construction of the armour used in battle, and the ingenuity of the artists, which seems to have risen to uncommon excellence. A suit of armour was made of steel, and consisted of many different pieces, for the several parts of the body, so nicely joined, that the action of the limbs remained free, and their whole strength could be exerted. A knight cased in armour was almost invulnerable; but we may, with reason, be surpris'd that he did not sink under the weight, or that his arm, through a summer's day, could wield a heavy sword or battle-axe. The armour, particularly the helmet, was well tempered, and polished, and sometime gilt. We read also of horses who were fitted with armour.

But the art of working in gold and silver, in the plate and ornaments of churches, seems, from some accounts, to have been carried to greater perfection.

Here the pride and piety of many prelates and abbots urged the work; and zeal even could transfuse its animating glow into the hand of the artist, while it fashioned the sacred implement, or decorated the shrine of some favourite saint. An observation, however, should not be omitted, that the perfection of arts is relative, and that what, at that time, was viewed with wonder, we should cast away with disdain.

Arts of
clothing.

I mentioned the arts of *clothing*, which consist in dressing and spinning wool and flax, and weaving them into linen and woollen cloth, which now also were much improved, owing principally to the many manufacturers, who came over from Flanders. "Leaving their looms," says an ancient writer, "a business familiar and almost peculiar to that people, they landed in shoals amongst us^f." This was in the reign of Stephen; and before that time, and soon after it, colonies of them were settled in South Wales, pursuing their favourite occupation, where their children, at this day, are.—The weavers in the great towns of England were now formed into guilds; and there is a law of 1197, which regulates the fabrication and sale of broad cloth, in which many abuses had been committed: but, in the follow-

^f Gerv. an. 1139.

ing reign, a suspension of the ordinance was obtained.—In a letter of John of Salisbury, I find mention made of three hundred ells of Rhemish linen, presented by a lady to Henry II. *to make him shirts*; which proves that, though linen was then generally worn, the finer articles were held in great estimation: for such, we may presume, was that which was offered to a king.

Silks, though worn by persons of high rank, particularly on solemn occasions, and in general use in the churches, seem not, at this time, to have been manufactured in England. But the art of *embroidery* was much practised by the ladies, especially by the nuns in their convents, in ornamenting the vestments of the priests, and other garments for the service of the altar. The reader will also recollect the splendid mantle of Richard, when he appeared in the plain of Limisso, though that, probably, had been made in Sicily, then famed for its silken manufactures.

As for the *pleasing arts* of sculpture, painting, poetry, and music, though the writers of the age be loud in their praise, and they were pursued with eagerness, yet little excellence had been acquired in them.—The churches, indeed, were crowded with the statues of saints, and the motives of veneration which, in other days,

days, are supposed to have given a peculiar energy to the Grecian artists, when they fashioned the statues of their gods, would now also, by a similar impulse, animate the glowing chisel; but the concurrence of many circumstances, few of which times such as these could possess, is besides necessary to lead the arts to perfection. It must, however, be owned, that their revival, and the degree of excellence to which they rose, after the barbarians of the north had desolated the Roman provinces, were solely ascribable to the superstition, in the dark ages, of the christian converts. A nation of philosophers, or men of cool religion, would erect no magnificent churches, labour no breathing statues; in a word, would not pursue the arts, which, giving a lustre to external piety, tend also to improve and to embellish life.

Painting likewise was much practised, not only on the ceilings of churches, which was common; but in ornamenting the apartments, furniture, and especially the shields, of persons of rank. The subjects, we may presume, were historical. Portrait painting also was followed.—With what taste such works were executed, can only be estimated from the general standard of the age. The rapturous strains of the monkish writers must pass unheeded.—But it is evident, that
they

they well understood how to prepare and combine their colours, as the beautiful *illuminations* of books, which still exist, sufficiently prove.—The art of painting or staining glass, which had been long known on the continent, is thought to have been brought into England in the reign of John.

The *poetry* of the age was written in English, then a harsh and uncultivated tongue, or in Latin, or in *lingua Romana*, the Romance language, at that time, spoken in all the provinces of France. This was used by the Normans, and differed little from the Provençal, which has been termed the daughter of the Latin, and mother of the French. I am dispensed from entering on the subject; so admirably has it been treated by the *Historian of our poetry*. But his eye, penetrating the covering which an uncouth language spread, seems sometimes to have discovered beauties, which are lost to others. All the productions of the age, as far as I have seen, some Latin poems only excepted, are to my apprehension most contemptible. Yet when we reflect, with what ardour the pleasing art was cultivated, how esteemed were its professors, how honoured, and how rewarded, the problem will not be easily solved. To say that their language would not bend to sublime or melodious strains, is to know nothing of the powers of genius,

nus, which, at will, can create language, and embody thought. How rude was the Gallic tongue, when Ossian sang, or that of Iceland, when its Rhythmic odes were written ! Yet in them are the genuine seeds of poetry. But English had been long spoken, and the Romance language, as articulated in Provence, was full and harmonious : still, in the compositions of both countries there was no simplicity, no grandeur of imagery, no boldness of thought, no energy of expression. All is weak, affected, low, laboured, puerile. The character of mind, therefore, was defective, and not the language in which they wrote. Their religion did not elevate : they viewed battles with a cold indifference : and in describing beauty or the concerns of love, they looked to forced conceits only and affected metaphors. What can be so pitiful as the sonnet ascribed to Richard, the royal troubadour, written, it is said, in his captivity ? And his companion and historian, Vinfauf, who even wrote in Latin, was as bad a poet as he. I have not solved the problem ; but I must proceed.

The *music* of the age, we need not doubt, kept pace with its poetry. Both arts, indeed, were generally in the same hands ; for the poets were minstrels, and sang their verses to the music of their harps. They lived in the courts of princes, and in the
castles

castles of the barons, ministering to their vanity, and receiving wealth and honour in return for their songs. The flattering circumstance proves the fashion of the age, and not, as some have fancied, that the minstrels had any claim to real excellence. But in music, as in the other arts, all excellence is relative.—It was of three kinds, sacred, civil, and martial.

The harp, except in the churches, where the organ was used, and in the armies, where they used horns, drums, and trumpets, was the most favourite and admired instrument. Giraldus, the Welsh historian, in describing the music of the times, gives the preference to that of the Irish, the movement of which, he says, was quick and rapid, but soothing and sweet, while the modulation of the English was slow and languid. But it was in music only, he observes malevolently, that the Irish nation had any claim to excellence; and he goes on to describe, with much surprise, their masterly execution on the harp. Scotland then, he says, and wales, emulous of their sister's glory, strove to pursue her steps.—The Irish had two instruments, the harp and the timbrel: the Scots three, the harp, the timbrel, and the bag-pipe; and the Welsh three, the harp, the pib-corn, and the bag-pipe. The Irish harps had generally brass strings. “But at this time,” he concludes,

concludes, "Scotland, in the opinion of many, has left her mistress far behind; and to her they have recourse, as to the source of melody^g."—The same author commends highly the Welsh manner of singing, which appears from its various tones and modulations, to have been very harmonious. The English also, beyond the Humber, and in the neighbourhood of York, he says, excelled in singing, though their songs consisted only of two parts, the deep murmuring bass, and the high and sweet founding treble^h. But the dialect of this same people, observes the monk of Malmesbury, was so harsh and stridulous, as not to be understood by the southern English.

Trade.

I would willingly say something on the *trade* of England, which, though it received a check at the conquest by the prevalence of feudal maxims, soon recovered additional vigour from our French and Flemish connections, would my limits allow it.—The chief seats of trade, as they long had been, were London, Bristol, Exeter, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Dunwich, and the Cinque-ports; and the principal exports were wool and woollen cloths, corn, metals, *slaves*; and the imports were wines, spices, silks,

^g Topograph. Hibern. l. iii. c. 11.

^h Camb. descrip. c. 13.

metals,

metals, furs. The internal trade was in the hands of the natives, and the foreign mostly in the hands of foreigners. The Jews were numerous, as traders and as money-lenders. But on the subject of commerce, however important we may deem it, little is to be collected from the monkish writers.

The same nominal sum of money, a *pound*, a *mark*, a *shilling*, contained nearly *thrice* as much silver, (for gold was not in use,) as the same nominal sum contains at present. To know, therefore, how many of our pounds, marks, or shillings were contained in any sum then mentioned, we must multiply it by three. In a year of plenty, Matthew of Paris observes, a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings, that is, six shillings of our money.

But the *same quantity* of silver was much more valuable than it is now; and that *value* seems most properly estimated in the proportion of five to one: that is, the same quantity of silver, at that time, purchased five times as much of labour, meat or drink, as it would at present. In a great dearth, says Henry of Huntington, a quarter of wheat sold for six shillings, that is, for four pounds ten shillings.

Hitherto I have considered the manners and the general state of the island, as improved and modified by the Norman settlers:

Inter-
course
with
France.

lers: but to the operation of this cause the whole effect must not be confined. At the same time, our intercourse with France, from all its provinces, operated; for we travelled into all, and were connected with all, (various as their manners and tastes were,) in sovereignty, or in trade, or in learning, or in chivalry. But with the whole western coast, a vast district reaching from the British channel to the Pyrenean mountains, our union was most intimate, forming one people by the common ties of interest and dominion. And the French language, with which our ears were familiarised, and which was generally understood, served as a vehicle, whereby the manners and tastes even of the distant provinces were communicated to the island. Our princes, as we observed in duke Richard and others, with their courts and retainers lived on the continent, maintaining an interchange of ideas and maxims, the effects of which would be obvious.—Thence men were called into England to occupy important offices in church and state; for many of our bishops, particularly, were foreigners; and the circumstance would greatly contribute to diffuse their manners.

General
influence
of Rome.

But the reader has witnessed the wonderful influence of a distant court, which reached to this country, and to all the countries

countries of Europe, modifying, in some degree, their manners, and controuling their opinions, in religion, in morals, and in politics. I speak of the Roman court. However, as England was not more exposed to the impresson than other nations, its general effect should be viewed; and this leads me to observe, that, at no time, perhaps, in the history of mankind, were the manners, the ideas, and the character of Europe so similar as at this. I mean, in regard to those people, whose politics I have mentioned.—In Germany, France, Sicily, and England, the governments were feudal: but where this happens, the concomitant familiarity of effects needs not be detailed. On the throne of Sicily even were Norman princes.—The religion also of these kingdoms, and of Europe, was the same; and to all extended the controuling power of Rome.

Rome then, by her agents, and more by the opinion she had been able to impress, of her universal jurisdiction and infallible decisions, could sway, often irresistibly, as we have seen, the whole system of politics and religion. She stood as a centre of union, conveying her energy through a thousand channels, while her emissaries, at a distance, maintained the illusion, and crowds of appellants and candidates flocked to her court, pleading for redress, or imploring patronage. With
what

what readines and alacrity these journeys were performed, the reader has often witnessed, though the roads were bad, and no conveniences of travelling could be found. But as the Romans were a polished people, and the arts and sciences were much cultivated among them, and in the states of Italy, many advantages arose from the intercourse, to balance the abuses of an undue power; and the improvements of Europe and of this country were, in many instances, ascribable to it.

It has been sometimes said that, with the Normans came into this country a system of religious belief, different from what the Saxons had professed, particularly in regard to the prerogative of the Roman bishop. The question is not fairly stated. Our Saxon kings with their bishops were far more bigoted, and more subservient to the will of Rome, than were the princes and clergy of the Norman line; but, at that time, the monstrous theory of papal domination had not been universally disseminated, and christian Europe was more independent and free. It was a few years after the conquest that Gregory VII. the father of ecclesiastical despotism, sat in the chair of St. Peterⁱ. To this circumstance of the

ⁱ Hist. of Abeil. p. 23.

general prevalence of the doctrine, and not to any peculiar attachment of the Normans to the see of Rome, must be ascribed that submission to its mandates, which we often witnessed. We also witnessed their bold resistance, when to obey did not comport with their interest or their humour.

In speaking of the religious notions of the period, a curious subject presents itself, with which they immediately connect, and on which, would my limits permit the discussion, I could enlarge with pleasure. I mean the new monastic institutes. In another work^k, I related the rise and progress of the orders of Cluni and Citeaux, with some others, the latter of which, owing to the great fame of Bernard, rapidly spread through Europe, eclipsing by its austere and holy manners the hard-earned praise of other monks. Into England the Cistercian order was fondly received, and established in many houses, with a princely munificence, during the reign of Henry I. and his immediate successors. But in all things there is fashion. The minds of the founders of orders had, for centuries, been employed in devising new institutes, new dresses, new modes of life; and their contemporaries, as the holy fancy led,

Monastic
instituti-
ons.

^k Hist. of Abeil. p. 105, 179.

warmly

warmly espoused the novel form, and gave their persons and their purses to support it. At no time was this propensity more busily at work than in the dark ages; though the council of Lateran had recently prohibited the invention of new orders. But as one order sprang up, another fell. Wealth, gradually accumulating, destroyed the fervent spirit, which once commanded admiration; men tired of an institute, to which they and their fathers had been long habituated; and when a new order rose, with it crowded on the sight whatever fervorous zeal and unfulfilled purity could present most affecting and awful. Even miracles were thought to speak in its favour.—But in the great variety of orders, which now existed, it might have been imagined, that human invention was exhausted, or that enough, at least, had been done to satisfy the most unbounded curiosity. It was not so; and the reader shall just be permitted to see, how wide a sphere had been left unoccupied.

Francis of
Assisium.

Francis named of Assisium, from the place of his birth, a town in the ecclesiastical states, about the year 1206 founded an order, the character and leading maxims of which, even in an age of prodigies, could excite amazement. He was the son of a merchant, and bred to his father's trade. But particularly constituted

ed, and listening to dreams and visions, his mind opened to other impressions: he despised the money-getting life, solaced the indigent by his charities, made himself a butt of ridicule to his fellow-citizens, and finally surrendered into his father's hands every prospect of future support, stripping off his garments before him, that he might be the better able to repeat, he said, *Our father who art in heaven!* He retired, indulging the warm suggestions of his mind, by the practices of self-abasement, in aiding the sick, begging alms for their relief, and carrying stones on his back for the repair of some fallen churches. As one day he listened to the gospels, he heard the words read: "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat."—"That," he exclaimed, "is the life I wish for;" and he threw aside his shoes, his wallet, his staff, and the little money he had, keeping only one poor coat, with a capuce, such as the shepherds in Italy then wore, girded round with a knotted cord. This became the dress of his followers.

That he should find followers, may appear extraordinary. He had no learning: but in his words there was a great simpli-

city; a gentleness in his manners which attracted; in his conduct a forgiveness of injuries, a patience of insults, a contempt of riches, and a purity which raised admiration, and drew attention round him. He preached, and soon had disciples.— With these, who were eleven in number, having first drawn up a rule founded on the letter of the gospel maxims, he went to Rome, and presented himself before the pontiff. It was the high-minded Innocent. He heard the lowly Francis announce the nature of his institute, which a zeal for the reformation of a vicious age principally animated, and, after some objections made to the practicability of the scheme, approved it.

The rule in its first form, and as afterwards more detailed, besides the three usual vows of *obedience*, *chastity*, and *poverty*, contained injunctions which were peculiar to it. The brothers shall consider themselves as pilgrims and strangers in the world; shall possess no property in lands or any endowments of their houses; shall support themselves by the free contributions of the faithful; but, on no occasion, shall receive money. There is a wonderful spirit of humility, of submission to a ruling providence, of good will to mankind, which pervades this extraordinary code of laws, tinged by no views of party, no self-interest, no hu-
man

man policy. A society of christian philosophers was seen to rise, who by an easy effort, it seemed, could practise the sublime lessons, which the sages of Greece had boastingly delivered to their followers. What an ancient poet said of Zeno, the father of the Stoic school, *esurire docet, et invenit discipulos*, with more propriety might be applied to the holy citizen of Assisium.

Soon he began to found convents, as the fame of his sanctity grew; and as his disciples multiplied, he sent them, with excellent admonitions, into the provinces of Italy, and to distant nations, to preach, to instruct, and to edify.—In 1219 was held a general chapter of the order near Assisium, when more than five thousand brothers appeared in the field. For several days there they remained, sitting and sleeping on the bare earth, while provisions flowed in from the neighbouring towns, and the nobles of the land, and the clergy, with their own hands administered to them.—In this year a colony of them came into England, where being kindly received, they established themselves first in Canterbury, and then in London, under the name of *Grey Friars*. Francis died seven years after this, having witnessed the wonderful spread of his institute, and gained the reputation of a saint by the display of extraordinary virtues.

virtues¹. In an age of less intemperance in religion, miracles and the fancied intervention of peculiar favours from heaven would not have been deemed necessary, to stamp worth and admiration on a character, which, in itself, possessed the purest excellences that fall to the lot of man. But this circumstance, and more than this, the reception which an institute so peculiarly framed met with, serve to manifest the singular taste of the age.

Dominic.

At the same time rose the order of Dominic, a Spaniard of the Gusman family, born in the diocese of Osma. We first read of him with his bishop, in the missions of Languedoc, against the Albigenses. He had studied in the new schools of Valencia, and was well skilled in the controversies of the times. His zeal for the orthodox belief was conspicuous; but it seemed, that his gentle manners and a great benevolence of character would check its too ardent propensities. Dominic also would be the founder of an order; and under him sprang up that of the Dominicans, less austere in its practices than that we have seen, and which soon also multiplied into all the kingdoms of Europe. They came to England with the Franciscans, and were called the *Black Friars*. Under the auspices of

¹ Auctores varii.

Dominic the court of Inquisition took a more regular form, which had before been established in Languedoc. He died five years before St. Francis. Other orders, during this period, were founded: but these were the most conspicuous, and their descendants still subsist.

The crusades must not be forgotten; Crusades. for they also, in return for the treasure and the lives which they consumed, contributed something to the general stock of improvement. But this has been overrated. From the intercourse of so many nations, which the common cause united, and from their mutual collision, advantages, I know, would be derived: and to these, in the last expedition, might be added some acquirements in the art of navigation, and the lessons which the improved state of Sicily would present to the inquisitive and the curious. That there were such men in the holy armies, it is natural to conclude: yet to judge from the best documents, it seems, that they brought little back with them, but the bodies of saints, and tales of strange adventures: and that a vain superstition joined to a horror of those, whom they deemed the enemies of Christ, had so absorbed the common powers of observation and discernment, that they could neither see, nor collect from, the various stores of information, which lay open before

before them. No benefits at least were so prominent, as to have produced any sensible change in the arts of agriculture, trade, or manufactures. I mentioned, in its place, some of the advantages which western Europe derived from the taking of Constantinople.

I am come to the *learning* of the period. Learning. It will be recollected from William of Malmfbury, how low was the state of literature at the Norman accession. We must therefore now look for the dawn of science, however languid and uncertain its first rays may seem. Such is the relation in the general order of things, and such the mental progress, that the whole system together moves, rises, declines, and falls. We have seen what, in various lines, the improvements were. Learning would keep pace with them; for there were similar causes to urge on its progress.

As glory can be obtained from letters, and therefore by encouraging the professors of them, it was natural that our Norman kings, when their establishment was secured, and the ambition of conquest was allayed, should direct their attention to less tumultuary pursuits. The conqueror had been well educated, and he soon became the munificent patron of learned men. They crowded to his court, and diffused around it a spirit of literary

literary improvement, which would spread, in undulating circles, to the nearer and more distant castles of the barons. His son Henry, surnamed *Beau-clerk*, was himself a scholar. And Henry Plantagenet, as we have seen, spent his leisure hours in reading, or in discussing literary questions in a circle of learned men. The example of kings is a powerful incentive; it rouses emulation, and opens the eye to favour and preferment: and where they can reward, interest will give a spur to pursuits.

The intercourse also which England maintained with the continent, opened a channel through which the learning of distant provinces, and of remote kingdoms, but especially of Rome flowed in. We frequented the schools of other kingdoms, particularly those of Bologna and Paris; and we numbered among our bishops and leading clergy, such as Robert de Melun, Stephen Langton, and many others, men who had been eminent professors there. But the increase of monasteries, in this period, was the principal cause of the increase of knowledge. They added to the number of teachers and students; and multiplied the inducements to pursue, and the opportunities to acquire knowledge, by making books more common and more attainable than they had been. Every convent was a school,
wherein

wherein the several parts of science were taught: every convent had a library, and its monks were employed in transcribing books: and the government of every convent, to which a considerable degree of power and dignity was annexed, was often bestowed on men, whom peculiar endowments recommended to the office. But there is an obligation due to them, which no time can cancel. They preserved the valuable remains of Grecian and Roman literature, without which, who can say, that Europe, at this day, would not have been involved in the shades of barbarism?

Notwithstanding these inducements, the progress in science was slow; it was confined, in a great measure, to the monks and clergy, while the barons and the laity, engaged in other pursuits, left the path of literature almost exclusively open to them; the subjects of enquiry were ill-selected; the modes of education were not calculated to diffuse improvement; and the general taste was bad. It is less difficult to implant on a new people the seeds of genuine science which shall fructify, than to reform what has been vitiated.

What was the state of learning in this country, may be applied, with little variation, to others. For now, by the intercourse, I have mentioned, which exchanged

changed and communicated what before might be deemed peculiar to each, in the arts or sciences, an uniformity prevailed, and almost a common measure of improvement. So, to judge from the literary productions of the period, we must pronounce, wherein can be discovered no superior excellence of nation over nation, than what occurs in comparing the several compositions of the same people. They all wrote in the same language, which was Latin; and all drew from the same sources, from the ancients servilely imitated, from the suggestions of a weak superstition, from received opinions which no criticism had discussed, and from nature neither studied nor understood.

The parts of learning which England, and other countries, cultivated, were grammar, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, physics, ethics, scholastic divinity, the canon law, the civil law, the common law, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, and medicine.

As already, in another work, ^m I have treated this subject, and some of the branches were so imperfectly understood as to merit no attention, I shall conceive myself dispensed from the discussion of each separate article.

^m Hist. of Abeil. passim.

Grammar. The study of *grammar* seems to have been almost exclusively confined to the Latin tongue, which was the language of the learned in their writings and even in their conversation, of men of business in their correspondence, of the church in her service, and of the church's pastors in their synods, and sometimes, it seems, even in their instructions to the people. Many of our bishops and clergy, natives of France and Italy, knew nothing of the vulgar tongue of the realm. The colloquial Latin of the period was in many; we may presume, neither impure nor inelegant, to judge from the specimens, which our historians have recorded, but more from their familiar correspondence. Herein are frequent quotations from the best classical writers, and their style and manner are sometimes imitated with success. But, on the whole, their language is unclassical, written with little ease, and with evident marks of a bad education and a vicious taste. Yet how beautiful is this opening of a letter from John of Salisbury to his primate "Ex quo partes attingi Cismarinas, visus sum mihi sensisse lenioris auræ temperiem, et detumescentibus procellis tempestatum, cum gaudio miratus sum rerum ubique copiam, quietemque et lætitiâ populorum." John was the most elegant writer of the age. But in
the

the primate's letters all is harsh, technical, and disgusting from the unceasing use of scriptural phraseology. And this phraseology even their historians often copied. Latin therefore may be considered as, at that time, almost a living language; whence we are authorized to pronounce, from the character it bore, what were the *grammatical* purity and the classical taste of the age.

Rhetoric, or the art of speaking elo- Rhetoric.
quently, kept pace with their grammar. Indeed, there must ever be in both the same proportion of excellence. I have met with some examples of their eloquence, that would do honour to any age; but with more that would disgrace the rustic orators of a mob. The reader will recollect the address of the Earl of Arundel, spoken in English or in the French tongue, before the pontiff and the Roman cardinals at Sens; also that of Becket, on the same occasion; and several other speeches, in which were the elements of genuine oratory. In all of them I strove to retain the real character of the originals. But this, I apprehend, is not the point in question; for the tongue of the unlettered savage becomes eloquent, when the heart dictates to its utterance. Here is properly meant that factitious elocution, which the schools
taught

taught agreeably to the definitions and rules of rhetoric. I have said what its character was.

Logic, metaphysics, physics, ethics, I shall only repeat the *first*, pretending to follow the rules of Aristotle, who now came into general vogue, degenerated into a wretched sophistry, replete with quibbles and trifling subtilities, yet that it engrossed the attention of the studious and inquisitive, as was seen in Abeilard and the sophists of the age: that the *second*, consisting of similar speculations on entity, spirit, matter, substance, accidents, occult qualities, and substantial forms, had no pretensions to the notice of men, whose minds could have appreciated what is really valuable in human pursuits: that the *third*, (as we may collect from Giraldus Cambrensis, who was sent by his sovereign to survey, as a philosopher, the productions and face of Ireland, and from innumerable other instances,) however much studied, contributed nothing to the real knowledge of nature, or benefit of human life; and that the *fourth*, amused with the theory of ideal duties, tended not to enlighten the mind, to amend the heart, or to regulate the morals, by shewing the foundation of their obligations, or by illustrating the nature, limits, and motives, of

of the various duties of men and citizens.

But *scholastic divinity* now assumed a Scholastic divinity. more regular form ; and as this form was immediately adopted into the schools of England and of Europe, and still continues to prevail in many foreign seminaries, it becomes proper to observe that Peter, called Lombardus from the country of his birth, archbishop of Paris, and who died about the year 1160, was its father. His most honourable appellation is that of the *master of sentences*, the title of the work he published, exhibiting passages from the ancient fathers, the apparent contradictions of which he strives to conciliate. It contains an entire body of theology, in four books, and each book is divided into many *distinctions*. The first treats of the Trinity, and its attributes : the second of the creation, first of angels, then of the work of the six days, of man and his fall, of grace and free will, of original and actual sin : the third of the incarnation, of faith, hope, and charity, of the gifts of the holy spirit, and of the commandments : and the fourth of the sacraments in general and particular, of purgatory, the resurrection, the last judgment, and the state of the blessed. The author, as I observed, does little else than string together quotations from the fathers, interspersing a thousand
ridiculous

ridiculous and unimportant questions, as to us they seem, supported by weak opinions and passages from the scriptures figuratively interpreted. He disapproved much, it is said, of the application which Peter Abeilard and other masters had made of the rules of Aristotle to the doctrines of revelation, and therefore brought forward the authorities rather of the fathers, on which to build the system of christian belief. His work was received with great applause; and for ages, in the schools of theology, the book of *sentences* became the only text which was read and explained to scholars. Two hundred and forty-four authors, many of the ablest divines of their respective periods, wrote commentaries on the *sentences*. Even I find one hundred and sixty in the single list of English commentators. But *the master* was not deemed infallible, not being followed in twenty-six articles; and one proposition which he taught, that *Christ, as man, is not something* (*non est aliquid.*) was censured by Alexander III. Even Walter of St. Victor dared, soon after his death, to rank him with the four sophists, whom he styles the *labyrinths* of France.ⁿ

Canon
and civil
law. The *canon law*, likewise, a few years before this, had been much extended in its general application, and soon engaged

ⁿ Fleury t. xv. p. 65, 475.

the attention of churchmen. In 1151, Gratian a monk of Bologna, published his *Decretum*, a collection of the opinions, decrees, and canons, of fathers, doctors, popes, and councils. There was no accuracy used in the selection of these documents, and modern criticism has demonstrated their multifarious errors. Compilations of the same nature had before been made, particularly by Isidore in the eighth century, who pretended to have discovered the decrees of sixty early popes, and the canons of ancient councils, nearly all of which are now known to have been forgeries. These Gratian inserted in his *Decretum*. The monstrous compilation, from the approbation it received at Rome, soon obtained an unbounded authority; it was read in all the schools, and became the law of the church. It was on the spurious authority of this work, and of those which had preceded it, that were founded the pretensions of the Roman bishops to universal monarchy, the rise and extension of which I carefully noticed°.

About the same time, the study of the Roman or *civil law* was revived on the continent, and soon introduced into England. Bologna was the great seminary; and it was the discovery of a copy of the

° Idem passim et alii.

Pandects of Justinian, whose Code, Novellæ, and Institutes had been long read and explained, that is supposed to have given a new ardour to the pursuit. But unfortunately the canon and civil laws were permitted to coalesce into one system. They seemed to afford a mutual support to each other; the professors of both were the same; and he who would rise in the church became a civilian and canonist. Had they been kept separate, the weak pretensions of churchmen to the partial countenance of the state would not have been encouraged; their own laws when found incompatible, as many of them were, with the good of the community, would have sunk; and we should not have beheld state religions still standing on their sandy basis.

Ranulph de Glanville, a name often mentioned, chief justiciary under Henry II. published in his reign, or caused to be published, a collection of the *laws and customs* of England. This is the most ancient of our law books extant.—But a circumstance is recorded by Peter of Blois, speaking of archbishop Theobald, which shews the attention which was given to the study of the laws. “In the house of my master,” he says, “are several learned men, famous for their knowledge of law and politics, who spend the hours between prayers and dinner, in lecturing

lecturing, disputing, and debating causes. To us all the knotty questions of the kingdom are referred, which are produced in the common hall, and each one in his order, having first prepared himself, declares, with all the eloquence and acuteness in his power, but without wrangling, what is wisest and safest to be done. And if God suggests the best opinion to the youngest amongst us, we agree to it without envy or detraction^p.”

On arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, and medicine, the state of which was very imperfect, little can be said, if we except astrology, of all the most idle and fallacious, but which by an ignorant and superstitious people would be ardently pursued. Many predictions, from the face of the heavens, are recorded in the historians; and the science, though vain in itself, might help to diffuse some knowledge of the solar system, of the situation of the planets, and their revolutions.

The principal seats of learning in Eng-^{Oxford.}land were Oxford and Cambridge, not yet styled *Universities*.—Oxford, which our old writers call Oxenford, whatever may have been its higher antiquity, had Alfred for its regular founder. But from the Danes it suffered much, and from the Normans; nor till the reign of Hen-

^p Pet. Bles. ep. 6.

ry I. who built a palace there in which he sometimes resided, had it risen to any eminence. By Stephen again it was destroyed, and its teachers and scholars dispersed; when the son of Matilda, as the phoenix rose from her ashes, gave his patronage and support; and under Richard, whose birth-place it was, the splendour of Oxford, in its buildings and learned teachers, grew, and it could rival the proud seminaries of Paris and Bologna. Again, in the reign of John, an accidental tumult, a disaster happened, occasioned another dispersion of the professors and scholars. To the number of three thousand they abandoned the place, and retired to Reading and other towns. Soon however, through the powerful mediation of a Roman legate, they returned in greater numbers, and from this time Oxford flourished with increasing glory^q.

Cam-
bridge.

Cambridge seems still to have suffered more from the ravages of the Danes, and the insults of the Normans, and to have lain longer in neglect and obscurity. In 1109, when Henry I. was on the throne, it revived, and circumstances of the event are distinctly marked by Peter of Blois, a name I have often mentioned. Joffred, abbot of Croyland, intending to rebuild his monastery, as I related, sent master

q Auctores varii passim.

Gislebert with three other monks to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge. They were able scholars, skilled in philosophical theorems and other primitive sciences. Every day they went to Cambridge, and having hired a barn gave public lectures. Soon the barn could not contain the great concourse of scholars, when they separated into different parts of the town; and brother Odo, an excellent grammarian and satirist, read grammar, early in the morning, to the boys and younger students, according to Priscian and Remigius his commentator. At one o'clock, brother Terricus, an acute sophist, read Aristotle's Logics to the elder sort, according to the commentaries of Porphyry and Averroes. At three, brother William gave lectures on Tully's rhetoric and Quintilian's institutions. While master Gislebert, who, I should have said, was professor of theology, not understanding English, but very expert in the Latin and French languages, preached to the people on Sundays and holidays. Why the circumstance of master Gislebert's not being understood by the people, qualified him for a preacher, is not explained. "Thus," concludes the historian, "from this small source, which has swelled into a great river; we now behold the city of God made glad, and all England rendered fruitful, by many

teachers and doctors iffuing from Cambridge, as from a moft holy paradise^r." This was written before the end of the fame century; but during the war between John and his barons, a few years afterwards, Cambridge was taken and plundered by both parties. It foon recovered.

There were alfo fchools annexed to the *cathedrals*, under the immediate infpection of the bifhops, in their instructions principally calculated for thofe who were defigned for the church.—We read of eminent teachers in thefe fchools, who were called the *ſcholastics of the dioceſe*.—I have mentioned the *conventual* fchools, which were numerous, and which widely ſpread the love of ſcience. Thus does Alexander Necham, in the twelfth century, in lines not inelegant addreſſed to the abbot of Glouceſter, ſpeak of the abbey-fchool of St. Alban's, where he had been educated, and of its ſtudies.

Quod ſi forte fores claudat tibi Clauſtria, clauſtrum
Martyris Albani fit tibi tuta quies.

Hic locus ætatis noſtræ primordia novit,
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.

Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuat annos
Artibus, et noſtræ laudis origo fuit.

Hic artes didici, docuique fideliter; inde
Accellit ſtudio lectio ſacra meo.

Audivi canones, Hipocratem cum Galieno,
Jus civile mihi diſplicuiſſe neges.

^r Continuat. Hiſt. Ingulph. an. 1109.

That in the chief cities and towns were other schools instituted, can be collected from our historians, particularly in London.

But Paris, unquestionably, was the most celebrated seat of learning, to which all resorted, at least to complete their studies, whom great talents rendered conspicuous or the love of literary fame inspired. John of Salisbury flying from his country, in the following words describes the majesty of Paris: “Ubi cum viderem victualium copiam, lætitiæ populi, reverentiam cleri, et totius ecclesiæ majestatem et gloriam, et varias occupationes philosophantium admiratus coactus sum profiteri; *felix exilium, cui locus iste datur!*”^s

Paris and
Bologna.

Bologna was little less illustrious, where the study of the Roman law had been revived; but which, after the publication of the *Decretum*, was still more frequented. Arnulph of Lisieux was there; and from that source, I observed, Becket drew those maxims, which other churchmen universally adopted, and in the defence of which he died.

So numerous, as I have described them, in this and other countries, were the schools and seminaries of learning. To what cause then was the ignorance of the

^s Ep. 24.

age owing? Not to any want of opportunities in schools or masters, as is obvious.

But in the laity of the higher orders, extreme dissipation in war, in rural diversions, and domestic riots, averted the mind from every serious pursuit; and in the lower ranks, habits of idleness, or the depression of servitude, perpetuated the evil. The clergy only and the monks were not inattentive to improvement: even they pursued science, in all its branches, with an ardour unknown to other times. But I have said what that science was, how imperfect were the views they entertained of it, and how rude the taste which directed every measure of attainment. With half their toil, how vast comparatively are the heights we ascend! But the time will be, when posterity shall look back on our proud achievements, and smiling at our insufficiency, shall pity us.

General
view of
learned
men.

Here would be the place for an account of those eminent men, whose labours served, at least, to keep alive the expiring lamp of science, and for the analysis of their works. But to the biographer does the first rather belong; and the review of works, which have little in them to amuse, would by many be deemed nugatory.— From the conquest to the end of the period I have described, I find a list of about a hundred and forty writers on various subjects,

subjects, most of whom were monks, and none of whom were laymen.—France, at the same time, and other countries, were equally prolific. They wrote commentaries on the scriptures, full of allegories and whimsical allusions; tracts on religion and the moral duties, which had little tendency to develope or to enforce the obligations of either; and histories of the lives of saints and of their miracles, which to us only prove that they knew little of the mechanical powers of nature, and that their credulity was unbounded. I shall elsewhere enumerate our principal historians, and state their respective merits.*

The most curious work of the age is the *Polycraticon* of John of Salisbury, (or *de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*,) dedicated to Thomas a Becket, while chancellor of England. Herein, with much accuracy, he describes the manners of the great, and with freedom censures their amusements, their want of science, and their unprofitable waste of time.—With equal boldness he speaks of churchmen and of the monks, blaming their ambition and their departure from primitive discipline. When, some years back, I read the *Polycraticon*, it seemed, I thought, to mark great erudition, being

The Poly-
craticon.

* See the Preface.

replete with citations from the best classical writers; but it was an erudition not well digested, which a sound judgment did not always guide, and the expression of which was often loose and affected. It has also been observed, that the author not unfrequently loses sight of his own times, describing manners and customs which belonged to the Romans, and not to the inhabitants of Britain in the twelfth century. Notwithstanding these imperfections, the *Polycraticon* is a valuable monument of the literature of the age in which it was written, and of the virtue, the good sense, and the learning of its author.—To the same munificent patron he addressed another work, entitled *Metalogicon*, which is a defence of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, as then taught by the ablest masters, whom he enumerates, and which may be considered as containing the best account of the state of those sciences.

Conclu-
sion.

It is time to close this *view*, which might yet be widely extended; would my limits permit it. But enough, I hope, has been said, to fix the general outline, and to throw light, where it was necessary, on the preceding history. The age, I own, was dark; but it was a darkness arising from the obvious state of things. More light would have led into more error. As it was, the great system became gradually

gradually unfolded; effect arose from cause, uniformly and progressively operating; and success and stability were ensured. Besides, the mind that divests itself of modern habits and modern prejudices, and goes back with some good temper into the times, I have described, will discover virtue that it may imitate, learning that it may admire, maxims that it may copy. The man is unequitable, who, possessing but one standard, measures by it all the characters and events of other days, and on their correspondence with it pronounces. It was my wish to be more just.

APPEN-

A P P E N D I X II.

ON LORD LYTTLETON'S CHARGES AGAINST BECKET AND ALEX- ANDER III. DRAWN FROM THE COTTONIAN MS.

His lordship's first charges.—The question stated.—A remarkable circumstance.—Baronius vindicated.—Also Christianus Lupus.—The case of the Cottonian MS.—Foliot's letter examined.—And rejected as spurious. It's further contents.—His lordship's charge against Alexander III.—The fact stated.—And the charge proved to be groundless.—Conclusion.

THEY who have read the elaborate *History of the Life of King Henry II.* by George Lord Lyttleton, will have observed, perhaps, with some surprize, how much, on many occasions, our views have varied. And this, I believe, may be accounted for. But it is in delineat-
ing

ing the character of Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, that we have been most discordant, and in stating certain parts of his conduct. Here we drew from different sources: the noble lord, from a letter of Foliot, bishop of London, extant in the Cottonian collection of MSS; and I, from the writers of the primate's life, and the historians of the age. The authority of these he disregarded; and I, with as little ceremony, disregarded the letter of Gilbert Foliot. It becomes me now to say, why I did so; as also to state other matters, which are immediately connected with it. An extract from his lordship's history will fully enounce the subject. Having stated the behaviour of the primate at Clarendon, which he represents as highly censurable, and even as impious, the noble historian observes:^a

His lordship's first charges.

“ In my relation of this transaction there are some particulars of great importance, which differ from *all the accounts* that have been hitherto given by other writers: but they are founded upon the most *unquestionable authority*, upon a letter written by Gilbert Foliot, then bishop of London, to Becket himself, during his exile, concerning this matter. I have before made some use of other passages in this letter, which, among

^a Vol. ii. p. 357.

many

many other epistles to and from the archbishop, has been preserved in a manuscript, which appears to be of that age, in the most valuable collection of our English antiquities, the Cotton library. A very strong presumptive proof of the truth of the facts attested there, relating to Becket's behaviour, and that of the other bishops in the council of Clarendon, is their remaining uncontradicted by the primate himself, who, if he had not been silenced by the testimony of his own conscience, must have loudly complained of such a misrepresentation, capable of being disproved by all his brethren then present, to whom he might have appealed against the calumny invented by Foliot. But he never answered this letter.—It must also be observed, that Baronius, who, in writing of these times, has transcribed several letters out of the Vatican manuscript of the same collection, and particularly that to which this appears to be an answer, has *omitted* to transcribe or mention this: and (what is no less remarkable) in the printed edition made at Bruffels, from the Vatican manuscript, this is also *left out*. By which *suppression of evidence*, upon a point so important to the character of one of their greatest saints, we may judge of the *credit due to the clergy of that church in ecclesiastical history.*”

To

To repel these three charges, which no laudable spirit dictated, shall be my first care. I will then shew, that the boasted epistle of Foliot, is not entitled to the smallest credit, which should weigh on the mind of the impartial and temperate historian.—Could I call the noble writer from his tomb, over which science and the muses have not yet ceased to weep, I would do it most willingly, and with him freely enter on a discussion, to which his name alone has given importance. I should convince him, I think, that he erred. And may not the voice of truth even pierce beyond the grave, and cheer the departed spirits of the wise and good!

The ques-
tion stated.

While the primate was at Pontigny, in 1166, meditating censures against the king and the suffragan bishops of his diocese, he received a letter from them^b; to which he replied^c. But suspecting from the stile and character of the address, that it was written by Foliot, (which he more than insinuates in this reply,) he also wrote, in great warmth and irritation, another letter to the bishop himself^d, justifying his own conduct, and replying more amply to the charges, which the letter of the suffragans had urged. Foliot answered; and this answer is the important document, which his lordship has

^b P. 168.

^c P. 170.

^d P. 175.

brought

brought to light, which he stiles a *most unquestionable authority*, building on it the unfavourable representation he has drawn of the primate's character, though some particulars, he owns, differ from *all the accounts* that other writers had given. Nor is he satisfied himself to possess the treasure, he had found. He brings a weighty charge against all the historians of a church, hitherto peculiarly noted as ecclesiastical writers, singling out two in particular, and imputing to them (what, if true, would blast the fairest fame,) a wilful *suppression of evidence*.

There are extant in many libraries, in this country and abroad, various manuscript collections of the letters which were written, during the controversy between Henry II. and Becket. So much had it interested the general attention of Europe. But fortunately my enquiries, by the circumstances of the present question, have been confined to the Vatican library in Rome, and to that of Sir Robert Cotton, preserved in the British museum. The kind labour of two gentlemen, to whom I feel myself much indebted, has, from both those quarters, supplied me with every necessary information.

The library of the Vatican palace possesses, besides six volumes in MS. of inferior note which have reference to the subject, three of distinguished eminence,

to

to which modern writers, on the ecclesiastical events of the twelfth century, have sometimes had recourse. The numbers are 1220, 6024, 6027. But the last is an exact copy, with a few emendations, of 1220, taken in the fifteenth century. The dates of the other two which are originals, but which vary much in the matter they contain, and in their general arrangement, are not clearly ascertained, though they seem coeval with, or not very distant from, the events therein related, and the noble personages, whose correspondence they record. They bear those characters, which the antiquary understands. But as No. 6024 contains much extraneous matter, such as the letters of popes who preceded the controversy, I shall confine myself to No. 1220, and this from another motive, which will soon appear.

This MS. (after recording the life of Becket, which has been denominated the *Historia Quadripartita*, from its having been compiled by four different contemporary writers) opens with the various correspondence of those, who were concerned in the controversy. The letters are drawn from five distinct periods which divide the time of the dispute, forming five books, and are in number 529. In the first book, the 126th letter, *Quæ vestro, Pater, in longinqua discessu*, is from the suffragan
bishops

bishops to the primate: to which, his answer, *Fraternitatis vestræ scriptum*, the 127th letter, immediately succeeds. This should be followed by the other letter, on the same subject, which the primate then addressed to Gilbert Foliot, *Mirandum et vehementer stupendum*; but, by a preposterous arrangement, it is misplaced, being the 108th letter of the same book.—The order of time, in regard to other parts of the correspondence also, has been little attended to: but when letters are without dates, as are most in this collection, it demands great attention to give to each its proper place.—We must now look for Foliot's reply, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*, to the last letter of the primate, and which the noble lord has extracted from the Cottonian MS.

In no part of the whole Vatican collection of MSS. does it exist.

But there is a circumstance regarding it, which must not be suppressed.—To the manuscript is prefixed a double *Index*, the first of which contains the titles of the letters of the first and second books: and the second is the *Index* to the first book only. In this second *Index*, the letter of Foliot, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*, is twice set down, once after the primate's address to him, *mirandum & vehementer stupendum*, which is its proper place, and a second time, after the

A remarkable circumstance.

letter of Becket to the suffragans of Canterbury, *fraternitatis vestrae scriptum*.—Notwithstanding this cautious reference, it is not to be found in the body of the collection, in either of the pages to which it is referred, or in any other part of the work. Nor yet has the omission caused any chasm or defect in the pages, which proceed in a regular and uniform order. The collector, therefore, of the letters, knew of the epistle of Foliot; or he had before him, at least, an *Index* which he copied, and which exhibited its title, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*. They are the first words of the letter. Why then did he not transcribe it into the body of his work?—Undoubtedly, he had it not. And this will be more easily admitted, when it is known, that the same *Index* contains the titles of other letters, for the omission of which there could be no motives, which are not to be found in the body of the collection. Only in the fifth part, do the table of contents and the subsequent book exactly tally. Sometimes the *Index* exceeds, and sometimes the body of the work. And this, I believe, is often the case in many manuscript collections. I wish also to observe, that in No. 6024 are many letters, which the MS. I have just examined, does not contain, and *vice versa*. Who the collector of either was, does not appear

pear, though some writers have ascribed No. 1220 to the care of the honest and learned John of Salisbury. For this opinion there is no authority.—In a letter to cardinal Gratian, after the reconciliation with his master, Becket writes thus: “I send you the letters regarding our disputes, which have come to my hands, that if any copies should be wanting, they may be supplied from them.” It appears, therefore, that the collection was made very early.

The Vatican library then gives us nothing, but the mere *title* of Gilbert Foliot’s letter twice repeated.—And shall Baronius be charged with the *suppression of evidence*, as the noble lord asserted, because in writing of those times, and transcribing letters from the Vatican, he omitted to mention that of Foliot? Or shall the same crime be imputed to the Brussels editor of the letters, who was admitted to the MSS of the Vatican? Or through them, shall the whole clergy of the Catholic church, as ecclesiastical writers, be wantonly traduced?

Baronius used No. 1220, as a note affixed to the general catalogue of the library declares. But could he thence transcribe a letter, which the manuscript itself did not contain? Or was the circumstance of the *Index*, which positively he never saw, of sufficient authority to

Baronius
vindicated.

induce him to make further researches into the libraries of Europe? Baronius was a writer of history, and not a compiler of MSS. Besides, in no part of the voluminous collection, he had before him, is it even hinted that such a letter had been written by Foliot, I mean, in the whole body of the five books. How unjustly has the venerable cardinal been accused!

Also
Christianus
Lupus.

Christianus Lupus (Wolf,) the editor of the printed collection of letters, published at Bruffels, in 1682, copied No. 6027 of the Vatican, which itself, as before observed, is a transcript of No. 1220. But No. 6027 does not even contain the double *Index* of 1220, and consequently not the smallest reference to Foliot's letter. The transcriber of the MS discovered the error of the *Index*; and Lupus copied him. Can this be termed a culpable *omission*?

The reflection on our ecclesiastical writers I dismiss, as too narrow and malevolent, to merit a moment's thought.

In the library of the Lambeth palace, is likewise a manuscript collection of the same letters, in number 360, which I had the liberty to examine, and which bears all the marks of antiquity. But the letter of Foliot is not there, though it contains that of the suffragans, and the two replies of the primate.

We

We must then recur to the Cottonian The case of the Cottonian MS. collection. Here, I acknowledge, the letter is, and it seems to be authentic. It is equally so with the MS itself, which contains 562 letters, and though without date, appears to be ancient. The division of the books, and the arrangement of materials, correspond, with very little variation, with No. 1220 of the Vatican. How far the contents themselves correspond, I cannot say; but as there are 33 more letters in this MS, than in that of Rome, some difference there must be, and the circumstance proves that they are not copies from one another. Why a particular letter should be here, that is not in other collections, might be made a question, if all the MSS were not known to vary. But besides the letter of Foliot, the omission of 32 other letters is to be accounted for, which are not in the Vatican collection.

I dare assert, from the silence of Becket, and of John of Salisbury, and of others, who would not have shrunk from the discussion, that the letter of Foliot never came to the primate's hands. It contains nothing, but what, with ease, they could have refuted, as they did the similar charges in the address of the suffragans. But if the letter (from what motives I pretend not to fathom, unless from a consciousness in the writer, that it

was

was palpably libellous) was never sent to Becket, its not having found its way into the Vatican collection, must cease to raise surprize. Still it was written; might be preserved by the author; or be circulated amongst his friends, and surviving him and them, would be admitted into future collections, particularly into such as should be made at home. But whether it exists in any other, than the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, I know not; though from the silence of the noble historian, who made the enquiry, the negative may be fairly presumed.

Foliot's
letter ex-
amined.

Being thus in possession of the letter, its *authority*, which his lordship terms *unquestionable*, remains to be examined. Yet it differs, he owns, *in some particulars of great importance*, from *all accounts* before given by other writers; but even then, he elsewhere contends,^g its authority is paramount; and "therefore that, whatever is said by any of those writers, inconsistent therewith, deserves no credit." Yet Foliot, after all, was a fallible man; Foliot had no senses whereby to judge, than what others possessed; and Foliot was the primate's enemy.

The reader will obligingly revert to the letter of the suffragans and its charges,^h and to Becket's double replyⁱ. Thereby

^g Vol. iv. p. 145.

^h P. 168.

ⁱ P. 170, 175.

he will be competent to form a better judgment of Foliot's letter, of which the noble lord has given us a corrected copy; and my correspondent has supplied me with another. The whole is far too voluminous to be inserted; nor would it, perhaps, be read.

I. After having complained, that the primate had singled him out, on whom to vent his passion, Foliot proceeds to exculpate himself from the charge of having ambitioned the see of Canterbury. This he does in a solemn manner. He then details the circumstances of Becket's own promotion, which he represents as most uncanonical, having been effected, contrary to the wishes of all good men, by the menaces and peremptory mandate of the king. He retorts on him the charge of ambition. "Who does not know," he says, "that you obtained the post of chancellor by the means of many thousand marks, and advancing, with that gale, into the port of Canterbury, you finally reached to its see:" on which, he afterwards observes, all the eyes of his heart had been cast, and to occupy which, when Theobald expired, he had hurried from the Norman coast into England.— Yet what deserts, or merit of character, he says, had he to plead? He then laments the church's liberty, which, by the violence of his election, had received
a mortal

a mortal stab ; speaks of his own and his brethren's weakness, who had given way to the commands of the king ; and confesses, that what the church and they had since suffered, was a just judgment, which he and others, by a secret impulse of the holy spirit, had, at that time, presaged.

This charge, which Foliot dilates, had been brought by the suffragans, and to it the primate had given two explicit replies, referring the bishops to their own consciences, and to the facts which attended his election, known to the court of the young king, and to all who were present. On the faith of many contemporary historians, I stated the other leading circumstances. But John of Salisbury, a name which, at any time, must carry as great weight as that of Foliot, has himself, in examining the letter of the suffragans, refuted this very charge. He writes to Becket. "The bishop of London," he observes, "as is known to all men, was the first author of the schism, and prompted by the ambition of *archepiscopising*, as many suspected, he moved and fomented the discord." "Nor do I heed the lies," he goes on, "which he dared to advance concerning your election, for I was myself present, and heard, and saw. *He alone* was not pleased with your promotion, having himself, as it then evidently appeared, and does appear, aspired

aspired to the dignity of your see. But his opposition soon ceased, while many arraigned his ambition and his insolence. —Whatever, therefore, might be the thoughts of his mind, of which God is the judge, he was amongst the first who voted for you, and his applause, when, it was ended, was almost the most strongly marked^k.”—Whether Becket paid many thousand marks to be made chancellor, I know not. But it seems not probable; and the fact, if true, reflects disgrace on the king.

2. Foliot portrays, in charming colours, the prosperous condition of the church and state, from the time of the king's accession, when, on the promotion of Becket, a sad reverse ensued. Strife rose on strife, he says, which a prudent conduct might have checked, and that led the way to the measure, which the king adopted, of collecting and enforcing the royal customs. “The observance of which,” he proceeds, “when required from me and the suffragan bishops of your see, because in some of them the liberty of the church of God seemed to be oppressed, we refused our assent, unless to those things, which, saving the honour of God and our own order, could be complied with. The king demanded

^k Ed. Bruxel. l. i. ep. 161.

our absolute submission. But, by no means, could that be obtained from us, which was adverse to the liberty of the church and the fealty due to our lord the pope. On this account, assemblies were summoned, councils were convoked.— What was done at London, and again at Oxford, it is needless to repeat. But the transactions of *Clarendon* I will bring to your recollection, where, *for three successive days*, the whole business was, to draw from us an absolute promise of submitting to the customs and dignities of the realm. For there we stood with you, whom we deemed to stand firm in the spirit of God. We stood immovable, we stood unabashed, we stood to the ruin of our fortunes, to the torture of our bodies, to submit to exile, even to meet the sword, should the Lord so permit. What father had ever children more concordant with his wishes? More unanimous? *We were all shut up in one room.* But on the *third day*, when the great men and the nobles of the land were enraged to madness, suddenly we heard an alarm; and entering *our chamber*, without their cloaks, and with threatening arms, they thus addressed us; “Hear, you who despise the statutes of the realm, who refuse the orders of your sovereign. These hands, these arms, these bodies which you behold, are not ours: they are the king’s,

king's, at this instant, ready to be employed to avenge his injuries, as his will, or even his nod, shall direct. Whatever his command may be, we shal' deem it most just. Be again advised; comply, while you may, that you may escape a danger, which soon will be inevitable."—

“What now was done? Who fled? Who turned his back? Whose courage sank? Your letter reproaches, that, in the day of battle, we retreated; that we did not advance against the enemy; that we did not oppose ourselves, as a rampart, before the house of God. Let him judge between us: let him judge, for whose sake we stood; for whose sake, we were not bent by the menaces of the great: let him judge, who fled, who was the deserter. Surely, that noble and resolute man, Henry of Winchester, stood firm, and Nigel of Ely, and Robert of Lincoln, and Hilary of Chichester, and Jocelin of Salisbury, and Bartholomew of Exeter, and Richard of Chester, and Roger of Worcester, and Robert of Hereford, and Gilbert of London. But a precursor still was wanting. They therefore, esteeming worldly things as filth for Christ and the church, exposed themselves and what was theirs. Let truth be spoken: let that be presented before the sun, which was done in our presence, and under our eyes.—

The general of the army turned his back; the

the leader of the field fled. My lord of Canterbury, *withdrawing from the society and the deliberation of his brethren*, and conferring some time *apart*, returned soon to us, and abruptly spoke thus:—*It is my master's will that I forswear myself; and I now submit to it, and incur perjury, afterwards to do penance, as I shall be able.*—At the words we stood amazed, and with eyes fixed on one another, sighing we lamented the fall of a man, whose virtue and firmness we had been taught to admire. With the Lord there is no yea and no; and we had hoped that his disciple could not have been thus shaken. When the head languishes, soon does the evil reach the other members. He complying with the demand, and on the word of truth promising, without reserve, faithfully to obey in future the royal dignities and the ancient customs of the realm, by the recollection of the oldest men publicly brought forward and committed to writing, then, in virtue of obedience, commanded us to bind ourselves by a similar obligation. Thus did strife cease, and concord was restored to the priesthood and the state.”

Such is the account of this extraordinary transaction, delivered in a pomp of words, to which the candour of honest truth is little used. But the historians of the age, some of whom, Roger Hoveden
and

and Radulphus de Diceto, were, probably, from their situation, present on the occasion, have told another story, which, hardly in a single instance, accords with this. I refer the reader to my own statement of the event¹.—Nor is it even alluded to in the whole collection of letters, many of which bear reference to the transactions of Clarendon, written some of them by men who condemned the general conduct of the primate. All historians, all writers who recorded the events of the day, and what incidents had preceded it, uniformly speak of the *defection* of the bishops, and of the *firmness* of Becket. The instance in the council of his complying with the king's demands, I related; but that was not the profane weakness, which Foliot has brought to light. Yet it happened, as he states it, in a public assembly, or at least, before the eyes and in the hearing of all the bishops, who attended. And Foliot alone shall retain it on his memory? And the bishops shall never attempt to charge the primate with it, when, in irritation of mind, they blamed his conduct, and their own, in the eyes of Europe, demanded an apology?—And the contemporary writers, and their immediate followers, in collecting events and in recording

¹ P. 76.

them,

them, shall not have heard of so glaring an occurrence, as the fall of Becket in a public meeting? They all relate a less striking weakness. And John of Oxford, the president of the council, Henry's chaplain, and other friends to the king, and the king himself, in their various correspondence and public conferences, shall never disclose the notorious circumstance? In the breast of Foliot it remained locked up, effaced from all other recollection, till, two years afterwards, on a particular occasion, he shall deem it expedient to reveal it! The meeting of Clarendon was in 1164 and in 1166, Gilbert wrote his letter. But the noble lord has all allowed the general silence and the contrary assertions, in competition with which, he maintains, that the *single authority* of Foliot is *most unquestionable*, and that their narrations, when inconsistent with it, deserve no credit. In what circumstances then, does the testimony of one man weigh thus heavy?

According to the rules of the soundest criticism, whereby the authority of writers is ascertained, then only does the voice of *one* preponderate, when his competitors were not coeval with the events they relate, or were distant from the scene, or their credulity, or notorious inattention, often led them into errors, or they wrote under an influence, which
might

might cloud the understanding; and pervert the judgment. But this will not apply to the men, whose honest page stands in direct opposition to the frothy tale of Foliot. Rather himself becomes suspicious, for he was Becket's enemy, and he wrote under the additional influence of a provoked and resentful mind.

But how happened it; if Foliot was in possession of a fact, which could have for ever sunk the character of the primate, that he still suppressed it at Northampton, when he spoke, and vigorously arraigned his conduct; and at Sens before the pontiff; and in the various letters that he wrote, and particularly in that of the suffragans, penned by himself, with a direct view to carry every charge of weight home to the primate's breast? This address was written but a short time, we know, before the letter in question. Or could it be, that the suffragans themselves should not have insisted on its insertion, had Foliot, from an unaccountable delicacy, seemed disposed to withhold it? Nor did they mention it in a letter they wrote to the pope, which I quoted^m. To reconcile such difficulties is impossible. I would rather say, that Gilbert invented the shameless story; but

^m P. 165.

that,

that, in the conscioufness of it, he never sent the letter, and therefore that it never reached the primate's hands. That he could depart from truth, John of Salisbury, as we have seen, did not hesitate to declare in regard to another charge, he had produced in the letter of the suffragans.

And re-
jected as
spurious.

But Foliot's own statement, I now discover, on the very face of it, destroys its own credibility, and compels me to believe, that he was not the author of the letter. His name shall thus be rescued from the infamy, to which, I thought, it lay exposed. In the extract I have given, he speaks of the bishops being *shut up in one room* at Clarendon, and of *a third day* of the meeting, and of the nobles violently *entering their chamber*, and of the primate's *withdrawing*. But none of these things happened at Clarendon. The bishops were not shut up; the meeting lasted but two days; the nobles did not enter their chamber; and the primate did not withdraw. To the subsequent meeting at Northampton every circumstance minutely applies. The reader will recur to it^a. What then shall be said? Still shall it be maintained, that the *authority* of Foliot can even invert these facts, which historical evidence has stated? Or

^a P. 89.

shall

shall it be admitted, that, in the space of two years, his recollection had confounded the distinct events of the two meetings, which, at once must undo the whole credit of the man? Or rather, shall it not be admitted as most probable, that Foliot *did not write* the letter; but that it was composed by some enemy of Becket, probably after the events had ceased to be recent, who confounded the transactions of Clarendon and Northampton, two meetings a few months distant, and who, on the circumstance, in which all agreed, of the primate's weak promise once made to observe the customs, from ignorance or malevolence built up the varnished tale of premeditated perjury, with which he dared to load the memory of Becket? This conclusion, I maintain, is better founded than any other. It overthrows, indeed, the *authority* of the letter: but it saves from the charge of a direct falsehood, the fame of Foliot, and, on the minds of the dispassionate, it leaves unimpeached the virtuous, but mistaken, conduct of the English primate.

The circumstance of its being admitted on the *Index* of the Vatican MS, from some other copy, and into the Cottonian collection, without affecting the real authenticity of the latter, remains easily accounted for. Also, on this supposition,

it becomes obvious, why the collectors of the Vatican MS, in particular, did not insert a letter, which the primate and John of Salisbury had never seen, and which they could not leave to the care of those, whom the general correspondence might thereafter interest. The letter, then, *multiplicem & diffusam late materiam*, which the noble writer of *Henry the Second's Life*, has drawn from the Cotton library, I pronounce, never to have been written by Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London.

The evidence before me is such, as to command my conviction. To me, therefore, the *authority* of the letter is at an end, and its contents merit not another thought: but others may wish to know what they are.—The writer proceeds to censure Becket's attempt to leave the kingdom; and he speaks of the king's astonishment, and of the gentleness of his behaviour, when the winds compelled him to return. He then enters on the transactions of Northampton, relating the complaint preferred by the marshal, which was the occasion of the summons, and of the consequent charges.—But here again he departs from the statement given by other historians; and having mentioned the primate's ready acquiescence in the first sentence pronounced on him, he enters into a laboured discussion to prove, from the canons of the church, that

that he ought *not* to have submitted to the verdict of a lay tribunal, though he knew what the statutes of Clarendon had ordained; and some lines after he contradicts his first assertion, and establishes the power of the crown to decide in all feudal cases. We have language here, on the privileges of the church, as high as Becket ever uttered: but I think, I discover passages which Foliot could not have written.—He then reprehends his inconsistency in refusing to plead to the last charge, when by it he could have incurred no danger; and he dares to extol the king's *gentle comportment*, when, on the last day of the meeting, the primate entered the castle, bearing his cross. Nor could Foliot, I think, have said this. He closes this account, by relating the general circumstances of Becket's escape into Flanders.

The writer next animadverts on that part of the primate's address, which exhorts the bishops even to expose their lives, if necessary, in the church's cause, and he sarcastically dwells on his own flight, as the laudable example which himself had set them!—But he shews, that there is even no cause for contentions, since religion, and morality, and the faith of the church are not concerned. The dispute was with the king, regarding certain customs, which, in the time

of his predecessors, he asserts, were observed, and on the present observance of which he insists. "These customs," the writer says, "the king did not ordain; but, as the whole antiquity of the realm attests, he found them established."—With what face could Foliot have written this, after the praise he had just given to the firmness of the bishops in opposing those customs, and the heavy censure passed on the supposed compliance of the primate?—He goes on to instance certain examples of episcopal moderation, the imitation of which he recommends to Becket, if he hoped to surmount the king's resolution, rather than the use of censures, which the most prudent measures should direct. He describes the extensive power of the king, and, at the same time, his lowly and christian humility; and he dissuades strongly from every violent measure, which would be attended with real danger to the church. The king, he says, if gently dealt with, was himself disposed to revoke the royal customs, when it could be done with security and his own honour. The intemperate zeal of Becket obstructed every design.

He concludes with repeating the suffragans appeal to Rome, and with advice, which may moderate the primate's zeal, and prepare the way for the return of peace and concord.

The

The further view of this letter has confirmed my opinion, that it was not written by Foliot. Even the stile seems to differ from any thing he has left behind him; and I can almost pronounce, from my familiarity with the language of the age, that it is not the production of the twelfth century. It rather seems the laboured effusion of some frothy rhetorician. The date of the Cottonian MS is not decided. I shall not, however, insist on surmises, which have often led to error.

The noble historian has yet another charge, which it is my duty to examine. In the same Cottonian collection of letters, he found one from Alexander, the Roman bishop, to Roger archbishop of York, wherein he tells him that, in compliance with the king's petition, he *permits* prince Henry to be crowned in England, and commands that prelate, when called on by the king, to perform the ceremony. From this circumstance, the noble lord draws a heavy accusation against the pontiff: "A more scandalous instance of double dealing can no where be found," he says: "And it will be seen that his holiness, in the progress and consequences of this business, went still greater lengths, with the most *astonishing impudence of dissimulation*°." Observing,

His lordship's charge against Alexander III.

° Vol. ii. p. 541.

likewise,

likewise, that *this* letter was not in the Bruffels edition, he again censures Christianus Lupus, and through him the Vatican collector, for a second *suppression of evidence*.

But the letter is *nowhere* extant in any manuscript of the Vatican; consequently, Christianus Lupus, as I before remarked, is free from blame. He could not copy what to him did not exist. His lordship mentions, that the Bodleian library contains this letter. I, therefore, infer, that the boasted epistle of Foliot is not there; or the information would not have been with-held: another circumstance tending to destroy its authenticity. We will now see, whether the letter of Alexander, *Quanto per charissimum filium*, can establish a better claim than that of Gilbert Foliot.

The fact stated.

After the death of Theobald, but before the appointment of Becket to the see of Canterbury, Henry first conceived the design of crowning the young prince, and lest Roger, archbishop of York, whom he then hated, should contend for the honour, he obtained a bull from Rome, which empowered him to appoint any prelate of the realm to perform the ceremony^p. Yet of the year 1165, the Vatican MS has a letter, dated from Montpellier,^q as Alexander was returning

p l. v. ep. 45.

q l. i. ep. 10.

to Rome, which, at the request of that same Roger, grants him permission *to crown the king*, as his predecessors, it says, had anciently done. This is not true; but the measure, it seems, had no reference to prince Henry. In 1170, the king resumed his former design, and as Becket was absent, to whose see the privilege appertained, he applied again to Rome, sending an embassy, at the head of which was John of Oxford^r. By his means, it is pretended, the letter or bull was obtained, which the Cottonian MS has preserved. On the return of the ministers, indeed, it was publicly rumoured, that the pontiff had consented, and that a bull was given^s. This second application to Rome evinces, that Henry did not value any prior grant.

Roused by the news, which tended to affect the honour of his see, the primate wrote to Alexander, mentioning the report, and urging him to do justice^t. And then it was, that letters came from Rome, addressed to Roger of York and to all the bishops of the realm, forbidding them, under pain of censures, to do any act against the dignity of the church of Canterbury, or to presume to crown the young king^u. The letters, with an inhibition

^r P. 217. ^s l. iv. ep. 44. l. v. ep. 24. 25. ^t Ep. 24.
^u l. iv. ep. 41. 42.

from

from himself to the same effect, were sent by Becket into England^v. But the ceremony of the coronation, notwithstanding, was performed by Roger, and he and others were, afterwards, excommunicated for the fact, and for their disobedience to the mandates of his holiness. These deeds are all extant in the Vatican and Cottonian collections.

Could it now be proved, that Alexander, at the request of the king, empowered the archbishop of York to crown prince Henry, and in the same month, as the dates bear testimony, forbade the same, in compliance with the urgent prayer of Becket, the charge of *duplicity*, with which the noble lord has loaded his memory, he will have justly incurred. But the letter or bull to the archbishop, in the Cottonian MS, was not written by the Roman pontiff.

And the charge proved to be groundless.

1. No one, at the time, pretended to have seen it. It was *rumoured* only, that the pontiff had consented to the measure. "But what wise man," observes John of Salisbury, "will give credit to their assertions, unless they produce the *authentic* and *original writings*." They did not produce them.

2. Alexander, whose character I described as firm and upright, was incap-

^v Ep. 44.

^w l. v. ep. 18.

ble of such bare-faced duplicity, which the most common observation would have detected, and have censured.

3. When Roger and the other bishops, after the coronation, were publicly charged with disobedience to the papal mandates, which forbade the measure, and were afterwards suspended, they produced no bull in their justification, nor pretended that it had been granted.

4. Alexander himself addressed three different letters to them^x, in one of which he says: "But you, without the primate's consent, presumed to give your ministry or your approbation to the coronation of the prince, *while you were prohibited by the authority of the holy see and by my letters:*" and he denounces his censures on them. The bishops, one of whom was Roger, made no reply. They submitted to the sentence. *Astonishing*, truly, must have been Alexander's *impudence of dissimulation*, if, in the consciousness of his own duplicity, he could thus have provoked resentment and the reproach of base prevarication. Nor, on this supposition, was the forbearance of the bishops less wonderful.

5. When, soon afterwards, Becket issued the censures of Rome against Roger and the bishops of London and Salisbury,

^x Ep. 66, 67, 68.

for having crowned the prince; though they were loud against the intemperate measure, as were their friends, still not a word was said concerning the boasted grant from Alexander.

6. At Fretval, where the king and Becket were reconciled, while they were engaged in conversation, the primate entered on the subject of the late coronation, "which," he said, "had been done in violation of the rights of Canterbury, and by the usurpation of the archbishop of York, who, with a blind and rash ambition, had performed the ceremony, contrary to ancient usage, and contrary to the *prohibition of Rome*."— If ever, now will the Cottonian bull be produced. But Henry produced it not, though he was willing to justify his conduct. He produced *another bull*, that which, I said, he had obtained, after the death of Theobald, in order to check the interference even of the archbishop of York, and which empowered him to use the ministry of any prelate of his realm². Need I proceed?

7. But the noble lord maintains, "that Henry was restrained from speaking of it to Becket, by the *particular desire and injunction of the pope*."³ Had the Cottonian MS contained any document, which

¹ Ep. 45.

² Ibid.

³ Vol. ii. p. 566.

could establish this *desire* or *injunction*, some weight might be allowed to it: but, extraordinary as it may seem, no vestige of it is there, or *in any work that was ever written*. I except the noble author's own *history*.—I will also observe that, in stating his account of the conference between Henry and the primate, his lordship has suppressed a fact, which had a tendency to weaken his favourite theory. Also, in the copy he has given of the bull from the Cotton MS, he makes Alexander say to the archbishop of York, “*because, quoniam*, it (the right of coronation) belongs to your office:” whereas in the original the word is *quantum*, that is, “as far as it belongs.” Obviously, a different sense. That the alteration was made, with any sinister view, I pretend not to suggest. But I could adduce, if urged to it, other instances of uncandid representation, to which his lordship has descended, in describing the controversy between Henry and the primate, and in treating ecclesiastical concerns.

But, if I reject the bull as *spurious*; it will be asked, by whom it was written; or by what means it found its way into the Cottonian collection?

It was written by John of Oxford, or by those sent on the embassy, who
were,

were, at the same time, the authors of the rumour, which I mentioned. But I am inclined to think that it was never delivered to the bishops or to the king, at least, in such a manner, as to make them believe it was authentic. On more occasions than one, it is insinuated in the general collection of letters, that Henry's design was to mortify the primate, and that he pleaded no authority. That the bull did not come from Rome, I think, I have shewn.—How it found its way into the Cottonian MS, is not my concern to investigate. But allow it only to have been written, and its insertion into the MSS, which were collected in this country, will cause little difficulty. It is not, however, I think, in that of Lambeth. And why the Roman collections should not have it, may be easily understood.

Conclu-
sion.

Thus, I trust, I have proved, to the conviction of every candid man, that the *letter* of Foliot, and the *bull* of Alexander, are not such documents, as the critical and prudent historian should have relied on. I have proved more than that. The character of Becket is then relieved from the foul aspersions of *wilful perjury*, and that of Alexander from the charge of *duplicity* and *impudent dissimulation*. With what incaution

were

were the accusations made! The easy labour of a few researches, and some reflection on common characters and obvious facts, would have led to sufficient detection, and have saved the mind from error. I have thrown down the basis, on which the noble lord had raised one part of his specious structure. This must fall. And who shall regret, that the temple of Truth be embellished and enlarged, while the materials of error be every where overthrown? They will mix with the mouldering battlements of despotism and superstition, and serve to enrich the soil, which they had so long encumbered and disgraced.

THE END.

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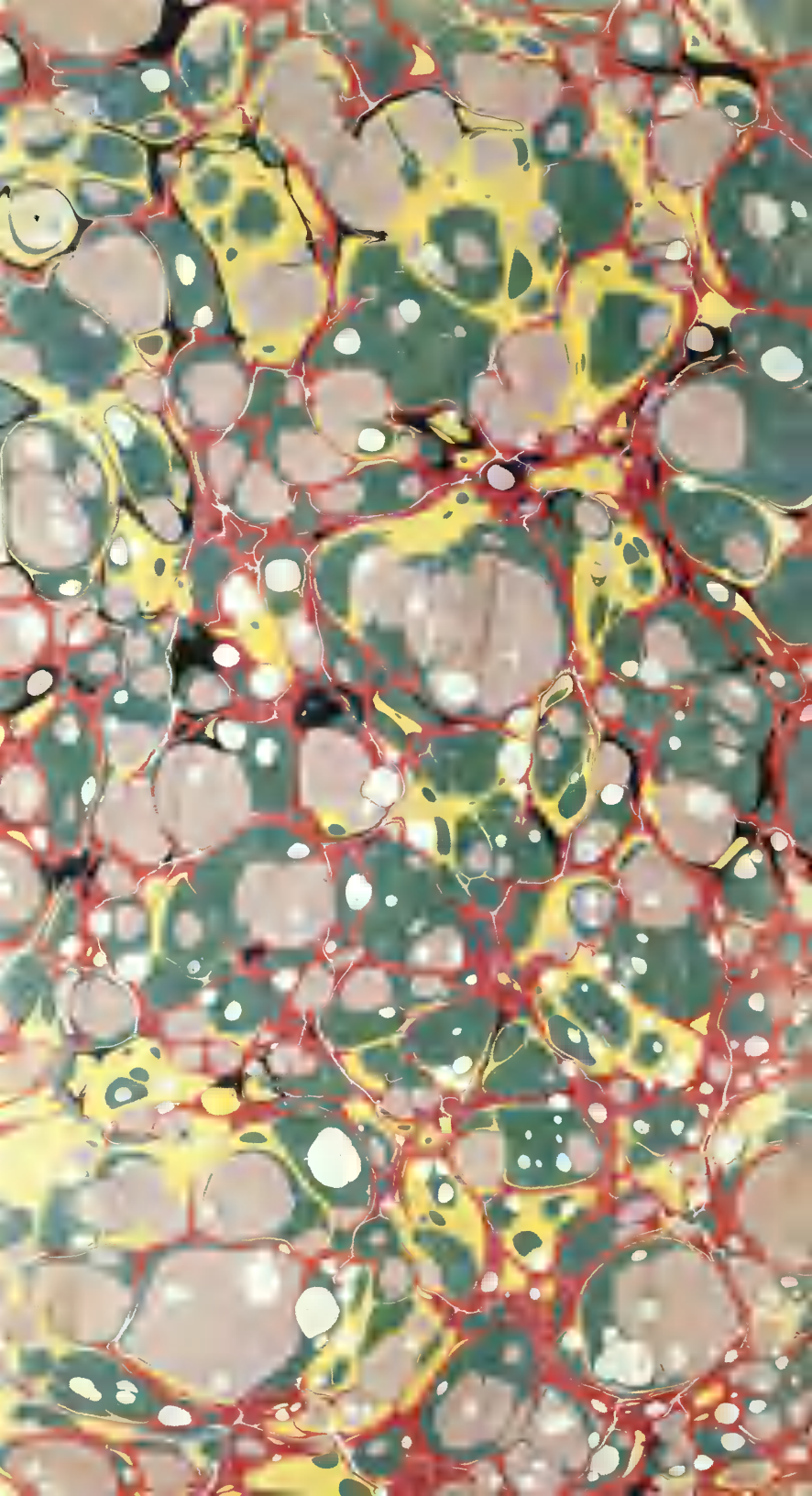
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