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A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
DESCENT OF JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY OF AIX LA CHAPPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER, at the
Oxford-Theatre; and R. BALDWIN, at the Rose, in Paternoster-row.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.
B O O K S E C O N D.



H E N R Y I.

Surnamed BEAUCLERC.

THE campaign was opened with the siege of A. C. 1105.
Tenerchebray, belonging to the count de Robert is de
Mortagne, who had by this time espoused feated in the
the cause of the duke; and, as the place was strongly battle of Te-
fortified with soldiers and provision, it sustained a nerchebray.
siege until Robert was in a condition to march to its
relief, with reinforcements he had received from Mor-
tagne, Belesme, the king of France, and some Nor-
man noblemen, who detested the selfish disposition of
Henry, and were of consequence averse to his go-
vernment. Thus supported, Robert resolved to
give his brother battle; and when the two armies
were in sight of each other, some monks employed
their mediation to prevent the effusion of blood;
but as Henry insisted upon the duke's renouncing
the government of his dominions intirely, and one

A. C. 1105. half of the revenue, the proposal was rejected with disdain, and a battle immediately ensued. Robert charged the main body of the English with such impetuosity, and was so well seconded by the count of Mortagne, that they were broken and gave ground; but Robert de Belesme, who commanded one of the wings, was at the same time put to flight by the count de Maine, and the king advancing with a fresh body of horse to sustain the center, the English and Bretons rallied immediately, and Robert's little army, weakened by the defeat of Belesme, and overpowered with numbers, was intirely routed, in spite of all his efforts and acts of personal valour. Though he saw his forces defeated, he would not quit the field, but chose rather to be taken prisoner than turn his back upon the enemy; this was likewise the case with the count de Mortagne, and Edgar Atheling, who had lived with Robert since his return from Palestine, in the intimacy of friendship, produced from the simularity of their characters. This prince, however, fared much better than his friend; for he was set at liberty as a person of no consequence in England, where he died of a decrepid old age; whereas the unfortunate duke, after having influenced the inhabitants of Rouen and Falaise to receive the conqueror, was sent into England, and kept close prisoner in different parts of the kingdom, till at length, after a miserable captivity of eight and twenty years, death set him free, at Cardiff in Glamorganshire *. Such was the fate of Robert, who was incapable of inflicting on the most inveterate enemy the cruel punishment he sustained from an unnatural brother, whose life he had so generously saved at the siege of Mont St. Michael: not contented with having supplanted him so persi-

Sent over to
England, and
committed
to close pri-
son.

* He is said to have been deprived of his sight by a red hot copper basin applied to his eyes. Mezerai, Mat. Paris.

dioufly

diously on the throne of England, and deprived him of his hereditary dukedom, he likewise robbed him of his liberty, and embittered the old age of his elder brother, whom it was his duty to serve and obey; though he afterwards stifled the reproaches of his conscience by founding the abbey of Reading, which the monks admitted as a sufficient atonement for his barbarity.

*Chron. Sax.
Mat. Paris.*

Nothing was now wanting to complete the reduction of Normandy but the submission of Robert de Belesme, who by the mediation of Helie count de Maine, was received into the king's favour, and restored to all the offices and possessions his father had enjoyed in Normandy, on condition of giving up the bishopric of Seez, Argentan, and the forest of Goulfer. Peace being thus re-established, Henry held a great council of the prelates and barons at Lieux, where wholesome regulations were made for punishing robbery and depredation; the alienations of Robert were annulled, and all castles erected since the Conqueror's death, demolished as the receptacles of rapine and rebellion. The oath of allegiance being taken by the nobles, and the administration of the dutchy properly settled, the king returned to his English dominions.

Henry acknowledged duke of Normandy,

Ord. Vital,

The first step he took after his arrival was extremely agreeable to his subjects; this was the reformation of some abuses which had crept into the regulation and oeconomy of his court. By the feudal tenure, the tenants on the crown demesnes, were obliged to furnish the king and his retinue with all necessaries and provisions when he travelled, under the inspection of the steward of the household, who attended him in his progress. Henry's followers made use of this pretext to commit all sorts of outrages; they wasted the country through which they passed: burned or sold publicly the superfluous provisions they found in their lodgings, washed

At his return to England he makes some wholesome laws.

A. C. 1106. their horses with the liquors they could not consume, insulted their landlords, violated their wives and daughters, and acted with such brutality, that the people hearing of the king's approach, deserted their habitations, and retired to the woods with their families and effects. To remedy these disorders, Henry published an edict, by virtue of which the persons convicted of such offences, were punished with the loss of eyes, or hands, or some other member; and this law being vigorously executed, soon redressed the grievance. At the same time he enacted another decree against coiners, who had long adulterated the currency, under the protection of the nobles, for whom they worked privately in their houses, to which the officers of justice had no access: by this edict it was ordained that false coiners should, upon conviction, lose their eyes and their virility.

Mat. Paris.
Eadmer.

Grows
haughty and
insolent.

A. C. 1108.

From these laws the people would have conceived happy omens of Henry's equity and moderation, had they not been immediately followed by a very unfavourable change in his deportment. Having now accomplished his aims upon Normandy, and trod all opposition under his feet, he laid aside the restraint with which he had hitherto bridled his arbitrary disposition, banished all his former affability, treated his nobles with the most indecent insolence, and ruled with despotic sway, in diametrical opposition to the charter he had granted.

Anselm per-
secutes the
married
clergy.

There was no person in the nation to whom he paid the least respect, but Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, and him he respected through fear, remembering how he had already embroiled him with the pope, who had actually expedited the bull for his excommunication; a censure that might have been of fatal consequence to his interest in those times of superstition, and which therefore he avoided by making the concessions about the investiture

vestiture of prelates, as we have observed above. A. C. 1103.
 Anselm, conscious of the ascendancy he had gained over the spirit of the king, resolved to take advantage of this favourable juncture, to execute the scheme he had formed against the married clergy. He therefore assembled a synod to deliberate upon measures for the better observation of the canons against the marriage of priests; and the former penalties being found ineffectual, it was decreed that all married priests should put away their wives, on pain of being immediately suspended, and excommunicated, should they afterwards officiate in divine service. Gal. Gemet.

Anselm, after having established these regulations, employed his interest in erecting the see of Ely, from part of the diocese of Lincoln, which was too large and unweildy; and the last transaction of his life was a dispute with Thomas elect of York, who declined coming to Canterbury, to make the usual profession of canonical obedience, and be consecrated by Anselm. He had hoped to elude these marks of submission, by obtaining a pall from Rome; but Anselm, being apprised of his intention, desired the pope to delay the pall, until Thomas should have obeyed the dictates of his duty; and in the mean time he inhibited all the bishops of England from assisting at his consecration. Anselm, however, did not live to see the success of his letter to the pope; but in a few days after his death, Ulric, a Roman cardinal, arrived in England, with a pall for the church of York, to be disposed of at the pleasure of Anselm. His death. The intervening death of the archbishop of Canterbury gave rise to a dispute upon the subject; and the king summoning a court of prelates and barons, it was determined, after some debate, that Thomas should, under his hand and seal, make solemn profession

A. C. 1109. feſſion of canonical obedience to the primate of Canterbury and the ſee of Rome. This profeſſion was delivered to Conrad, prior of the metropolitan church, to be depoſited among the archives of his convent; and Thomas being conſecrated by Richard biſhop of London, received the pall at York, from the hands of the Roman cardinal.

Eadmer.

Henry's daughter Maud is married to the emperor.

At this period, ambaffadors arrived from Henry V. emperor of Germany, demanding in marriage the princeſs Maud, though but eight years of age. The match was too honourable and advantageous to be rejected. The articles were immediately diſcuſſed and ſettled: the ceremony was performed by proxy; and next year ſhe was ſent to her huſband, with a ſplendid equipage, and a liberal portion, raiſed by a heavy tax, which was highly reſented by the nation.

Chron. Sax.

Lewis, king of France, declares in favour of William, the ſon of Robert, duke of Normandy.

The pleaſure Henry derived from this alliance was not a little damped at hearing that Lewis the Groſs, and Fulk count of Anjou, had reſolved to eſtabliſh his nephew William, the minor ſon of Robert, in the poſſeſſion of his father's dominions. Henry, after the ſurrender of Falaiſe, had committed this young prince to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who treated him with ſuch regard and affection, that his uncle began to fear he might in time form a party in his behalf. He therefore detached Robert de Beauchamp, with a party of horſe, to ſeize the young orphan, and convey him to a place of ſecurity; but he was concealed in ſuch a manner, that the deſign miſcarried. Helie being at this time deprived of his town, thought he was now at liberty to eſpouſe William's intereſt openly; and he engaged a number of Norman noblemen in his cauſe. Robert de Beſefme became his warmeſt partiſan; Fulk count of Anjou promiſed to give him his daughter in marriage; and Lewis the Groſs,

who

who had succeeded his father Philip on the throne of France, undertook to support him in the recovery of his father's dominions. A. C. 1109.

Henry, being informed of these particulars, repaired to Normandy, and prosecuted the war with various success against those favourers of his nephew, the most active of whom was Robert de Belesme, who obtained divers advantages over his troops in the course of the campaign: at length he was arrested at Bonneville, in the capacity of an ambassador, sent with proposals of accommodation by Lewis king of France, and sent into England, where he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment at Wareham in Dorsetshire. He was no sooner taken, than Alençon, one of his strongest fortresses, fell into the hands of Henry, who now proceeded with such success, that the French king and the count of Anjou were glad to hearken to proposals of peace, which was concluded, on condition that the Norman barons, who had sided with young William, should be restored to the possession of their lands in Normandy; that the count of Anjou should do homage to Henry for the province of Le Maine; and that his daughter, already promised to William the son of Robert, should marry William the son and heir of Henry. In consequence of this treaty, the young prince of Normandy was obliged to quit the court of Anjou; and after having wandered as a fugitive from one country to another, soliciting succours from different princes, he was hospitably received by Baldwin count of Flanders, who promised to indulge him with his protection and assistance.

Henry maintains a war in Normandy.

Peace is concluded.

Ord. Vital.
A. C. 1111.

The affairs of Normandy being settled, the king returned to England, and in the spring resolved to fill the see of Canterbury, after a vacancy of five years, during which Ralph bishop of Rochester had performed the functions of primate, by the appointment-

Ralph, bishop of Rochester, preferred to the see of Canterbury.

A. C. 1114 pointment of the prior and monks of Canterbury. A great council was summoned at Windsor, to deliberate upon the choice of a proper person to fill this important office; and Henry proposed Faricius, abbot of Abingdon: but this person being disagreeable to the majority of the barons and prelates, the preference was given to Ralph, who was elected by the monks, approved by the bishops, and confirmed by the king in council. At the same time all other vacant sees and abbacies were supplied; though none were promoted to those dioceses but foreigners, whom the king upon all occasions preferred to Englishmen, without any regard to morals or learning.

Eadmer.

Henry's expedition into Wales.

Immediately after these transactions, Henry levied a great army, with which he proposed to finish the reduction of the Welsh, whom he had already hampered with the neighbourhood of a great number of Flemings, whose country having been overflowed by the sea, they were received by Henry, and first of all settled in the desolate parts of Yorkshire; but as they did not agree with the natives, they were transplanted into Ross and Pembroke-shire, where they formed a strong barrier against the incursions of the Welsh. That people, enraged to find their boundaries contracted by the intrusion of foreigners, took all opportunities of harrassing them, as well as the neighbouring counties of England; and now Henry resolved to make an entire conquest of the country. His troops entered it in three different divisions, ravaging the lands as they proceeded; but as they never hazarded a decisive engagement, and damaged his forces by surprizing and cutting off his out-lying or detached parties, he was glad to indulge the petty princes with an advantageous peace; and, on his return from this expedition, he received the account of his daughter's being crowned empress at Mentz, though

though the marriage could not yet be consummated. A. C. 1114.

He then re-visited Normandy, with his son William, who was recognized as his successor in that duchy, by all the nobility assembled for the purpose, and they swore allegiance accordingly. During his residence at Rouen, he received letters from the pope, complaining that his nuncios and briefs were not suffered to enter England without the king's express consent; that no appeals were brought from hence to the holy see, which was very little respected by the English; that Peter-pence was not collected and paid so punctually as in former reigns; that the causes of bishops were determined, and translations made from one see to another, without the authority of Rome, and in contempt of the pope's supremacy. The bearer of this expostulatory address was one Anselm, a Roman abbot, and nephew to the late archbishop, who, being likewise charged with a pall for the new metropolitan, was allowed to proceed for England, where Ralph received his commission with great solemnity, professing canonical obedience and fealty to the Roman pontiff. Henry having secured the succession of Normandy to his son William, returned to England, and, in a general assembly at Salisbury, declared this prince his heir and eventual successor, in presence of all the lords spiritual and temporal, by whom he was recognized with the same ceremony which had been practised among the Norman barons.

His son William recognized as his heir in Normandy and England.

Chron. Sax. Eadmer.

Eadmer,

At this period too he imposed a grievous tax upon the kingdom, in order to maintain a war against Lewis king of France, with whom he had been always at variance since that prince's accession to the throne. Henry justly supposed him to be the author of all the insurrections and rebellions which the Norman barons had raised against his

G. Malmesb.

He renews the war with the French king and Norman revolters.

A. C. 1114. government: and he now resolved to act the incendiary in his turn. His nephew Thibaud, count of Blois, son of his sister Adela, having received some insult or injury from the French king, Henry excited him to vengeance, and even supplied him with a strong reinforcement. Lewis, on the other hand, invested Robert's son with the duchy of Normandy, and promised to assist him with all his power, as protector of the young prince, and sovereign lord of Normandy. He accordingly raised an army, in order to recover William's inheritance, and being joined by the count of Flanders, with a strong reinforcement, entered the dukedom, and commenced hostilities; though not before he had formally demanded of Henry that he would renounce his usurpation, and release his vassal Robert, whom he unjustly detained in prison. Henry, in the mean while, made great preparations at the expence of the English, to repel these invaders of the Norman dominions, and crossed the sea with all possible expedition. Being joined by the duke of Bretagne, and the count of Blois, he began his march against the enemy, and advanced with such diligence, that Lewis was almost surpris'd, and retreated with some precipitation. He seem'd on this occasion to have been intimidated by the power and presumption of the English king; for he purchased a peace with the cession of Gisors, and Henry returned immediately to his British dominions, in order to prevent the reception of the abbot Anselm, who was so well pleas'd with England at his last visit with the pall for the archbishop of Canterbury, that he employ'd his interest with the pope, in order to be sent back in quality of legate. Henry would suffer no such jurisdiction in his dominions, even though he should incur the displeasure of the pope, which could not affect him with such chagrin as he felt about this period at the death

Peace is effected.

Ch. Mailr.
The queen dies.

death of his queen Mathilda, who was regretted by all the English, as well for her distinguished merit, as on account of her being descended from their ancient kings. A. C. 1118.

Notwithstanding the treaty concluded between France and England, Henry's back was hardly turned, when Lewis surpris'd Gisors, and wasted the adjacent country without opposition. Henry received advice of this invasion, without seeming to take any step towards the defence of his Norman territories; and his tame forbearance on this occasion was so surpris'ing, that one of his nobles took the liberty to observe, his reputation would suffer from his philosophy; when Henry replied very calmly, he had learned from his father, that the best way of dealing with the French was to let them spend their first fire. Perhaps he was perplexed in his own mind, because he knew not whom he could trust in Normandy. He had seized the persons of some whose fidelity he suspected; and, among others, Hugh de Gourney, and Henry count D'Eu, who were not released until they had surrendered their castles, and who were no sooner out of his power, than they took up arms against him. As he would not venture to employ the Normans, who, for the most part, were disaffected to his person, he had been obliged to carry on the war with the help of the English, and some Bretons he enlisted in his service; and he met with several checks, which served to increase his caution. Evreux had been surpris'd by Amaury de Monfort, whom Henry attempted in vain to bribe over to his interest: the French had taken L'aigle; and the king, in attempting to recover it, had like to have lost his life: the count of Anjou had worsted Henry as he advanced to the relief of Alençon, which the count had invested, and afterwards reduced: Baldwin, count of Flanders, had ravaged the

Henry is perplexed and unfortunate in his war upon the continent.

A. C. 1118.

the whole country as far as Rouen, where the king lay with his troops, afraid to give him battle; so that he had great reason to dread the issue of another war.

Chron. Sax.

His affairs
take a fa-
vourable
turn.

Nevertheless he seemed to wake all at once from his lethargy, and, assembling a strong body of forces, transported them, together with a great sum of money, to the continent, where his affairs, in a little time, took a more favourable turn. Baldwin died of a wound he received in the face with a lance. Enquerrand de Chaumont, an enterprising warrior, who had kept all the country as far as Rouen in continual alarms, was taken off by a natural death; and Fulk, count of Anjou, who had joined Lewis since the last treaty between Henry and him, was now again attached to the king of England, by means of a large sum of money, and the consummation of the marriage between young William and the count's daughter.

A. C. 1119.

He gains the
battle of
Noyon.

Thus freed from such a triumvirate of formidable enemies, he was enabled to unite all his forces, which had been hitherto divided, and marched to the relief of Noyon, which Lewis had formed the design of surprizing. Henry's forces advancing with great expedition, came up with the French so unexpectedly, that they had scarce time to draw up their first line before the battle begun. Nevertheless they behaved with great gallantry, under the command of duke Robert's son William, who charged the van of the English with such impetuosity, that they fell back upon the main body, commanded by the king in person, whose utmost efforts could not sustain the attack. While he exerted all his endeavours to rally his troops, he was singled out by a brave Norman knight, called William Crispin, who discharged at his head two such furious strokes of a sabre, as penetrated his helmet, and wounded him severely: at the sight of his own blood, which rushed down his visage, he was en-
raged

raged to a double exertion of his strength, and re-
 torted the blows with such interest that his anta-
 gonist was unhorsed, and taken prisoner. Had the
 valour of young William been properly seconded,
 the French would certainly have obtained a com-
 plete victory; but, instead of forming from their
 line a march in a regular manner, they no sooner
 saw the success of the Norman prince, than they
 rushed forward in confusion, and the rear of the
 English advancing to the attack in a compact body,
 found them in such disorder, that the scale was
 quite turned, and the French fled with the utmost
 precipitation. Lewis himself being unhorsed in the
 tumult, was obliged to make his escape on foot to
 Audley, where he was joined by his fugitive troops,
 and, receiving a reinforcement, sent a herald with
 a defiance to Henry, who declined the invitation.
 He dismissed all the prisoners but about two hun-
 dred and forty knights; and the young Norman
 prince's horse being taken in the field, after he had
 dismounted to rally the troops, was sent back with
 a compliment, and some valuable presents from
 his cousin William, who admired his courage.

A. C. 1119.

Chron. Sax.
 Hen. Hunt.
 Ord. Vital.

An accom-
 modation
 effected by
 the media-
 tion of the
 pope.

While the king of England employed his victo-
 rious troops in reducing the Normans to obedience,
 Lewis took Chartres from the count de Blois, re-
 duced the strong fortress of Ivry; and the war con-
 tinued with various success. At length pope Ca-
 lixtus II. having held a council at Rheims, came
 afterwards to visit Henry at Gisors, where he offered
 his mediation; which was accepted.

Hostilities ceased, and next year the treaty was
 concluded. The places taken on both sides were
 restored; the prisoners set at liberty; Henry's son
 William did homage to Lewis for the dukedom of
 Normandy, which was a fief of the French crown:
 the count of Flanders and revolted Normans were
 included in the pacification; but no provision was
 made

A. C. 1119. made for the young Norman prince, who nevertheless continued to enjoy the protection of the king of France.

Eadmer.

His difference with that pontiff concerning Thurstan archbishop elect of York;

This accommodation was so seasonable to Henry, that in consideration of the pope's good offices on this occasion, he forgot his resentment at the conduct of that pontiff in the council of Rheims, where he had consecrated Thurstan, archbishop of York, and honoured him with the pall, though he had refused to own the primacy of the see of Canterbury, and though the king had sent a deputation to make Calixtus acquainted with the nature of the dispute, intreating him to delay the consecration of Thurstan, until that prelate should have complied with the laws and customs of the English church. He was so much incensed at the pope's contempt of his remonstrance, that he swore Thurstan should never enter his dominions, and actually forbade him, under a severe penalty, to re-visit England, or appear in any part of his Norman territories. But the pope, in this visit, pleaded the cause of Thurstan so effectually, that the king consented to his being restored, on condition of his professing obedience to the see of Canterbury.

Eadmer.

who asserts the independency of his see.

The prelate however refused to submit to this condition; and some years after obtained letters from the pope, threatening the king with excommunication, the archbishop of Canterbury with suspension, and the kingdom with an interdict, if Henry would not allow Thurstan to return, without professing obedience. The great council of the nation was assembled on this occasion, and agreed to his restoration, on condition that he should repair directly to York, nor presume to celebrate divine service out of his own diocese, until he should have made satisfaction to the see of Canterbury. He did not comply with this condition, nor did his successors afterwards own the primacy of that archbishopric

bishopric by such profession, which was never claimed before the time of Lanfranc; but the church of York henceforward exercised an independent primatical authority over certain dioceses assigned to it as suffragans.

A. C. 11193

Eadmer.

Henry stayed some time on the continent, after his accommodation with France, to exact homage of the Norman nobility, and a new oath of allegiance in favour of his son William, who was now in the eighteenth year of his age. At length he set sail from Barfleur, and arrived next morning in England. The prince went on board a new ship belonging to Thomas Fitzstephen, whose father had carried over the Conqueror in his first expedition against Harold; and the young nobility, to the number of three hundred, crowded into the same vessel, where they caroused with the utmost intemperance; the mariners were indulged with wine to extreme intoxication, and the master himself had exceeded the bounds of sobriety, when the prince proposed that he should make an effort to come up with the king, who was considerably ahead. Fitzstephen immediately clapped on all his sail, and being incapable of directing the pilotage, she ran upon a sunken rock called the Catte-raze, with such violence, that she was shattered in pieces. Before she parted in the middle, they found means to hoist out the boat for the prince's preservation, and he had already made some way towards the shore, when hearing the shrieks of his natural sister Maud, countess of Perche, he returned to the wreck, and took her in; but such a number of people leaped into the boat at the same time, that she sunk, and every soul on board of her perished. All those that remained in the ship, met with the same fate, except one Bartoud, a butcher of Rouen, who seizing the mast, floated till morning, when he was taken up by some fishermen; Geoffry, son

Prince William perishes at sea, with a great number of young noblemen,

A. C. 1120.

of Gilbert de Craigle, laid hold on the same timber, but being a weakly youth, could not resist the cold, and dropped off before day-light. Thomas, the ship-master, after having been some time under water, swam up to the butcher, and enquired into the prince's fate, when being told that he had perished; "I will not (said he) outlive the prince," and immediately disappeared. The shrieks of those unhappy people were heard by Roger de Coutances, and many other persons on shore, and the same noise reached the king's ship, though three days passed before he was made acquainted with the fatal accident. When the news was brought to him at Southampton, he fainted away, and was never seen to smile from that moment to the day of his death. The English nation sustained no great loss in the death of a profligate prince, who had on several occasions expressed his aversion for them, and even declared that he would one day make them draw the plough like oxen; but the case was different with Henry, who not only lost a son whom he loved with the warmest affection, but in his death saw all the pains he had taken to establish the succession entirely frustrated, and the prospect of Normandy's reverting to the son of Robert, a promising young prince, who was already the darling of the Normans.

Mat. Paris.
Ord. Vital.
Knyghton.

Henry mar-
ries Adelais,
daughter of
Godfrey,
duke of Lou-
vain.

A. C. 1121.

With a view therefore to defeat the expectations of that young prince, and repair in some measure the calamity he had sustained, he assembled a great council at London, and proposed another marriage with Adelais daughter of Godfrey duke of Louvain. The states assenting to this proposition, the negotiation was begun, and the princess being brought over, the nuptials were solemnized at Windsor. Archbishop Ralph, though now very old and infirm, resolved to officiate in person at the queen's coronation; when observing the king sitting

ting on the throne with the crown on his head, he insisted upon its being done illegally, and in prejudice to his right. Henry asked pardon, allowed him to loose the loop by which it was fastened under his chin, take it off, and put it on again with his own hands.

A. C. 1121.

Eadmer.

The valiant earl of Chester having perished with the prince, the Welsh, whom that nobleman had hitherto kept in awe, made an incursion into Cheshire, where they burned and ravaged the country; and Henry, to revenge this insult, levied an army, with which he penetrated as far as the mountains of Snowdun in Carnarvonshire, where he was almost killed by an arrow; and found the reduction of the enemy so difficult, that he granted peace to Griffith ap Conan, prince of the country, on condition of his delivering hostages, together with a thousand head of cattle, towards defraying the expence of the war.

The Welch make an incursion into Cheshire.

G. Malmes.

Immediately after this expedition, Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, died of old age and a lingering distemper; and a council being called to pitch upon a successor, the bishops desired the king would appoint a secular clergyman, in order to avoid the mischiefs which had hitherto attended the choice of monkish primates, who were not only devoted to the church of Rome, but inveterate enemies to the secular clergy, as well as to the supremacy of the king. The monks of Canterbury threw themselves at his majesty's feet, intreating that he would not deviate from the antient practice, but prefer one of their order; and when their request was rejected, they held out two days, until being threatened by the bishops with excommunication, they elected, out of four nominated for their choice, William de Corboil, prior of the canons of Chiche, who was confirmed by the king, approved by the prelates, and consecrated at Canterbury by Richard

William de Corboil elected archbishop of Canterbury.

A. C. 1123. bishop of London. He made afterwards a journey to Rome, where the pope at first scrupled his election, because he was not a monk; but he found means to reconcile his holiness to the event, by means of some valuable presents, and he returned with his pall, after having sworn subjection to the Roman see.

Angl. Sacr.

Troubles in Normandy, whither the king transports a body of troops.

Henry, by his peace with France, thought he had effectually secured the tranquillity of his dominions beyond sea, and that no person would venture to dispute with him the possession of Normandy; nevertheless he found himself obliged to go thither to appease the troubles excited by Robert de Mellent, lord of Pont Audemer, who being a nobleman of great credit, and secretly supported by the king of France, employed all his interest and address in favour of young William, son of duke Robert. He had made such progress in his endeavours, that the whole country was on the point of revolting, when Henry arrived with a strong army from England, in consequence of the intelligence he had received. His first undertaking was the siege of Audemer, which he reduced; then he added some new fortifications to the castles of Caen, Rouen, and Arques, and reinforced the garrisons. These vigorous steps and precautions overawed the Normans, though Robert de Mellent and the count de Montfort his associate still kept the field with a body of forces, until at last these two noblemen fell into an ambuscade, and were made prisoners. Fulk, count of Anjou, whose daughter, now a widow by the death of prince William, had been sent home to him, engaged also in this conspiracy, because Henry refused to restore the lands and castles he had given as his daughter's portion; he therefore not only assisted the revolters, but invited Robert's son to his court, where that young prince espoused his cousin's widow;

6

but,

but, upon Mellent's being taken with Hugh Montfort and Hugh Fitzgervaise, their castles became an easy conquest to Henry, who likewise prevailed upon the pope to annul his nephew's marriage with Sybilla : so that the count of Anjou, despairing of success, dismissed prince William as an unnecessary incumbrance.

A. C. 1123.

Ord Vital.
Sim. Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
The king's
severity to
coiners.

That prince however still enjoyed the protection of Lewis king of France, who bestowed upon him his own sister-in-law in marriage, with the possession of Pontoise, Chaumont, Mante, and all the Vexin Francois, and moreover supplied him with a body of troops to promote the success of his Norman enterprize ; so that Henry was still exposed to all the dangers and inconveniencies of an expensive war, which in order to maintain, he burthened his English subjects with intolerable taxes ; and these excited an universal spirit of discontent. This calamity was aggravated by the disorders arising from a partial administration of justice. The judges were venal and arbitrary, of consequence the rich were exempted from the penalty of the law, and committed all manner of outrages with impunity. The coin was debased to such a degree that a pound would scarce purchase the value of a shilling ; and this adulteration falling heavy upon the soldiers abroad, Henry sent peremptory orders for putting the laws in execution against all convicted coiners. These operators were perfectly well known, because they took no pains to disguise their practices ; and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, no sooner received the king's order, than he summoned all the delinquents to Winchester, where, without any form of trial, they were deprived of their eyes and castrated, to the general satisfaction of the kingdom.

Ord. Vital.

A. C. 1124.

At this period the rights and independency of the English church were invaded by the pope, who, notwithstanding the promises he had made Henry

Cardinal
Crema ar-
rives as the
pope's le-
gate a latere

A. C. 1124. at their interview in Gisors, no sooner found himself established in the papacy by the captivity and submission of Gregory the antipope, than he resolved to exercise the authority of the Roman church to its full extent, and sent cardinal de Crema as his legate a latere into England. That prelate was honourably received at his arrival by the archbishop of Canterbury, in whose place he officiated at divine service, sitting in the highest seat and wearing the pontifical habit, to the amazement and indignation of the English people. As he was directed to inquire into a controversy which had arisen between the archbishop of York and the Scottish bishops, who refused to acknowledge the supremacy of that see, he made a progress into the North as far as Roxburgh, where he had a conference on the subject with David, king of Scotland: at his return to London, he assembled a general council, in which he presided on a throne raised above the English archbishops; and enacted among other laws, a very severe canon against the marriage of the clergy, against which he declaimed with great intemperance, affirming it was a crime of the deepest dye for a man to consecrate the body of Christ immediately after leaving the arms of a strumpet; an epithet which he bestowed on the wives of the clergy. His own conduct very ill agreed with this declaration; for the very next night, after having consecrated the eucharist, he himself was caught in bed with a common prostitute, and so confounded at the detection, that he in the morning decamped very privately, and the council broke up abruptly on the third day of the session.

Mat. Paris,
A. C. 1125.

Canons
against the
married
clergy.

This legation gave such offence to the English, that an universal clamour ensued, and William, archbishop of Canterbury, repaired to Rome to assert the independency of his metropolitan power.

On

On this occasion he betrayed the cause of the English church, and returned invested with a legatine power, in which capacity he called another synod at Westminster, and confirmed the canons against the married clergy. These, though they received the sanction of the royal authority, were not executed with rigour, because the king granted dispensations, by virtue of a commission from the pope, authorizing him to execute the decrees of the council; a commission which he obtained by his pretended zeal for the celibacy of priests, manifested in the former synod, and from which he drew large sums of money.

All that he could raise was hardly sufficient to protect his Norman dominions from the efforts of young William, who had by this time surpris'd Gisors, and gained a great accession of strength in being invested by Lewis with the county of Flanders. Henry, after a fruitless expectation of three years, despaired of having issue by his second marriage; and therefore resolv'd to settle the succession upon his daughter Maud, the empress, who had returned to England on her husband's death, and was very much beloved by the people, on account of her being descended from the Saxon kings. She was likewise very agreeable to the Normans, who, as they could not have a prince of their own nation to rule over them, found it would be their interest to adopt the government of a princess, granddaughter of the Conqueror, to whom they owed all their possessions in England. Henry, pleas'd to find the affections of the nation united in favour of his daughter, convok'd an assembly of all the immediate vassals of the crown, comprehending David, king of Scotland, as prince of Cumberland, and Stephen, count of Boulogne, the king's own nephew; in presence of whom Henry declared Maud presumptive heiress of his crown, and as

A. C. 1125.
The barons and prelates take the oath of eventual allegiance to Maud.

A. C. 1125. such she was recognized by the assembly, who took the oath of eventual allegiance.

Sim. Dun.

She is married to Geoffrey Plantagenet.

This precaution being taken, the princess was sent over to Normandy, attended by the king's natural son Robert, earl of Gloucester, and Brian son of Alain Fergant, properly supplied with forces for the defence of that country; and he following in person, thought he could not take a more effectual step for the security of the succession, than by marrying his daughter to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk, count of Anjou, who had left his dominions to his son; in order to go and take possession of the throne of Jerusalem, vacant by the death of his father-in-law Baldwin II. The nuptials were accordingly solemnized, tho' contrary to the inclination of Maud, who could not without reluctance stoop from the quality of empress to that of a simple countess; nor was the marriage more agreeable to the English and Norman noblemen, who had not been consulted in the scheme of this alliance, by which some of them were disappointed in their own views upon the empress, and the nation in general averse to the sway of Plantagenet.

Hunting.
Howed.
Mar. Paris.

William,
son of duke
Robert, dies
of a wound
received be-
fore Alost.

Henry, without regarding the disgust of his daughter or the murmurs of his subjects, consulted his present advantage in acquiring a son-in-law, whose power and abilities would serve as bulwarks against the incroachments of his nephew William, who was powerfully supported by the French king. In order to defeat the projects of this enterprising prince and his ally, the king resolved to carry the war into France, and at the same time to excite the Flemings to a revolt in favour of Thierry count of Alface, who had pretensions to Flanders. So far he succeeded: some towns of the Netherlands rebelled, and among others Alost, which was immediately invested by William, but defended itself so well that his competitor had time to march to its relief.

relief. A battle ensued, in which Thierry was defeated; and the town must have fallen into the hands of the victor, had not he been mortally wounded in a fall by the thrust of a lance, which, while he endeavoured to catch it, entered his right hand, and the hurt produced a mortification, of which he died in five days.

The untimely death of this young prince, who had already exhibited repeated proofs of extraordinary courage and ability, entirely dispelled the fears of Henry. He made peace with Lewis; entered into a league with Thierry of Alsace, who succeeded to the county of Flanders, and married Henry's daughter-in-law Sybilla; while the Normans, seeing no hope of being delivered from his yoke, began to be reconciled to his dominion. Indeed he took some pains to reconcile them to his government. He extended his forgiveness to all those who implored his mercy; and attached several men of influence and credit to his interest, by acts of kindness and generosity: among others releasing Mellent and Fitz-Gervaise from the prisons in which they had been confined, and re-establishing them in the possession of their Norman estates. The former of these accompanied him to England, where he became a great favourite, and served the king with uncommon zeal and fidelity. It was at this period that Henry altered the revenue of his demesne lands, the rents of which had been hitherto paid in kind. The tenants were so impoverished with taxes, and other hardships, from the nature of their tenure, that they took all opportunities of meeting him in his progress, and presenting their ploughshares as useless implements. A dreadful famine ensued; and the king at last appointed commissioners to examine the estates, and fix a certain price in money to be annually paid in lieu of the corn, provision, and service, which had been usually

A. C. 1127.

Ord. Vital.
Gul. Gemet.

Henry's generosity to the Norman noblemen who adhered to his nephew.

A. C. 1129.

He compounds with the tenants of the crown in England for money in lieu of provision.

A. C. 1129. usually exacted. This composition was very advantageous to the tenant, the rates of provision being at that time very low ; so that the burthen of the rent diminished as the species increased*.

Henry's
daughter is
delivered of
a son.

A. C. 1131.

Henry now tasted the sweets of ease and tranquillity, after having surmounted all opposition ; and, during this calm, he visited his Norman dominions, chiefly to have a personal interview with pope Innocent II. whom he acknowledged as the successor of St. Peter, tho' his competitor Anacletus was master of Rome. To this last Henry had formerly inclined, out of opposition to the French king, who protected the other ; but Innocent found means to cajole him in such a manner, that he obtained his friendship and declaration in favour of his pretensions. After this conference the king returned to England with his daughter Maud, between whom and her husband some misunderstanding had arisen : and during her residence at her father's court, another general assembly of the states being convoked at Northampton, the barons renewed their oath to the empress, whom they now acknowledged as the apparent heirs of the crown. Her husband Geoffry, surnamed Plantagenet, from a sprig of a broom he wore in his cap, being disgusted at Henry's refusal to put him in immediate possession of Normandy, demanded his wife, who was accordingly sent over, by the advice of the council ; and, in about a year after her return, she was delivered of a son, who was called Henry, and afterwards ascended the English throne. This was a joyful event to the king, who forthwith summoned another general council at Oxford, where he treated them magnificently during

Chron. Sax.

A. C. 1133.

* We learn from the Dialogue of the Exchequer, that in this reign a fat ox was sold for five shillings ; a wether for a groat ; a measure of wheat, sufficient to serve an hundred men with bread, was valued at a shilling ; and a ration for twenty horses at four pence.

the Easter holidays; and then they took a third oath in favour of the empress and her new-born son Henry. Impatient to see this auspicious grandchild, the king resolved to make one other voyage to the continent, and embarked about the latter end of summer, during a total eclipse of the sun, which was followed by a violent earthquake: the monkish writers pretend these were omens of his death, which, however, did not happen for two years after his departure; though his brother Robert died before him in the castle of Cardiff, after having dragged about a miserable being, during six and twenty years of severe captivity, and lived to see the hopes of his family cut off, in the lamentable death of his gallant son William.

A. C. 1133.
R. dediceto.
Chron Sax.
He repairs
to Norman-
dy.

The death of
his elder
brother
Robert.

Henry found such happiness in fondling his grandson, and conversing with his daughter, who, besides this, brought forth two other sons, called Geoffry and William, that he never thought of returning to England, except at one time when he was alarmed with the account of some irruptions of the Welch, who had ravaged the western counties, and obtained several petty advantages over his troops. Roused at these tidings, he attempted to cross the sea with a body of archers, but was detained by contrary winds, until his daughter persuaded him to lay aside his design. He passed the remaining part of his life in great happiness at Rouen, enjoying the chace, for which he inherited his father's inclination: till one day having over-heated himself at this diversion, and over-indulged his appetite at night with lampreys, he was seized with a fever which brought him to the grave. When he perceived his end approaching, he sent for Robert earl of Gloucester, his natural son; William de Warenne, earl of Surrey; Robert earl of Leicester; the counts of Mortagne and Mellent or Meulant, and several other noblemen, who attended at his court, and

Henry dies
at St. Denis
le Forment.

Brompton.

recom-

A. C. 1133. recommended to them, in the strongest manner, the interest of his daughter, without making the least mention of her husband, with whom he was disobliged. He then remitted all the forfeitures of his nephew's adherents, whom he ordered to be recalled from exile. He directed that all his debts should be immediately discharged, forgave all his debtors, bequeathed sixty thousand pounds sterling to his domestics and guards; and having desired that his corpse might be removed to the abbey of Reading, which he had founded, and settled all his spiritual as well as temporal affairs, he died at St. Denis le Forment, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign. His body was next day carried to Rouen, attended by above twenty thousand people, and being embalmed after the coarse manner practised in those days, conveyed to Caen, in order to be transported to England.

Ord. vital.

A. C. 1135.

His portrait
and charac-
ter.

Henry was of a middle stature and robust make, with dark brown hair, and blue serene eyes. He was facetious, fluent, and affable to his favourites. His capacity naturally good, was improved and cultivated in such a manner, that he acquired the sur-name of Beauclerc by his learning. He was cool, cautious, politic, and penetrating: his courage was unquestioned, and his fortitude invincible. He was vindictive, cruel, and implacable: inexorable to offenders, rigid and severe in the execution of justice; and though temperate in his diet, a voluptuary in his amours, which produced a numerous family of illegitimate issue. His Norman descent and connections with the continent inspired him with a contempt for the English, whom he oppressed in the most tyrannous manner, not only by increasing the number of the forests, which were too numerous before, but also by his unconscionable exactions, in consequence of which he was enabled to maintain expensive wars upon the continent, and died the richest prince in Europe.

ST E.



STEPHEN.

S T E P H E N.

SO weak is human foresight, that some of the measures which Henry took to secure the succession of his crown to his daughter, contributed to her exclusion. In order to strengthen the interests of his family, he had heaped favours upon Stephen, the third son of the count de Blois, by Adela, daughter of the Conqueror. He caressed him at his court, and not only bestowed upon him the honour of Eye and all the great estate of Robert Mallet, but he had also effected a match between him and Maud, daughter and heiress of Eustace count de Boulogne, by Mary of Scotland, sister to king Henry's first queen. In right of this lady, Stephen succeeded to the county of Boulogne, besides a vast estate in England, which had been given to her ancestors at the Conquest. Henry thinking he could not do too much for his own nephews, who would undoubtedly support the interest of the empress against all opposition, created Stephen's younger brother Henry, abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester; so that the two brothers were by far the most powerful subjects in the kingdom. Stephen, conscious of his own importance and popularity, which was very great, could not resist the temptation of appropriating the crown to himself, instead of securing it to Maud, whose title he had so solemnly sworn to maintain. He reflected upon the ease with which Henry had supplanted the absent heir of blood, and he resolved in this particular to follow his example. In matters of less importance he might have obeyed the dictates of his gratitude and duty to his benefactor,

and

A. C. 1135.

An account
of Stephen.

A. C. 1135. and respected the oath he had taken ; but Henry himself, and many other princes of that age, had manifested by their whole conduct, how little they were restrained by the ties of religion and morality, when a crown was the object in view. He therefore, in his uncle's life-time, began to form a party among the English noblemen, while his brother employed all his influence to prepossess the clergy in his behalf. The endeavours of both succeeded even beyond their expectation. The English had been accustomed to see the heir of blood excluded from their throne ; they loved the person and character of Stephen ; did not much relish a female reign, which they had never experienced ; and both Normans and English saw the blood of the Conqueror and the Saxon monarchs united in him, as well as in his cousin the empress.

He forms a party in England.

Camden.
G. Malmesf.

Stephen arrives at Dover, is proclaimed at London, and crowned at Winchester.

Having thus paved the way to usurpation, he retired to Boulogne, from whence, on the first news of Henry's death, he set sail for Dover, where he was treated with great disrespect by the burghers, who understood the cause and intent of his coming. He was likewise insulted by the inhabitants of Canterbury, who shut their gates against him ; but, far from being discouraged by these repulses, he proceeded to London, where he was received with great honours by the citizens, who saluted him as king. Thence repairing to Winchester, his brother, who was bishop of that see, prevailed upon William de Pont-del Arche to deliver up the late king's treasure, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds in money, besides plate and jewels. This enabled him to conciliate the minds of the soldiery, and make suitable presents to the nobility and prelates ; and his brother having engaged Roger bishop of Salisbury in his interest, nothing was wanting to his coronation but the consent of William archbishop of Canterbury, whose right and office it was

Chr. Gerv.
Hunting.

to perform that ceremony. He being a conscientious primate, who scrupled to commit a flagrant breach of the oath he had taken to the empress; Hugh Bigod, steward of the late king's household, who was not quite so squeamish, removed his scruples, by swearing that Henry had, upon his death-bed, disinherited Maud, who had disobliged him, and appointed Stephen his heir. This objection being surmounted, the archbishop complied, and placed the crown upon his head at Westminster, in a very thin assembly of barons, who took the oath of allegiance to Stephen, qualifying their perjury towards Maud, by declaring they deemed themselves absolved of that obligation by her being married to a foreign prince, without their consent, and contrary to the intent of their oath, which implied, that they should suffer no person to reign over them but a descendant of William the Conqueror.

G. Malmes.
Ch. Mail.

Stephen, notwithstanding all his advantages and popularity, resolved to secure the favour of the nation, by some extraordinary concession; and therefore, over and above his promise of ruling with equity and moderation, for which his brother of Winchester interposed his word and credit, he assembled a general council of the barons at Oxford, when he solemnly swore of his own free motion, that he would not retain vacant fees and benefices in his hands, but fill them immediately with persons canonically elected: that he would not disturb the clergy or laity in the enjoyment of their own woods, like his predecessor, nor sue any person for taking the diversion of hunting, or trespassing in the royal forests; pretences which had been used to extort money by way of fine or composition: but, that he would restore the forests taken in by the late king, and abolish the tax of Danegelt, which had been levied every year since the Conquest.

He takes an extraordinary oath.

A. C. 1136.

This

A. C. 1136.
Brompton.
Huntingd.

This remarkable oath had a wonderful effect upon the English, who are naturally credulous and addicted to novelty; and they never suspected that he would disregard this oath, as much as that which he had formerly taken in favour of the empress.

Raises an
army of
Bretons and
Flemings.

After having paid the last honours to the corpse of Henry, which was brought over from Normandy, and interred with great magnificence in the abbey of Reading, he raised a body of Breton and Flemish soldiers to defend his government from any attempts that might be made in favour of Maud; and, as he could refuse nothing to the nobility, who had so readily concurred in exalting him to the throne, he granted a general licence to all noblemen and military tenants of the crown, to fortify the houses and castles on their estates.

Knyghton.
Brompton.
David, king
of Scotland,
invades the
northern
provinces.

It was not without great reason he took precautions for his own safety. He was elected rather by a cabal of prelates and noblemen, than by a general consent of the nation; in which there was a great number of noblemen who waited only for a proper opportunity to manifest their attachment to the empress. She had already been proclaimed by her uncle David, king of Scotland, who had over-run the provinces of Cumberland and Northumberland, reduced all the towns and fortresses in the North, except Bambury, and compelled the gentry and inhabitants, as far as Durham, to swear allegiance to Maud, and give hostages for their fidelity. Stephen was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he marched against the Scot; and the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Durham. Both princes seemed more inclined to a negotiation than a battle; and proposals being exchanged, they concluded a treaty, importing that David should restore all the places he had taken, except Carlisle, which he retained as part of Cumberland, and for which David's son Henry did
homage

A peace is
concluded
between
him and
Stephen.

homage to Stephen, who presented this young prince with the earldom of Huntingdon, and invited him to his court, where he was distinguished by such particular marks of favour, as gave umbrage to the English nobility.

This northern storm being overblown, all the kingdom enjoyed undisturbed repose, except the boundaries of Wales possessed by the English, which were infested by the incursions of the natives, who committed terrible outrages, until a peace was concluded; and then they submitted to Stephen. His throne being now to all appearance established, Robert earl of Gloucester, the late king's natural son, arrived in England. He was the most virtuous, accomplished, and popular nobleman in the kingdom, and a zealous adherent to the interests of the empress. He had remained in Normandy after his father's death, to execute his will, and confirm the Normans in their attachment to his daughter. But finding how easily Stephen had mounted the throne of England, and how satisfied the people were with his government, he resolved to temporize, and at his arrival took the oath of allegiance to Stephen, but with this express stipulation, that he should be no longer bound by it, than the king continued to rule according to the promises he had made. Robert did not at all doubt, that the obligation would soon be void, and then he might with a safe conscience take measures in behalf of his sister. This method of qualifying was adopted by all the other noblemen who had hitherto kept aloof; and Stephen having procured the pope's confirmation of his title, in order to settle the squeamish consciences of some prelates, who had hitherto withheld their homage, they now swore allegiance to him as long as he should maintain the liberties of the church, and the vigour of her discipline.

A. C. 1136.

Ch. Mailros.
Robert, earl of Gloucester, takes a conditional oath of allegiance to Stephen.

Flor. Wig.
Cent.

His example is followed by some prelates.

Hunting.
Rec. Hag.

A. C. 1136.

The king grants a charter of privileges to the clergy.

To demonstrate his good will in this particular, he granted a charter at Oxford, confirming the immunities of the church, disclaiming all simoniacal promotions; referring the persons and estates of ecclesiastics to the cognizance of spiritual courts only; securing the free enjoyment of all the possessions belonging to the church at the death of the Conqueror; promising restitution of what had been alienated, and renouncing all profit arising from vacant bishoprics, which his predecessors had kept for their own advantage. To this authentic deed, subscribed and witnessed by all the chief nobility in the kingdom, he paid so little regard in the sequel, that he seized the treasure of churches, gave their lands and possessions to laymen, ejected incumbents, and sold the benefices; disposed abbies to men of bad character, for pecuniary considerations, and committed bishops to prison, without any cause assigned. Nor was he more scrupulous in performing the promises he had made to the laity; for, instead of granting free liberty of hunting, he prosecuted the nobility on the forest laws with great severity.

Hunting.

The earl of Devon revolts.

Perhaps he thought himself acquitted of his obligations, by the insolence of Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon, who being refused some favour he asked of the king, openly renounced his obedience, and retiring to his castle of Exeter, began to exercise the authority of an independent sovereign. Stephen marching against him, invested his fortress, which, after a tedious siege, he reduced; the isle of Wight, which belonged to the same nobleman, submitted to the conqueror; and the earl was obliged to take refuge in Normandy, whither Stephen's affairs called him in the course of the following year.

Geoff. Steph.

Normandy distracted by factions.

Geoffry of Anjou, the husband of Maud, as soon as he could assemble his troops after the decease of

of

of the king, had entered that dutchy, and made himself matter of several towns, by the assistance of William de Talevas, count of Ponthieu; but an irreconcilable grudge subsisting between the Normans and the Angevins, the nobility of Normandy assembled at Newbourg, and offered the dutchy to Theobald count of Blois. To this prince, Robert earl of Gloucester delivered Falaise before his departure, in hope of promoting a contention between the brothers, which might be advantageous to the empress. The Norman noblemen understanding that Stephen was in quiet possession of the English throne, and being unwilling to lose the estates they possessed in England, sent Theobald home in great indignation, and offered their service to Stephen. But, far from being unanimous in their proceedings, the dutchy was divided into factions, which produced a civil war and universal desolation.

Stephen, finding his presence would be necessary to quiet these disturbances, set sail for Normandy, and being joined at La Hogue by the count de Blois, visited Lewis the Young, king of France, with whom a treaty was concluded, on condition that Eustace son of Stephen should marry the French king's sister Constance, and be invested by his brother-in-law with the dutchy of Normandy. Then Stephen assembling his forces, resolved to attack the count of Anjou, who had taken several places, and retired to Argentan, after having made an unsuccessful attempt to surprize Caen; but when the king had advanced as far as Lisieux, a quarrel broke out between William d'Ypres, earl of Kent, and Renaud de St. Valery, about the chief command: the Boulonnois and Flemings in the army espousing the cause of William, and the Normans declaring for their countryman Renaud, a battle ensued, and a great deal of blood was shed on both

The king's
army mu-
tinies in
Normandy.

A. C. 1137.

He concludes a truce with Geoffry Plantagenet.

Chron. Ger. Flor. Wig. Cout.

A conspiracy formed against him in England.

fides. Whether Stephen on this occasion favoured the foreign troops, in which he placed his chief confidence, or his favourite William d' Ypres was so detested by the Normans that they would not serve under his command; certain it is, they abandoned his army; nor could Stephen, who overtook them at Ponteau de Mer, prevail upon their leaders, Hugh de Gournay and young William de Warenne, to return to their duty. Perplexed therefore in his own mind, and suspecting the fidelity of all his Norman subjects, he was fain to purchase a truce for two years with Geoffry Plantagenet, by an annuity of five thousand marks for him, and another of two thousand for his own brother Theobald de Blois, in lieu of his pretensions to the dutchy. Notwithstanding this accommodation, the civil war still continued to rage among the Norman nobility; but Stephen, leaving William de Roumara and the viscount Roger to appease these troubles, returned to England; while Robert earl of Leicester, who had followed him into Normandy, stayed behind, partly because he did not care to trust himself in England with Stephen, who had already betrayed his jealousy of Robert's conduct, and partly to form stronger connexions with the Norman barons in favour of his sister Maud.

Stephen was recalled to England, to quell a conspiracy, which had been formed for massacring all the foreigners, expelling the Normans, and fixing the crown upon the head of David king of Scotland, the next lineal heir of the Saxon kings. This project was the effect of despair, to which the English were driven by the licentiousness and oppression exercised by the foreign mercenaries, who plundered and burned the towns and villages, and imprisoned, tortured, and even murdered the wretched people with impunity, under chiefs who had built and erected castles for the purposes of rapine.

pine. Nothing could exceed the misery of England at this period, when free-born Englishmen became the prey of such petty tyrants, saw their effects pillaged, their limbs loaded with shackles, their wives and daughters violated, their habitations burned, and their families perishing with hunger. In such a dreadful situation, no wonder they took some desperate resolution, against a foreign usurper, to whom they were bound by no ties of conscience or gratitude. Nigel, bishop of Ely, was the first friend of Stephen who detected the plot, and communicated the particulars to the prelates and nobility; and Stephen was no sooner informed of the design than he returned to England with great expedition. Some of the conspirators were taken, convicted, and executed; while others retired from the kingdom before they were accused, and the more powerful stood in their defence, treating with the Scots and Welsh for assistance. The sons of Robert Beauchamp, hearing the king had given part of their inheritance to Hugh le Poer, as a portion with the daughter of Simon Beauchamp, whom he had married, fortified the castle of Bedford, which was immediately invested by Stephen, who finding it too strong to be easily reduced, had recourse to the mediation of his brother the bishop of Winchester, by which an accommodation was effected, and the castle given up.

A. C. 1137

A. C. 1138.

Mean while David king of Scotland, having been formally refused possession of Northumberland, to which he laid claim, invaded the northern parts of England; and Stephen marching with a strong army to oppose his progress, the Scots retired to Roxburgh, where the king finding them too advantageously posted to be attacked with any prospect of success, and discovering some treachery among his followers, retreated to the South, without having hazarded an action. The Scots were

Ord. Vital.
David, king of Scotland, invades the northern counties; and is defeated near Northallerton, in the battle of the Standard.

A. C. 1138. then at liberty to waste Northumberland with impunity: they took Norham, and dividing into different detachments, ravaged the whole country, committing every where the most barbarous outrages. At length when the summer was far advanced, their scattered parties joining, they advanced as far as Baggamoor, about two miles from Northallerton in Yorkshire, where they were met by an English army, under the command of William earl of Albemarle accompanied by Walter Espec, Roger Mowbray, Robert de Bruce, Bernard de Baliol, Walter de Gant, and all the northern barons. In a sort of a wheel-carriage they had erected a long pole, at the top of which was a cross, and under this a banner, from whence the battle that ensued acquired the name of the battle of the Standard. Around this ensign the English were drawn up in a firm compacted body, the front being composed of pikemen and archers intermixed, to receive the first shock of the enemy. There was a dispute in the Scottish army about the manner in which they should begin the attack: David and his principal nobility were of opinion they should charge with their heavy-armed troops and bowmen; but the men of Galloway, who had no other than slight offensive weapons, insisted upon the privilege of forming the van; and the dispute growing warm between Alan de Piercy and the earl of Stratherne, the king in order to prevent a mutiny, ordered the Gallovidians to take their post and begin the battle. The second line was composed of the borderers and lowlanders, commanded by the prince of Scotland, under the direction of Eustace Fitzjohn, an English nobleman who had been oppressed by Stephen, and joined the Scots from resentment. The body of reserve consisted of the Highlanders and Murraymen, commanded by the king, attended by a body-guard of English and Norman

Norman knights. The Gallovidians marched up to the attack with three huzzas, and charged the English lancemen with such fury that they gave ground; but they were sustained by the second line: and the assailants, having no defensive armour, were galled in such a manner by the English arrows and push of pike, that their first fire being exhausted, and their two chieftains Ulgerick and Donald slain, they turned their backs and fled with great confusion. The prince of Scotland then advanced to the attack with such impetuosity that he bore down all before him, and even penetrated to the rear of the English, who, terrified at his success, began to fall into disorder, and gave way, when their total defeat was prevented by the stratagem of an old soldier, who cutting off a man's head, erected it on the point of his spear, and calling aloud, "Behold the head of the Scotch king," rallied the troops and renewed the battle. The Scots, confounded at this apparition, and dispirited by the flight of the Gallovidians, fought no longer with alacrity, but began to give ground on all quarters: nor could David, who fought on foot with undaunted courage, bring them back to the charge; so that he was obliged to mount on horseback, and quit the field.

Rieval de
Bel.
Sandardii.
Hagultad.

The fugitives, seeing the royal banner still displayed, were convinced of their king's being alive, and crowded around him in such numbers, that he was able to form a considerable body, with which he retreated in good order to Carlisle, where he was, on the third day after the battle, joined by his son. The prince, finding himself with a few soldiers in the heart of the English army, during the engagement, had thrown away his badges of distinction, and mixed with the enemy, until he made shift to escape through bye-ways to his father, who was disconsolate at his being missing; and therefore

David re-
treats to
Carlisle, and
besieges the
castle of
Werk.

A. C. 1138.

thought himself happy in his return. David lost some thousands, not in the battle, but in the retreat of scattered parties, who, instead of joining the royal banner, endeavoured to escape into their own country, and were massacred by the inhabitants of the country through which they marched. Stephen was so well pleased with this victory, that he conferred upon William of Albemarle the additional title of Yorkshire, and bestowed the earldom of Derby on Ferrers, by whom the other had been so strongly reinforced. David was not so weakened or dejected by his defeat, but that he besieged the castle of Werk, which he reduced by famine, nor would he be persuaded to make peace with Stephen, by all the remonstrances of the pope's legate Albericus, bishop of Ostia, sent to England by Innocent II. to exercise a legatine jurisdiction, and visit all the monasteries and cathedrals in the kingdom. All that Albericus could obtain of David, was a suspension of hostilities for some months, during which, however, Stephen's queen Maud, who was David's niece, employed her good offices so effectually, that a treaty of peace was next year concluded at Durham, on condition that all the county of Northumberland should be ceded to Henry, prince of Scotland, except Newcastle and Bamburg, in lieu of which he should enjoy certain lands in the southern parts of the kingdom. Hostages being given for the performance of the articles, the barons of Northumberland did homage to the Scottish prince, who attended queen Maud to Nottingham, where she was met by her husband.

Insurrections in the southern counties.

During these northern transactions, Stephen had been employed in quelling divers insurrections in different parts of the kingdom. He had heaped such extraordinary favours upon his minister William d'Ypres and other foreigners, as gave great umbrage

umbrage to the English nobility, who took no pains to hide their discontent, and their murmurs attracted the jealousy of the king, who upon slight surmizes seized their persons and estates. Others, to avoid the like treatment, put themselves in a posture of defence; and among the rest Robert earl of Gloucester, to whom the late king had granted the castles of Dover, Ledes, and Bristol, which Stephen now resolved to reduce. The first was surrendered by Walchelm the governor, at the persuasion of Gilbert Strongbow, who was for this piece of service created earl of Pembroke; Ledes was besieged and taken; but all the king's attempts upon Bristol proved ineffectual. Robert, thinking it now high time to pull off the mask, sent letters from Normandy to Stephen, upbraiding him with breach of faith and perjury towards Maud the empress, and denouncing war against him as an usurper. To this defiance the king made no answer, but ordered Robert's estates to be confiscated. Geoffry de Talebot was driven out of Hereford, to which he had retired; Shrewsbury was taken by storm, and Arnulf de Heslin the governor put to death, with ninety persons of the garrison; others, terrified by Stephen's success and severity, submitted; but Paynel still holding out in Ludlow, the king marched from Nottingham against that fortress, attended by the prince of Scotland, who in the course of the siege being pulled from his horse by an engine let down from the wall, was rescued by the personal valour of Stephen.

A. C. 1138.

A. C. 1139.

Ord. Vital.
Hen. Hunt.

The garrison made such a vigorous defence, that he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, by raising two forts in the neighbourhood; then he returned to Oxford, where he took a step that recovered his interest with the clergy. From the letter he had received in such outrageous terms from Robert earl of Gloucester, he concluded that
the

Stephen imprisons the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln.

A. C. 1139. the storm which had been long gathering, was ready to burst; and that all the persons of distinction in England, who had been attached to the late king, were concerned in the conspiracy against his crown. One of the most powerful of these was Roger bishop of Salisbury, who had been raised by Henry from a simple cure in Normandy to the see of Sarum, and enjoyed such a share of that king's confidence, that he in a manner governed the whole kingdom, and acquired vast wealth and influence, which he afterwards employed against the daughter and heir of his benefactor, in favour of an usurper, by whom he was neglected. At length he incurred the suspicion of Stephen, because he had, in consequence of the general permission, fortified Old Sarum, and built the castles of Sherburn, Malmesbury, and the Devizes; while his nephew Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, erected those at Newark and Sleaford. The king, therefore, at his return to Oxford, invited and required his presence at court, on pretence of consulting him in some affair of consequence. He accordingly went thither, accompanied by his two nephews the bishops of Lincoln and Ely, and was immediately taken into custody with Alexander, until they should deliver up their castles. Nigel bishop of Ely, who lodged in the suburbs, made his escape to the Devizes, which William d' Ypres was sent immediately to besiege; but, the place making a stout resistance, Roger was brought in person before it, and threatened with death, should they refuse to surrender. This expedient produced the desired effect. Nigel capitulated for his own liberty, and Stephen taking possession, found a treasure amounting to forty thousand marks, which was a very seasonable supply.

Brompton.

Ord. Vital.

This exploit excited a general clamour over all the nation: and Stephen's brother Henry bishop of Winchester, who was invested with a legatine power

power, thinking it incumbent upon him to vindicate the privileges of the clergy, summoned the king to attend a synod, which he convened at Winchester, in order to take cognizance of this affair. Stephen sent thither some earls, together with Aubrey de Ver, an eloquent orator, who undertook to justify the king's conduct, by observing, that the bishop of Salisbury had raised a sedition at Oxford, in which a knight of Bretagne had lost his life, and many subjects been grievously wounded, even under the eye of their sovereign; that he secretly favoured the enemies of the government, and intended to declare for the empress on her landing in England; that he was seized not as a bishop, but in quality of the king's servant; that the castles were not taken by force, but given as a composition for the penalty incurred by raising the tumult at Oxford; and that his treasure had been embezzled from the exchequer of the late king, consequently belonged to his successor. With respect to the bishop of Lincoln, nothing was laid to his charge but his being concerned in the fray at Oxford, which was purposely raised about lodgings, by Alain, count of Dinan, that the king might have a pretence for arresting the bishops. To these articles Roger made such a distinct and substantial answer, that Henry insisted upon the restoration of the castles; and the session was, at Stephen's request, adjourned till next day, when Hugh archbishop of Rouen, affirmed that no bishops were allowed by the canons to maintain castles; and Aubrey de Ver representing in very strong colours the mischiefs that might accrue to the members of the synod from the king's resentment, in case they should excommunicate Stephen, or appeal to Rome, as Henry had threatened to do, they broke up without proceeding to any sentence, and Stephen kept the castles he had thus acquired; while Roger died of grief and vexation, and the whole kingdom joined the clergy

A. C. 1139.
He is summoned before a synod held at Winchester.

A. C. 1139. in exclaiming against this act of violence and arbitrary power.

G. Malmesb.
H. Hunt.

Maud the
emprefs
lands in
Suffex.

It was certainly the most impolitic step he could have taken, at a juncture, when he was threatened with such a dangerous invasion from abroad. The truce with Geoffry Plantagenet being expired, that prince marched into the Contantin, the greatest part of which he reduced to his obedience; Robert earl of Gloucester put him in possession of Caen and Bayeux; and he proceeded with long strides towards an entire conquest of Normandy. To facilitate this enterprize, Robert resolved to attend Maud into England, where a great number of partisans were ready to rise at her arrival. To prepare for her reception, she sent over Baldwin de Redvers, who, landing at Wareham, took possession of Corfe castle, which was immediately invested by Stephen: but, hearing that the emprefs intended an immediate descent, he raised the siege, in order to reduce some places that lay in her way, from the sea-coast to Gloucestershire, in which the greatest number of her friends had acted. He was employed in the siege of Marlborough, when he received intelligence that Maud and her brother had landed at Arundel, and were admitted into the castle by Adelais, widow of the late king, now married to William de Albeney, earl of Suffex.

Stephen al-
lows Maud
to join her
brother at
Bristol.

Thither Stephen immediately marched, and found that Robert earl of Gloucester had already set out with twelve knights for Bristol, leaving the emprefs with her stepmother, who, at the king's approach, sent an apology for having received her daughter-in-law in the way of hospitality, and protested that she had no design to encourage an insurrection. Stephen, considering the strength of Arundel castle, which was deemed impregnable, and that it would be more easy to maintain the war in one place than in two different provinces, not only

only admitted the excuses of the queen-mother, but also allowed Maud to join the earl of Gloucester. She was accordingly conducted to Bristol by the bishop of Winchester; and from thence repaired to Gloucester, where she remained two years under the protection of Milo, whom Robert had appointed governor of the place during the late reign. The earl of Gloucester with the assistance of this gallant nobleman, who had great possessions in Herefordshire, and the counties of Gloucester and Brecknock; and Brian Fitz-Compte, lord of Overwent and Abergavenny, was enabled to raise a body of ten thousand men, to support the cause of the empress; while the clergy disposed the minds of the people in her favour.

A. C. 1139.

Gest. Reg.
Steph.
Malmesb.
Cout.
Flor. Wig.

Stephen, with a view to suppress this commotion before his enemies could assemble their forces, took the field immediately, and forming the blockade of Wallingford, by means of two forts erected to overawe the garrison, he invested Troubridge, which was so bravely defended by Humphrey de Bohun, that after his soldiers had suffered innumerable hardships and fatigues, he was fain to raise the siege, and retire to London, leaving a strong garrison in the Devizes, to oppose the excursions of the enemy, who had by this time destroyed his forts before Wallingford, and burned Worcester. Stephen now saw the bad effects of allowing every petty nobleman to fortify castles. There was scarce a parish in the kingdom without some strength of this kind, which served as a refuge to villany and oppression, by which the people were impoverished, and the collectors of taxes set at defiance; so that the king had no other way of filling his coffers but that of clipping and adulterating the coin, and setting up to sale all the posts, places, and benefices of the nation. At the same time he stuck at nothing to make himself master of the forts belong-

He takes
the field
against the
revolters.

He disoblige
the nobility.

ing

A. C. 1139. ing to those noblemen whom he suspected of disaffection. He made no scruple of arresting them without any case assigned, and compelling them to redeem their liberty by delivering up their strong holds; a species of tyranny in which he was encouraged and assisted by his brother the bishop of Winchester, who aggravated injustice with a scandalous breach of hospitality, by inviting a number of noblemen, and detaining them until they had surrendered their castles.

Mat. Paris.
Attacks
Hereford.

These arbitrary proceedings not only alienated the affection of the people from Stephen, but even deterred the nobility from approaching the court, which became dreary and desolate, like the palace

A. C. 1140.

of despotic power. After having spent a gloomy Christmas, almost unattended, at Salisbury, he repaired to Reading, from whence he marched with a body of forces to besiege the castle belonging to the bishop of Ely, which that prelate quitted at his approach, and fled for protection to Robert earl of Gloucester. After having secured this fortress, he ravaged the neighbourhood of Tewksbury, and attacked Hereford with a numerous army; but was obliged to desist from his enterprize, and retired without glory or success to Winchester.

Flor. Wig.
Concil.
G. Malmes.
Marches
into Corn-
wall.

The earl of Gloucester, by his vast power and credit, had engaged a great number of the nobility in Maud's interest; and others, whom he could not bring over, he prevailed upon to be quiet. He effected a match between his brother Reginald and the daughter of William Fitz-Richard, a powerful nobleman in Cornwall, who delivering the king's castles, and the greatest part of the county, to his son-in-law Reginald, otherwise called Renaud de Dunstanville, was created earl of Cornwall by the empress. Stephen was no sooner apprised of this transaction, than he marched thither with all expedition, and, recovering some of the fortresses, left

count Alain with a body of troops for their defence, and narrowly avoided Robert, who had laid a scheme for intercepting him in his return.

A. C. 1140.

Gest. Reg. Steph.

A negotiation for peace.

The whole kingdom was now become a scene of mischief, misery, and confusion. Every province, town, and individual, declaring for one or other of the competitors. Neighbours, and even families, were divided into factions; and the whole country was filled with rapine, cruelty, and bloodshed. The barons assumed separately a sovereign power, oppressed the people, and even coined money in their own castles. Maud was obliged to connive at the violence and irregularity of her friends, to secure their adherence; and as Stephen could not pay his foreign mercenaries, they were allowed to live at free quarter, and commit the most terrible outrages. In this deplorable anarchy, every moderate person in the kingdom sighed for peace; and Henry bishop of Winchester proposed a treaty. The conferences were opened in the neighbourhood of Bath, and the empress seemed willing to refer the dispute to the arbitration of the bishops; but Stephen refused his assent to this proposal, because he expected no justice or impartiality from a set of people whom he had so mortally offended. The bishop of Winchester requested the mediation of the French king and Stephen's elder brother Theobald, count de Blois, and going over to the continent for that purpose, brought back propositions to which the empress took no exception; but Stephen, after having procrastinated his answer for a considerable time, at length rejected them entirely, and the war was renewed with various success.

Malmesb.

The war is renewed.

The earl of Gloucester had taken Nottingham; and his son-in-law Ralph de Gernons, earl of Chester, surprised the castle of Lincoln, in which he proposed to spend the Christmas holidays, with his
wife

A. C. 1140. wife and his half brother, William de Roumara. The inhabitants of the town, who favoured Stephen, giving that prince to understand how easily he might surprize three enemies of such consequence, he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched on Christmas-day with such diligence, that the castle was invested before Ralph had the least intimation of his approach : he found means however to break through Stephen's guards in the night, and repairing to the earl of Gloucester, made him acquainted with the situation of his daughter, and begged he would lose no time in marching to her relief, as the castle was in no condition to sustain a siege.

Robert immediately assembled his troops, and took the route to Lincoln, with his son-in-law, at the head of his vassals and some auxiliary Welsh forces, and, resolving to strike a decisive blow, passed a rivulet and morafs, which Stephen deemed impracticable, and gave him battle without hesitation. The infantry, commanded by himself in person, composed the center ; the horse were formed into two wings, one of which consisted of those who had been deprived of their honours and estates by Stephen ; and the other was made up of Ralph's vassals, under his own conduct : while the Welsh, who were unprovided with defensive armour, constituted a separate body, posted at the extremity of the line. Stephen drew up his army in the same manner ; one wing of Flemish and Breton cavalry, commanded by William d' Ypres and the earl of Albemarle ; the other, composed of Bretons and English, under count Alain of Dinan, Walleran de Mellent, Hugh Bigod earl of Norfolk, Simon de Seules, and William de Warenne, earls of Northampton and Surry ; and the king himself on foot in the center. William d' Ypres began the battle by attacking the Welsh, who were easily routed :
and

and the earl of Chester, seeing them disordered in the pursuit, charged them in flank, and broke them entirely so as that they never rallied. At the same time the English, on the other wing of Gloucester's army, fired by their wrongs, threw away their lances, and fell sword in hand among Stephen's cavaliers, who did not stand the first onset, but fled in the utmost confusion. Stephen being thus left naked to the right and left, was surrounded by the enemy; and though he acted the part of an able general, and for a long time sustained the battle against extraordinary odds and efforts, he was at length obliged to yield to the adverse fortune of the day. He fought with inconceivable fury, until his battle-axe was broke to pieces; then drawing his sword, he defended himself against a whole multitude, foaming with rage to see himself abandoned by his soldiers: in this unequal fight he shivered his sword to pieces, and still fought with his truncheon, until he received a blow with a stone, which felled him to the ground: yet he started up again upon his knees; but, before he could rise, a knight, called William de Kaines, springing forward, and seizing his crest, presented the point of his sword, and threatened to put him instantly to death, if he would not surrender. Notwithstanding the extremity to which he was reduced, he refused to yield to any person but the duke of Gloucester, who, being near the spot, came up and took him prisoner, together with four noblemen who had fought by his side. He was immediately conducted to Bristol, where he was ignominiously treated, and even loaded with chains, by order of the empress; but not above an hundred of his men were slain.

A. C. 1140.
Stephen is defeated, and taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln.

Hunting,
Hoved.
Haguitad.
Cul. Newb.

Immediately after this decisive battle, William Peverel surrendered the castle of Nottingham to the empress; those of the Devizes and Bedford were yielded to her at the same time; and the earl of

Maud gains over to her interest
Henry
bishop of
Winchester.

A. C. 1141. Warwick and all England abandoned the captive king, except the city of London and the county of Kent, in which William of Ypres his favourite, and some other partisans, still adhered to his queen, and son Eustace. Such barons as yet preserved their allegiance, entered into the corporations and common-council of London, and prevailed upon them to form an association in favour of the king. Though the greatest part of the kingdom had declared for Maud, she still found an obstacle to her ascending the throne; and that was Henry bishop of Winchester, invested by the pope with legatine power, which placed him at the head of the clergy, whose resolutions, on such an occasion, would have a great influence on the people and the nobility. In order to detach this prelate from his brother's interest, she visited him at Winchester, and promised to be guided wholly by his counsels, and even to leave the vacant bishoprics to his disposal. These were temptations which he could not resist. He promised to abandon his brother, and devote himself entirely to her service; as a proof of his sincerity, he swore allegiance to her in private, though it was a conditional oath, binding him no longer than she should continue to act according to her promise. Next day he received her with great solemnity in the cathedral church, where he excommunicated all the partisans of Stephen, and offered absolution to those who should forsake him, and espouse the cause of the empress. Henry's example was followed by the archbishop of Canterbury, who did not however take the oaths to Maud, until he had obtained the consent of the king, whom he visited in prison.

G. Malmes.
Henry harangues the council in her favour.

The legate, having undertaken to bring the clergy over to Maud's interest, assembled a general council at Winchester, and, before the opening of the session, conferred with every member in private, to prepare him for the declaration he intended to make.

make. The council being assembled, he pronounced a studied harangue, in which he observed, that the tyranny, bad faith, and misconduct of Stephen, were the real sources of all the troubles that afflicted the nation. He owned that he himself had engaged his word for him, when the circumstances of affairs made it necessary to raise him to the throne: but he had been grievously mistaken in his opinion of the man, and it was with unfeigned sorrow he found himself obliged to renounce that engagement. He reminded them of the first oath he had taken to the empress; and said it was more righteous to obey the order of God Almighty, who had declared in favour of that princess, than to sacrifice his duty to the interests and ambition of a carnal brother, whom he had done all that lay in his power to reclaim, though without effect: that the judgment of heaven having overtaken him whom they had chosen, they ought to make atonement for their fault, in restoring the crown to the lawful heirs; and that, after having deliberated with the principal members of the clergy, upon measures for putting a stop to the calamities of the nation, he had, by virtue of the apostolic power with which he was invested, thought proper to acknowledge Maud, daughter of the late king Henry, queen and sovereign of England.

All the members, who had not been privately closeted, were infinitely surpris'd at this declaration; but as no individual would venture to express his dislike, the legate interpreted their silence into approbation, and gave them to understand, that he had summoned the Londoners to this council, where they promised to appear. Next day the deputies from that city arrived; but far from approving of the new election, they demanded, in the name of their constituents, that the king should be set at liberty. The legate replied, that it ill be-

The Londoners hold out for Stephen.

A. C. 1141. came the citizens of London to associate with those barons who had so basely abandoned their king in battle; and whose sole aim was to involve the country in fresh troubles. The deputies demanded a categorical answer, which however they could not obtain; and therefore they protested against the transactions of the council. A chaplain belonging to Stephen's queen presented a letter to the legate from that princess; but as he did not choose to communicate the contents of it to the assembly, he restored it to the bearer, who read it aloud. The purport of this address was to demand her husband's enlargement, but it met with no regard from the audience; and the session was concluded with the sentence of excommunication denounced against all Stephen's adherents.

G. Malmes.

They acknowledge the empress.

Nothing was now wanting to complete the triumph of the empress, except the concurrence of the city of London, which was at length obtained by the endeavours of her brother Robert, who had been hitherto her chief director and support. During this negotiation she resided at St. Alban's, where she was visited by her uncle David, king of Scotland, who had come to assist at her coronation; and, as soon as she understood that her party had prevailed in the capital, she set out for that city, where she was received as sovereign. Having exacted the oath of allegiance from the citizens, she began to prepare for her coronation; and, in this interval, Stephen's queen implored her generosity and mercy in behalf of that unfortunate prince, who, in consideration of obtaining his liberty, offered to renounce all pretensions to the crown, to leave the kingdom, or even spend his days in a monastery; nay, he proposed to bind himself by oath, and give hostages for the performance of his promise. These proposals were rejected with great disdain, and the empress forbid Mathilda, in a very in-

who treats Stephen's queen with cruel disdain.

insulting manner, to trouble her with such solicitations for the future. A. C. 1141.

The request of that unhappy princess had been seconded by Henry bishop of Winchester, who thought himself entitled to some degree of favour with the empress; but he found himself disappointed in his expectation. He had asked the counties of Boulogne and Montagne, for Stephen's son Eustace, and met with a peremptory denial, which was so opposite to the professions of Maud before her election, that he perceived he had nothing to hope from her good-will or condescension. He therefore deemed himself acquitted of his engagement, and began to project schemes of revenge, which she herself facilitated by her pride and imperious conduct. Instead of conciliating the affections of her subjects by affability and popular concessions, she affected to treat them as slaves born for her service. She intailed upon herself the hatred of the Londoners, in rejecting their remonstrance, when they intreated her to mitigate the severe laws of the Norman princes, and revive those of the Confessor; a favour with which she ought in policy to have indulged her people, un-solicited. The citizens did not fail to murmur at this instance of her haughty and inflexible disposition; the nation began to pity the distress of Stephen and his family; they recognized and trembled at the spirit of the Conqueror, which manifested itself so early in the deportment of his grand-daughter; and they heartily repented of the steps they had taken in her favour.

She gives umbrage to the Londoners and the bishop of Winchester.

The bishop of Winchester in secret fomented their discontent, and finding it ripe for tumult, directed his nephew Eustace to take the field, under the auspices of William d'Ypres, who assembled a body of Kentish men for his service. With these he advanced into Surrey, and blocking up London

Maud is obliged to fly from London.

A. C. 1141. on the side of Southwark, sent detached parties to make excursions on the other side of the river, and ravage the country to the very suburbs. In order to co-operate with these proceedings, the Londoners, instigated by the bishop's emissaries, formed a conspiracy for seizing the person of the empress, who being accidentally informed of their purpose, retired with great precipitation, attended by her uncle David, her brother Gloucester, and Milo, whom she had by this time created earl of Hereford. Though her person escaped, her furniture was plundered by the populace, and her character treated openly with the most indecent reproach. While she hastened to Oxford, in order to assemble an army, the bishop retired to Winchester, where he fortified his palace, and took measures with the disaffected party for augmenting the forces of his nephew; though he did not yet openly declare himself an enemy to the empress. He could not, however, with all his caution, elude her suspicion; and her brother Robert visited him at Winchester, on purpose to sound his sentiments: he could plainly perceive that prelate was estranged from his sister's interest; and indeed he had no reason to expect any other consequence from the rude, ungrateful manner, in which she had slighted his mediation, and rejected his request.

G. Malmes.
Ch. Gervas.

Being now convinced of his disaffection, she repaired suddenly to Winchester, with a flying party of horse, and alighting at the king's castle, sent a message to him, announcing her arrival, and desiring to see him directly, that she might consult him about some affairs of the last importance. The bishop, who at once perceived her drift, returned an ambiguous answer, that he was getting ready as fast as he could; but instead of going to the palace, he forthwith quitted the town, and assembled his friends, who were prepared to join him on the
first

first notice. The troops of Kent and the militia of London being already in the field under the command of Stephen's queen and his son, directed by William d'Ypres, they marched forthwith to Winchester with such expedition, that Maud's uncle David and her brother, with the earl of Hereford, and a few troops assembled in a hurry, had scarce time to reinforce her in the castle before she found herself besieged. Henry was joined by a number of young nobility, flushed with spirits and ambition, who seized this opportunity of retrieving the reputation they had lost in the battle of Lincoln, and executed Henry's resentment against the inhabitants of Winchester, who had exhibited some marks of affection for the empress. In order to punish them for this unlucky attachment, their good bishop ordered wildfire and combustibles to be thrown by engines from his castle upon the town, so as to produce a conflagration, that reduced great part of it to ashes; and, among other buildings, consumed a nunnery and twenty churches within the walls, and in the suburbs the abbey of Hyde, from which, however, the bishop reserved for his own use a massy golden cup studded with stones, the gift of king Canute, and three royal diadems, with stands of the purest Arabian gold, adorned with jewels and curious workmanship. While the holy legate thus rained fire and destruction on his flock, William d'Ypres acted the same tragedy at Andover, and burned the nunnery of Warewell, to which some of Maud's adherents fled for refuge.

A. C. 1141.
Maud besieged at Winchester, which is set on fire by the bishop.

G. Malmesb.

Contin.
Flor. Wig.

Though the castle of Winchester was now closely besieged by an army amounting to sixty thousand men, David king of Scotland, and Robert earl of Gloucester, made such a vigorous defence, that after the assailants had carried on their operations above six weeks, they retained very little hope of

The empress makes her escape with great difficulty

A. C. 1141. reducing the besieged by force of arms. The pious bishop therefore had recourse to a stratagem, by which he turned religion to good account. On the eve of Holy-wood day, he ordered peace to be proclaimed in the town, and the gates to be set wide open, inviting all persons, foes as well as friends, to celebrate that great festival of Christianity without fear of interruption. Though earl Robert did not altogether depend upon the prelate's sincerity, yet as their provision was quite exhausted, and famine must have compelled them to surrender in a few days at discretion, he resolved, with the consent of David, to make an attempt for conveying the empress to a place of safety. With this view he committed her to the charge of her brother Reginald, earl of Cornwall, supported by great part of the garrison, with direction to make the best of their way towards the Devizes, while he himself followed with a choice party of two hundred men, to amuse the enemy, in case they should attempt to intercept her. With this guard the empress set out on horseback, and had not proceeded a great way when William d'Ypres began the pursuit. The earl of Gloucester and David interposed, and made such a gallant defence, that Maud accomplished her escape to the castle of Lutgershal in Wiltshire; which finding unprovided and indefensible, she was obliged to disguise herself in man's apparel, and ride forward to the Devizes, where she arrived so fatigued, that she could not prosecute her journey without some repose. Mean while the king of Scots made his escape to his own country, by the fidelity of David Oliphant; and Robert earl of Gloucester, having retarded the enemy a considerable time, was at length overpowered at Trowbridge, and taken prisoner. A body was immediately sent in pursuit of the empress, who finding no safety at the Devizes, and

The earl of Gloucester is taken.

understanding

understanding the whole adjacent country was in possession of the enemy, allowed herself to be inclosed in a bier, which passed along unsuspected, and conveyed her to Gloucester, where she was afterwards joined by her faithful Milo, who had made shift to travel through the enemy's parties in the disguise of a beggar.

A. C. 1141.
Hagulfstad.
Gul. Newb.

Robert was no sooner in the hands of Stephen's party than they exerted all their endeavours to debauch him from the cause of his sister: they offered him the government of the whole realm, under Stephen, if he would embrace the interest of that prince; and, finding him deaf to their promises, threatened to send him beyond sea, and commit him close prisoner in Boulogne. He was equally unmoved by their menaces and flattery, and bore his captivity with the most heroic fortitude. Then they proposed that he should be exchanged for Stephen; but this proposition he rejected as an unfair exchange, unless they would at the same time release all the persons of distinction they had taken; so as to make up the difference between his rank and that of Stephen. This expedient, however, was rejected by William d'Ypres, who would not part with the prospect of ransom. At length, as Robert was the soul of his sister's cause, she agreed that he should be exchanged for Stephen, whom nevertheless she would not release, until his queen surrendered herself as an hostage for the liberty of Gloucester. This precaution being taken Stephen was dismissed, and arrived at Winchester, where he had an interview with Robert, whom he endeavoured in vain to seduce. This nobleman, on the contrary, no sooner recovered his freedom than he applied himself with redoubled diligence to the re-establishment of his sister's affairs: while the legate convoked a council, in which, after Stephen had made a speech, complaining of his imprisonment,

and

He is exchanged for Stephen.

G. Malm.

A. C. 1141. and the infidelity of his subjects, the bishop made an aukward apology for the inconsistency of his own conduct, by imputing it to the necessity of the times. He said the emprefs had not only broke the stipulations she had made with him before her election, but likewise formed designs against his life and dignity; and concluded with a sentence of excommunication denounced against all disturbers of the peace, who favoured the cause of the countess of Anjou. Howsoever shocked the ecclesiastical members of this assembly were at this instance of the bishop's arrogance and inconsistency, there was no person present who would venture to express his sentiments, except a lay-deputy sent thither by Maud, who in the name of that princess loudly taxed him with perjury and rebellion; affirming that she had come to England by his invitation, and detained Stephen in prison in consequence of his advice; a charge to which he made no reply.

¶d. *ibid.*

His voyage
to Norman-
dy.

Maud mean while held a council at the Devizes, in which it was resolved that the count of Anjou should be invited to come over and take the management of his wife's affairs: but he declined the invitation, until he should have a conference with the earl of Gloucester, who at first refused to leave the kingdom at a juncture when his presence was so necessary; but at length he yielded to the importunities of his sister and her friends; and leaving her at Oxford, was accompanied in his voyage by a number of young noblemen, whom he carried along with him as pledges for the fidelity of their parents. He embarked at Wareham, and after a dangerous passage arrived at Caen, where he was met by Geoffry Plantagenet, who among other objections to his crossing the sea, mentioned that of his being obliged to stay and reduce some castles in Normandy. Robert assisted him in subduing these fortresses,

fortresses, and still he found other excuses; so that the earl perceiving him altogether averse to the voyage, prevailed upon him to send over his eldest son Henry, whose presence would animate the English to exert themselves in supporting his mother. A. C. 1141.

About the time of the earl's departure from England, Stephen had been seized with a dangerous fever, which reduced him to the brink of the grave; but, as soon as he recovered, he assembled a body of troops, and marching to Wareham, burned the town, and made himself master of the castle; then he directed his march to Oxford, and arrived at that place so unexpectedly, that he entered the city before any measures could be taken for its defence, and immediately invested the castle, in which the empress was cooped up with no other garrison than her ordinary guard and the officers of her household. The noblemen, who had engaged to defend her in her brother's absence, immediately assembled their forces, and advanced as far as Wallingford, to give battle to Stephen; but he would not quit the city of Oxford, which was too well fortified for them to besiege with any prospect of success. Robert, being apprised of Maud's danger, embarked immediately for England, with her son Henry, and four hundred men at arms, and landing at Wareham invested the castle without delay, in expectation that Stephen would raise the siege of Oxford castle, and march to its relief: but that prince was so intent upon having the empress in his power, that he would not interrupt his operations for one moment; so that the castle of Wareham capitulated. From thence the earl A. C. 1142. marched to Cirencester, which he had appointed for the rendezvous of all his sister's friends, in order to proceed with diligence for her relief, as she was now reduced to the utmost extremity.

There

A. C. 1142.

Maud's extraordinary escape.

There a considerable army was formed, and they had began their march to Oxford, when they received the agreeable tidings of Maud's escape to Wallingford, in a very extraordinary manner. The duty being very severe in the camp of the besiegers, during the winter, while the river was frozen and the ground covered with snow, the soldiers became more remiss in their discipline, and abated much in their vigilance. Maud, taking advantage of this relaxation, came out at a postern gate, attended by four knights dressed in white, that they might not be easily distinguished from the snow; and crossing the river upon the ice, walked on foot to Abingdon, from whence she was conveyed to Wallingford. There she was visited by her brother and son, at sight of whom she forgot all her cares and distresses; and this young prince's education was committed to Robert, who conducted him to Bristol, where he continued four years under the tuition of the best masters. Mean while the castle

Geoff. Reg.
Stephen.
G. Maim.

A. C. 1143.

of Oxford was surrendered to Stephen, who found himself extremely disappointed and chagrined at the escape of the empress; but as the season was so far advanced, the troops on both sides were put into winter-quarters.

Stephen is surprised by the earl of Gloucester, at Wilton.

Stephen opened the campaign in the spring with an expedition into the western counties, which his foreign mercenaries ravaged with great inhumanity; then he made an unsuccessful attempt upon the castle of Wareham, and marching from thence to Wilton, resolved to erect a fortress to hinder the excursions of the garrison of Salisbury. While he superintended this work, the earl of Gloucester came upon him so suddenly that he had scarce time to draw out his forces, which were attacked in three different places, and routed after a slight opposition. Stephen himself had undergone such a rough trial of captivity, that rather than run the

risque of being taken, he quitted the field before the action, with his brother the legate, leaving his plate and furniture a prey to the victor, who took a great number of prisoners, and among the rest William Martel, his great favourite and steward of his household.

A. C. 1143

Chr. Gerv.

This officer's captivity was one of the greatest consequences of the victory, inasmuch as the castle of Sherburn was given up for his ransom; and about the same time Henry de Tracy, who had hitherto kept alive a party for Stephen in Devonshire, despairing of seeing that prince firmly settled on the throne, made his peace with the empress, who now saw herself in possession of the whole kingdom of Wessex except Hampshire; while her antagonist had only a precarious footing in other provinces, exclusive of the city of London, which continued staunch to his cause. That part of Wales inhabited by the English, and the counties lying on the side of the Severne, had declared for Maud, and obeyed her government. The bishopric of Durham, and the three northern counties possessed by David king of Scotland, acknowledged her sovereignty. William, earl of Yorkshire, who adhered to Stephen, was balanced by Alain earl of Richmond; while Ralph earl of Chester, Hugh Bigot earl of Norfolk, and the noblemen of East-Anglia, maintained a sort of independent regality within their several districts, though they were contented to recognize Stephen for their sovereign. The seat of the war therefore was chiefly confined to Berkshire and the parts adjacent, and carried on in sieges and blockades of castles, or slight skirmishes of detached parties; for Stephen was by this time disabled from assembling a royal army. His interest likewise sus-

State of
England at
this period.Geoff. Reg.
Stephen.

G.

of

A. C. 1143. of Celestin II. to the pontificate, was given to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, upon whose authority Henry, though his suffragan, had insolently encroached. The empress about the same time was afflicted with the loss of a faithful and considerable adherent in the death of Milo, whom she had created earl of Hereford, a title that now devolved to his son Roger, who, though a nobleman of courage and fidelity, wanted the weight and experience of his father.

Stephen arrests the earl of Essex, who afterwards commences his professed enemy.

Stephen seems to have been infected with the rage of building castles; for he seldom attempted to take one fortress without building another, and the governors he appointed very often set up for themselves; so that he not only multiplied tyrants to oppress the country, but raised so many bulwarks against his own interest. He was also very much addicted to jealousy; and once his suspicion was aroused, he never waited for conviction, but took immediate steps for his own interest and convenience, without any regard to gratitude or justice. Geoffry de Magneville, a nobleman of great parts and vast possessions, he had created earl of Essex, and appointed governor of the Tower of London; but Stephen, giving ear to the suggestions of Geoffry's enemies, who represented him as a secret favourer of the empress, caused him to be arrested at St. Alban's, on pretence of a tumult raised on purpose, and refused to release him until he had given up the Tower, as well as his own castles of Walden and Plethy, near Dunmow in Essex. Whatever were Geoffry's sentiments before this injury, he now commenced the professed enemy of Stephen, and made a tender of his services to the empress, who confirmed his title, and appointed him hereditary high-sheriff of London, Middlesex, and Hertfordshire. To approve himself worthy of these favours, he assembled a body of his friends

A. C. 1144.

and vassals, with which he destroyed the town of Cambridge, and converted the abbey of Ramsay into a garrison; then he retired to the fens, from which Stephen in person attempted to dislodge him, though without success. He was afterwards joined by Hugh Bigot, who declared for the empress; and these two noblemen ravaged the whole country, making excursions even to the neighbourhood of London, upon the citizens of which Stephen's chief dependence rested: at length Geoffry was accidentally killed by an arrow at the siege of Burwelle castle: and Stephen marching against Bigot, obliged him to retire.

A. C. 1144.
Gest. Reg. Stephen.

This prince pursued the same perfidious and impolitic conduct with regard to Ralph earl of Chester, who had made his accommodation, and assisted him with his forces on several occasions since his imprisonment. Notwithstanding these proofs of his sincerity and attachment, he could not overcome the suspicion of Stephen, whose jealousy was founded upon his omitting to resign some royal castles that were in his possession. He therefore took the first opportunity of Ralph's being at court, to demand immediate restitution of these fortresses; and upon the earl's desiring a little time to consult his friends upon the subject, he was charged with high treason and taken into custody. His adherents no sooner understood his situation, than they took to their arms, and attacked some places belonging to Stephen; but they were at last obliged to deliver the castles, as the ransom of Ralph, who was stripped of every thing but the county palatine of Chester. He was so incensed at the injury he had sustained, that notwithstanding the oath which he was compelled to take to Stephen, before he obtained his release, he forthwith assembled his forces, and declaring war against the tyrant, surprised, attacked, and reduced a number of

Stephen brings upon himself the resentment of the earls of Chester, Clare, and Norfolk.

A. C. 1146. of his castles, wasted the country about Lincoln, and blocked up the fort of Coventry, which was one of those he had been compelled to surrender. In this expedition he was joined by his nephew Gilbert earl of Clare, whom Stephen had disoblinded, by detaining the castles which he had delivered as pledges for the restitution of those possessed by his uncle. These two noblemen employed the whole force and attention of Stephen, whom they worsted in several encounters, till at last they had the misfortune of being defeated, though not so depressed but that they still disabled him from making any advantage of Maud's leaving the kingdom; an event which might otherwise have conducted to his re-establishment on the throne.

Gest. Reg. Stephen.

A. C. 1147. Robert, earl of Gloucester, dies; the empress leaves the kingdom.

Geoffry Plantagenet having by this time subdued all Normandy, longed to see his son Henry, who had resided four years in England, and sent over some noblemen to accompany the young prince to the continent: he was accompanied by Robert earl of Gloucester, to Wareham, where he embarked; and the earl returning to Bristol, died in the latter end of the year, to the unspeakable grief and prejudice of the empress, whose cause had been supported almost wholly by his character and capacity. He was certainly a nobleman of great virtue, influence, and ability, who by his personal merit and importance united a variety of different interests in behalf of his sister, and kept them at a due distance from encroachment upon her authority and prerogative; whereas, he was no sooner removed, than many individual adherents followed their own inclinations, built castles, oppressed the people, and breathed nothing but resentment and revenge, when they were rebuked for their disorders, or denied their presumptuous demands; so that Maud being destitute of any person who deserved her confidence, or could in any shape fill the

the

the place of her deceased brother; retired to her husband in Normandy.

Her friends did not desist from action at her departure; because by this time Stephen had rendered himself odious to the whole nation, and the nobility knew how little they could depend upon his faith. Perhaps he might have profited by the absence of Maud, notwithstanding the enmity of those noblemen whom he had so outrageously injured, had not he involved himself in a quarrel with the archbishop of Canterbury, which had very unfavourable consequences for his interest, and the kingdom in general. He and his brother Henry were exasperated at pope Eugenius III. for having bestowed the legatine power upon Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, whom they detested; and the chapter of York, perceiving that the animosity was equal on both sides, took this opportunity of complaining to his holiness, that William, the nephew of Stephen, had been intruded into their see by royal authority, without a canonical election: that prelate was therefore deprived in the council held at Rheims, in Champaign. The pope having summoned Theobald of Canterbury, with the bishops of Worcester, Bath, Exeter, and Chichester, to attend at this council, Stephen, at the instigation of his brother, forbade the metropolitan to leave the kingdom, hoping, that if he should forbear to go thither, he would be suspended or deprived for contempt of the pope's order; and resolving, if he should leave England, notwithstanding the prohibition, to seize his revenues, and treat him as an outlaw. Theobald, understanding that the ports were guarded to prevent his voyage, embarked in an open boat, and arriving safely on the continent, proceeded to the council; and after it broke up returned to Canterbury, where he found his revenues sequestered by order of the king, who went

A. C. 1147.
Ch. Gervas.
Gul. Newb.
Stephen
quarrels
with the
archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

A. C. 1148. thither and commanded him to depart the kingdom. During his exile this prelate, in letters which he wrote to several churches in England, threatened them with an interdict to commence at a certain day; and the monks of St. Augustin petitioning the pope to prevent it, were ordered to obey the archbishop's commands. Theobald, arriving in Suffolk, was honourably received and protected by Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk; and, at the appointed time, published the interdict against all the churches which acknowledged Stephen. Divine service immediately ceased in all the parts subjected to that king, while it was celebrated as usual in all those which obeyed the empress; a distinction that produced a very sensible effect among the people. The monks of St. Augustin, who revolted against this ordinance, were excommunicated by the archbishop, and sent agents with a remonstrance to the pope, who would not admit them to an audience, until they had undergone discipline and received absolution, which was granted to them in the name of the archbishop: then they were sharply rebuked for their misconduct, and ordered to obey Theobald, who was at the same time directed to punish them severely: an injunction with which he complied, in depriving the prior, suspending the secretary, and commanding the rest of the monks to observe the interdict.

Ch. Gervas.
Act. Pont.
Ebor.

Prince Henry
is knighted
by David
king of
Scotland.

Stephen was so much embroiled in this affair, that he could not prosecute the war with vigour. The whole kingdom was overwhelmed with consternation and superstitious horror: and in this melancholy pause, William de Warenne, Roger de Mowbray, with many other noblemen and knights, and a vast multitude of people, engaged in the crusade recommended by St. Bernard, and from the accursed country of England repaired to the sacred plains of Palestine. Geoffry Plantagenet's

son Henry was now turned of sixteen, and his father resolving to put him in possession of Normandy, sent him to Carlisle, in order to be knighted by David king of Scotland. With a view to animate his mother's party, he landed in England with a great retinue of knights and soldiers, and was accompanied by Ralph earl of Chester, and Roger earl of Hereford, with many other noblemen, to Carlisle, where the ceremony was performed with great solemnity. The multitude of people, assembled on this occasion, alarmed the inhabitants of York, who communicated to Stephen their apprehension that a scheme was formed against their city, and thither the king immediately marched with a body of forces: but no hostilities were committed on either side; for Stephen did not think proper to involve himself in a new war, if it could be avoided; and the confederates were not yet ripe for action. A design was afterwards formed indeed for invading Stephen's dominions, and David and Henry advanced as far as Lancaster, where the earl of Chester had promised to join them with a strong reinforcement; but he disregarding his appointment, they retreated to Carlisle.

Eustace, the son of Stephen, being about the same time knighted by his father, now made his first essay in arms, and ravaged the lands of some noblemen attached to the empress; while the king extorted a large sum of money from the people of the northern counties, and returned to the neighbourhood of London; from whence, by means of light excursions, he kept alive a prædatory war. He seemed to delight in besieging and surprising castles; and in some of these attempts he succeeded; but investing the castle of Worcester, belonging to his old friend the count de Meulant, he met with such a vigorous resistance, that he was obliged to desist from the enterprize, and burned the town

Hunting.
Ch. Gervas,
Hagulfstad, j

Henry assumes the
reins of government in
Normandy.

A. C. 1149. in revenge. During these transactions Henry, sailing from Scotland to the continent, assumed the reins of government in Normandy, against the express command of Lewis king of France, who, as sovereign of that fief, pretended to bestow it upon Eustace, his own brother-in-law. He therefore invaded the province and invested the castle of Arques; and Henry advanced to give him battle; but being dissuaded from fighting with his own sovereign lord, he drew off his troops, and undertook the siege of Tourne, by way of making a diversion: before any action happened, a negotiation was set on foot, and a treaty of peace effected, by virtue of which Lewis indulged him with the investiture of Normandy.

A. C. 1151.

Death of
Geoffry
Plantagenet.

Being now confirmed in possession of the duchy, he resolved to head in person his mother's English adherents, and called an assembly of the Norman states at Lisieux, to deliberate upon measures for the expedition; which however was postponed in consequence of the unexpected death of his father Geoffry Plantagenet, who, returning from an interview with the French king, was taken ill at the Chateau de Loir, and died in the fifty-first year of his age. He was buried at Le Mans, in the church of St. Julian, where is still to be seen his device, representing on a shield the original arms of the crown of England. To his second son Geoffry he bequeathed Chinon, Loudun, and Mirebeau; and to William, the youngest, the county of Mortagne.

Vit. Gunff.
Duc. Norm.

Henry marries Eleanor, from whom the king of France had obtained a divorce.

Henry having taken possession of Anjou, Touraine, and Mayne, resumed his project upon England, and at the same time espoused Eleanor, queen of St. Lewis, whom her husband had repudiated after their return from the crusade, during which he was dissatisfied with her behaviour. Henry by this marriage annexed to his dominions almost all

the provinces of France lying between the Loire and Pyrenees; and Lewis taking umbrage at his greatness, engaged in an alliance against him, with king Stephen, Theobald count de Blois, and Geoffrey of Anjou, who was for some reason become a professed enemy of his brother. Henry was just ready to embark at Harfleur for England, with his uncle Reginald, earl of Cornwall, who had been sent to him with an invitation from the English nobility; when he received intimation, that Lewis king of France, Eustace the son of Stephen, and Robert count de Perche, had invaded his Norman dominions, and invested Neumarché, while Geoffrey was employed in raising an insurrection in Anjou. He was no sooner apprised of these particulars, than laying aside his English expedition, he assembled his forces, and though Neumarché surrendered before he could march to its relief, he made such dispositions for covering the rest of his dominions, as excited the admiration of his enemies. Having left sufficient garrisons in his frontier places, after the departure of the French, who retreated without making any other attempt, he entered Anjou so suddenly that his brother could make no defence: so that the insurrection was immediately quelled.

Mean while Stephen, alarmed at the power and capacity of Henry, resolved if possible to anticipate the purpose of his coming to England, by depriving him of the succession in a legal manner: for this purpose he convoked a great council at London, in order to procure their sanction to his design of associating his son Eustace in the government, and the lay nobility that were present assented to the proposal: but when he expressed a desire of proceeding immediately to the coronation of that prince, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who had already received instructions from

A. C. 1151.

A. C. 1152.
His progress
in Anjou.Ch. Norm.
Ch. Turon.
Stephen imprisons the
archbishop
of Canter-
bury, and
the other
prelates.

A. C. 1152. the pope on that subject, refused to perform the ceremony, and the rest of the bishops joined in this refusal. Stephen, incensed at their presumption, ordered them to be locked up in an apartment, and endeavoured to terrify them into compliance; but all his menaces proved ineffectual. The archbishop found means to escape from the place of his confinement, and crossing the Thames in a boat, travelled with great expedition to Dover, where he embarked for France. From thence he threatened the kingdom with another interdict; and though Stephen seized his revenues, as well as those of the other bishops who refused to comply with his will, he was terrified at the menaces of the pope, who espoused the cause of his legate, and Theobald was allowed to return.

Epist. St.
Tho. Cant.

Henry lands
in England.

Henry thought he could not find a more favourable conjuncture for making a descent upon England, the clergy of which were so exasperated against Stephen: he therefore made a truce with the king of France; and embarking an hundred and fifty knights, with three thousand infantry, on board of six and thirty ships, landed in England, where he was immediately joined by almost all the barons of the kingdom. Though it was now the middle of winter, he advanced to the siege of Malmesbury, and took the town, after having worsted a body of the enemy which attempted to oppose his march. He forthwith invested the castle, which surrendered, as in such extremity of cold Stephen could not bring an army to its relief. Robert earl of Leicester came to offer his service in person to Henry; Gundreda countess of Norwich put him in possession of her strong castle; Reading, and above thirty other fortresses, submitted without resistance. Then he besieged the fort which Stephen had raised to block up Wallingford, and took it by assault, before the king could march to its assistance. Not,
but

A. C. 1153.

but that he advanced with great expedition, and the two armies lay several days encamped within a quarter of a mile of each other. While they remained in this situation, a treaty was set on foot, by the interposition of William earl of Arundel, and some other noblemen; and they parted without fighting, in hope that the articles would soon be settled. It was not without reluctance that Henry consented to this negotiation, which he was afraid would be protracted to the detriment of his Norman dominions; and Eustace, son of Stephen, exerted all his endeavours to prevent an accommodation; but, luckily for the kingdom, death removed this worthless young prince, who died without issue, to the great joy of all good men, who had conceived fatal omens from his lewdness and brutality.

Joan. Sarisb.¹
Policratic.
Accommodation between Stephen and Henry.

Notwithstanding the conferences for a peace, there was no cessation of hostilities. Henry reduced the castles of Stamford and Nottingham, while Stephen made himself master of Ipswich, belonging to Hugh Bigot: but sustaining an irreparable loss in the death of Simon, earl of Northampton, and seeing himself abandoned by several noblemen who had hitherto supported his cause, he abated in his expectations, and his brother of Winchester labouring in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury for a peace, the treaty was at length concluded, and ratified at Winchester in a general council of the prelates and nobility, on the following conditions: That Stephen should reign during life, and justice be administered in his name; tho' nothing of consequence should be transacted without the advice and concurrence of Henry, who should succeed him on the throne, and in the mean time receive hostages for the delivery of the royal castles at his decease; and that Stephen's son William should inherit all the lands his father possessed in England and Normandy before he ascended the

A. C. 1153. throne, together with the estate of William de Warenne, whose daughter he had married, and seven hundred pounds a year in the county of Norfolk, for which he should do homage, and give pledge for his fidelity to Henry.

Rymer's
Fœdera.

The prelates
and nobility
do homage
to Henry, as
heir appa-
rent to the
crown.

This accommodation, to the observance of which an oath was taken by all the nobility and prelates, filled the whole kingdom with unutterable joy, and the two princes entered London together, with the utmost pomp and magnificence: indeed it was a most happy event to the nation, which had been so long a prey to all the miseries of a civil war; nor was it less fortunate for Stephen, who now found himself a king in reality. Henry having received the homage of the Londoners, as heir apparent to the throne, the king and he parted to spend the Christmas holidays in different places; but they soon met again at Oxford in a great council of the nation, when all the nobility and bishops took the oath of allegiance to Henry, with a reservation of obedience to Stephen during his natural life.

A. C. 1154.

A conspi-
racy against
Henry's
life.

The good understanding between the princes was not of long duration; for, at a subsequent assembly convened at Dunstable, Henry complained of Stephen's having neglected to demolish all the castles which had been built since the war began, according to a stipulation in the treaty; and Stephen flatly refused to give him satisfaction upon this article. Nevertheless Henry did not express any resentment; and the king and he set out together for Dover to receive Theodoret earl of Flanders, and his dutchess, who had arrived in England. During their residence in this palace, a conspiracy is said to have been formed against Henry's life, by the Flemings, who had settled in great numbers under the protection of William d' Ypres earl of Kent; and Stephen's son William is supposed to have been the author of this infamous design. But, that
prince's

prince's leg being fractured by a fall from his horse on Barham Downs, their measures were disconcerted; and Henry being apprised of the plot, before they could pitch upon another chief, returned with all dispatch to London, from whence he set sail for Normandy.

A. C. 1154.

Chron. Nor.
Gervas.

Hen. Hunt.

He returns
to Norman-
dy.

This conspiracy is of doubtful credit; inasmuch as we cannot suppose that Henry would have left the kingdom, where he had such powerful adherents, without taking any step towards a detection of the plot, that the accomplices might be punished. His voyage to Normandy was occasioned by an invasion of the king of France, who had entered his Norman dominions, and taken Vernon; but being baffled in his attempt upon Vernueil, and seeing Henry, at the head of a strong army in the field, ready to oppose his progress, he thought proper to accept of peace, on condition of restoring Vernon and Neumarché, and receiving two thousand marks of silver to defray the expence of fortifying these two places. After this peace, Henry gradually resumed the demesnes of his dutchy, which his father had alienated to engage the Norman barons in his interest; and these measures he pursued in such a manner, that the tranquillity of his dominions suffered no interruption.

Chr. Gerv.

Stephen's
death.

Mean while, Stephen having made another visit to the earl of Flanders, was, on his return to Canterbury, seized with the iliac passion, which put an end to his life; and his body was interred by that of his wife Mathilda, in the abbey of Feversham, which he himself had founded. Stephen was a prince of great courage, fortitude, and activity; and might have reigned with the approbation of his people, had not he been harrassed by the efforts of a powerful competitor, which obliged him to take such measures for his safety as were inconsistent with the dictates of honour, which indeed his

A. C. 1154. his ambition prompted him to forego in his first endeavours to ascend the throne. His necessities afterwards compelled him to infringe the charter of privileges he granted at his accession; and he was instigated by his jealousy and resentment, to commit the most flagrant outrages against gratitude and sound policy. His vices as a king seem to have been the effect of the troubles in which he was involved; for, as a man, he was brave, open, and liberal, and, during the short calm that succeeded the tempests of his reign, he made a progress through the kingdom, published an edict to restrain all rapine and violence, and disbanded the foreign mercenaries who had preyed so long upon his people. But his character has been roughly handled, on account of the little regard he expressed for the clergy, and his usurpation of the throne from the immediate heir of blood.

Brompton.
Hagultad.

HENRY



Fouquet sculp.

HENRY II.

H E N R Y II.

THE tidings of Stephen's death were brought to Henry while he was employed in besieging a castle on the frontiers of Normandy; and as he knew there was no danger of a competition, he would not relinquish his enterprize, until he had reduced the place; for William, the son of Stephen, was too inconsiderable to form any party against his title to the crown of England. The people were too much fatigued with the calamities of the last reign to engage themselves in any faction that might rekindle civil dissension; and therefore their whole zeal was united in favour of Henry, who had already exhibited proofs of his valour and capacity. Six weeks elapsed since the death of Stephen before this young prince came over to take possession of the throne: but at length having settled the affairs of his Norman dominions, and conferred with his mother touching the tenour of his conduct, he set sail from Harfleur in December, and next day landed at Hurst castle, from whence he proceeded to Winchester, where he received the homage and fealty of the English nobility. Before the expiration of the month, he was crowned with his queen at Westminster, by Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, in presence of all the prelates and barons of the kingdom, with whom he deliberated upon proper measures for redressing the grievances of the nation.

A. C. 1154.
Henry II.
succeeds to
the throne.

Chr. Nor.

All the foreigners, who had deluged England in the preceding reign, were ordered by proclamation to leave the kingdom; and in three months there was not a Fleming to be seen in the county of Kent, which

A. C. 1155.
His wife re-
gulations.

A. C. 1155. which swarmed with that people under the protection of William d'Ypres their countryman. All the castles erected since the death of Henry I. which were receptacles of rapine and oppression, the king ordered to be demolished, except a few which the crown retained on account of their advantageous situation for the defence of the kingdom. The adulterated coin was cried down, and new money struck of the right value and standard. The demesnes alienated by Stephen were reassumed and reannexed to the crown; and the earls created by that prince deprived of their dignities: even benefactions to churches and monasteries met with the same fate; and the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, were reclaimed from Malcolm the minor king of Scotland, who gave them up rather than incur the resentment of Henry, and was on account of his ready compliance gratified with the county of Huntingdon, to which he had some former pretensions.

G. Newb.
Ch. Gervas.
Hoved.
Brompton.

Grants a
charter of
privileges.

After having taken all these precautions to strengthen his own hands, and re-establish the public tranquillity, he chose for his council persons the most eminent for their wisdom, both of the clergy and laity; among others, Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Becket archdeacon of the same church, lately made high chamberlain, and Robert earl of Leicester, high justiciary of the kingdom. At the head of his privy-council was his mother Mathilda, who, though residing on the continent, directed all the deliberations of consequence, from that sagacity which she obtained by long experience and vicissitude of fortune. By the advice of these counsellors, he convoked a general assembly or parliament, in which some regulations were made for the interest of the realm; the ancient customs and laws of Edward the Confessor, adopted by his grandfather Henry I. were re-

stored; and a charter granted under the great seal, A. C. 1155. confirming to the church, the barons, and vassals, all the customs, donations, and privileges, which they had enjoyed in the reign of that prince.

G. Newb.

Another extraordinary council was summoned at Wallingford, where the members swore allegiance to Henry and his two sons William and Henry, as eventual successors, though then in the state of infancy; and other laws were enacted for the benefit of the people. The kingdom immediately assumed a new face; agriculture and manufacture returned with security, and every individual seemed to enjoy the happy effects of the new government. Nevertheless Henry found it impracticable to govern so as to avoid the discontent of all his subjects. Several noblemen resented the proclamation for demolishing the castles, and among these the chief was William le Gros, earl of Albemarle, who had vast possessions in the North, where he had acted, during Stephen's reign, with sovereign power. He was already deprived of the title of York, which he had received from that prince, and perhaps his resentment partly influenced him in refusing to deliver up the castle of Scarborough, which he had rendered almost impregnable. But the king marching into Yorkshire, he at length submitted. Henry had another design in going northward, which was to punish William Peverel for having poisoned Ralph earl of Chester. The murderer, conscious of his crime, and dreading the justice of the law, had already turned monk in the monastery of Linton; but, thinking himself unsafe in the protection of the habit, he fled from the country at the approach of the king, who seized all his castles and estate, as the forfeiture of a felon. It was about this period, that Henry bishop of Winchester, quitting the kingdom without leave, Henry ordered all his castles to be levelled with the ground, though he

The nobility and prelates take the oaths to Henry's children.

Some noblemen refuse to deliver up their castles.

A. C. 1155. he could not secure the prelate's treasure, which he had found means to convey to the continent, with the assistance of the abbot of Cluny. From the northern counties Henry directed his march to the frontiers of Wales, where Hugh de Mortimer had fortified his castles of Bridgnorth, Clebery, and Wigmore; and prevailed upon Roger earl of Hereford to join him in his revolt, rather than part with his fortresses of Hereford and Gloucester. This nobleman, however, was reclaimed by the remonstrances of his kinsman Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, who procured the king's pardon in his behalf; and Hugh, after having seen his three castles reduced by the royal forces, was fain to sue for mercy, which he obtained in consideration of giving up all the crown-demesnes that were in his possession.

Id.

A. C. 1156.

Henry repairs to the continent.

All opposition being now eradicated, and England enjoying the most profound tranquility, Henry made a voyage to the continent, in order to quell a new insurrection which his brother Geoffry had raised in Anjou. This revolt was altogether as unsuccessful as the first; for the king reduced and retained his castles, though, in lieu of these, he gave him lands in the open country, assisted him in keeping possession of Nantes, the people of which had chosen him for their sovereign, and allowed him a very considerable annuity, in consequence of his submission. The king having quieted this disturbance, and received homage from the nobility of Guienne, returned to England, and raised a great army, in order to make a conquest of Wales, and marched into Flintshire against Owen Guynath, prince of North-Wales, who lay incamped at Basingwerk. When he understood the English were advancing through a wood called Coel Eulo, he suddenly attacked their van with such fury, that several officers of distinction were slain,

Returns and marches against the Welch.

slain, and the whole division would have been cut in pieces, had not the king come seasonably to their succour: the disorder among the English was in a great measure owing to the cowardice of the earl of Essex, who threw away the standard, and fled with great precipitation, crying aloud the king was slain; an instance of misconduct for which he was afterwards accused of high treason, by Simon de Montfort, who proving him guilty by vanquishing him in single combat, he was shorn a monk, and confined to the monastery of Reading. Henry, finding how dangerous it was to march precipitately through unknown woods and fastnesses, ordered the trees to be cut down, and the roads to be opened; and proceeded cautiously, sending out parties to reconnoitre the country as he advanced. By this method he continued his march without further disturbance to Snowdon, where Guynath and his barons, finding themselves unable to oppose his progress, sued for peace, swore fealty, delivered hostages, and restored all the castles and lands they had taken during the preceding reign. In this expedition he was visited at Chester by Malcolm king of Scotland, who did him homage for the county of Huntingdon, and perhaps upon compulsion next year at Carlisle for his whole kingdom; inasmuch as the Scot quitted him in disgust, without receiving the honour of knighthood, for which he had come on purpose from his own country. Henry had gone thither on a progress, according to the custom of the times, to see the laws put in execution; and having performed his circuit, was called abroad again by the death of his brother Geoffry, count of Nantes in Brittany.

On his arrival in his foreign dominions, he had a conference with Lewis VII. of France on the river Epte, which separated their territories, and there agreed upon a match between young Henry and

A. C. 1156.

Powel's H.
of Wales.

A. C. 1157.

Chron. Ger.
Malcolm,
king of
Scotland,
does ho-
mage for
Hunting-
don.

A. C. 1159.

Chron. Nor.

A match
projected
between
young Hen-
ry and Mar-
garet prin-
cess of
France;

A. C. 1159. and Margaret daughter of Lewis, both infants. Thence Henry accompanied the French king to Paris; and the young princess being delivered into his hands, he committed the care of her education to Robert de Newbourg, justiciary of Normandy.

Brompton. Such was the mutual confidence that reigned between the two princes on this occasion, that Henry was created grand seneschal of France; a title of which he availed himself in his designs upon the county of Nantes, which he claimed as heir to his brother Geoffry. He was the more able to undertake an enterprize of this kind, as he possessed all the territories that surrounded Brittany, and acted as guardian to the young count of Flanders left under his tuition by count Thierry, when he departed on his expedition to Jerusalem. Conan, count of Brittany, had taken possession of Nantes on the death of Geoffry, who had no title to the country but the submission and choice of the inhabitants, after they had relinquished their allegiance to their natural sovereign. Conan, notwithstanding his title, which was unquestionable, submitted to Henry upon being summoned to surrender the inheritance of Geoffry; because he foresaw that opposition or non-compliance would bring upon him the resentment of a powerful king, and infallibly deprive him of the earldom of Richmond, which he possessed in England, of more value than the country in dispute; he therefore ceded it to Henry, whose next care was to settle all differences subsisting between him and the princes contiguous to Normandy; yet before he quitted Brittany he agreed with Conan upon a match between that prince's daughter Constance and his son Geoffry, who was now in the cradle: a marriage in consequence of which Geoffry became duke of Bretagne upon the death of his father-in-law.

Henry, not yet satisfied with this addition of Nantes, the extensive dominions he formerly possessed, and the prospect of his son's succeeding to Brittany, resolved to revive his queen's pretensions to the county of Thoulouse, in right of her grandfather William, count of Poitiers, who married Philippa, heiress of William IV. count of Thoulouse. These dominions had been alienated to Raymond de St. Gilles, the younger brother of William, for a certain consideration, and the count of Poitiers afterwards confirmed the sale for a sum of money; but Lewis the Young, when he married Eleanor, sole daughter and heiress of William IX. count of Poitiers, pretended that the first alienation to Raymond de St. Gilles, was no other than a collusion between him and his brother; and that the confirmation was an imposition upon the simplicity of the count de Poitiers. He therefore alledged that the whole transaction was null and void; and that Eleanor ought to enjoy the inheritance of her grandmother Philippa, upon restoring the sum which the count of Poitiers had received for the confirmation of the pretended sale. Raymond V. then count of Thoulouse, in vain pleaded prescription, which was a weak plea against the power of the French king, who threatened to make his pretensions good by force of arms. Nevertheless, after a long negotiation, the difference was terminated by the marriage of count Raymond with Constance, the sister of Lewis, and widow of Eustace, the son of king Stephen. In favour of this marriage, Lewis desisted from his pretensions; and while he lived with Eleanor, the count of Thoulouse was no further disturbed in his possessions.

A. C. 1159.
Henry re-
vives his
queen's
claim to
Thoulouse.

Catel Hist.
des Comtes
de Thoulouse.

But now that she was married to Henry, the same rights devolved to that ambitious prince, who accordingly claimed the county; and Raymond pleading the sale and prescription, he resolved to

Returne to
England,
and makes
preparations
for that ex-
pedition.

A. C. 1159. reduce it by the power of his sword. To defray the expences of this important enterprize, he raised a very considerable sum of money, by taxing every noble fief in Normandy and his other foreign dominions. He allowed his tenants to commute their personal service in the expedition for a certain pecuniary consideration, known by the name of Scutage; and this amounted to a large collection, with which he enlisted a strong body of mercenary foldiers. Leaving commissaries to levy these volunteers during the winter, he came over to England, and passed the Easter holidays at Worcester, where he and his queen approaching the offertory, laid their crowns upon the high altar, vowing they would never wear them again; so that an end was put to the solemn coronations on great festivals, which had hitherto taken place. Henry's design, in coming to England at this juncture, was to raise from his English subjects such a scutage as he had established abroad; and this being levied, he hastened over to Guienne, accompanied by Malcolm, king of Scotland, whom he knighted on this expedition, William, count of Boulogne, and a great number of English nobility, who wanted to signalize their courage, and served as volunteers at their own expence.

Hoveden.
Vit. St. Tho.

Invades
Thouloufe.

He was joined on the continent by the troops of William, lord of Montpellier, and Trincaval, viscount of Bezieres and Nismes. Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona, sent him a reinforcement in consequence of a treaty by which Richard, the king's second son, was affianced to the count's daughter; and stipulating that this young couple should be put in possession of Guienne, as soon as they should be of age to consummate the marriage. Thus prepared, Henry attacked Cahors, the capital of Quercy, which he soon compelled to surrender: then invading the county of Thouloufe, he

he reduced a great number of places ; so that the capital was almost wholly blocked up, when the king of France, the count's brother-in-law, marched to his succour with a small body of troops, and threw himself into the city. Henry was not a little astonished at this act of hostility from a prince with whom he had lately contracted an alliance and intimacy of friendship ; and as it was deemed in those days a breach of honour and duty in a vassal to fight against his sovereign, he would not assault a place defended by the king of France in person, notwithstanding the advice of chancellor Becket *, who importuned him to take Lewis prisoner ; an exploit which he might have easily achieved, before the rest of the French army could advance.

Influenced by this punctilio, he left a body of troops, to maintain the footing he had in that country, under the command of the count of Barcelona and the viscount of Bezieres, and took the route to Normandy, which had been invaded by Robert count de Dreux, and Henry bishop of Beauvais, brother to Lewis, who detached them upon that expedition, to divert the king from the siege of Thoulouse. Henry, having refreshed the troops after their long march, fell into the Beauvoisis, took and destroyed the strong fortresses of Gerberoy, and reduced several towns and villages to ashes. Simon de Montfort, count of Evreux, surrendered his castles to Henry, and they were secured with strong garrisons, which made excursions to the neighbourhood of Paris, ravaging the country, and cutting off the communication of that city with Etampes and Orleans ; so that Lewis proposed a truce, which was followed by a treaty of peace.

A. C. 1159.

A. C. 1160.

Concludes a treaty with the king of France.

Vit. S. Tho.
Gul. Neub.
Chron. Nor.

* Fitzstephens, in his life of Becket, says, that prelate had seven hundred knights in his retinue ; that, besides these, he maintained at his table, for forty days, twelve hundred horsemen, each of whom received of him three shillings a day to provide for his horses and squires ; and that the number of all his dependents amounted to four thousand men able to carry arms.

A. C. 1160.
Hostilities
are renewed.

When this accommodation was ratified, prince Henry, now in the sixth year of his age, who had been brought over from England for the purpose, did homage to the king of France for Normandy; and being affianced at Neubourg to Margaret of France, his father immediately seized Gisors, and the other places assigned as the portion of that princess. Lewis, incensed at this abrupt manner of proceeding, persuaded Theobald, count of Blois, whose sister Adela he had lately married, to fortify Chaumont for the convenience of making incursions into Tourraine; but Henry, marching thither, reduced the fortress, and committed it to the care of Hugh d'Amboise. At the same time he put a strong garrison into Fretteval and Amboise, secured the castles of the count d'Evreux, and gave orders for repairing all the fortifications on the frontiers of his territories towards France; while he himself retired to Mans, where he proposed to spend the winter. The next campaign was opened by Lewis, who entered the Vexin Normand with a considerable army; while the count de Blois, at the head of another strong body of forces, invaded Normandy on the side of Chateaudun; but they found all the fortresses so well provided, that they did not undertake any siege of importance. To oppose these incursions, Henry took the field; and, in the course of their motions, the armies were more than once in sight of each other; but neither of the kings caring to hazard a battle, they agreed to a cessation of arms, during which, some overtures were made for a peace, and these terminated in a temporary accommodation: Gisors, Neafle, Neufchatel, and the other places allotted to Margaret as her dowry, being committed by way of sequestration to the hands of Totes de St. Omer and Robert de Peron, Knights Templars, until the marriage between Margaret and young Henry should

Dicet. Col.

Another accommodation.

should be consummated; when they were to be delivered to the king of England.

A. C. 1161.
Rob. de Monte.

The correspondence being renewed between the two kings, they communicated their sentiments to each other on the subject of the schism, which had happened at the death of pope Adrian; and agreed to acknowledge Alexander III. as his lawful successor. Then two councils were held at the same time by these two princes, one assembled at Beauvois under Lewis, and the other at Neumarché by Henry. The causes of Alexander and Victor the antipope, were pleaded by their several adherents, and decided in favour of the former, who had canonized St. Edward the Confessor.

Henry and Lewis acknowledge pope Alexander III.

Baron. Ann. Conc. Mag. Brit.

Henry, taking the advantage of the truce, made a sudden excursion into Thoulouse, where he took Castillon, a strong fortress on the Garonne: then he tampered with the Templars for the delivery of Gisors, and the other sequestered places, and, by dint of presents and promises, prevailed upon them to betray their trust; for which ignominious conduct they were banished from France: and this transaction would have re-kindled the war between the two monarchs, had not an immediate rupture been prevented by the mediation of the pope's legates, who, having succeeded in their endeavours to preserve the peace, were employed to solemnize the marriage of Henry and Margaret. Henry's wars being now successfully finished, he convoked a council of his prelates and nobility at Rouen, to concert measures for reforming certain abuses, which had crept into the ecclesiastical as well as civil state of affairs in Normandy: and another assembly was afterwards held at Lislebonne, where the barons took the oaths to prince Henry, as heir apparent to the duchy. In the beginning of the spring, this young prince was sent over to England, under the care of chancellor Becket, in order

The marriage celebrated between young Henry and Margaret.

Hoved.

The Norman barons swear fealty to that young prince. Concil. Rog

A. C. 1161. He receives like homage from the English.

to receive the like homage from the prelates and nobility of this country; and his conductor was the first that took the oath, with a clause, saving his faith to the king during his natural life and

A. C. 1162. government; while the king, staying abroad some time longer to make regulations for the good order and security of his foreign dominions, had an opportunity of paying his respects in person to pope Alexander, who came to reside at Clermont in Auvergne. This pontiff had an interview, at Toucy on the Loire, with the kings of France and England, who held his stirrups as he mounted, and led his horse by the bridle.

The pope is visited by the kings of France and England.
Baron. Ann.

The king of Scotland and the princes of Wales do homage to Henry and his son.

A perfect reconciliation being effected between those two princes, Henry with his queen repaired to Barfleur, where they took shipping in the beginning of the year, and arrived in England, which they found in great tranquility. Owen Guyneth and Rece, princes of North and South Wales, repaired to Henry's court, at Wodestoke, and did homage to the king and his son Henry; and the same oath was taken by Malcolm king of Scotland, who had accompanied Henry during his war on the continent, in which he had been knighted for his valour. As for the Welch, they had made inroads upon the English during Henry's absence, and surpris'd the earl of Gloucester and his countess at the castle of Cardiff; so that Henry was incens'd against them, and they were obliged to surrender some castles, and give hostages of the first quality, in order to appease his indignation. Henry chose this season of peace to regulate his finances, and settle the proportion of the taxes to be levied on the freeholders in England: for this purpose he set on foot an inquisition, by commissioners appointed to examine and ascertain the rights of the crown, and the secular services due from all the tenants; and this regulation is probably the same

Chr. Norm.
A. C. 1163.

which

which is still preserved on record, in the red book of the exchequer. A. C. 1163.

Duet. Coll.

Henry had hitherto reigned without the least disturbance or opposition; but now he involved himself in a dispute with Becket, who had lately succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury: and this contest was productive of infinite anxiety to the kingdom, and even interrupted all the measures of his administration. Thomas Becket was the son of a burgher in London, educated in the schools of that city, though he afterwards studied some time at Paris, and, on his return, became clerk or accomptant in the sheriff's office. He was recommended by archdeacon Baldwin, as an understanding young man, to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, who took him into his family, and bestowed upon him the benefices of St. Mary le Strand, Otteford in Kent, with a prebend in London, and another in Lincoln. Thus provided, he set out for Bologna, where he studied the canon and civil law, which last was, at that time, in great request all over Europe; and finished his studies at Auxerre, in Burgundy. Being so well qualified to transact business in the court of Rome, he was sent thither by Theobald on several negotiations, which he managed with such ability and success, that his patron ordained him deacon of York; and he was elected archdeacon of Canterbury immediately before the death of Stephen. At the accession of Henry to the throne, he was, by Theobald's recommendation, appointed chancellor; a post of the greatest profit, power, and dignity in the realm: at the same time he had a vast number of ecclesiastical preferments; was created constable of the Tower, to which place was annexed all the knights service, with the honour of Eye, and the castle of Berchamsted, including near three hundred knights. His revenues were

Account of
Thomas
Becket.

Vit. S. Tho.

A. C. 1163. immense. His expence incredible. He kept open table for persons of all ranks. The most costly dainties were purchased for his entertainment. His houses were adorned with the richest furniture. His apartments glittered with gold and silver plate; the very bridles of his horses were of silver, and nothing could exceed his equipage in magnificence. He retained a prodigious number of knights in his service; and the nobility sent their children to be educated as pages in his family: prince Henry was committed to his care and tuition; and the king went frequently to see the pomp of his entertainments. He employed two and fifty clerks in keeping the accounts of vacant prelacies, and his own ecclesiastical preferments; and every day he received presents of horses, vestments, plate, or money. When he crossed the sea, he was always attended by five ships; and in his embassy to Paris, concerning the marriage of the princess Margaret, he appeared with a thousand persons in his retinue, displaying such wealth and grandeur as amazed the spectators. He diverted himself in hawking, hunting, chess-playing, and tilting, at which he was so expert, that, while he served in Normandy, he unhorsed a French nobleman of approved valour, and carried off his courser in triumph. Thus, Thomas lived as chancellor Becket; but when, contrary to the advice of Maud the empress, he was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, his whole conduct took a new turn; his disposition seemed to undergo a total change: he now practised all the severities of church-discipline, and at his consecration appeared to imbibe that spirit of turbulence and presumption, which descended like an inheritance in the succession of that primacy.

Thomas being, by the king's command, elected archbishop of Canterbury, ordered the day of the con-

consecration to be kept as the solemn festival of the Holy Trinity, contrary to the practice of all other nations, who celebrate this feast according to the proper computation; and he sent the seals to Henry, who had not yet left his foreign dominions. The king took umbrage at this insolent resignation, implying a refusal to give him any farther assistance in the affairs of state; and when that prelate went to court at his return, Henry received him with a remarkable coldness of civility. This misunderstanding was increased by Becket's conduct when he returned from the council of Tours, where pope Alexander had received him with extraordinary honours, and granted all the privileges he desired. Here a canon was enacted against the usurpation of ecclesiastical estates by the laity; and, in consequence of this article, he, at his arrival in England, demanded of the king the castle of Rochester, and manors of the Saltwode and Hethe, as belonging to the church of Canterbury. He likewise claimed an estate in Kent possessed by William de Ros, which had been granted to his see by Stephen, and afterwards resumed by Henry among the other alienations; and pretended to the castle and honour of Tunbridge, in the possession of Roger earl of Clare, great-grandson to Richard Fitz-Gilbert, to whom it had been granted by William the Conqueror, for a valuable consideration in lands to an equal extent in Normandy. This grant had been confirmed by the archbishops of Canterbury; but Becket, pretending that his predecessors had no power to alienate the property of the church, summoned Roger to do him homage. This claim equally alarmed and disobliged the nobility; and the king had great reason to take umbrage at his proceedings, when he bestowed the church of Eynesford in Kent upon a creature of his own, asserting, that it was the prerogative of the arch-
bishop

A. C. 1163.

His insolence in reclaiming possessions which had been alienated from his see.

G. Neub. Chr. Gerv.

A. C. 1163.

Duet, Coll.

bishop to fill all vacant churches in the manors of his military tenants, as well as of the monks of Canterbury. The agents of Laurence, to whom he had given the church of Eynesford, being expelled by William, lord of the manor, who possessed the advowson, Becket immediately excommunicated the expulfor, though he held of the crown, and was entitled to the benefit of an act passed in the reign of the Conqueror, importing, that no military tenant of the crown should be excommunicated without the knowledge of the king. This presumption was an additional cause of disgust to Henry, who, in a letter to the archbishop, desired William might be absolved, and received a flat refusal. After some altercation, however, he at length complied, with a very ill grace, rather than incur the penalties of a law, the breach of which amounted to high-treason. These were the preludes to an open rupture between the king and archbishop.

Corruption
of the
clergy.

During the preceding reign, a great number of idle and illiterate persons had, in order to enjoy the protection of the church, received holy orders, by the indulgence of the bishops, who ordained all that presented themselves; and as these, having no benefices, belonged to no diocese, consequently were subject to no jurisdiction, they committed the most flagrant enormities with impunity. Tho' the canons condemned pluralities, one clergyman frequently possessed seven churches and prebends, bestowed by the indulgence of prelates, who had also introduced the practice of commuting for penance; so that the most scandalous crimes were excused for money, and all ecclesiastical discipline neglected. Before the death of Theobald, the king had complained of these disorders to the bishops, who paid no regard to his remonstrance; because they laid it down as a maxim to give no satisfac-
tion

tion to the crown touching the irregularities of the clergy. Thus exempted from punishment, the offenders openly insulted the civil magistrate; and all sorts of crimes were daily committed with the most audacious assurance.

A gentleman of Worcestershire being murdered by a clerk, who had debauched his daughter, the king insisted upon the assassin's being tried in the secular court: but Becket would not allow him to be tried by the civil jurisdiction; and committed him to the bishop's prison. Another who had stolen a silver chalice out of a church in London was demanded by the king, and denied by the archbishop, who nevertheless punished the delinquent severely, because his crime affected the church, and was deemed unpardonable sacrilege. Yet even on this occasion he encroached upon the civil power, by ordering the priest to be branded in the face with an hot iron; whereas the ecclesiastical court had no right to inflict corporal punishment: so that it was a flagrant invasion of the royal authority, and such a dangerous precedent as not only incensed the king, but alarmed the whole nation. Henry's friends suggested, that if Becket should proceed in this manner, arrogating to himself such exclusive power, his majesty's authority would soon be destroyed, and the clergy be absolute masters of the realm.

The king did not require much stimulation to put a stop to this tyranny and injustice, which was so enormous, that, in a very short space of time, above an hundred persons had been murdered by ecclesiastical ruffians, who were screened from the penalties of the law. He therefore assembled the bishops at Westminster, where after having enumerated the disorders arising from the corruption of the spiritual court, in which the penalties of every crime were commuted for money; and expa-

A. C. 1163.

G. Neub.
Ep. S. Tho.
Ecclesiastical delinquents
screened by the archbishop.

Vit. S. Tho.
The king proposes measures for reforming the abuses of the clergy, and is opposed by the archbishop.

A. C. 1163. tiated upon the barbarous murders, which had been so frequently committed by clerical assassins, he desired that one of his judges should assist at the trial of every infamous offender before the archdeacons; and that every murderer should be degraded from the priesthood, and delivered over to the secular arm. Becket retired with the prelates to deliberate upon this proposal, which appeared highly reasonable to his brethren, who exhorted him to comply with the king's desire: but he entrenched himself behind the papal decrees and canons; affirming, that it was contrary to the law of God, and the institutions of the church, for a delinquent to undergo a double judgment for one offence; that they were forbid to be concerned in sentences of blood; and therefore he would never consent to expose any criminal ecclesiastic to capital punishment. Henry being apprized of their obstinacy, demanded if they would observe the customs of the crown, and the laws of the kingdom; and the archbishop answered in the name of the rest, that they would obey them in all points that did not interfere with the rights of their order. Henry, dissatisfied with this evasive answer, insisted upon their engaging simply, without qualification and reserve, to obey the laws of the realm; and they persisting in their refusal, he went away in the evening, fired with indignation. Tho' Becket had resigned the office of chancellor, as inconsistent with his sacerdotal function, he still retained the honours and castles with which he had been intrusted while he filled that station; and now that the king plainly perceived his intention was to raise the ecclesiastical power on the ruins of the royal authority, he deemed it highly imprudent to leave those places of strength in the hands of such an ambitious prelate, to whose violence of temper and affected popularity he was no stranger: he therefore demanded the

restitution of the castles ; and, they being surrendered, quitted London without taking the least notice of the assembly.

A. C. 1163.

Chr. Gerv.

The bishops, alarmed at his abrupt departure, pressed the metropolitan to appease the king by complying with his desire : but he resisted all their importunities, until he was assailed by Robert de Melun, his own domestic chaplain, and Philip, abbot of Elemosina, who was sent over by the pope in quality of legate a latere, to compromise the differences between the king and the archbishop. These prelates represented to him the danger which might accrue to the church from the resentment of Henry, in such strong colours, at the same time urging the desire of the pope, who had exhorted him to pacific measures, that he was at length prevailed upon to visit Henry at Wodestoke, where he promised, upon the faith of an honest man, to observe the laws and customs of the kingdom, without prevarication.

Becket is prevailed upon to comply with the king's demand.

Vit. S. Tho.

That this compliance, with that of the other bishops, might be authenticated in the most solemn manner, Henry issued writs for assembling the prelates and nobility at Clarendon. But, in the interim, Becket altered his resolution, and retracted his promise ; and, when the council met, absolutely refused to give the king satisfaction, till after the repeated intreaties and representations of the principal nobility ; who, in their arguments of persuasion, hinted at the immediate hazard he might run from the king's high spirit, which was impatient of controul. Moved by such insinuations he came into the royal presence, and engaged upon oath to observe the laws of the kingdom, and the royal customs used in the reign of the king's grandfather. All the bishops swore to the same effect ; and as these customs had never been committed to writing, a committee was appointed to

Becket, and the bishops, swear to conform to the laws and customs of the realm.

Mat. Paris.

draw

A. C. 1164. draw them up in sixteen articles, which were approved and enacted into laws, under the title of The constitutions of Clarendon.

The constitutions of Clarendon.

These imported, That all suits about presentation should be determined in the king's court: That the churches of the king's fee should not be alienated without his consent: That the king's court should take cognizance of crimes committed by clergymen, without encroaching upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but a clerk convicted, or pleading guilty, should forfeit his privilege and the protection of the church: That no bishop or clergyman should quit the realm without the king's licence; nor obtain that licence without giving security for abstaining from any attempt to the prejudice of the king and kingdom: That excommunicated persons should not be obliged to make oath, or give security for remaining in the places of their residence; but only comply with the judgment of the church, in order to obtain absolution: That no laic should be accused in the ecclesiastical court, but by legal and reputable evidence in presence of the bishop; and if the offender should be such as nobody would venture to accuse him, the sheriff should, at the bishop's instance, oblige twelve creditable men of the neighbourhood, to declare upon oath before the bishop the truth of the matter, to the best of their knowledge: That no tenant in capite, or ministerial officer of the king, should be excommunicated, or his lands laid under an interdiction, without the concurrence of his majesty; or, in his absence, of his justiciary, whose business it was to take cognizance of the crime, so far as it belonged to the king's court, or remit it to the ecclesiastical court, if a cause that belonged to that jurisdiction: That appeals in ecclesiastical causes should be made from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop, and lastly to the king,

king, to be determined by his precept in the court of the archbishop; but to proceed no further without his majesty's consent: That all suits between laymen and ecclesiastics about tenures, should be tried before the king's justiciary, by the verdict of twelve reputable men; and if the tenure should be found Frank-almoine, the suit should be remitted to the ecclesiastical court; but if a lay-fee, determined in the king's court, unless both parties held of the same lord, whether spiritual or temporal, in which case the suit should be tried in his court; but the person seized of the tenement in question, should not, on account of such verdict, be disseized until the determination of the suit: That any tenant of the king's demesnes, cited by the archdeacon or bishop to answer for a misdemeanor that should fall under their cognizance, might, for contempt of such citation, be interdicted from divine service, but not excommunicated, until he should be resigned to that sentence by the king's officer, in default of making proper satisfaction: That all archbishops, prelates, and clergymen, whose dignities and benefices depended upon the king in capite, should hold their possessions as baronies; appear before the king's justices and ministers, to answer the duties of their tenure; observe and perform all the royal customs, rights, and services; and like other barons sit as judges in the king's court, until sentence should begin to be pronounced for the loss of life or limb; and then they should be at liberty to withdraw: That the king should enter into possession of all vacant fees, abbeys, and priories of royal patronage and foundation; and that in filling up these vacancies, the chapter or convent should be assembled, and the election be made in the chapel-royal, with the king's consent, and the person elected should, before his consecration, do homage and swear fealty to the king, as his liege

A. C. 1164. liege lord of life, limb, and terrene honour, saving his order: That any nobleman opposing or rejecting the legal decisions of the ecclesiastical court, should be compelled to submit by the king's authority; and any person refusing to stand to the award of the king's court, should be prosecuted by the ecclesiastical authority, until the king's ward should receive satisfaction: That the goods and chattels forfeited to the king should belong to his majesty, wherever found, within or without the precincts of the church: That the king's court should try all suits for debts due upon oath, solemn promise, or otherwise contracted; and that the sons of villains or copyholders should not be ordained without the consent of the lord of the manor in which they were born.

Ch. Gervas.
Tynel.
Brady.

Becket re-
pents of his
condescen-
sion.

These constitutions restraining the papal authority in England, and limiting the ecclesiastical jurisdiction within proper bounds, were extremely disagreeable to the pope, who, out of the sixteen, condemned ten, as repugnant to the canons of the church. The archbishop himself had no sooner made his retreat from Clarendon, than he repented of having given his assent to such unpriestly articles. He exclaimed against them as dangerous encroachments upon the church's prerogative; concerted measures with the bishops for opposing the execution of them; and prescribed for himself a quarantine of penance, during which he abstained from the altar, until he had solicited and obtained absolution from his holiness. Alexander, foreseeing a storm from this new rupture between Henry and the archbishop, sent over Rotrou, lately translated from Evreux to the see of Rouen, to repair the breach, if possible: but the king would hearken to no proposals of accommodation, because the pope refused to confirm by bull the constitutions. Nevertheless, he solicited a grant of the legation
of

Vit. S. Tho.

The pope
condemns
the consti-
tutions.

of England, either for himself, or Roger arch-A. C. 1164.
 bishop of York; and Alexander, unwilling to
 disoblige such a powerful monarch, complied with
 his request, though he clogged the legation with
 a clause, restraining him expressly from making
 any attempt to the prejudice of the archbishop of
 Canterbury; and Henry, finding himself thus
 precluded, sent back the grant with great indig-
 nation.

Ep. S. Tho.

By this time the difference between the king
 and Becket had proceeded almost to extremity,
 and the archbishop, dreading a legal prosecution
 for opposing the laws of the land, resolved to
 quit the kingdom, and actually embarked at Rum-
 ney; but after having made two unsuccessful ef-
 forts, was driven back by a contrary wind. Mean-
 while the king, apprehensive of his escaping to the
 continent, immediately commenced a suit against
 him, on an appeal of a nobleman called John
 Mareschal, who had sued in the archbishop's court
 for an estate at Mundeham, belonging to the see
 of Canterbury; and being, as he apprehended,
 unjustly cast, evoked the cause by a writ of ap-
 peal into the king's court. The archbishop was
 summoned to appear; but instead of coming in
 person, he sent four of his knights with a letter of
 excuse, pretending sickness; and a certificate from
 the sheriff, specifying the defects in John's title and
 appeal. His excuse was rejected as meer pretence:
 his messengers were taken into custody, for of-
 fering falsehoods to the court; and orders sent to
 the sheriff to make out a writ for summoning him
 to appear before the great council at Northampton.
 There he was tried, and found guilty of a con-
 tempt of the royal authority, and a breach of al-
 legiance, in refusing to appear upon the appeal
 of John Mareschal; and though he insisted upon
 the candour of his own proceedings, and the in-

The king
 sues the
 archbishop:
 who is con-
 victed of
 contumacy.

A. C. 1164. justice of the appellant, who, he alledged, had made oath upon a hymn-book, instead of the evangelists, he was adjudged to have forfeited all his goods and chattels; and the sentence, after some debate, was pronounced by the bishop of Winchester. Becket, notwithstanding all his pride and insolence, was obliged to acquiesce in this decision; and all the bishops, except one, agreed to join as his security for standing to the judgment.

Chr. Ger.
Vit. S. Tho.

The arch-
bishop is
accused of
having em-
bezzled the
king's trea-
sure.

Besides this conviction, the king exhibited another charge against him, for having embezzled three hundred pounds he had received of the honours of Eye and Berkhamstede. In answer to which impeachment, he alledged that he had laid out a greater sum in the repairs of the royal castles; and wanted to wave the prosecution, because he was not cited to the council on that account: but, the king denying his first allegation, and demanding immediate judgment, he agreed to refund the money, and gave security for the payment. Next day another suit was commenced against him at the instance of the king, for the sum of one thousand marks, which he had borrowed of his majesty; and he was at the same time required to give an account of the revenues of the archbishopric, and all the sees and abbeys which had fallen vacant, and been managed by him while he filled the post of chancellor. He observed, as before, that as he had not been summoned on this account, he did not come prepared for such a reckoning; but that he would give satisfaction on that subject at a proper time and place. This answer was not deemed satisfactory; and the king insisted upon his finding security to refund the sums he should be found guilty of having appropriated to his own use. As he was accused of having embezzled two hundred and thirty thousand marks, he could find no-body in court that
would

would undertake for the payment; but in order to gain time, he desired leave to consult his suffragans and clergy. A. C. 1164.

This request being granted, he assembled the prelates at his own house, and consulting them upon the emergency of his affairs, was advised by the bishop of Winchester to make a composition with the king for a large sum of money, with which he would supply him for the purpose. Two thousand marks were offered and refused: then their consultation being renewed, the more moderate bishops proposed that he should resign his archbishopric, and implore the king's mercy; but others exhorted him to shield himself with the ecclesiastical privileges, and plead that his being elected archbishop of Canterbury discharged him from all civil actions he might have incurred before his elevation, and all the debts he had contracted as chancellor. This strange plea he adopted, as the most flattering and conformable to his own violent and haughty disposition: but the consultation was opened again next day, which being Sunday, he did not stir abroad; and on Monday he complained of the cholic, by which he was hindered from appearing in court. This being the case, Henry sent all the earls to visit him, and he promised to make his defence on the morrow, in a judicial manner. He had by this time resolved to plead his ecclesiastical privilege, because indeed it was not in his power to account for the treasure he had embezzled; and with a view to interest the people in his behalf, he attempted to fascinate their eyes and judgments with the trompery of pomp and ostentation. He in the morning celebrated the divine service appointed for the festival of St. Stephen the martyr, beginning with "Princes sat and spake against me." He officiated in his pall, to render the ceremony

He offers a composition, which is rejected.

A. C. 1164. more striking, and proposed to walk barefoot to court in his pontificals, carrying the cross of Canterbury, as if the church had been threatened with a persecution: but, being diverted from this extravagant design by the remonstrances of the clergy, he laid aside his pall and mitre; then mounting a-horseback in his vestments, proceeded to the king's court, with the cross carried before him. Alighting at the castle court, he took the cross in his own hand, and advanced into the king's chamber, where he sat down, holding up the sacred implement as a banner, to the amazement of all the spectators, and the unutterable shame of the bishops, one of whom told him that he seemed to come prepared to set the whole nation in a flame.

Appeals to
the pope.

The king, who sat in an inner room, ordered by proclamation the prelates and nobility to attend him, and complained loudly of Becket's intolerable insolence in entering his court in such a presumptuous manner, as if he came to bid him defiance. The whole council joined in condemning this instance of his pride as an unpardonable insult upon his majesty: the prelates gave the king to understand, that Becket had in the morning reproached them with having concurred in the sentence by which his goods and chattels were forfeited; that he had appealed to the pope against the sentence; and inhibited them, by virtue of the papal authority, from sitting in judgment upon him for the future, in any part of his conduct previous to his primacy. The king was extremely provoked at this appeal in a civil cause, which struck at the very basis of his regal authority; and ordered his barons to enquire of the archbishop himself, whether or not he had actually made an appeal so contrary to the oath of fealty he had taken at Clarendon. Becket replied, that

a fa-

a sacerdotal oath always implied a reservation of obedience to God, his own ecclesiastical dignity, and the episcopal honour of his person; that, as he had been dismissed freely from his secular charge, and promoted to the see of Canterbury, he was not obliged to give account of any previous transaction; that he had no security to offer; that he had laid an inhibition on the bishops for his own safety; and that he had appealed and did again appeal to the pope, putting his own person and the church of Canterbury under the protection of his holiness. The king, being made acquainted with his insolent answer, conjured the bishops by their homage and fealty, to deliberate with the barons upon the sentence that should be pronounced against such a contumacious offender; but they begged leave to acquiesce in the inhibition, as they knew the violence of Becket, and saw him prepared with his cross to denounce against them the sentence of suspension or excommunication. Henry, in consequence of the dangerous predicament in which they stood, consented to their sitting, and deliberating apart from the barons; and when they had maturely considered the case, they sent a messenger to the archbishop, complaining of his having laid them under the necessity of contravening the constitutions of Clarendon; by one of which they were expressly bound to sit in judgment with the king's barons: they reminded him of his having been the first who swore to those constitutions; and appealed to the pope for the redress of the grievance to which he had subjected them by his unjust prohibition, which, nevertheless, they would for the present observe. He told them in answer, he would plead against their appeal at the court of Rome; that neither he nor they were bound by the constitutions of Clarendon, because their oath implied a

A. C. 1164.
Disowns the
jurisdiction
of the court.

A.C. 1164. salvo for their ecclesiastical dignities; and those constitutions had been condemned by the pope, whose example they ought implicitly to follow.

The arch-
bishop is
found guilty
of perjury
and treason.

Mean while the king ordered the earls and barons, assisted by some high sheriffs of counties, to give judgment against Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, who was declared guilty of perjury and treason. Then the earl of Leicester, one of the justiciaries of the kingdom, advancing to Becket, at the head of the earls and barons, told him, it was the king's pleasure that he should either come before his majesty's court, and acquit himself of the crimes laid to his charge, or submit to his sentence, which he was ready to pronounce. The archbishop starting up, said, when he was promoted to the see of Canterbury, he conceived himself freed from all engagements to the court; and therefore would not answer to any charge that related to his former conduct: that he being their father, they ought not to judge their parent, nor would he hear their sentence; inasmuch as he had disowned all courts of judicature but that of the pope, to whom he appealed, and under whose protection he would now retire. So saying, he walked with his cross to the door, which was immediately opened at his desire; but in passing through the castle-yard, he was hooted along as a perjured wretch and a traitor, and retorted these reproaches with great virulence upon some persons of distinction, whom he branded with the epithets of liars and scoundrels. He called earl Hammelin, the king's natural brother, an impudent bastard, and reminded another nobleman of his kinsman's being hanged for felony.

Makes his
escape to the
continent.

The king behaved with great temper on the occasion; for, he was no sooner informed of this indecent altercation, than he ordered proclamation to be made through the streets, that no person

son should presume to affront or insult the arch-A. C. 1164. bishop or his clergy. Thus protected he rode unmolested to the convent of St. Andrew, from whence he sent three bishops to ask a licence and safe-conduct for his departure; but, Henry deferring his answer till next day, he was afraid of being arrested, and retired privately in the night, attended by two servants only. He travelled the first day towards Lincoln, but afterwards changed his route, and, lying concealed in the day time, reached Sandwich undiscovered: there he embarked in a small vessel, and next day arrived in a creek about a league from Gravelines in Flanders.

Vit. S. Tho.
Ch. Gervas.
Ep. S. Tho.
Herbert in
Vit. S. Tho.

The king was no sooner informed of his retreat, than he consulted the council about the measures that should be taken in regard to the fugitive; and it was resolved, that neither the revenues of the see of Canterbury should be sequestered, nor his officers removed: but, in order to anticipate the mischief he might occasion by his misrepresentations abroad, Henry forthwith sent a deputation to Rome, composed of the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, and Exeter, with two earls, as many barons, and three of his own chaplains, to accuse Thomas before the pope, and solicit his deposition; at the same time he wrote letters to Lewis king of France, and Philip count of Flanders, expatiating upon Becket's insolence and treason; and desiring they would not countenance the fugitive, or allow him to reside within their dominions. But these remonstrances had not effect; for Philip received him with great hospitality; and as Lewis hated Henry ever since his perfidious practices with the knights templars, whom he had persuaded to betray their trust, he took this opportunity to shew his disrespect, in visiting the archbishop at Soissons, and assuring him of his

Henry sends
a deputation
to the pope.

A. C. 1164. protection. Nor did Henry's embassy succeed bet-
 Ep. S. Tho. ter in their representations to the pope, who then
 resided at Sens : they had got the start of Becket
 in point of expedition ; but the pontiff refused to
 examine the affair, until the archbishop should be
 personally present ; and as they were ordered to
 stay no longer than three days for an answer, they
 desired the pope would send over legates to Eng-
 land, to inquire into the merits of the cause, and
 finally determine the dispute ; yet he would not
 even assent to this proposal, without reserving the
 liberty of appeal to himself. These deputies were
 on the road homewards, when they descried about
 three hundred horse attending Becket to Sens,
 which he entered in triumph, surrounded by the
 cardinals, who went forth to meet him on horse-
 back : the inhabitants of the place received him
 with loud acclamations, and the pope rising up at
 his approach, embraced him with marks of the
 warmest affection.

Sequesters
 the revenues
 of the see of
 Canterbury,
 and banishes
 all Becket's
 relations
 and adher-
 ents.

The report of this reception was very disa-
 greeable to Henry, who perceiving how little sa-
 tisfaction he should receive from the pope, re-
 solved to do himself justice ; and with the advice
 of his nobility assembled at Malborough, or-
 dered the revenues of the see of Canterbury to
 be sequestered, together with all the churches,
 rents, and chattels of the clergy that adher-
 ed to the archbishop ; a proclamation was is-
 sued for banishing all the kinsmen and domestics
 of Becket ; and his relations, being summoned
 to his palace at Lambeth, were compelled to pro-
 mise upon oath, that they would leave the king-
 dom with the first fair wind, and repair imme-
 diately to the place of the archbishop's residence,
 that he might be mortified at the sight of his
 friends in distress, and exhaust his wealth in their
 maintenance : an illiberal and inhuman act of
 tyranny

tyranny and revenge, which luckily failed of producing the desired effect; for all of them were absolved of their oath by the pope, and provided for in different churches and employments in France and Flanders.

Vit. S. Tho.
Chr. Gerv.

Becket acquired such favour and influence with the pope, that he ventured to tell him in confidence, he had not been canonically elected, but intruded into the see by the regal authority; he therefore made a formal resignation to his holiness, who in consideration of his extraordinary merit and sufferings on account of his attachment to the papal power, restored him to his archbishopric, and till such time as he could recover possession, recommended him to the abbot of Pontigny, where he was entertained at the expence of the monastery: but, he had scarce taken up his residence in this retreat, when reflecting that almost all his predecessors had been monks, he was seized with the desire of taking the habit, and wrote on this subject to the pope, from whom he received it, hallowed by the papal benediction. Alexander, to crown all these favours, annulled the sentence by which Becket's goods and chattels were forfeited, pretending that an inferior could not judge a superior, especially such a prelate as the archbishop, who had a right to exact implicit obedience; and that the proceedings were contrary to the canon law, which supposes that no ecclesiastic can possess any lands but those belonging to the church, consequently these ought not to suffer for the personal offence of a pastor.

That prelate
takes the
monkish
habit.

Ep. S. Tho.
Mat. Paris.

Henry had issued orders for apprehending all persons who should appeal to the church of Rome, and for omitting the archbishop's name in prayers at divine service; but being alarmed at this stretch of papal power, in reversing a decree of parliament, he began to be apprehensive of an interdiction,

Is highly
favoured by
the pope.

A. C. 1165.

A. C. 1167. diction, and endeavoured by a literary correspondence to wean him from his attachment to Becket, and re-establish the good understanding between England and the see of Rome. As Alexander was invited to return to Italy, the king imagined he should be able in an interview with that pontiff to efface the bad impressions he had received of his character from Becket; and he repaired to Normandy for this purpose: but the pope insisting that the archbishop should be present at the conference, Henry rejected the proposal with disdain, and all hope of an accommodation vanished.

Chr. Triv.
Vit. S. Tho.

Henry's
constitu-
tions to pre-
vent the bad
effects of ec-
clesiastical
censure.

The king, perceiving the ascendancy which Becket had gained over Alexander, resolved to prepare for the worst consequence that could result from such influence; and, before he quitted Normandy, enacted three several constitutions to be observed in all his dominions in England as well as upon the continent, providing among other regulations that no appeals should be made to the pope or archbishop, on pain of imprisonment; that the lands belonging to the adherents of Alexander and Becket, should be confiscated; that the clergy who resided abroad, tho' in possession of livings or estates in England, should be summoned to return within three months, and in case of disobedience forfeit their benefices; that if any person should bring into England letters of interdict from the pope or archbishop, he should be punished as a traitor, with the loss of eyes and castration, if a secular clergyman; by the amputation of the feet, if a regular; by hanging, if a laic; by burning, if a lepper; that all bishops, abbots, ecclesiastics, or laymen, obeying such interdict, should, with all their kindred, be immediately expelled the realm; that all the ports of England should be strictly guarded, and no person be allowed ingress or regress, without licence from the king or chief justiciary;

justiciary; and that Peter-pence, tho' carefully collected, should not be issued from the exchequer, without a particular order from the king. The bishops of London and Norwich having published in their dioceses an interdict laid on the lands of Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk, and a sentence of excommunication, which the pope had fulminated against that nobleman, the king ordered them to be prosecuted for contempt of the statutes of Clarendon, which were sent to all the justices in England, that all the nobility and people of the kingdom might swear to obey them, and no longer plead ignorance of their meaning.

Vit. Præf.

Henry's presence being necessary to repel the incursions of the Welch, who had ravaged Cardiganshire, he sent for his queen, to whom he committed the administration of his foreign dominions; then raising a strong body of forces, transported them from the continent, and being joined by his British troops, marched into Wales, took the strong castle of Cardigan, with two sons of prince Refe, and the children of several noblemen; routed the natives with great slaughter, and repaired the fortress of Basinwerk. These disturbances being quelled, he received an embassy from Frederic emperor of Germany, with proposals for a match between the king's eldest daughter Maud, and Henry duke of Saxony and Bavaria; the alliance was approved, and the marriage-contract signed and sealed by Henry, who sent ambassadors next year into Germany to assist at the ratification of the treaty in the diet at Witzburgh.

Henry's expedition against Wales.

Match contracted between his daughter Maud and the duke of Saxony.

Triv. Chr. Mat. Paris.

About the latter end of the year, the king held a council of the bishops at Oxford, on account of some heretics from Germany, who were distinguished by the appellation of Publicans: they came over to England to the number of thirty, including men and women, and in their doctrine rejected the eucharist,

A new heresy from Germany.

A. C. 1165. eucharist, baptism, and marriage. Being summoned to appear before the council, and give an account of their faith, they seemed equally ignorant and obstinate; and refusing to engage in any dispute for the defence of their tenets, for which however they professed themselves ready to suffer martyrdom, they were declared heretics, and delivered over to the secular arm. The king ordered them to be scourged and branded with a red hot iron; and by a proclamation forbad all persons to admit them into their houses, or supply them with the necessaries of life; so that every individual of those poor fanatics perished by cold and famine.

Duet. Coll.

Henry's progress in his foreign dominions.

Henry, being informed of an association formed against queen Eleanor's government by some noblemen of Brittany and Le Maine, hastened over to his foreign dominions, and, raising an army, marched into this last county, where he subdued the malcontents, and took possession of their castles: thence he turned his arms against Brittany, the nobility of which had harrassed the country with continual depredations, during the administration of Conan, who, in order to humble their turbulent spirit, by giving them a master who would assert his authority, agreed to the match between his daughter Constance and Henry's son Geoffry, for whose use he now made over to the king of England the whole dutchy of Bretagne, except the county of Guingamp, which had belonged to his grandfather Stephen Dorien, earl of Richmond. In consequence of this deed, Henry made a progress thro' the dutchy, receiving the homage of the nobility; and, having visited the fortifications, repaired to Mont St. Michel, where he was joined by William king of Scotland, who had succeeded Malcolm, and Ninian sovereign of the western isles, who came to serve as volunteers in his army. At this period, he, in imitation or emulation of
Lewis,

Chr. Thiv.
Chr. Mail.
Fordun.

Lewis, king of France, imposed a tax upon all his dominions, for the relief of the christians in Palestine, who had lately been defeated by the infidels, and some of their chief leaders taken prisoners. He comprised some differences with Theobald count de Blois, and Matthew count of Boulogne, whom he gratified with pensions in lieu of some territories to which they laid claim, and then repaired to Poitiers to secure the quiet of that province, in which the tax against the Saracens had produced universal disgust.

A. C. 1066.
Tax for the relief of the christians in the Holy Land.

Henry could not be too cautious in taking steps to anticipate the resentment of Becket, whose violence of temper was hardly restrained from the most rancorous measures of revenge by the authority of Alexander, who dreaded that, if matters should be brought to extremity against the king or kingdom of England, Henry would join his new ally the emperor of Germany, who patronized Guy de Crema the antipope; and he was not yet so firmly established in the papal chair, as to set such a conjunction at defiance. Influenced by these considerations, he strongly recommended moderation to the archbishop, who was not without great difficulty and address with-held from proceeding to the extremity of church-censure. He raised a terrible clamour in all places by his letters and emissaries, asserting that his cause was the cause of God; and that Christ was judged in his person before a lay-tribunal, and crucified again in his sufferings. He wrote insolent letters to the king himself, affirming that he derived all his power from the church; that priests were exempted from human laws; and that the secular being subject to the ecclesiastical power, Henry ought to part with the ancient customs and regalities of his crown. He obtained a grant of the primacy of all England from the pope, who writ in his favour to the

English

Becket fulminates his censures against the king's ministers.

A. C. 1166. English bishops, ordering them to procure a restitution of all the benefices belonging to Becket's clergy, on pain of excommunication, without benefit of appeal. Alexander's affairs were no sooner in a prosperous condition, than he allowed the archbishop to follow the most extravagant dictates of his resentment. Accordingly that furious prelate repaired to Soissons, watched all night at the shrine of St. Draufius, a ceremony which was supposed to render the probationer invincible; and thence hied him to Vezelai, resolved to thunder out a sentence of excommunication against the king of England and his ministers. Hearing, however, that Henry was dangerously ill, he contented himself with sending a letter to that monarch, threatening him with the censures of the church, if he would not immediately repent, and make reparation to the clergy whom he had injured; at the same time he denounced excommunication against the ministers by name; all that were concerned in sequestering the revenues of the see of Canterbury, that obeyed, favoured, or executed the constitutions of Clarendon, which he annulled; and he absolved all the prelates and barons from the oath they had taken to observe these statutes.

Vit. S. Tho.

He conveys a bull of legation to the bishop of London.

A. C. 1167.

This censure, ratified by the pope, was very little regarded, because Becket's character was so universally known; but Henry was so incensed at his presumption, that he wrote to the chapter of Cistercians, at Pontigny, threatening to seize all their estates throughout his dominions, if they should continue to maintain Becket in their abbey: so that he was obliged to quit the convent; and, returning to Sens, was hospitably received by the king of France, from whom he received an honourable allowance in the monastery of St. Colombe. Notwithstanding the pains that were taken

Hoved.

to

to guard the ports of England, the bishop of London, while he was at the high altar celebrating the festival of St. Paul, received from an unknown hand a packet, containing authentic copies of Becket's letters, and a bull of legation granted to him by the pope, which he ordered the bishop to notify to all the prelates of the realm, with injunctions to re-establish all his clergy in their benefices, within two months, on pain of excommunication, without benefit of appeal. This mandate, confirmed by the pope's authority, laid the bishop under great difficulties, because by refusing to execute the order he should incur the censure of disobedience: but he was soon rid of his fears by the success of John de Oxford and the other agents, who had been sent to make the pope acquainted with the appeal of the English bishops and clergy, and beg the protection of his holiness. They had persuaded Alexander, that it would be very practicable to effect an accommodation between the king and the archbishop; and he was so pleased with the arguments they used on the subject, that he suspended all the effects of Becket's censures, and sent two cardinals with legatine powers into Normandy, to labour a pacification.

Ep. S. Tho.

During these transactions a war broke out between Henry and Lewis king of France, whose minds had been irritated to a mutual animosity by the affair of Becket; and now the king of England falling upon the territories belonging to the count d'Auvergne, who had rejected his arbitration in a dispute with his own nephew, the king of France espoused his cause, and invaded the Vexin Normand. Henry, marching to the defence of that country, opened a conference on the subject of a treaty with Lewis; but the French nobility being averse to an accommodation, the war was renewed with great fury on both sides, until the two months,

A rupture between the kings of England and France.

A. C. 1167. narchs, unwilling to subject their dominions to such cruel ravages, agreed to a truce, during which the king of England marched into Brittany, and reduced Guiomar, viscount of Leon, who had revolted. While he remained in this country, he received the tidings of his mother's death. That princess had, in the latter part of her life, acquired a great character for prudence, charity, and devotion. She was convinced of her son's equitable intentions in his dispute with the archbishop: she justified his zeal for the customs and prerogatives of the crown; but she disapproved of the written constitutions, which she imagined might have been omitted without any prejudice to the regal authority.

Chron. Ger.
Death of
Maud the
Empress.

Two legates
sent from
the pope to
Henry, to
mediate an
accommoda-
tion between
his majesty
and Becket.

These her sentiments, in all probability, induced the pope and Becket to solicit her mediation, which she had promised to employ; but this being anticipated by her death, the dispute was left to the address of William de Pavia, and Otho, the two legates a latere, sent by the pope with full power to negotiate an accommodation. At least when they departed from Rome, they were invested with such power; but, in consequence of Becket's complaints, importing that they were attached to the king, and that he would not adhere to their decision, and the pressing instances of the court of France, the legates received upon the road letters from the pope, limiting their commission, and prohibiting them to cross the sea into England, before the reconciliation should be effected. After a tedious journey they arrived at Caen in Normandy, where they found the king, with a number of his prelates, in full hope of seeing the dispute terminated by a sentence that would confirm the constitutions of Clarendon: but Henry was not a little chagrined, when they gave him to understand that the archbishop was exempted from their decision,

sion. Nevertheless, as the pope had in a letter A. C. 1167 exhorted Becket to make hearty advances towards a peace, the legates met him at Planches, between Gisors and Trie, where they assured him of the king's pacific disposition, advised him to make his submission, and desired to know upon what terms he was willing to treat: they proposed, that in order to re-establish the peace of the church, he should resign his see, provided the king would give up the constitutions: but he rejected the expedient, renounced their arbitration, and declared he would enter into no treaty of accommodation, until he and his clergy should be restored.

The legates, despairing of success, returned to give an account of their negotiation to the king; and the term of the appeal made by the bishops being almost expired, they took this opportunity of renewing it, and received appellatories from the cardinals, who signified to Becket at the same time, that he should not pass any censure upon the king, prelates, or realm of England, without the pope's express direction. Henry, not a little chagrined at his disappointment, desired the cardinals would, at their return, explain the insolence and obstinacy of the archbishop to the pope, and demand in his name that Becket should be altogether removed from any connection with his dominions; he insinuated, that should his request be denied, he might be tempted to comply with the emperor's repeated instances in favour of the antipope: and, to reinforce this remonstrance, he sent two agents to solicit the court of Rome on the same subject.

The legates were equally unsuccessful in executing the other part of their commission, which related to a peace between the crowns of France

Vit. S. Tho.
They fail in that negotiation.

Ep. St. Tho.
Insurrections in Henry's dominions on the continent.

A. C. 1167. and England, which in order to promote they set out for Paris, where their proposal met with insurmountable difficulties. The barons of Poitou and Guienne being disgusted at Henry, who had invaded some of their privileges, listened to the suggestions of Lewis, who inflamed their discontent, and encouraged them to revolt, with promise of assistance. A good number of them having engaged in a private treaty with that monarch, and even given hostages that they would not lay down their arms without his consent, broke out in open rebellion and ravaged the country; though the truce between the two crowns was not yet expired. Henry putting himself at the head of his forces, marched against the rebels, took their castles, destroyed their towns, and reduced them to such a low condition, that nothing hindered their submission but their engagement to the

A. C. 1168. king of France. In order to remove this obstacle, Henry having garrisoned the castles, and committed the government of the country to his queen and Patrick d'Evreux earl of Salisbury, went to hold a conference with Lewis between Mante and Pacey, in hope of establishing a peace, or at least of renewing the truce, which was well nigh expired. At this congress he loudly complained of the French king's having debauched his subjects, and insisted upon his restoring the hostages of the Poitivins: but, Lewis peremptorily refused to comply with this demand; and all that he could obtain was a further cessation from hostilities. In the mean time the barons of Poitou had again revolted, and slain the earl of Salisbury in a treacherous manner; and Henry had just begun his march towards that country, with a view to take vengeance on Guy de Lusignan and the other accomplices in that murder, when he was obliged to suspend his indignation, and turn his arms

arms against the barons of Brittany, who had refused to obey, when they were summoned to his assistance. Eudo, viscount of Porhoet, a nobleman of an ambitious and turbulent disposition, who claimed the government of the whole province, had been expelled by Henry, and took refuge in the French court, where he was encouraged to form a conspiracy against the government of the king of England. He accordingly prevailed upon several lords of Brittany to engage in the design. A treaty was concluded with France, and hostages were given, as in the case of Poitou; so that an universal rebellion ensued. Henry no sooner received information of this revolt, than he entered Brittany with his forces, took and demolished Eudo's fortresses, reduced and ravaged all the country of Porhoet, Dinan, and St. Malo; proceeding with great rapidity of conquest, until he was obliged to give the king of France a meeting at La Ferte Bernard, where he hoped to renew the truce, if a solid peace could not be effected. But, as the French knew the nobility of Le Maine were ripe for an insurrection, to which they had been instigated by the Bretons, this interview proved ineffectual, and the war was renewed.

A. C. 1168.
Chr. Trev.
Rob. de Monte.

Henry finding himself exposed to the efforts of so many enemies, resolved to gain over one of the most troublesome, namely, Matthew count of Boulogne, who having claimed the county of Mortagne, and met with a refusal, had, in the course of the preceding year, equipped an armament of six hundred vessels, for an invasion of England; though he was baffled in his attempt by the vigilance and conduct of Richard de Luce, chief justiciary and guardian of the realm. This difference Henry thought proper to compromise, by allowing him a very considerable pension, in consequence of which

War renewed with the king of France.

A. C. 1168. he engaged to reinforce the king with a body of auxiliary knights. Being denied a passage by land through the territories of John count of Ponthieu, he was obliged to transport his troops by sea; and Henry, resenting the refusal, entered John's dominions, ravaged the country, and reduced above forty towns to ashes. Mean while the king of France, making a sudden incursion into Normandy, retorted these devastations; but, as Henry advanced against him, he retired, tho' not so speedily but that the king of England fell upon his rear, and took a great number of prisoners. The war was carried on in slight incursions and skirmishes; for though the two kings commanded their respective armies in person, and were equally famed for courage and military skill, they industriously avoided a general engagement.

The emperor and princes of Germany offered to make a diversion in favour of Henry, by invading France with a powerful army; but, as they expected he would declare for the antipope Paſchal, in consideration of these succours, he chose to confide in his own strength, rather than run the risque of embroiling his dominions still farther, by incurring the resentment of Alexander, with whom he still kept measures, and from whom he had obtained a dispensation for the marriage of his son Geoffry with Constance, heiress of Bretagne. Tho' the emperor and Henry differed in opinion or politics with regard to the pope, that difference did not retard the celebration of the marriage between his daughter Maud and the duke of Saxony. Queen Eleanor repaired to England, in order to make preparations for the departure of that princess, who was sent into Germany with a prodigious sum, levied for her portion by a general tax, and a fine exacted from the Jews permitted to reside in the kingdom. The earnest solicitations of Lewis, and
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the importunities of Becket, at length prevailed upon pope Alexander to allow this rancorous prelate to denounce his censures against the king and realm of England; and a day was appointed for excommunicating Henry, and laying the nation under an interdict, if, in the mean time, the king should refuse to restore the archbishop and his clergy. Becket, according to this bull of permission, when the time arrived, fulminated a sentence of excommunication against some of the king's ministers, notwithstanding the second appeal, and without form of law or citations. Ralph, archdeacon of Landaf, was sent to Rome to procure absolution for the persons thus censured.

Becket fulminates a provisional interdict against the kingdom of England.

Vit. S. Tho.

About this period two nuncios from the pope arrived at Danfront in Normandy, where they presented letters from his holiness to the king, pressing him to restore Becket, and referring him to the bearers for a further explanation of his desires. Henry, having conferred with these representatives, assembled his prelates at Bayeux, where he declared that out of regard to the pope, he would be reconciled to Becket and his clergy; but, in return for this condescension, he expected that the nuncios would absolve his ministers that were then present, and even cross the sea to give absolution to those that remained in England. After some dispute they were prevailed upon to comply, on condition that the reconciliation should take place within a limited time; and in this agreement, which was committed to writing, the king inserted a salvo for the dignity of his kingdom. The archbishop's partizans took exceptions to this clause, and the nuncios desired it might be expunged, otherwise they retracted their promise. Routrou, archbishop of Rouen, proposed, that another should be substituted in its place, importing, that Becket should be restored to his see, and the clergy retrieve their

Conferences at Bayeux, at which two nuncios assist.

A. C. 1168. benefices in as full a manner as that in which they had enjoyed them before their privation ; and Henry agreed to this amendment, provided his salvo should remain. Becket's friends insisted upon its being removed, and the nuncios finding both parties inflexible, departed without having succeeded in their negotiation. The prelates wrote to the pope in favour of the clause, in defence of which the king sent Reginald de Salisbury and Richard Barre to the court of Rome, with orders to demand that the pope would absolve those whom Becket had excommunicated, and prevent such censures for the future ; otherwise he should be obliged to provide for his own honour and security in another manner.

Chr. Gev.

Henry adjusts all differences with the French king at Montmirail.

Mean while, supposing that the instances of the French court were the chief obstacles that retarded an accommodation with Alexander, he exerted all his endeavours to subdue the revolted barons, from whose insurrection Lewis hoped to derive great advantages ; and their confederacy being altogether dissolved by Henry's activity, and the departure of Guy de Lusignan for Jerusalem, of which he was created monarch, the king of France became more tractable, and in a conference at Montmirail, the two monarchs adjusted all their differences. Henry had by this time made over Normandy, Le Maine, and Anjou, to his eldest son Henry ; Poitou and Guienne, to his son Richard ; and Bretagne, to Geoffry, who held it as a fief depending upon Normandy, and swore fealty to his elder brother. Lewis, as sovereign of all these fiefs, confirmed this disposition, and young Henry did homage to his father-in-law, and his young son Philip-Augustus, for Anjou, Maine, and Bretagne, having taken the oaths for Normandy on a former occasion. Richard, contracted to Adalais, another princess of France, did homage for Guienne ; Henry himself

self was restored to the office of high-steward, which had been hereditary in the counts of Anjou; and on Candlemas-day served the king of France at table in that capacity. As the king of England was not restrained by any article of this treaty from chastising the revolted barons of Poitou and Guienne, he marched into those counties, destroyed their castles, and reduced to obedience the counts of Angoulesme and Le Marche, together with the lesser nobility of those provinces. Then returning to Normandy, he built the strong fortrefs of Beauvoir en Lions: drew broad and deep trenches on the frontiers of his Norman dominions, to prevent the depredations of his neighbours; erected fisheries in the river Mayenne; and ordered high banks to be raised along the north-side of the Loire, to keep that river within its channel.

A. C. 1165.

Chr. Ger.

When the treaty was ratified at Montmirail, Lewis endeavoured to mediate a peace between Henry and Becket. Several conferences were held upon the subject, in which the archbishop, being on the spot, was prevailed upon to avoid mentioning the constitutions of Clarendon, as they were already condemned by the pope. The prelates had well nigh persuaded him to throw himself at the king's feet, and refer the terms of reconciliation to his royal pleasure; but when he was introduced for this purpose, he clogged his submission with his old salvo of the honour of God and the liberty of the church; and Henry was so incensed at this reservation, that he told him he would allow of no such evasive subterfuge. Then turning to the king of France, he inveighed severely against his pride, arrogance, and ambition; and to vindicate himself from the aspersions which the other had thrown upon his character, offered, in the hearing of all the spectators, to restore him to the see of Canterbury, which he should possess with all the privilege

Conference
with Becket.

A. C. 1159. and authority that was ever vested in the greatest prelate that ever enjoyed that archbishopric, provided he would promise to pay to Henry such regard as the most powerful prelate had at any time paid to the most insignificant monarch of England. The king of France, together with his prelates and nobility, could not help applauding the candour of this proposal, which they exhorted Becket to embrace. But he refused to part with a tittle of his salvo; and several French noblemen made no scruple of condemning his pride publicly, and exclaiming, that since he rejected such reasonable terms, he deserved no protection, and ought not to be suffered to live within the dominions either of England or of France. The two kings parted at night, without taking the least notice of the archbishop; and Lewis for some days neglected to visit or supply him with provisions: but this seems to have been a dissembled disgust; for he soon readmitted him into his former place of friendship and familiarity. Henry sent the bishop of Seez and Geoffry Ridel to expostulate with the French king, upon his countenancing a man who had rejected such reasonable propositions; when Lewis replied, that as the king of England seemed so much attached to the customs of his ancestors, so would he adhere to that right of hospitality which he inherited with his crown.

Vit. S. Tho.

Becket denounces censures against the English ministry, and excommunicates the bishop of London.

Becket, presuming upon the friendship and support of that monarch, resolved to give a loose to that vengeance he had hitherto restrained in consequence of the pope's representations and inhibition. While the nuncios were in Normandy, he had consented to their suspending the excommunication of Geoffry Ridel, Nigel de Sackeville, and others of the king's ministers, on condition that the peace should be completed before the time fixed for their departure. Gratian set out for Italy: and he being entirely in the archbishop's interest, made such a

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representation to the pope, that this pontiff, being moreover irritated at the king's menacing letter, wrote to Becket, that if he and his clergy should not be restored before the beginning of Lent, he might exercise his legatine powers without restriction. Becket did not fail to make use of this licence. He fulminated excommunication provisionally against the king's ministers, and others, for seizing the effects of the clergy, receiving ecclesiastical benefices from the hands of laymen, obstructing the pope's messengers, and abetting the customs of the realm, in opposition to the ecclesiastical canons. He likewise issued an interdict upon the province of Canterbury, to take place with the other sentence, in case the king should not make him ample satisfaction before Candlemas; and the bishops of London and Salisbury were comprehended in this censure.

A. C. 1169.

Ep. S. Tho.

The bishop of London, expecting some such sentence, had lodged an appeal before it was issued; but, finding it denounced notwithstanding that precaution, he summoned his clergy to join him in a new appeal; and the archbishop of Rouen interceded with the pope in his behalf. At the same time the king wrote a letter to Alexander, desiring him to annul those rash irregular sentences; and he defrayed the expence of the bishop's journey to Italy, whither he forthwith bent his way, in order to justify his appeal. When he endeavoured to pass through Burgundy, in which Becket had many zealous partizans, whom he attached to his interest during his residence at Pontigny, the roads were beset by those adherents, who resolved to intercept the bishop; so that he was obliged to change his route, and travel through Provence, and over the Alps to Milan, where he received a letter from the pope, containing an order for Routrou, archbishop of Rouen, to give him absolution.

The bishop
of London
is absolved
by the pope,

A. C. 1169. tion. He therefore returned to Normandy, and
Ep. S. Tho. was absolved on the festival of Easter.

who sends
two dele-
gates to me-
diate a re-
conciliation
between the
king and
Becket.

Alexander acted the more moderately on this occasion, as he perceived the interdict had produced very little effect in England, and the sentences of excommunication were utterly disregarded: he knew Henry to be a prince of great authority and resolution, beloved by his subjects, and tenacious of his prerogative; and he began to fear that should matters come to extremity, the see of Rome might lose all the power and influence she had acquired in England: He, on these considerations, made fresh efforts towards a reconciliation of the king with the archbishop, and employed the bishop of Bellay and the prior of the Carthusians to persuade Henry to a restitution; but all their endeavours proving ineffectual, he sent a commission to Simeon, prior of Montdieu, and Bernard de Corilo, of the order of Grandmont, to labour an accommodation; and they were furnished with two letters to the king, to be used occasionally. In the first, his holiness exhorted him to restore the archbishop; and in hope of that restoration suspended the censures of Becket, whom he likewise inhibited for the present from denouncing any new sentences against Henry or his subjects; and the other, to be delivered in case the first should produce no effect, contained menaces of allowing Becket to exert all his ecclesiastical power without restriction.

Henry's in-
flexibility.

The conferences were opened again at Montmi-
rail, in presence of the king of France, attended
by his lords and prelates, who seconded the dele-
gates in persuading Becket to humble himself be-
fore Henry, and sue for a reconciliation. He ac-
cordingly made a kind of submission, though qua-
lified with the old exceptions; but Henry still
insisting upon his absolute promise to observe the
old

old customs, he refused to comply, and the negotiation was interrupted. Both sides persisted in the same resolution at the second meeting, when the pope's comminatory letter was delivered to Henry, who said he would consult the bishops of England upon the subject, but fixed no day for an answer; so that all prospect of accommodation disappeared. As pope Alexander had exacted a promise of Becket, that he never would incur any new obligations, when he absolved him of his oath to observe the constitutions of Clarendon; and as he offered at this last conference to swear to the observance of the ancient customs, with the same saving clause that was allowed in the oath of fealty taken by prelates at a coronation, the audience in general disapproved of Henry's inflexibility; and the archbishop of Rheims, with several French prelates, advised the pope to support Becket to the last extremity.

A. C. 1169.

Ep. S. Tho.

The king, perceiving that his conduct had turned to his prejudice, sent agents to Rome to solicit a further respite from ecclesiastical censure, until other measures could be taken for the pacification; and the pope granted his request: but Henry, being uncertain of their success, sent orders in the mean time to England, to enforce the regulations which had been lately made to prevent the bad effects of an interdict. He prescribed a certain day, before which all the English clergy abroad should return; and after that term made it criminal to appeal to the pope or the archbishop, or to obey any of their mandates: he decreed, that if after this term any person should be found bringing into England letter, mandate, or interdict, from either Alexander or Becket, he should be punished as a traitor to the king and kingdom. But if, notwithstanding this precaution, an interdict should be conveyed into the realm, all persons observing it should

His severe edict to prevent the bad effects of an interdict.

A. C. 1169. should be banished, with their kindred, and forfeit their estates: and the sheriffs of counties were directed to exact, by themselves and their deputies, an oath from all the subjects in the kingdom above the age of fifteen, that they would observe these regulations.

His inter-
view with
Becket at
Montmar-
tre.

By this time Henry was heartily tired of the dispute, and resolved to recal the archbishop, without insisting upon his oath or promise to conform with the customs which had produced such an anxiety to both; for he imagined he should be better able to deal with that haughty priest in his own kingdom, than while he enjoyed the immediate protection of foreign potentates. In these sentiments he pretended to make a kind of pilgrimage to St. Denis, hoping he should find an opportunity to broach his proposal in an interview with the king of France, at Montmartre, in the neighbourhood of Paris. According to his expectation, in conversing with that prince and his prelates, the discourse turning upon the liberties of the church, as not at all incompatible with the royal authority, the bishops interceded for the restoration of Becket, to which Henry expressed no aversion. That this favourable disposition might not be lost, they prevailed upon the archbishop, who was in an adjoining apartment, to prefer a petition, specifying all his demands, touching the restoration of himself and his clergy; and as some disputes arose, relative to the vacant benefices which had been filled in his absence, the king offered to present him with a thousand marks to defray the expence of his return, and submit the cause to the determination of the French peers, the Gallican church, or the university of Paris. Lewis and all the nobility, French as well as English, applauded the proposal; and Becket consented to wave his other demands, provided the king would grant security for the performance of
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the agreement. When they expostulated with him upon the indecency of requiring security from his lord and sovereign, he said, he would be satisfied with a kiss of peace; with which, however, the king refused to indulge him, alledging he had sworn in his wrath, that he would never kiss the archbishop, even though a reconciliation should be effected. A. C. 1159.

This refusal, which looked a little suspicious to Lewis and the mediators, being reported to Becket, he rejected peace upon any other terms, and seemed to feel a secret pleasure in thinking he should by his obstinacy oblige Henry to comply at last, and own himself perjured in the presence of such an august assembly; for he concluded, that the king found a reconciliation indispensably necessary to the interest of his affairs. He was disappointed in his expectation: the king was not reduced to such distresses; and he took his leave of Lewis without having made any other proposition. He did not fail, however, to dispatch John of Oxford dean of Salisbury, and the archbishops of Rouen and Sez on an embassy to the pope, with an account of what had passed at the conference, and an assurance of his readiness to restore the archbishop; nay, in order to remove the only remaining objection, he proposed, that his eldest son should, in his stead, give the kiss of peace, which Becket so eagerly desired. Alexander approved of the expedient; and, in order to take the advantage of this happy disposition in Henry, he forthwith sent a commission, empowering Routrou, archbishop of Rouen, and Bernard bishop of Nevers, to execute the treaty. They were instructed to admonish Henry to grant the kiss of peace to Becket, as the pope absolved him of the rash oath he had made; but, should he still decline that condescension, they were directed to persuade the archbishop The king's expedient approved by the pope.

to

Vit. S. Tho.

A. C. 1170.

A. C. 1170. to accept the kiss of his son Henry: the peace was not to be retarded, even though the king should delay the payment of the thousand marks; but, if within forty days after they should have communicated their commission, and the pope's monatory letter to his majesty, he should retract the promise he had made, they were directed to lay an interdict, without appeal, on all his foreign dominions.

Chr. Gerv.

Henry reforms the abuses that had crept into the management of sheriffs in England.

Mean while the king assembled the states of Bretagne at Nantes, where they swore fealty to him and his son Geoffry; and, having settled the affairs of Normandy, set sail for England, in which he arrived, though not before he had been well-nigh shipwrecked in a violent storm. During his absence of four years, the sheriffs of counties had continued in office; and the attention of the people being wholly engrossed by the ecclesiastical dispute, their conduct had not been inspected; consequently the revenue was embezzled and the subjects oppressed. To redress these grievances, Henry convoked a great council at Windsor, in which the kingdom was divided into circuits, and commissioners were appointed to make a progress thro' these divisions, and take security from all sheriffs, their bailiffs, and other officers, that they would appear at an appointed day before the king, and give an account of their management. They were likewise impowered to examine into all frauds, extortions, and misdemeanors of those sheriffs and their officers, who, in those days, were employed to levy the most considerable branches of the revenue: they accordingly appeared, and, having undergone the inquisition, were for the most part turned out of their offices.

His son Henry is crowned at Westminster.

The day on which these delinquents were punished, was distinguished by another great solemnity. William king of Scotland, and his brother David, had been at court for some time, and all
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the nobility and prelates were summoned to meet at London, and assist at the coronation of prince Henry, now in the sixteenth year of his age. He came over from Normandy for this purpose, and was crowned in the church of Westminster-abbey, in the midst of a more numerous assembly than had ever appeared on the like occasion. After the ceremony, the Scottish king and his brother did homage to the young king, and all present swore fealty to him, saving that which was due to their lord the king his father. Roger archbishop of York, who was likewise legate for Scotland, officiated in crowning this young prince, who was of a proud insolent disposition, of which he could not help exhibiting marks at the banquet that succeeded the solemnity. The king served the first dish with his own hands, saying to his son, that he might now boast of being served as honourably as any monarch upon earth. Young Henry, instead of making a proper reply to this compliment, turned towards the archbishop of York, and, in a low voice, observed, that there was nothing strange in seeing a great king's heir served by the son of a petty count.

The king seems to have been very careful in keeping his design secret till the very day of execution, as if he had been apprehensive of some opposition; for the nobility and prelates imagined they were assembled for no other purpose than that of trying the sheriffs; and the young prince was ignorant of his father's intention, until he arrived in England, two days before the coronation. Not but that a general report prevailed of the king's having formed such a scheme, though it was not supposed he had fixed any time for the execution of it: Becket had writ to the archbishop of York, and the other English prelates, forbidding them to assist at the coronation; and the pope, at his desire,

had

A. C. 1179.

Benedicti
abbas.Becket's en-
deavours to
prevent this
coronation.

A. C. 1170. had confirmed the inhibition. Some of these mandates were actually brought over into England; but such was the severity of the law, that no person would deliver them according to the direction. Becket, understanding they had miscarried, sent an order to the convent of Christ-church, to issue out, by virtue of the papal authority, the like inhibition upon all the suffragans of the church of Canterbury; to enter a protest in favour of its rights, and make an appeal for prevention of the intended injury: but this order was utterly disregarded. Then Becket sent his own inhibitions, confirmed by the pope, to Roger bishop of Worcester, at that time residing in Normandy, who undertook to deliver them, and had reached Dieppe in his way to England, when the queen and Richard du Hommet, justiciary of the Norman dominions, suspecting his design, on account of his attachment to Becket, sent an order forbidding him to embark, and laid an embargo upon all the shipping in the harbour. The archbishop, baffled in all his schemes, had recourse to the king of France, who resolved to send a caveat to queen Eleanor against the coronation of prince Henry, unless his daughter should be crowned at the same time; otherwise he would immediately declare war against England. But this project could not be executed in time to prevent the ceremony. Becket was extremely mortified, when he found it impracticable to hinder this coronation, which he hoped would never take place until the prince should first swear that he would maintain the liberties of the see of Canterbury, and reverse the constitutions of Clarendon; and, in the first transports of his wrath, he wrote a letter to pope Alexander, affirming, that the young king had not only omitted the usual oath for preserving the liberties of the church, but even swore that he would maintain the consti-
tutions

tutions of Clarendon. The pope was so incensed at this representation, that he forthwith supplied Becket with sentences of suspension and excommunication against all the English prelates who had assisted at the solemnity: but the pope was undeceived by Gilles bishop of Evreux, who attended at the coronation, and attested that Henry had taken an oath in favour of the church; and that the constitutions were not once mentioned on the occasion. The letters of suspension were qualified accordingly; and though granted against the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury, never took effect in England.

A. C. 1170.

Ep. S. Tho.

Becket's interview with Henry.

Mean while the pope's commission was delivered to Routrou and the bishop of Nevers, who had come to Caen in order to transact that accommodation; and the term was prolonged on account of Henry's absence. That prince had no sooner settled the affairs of his kingdom, than he crossed the sea; and in a conference at La Ferté in the Pais Chartrain, compromised his difference with the king of France, who had expressed great resentment, and even denounced war against him for the affront put upon his daughter, in omitting her coronation when her husband received the crown. The king of England made proper satisfaction for this supposed insult; and while the princes were employed in establishing a solid peace between the two crowns, the legates visited Becket at Sens, and prevailed upon him to wave the kiss, and the restitution of the mean profits of his see, and accompany them to the conference. The ceremonial of the interview being regulated, Lewis absented himself, that Henry's generosity might appear more free and unconstrained; though count Theobald and the greatest part of the French nobility were present at this extraordinary reconciliation. When Becket approached, the king advanced to meet

A. C. 1170.

him in the most gracious manner; and notwithstanding the rancour and violence with which that prelate had persecuted him so long, he, to the amazement of all the spectators, talked to the archbishop with great ease, familiarity, and seeming kindness, as if they had never been at variance. After the first salutation, they conferred with the archbishop of Sens apart; and then retiring by themselves, passed the greatest part of the day in private discourse. All material points being adjusted, Becket attended Henry on horseback; and, as they rode together, proposed, that the king should make satisfaction to the church of Canterbury, whose right had been invaded by the archbishop of York, who had officiated at young Henry's coronation. Though his majesty was opinion that he had a right to chuse the prelate who should perform that ceremony, yet, in order to manifest his inclination for peace, he promised that the see of Canterbury should have satisfaction; nay, as the queen of young Henry was not yet crowned, he assured the archbishop he should perform that ceremony, at which he might likewise place the crown on her husband's head, as a right inherent in the see of Canterbury. Becket, transported at this instance of the king's condescension, alighted instantly, and threw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who, leaping from his horse at the same time, lifted him from the ground, and helped him to remount. He, at the same time, extended his royal grace to the clergy who had attended Becket in his exile; but, when the bishop of Lisieux proposed that the archbishop should likewise forgive those who adhered to the king, he evaded the request by frivolous distinctions, which might have produced mischievous consequences, had not Henry, to avoid the revival of animosity, put an end to the conference, and invited the archbishop to accompany

company him directly to Normandy, where he would make suitable provision for him and his retinue. This invitation he declined, pretending it would be indecent to part so abruptly with the king of France and his other benefactors, though the real reason was a resolution he had taken to wait in France, until he should be certified that his agent had taken possession of his effects and revenues in England.

Ep. S. Tho.

Henry, at his return from Normandy, was taken ill at La Mote Garnier, near Danfront, and the distemper gained such ground, that the physicians had little hopes of his recovery: he therefore made his will, in which he bequeathed England, Normandy, and Anjou, to his eldest son, with strong injunctions to provide for his brother John; Guienne to Richard; and Bretagne to his third son Geoffry. But at length his constitution triumphed over his disease; and when his health was re-established, he went on a pilgrimage to St. Mary of Roque-Madour in Quercy. As this indisposition occasioned a delay in signing the powers necessary for Becket's agents, that prelate, doubting the sincerity of the king, solicited the pope to denounce his ecclesiastical censures; and Alexander issued his bulls accordingly, reviving the former sentences of excommunication, and interdict against the kingdom of England, as well as Henry's foreign dominions, to take place, if full satisfaction should not be given to the archbishop, within thirty days after the commonition. The king, in order to avert these troublesome censures, proposed another meeting with Becket at Amboise, where every remaining obstacle was removed by the mediation of the French king; and the archbishop agreed to receive the kiss of peace from young Henry. His agents were immediately empowered to take possession of the archbishopric; and his

He still threatens England with an interdict.

A. C. 1170. clergy were restored to their benefices : but as six dioceses were vacant, the king resolved to supply them with prelates well affected to his person and government before the return of Becket, who had formed a scheme to fill those vacancies with his own creatures. In order to prevent such a dangerous accession of power in a priest of his character, Henry ordered the bishops of York, London, and Sarum, to repair into Normandy, with six deputies from each chapter of the vacant sees, that proper persons might be chosen for such important offices. Geoffry Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury, whom Becket looked upon as his bitterest enemy, was promoted to the see of Ely, though he died before his consecration ; Reginald, son of the bishop of Salisbury, was elected in the diocese of Bath ; and the other vacancies were filled with prelates who had no great devotion to the archbishop.

Becket re-
turns to
England.

R. de Monte.

Another quarrel was kindled between France and England, by Henry's purchasing of Henry de Vienne, Montmerail and the castle of St. Agnan in Berry, which was an appanage of the dutchy of Guienne. This step gave great umbrage to Theobald count de Blois, who had a claim to those places ; and the king of France supported his pretensions at the head of an army, with which he invaded Auvergne. Henry advanced with a body of troops to take possession of Bourges ; but finding himself anticipated by the French forces, agreed to a truce with Lewis. While he was employed in this expedition, Becket arrived at Rouen, where he found John of Oxford dean of Salisbury appointed to attend him into England. Embarking at Witsand with a favourable wind, he arrived at Sandwich, where, in consequence of the king's order, he was exempted from examination by Gervase de Cornhill, high-sheriff of Kent ;

Kent; and Reginald de Warenne, who, in quality of itinerant justiciaries, guarded that port with a number of armed officers. They treated the archbishop and his clergy with great respect, to which Becket was not intitled by his behaviour; for upon hearing that the king intended to fill the vacancies, he had dispatched a person before him with letters to the archbishop of York, and the prelates of London and Sarum, to notify the suspension of the first, and the excommunication of the other two; censures under which they remained a whole year, though, in the mean time, they pursued their voyage to Normandy.

Ep. S. The.

Nothing could exceed the insolence with which this ambitious archbishop conducted himself from his first landing: instead of retiring quietly to his diocese with that modesty which became a man just pardoned by his king for crimes of the deepest dye, he promulgated his legatine powers; treated the king's officers with contempt and indignity; and, on pretence of a visitation, made a progress through Kent, in all the splendour and magnificence of a sovereign pontiff, while the towns thro' which he passed welcomed him with solemn processions and hymns of thanksgiving. He had brought over three fine horses, as a present to the young king, who resided at Wodestoke, for which place he set out, in full assurance of a gracious reception. But that prince being informed of this ridiculous parade, calculated to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar, after he had broken the conditions of his reconciliation, violated the laws, and insulted the royal authority from the first hour of his arrival, sent Jocelin de Lovain, brother to the second queen of Henry I. and ancestor of the Piercy family, to desire he would immediately return to his diocese. Becket had by this time advanced as far as Southwark, attended by all the knights that held

Becket's insolence and pride.

A. C. 1170. of his see, and a great number of armed followers, to support his legatine authority, which he exercised in suspending or depriving the clergy, and excommunicating the laity who had adhered to the laws of the kingdom in opposition to the papal decrees. He did not think proper to dispute the young king's order, which, however, he did not scruple to say he should have disobeyed, had it not been for the near approach of Christmas, which he desired to celebrate at his own church in Canterbury; nevertheless, he would not return directly; but, in order to manifest his contempt of the royal authority, went to his manor of Harrow in Middlesex, where he staid several days. In his return to Canterbury, he dismissed the greatest part of his retinue, and remained quiet at his own palace till Christmas-day, when, mounting the pulpit, he pronounced a sermon calculated for inflaming the minds of the people against those who had opposed his measures; and then excommunicated Nigel de Sackville and Robert de Broke, for cutting off the tail of his sumpter-horse, with a great number of the king's ministers, officers of the household, justiciaries, and other persons of the first quality in the kingdom.

Fitz-
Stephens.
Mat. Paris.

Becket is
murdered at
the altar.

Advice of these proceedings being brought to Henry, during the festival of the nativity, which he kept at Bures near Bayeux, with his prelates and barons, he was so provoked at the unparalleled arrogance of Becket, that he could not help breaking forth into acrimonious expressions against that turbulent prelate, whom he had raised from the dunghill, to be the plague of his life and the continual disturber of his government. He is said to have declared he should never enjoy a quiet hour while Becket should be alive, and lamented that he had no friends about him, otherwise he should not have been so long exposed to the insults of a babbling

babbling priest. Whether he actually used this expression in the first transport of his wrath, or his sentiments were misinterpreted by his domestics, certain it is, four barons or knights of the household, namely, William de Tracey, Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, engaged in a mutual oath to revenge the king's quarrel, withdrew from court, took shipping at different ports, and met next day at the castle of Saltwode, within six miles of Canterbury. Mean while the king suspecting their design by the privacy of their departure, dispatched messengers to overtake and forbid them, in his name, to commit any violence; but the conspirators had already taken shipping, and the king's orders arrived too late in England to prevent the execution of their design. Henry, having taken this precaution, summoned a council to deliberate upon measures for restraining the furious conduct of the archbishop, whom some of the assembly advised him to prosecute and put to death as a traitor; but this proposal he rejected, though it was resolved to take Becket into custody. William de Magneville, earl of Essex, Sair de Quincy, and Richard du Hommet, were charged with this commission; and the last of these noblemen crossing the sea to England, sent deputies to Winchester, with an account of this resolution to the young king, who was desired to send privately from court a body of knights to arrest the archbishop, while he should keep watch on the sea-coast to prevent his escape. All these steps, however, were rendered unnecessary by the dispatch of the four barons, who being joined by twelve other knights at the castle of Saltwode, belonging to Ralf de Broke, they proceeded forthwith to Canterbury. The assistants were intended to keep the citizens quiet, while the barons, entering the palace, secured the great

A. C. 1170.

gates, and seized two or three of the knights belonging to the family: these they committed to the charge of their followers: then they advanced to Becket's apartment, and expostulated warmly with him about the rashness and insolence of his conduct. He asserted, that the spiritualities of his see were derived from the pope; that he held nothing of the king but the temporalities; and upbraided three of them with their ingratitude to him who had retained them in his service while he enjoyed the post of chancellor. These reproaches provoked them to such a degree, that they resolved to deprive him of his life, and retired to put on their armour. During this interval he might have escaped, but he either presumed too much on his sacred character, or aspired to the glory of martyrdom. Notwithstanding the intreaties of the monks, who apprehended mischief, he determined to assist at vespers, and passed through the cloister of the convent into the church, followed by the conspirators, who fell upon him immediately, with swords and clubs. Having received four wounds in the head, he dropped down dead before the altar of St. Benedict, which was besmeared with his blood and brains.

Vit. Pref.
Ep. S. Tho.
Fitzsteph.
Gul. Neub.
Canonized
by the pope.

The circumstances of the murder, which were extremely barbarous, the place in which it was perpetrated, and the fortitude with which he resigned himself to his fate, conspired to enhance his character in the opinion of the vulgar, who now lamented him as a saint, whom they had before detested as a traitor. The doors of the church being left open by the assassins, the people rushed in to see the body, and dipping their fingers in his blood, crossed their foreheads with great devotion, believing themselves sanctified by the blood of a holy martyr. The monks had laid it upon the high altar; but hearing that the murderers intended to return

return and throw it into some indecent and unhallowed place, they buried it privately in a stone-coffin, near the spot on which he suffered; but it was afterwards, by order of pope Honorius II. taken up with great solemnity, and deposited in a sumptuous shrine, at the expence of archbishop Langton. As for the perpetrators of the fact, they retired to the castle of Knaresborough in Yorkshire, belonging to Hugh de Moreville, where they remained a whole year secluded from all society; but, tired at last of solitude, and commanded by the king to submit to the pope's judgment, they went to Rome, and were ordered to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Thus fell the celebrated Thomas Becket, one of the most daring, turbulent, vindictive, and ambitious priests that ever devoted themselves as ministers to the usurpation of the Roman see, or attempted to aggrandize the church upon the ruins of civil government. Pope Alexander, for the honour of the papacy, and the encouragement of other enthusiasts, canonized him about two years after his death, without the usual process, or any formal examination of his pretended miracles. This resolution was taken upon common report of idle stories and pretended visions, to which the cardinals Albert and Theodun, then in Normandy, pretended to give credit; and a bull was directed to all the clergy and people of England, appointing an annual festival in commemoration of Becket's martyrdom. This canonization, however,

A. C. 1170.

Mat. Paris;

Baron. An.

Du. Moulin.
Hist. de Nor.Henry's
grief and
perplexity.

Becket's death was no sooner known on the continent, than the king of France, and Theobald count of Blois, pressed the pope to unsheath St. Peter's

A. C. 1171. Peter's sword, and revenge the sacrilegious murder; and the archbishop of Sens, by virtue of his legatine powers in France, laid all Henry's foreign dominions under an interdict; which Alexander

Ep. S. Tho. confirmed. Even the English nation looked upon the deed with horror; and the monks perceiving the disposition of the people, inflamed it to such a degree with stories of dreams, apparitions, and miracles, that superstition triumphed over common sense, and Henry was no longer master of the kingdom: so that this murder broke all his measures, and forced him to compliances, which Becket, had he been alive, could not have extorted from him with all his spiritual artillery. He received the advice of this unlucky affair at Argentan; and, foreseeing all the mischievous consequences of it, could not help breaking forth into a most bitter lamentation: nay, so much was he affected with the news, that he shut himself up three days in his chamber, and refused all manner of sustenance and comfort. At length his nobility and prelates were with difficulty admitted, and representing the necessity of taking some steps to prevent the mischiefs that might redound from this melancholy event, he appointed ambassadors to vindicate his character at the court of Rome. They departed immediately, and, after a very dangerous and fatiguing journey, arrived at Frascati, where they found two of Becket's adherents solliciting against the king; and the pope so incensed, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could obtain an audience. Maunday Thursday being the festival on which the pope denounces ecclesiastical censures, the ambassadors were afraid, that he would excommunicate the king by name, and could find no other expedient to avert the sentence, than that of swearing before a full consistory, that the king would stand to the pope's judgment. Thus appeased,

He sends an embassy to the pope.

peased, Alexander contented himself with fulminating the sentence against the actors, aiders, abettors, advisers, and approvers of Becket's death, and all that harboured or received the murderers: but the bishops of the embassy, with all their intreaties and remonstrances, could not prevent his confirming the interdict, which had been laid upon his Norman dominions. All the benefit they reaped from their negotiation, was a suspension from further proceedings, until the pope should send two legates into Normandy, to examine into the particulars of Becket's death, and take cognizance of the king's humiliation: even this was purchased at the expence of forty thousand marks of silver, and five thousand of gold, which Henry was fain to defray, rather than incur the resentment of the pope, at a juncture when his subjects were on the point of renouncing their allegiance. The legates proposed for this commission were the cardinals Albert and Theodun, from whom the king expected nothing but severity, considering the present temper of the pope, irritated by the deed itself, and inflamed by the suggestions of Lewis and other princes, who seized this opportunity of humbling the exorbitant power of the English monarch.

A. C. 1171.

Brady.

He was now indeed obliged to exert all his policy and address in avoiding a war with his neighbours on the continent, and in protracting the mission of the legates, until the novelty and horror of Becket's death should gradually diminish and decay. He thought it would be necessary to divert the attention of his people from this melancholy subject, by engaging in some specious enterprize that would captivate their fancy, and enhance his own reputation. He foresaw that nothing could answer these purposes more effectually than a conquest of Ireland; a design which he had formed in the beginning of his reign, and towards the execu-
tion

Henry undertakes the conquest of Ireland.

A. C. 1171. tion of which he had obtained a grant of that island from pope Adrian IV. under pretence of propagating the gospel, and correcting the vices of the inhabitants. He now resolved to embark in this expedition, which appeared the more easy, as several private adventurers had already made great progress in that country. The original pretext for this war was, that the Irish had taken some natives of England, and sold them for slaves: but the motives that induced Adrian, who was himself an Englishman, to indulge Henry with the brief, was, exclusive of a national partiality, the prospect of adding to the power and revenues of the Roman see; for it was expressly stipulated, that he should establish the tribute of Peter-pence over all the island.

Account of
Ireland.

The conquest of Ireland was facilitated by its own intestine divisions. The inhabitants lived in septa or clans under different chieftains; and a number of these owned the sovereignty of a superior, who extended his authority over a large district. The country was antiently divided into five such kingdoms; namely, Ulster, Meath, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught; and of the five princes who ruled these divisions, he that was most distinguished for his valour, wisdom, and power, was, by the others, elected and acknowledged king or monarch of Ireland; who enjoyed the same pre-eminence of rank and prerogative of presiding in the general assembly, as had been formerly vested in the monarch or chief of the Saxon confederacy: but, besides these principal sovereigns, a great number of lesser potentates in Ireland assumed the appellation of King, which, in their language, implied no more than lord or superior. Ireland was never subdued by the Romans, though it agreed to pay tribute to that people, for the conveniency of trade with different parts of the empire. It was

invaded by Egfrid, king of Northumberland, who was obliged to desist from his enterprize with precipitation and disgrace. The Danes afterwards made descents upon the country : though they were generally repulsed, until the famous Turgis landed with a powerful army, and subdued the greatest part of Connaught, Ulster, Meath, and Leinster. That prince triumphed about thirty years ; but was at last slain by Melachlin, king of Meath, in the isle of Lochvair, and the greatest part of his forces, dispersed in different provinces of the country, were cut off by the natives. The next descent was made by Anlaf and his two brothers, from Norway, who transported a strong body of forces to Ireland, and built the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, as capitals of three distinct kingdoms, comprehending a small extent of territory along the sea-side, which they fortified with castles, and maintained with occasional supplies from Norway and the western isles of Scotland. The native Irish kings possessed an open country, without any other forts than their woods and bogs ; and their people lived in a savage manner, dispersed, half-naked, and subsisting upon roots, milk, and cattle, without engaging in agriculture ; while the Danes, under the name of East-erlings, carried on different branches of traffic, which enabled them to purchase the necessaries of life. When these invaders landed, the Irish were renowned for learning ; but, the rage of the Danes falling chiefly on the monasteries, all erudition was soon destroyed, and the natives relapsed into their original ignorance and barbarity. Having no manufacture or mechanic art to employ their attention, they became slothful and vicious ; and the influence of Christianity was almost quite extinguished ; for their bishops and clergy were infected with the idleness of their countrymen, and took no

pains

A. C. 1171. pains to enforce duties of religion, or superintend the morals of the people.

The king of
Leinster fol-
lows the
assistance of
Henry.

Such was the situation of the Irish, when Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, carried off Dervogill, daughter of Melachlin prince of Meath, and wife of Tigernac O Rourke, lord of Breany, who being joined by O Connor king of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland, marched against the ravisher, routed his forces, and compelled him to take refuge in England. Henry being at this time in Guienne, Dermot went thither, and offered to hold his kingdom of the English crown, if he should recover it by the king's assistance. The proposal was relished, and Henry having other employment for his own forces, granted letters-patent, allowing any of his English subjects to assist the Irish prince. Dermot returning to Bristol agreed to bestow his only daughter Eva in marriage upon Richard furnamed Strongbow, lord of Strigal and earl of Pembroke, and to declare him his successor, in consideration of a body of forces which the earl furnished for his restoration. He at the same time contracted for succours with Robert Fitzstephens and Maurice Fitzgerald, whom he promised to gratify with the city of Wexford, and the two adjoining districts, though at that time in the hands of the Easterlings: then he retired privately to Ireland, and concealed himself during the winter in the monastery of Ferns, which he had founded.

Conquests
made in
Ireland by
private ad-
venturers.

In the succeeding spring, Robert Fitzstephens, with his nephew Meyler Fitzhenry, Milo Fitzdavid, and Hervey de Montmerency, landed in Bannogh Bay, in the county of Wexford, with sixty knights, and three hundred archers, and being joined by Maurice de Prendergast with a small reinforcement, and afterwards by the troops of Dermot, they advanced to the siege of Wexford; which was soon reduced. The Irish king made it
over

over immediately to Robert and Maurice, with the territories, according to promise: and bestowed two other districts near the sea, betwixt Wexford and Waterford, on Hervey de Montmerency, from whom they devolved to the house of Ormond. Dermot's next expedition was against Donald, king of Offory, who was routed and subdued by the valour of the English. Roderic, monarch of Ireland, alarmed at these conquests, solicited all the petty kings of the island to join their forces, and stop the progress of these invaders; but, in the mean time, endeavoured by a negotiation to prevail upon them to leave the country. Failing in this attempt, he concluded a private treaty with Dermot, to whose son he agreed to give his daughter in marriage: but a new reinforcement arriving from England, under the command of Maurice Fitzgerald, he renounced his engagement, and undertook the siege of Dublin, which in a little time capitulated, and was left in possession of Asculf, the Danish prince, to whom it belonged.

Dermot, not contented with the recovery of his lands in Leinster, resolved to reduce Connaught also to his obedience; but Robert and Maurice being consulted on the subject, advised him to wait for the arrival of further succours, and to remind Richard Strongbow of his promise. That nobleman, though prohibited by Henry to embark in this expedition, sent over Remond le Gros with ten cavaliers and seventy archers, who landed at Dundevil, in the neighbourhood of Waterford, where they were immediately attacked by a body of three thousand Danes and Irish, whom they defeated with great slaughter, by the assistance of Henry de Montmerency, who came accidentally with a party of his followers to visit Remond. In about three months after this action, Richard in person made a descent, with two hundred knights

Richard Strongbow marries the daughter of Dermot, king of Leinster.

A. C. 1171. and half that number of archers, near Waterford; which he took by assault, and there he found Reynold, prince of the Danish inhabitants, and Malachias O Phelan, lord of Decies. In this city Richard's marriage was solemnized with Eva, and he and his wife declared successors of Dermot, whose son was, at that time, hostage with Roderic, for performance of the treaty which the father had concluded with that prince. From Waterford the earl advanced to Dublin, which he likewise took by storm; while Asculf, with a great number of the inhabitants, escaped by sea to the Orkneys: then they ravaged the country of Meath, till the approach of winter, when leaving Miles Cogan with a garrison in Dublin, Strongbow returned to Waterford, and Dermot retired to Ferns.

Attempts of Roderic, monarch of Ireland, to expel the English.

These conquests alarmed Henry king of England, who took umbrage at the success of Richard, already too powerful by his possessions in Wales, his connections, and alliances. A proclamation was therefore published, commanding all the subjects of England to return to their own country, and forbidding any further succours to be sent into Ireland. In consequence of this order Richard dispatched Remond to Normandy, with letters full of expressions of duty and submission to the king, and offers to resign into his majesty's hands all the conquests he had achieved. By these concessions he retrieved the favour of Henry, who ordered his lands, which had been sequestered, to be restored, and created him seneschal of Ireland; and Dermot dying in the interim, he became lord of Leinster. Asculf having assembled a considerable body of forces in Norway, the Orkneys, and Hebrides, transported them in threescore ships to the mouth of the Liffy, and made an attempt upon Dublin; but, he was defeated and taken by Miles Cogan, who ordered him to be put to death, for having reviled him in abusive

Hibern. Expug. Gul. Neub.

abusive language. Mean while Roderic was employed in making great preparations for the expulsion of the English. He levied a numerous army in his own territories and those of his neighbours, and was reinforced with a strong body of auxiliaries by Godred king of Man and the Western Islands; with these he invested Dublin, into which Richard had thrown himself with a small body of forces. The place was blocked up in such a manner, that the besieged could receive no provision; so that famine must have ensued, had not Strongbow made a sally one morning, and fallen suddenly upon the enemy with such fury, that they were immediately routed with great slaughter. Then Richard marched to the relief of Robert Fitzstephens, who was besieged in Carrey, near Wexford, by the Danes of those parts, and Donald, an illegitimate son of king Dermot: but before the earl arrived, Fitzstephens had surrendered, on condition of being transported to Wales.

By this time king Henry had resolved to finish the conquest in his own person. He had sent for the young king into Normandy; and, crossing the sea to England, renewed his orders to guard the ports of the kingdom in such a manner, as to secure it from any attempts of the pope: then he assembled a great army, and marching to Pembroke, embarked it on board of four hundred vessels, from whence it was next day landed in Ireland, about eight miles from Waterford. In his progress through Wales, he had received the submission of Rufe, and the sons of Owen Guineth, among whom a civil war had broke out, from the contest about the government. This quarrel produced such mischief and effusion of blood, that Madoc, one of the brothers, resolved to abandon his native country, and having equipped a few ships, sailed with his adherents to the north of Ireland, in quest

Madoc, prince of Wales, settles a colony in an unknown country, supposed to be America.

Bened. Ab.
Rob. de Monte.

A. C. 1171.

Powel's
History of
Wales.

of some new habitation; then steering westward, arrived at an unknown land, which was in all probability the coast of America. There he formed a settlement, and returning gave such an advantageous account of the country, that a great number of families were persuaded to follow his fortune; and with these he set sail again in ten ships for his infant colony. This settlement must have been destroyed in the sequel, and in all likelihood the second embarkation perished at sea; otherwise they could not have been so entirely cut off from all communication with their mother country, but that some kind of correspondence would have been maintained, or at least some vestige of them have remained on the spot where they fixed their habitation.

Henry lands
in Ireland,
the princes
of which
submit
without
resistance.

But to return to Henry: he was no sooner landed in Ireland, than the natives submitted; and as for Strongbow, he had, in obedience to the king's order, conveyed by Hervey de Montmerency, returned to England, and met the king at Newenham in Gloucestershire, when he resigned to his majesty all the possessions in Ireland which he held in right of his wife or by conquest; and Henry reconveyed to him, as a fief of the crown, the whole province of Leinster, except the city of Dublin, with the adjacent countries, and some maritime towns and castles. In Richard's absence, Tigernack O Rourke had made another attempt upon Dublin, and been defeated by Miles Cogan. This was the last effort of the Danes and Irish to maintain their independency; for when the king landed, the whole country submitted. He had sent Robert Fitz-bernard before him to take possession of Waterford, where Richard now did homage for his province of Leinster. There too Dermot Maccarty king of Corke swore fealty, and delivered hostages for the payment of an annual tribute. After a
fort-

fortnight's stay at Waterford, Henry marched to Lismore and Cashel, and received the submission of Donald king of Ossory, Melachias or Melachlin O Phelan king of Decies, Reynald prince of Waterford, and Donald O Brian king of Thomond or Limeric. These he received with great kindness, and enriched with valuable presents: but at the same time he secured Corke, Limerick, and Wexford, with strong garrisons, in order to enforce their obedience. From Munster he made a progress through Ossory to Dublin, where he received the homage of Richard O Carol king of Uriel or Ergal, Tigernack O Rourke, and other princes in the neighbourhood of that metropolis; and their example was at last followed by Roderic O Connor, monarch of Ireland, who met Hugh de Lacey and William Fitz-Adhelm, as Henry's ambassadors, on the banks of the Shannon, where he swore fealty to Henry king of England, and obliged himself to pay an annual tribute. Thus he became master of the greatest part of Ireland without the least opposition; and all these tributary princes attended his court, which was kept at Dublin, during the Christmas holidays, with great magnificence.

Hibern. Ex.

A synod at
Armagh.

All the bishops of Ireland had repaired to Waterford, at Henry's landing, to welcome him on his arrival, and take the oath of allegiance; for they expected from his piety, wisdom, and justice, a full reformation of the disorders and immoralities, which their influence alone could not eradicate. The common people among the English, under the Saxon government, had been used to sell their children as slaves to the Irish; and this practice, though condemned by the ecclesiastical canons, was still carried on after the Norman conquest; to the great scandal of Christianity. The Irish bishops therefore, supposing this infamous traffic had drawn upon the English the judgment of God in the Nor-

A. C. 1172. man conquest; and that Ireland, for encouraging it, was now enslaved in its turn, assembled a synod at Armagh, where, with the general consent of the nobility, all the English slaves were ordered to be set at liberty: a law, by which they effectually made their court to their new master.

The pope confirms Henry's title to Ireland.

Henry, that he might in some measure answer the expectations of his new subjects, convoked a general council of the clergy at Cashel, where Christian, bishop of Lismore, presided as the pope's legate in that kingdom; and Ralph abbot of Buldewas, the archdeacon of Landaff, and some of the king's chaplains, assisted at this assembly, in order to promote a perfect conformity between the churches of England and Ireland. Several canons were accordingly enacted for executing the design, forbidding polygamy, ascertaining the rites of baptism and burial, and all divine offices, providing for the payment of tythes, and the exemption of the clergy from secular service and imposition; and empowering individuals to make wills, and divide their personal estates among their wives and children. These constitutions, comprehending some other regulations for the security of peace and property, were confirmed by the royal authority, and transmitted to Rome, with an instrument signed by all the prelates of Ireland, acknowledging Henry and his heirs as their kings and lords for ever. Alexander, foreseeing his own advantage in this conquest, recognized the title of Henry, and confirmed the grant of his predecessor Adrian; so that the king of England found himself established, as it were by enchantment, in the quiet possession of the whole island.

Hoveden. Bened. Ab.

Henry settles the affairs of Ireland.

The winter he passed in Ireland was so stormy, that, for several months, all correspondence with England was interrupted, till the king removed from Dublin to Wexford, where he received advice

vice

vice that the cardinals Albert and Theodin had waited for him in Normandy, till their patience was quite exhausted; and then they threatened to excommunicate him for the murder of Becket, in case he should not come over immediately, and clear himself of that accusation. At the same time he was informed of a dangerous conspiracy against his government, both in England and Normandy, as well as of endeavours which had been used to alienate the affections of his own children. Tho' he had proposed to pass the summer in Ireland, and make an expedition into Connaught, when the roads should be practicable, he no sooner received those alarming advices, than he ordered his troops to embark with the officers of his household, and set sail from Waterford to England, while he only kept three ships for himself and his attendants, as he could not cross the sea in person until he should have taken measures for securing his conquests, as well against the attempts of the Irish princes as from the ambition of Richard Strongbow, whom he still beheld with an eye of jealousy. With this view he had detached Remond Le Gros, Miles Cogan, William Macarel, and others, from the earl's interests, and committed the governments of all the fortified places to persons of known fidelity. He granted the hundred of Offaly to Robert Fitzstephens, Waterford was entrusted to Robert Poer, Wexford to William Fitz-Adhelm, and Dublin to Hugh de Lacy, with sufficient garrisons under their command. He likewise granted a patent to John de Courcy, for attempting the conquest of the north of Ulster, the only part of Ireland which had not yet submitted to his government: and took some other measures for securing the peace of the kingdom in his absence.

Hibern, Ex.

This disposition being settled, as well as the circumstances of the time would permit, he embarked

A. C. 1172.

Henry is reconciled to the pope, and absolved with respect to the murder of Becket.

in the morning at Wexford, and landed that same day at Portfinan, near St. David's in Pembroke-shire; and as it was his interest to give immediate satisfaction to the legates, he passed through England without halting, till he reached Portsmouth, from whence he carried the young king with him into Normandy. His first conference with the cardinals at Gorham passed in compliment and ceremony: but next day, when they met at Savigny, in presence of the archbishop of Rouen, and a great number of prelates and nobility, the legates insisted upon such unreasonable terms, that the king withdrew in a great passion, declaring he would return to finish the conquest of Ireland, and they might do what they pleased with their legatine commission. The cardinals perceiving his fortitude and resolution, were fain to abate in their demands, and desired another conference might be appointed at Avranches, where, after much altercation and debate, it was at last agreed, by both parties, that the king should pay to the Knights Templars, a sum of money sufficient for the subsistence of two hundred knights, to be employed one year in the defence of the Holy Land: that he himself should take the cross, and serve in person against the infidels, either in Palestine or Spain, if the pope should insist upon the performance of this article; that he should not interrupt the free course of appeals to Rome, in ecclesiastical causes; nor enforce the observance of evil customs, introduced since his accession to the throne; that he should restore all the lands which had been alienated from the see of Canterbury, since the exile of Becket; and that he should re-establish all persons who had suffered for their adherence to that bishop, in full possession of their estates. To the performance of these conditions, Henry and his son swore in the cathedral of Avranches; and the father, of his own accord,

pro-

protested upon oath, that he was in no shape a willing accessory to the death of Becket, which had overwhelmed him with grief and anxiety; but as the archbishop had been murdered, in consequence of the displeasure he had expressed at that prelate's proceedings, he would perform the penance prescribed. He was then led out of the church by the legates, and, falling upon his knees, received absolution, which was no sooner granted, than they re-conducted him into the cathedral, without subjecting him to the discipline, and obliging him to shift his clothes, or undergo any penitential ceremony. The young king swore he would fulfil the penance, in case his father should die before the completion of it; and both princes promised they would adhere to pope Alexander and his successors, as long as they should own them for christian and catholic kings. This treaty of accommodation was signed and sealed by the legates, who notified the articles to the archbishop of Tours and his suffragans, that the kingdom of France might be informed of all the proceedings.

Ch. Gervas.
Ep. S. Tho.

The cardinals, having so happily succeeded in completing this reconciliation between his holiness and Henry, resolved to exert themselves in effecting another between that prince and Lewis king of France, who resented Henry's non-performance of the promise he had made to crown his daughter Margaret together with her husband. In consequence of their mediation, the young king and this princess was sent over to England, with the archbishop of Rouen, who anointed and crowned her with her consort, in the church of St. Swithin at Winchester, being assisted in the ceremony by the bishops of Evreux and Worcester. Some time after this solemnity, the young king and queen returned to Normandy, from whence they set out on a visit to the king of France, at the earnest request

Coronation
of Mar-
garet, wife
of young
Henry.

A. C. 1172. of that monarch, who was extremely fond of his daughter.

The king of France inflames the discontent of this young prince,

Henry's affairs were now in a flourishing condition : he had increased the revenue of Normandy, which obeyed him without repining : he had made an acquisition of the kingdom of Ireland ; was master of all Bretagne, by the death of Conan, whose daughter had espoused his son Geoffry : he had formed an alliance with Alphonso king of Castile, to whom he had given his daughter Eleanor in marriage : he had projected a match between his youngest son John, and Adalais daughter of Humbert count of Savoy : he was delivered from all his ecclesiastical troubles, by his reconciliation with the pope ; and he was beloved by all his subjects, who lived happily under his administration. But his happiness was now poisoned by domestic disquiet. His son Henry was a weak, vain, ambitious prince, who affected a popularity which he acquired by the most profuse largesses. His extravagance and excesses involved him in want and difficulties, which his settled appointments did not enable him to overcome : he found himself hampered by the oeconomy, and eclipsed by the superior importance of his father ; he longed to reign without restraint ; and his heart renounced the ties of natural affection. This disposition was industriously cultivated by his favourites and sycophants, of which the chief were Hugh de St. Maure, and Ralph de Faye, the uncle of queen Eleanor, who, in all probability, acted in this particular as the emissaries of the French king, jealous of Henry's power and prosperity. During the young king's residence at that court, every artifice was used to inflame his discontent, and irritate him against his father. Lewis observed that he was no more than the shadow of royalty ; that his power was even more circumscribed than that of a private nobleman ; that his appointments were

were meanly parsimonious; that three strictions imposed upon his authority were not only inconveniences, but insults upon his understanding; and that he was intitled to the independent government of the kingdom ever since the ceremony of his coronation.

When he had thus wrought upon the passions of the young prince, he undertook to superintend his conduct, and instructed him with regard to the measures he should take for his own glory and advantage. Thus tutored, he returned to Normandy at the desire of his father, who began to be uneasy at his staying so long in a place where he knew designs were often hatching to his prejudice; and immediately after his arrival, he demanded that the old king would resign to him the absolute government of England or Normandy; a proposal with which the father refused to comply.

A. C. 1172.
Mat. Paris.
G. Neub.
Hoved.
Rob. de Monte.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, the king, with Eleanor and his eldest son, proceeded to Limoges, where they were met by Raymond count de St. Gilles, who came to do homage for the county of Thoulouse; and Humbert count of Savoy, to finish the treaty of marriage between prince John and his daughter Adalais. The portion of this young princess consisted of very considerable demesnes in La Bresse, Dauphiny, Savoy, and Piedmont; and the king agreed to bestow upon John, besides a large sum of money, the castles of Loudun, Mirebeau, and Chinon. This alliance would have proved very advantageous to the king of England, had it not been prevented by the death of the princess: but it was upon this occasion that young Henry first expressed his discontent, by flatly refusing to join in the grant of those castles to his brother. The father now, for the first time, discovered his son's aversion to his person and government; and imputing it to evil advice, removed Afculf de Hilaire, and some other
young

The young king, with his brothers, revolts against his father.

A. C. 1172. young knights, from his communication; a step which served only to hasten his retreat; for, when the court returned to Chinon, he privately withdrew into France, where Lewis had promised to espouse his quarrel. The king, extremely concerned at his disappearing, sent ambassadors to the French king, desiring that he would not countenance a rebellious son against his father, and offering to submit all Henry's pretensions to his arbitration; but the proposal was rejected with disdain, and Lewis, in a taunting letter, affirmed, that he had resigned all his right to the crown of England at his son's coronation. Young Henry's retreat was the first overt-act of a conspiracy which seems to have been formed during the father's residence in Ireland. A great number of Norman barons, who, upon the late inquisition, had lost estates, which they possessed by defective titles, now expected to recover their lands, and followed young Henry to the court of France: others more considerable staid at home, but openly declared in his favour, and surrendered their castles for his service. Guy and Geoffry de Luzignan, with a number of the lords in Anjou and Guienne, followed their example; and an insurrection was raised in Brittany by Ralph de Fougères and Eudo, viscount Parhoet, father-in-law to the late duke Conan. These troubles were encouraged by queen Eleanor, who, as well as Richard and Geoffry, had by this time embarked in the rebellion, not instigated by jealousy of her husband's amour with the fair Rosamond, daughter of Walter de Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire, as some historians have alledged, but inflamed with resentment at the king's leaving her no part of the administration of her own native possessions on the continent; and influenced by her partial fondness of her own offspring. Rosamond must have been by this time
in

in the wane of her beauty, inasmuch as the younger of the sons she bore to Henry was now turned of twenty years of age. Eleanor's second son Richard had already given specimens of a turbulent disposition, and thought himself entitled to the administration of Poitou, because he had received the investiture of that county; and Geoffry, though but fifteen, had the same claim to Bretagne: but at present they had acted under the immediate direction of their mother, who not only persuaded them to escape into France and join Henry, but attempted to follow their example. She disguised herself in man's apparel; but, before she could accomplish her retreat, was taken in that disguise, and committed to close prison, where she was kept many years, as the principal cause of all this disturbance.

Henry finding himself beset with enemies in this manner, abandoned by his own wife and children, threatened with the vengeance of Lewis king of France, who professed himself the patron of the confederacy, surrounded with insurrections in all parts of his dominions, and even exposed to the risque of assassination; he summoned all his fortitude and resolution to oppose such a torrent of misfortune; sent ambassadors to interest the pope in his behalf; filled the see of Canterbury with Richard, prior of Dover, a prelate of a mild disposition, whom the pope afterwards consecrated and invested with the primacy; and took into his service twenty thousand soldiers of fortune, called Brabantins and Banditti, who subsisted upon plunder, and were ready to engage in the service of any prince who could pay them punctually. They were generally natives of France, Germany, and the Low Countries, who, having served under different banners, were inured to danger, fatigue, and military discipline, and so habituated to war,

Insurrections in different parts of his dominions.

A. C. 1172. that they could not resume the employments and avocations of peace. Perhaps this was as wise a step as he could take at a time of general defection, when he could not trust his own subjects; for by this time the contagion had spread into England, where the earls of Chester and Leicester had publicly avowed their attachment to young Henry: several barons, to whom he had committed the charge of strong fortresses in Normandy, had betrayed their trust; and therefore he garrisoned the rest with part of his mercenaries, and kept a body of the same troops ready to march wheresoever their service should be more immediately required.

The profusion of young Henry in grants to his allies and adherents.

The king of France, summoning all his prelates and nobility to Paris, took a solemn oath in their presence, importing, that he would assist young Henry and his brothers with all his power, until the father should be expelled from the throne of England; the nobility incurred the same obligation; and the princes swore, in thier turns, that they would never agree to a peace with their father, until it should have first been approved by the king of France and his barons. Henry, being furnished with a new seal by the direction of his father-in-law, disposed of the crown-demesnes with a lavish hand, to several princes who espoused his quarrel. To the count of Flanders he granted lands to the amount of a thousand pounds a year, with the castles of Dover and Rochester, reputed in those days the keys of the kingdom; Kirketon in Lindsey, with the county of Montagne in Normandy, were given to the count of Boulogne: Theobald, count de Blois, was gratified with a considerable annuity, the castle of Amboise, all Henry's possessions in Touraine, with a release of all his own and his father's claim to Chateau-Renaud: William king of Scotland, as a member of this confederacy, was indulged with a grant of all North-

Northumberland and Cumberland, for himself; and for his brother David, the county of Cambridge annexed to Huntingdon. The honour of Eye and castle of Norwich were made over to Hugh Bigot and his heirs for ever: and a vast number of other alienations were made with the utmost profusion.

A. C. 1172.

Ben. Abbas:
Ferdun.
Chron. Ger.

The storm, which had been brewing so long, was seen to burst at once in Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and Bretagne, where the different parties of the revolted ravaged the country for some time without controul, while the old king lay still at the head of his army, to observe the nature of the commotion, and see where the greatest effort would be made by the enemy. Philip count of Flanders, with his brother Matthew of Boulogne, marching through Picardy, invested Aumale, which was treacherously surrendered by the governor to him: they reduced Neufchatel, and over-ran the county of Eu, in which Matthew being mortally wounded with an arrow, the brother retired to his own country to regulate the affairs of his succession, disordered by this accident. During these transactions, the French king, at the head of a great army, invaded Normandy on the side of the Pais Chartrain, and undertook the siege of Verneuil, which was gallantly defended by Hugh de Beauchamp and Hugh de Lacy, who had come over to the king's assistance, with Richard Strongbow and a select body of knights, from Ireland. The town was well fortified and populous, and the inhabitants sustained several assaults with undaunted resolution, till at last, reduced to extremity by want of provisions, they demanded a truce for three days, that they might send an account of their situation to the king of England, and they delivered hostages for surrendering the place, in

The French
king invades
Normandy,
&c.

A. C. 1173.

A. C. 1173. case he should not march to their relief before the expiration of that term.

Perfidy of
the French
king.

Henry, who was encamped at Conches, being apprised of this agreement, immediately began his march, and though inferior in point of number to the French, resolved to hazard an engagement. He had advanced as far as the castle of Breteuil, when he was met by the archbishop of Sens, and the counts of Dreux and Blois, who, in the name of the French king, proposed a treaty of peace between him and his sons, and agreed to a truce for the next day, when the articles should be adjusted at a conference with Lewis and the English princes. Henry, suspecting no deceit, retired towards Conches, and, advancing again next morning to the place appointed, instead of meeting with the French king, beheld Verneuil in flames. This being the day fixed for the surrender of the place, it was delivered to Lewis, who allowed it to be pillaged and burnt, and carried off the hostages. Having acted in this cruel and treacherous manner, he retreated with such precipitation, that his provision and baggage fell into the hands of Henry, who pursued his forces, and had the good fortune to cut in pieces part of his rear: then he entered Verneuil, the damage of which he repaired. Next day he took Danville, a castle belonging to Gilbert de Tillieres, in which he found a great number of knights and gentlemen; and being no longer under any apprehension from the French nobility, whose service of forty days was well nigh expired, he returned to Rouen.

Benedict.
Abb.

The rebels
of Bretagne
are defeated.

From thence he sent a detachment of Brabantins towards Bretagne, where Ralph de Fourgeres was joined by the earl of Chester and some other lords, who had reduced several castles, and infested the borders of Normandy. The troops of Henry be-
ing

ing accustomed to dispatch, made such hasty marches, that the rebels were almost surpris'd at Fourgeres, from whence they fled with great precipitation, leaving behind an immense booty. They afterwards united all their forces, and gave battle to the Brabantins, who defeated them in the field, took above twenty barons prisoners, and immediately invested the castle of Dol, to which the rest fled for refuge. Henry was no sooner informed of this circumstance, than he set out for the place, and found the town already taken; and though the castle held out a few days longer, it was at last surrendered by Ralph de Fourgeres, who, with about an hundred knights and barons, were committed to close custody.

G. Neub,

Such a blow could not fail to ruin their scheme in Brittany, where all who had taken arms submitted to Henry's mercy; and the fame of his success re-established his affairs in other parts of his dominions. Some of the adherents of the young princes, disappointed in their sanguine hopes, and apprehensive of being ruined by the revolt, advised them to make proposals of peace; to which Henry lent a willing ear. Conferences were opened near Gisors, between the kings of France and England; at which the young princes assisted, with a great number of prelates and nobility. Henry offered to settle upon his eldest son half the revenue of England, with four places of strength in that kingdom; or should he chuse to reside in Normandy, half the revenue of the dutchy, the whole of Anjou, with six castles. He propos'd that Richard should have half the revenue of Guienne, with four castles; that Geoffry should be put in possession of Conan's territories in Bretagne, provided the pope would grant a dispensation for his marriage with the heiress; and he declared, that, if this provision should not
be

Ineffectual
conferences
between the
parties at
variance.

A. C. 1173. be thought sufficient, he would refer the dispute to the arbitration of the archbishop of Tarentaise and the pope's legates; reserving to himself, however, the administration of justice, with all the other branches of the regal prerogative. Lewis, whose interest it was to see the empire of Henry dismembered, began to start difficulties; and the young princes rejected these reasonable proposals, chiefly at the instigation of Robert Blanches-Mains earl of Leicester, who was one of the first projectors of this rebellion. He had come over from England with William de Tancarville, to succour the revolters with a large sum of money borrowed on his estate; and became the most virulent partisan of the whole faction. He, upon this occasion, broke out into the most opprobrious invectives against the king, to whom he had lately renewed the oath of allegiance, and even laid his hand upon his sword, in order to excite a tumult; which put an end to the conference. The king and his sons parted with great animosity; the latter became more and more attached to Lewis, who, about this period, knighted Richard in the seventeenth year of his age; and this campaign closed with an engagement to the disadvantage of the French, in which Engelran de Trie was taken prisoner by William de Mandeville earl of Essex.

Hoved.
Bened. Ab.
Dueto.

Insurrec-
tions in
England,

William king of Scotland, in order to co-operate with the other confederates, invaded the northern counties in England, where his troops committed the most barbarous outrages. After having made an unsuccessful attempt upon Carlisle, he ravaged Northumberland, and penetrated as far as Yorkshire, from whence he carried off a vast booty, and a great number of captives. He was pursued into his own country by Richard de Lacy and Humphrey de Bohun, constable of England, who followed him with a good army,
burned

burned Berwick, and wasted Lothian; but being informed of a descent in Suffolk, by the earl of Leicester, with a numerous body of Flemings, they agreed upon a truce with William, which was afterwards prolonged by the mediation of the bishop of Durham. During this interval, they marched against the invader, who was, by this time, joined by Hugh Bigot with a multitude of his vassals, and encountering him on a marshy ground near Fernham, his forces were routed, he and his wife taken, and above ten thousand Flemings killed upon the spot. Notwithstanding this disaster, Hugh Bigot assembled another strong body of those foreigners; but, finding himself unable to cope with the king's forces, he had recourse to the art of corruption; in consequence of which, fourteen thousand Flemings were allowed free passage through Essex and Kent to Dover, from whence they were transported to their own country. The king being, in all probability, apprised of this transaction, and apprehensive that the earl of Leicester might find means to escape and re-embroil his affairs, ordered that nobleman to be sent over to Normandy, where he was imprisoned with the earl of Chester, in the castle of Falaise. This victory in England had a good effect in the foreign dominions of Henry, who, in order to take immediate advantage of the impression it had made on the rebels, marched with his body of Brabantins into Anjou, where he reduced all the castles that still held out for the revolted barons, took some of them prisoners, and, returning to Caen before Christmas, agreed to a truce with France for the Easter holidays.

This cessation from hostilities was employed in preparing for a vigorous renewal of the war. The king of France levied a great army to invade the Norman dominions: the count of Flanders equipped a strong armament, in order to make a descent upon

A. C. 1173.

Neubrig.
Bened. Ab.
Duet. Coll.,Rob. de
Montc.

A. C. 1174.

Design of a
general
rising from
Suffolk to
the borders
of Scotland.

A. C. 1174. England: young Henry and his friends exerted all their influence and address in gaining over the nobility. These endeavours were not ineffectual; Robert earl of Ferrers, Roger de Mowbray, David earl of Huntingdon, Hugh Bigot, Ralph de Moreville, and several other barons, espoused the cause of the son against his father, fortified their castles, and formed the design of a general rising from Suffolk to the borders of Scotland. The other parts of the kingdom preserved their attachment to Henry the elder, and all the bishops of England, except Hugh of Durham, were devoted to his interest: an advantage that counterbalanced the disaffection of the lay nobility.

Gul. Neub.
Bened. Ab.

Irruption of
the Scots
into Northumber-
land.

The truce with Scotland having expired, William, at the head of a numerous army, reinforced with a body of horse and foot from Flanders, made an irruption into Northumberland, where his Gallovidians committed horrible cruelties upon men, women, and children, laity as well as clergy, some of whom they massacred even at the altar. David earl of Huntingdon was detached into Leicestershire, to encourage an insurrection in that county; while William remained in the North, where he reduced several strong holds, and levied contributions. During these transactions, Roger de Mowbray made excursions from his castle of Kenard-Ferry over all Lincolnshire, until his progress was stopped by Geoffrey the king's natural son, now promoted to the see of Lincoln. This prelate being exceedingly beloved by the people, assembled a body of forces, and suddenly investing the castle of Kenard-Ferry, compelled Mowbray to surrender; then marching into Yorkshire, he reduced the castle of Malestert, which likewise belonged to this nobleman; compelled Hugh de Pusey, bishop of Durham, to take a new oath of allegiance; and advanced against the Scots, who had undertaken the siege of Bowes,

which

which however they abandoned at his approach. Mean while the rebels, under Anchetel Mallory, constable of Leicester, defeated the royalists near Northampton, which, with Leicester and Huntingdon, continued in the hands of David, brother to the Scottish king; and Hugh Bigot being reinforced by a fresh body of Flemings, took Norwich, and ravaged the country of the East-Angles. In this emergency, Richard de Lacey, guardian of the realm, solicited the assistance of Rufe, prince of South-Wales, who marched against earl Ferrers, and besieged his castle of Tutbury in Staffordshire, while Richard himself took the field with a numerous army, in order to oppose the young king and Philip count of Flanders, who had assembled a formidable body of forces at Gravelines, with a view to invade England.

Henry the elder, having by this time quelled the insurrections in his foreign dominions, summoned all the Norman nobility and governors of fortresses to meet him at Bonneville, in order to deliberate upon measures for the security of his frontiers, while he should be in England. Richard, elect of Winchester, had gone over, at the request of the lords justices and the chief nobility, to represent the necessity of his immediate return; and he had no sooner given proper directions for the defence of his frontiers against a projected invasion of the French king, than he proceeded, with the two queens, the earls of Chester and Leicester, and some other prisoners to Barfleur, where he embarked for England, and that same evening arrived at Southampton. Henry, who was a wise and politic prince, in order to ingratiate himself with his people, who were now universally infected with the belief of Becket's sanctity, and the miracles pretended to be wrought at his shrine, resolved to pay his homage in public to that reputed saint, and

A. C. 1174.
Id. *ibid.*

Henry returns to England, and is disciplined by the monks at Canterbury.

Duet. Coll.

A. C. 1174. proceeding directly to Canterbury, performed all the ceremonies of penance. He walked barefoot from St. Dunstan's church, without the city-walls, to Christ-church; submitted to the discipline of the monks, who scourged him severely; spent a whole day in fasting and prayer; watched all night near Becket's tomb; made a grant of fifty pounds a year to the convent, for a constant supply of tapers to burn at his shrine; and having received absolution, repaired to London, where he was next day agreeably surpris'd with the news of an important victory obtained by his forces in the North.

Girald.
Cambrenf.

William
king of
Scotland, is
taken pri-
soner by
surprize.

William, king of Scotland, had besieged Prudhaw castle, until the English army under Ralph de Glanville, with a great number of other noblemen and Yorkshire barons, advancing to its relief, he thought proper to relinquish the enterprize, and retreat to Alnwick. There deeming himself secure from any attack, he detached the earl of Fife, Angus, and Richard de Moreville, constable of Scotland, to ravage the adjoining counties, while he himself retained scarce any troops but those of his household, for the defence of his own person. Ralph de Glanville being informed of this circumstance, propos'd to some of the principal barons, that they should surprize William with four hundred horse; and the achievement was undertaken by Robert d'Estoutville, Bernard de Baliol, William de Vescei, and Geoffry of Lincoln, who set out on this expedition with great secrecy. They refresh'd themselves at Newcastle, where they resum'd their march at the dawn of day, and being conceal'd by a thick fog, arriv'd in the neighbourhood of Alnwick, where they found William in an open plain, attended by an hundred horse, and so secure from any apprehension of an enemy, that he mistook them for a detachment of his own army. He was im-



WILLIAM II.

aid aside all the
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immediately undeceived by their banner, which he no sooner distinguished, than he charged them with great intrepidity; but, being overpowered by numbers, he was unhorsed and taken, while Roger de Mowbray his ally deserted him in his distress, and fled directly to Scotland. The victors returned that same evening with their prize to Newcastle, from whence he was conveyed to the castle of Richmond, as a place of greater security, until the king's pleasure should be known.

A. C. 1174-

G. Neubrig.

All the rebellious lords submit.

This exploit was of infinite consequence to the re-establishment of Henry's affairs. The bishop of Durham had received a reinforcement of Flemings, and intended to declare his revolt immediately, when hearing of William's disaster, he sent them back to their own country, and remained quiet: David earl of Huntingdon reassembled the scattered detachment of his brother's army, and reconducted them to Scotland, which was instantly involved in civil war and confusion, by a contest about the succession of Galloway; so that the English rebels having no promise of further assistance from that country, saw no safety but in uniting their enterprise at Alnwick was celebrated, though the enemy hearing in order to improve the advantage, applied themselves should recollect themselves from this hadler occasioned among them by this unlucky marched immediately to the castle of Hunt which surrendered at discretion: then he advanced against Hugh Bigot, who submitted to the king's mercy, delivered his castles, paid a thousand marks, gave hostages, and took the oath of allegiance anew. The king, having put garrisons in the forts, repaired to Northampton, where the bishop of Durham made his submission, and resigned his fortresses of Northampton, Durham, and Northallerton. Roger de Mowbray, and the earl of Ferrers, threw themselves at

A. C. 1174. Henry's feet, and were pardoned, upon yielding up the castles of Thirsk, Tutbury, and Duffield. Hither also came Anchetol de Malory and William de Dive, constables of the earl of Leicester, to treat about their lord's liberty, and the surrender of his strong holds which they possessed: but the king giving them to understand that the earl had no favour to expect but from their absolute submission, they surrendered his castles of Groby, Montfrel, and Leicester: the example of these noblemen was followed by the rebels of inferior rank, who gave up their castles, and implored mercy: so that in less than a month after the king's landing, the rebellion was entirely suppressed.

Hoveden.
Mat. Par.
Neubrig.

The king
of France
besieges,
Rouen.

While fortune wrought such wonders in behalf of Henry, his son and the count of Flanders, with their great armament, were detained for some time by contrary winds; and, when they at last ventured to sea, dispersed in a storm, which obliged them to put back to the port from whence they had taken their departure. There they received notice of William's captivity, and the old king's rapid success, by which their measures being broken, they laid aside all thoughts of their enterprize on England, and began their march to join the king of France, who had entered Normandy with a vast army, and invested Rouen, the capital of the duchy. The city being very extensive, he found it impracticable, even after his junction with young Henry and the count of Flanders, to block it up; and though he carried on his approaches with great vigour, the inhabitants defended themselves with such bravery and resolution, that despairing of reducing it by open force, he had recourse to a stratagem, which was not much for the honour of his reputation. In the eve of St. Laurence's festival, he proclaimed a cessation of hostilities for the next day; and the citizens, glad of such a recess from

from the incredible fatigues they had undergone, observed it with great security, in full confidence of the French king's sincerity and devotion. While the citizens gave themselves up to feasting, mirth, and jollity, and their cavaliers crossed the bridge to the south side of the river, where they diverted themselves in tilts and tournaments, in sight of the enemy; a few priests, who did not chuse to mix in the entertainments of the day, ascended an high tower, in order to indulge their curiosity with a prospect of the French camp. They were at first surpris'd at the unusual silence that prevail'd over all their quarters; but, in a little time perceiving detachments moving from different places to a general rendezvous, they began to suspect some treachery, and were soon confirmed in that conjecture, by discovering among them a number of ladders, and other implements for an assault. They immediately rang the alarm-bell, which happened to be in the very place from whence they made these observations. The citizens snatching up their arms, ran directly to the walls; and the horsemen, exercising on the other side of the river, repaired to their posts, with all imaginable expedition, though they were almost too late; for the enemy hearing the bell had hasten'd their attack, applied their ladders; and some of the soldiers had actually mounted the walls before the defendants could take their stations. These last, however, soon cleared the ramparts, by tumbling those who had entered headlong over the walls, and repuls'd the assailants with great slaughter.

This treacherous scheme was, in all probability, concerted to anticipate the diligence of Henry, who, being apprized of the danger that threaten'd his favourite capital, had immediately assembled his troops, and landed already at Barfleur with his Brabantins, reinforced by a thousand Welsh auxiliaries.

G. Neubrig,

Rouen is relieved by Henry in person.

A. C. 1174. He carried over with him the king of Scotland, the earls of Chester and Leiceſter, and ſome other conſiderable captives, and ſecuring them at Caen and Falaiſe, advanced to Rouen, which he entered in triumph on the Sunday that ſucceeded the perfidious attempt of the French. He forthwith ordered the gates to be thrown open, and the intrenchments between the city and the enemy's camp to be filled up, ſo as to form a road of ſufficient breadth to admit a front of two hundred men, that he might have room enough to attack the beſiegers. He made ſome ſucceſsful ſallies: his Welch troops intercepted a great convoy of proviſions deſigned for the French camp: and Lewis was overwhelmed with conſternation; for he found himſelf in the miſt of an enemy's country, deſtitute of ſupplies, ſurrounded with woods and mountains, and expoſed to the vigilance of an active monarch, at the head of veteran troops accuſtomed to victory. In this diſtreſs, he had recourſe to artifice and negotiation. He ſent the archbiſhop of Sens and the count of Blois with overtures of peace; and though Henry had been duped on a former occaſion, by the inſincere inſinuations of theſe very ambaffadors, he was ſo averſe to war, and unwilling to act againſt Lewis, whom he conſidered as his lord and ſuperior, that he agreed to their propoſal of a conference to be held at Maulauny, and a truce in the mean time, which they confirmed by oath in the name of their ſovereign. On the faith of this agreement, Lewis retreated through the foreſt, unmoleſted, towards the place appointed; but, inſtead of waiting for the conference, decamped at midnight, and marched homewards with ſuch expedition, that next day, when his departure was known, it was with great difficulty that the Brabantins overtook the ſtagglers of his rear, who were cut in pieces. In a few days, however, the two ambaffadors returned to Rouen; and, after having made an apology for their

their king's retreat, proposed another conference at Gisors, where a truce was concluded, after they had agreed upon a final meeting at a place near Amboise, in order to adjust the articles of a solid peace, which could not now be established on account of the absence of prince Richard, who was employed in attacking his father's castles in Guienne. One of the articles of this truce imported, that Henry should be at liberty to reduce this rebellious son, who should have no assistance from Lewis or his brother. Thus left to his own efforts, he was hunted by his father from place to place; and finding himself abandoned by the French king, he repaired to Poitiers, where he humbled himself before his parent, who pardoned his unnatural conduct, and received him with all the warmth of paternal affection. Thus reconciled, they went together to the conference; and peace was concluded on such conditions as the king of England thought proper to prescribe.

A. C. 1174.

Mat. Paris,
Hoveden.
Bened. Abb,
Duet. Coll.

Thus Henry, by his admirable prudence, unshaken fortitude, invincible courage, and amazing activity, triumphed at last over all his enemies, after having defeated a conspiracy, perhaps the most dangerous and perplexing that ever was formed against any prince of Christendom: and no part of his conduct shone with so much splendour, as the magnanimity and moderation he manifested in his behaviour towards those who had exerted all their endeavours for his destruction. Far from offering hecatombs of the vanquished to justice or revenge, and deluging the land with the blood of his rebellious subjects, after the flames of civil war had been extinguished, his generosity and greatness of soul disdained such cruel victims; his compassion operated in behalf of the distressed offenders; he did not lay aside the father to exert the judge, but in

Henry's generosity to the rebel prisoners.

A. C. 1174. in his judgment remembered mercy. There was not one scaffold moistened with the blood of a nobleman; there was not one gibbet occupied by a rebel of plebian rank. He released above nine hundred knights without ransom; he bestowed a new grant of a yearly pension upon the count of Flanders, who gave up the conventions he had made with young Henry; and he readmitted his own undutiful children into his favour, as if they had never transgressed. When the princes of Galloway shook of the Scottish yoke, and asserted their independency, he had from the dictates of sound policy, supported them in their revolt; and Roger de Hoveden the historian, who was one of his chaplains, had been sent to treat with Gilbert, and the other chieftains of the country, who offered an annual tribute of money, cows and hogs, for his protection and assistance, in rescuing them from the dominion of the Scots; but, when Henry heard how barbarously that prince had put his own brother Uchtred to death, he broke off all connexion with such inhuman people, and compromised his difference with William king of Scotland.

William, king of Scotland, does homage to Henry for all his dominions.

That prince did homage to him for Scotland, and all his other territories; undertaking that all his nobility and clergy should swear fealty to the king of England; that the church of Scotland should be subject to that of England; that English felons, flying to Scotland, should be delivered up to the king's officers of justice; and that the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, should be ceded to Henry, as a security for the performance of articles. David earl of Huntingdon, who likewise took the oath of allegiance, was given as an hostage, together with four earls and sixteen barons, to be detained until the castles should be surrendered; and all the Scottish prelates

prelates and nobility engaged to stand by Henry, even against their own king, should he, contrary to his oath, infringe this convention.

A. C. 1174.
Bened. Abb.
Rymer.

These treaties being concluded and ratified, Henry had an interview with the king of France at Gisors, where all matters in dispute between the two crowns were settled to their mutual satisfaction. The fortresses erected during the war were now demolished, and the castles of Anjou and Poitou secured with strong garrisons; but the king still found his eldest son sullen, and averse to a hearty reconciliation. He seemed to doubt his father's sincerity; and refused to obey when he was summoned to court: perhaps his father-in-law encouraged and infused these suspicions. Conscious of his own ingratitude and misconduct, he could not believe himself heartily forgiven, and gave out that there was an intention to confine him to close prison. He would not release the prisoners he had taken without ransom; and plainly demonstrated, both by his words and actions, that he wanted nothing but power to renew the rebellion. Henry was shocked at his unnatural disposition, and sent several messages to convince him of his paternal tenderness. At length he seemed to be satisfied, and coming to Bures, fell upon his knees, imploring the king's forgiveness. He was joyfully received; took the oath of allegiance, at his own earnest request; was allowed to make a short visit to the court of France; and, at his return, accompanied his father to England.

Reconciliation between Henry and his eldest son.

A. C. 1175

Deut. Coll.

At Westminster they found Richard archbishop of Canterbury presiding in a synod, which enacted several canons for facilitating and enforcing the payment of tythes, reforming the morals and habit of the clergy, and regulating presentations, rites, and ceremonies. In this assembly, the king's letter, notifying his reconciliation with young Henry, was read in presence

Disputes between the sees of Canterbury and York.

ence

A. C. 1175. fence of that prince, who took the oaths of homage and allegiance, and publicly renounced all assistance from the king of France and his brothers, the prelates and monks of England, Normandy and Guienne, provided he should ever deviate for the future from his filial obedience. Upon this occasion, the dispute was renewed between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, touching the privileges of the two sees. Richard had obtained the primacy of all England, and a legatine power within his own province. Roger of York, was vested with the same authority over Scotland, and pretended to the right of carrying his cross erect within the jurisdiction of Canterbury. They envied and took all occasions of mortifying each other. Richard excommunicated the clergy of a chapel belonging to the province of York, for contempt of his orders. He suspended the dean of Waltham; and appointed an abbess at Winchester, in spite of the nuns, who had the right of election. The archbishop of York appealed to the pope, from some of his censures and claims. Cardinal Hugozun was sent over to terminate these disputes. Richard was fain to retract his censures, and resign his pretensions. Godfry, bishop of St. Asaph, relinquished his see, because it was not worth keeping. That of Norwich, and twelve abbeys, being now also vacant, the king issued writs, requiring the chapters and convents to send deputations to Oxford at a certain day, to fill up those vacancies; and in the mean time he visited the marches of Wales.

Chr. J. Abb.
Petriburg.

The king
makes va-
rious regu-
lations.

At Gloucester he summoned a general council of the nobility; hither came Refe ap Griffith, prince of South Wales, and several lords of that county, to do homage to the king; and they engaged with the English barons of the marches, in a mutual oath, to assist each other in case they should be attacked by the Welsh, who did not

own

own his royal authority. From hence Henry repaired to Wodestoke, where he held his court: the delegates of Norwich chose John de Oxford for their bishop; the vacant abbeys were supplied, and the election of Geoffry, the king's natural son, to the see of Lincoln, was confirmed. The king at this juncture seems to have suspected a conspiracy against his life; for he published a proclamation, forbidding all persons to enter his court without permission; and those who belonged to it, or came upon leave or summons, to remain after sun-set, or approach it before sun-rise. Another ordinance was published at the same time, to prevent people from carrying bows, arrows, or pointed daggers, on the English side of the Severn. Four knights, with their accomplices, were tried, convicted, and hanged, for the murder of one Gilbert, a forester.

Henry proceeding to Nottingham, punished all transgressors of the game laws, which he restored to their full vigour; demolished the castles belonging to the noblemen who had been concerned in the late rebellion, and advanced to York, in consequence of an appointment with William king of Scotland, who had been set at liberty in the beginning of the year. That prince now returned from his own country, attended by all the prelates, nobility, knights, and freeholders of his kingdom, who, with their sovereign, did homage, and swore fealty to the king of England and his successors for ever. The treaty being executed in the cathedral of York, Henry restored the castles of Stirling, Edinburgh, and Jedburgh; but Berwick and Roxburgh lying convenient for the defence of the English dominions, were yielded to the crown of England. In return for this cession, he permitted William to invade and reduce Gilbert prince of Gal-

The king of Scotland, his nobility, prelates, and freeholders, swear allegiance to Henry at York.

Benedicti. Abbas. Hoveden.

Gal-

A. C. 1175. Galloway, whom he accordingly subdued, to the great advantage of the Scottish nation.

Rob. de Monte.
The affairs of Ireland.

The peace with Scotland being firmly established, Henry returned to Windsor, where he convoked a council to deliberate upon the affairs of Ireland, which were re-involved in confusion. Richard Strongbow, Robert Fitzstephens and some others of the first adventurers, had been called over to assist the king, and done signal service both in England and Normady. In their absence, the Irish, provoked by the depredations of the soldiers left under the command of Harvey de Montmorency, and encouraged by the weakness and diminished number of their oppressors, revolted in many places; so that the whole country was thrown in confusion. Henry having triumphed over his enemies, sent Richard back to Ireland, with the title of guardian, and a grant of Wexford and Wicklow, as a recompence for his services. Raymond le Gros was at his own desire joined with him in the commission; and this colleague had no sooner taken possession of his post, than he made an incurfion into the country of O Phelan, from whence he carried off a great booty. This was conveyed by sea to Waterford in a fleet of ships, which, in their voyage, obtained a complete victory over an armament equipped by the Easterlings of Cork. He himself marched by land with the rest of the plunder, amounting to four thousand head of cattle, and defeated Dermot Maccarty, prince of Desmond, in an engagement near Lismore. After these successes, he was, by the death of his father William Fitzgerald, obliged to cross the sea into Wales: and, at his departure, the command reverted to Hervey de Montmorency. This officer prevailed upon Strongbow to undertake an expedition into the country of Limerick; but a reinforcement of four hundred Easterlings, recruited at Dublin for that service, were, in their
march

march to join him, surpris'd and cut in pieces by Donald O Bryan, prince of Thomond; so that the earl was forced to retire in all haste to Waterford, where he was in a manner besieged.

The Irish, elevated with this advantage, ran to arms in all quarters: Roderic king of Connaught, passing the Shannon at the head of a numerous army, ravaged the country of Meath; while the English, abandoning the small garrisons of Trim and Dulcke, retired to Dublin, without daring to face the natives in the field. Richard, alarmed at these proceedings, wrote a letter to Raymond, to whom he promised his sister in marriage, if he would return immediately with all the succours he could raise. The proposal was embraced, and Raymond embarking with thirty knights, one hundred horse, and thrice the number of Welsh archers, arrived at Waterford, from whence he accompanied the earl to Wexford, where his marriage with the fair Basilea was consummated: then he marched into Meath, compelled Roderic to retire, and repaired the castles which had been dismantled. The king of Connaught, dreading a visit from this enterprising commander in his own territories, sent the archbishop of Tuam, and two other clergymen, as ambassadors to the English monarch, to sue for peace and renew his submission. To these Henry granted an audience at Windsor, where a treaty was effected, on condition that Roderic should own the king of England as his liege and sovereign, and pay every tenth hide of the cattle within his dominions; and that all his Irish subjects, holding under Roderic, should, on payment of the same tribute, be confirmed in their possessions. Roderic was, by virtue of this submission, secured from the attacks of Raymond, who marched against Donald prince of Thomond, pass'd the Shannon in the face of the enemy, and reduced Limeric by assault

A. C. 1176.

The gallantry and success of Raymond le Gros, who excites the jealousy of Henry.

Hibern. Expugn. Bened. Ab.

A. C. 1175. assault. The fame of his exploits excited the envy of Montmorency, who insinuated to the king, that Raymond harboured a design of conquering the kingdom for himself; and Henry, who was never deaf to suggestions of this nature, sent over four commissioners, two of whom were ordered to return immediately with Raymond, and the others directed to remain in Ireland, and watch the conduct of Strongbow. These commissioners having arrived in Ireland, and signified their orders, Raymond began to prepare for his departure, and was just ready to embark, when Richard received advice that Donald prince of Thomond had invested Limeric; and that the garrison, being very ill provided, stood in need of immediate relief. Richard would have begun his march without loss of time; but the troops refused to serve under any other commander but Raymond, who, with the leave of the commissioners, undertook the expedition. In his route he was joined by a body of Irish, under Murchard and Donald, kings of Kilkenny and Offory, while the prince of Thomond, being apprised of his motions, raised the siege, and advanced to meet him at a narrow pass, which he fortified with trees and trenches. Raymond forced his way through these difficulties at the first onset, routed the enemy, and entered Limeric in triumph. The princes of Connaught and Thomond submitted to the victor, swore allegiance to king Henry, and gave hostages for their fidelity. Then Raymond marched to the assistance of Dermot Maccarty, prince of Desmond, who was in danger of being deposed by his own son Cormac O Lechan: the English general advancing towards Cork, expelled the unnatural rebel, re-established the father in his dominions, and returned to Limeric laden with riches and glory.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn.

Richard

Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, had been dangerously ill for some time; and now dying at Dublin without male issue, his daughter Isabel became heiress of all his possessions in Leinster. His sister Basilea carefully concealed his death, until she could send advice of it to her husband Raymond, who finding it absolutely necessary to repair to Dublin, to assume the reins of government, and draw thither the greatest part of the forces, in case an insurrection should ensue, had no other chance for preserving Limeric but that of leaving it in the hands of Donald prince of Thomond, as a vassal of the English crown, from whom however he exacted hostages, and a new oath to defend the place, and restore it to the king upon demand. Instead of regarding this obligation, however, Raymond had scarce passed over the bridge, when the other part of it was broken down, and the city fired in four different places. The commissioners, in consequence of Richard's death, returned to England, to make the king acquainted with the alteration of affairs. Henry appointed William Fitzaldhelm and John de Courcy procurators, or justices of Ireland, and they were accompanied by Robert Fitzstephens and Miles Cogan. Fitzaldhelm being the first in commission and tenseschal, Raymond, at his arrival in Wexford, surrendered to him the government, cities, forts, and garrisons of Leinster, together with the hostages of all Ireland.

A. C. 1175.
Death of
Richard
Strongbow,
earl of Pem-
broke,

During these transactions, Henry's attention was chiefly employed in regulating the civil policy of England. He summoned a great council at Northampton, where the constitutions of Clarendon, with regard to laymen and criminal matters, were amended and confirmed, and some of the old Saxon laws revived. Further measures were taken to prevent murder, robbery, clipping and coining, and to punish incendiaries, and harbourers of con-

A. C. 1176.
Regulations
of the police
in England.

A. C. 1176. victed criminals: it was decreed that they should lose the right hand as well as the foot; and that rustics should not escape, though acquitted by the water ordeal, but be banished the kingdom, notwithstanding this trial, provided they were reputed guilty in the opinion of the neighbourhood. That justice might be duly administered, the realm was divided into six circuits, and to each of these three justices were assigned, that they might make a yearly progress, and determine pleas of the crown and civil causes. They were upon this occasion enjoined to enquire into all disseisins, since the king's last return to England; to administer the oath of fealty to all noblemen, knights, freeholders, and husbandmen; to prosecute to an outlawry all persons who had fled out of the kingdom, unless they should return within an appointed term to stand trial in the king's court; to banish recusants, and to superintend the entire demolition of the castles which had been dismantled.

Bened. Ab.
Hoveden.
Glanville.

The Scot-
tish bishops
refuse to
own subjec-
tion to the
church of
England.

To this council of Northampton the king of Scotland was summoned, with several abbots of that kingdom, to acknowledge their subjection to the English church; but this they refused to profess, and asserted their own independence. Roger archbishop of York produced instances of such subjection to his see, paid of old by the bishops of Withorne and Glasgow, and bulls of divers popes, establishing and confirming the primacy of York over all the sees of Scotland; but he was warmly opposed by the archbishop of Canterbury, who insisted upon their being subject to his church, though he could advance no plausible argument to strengthen his claim; and Henry put an end to the dispute, by allowing the Scottish prelates to return to their own country, without having acknowledged the primacy of either. Another quarrel was revived between the two metropolitans, in their contest for precedency, which Richard claimed as the undoubted right of his church,

Disputes be-
tween the
archbishops
of Canter-
bury and
York.

church, by an ancient and invariable custom; while Roger pretended to it from the priority of his consecration, according to a constitution of Gregory the Great. At a synod held in the chapel of St. Catherine in Westminster, by Huguezun, the pope's legate, Roger, entering the place before his rival, took possession of the seat on the cardinal's right hand; but Richard coming, refused to sit on the left hand. The most virulent altercation ensued, though the king was present; and the suffragans of Canterbury proceeding to immediate action, Roger was pulled from his place, thrown down, trampled under foot, and treated with other indignities. Huguezun was scandalized at this violence and indecency, in consequence of which the synod immediately broke up; and, supposing the outrage to have been pre-concerted by the archbishop of Canterbury and his dependants, summoned him to answer for it before the pope, to whom Roger also appealed. But Richard with a sum of money appeased the legate; and the king called another council at Winchester to compromise the difference between the two prelates, who agreed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of the archbishop of Rouen and some other foreign prelates, and to wait five years for their decision.

Bened. Abbi

Henry's ecclesiastical troubles were no sooner pacified, than his domestic disgusts revived. His eldest son still retained his jealousy and aversion to his father's government; and this was fomented by the parasites, who had insinuated themselves into his confidence. He could not reside with any pleasure in England; and therefore, on pretence of devotion, desired to make a pilgrimage to James of Compostella: the old king endeavoured to divert him from his purpose; but, finding him inflexible, granted the permission he desired, and he was already at Portsmouth waiting for a fair wind,

Young
Henry's
untoward
disposition.

A. C. 1176. when his brother Richard arrived from the continent, to solicit succours for maintaining war with the barons of Guienne, who refused to part with their castles, according to Henry's orders. The king immediately sent for his eldest son to Winchester, where he persuaded him to postpone his pilgrimage, and assist his brother in the reduction of Guienne, towards which he supplied Richard with a large sum of money. The two princes set sail together; but no sooner arrived at Barfleur, than Henry and his queen repaired to the court of France, leaving the burthen of the war upon Richard's shoulders. This young prince levying a strong body of forces in Guienne, defeated the Brabantins in a pitched battle, between S. Megrin and Bouteville; then advancing into the Limousin, reduced the castle of Aix, and the city of Limoges, and returned to Poitiers, to hold a council with his brother Henry about the further operations of the campaign.

Richard's
progress in
Guienne.

The two brothers undertook the siege of Chateaufort; but Henry, after having stayed about a fortnight in the camp, returned to Poitiers, and took into his family and service a number of French and Norman knights, who had been the professed enemies of his father. These necessarily instigated him to renounce his duty and allegiance by another revolt; and one Adam de Cherchedun, his chancellor, wrote an account of their conduct, to be forwarded to the king; but his letters being intercepted, young Henry would have put him to death, had not he claimed the privilege of an ecclesiastic, which was asserted by the bishop of Poitiers. This, however, could not screen him from the most painful and ignominious punishment. He was ordered to be stripped stark naked, with his hands tied behind him, and scourged through the streets of Poitiers: he underwent the same
shameful

shameful discipline in all the towns through which he passed in his way to Argenton, where he was kept in close prison, until the king, hearing of his misfortune, sent four knights of his household to bring him safe into England. Mean while Richard prosecuted the war with vigour; and, after having taken divers fortresses, invested Angoulesme, which was defended by the count in person, and his son, the viscounts of Limoges, Ventadour, and Chabannois. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that in six days they were fain to capitulate, and surrender at discretion; and Richard sent them over to his father, who remitted them to his custody, until he himself should cross the sea into Normandy.

While Richard gathered laurels in the war of Guienne, the old king thought he could not employ himself better than in taking precautions for the defence of his government against the machinations of his eldest son, with which he was well acquainted. He took into his own possession all the castles belonging to his barons, and committed them to the care of his own warders. He gave his daughter Eleanor in marriage to Alphonso king of Castile; and bestowed the other, whose name was Jane, upon William king of Sicily, to whom cardinal Huguezun had made a very advantageous report of her beauty and merit. This legate came over into England to absolve Henry of the vow he had taken to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and he was ordered by the pope to exercise his legatine power in a visitation of the churches in England, and by insisting upon the execution of the stipulations made at Henry's absolution, after the murder of Becket. The king had consented that no clergyman should be called to answer before a lay judge, for any crime or transgression, except those of the forest laws, and in case of lay

The king
orders laws
in favour of
ecclesiastics.

Horoden.
Benedict.

A. C. 1176. fees which owed service to the sovereign or lord paramount. He had promised that no prelacy should be kept vacant longer than one year; and exempted the clergy from the hardship of deciding their right by duel; a privilege which he had already granted to the laity by the institution of the grand assize. Hitherto the murderers of clergymen were only punished with excommunication; but now the king enacted a law, ordaining that the murderers of ecclesiastics should be tried in his court, before the justiciary of the realm, in presence of the bishop of the diocese or his official; and, besides the usual punishment incurred by those convicted of murdering laymen, forfeit, for themselves and their heirs, all their real estates and lands of inheritance.

Dustto Col. In return for these concessions in behalf the clergy, the pope gave up the pretended exemption, insisted upon by Becket when he refused to plead in the king's court; and in a bull, dated at Frascati, expressly declared, that all causes about estates and possessions belonged to the cognizance of the royal tribunal.

Arrival of
cardinal
Vivian.

Huguezun having finished his visitation in England, set sail for Normandy on the same errand; and in less than a month after his departure, cardinal Vivian arrived at Dover, with the character of legate in Scotland, Ireland, and the neighbouring islands: he was sent over at the request of the Scottish bishops, who, in order to avoid all subjection to the church of England, had put themselves under the pope's protection. Henry, having received an intimation of the design, sent the bishops of Winchester and Ely to stop the legate at Northampton, to demand how he presumed to enter the kingdom without a licence; and hinder his proceeding until he should promise, upon oath, to take no step to the prejudice of the English church. Vivian, terrified at this peremptory message, took
the

the oath accordingly; and being furnished by Henry with a pass, and letters of recommendation to the bishops and abbeyes in his way, he continued his journey towards Scotland. He met the king of that country on his way to Henry's court, with Gilbert lord of Galloway, whom he had reduced, and now brought along with him, to do homage and swear fealty to the king of England. He at the same time paid a thousand marks of silver, either by way of present, or fine for the death of his brother, delivered his son Duncan as an hostage for his future behaviour, and was received into the protection of Henry, who re-established him in the possession of all his territories.

Bened. Abt.

After this transaction, the king made a progress through the North, and returning to Northampton, held a great council to settle the affairs of the kingdom before he should depart to Normandy. W. de Cahaines, vassal to the earl of Leicester, who was still in disgrace, pretending to hold his barony of the king, whose favour he hoped to acquire by this pretence, the earl was brought to answer the allegations, and behaved with such modesty and submission, that Henry restored to him all the lands he had formerly possessed: at the same time, he indulged Hugh earl of Chester with his whole estate, except the castle; and bestowed upon William de Albiny the earldom of Arundel or Suffex. With the pope's consent, he converted the college of secular clergy at Waltham cross into an abbey of canons regular, and deposed the abbess of Ambresbury for her incontinence. He supplied Philip count of Flanders with five hundred marks towards the expences of his expedition to the Holy Land, and sent twice the sum for the same service, by William de Mandeville earl of Essex, who, with other English noblemen and knights, embarked in the same enterprize.

A. C. 1177.
The king's
generosity to
the earl of
Leicester.

Ch. Gervas;

A. C. 1177.
Henry is
chosen um-
pire in a
dispute be-
tween the
kings of
Castile and
Navarre.

The next measure of importance pursued by Henry, was an inquisition into divided fiefs, their tenures in capite and services; which was made by all the sheriffs and bailiffs of the kingdom, and the report delivered into the exchequer. He then issued orders to all the earls, barons, and knights of the realm who held of him in capite, to meet him at London, with their horses and arms, in order to be transported into Normandy, where they should serve a whole year at their own expence. In all probability, he foresaw a rupture with France; but, this not happening so soon as he expected, the rendezvous was postponed. In the interim Alphonso, king of Castile, and his uncle Sanchez king of Navarre, appealed to Henry's arbitration in a dispute about some territories which the uncle had usurped during his nephew's minority. They agreed to refer the difference to the decision of the English monarch, and obliged themselves to abide by his award: several bishops and noblemen came over from both parties to maintain their pretensions, with learned advocates to plead their cause, and two famous champions for single combat, in case he should adjudge the contest to be decided in that manner. The king assembled all his prelates, earls, and barons at London, to examine the merits of this extraordinary appeal; and the facts being fairly stated on both sides, he awarded to each party the territories which the other had usurped; and the determination being approved by both kings, he dismissed the ambassadors with magnificent presents.

Bened. Ab.

Brempton,

Appoints
his son
John, lord
of Ireland.

Since the suppression of the great rebellion, Henry seems to have taken no step without the concurrence of the great council of the nation, which he assembled almost every month. In one of these assemblies at Oxford, he exacted another oath of allegiance from Rese ap Griffith and David

ap

ap Owen, princes of South and North Wales, and the principal nobility of those countries, and bestowed his natural sister Emma in marriage upon David, with the territory of Eliesmere: at the same time he created his youngest son John lord of Ireland, and distributed among his noblemen the lands of the Irish who had lately revolted in consequence of the depredations they suffered from the English. Meath was given to Hugh de Lacy, the kingdom of Corke divided between Miles Cogan and Robert Fitzstephens, and Limerick was bestowed upon Philip de Braoufe: he retained, however, in his own hands, the cities of Dublin, Corke, Waterford, and Wexford, the governments of which he conferred upon Robert Poer, William Fitzaldhelm, and others in whose fidelity he could confide; and he ordered Hugh Kevelcock earl of Chester to assist in subduing the country, where he might have an opportunity to justify, by his services, the generosity of the king who had pardoned him for his rebellion, and restored him to his honours and estates.

By this time the mutual jealousy and disgust subsisting between the kings of England and France, drew towards a rupture. Henry had smarted so severely by matching his eldest son in the family of Lewis, that he had no inclination to fulfil the contract of marriage between Richard and the French king's daughter Alice, which had been settled at the pacification. He had a very good pretext for postponing this alliance, because Lewis had not fulfilled his part of the agreement, in ceding the Vexin to young Henry, and the city of Bourges to Richard. The old king resolved to avail himself of this handle; and delaying the rendezvous of his troops by a proclamation, sent the archbishop of Rouen, with the bishops of Winchester and Ely, his ambassadors to the court of France, to demand

A. C. 1177

Bened. Ab.

Henry sends ambassadors to France to demand the performance of articles.

Bened. Ab.

the

A. C. 1177. the execution of the articles; and that his daughter-in-law Margaret, who had gone thither without his knowlege and consent, should be reconducted to Normandy, as her pregnancy was then far advanced. To these demands no satisfactory answer was returned; and all the affairs of the kingdom being settled in an assembly at Winchester, at which William king of Scotland assisted in obedience to a royal mandate, Henry repaired to Stoke, in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, where his fleet lay ready for the embarkation of his forces. There he was detained by contrary winds, until a messenger arrived with advice from Richard Giffard, whom he employed as an agent in France, that cardinal Peter, elect of Meaux, and legate in that kingdom, had received orders to lay his dominions under an interdict, unless he would immediately consent to the consummation of the marriage between Richard and Alice. He returned immediately to Winchester, where he consulted his prelates and friends upon this subject; and the archbishop of Canterbury, with his suffragans, appealed to the pope against this intended sentence of the legate; while a messenger was dispatched to the archbishop of York, desiring he would take the same step in his province, without delay. Thus secured against the bad effects of the papal censure, he embarked at Portsmouth, with his son Geoffry, and landed next day in Normandy, from whence the young prince set out immediately for Bretagne, to quell some disturbances in that province; while his father repaired to Rouen, where he was visited by cardinal Peter. This prelate, having signified the orders of his holiness, proposed an interview between Henry and the French king, who met accordingly at Gué S. Renu, near Nonancourt, where the king of England offered to complete the marriage between Richard and Alice, provided Lewis

would cede Bourges to that young prince, and put his eldest son in possession of the country lying between Gisors and Pontoise, according to the stipulations of the last treaty. The French king refusing to perform these articles, the difference could not be compromised, though the legate found means to engage both kings in a new crusade; and in the mean time they promised to suspend all acts of animosity.

This temporary accommodation being effected, Henry returned to Vernueil, where, in a general council, he enacted an ordinance, exempting the effects of vassals from being seized for the debts of their lords, unless they engaged as sureties, and ordering their rents to be paid to the creditors, in lieu of that distress: a law which in some measure ascertained the liberty of the commons; and which was published in the form of a charter through all his dominions, at home and abroad. He had sent his eldest son to suppress an insurrection in Berry; but, hearing he made slow progress in his operations, he himself marched thither at the head of a strong army, and reduced Chateaux-roux. Then he rescued a rich heiress, the daughter of Ralph de Deols, who had been carried off by the lord of La Chastre, and quelled an insurrection in the Limousin. Thence he repaired to Greiffac, in Auvergne, where, in the presence of the French king, the assembled states of that province declared, that their country belonged of ancient right to the counts of Guienne, except the bishopric of Clermont, which was under the patronage of France. Lewis dissenting from this verdict, the dispute was left to the arbitration of twelve referees; and in the mean time, Henry took possession of the castle of Turenne, and received homage and allegiance from the barons and knights of La Marche, which he purchased for six thousand marks of silver, of count Audibert, who had engaged in an expedition to the Holy Land.

A. C. 1177.

Ibid.
R. de Monte;
Henry's
progress in
Berry.

Dened. Ab:

A. C. 1177. Land. His next care was to provide for the security of his Norman frontiers, towards which he procured letters of protection from the French king, according to the practice of those times, in which mutual assistance of this kind was never refused by princes who had taken the cross together.

Rob. de
Mont.

Richard's
conquests in
Guienne.
A. C. 1178.

At his return to England he knighted his son Geoffry, with great solemnity, at Wodestock; and that prince immediately went abroad to signalize himself in tournaments, ambitious of emulating the renown of his elder brothers, who were celebrated for their strength and dexterity at those exercises. Young Henry was so fond of such achievements, that they engrossed his whole attention for three years, during which he consorted with knights only, and courted popularity, at a prodigious expence. Richard was more honourably engaged in opposing the ravages of the Banditti, composed of Basques, Navarrais, and other mountaineers inhabiting the Pyrenees, who infested Guienne, and occasionally joined the barons when they revolted. These he defeated in several encounters: he invaded Gascony, where he reduced the count de Bigorre: Guy de Rancone, lord of Pons in Saintonge, and the count of Angoulesme, underwent the same fate: the castles of Genfac, Martellac, and several others, were subdued; and he took by storm the strong fortrefs of Taillebourg, which was deemed impregnable. His brother Geoffry met with the same success in Brittany, where Guiomar, viscount of Leon, and his sons, had raised an insurrection. Geoffry attacked them with such vigour, that after having seen all their castles taken, they fled for shelter into forests, from whence they ravaged the neighbouring country; till tired of such a vagabond life, they submitted at discretion.

Ben. Abbas.
Henry's regulations of
the civil
police and
forest laws,

Mean while the old king was employed at home in punishing venality and extortion, and redressing
the

the grievances of his people, by wise regulations, in the establishment of which he exceeded all the princes of his time. Cadwallon, a Welsh prince, being assassinated in his return from court, to which he had come under a safe-conduct, Henry condemned to the gibbet all that were concerned in this outrageous breach of the public faith. Trespases on the forest laws were punished with fines or imprisonment; traitors were banished; felony was attoned with the amputation of limbs; and death was the lot of all convicted of murder, rape, and robbery. As the country incurred an insupportable expence, from the progress of the itinerant judges, who, being barons of great quality, travelled with numerous retinues, the king, in a general council at Windsor, divided the kingdom into four districts, to each of these appointing five justiciaries, comprehending two ecclesiastics and three lay-barons, in order to administer justice in their several departments.

A. C. 1179

Deut. Coll.

Pope Alexander, having at last compromised all his differences with the emperor Frederic, resolved to hold a general synod in the church of St. John de Lateran in Rome, to which he summoned the prelates of all Christendom; and among the rest, the bishops of Durham, Norwich, Hereford, and Bath, represented the clergy of England. It was opened in the beginning of March, and sat a fortnight; during which session several canons were enacted, which were observed in England. These imported, that no person under the age of thirty should be promoted to a bishopric; that the ordination of schismatics, with their grants and collations to benefices, should be annulled; and that the clergy should not engage in secular employments: others forbade pluralities, ordination without a title, the trial of ecclesiastics in secular courts, and the dangerous practice of tournaments, deny-

Pope Alexander holds a general synod at Rome.

ing

A. C. 1179.
Deut. Coll.
Hoveden.

Lewis of
France
makes a pil-
grimage to
Becket's
tomb.

ing christian burial to those who should be mortally wounded in such exercises.

In the course of this year Lewis VII. of France, being desirous of visiting Becket's tomb at Canterbury, in order to make a vow for the recovery of his son Philip, who was dangerously ill, Henry sent him a safe-conduct: thus assured he arrived at Dover, from whence he next day proceeded to Canterbury, and having paid his devotion to saint Thomas, made a grant of an hundred muids of wine yearly to the convent of Christ-church. He staid but a few days, after having performed his acts of duty: and, at his return, found his son recovering; though he himself was, in his way to St. Denis, seized with an apoplectic fit, which produced a palsy that hindered him from assisting at Philip's coronation. At this ceremony, performed on the feast of All-Saints at Rheims, young Henry, as duke of Normandy, carried a golden crown before Philip, from his apartment to the church, and afterwards served the first dish upon the table as seneschal of France, an hereditary office belonging to the counts of Anjou.

Bened. Abb.
Hoveden.

Philip the
young, king
of France,
obliges his
mother to
quit the
kingdom.

Philip, being wholly governed by the advice of his name-sake and godfather the earl of Flanders, exercised divers acts of oppression, and even obliged his mother Adelais to quit the kingdom, after having injured and disgraced all her friends and relations. She had recourse to young Henry, who then resided in Normandy; and he prevailed upon his father to espouse her quarrel. With this view, the king repaired to his Norman dominions, where he was visited by the queen of France, her brothers the counts of Blois, Chartres, and Sancerre, who promised to be ruled by his counsels, and gave hostages for the performance of that promise; in consequence of which Henry raised a numerous army

army to support their pretensions. Mean while Philip married Isabel, daughter of Baldwin count of Hainault, and niece to his governor the count of Flanders, and this princess being crowned at St. Denis, her husband advanced with an army towards the frontiers of Normandy. The king of England, at the same time, took the field; but, neither party caring to hazard an engagement, a negociation was begun, and a treaty concluded, on condition that the queen of France should return to Paris, and receive seven livres a day for her subsistence during the life of her husband, and after his death enjoy the lands assigned for her dower. At this conference the count of Flanders did homage to the king of England, on the renewal of a former convention, by which he received from Henry a pension of a thousand pounds, in consideration of his furnishing five hundred knights to serve the king forty days, whenever required. The count de Clermont likewise swore fealty to the English monarch; the articles of the last peace between the two crowns were confirmed, and the kings renewed the mutual protection of their realms.

A. C. 1179.

A. C. 1180.

Rymer's
Fœdera.

During Henry's residence at Le Mans, he ordered the officers of the English mint to be prosecuted and severely fined for adulterating the coin, which was new cast, of a different form and true standard: and Ralph de Glanville, chief justiciary of the kingdom, published some of the Confessor's laws, ordaining that the tenants of the church should be sued only in the ecclesiastical court; that churches and parsonage houses should be held as sanctuaries: though, in cases of rapine, the offenders should either make restitution or abjure the country; that wives, innocent of the crimes committed by their husbands, should not forfeit their dower; nor children be deprived of their inheritance

Henry
punishes
delinquents,
and esta-
blishes the
exercise of
arms.

fer

A. C. 1181.

for any crime perpetrated by their father, before they were born or begotten. The king, at this period too, issued a proclamation, commanding all freeholders and burgesſes of his dominions on the continent, to provide themſelves with arms offensive and defensive *, in proportion to their ſubſtance; an ordinance which afterwards took place in England, according to the regulation of the aſſize of arms, which was executed under the inſpection of the itinerant juſtices. This law plainly demonſtrated how much the king depended upon the affection and loyalty of his ſubjects, and how much better they were qualified to defend their own property than thoſe venal mercenaries who are found neceſſary to tyrants, and trample upon that liberty which they undertake to defend. Henry, having effected an accommodation between the French king and the count of Flanders, who had quarrelled about the influence of the queen mother, embarked at Cherbourg for England; and ſoon after his arrival convoked a great council at Nottingham, in which William king of Scotland, with his earls and barons, aſſiſted. Geoffry the king's natural ſon, who had been elected biſhop of Lincoln, tho' never conſecrated, reſigned his ſee into the hands of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was created chancellor of the realm; and Roger, archbiſhop of York, dying

* Every perſon poſſeſſed of a knight's fee, was obliged to have a coat of mail, an helmet, ſhield, and lance; and ſuch a ſuit for every fee he poſſeſſed. Every free layman, poſſeſſed of effects or rents to the value of ſixteen marks, was bound to have the ſame ſort of armour; and thoſe who had not above ten marks were excuſed for a ſlighter coat of mail, an iron ſcull-cap, and a lance. Burgeſſes were equipped with an iron cap and lance, with a wam-

bois or quilted coat; and no perſon could ſell, pawn, or lend his armour; nor could a lord take it from his vaſſal, by forfeiture, gift, ſecurity, or under any pretence whatſoever: when the poſſeſſor died, the armour deſcended to his heir; and during a minority, the guardian took it in charge, and provided a man for ſervice, until his ward was able to ſerve in perſon. Benediſt. p. 365.

immensely rich, the king seized all his treasure, as the effects of an intestate ecclesiastic, by virtue of a bull which Roger himself had procured from pope Alexander, importing that no clergyman could devise any part of his effects upon his death-bed.

Mat. Paris.

A. C. 1182.

The peace concluded between the king of France, and the court of Flanders, was of very short duration. Stephen count of Sancerre, one of Philip's uncles, took possession of some lands which he retained by force, in contempt of the king's orders, and did homage to the count of Flanders for the castle of St. Brue, that he might have a title to his protection. Accordingly, when the king expelled his uncle and refused to restore the estate, the count invaded the territories of the count de Clermont, and engaged a number of the French nobility in his faction: he likewise solicited the emperor of Germany to make an irruption into the territories of France. Young Henry raised an army to assist his brother-in-law, and the old king resolved to make another voyage to the continent, in order to adjust the difference. But before his departure, he made a will, in which he bequeathed twenty thousand marks for the defence of the Holy Land; and the christians of Palestine being distressed by the arms of Saladin, sultan of Egypt, he sent immediately five hundred marks of gold, and two and forty thousand of silver for their relief. When he arrived in Normandy, his first care was to procure an interview between the king of France and the count of Flanders, where, by his mediation, a treaty was concluded to their mutual satisfaction: and the difference was scarce compromised, when the king of England was visited by his son-in-law Henry duke of Saxony, who, with his wife, children, counts, and barons, had been expelled from his dominions by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, because he had refused to stand to the judg-

Henry makes his will.

Henry's son-in-law, Henry duke of Saxony, is expelled from his dominions.

A. C. 1182.

ment of the imperial court, in a quarrel with the archbishop of Cologne. He was a proud, imperious and rapacious nobleman, who had broke his faith on a great many different occasions, injured the emperor and empire, oppressed his neighbours, and incurred the hatred of all his countrymen. His father-in-law interceded in his behalf with Frederic, who allowed his vassals to return, abridged the term of his exile, and indulged his dutchess with the full enjoyment of her dower. The king of England dismissed the duke's adherents with sumptuous presents, and, for the maintainance of himself and his dutchess, assigned an appointment of three hundred and fifty angevin livres a day.

Rob. de Monte.

Another difference between the king and his son Henry.

Henry was extremely benevolent to his children; but notwithstanding all his generosity and affection, he met with nothing but returns of ingratitude from his son Henry, who now retired with his wife to the court of France, and from thence sent an insolent message to his father demanding the immediate cession of Normandy. This proposal being rejected, he pretended a desire of embarking in the crusade, hoping his father, out of his paternal tenderness, would grant all he asked to divert him from this resolution: but being disappointed in this scheme, he agreed to take an hundred and ten livres a day for his subsistence; and the king promised to pay a year's appointments to an hundred knights of his household. Thus satisfied, he and his brothers accompanied their father to Angers, where they swore to maintain perpetual amity with one another; and Geoffry, having now obtained possession of Brittany by his marriage with Constance, did homage to his elder brother for that dutchy: but when the father proposed the like submission for Guienne, Richard at first refused to comply with his desire: he was at length, however, prevailed upon to offer homage to young Henry, by whom it was rejected with disdain. High words ensued;

ensued; and this was the beginning of a quarrel, in consequence of which, Richard retired to his province and fortified his castles. As he had ruled with great severity, and debauched the wives and daughters of his barons, they now engaged in a conspiracy against him, and offered their allegiance to Henry, who countenanced their revolt, and, in conjunction with his brother Geoffry, resolved to drive Richard out of Guienne. With this view, Henry invested it on one side, and Geoffry on the other, while the barons appeared in open rebellion. In this emergency, Richard had recourse to his father, who forthwith raised a numerous army, and marched to his assistance. He entered the town of Limoges, though the castle was in the hands of his eldest son, who, finding it would be impracticable to cope with his father in the field, pretended to submit and reconcile the barons of Guienne with his brother Richard: under pretence of effecting this accommodation, he and Geoffry held private conferences with those revolters, in which they concerted measures for the king's destruction. He was so little apprehensive of their design, that he had dismissed the greatest part of his forces; and while he staid at Limoges in full security, the soldiers in the castle tutored for the purpose, sent a flight of arrows against him, one day while he took the air on horseback, suspecting no danger. One of his knights was wounded by his side, and his own horse shot through the head, with a shaft that would have pierced the king's body, had not the animal tossed up his head by accident. Alarmed at this treachery, he now suspected his sons of a design against his life, and took immediate measures for his own preservation.

Ch. Gerv.

Young Henry, thus baffled in his perfidious scheme, took the cross, and insisted upon going to the Holy Land; and the king consented to the expedition, assuring him that his equipage should

Young Henry dies at Martel in the vicomté of Turenne.

A. C. 1183. surpass in magnificence, that of any prince who had embarked in such an enterprize. But, before he could execute his resolution, he was taken ill of a fever at Martel, a castle in Turenne, and apprehending that his life was near a period, earnestly desired to speak with his father. The king, suspecting some treachery, sent a bishop, who found him in extremity, and received his dying request, that his father would forgive all his offences and ingratitude; pay the wages due to his knights and attendants, and deal mercifully with the barons of Guienne. In a few hours after this communication, he died a penitent; after having exhibited repeated proofs of an ungrateful and unnatural disposition towards an indulgent parent, against whose life he had resolved to draw his sword in battle on the Monday after he sickened. The king's affection glowed even to a vicious extreme; for, when he was informed of his son's death, he fainted away in three successive swoons, and poured forth such lamentations as the loss of such an undutiful child could by no means justify. He had more reason to rejoice at his decease, by which a dangerous conspiracy was dissolved: the rebellious troops immediately dispersed, and were pursued by Richard; the castle of Limoges was taken; the nobles of Guienne submitted, surrendering their fortresses, which were razed to the ground; and the peace of the province was re-established before the arrival of the king of Arragon, who had marched with an army to the king's assistance. Young Henry died without issue, and his widow was in a few years married to Bela king of Hungary.

Gul. Neub.
Benedict.

A. C. 1184.

Dispute
with France
about the
dower of
Margaret,
the widow
of young
Henry.

This lady was like to occasion another rupture with France: for king Henry had scarce returned to Normandy, when her brother Philip demanded her jointure, and Gisors, with all its dependencies, which had been given with her in marriage. Henry alledged, that the settlement was void, as assigning
lands

lands which belonged to queen Eleanor, whom he now released; and he claimed Gisors as an appendage of Normandy. This dispute produced a long negotiation, which at length ended in an accommodation at Gisors, where both kings agreed, that Margaret should relinquish her claim to the dower, in consideration of an annuity amounting to two thousand seven hundred livres; and that Gisors should be given to either of Henry's sons, as the portion of Adelais or Alice, who had been designed for Richard, and educated at Winchester. After this accommodation, Henry returned to England, where he was visited by William king of Scotland, who demanded in marriage Maud the daughter of the duke of Saxony; and the proposal was accepted, though the marriage did not take place, because the parties were related within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and the pope's dispensation could not be obtained. Rufe ap Griffith; who had slain Ralph Poer, in revenge for some injuries he had received from that nobleman, and made several incursions upon the English territories, appeared at the king's court in Worcester; excused what he had done, as the effect of the most provoking wrongs; restored the castles he had taken in the king's absence, renewed his oath of fealty, and promised to send his son and nephews as hostages for his good behaviour.

At the death of young Henry, Richard, succeeding as heir apparent to the throne, was desired by his father to resign Guienne to his youngest brother John, who had been brought to Normandy for this purpose; but Richard, desiring time to consult his friends, withdrew privately into his province, from whence he wrote a letter to his father, refusing to part with his possession. When the king returned to England, Geoffry and John invaded Guienne, ravaging the country as they proceeded;

The arch-
bishop of
Cologne ar-
rives in
England.

A. C. 1184. and Richard, in revenge, made incursions into Brittany: till at length their father commanded them to suspend their hostilities, and come over to England, when they were reconciled, and Richard submitted to his determination. About this period the archbishop of Cologne arriving in this kingdom, on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, proposed a match between Richard and the emperor's daughter, which was actually settled, though afterwards rendered ineffectual by the death of that princess; and Henry seized this opportunity of compromising the difference between his son-in-law the duke of Saxony and this prelate, who not only forgave him for the injuries he had received at his hands, but also undertook to be his advocate with Frederic; at the same time he engaged in his behalf pope Lucius, whom he had occasion to oblige in a very singular manner. That pontiff, having been expelled from Rome by an insurrection from the people, made application to the different princes and churches in Europe for succour in his distress; and Henry had supplied him with a large sum of money: so that he readily used his good offices, in favour of the Saxon, with the emperor, who next year recalled and restored him to the possession of great part of his territories.

Bened. Ab.

Baldwin,
bishop of
Worcester,
elected arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

The next affair that engaged the king's attention was the vacancy of the metropolitan see, by the death of archbishop Richard. Ralph de Glanville the chief justiciary, and some bishops, were sent to prepare the convent for an election; and the monks pitched upon the abbot of Battel, and four other ecclesiastics, who were rejected by the king at a council held at Reading. A dispute ensued, between the delegates of the convent and the suffragan bishops about the right of electing, and divers councils were convened before the matter could be brought to a determination. At length the
bishops

bishops chose Baldwin of Worcester, who was confirmed by the king; but, as the monks retired without giving their assent, Henry went in person to Canterbury, and persuaded them to acquiesce in the choice, after they had been indulged with the formality of another election. In consequence of this permission, the delegates assembling in the chapter-house at Westminster, chose Baldwin, sang *Te Deum*, led him to the altar, saluted him on the cheek, and presented him to the king and his sons, who repeated the salutation of the kiss, which he had received at his first election. Hitherto the forest laws had been very much neglected, through the indulgence of the king; but the subject abused his lenity to such a degree, that in each department of the kingdom, he appointed two gentlemen of his household, as verdurers, with full authority over all his foresters, and those belonging to his knights and barons. There was a new assize of the forest established, cautioning all persons against transgressing the forest laws of Henry I. which he was determined thenceforward to put in execution; though he allowed his earls, barons, and free tenants, to cut wood for their own use, without waste, and under the eye of his foresters.

Chr. Gerv.
Deut. Coll.
Affairs of
Ireland.

Henry, while at peace with his neighbours, was generally employed in measures for the advantage of his subjects, or of his own family; and no prince was more ungratefully treated by both. His youngest son John, having now attained the age of manhood, was knighted by him at Windsor, in order to be sent into Ireland, that he might make an entire conquest, and enjoy the crown of that kingdom. The Irish affairs had been hitherto left chiefly to the management of private adventurers, who, being disunited among themselves, had not made such progress as he expected from their valour: they seemed to aim rather at independent

A. C. 1184. settlements, than at a national advantage. There was a sort of jealousy between the king's officers and the private proprietors of the conquered lands, which much retarded the conquest of the country; for their mutual jars and indifference towards one another, occasioned a relaxation of discipline, and a want of that punctual exertion of authority, which was necessary to repress the inconstant disposition of the Irish. William Fitz-aldhelm, appointed lord justice, had employed himself in nothing but schemes for curtailing the possessions of private adventurers, for his own advantage: Miles Cogan, governor of Dublin, had made a short expedition into Connaught, but was obliged to retreat with precipitation, after having lost several men in an ambuscade near the Shannon. Philip de Braouse remained inactive in Limerick: Robert Fitzstephens and Miles Cogan planted seven cantreds near the city of Corke; and left the other twenty-four in possession of Dermot Maccarty, prince of Desmond: but a quarrel happening on account of the death of Miles, and Ralph the son of Robert, who were treacherously murdered by Mactyre, Dermot assembled an army, and invested Corke, which was bravely defended by Robert, until his nephew Raimund arrived with some troops from Wales, and raised the siege. This reinforcement, and another, under the command of Philip Barry, and Richard, brother to Miles Cogan, enabled Robert to defeat the Irish in several encounters, until that part of the country was reduced to obedience. Hugh de Lacey settled colonies throughout the whole country of Meath, and built a number of castles for their protection: he restored those who had been violently ejected from their possessions, and governed with such equity and resolution, that the people became happy under his administration; and, laying aside their barbarous customs, began to live together in

towns and villages. He succeeded Fitz-aldhelm, who was recalled, as sole guardian of the kingdom, and settled Leinster, as he had before cultivated Meath; encouraging the arts of peace, and conciliating the affection of the Irish by his generosity, affability, and equitable government. At length he became extremely popular, and marrying the daughter of Roderic O Conor, king of Connaught, king Henry was so alarmed at the alliance, that he sent over John, constable of Chester, and Richard de Pec, to assume the administration, and keep a watchful eye over Hugh's conduct: but perceiving he had nothing in view but the public good, they returned to England, and made such a favourable report of his integrity, that he was re-established in the government, and Robert de Shrewsbury joined with him in the commission. During these transactions, no attempt was made to extend the English conquest, but by John de Courcy, a nobleman of gigantic stature, great strength, and the most enterprising courage, to whom Henry had granted a patent for all the lands he should conquer in the unsubdued parts of Ireland, joining him at the same time with Fitzaldhelm in the government. John, leaving the civil power with his colleague, began his march into the province of Ulster, with two and twenty knights and followers, and three hundred private soldiers. On the fourth day of his march he arrived at Downe, in which resided king Dunleve, who fled at his approach; so that he took the town without resistance. The legate Vivian, who at that time held a council in the town, endeavoured to mediate a peace between John and Dunleve, which last promised to pay a tribute, if the other would leave the country; but his proposal being rejected, he resolved to hazard a battle, and, assembling a body of ten thousand men, advanced to Downe, where De Courcy lay encamped.

The

A. C. 1184. The engagement was bloody and severe, and the victory continued long doubtful: but at length the half naked Irish, yielding to the arms and superior discipline of the English, were utterly defeated. Nevertheless they afterwards returned with a stronger army, and were routed in another battle; after which the victor erected two castles, for the security of his conquest, at Ferney, in the county of Monaghan. These he committed to the care of Macmahon, the chieftain of a sept who had submitted and sworn fidelity; and Courcy's back was no sooner turned, than he levelled them with the ground. John, incensed at this instance of perfidy, ravaged his territories, and drove away his cattle to an incredible number, in three divisions, taking up as many miles in length. In passing through deep roads, surrounded with bogs and woods, the Irish, who had concealed themselves in ambush, rushed suddenly from the bushes, with such hideous shouts as affrighted the cattle, which turned upon their drivers, and occasioned universal disorder among the English, who were dispersed and mostly cut in pieces. John de Courcy himself was obliged, with a few followers, to fight his way with incredible valour for two days together, until he reached a fort, which served as a rendezvous for his scattered party. This was immediately invested by the enemy, who elated with their success, encamped in a careless manner, without watches, guards, or patrols; and John, apprized of their rash security, sallied upon them in the night, when they were half asleep; so that making no resistance, such a carnage ensued, that not above two hundred of their whole number escaped. They ventured two other battles, and were defeated in both, first at Dundalk, and afterwards near the bridge of Ivory: then John married the daughter of Gothred, king of Man and the isles;

and this alliance depriving the enemy of all hope of succour from that quarter, he, in a little time, completed the conquest of Ulster.

King Henry hoping the presence of his son John would unite the English interest, and hasten the reduction of the country, supplied him with four hundred knights, twice the number of horsemen, and a strong body of archers, with whom he began his march to Milford-haven, and there embarking arrived next day at Waterford. Immediately after his landing, he was visited by the most considerable of the Irish nobility residing in those parts, who had lived peaceably under the English government; but, instead of being graciously received, they met with the most indecent insults and derision from his giddy favourites, who laughed at their habit and address, shook them by their long beards, and committed other such outrages, that the natives, who were remarkably proud and impatient, retired in the utmost indignation to their own homes, from whence they removed their families and cattle into the territories of Limerick, Corke, and Connaught. The report they made of the insolence with which they had been treated, by the stripping prince and his Norman companions, had such an effect upon the princes of these dominions, that although they had resolved to submit, they now renounced all thoughts of subjection to the English government. Instead of going to offer their services and submission to John, the petty princes hitherto at variance engaged in a league for their common defence, and the refugees served them as spies and guides to the English quarters, into which they made repeated incursions. At the arrival of the first adventurers, the Irish had no defensive armour, and used no other weapons than short lances, slender darts and hatchets, managed with one hand: so that they could not stand

A. C. 1184.

Hibern. Expugn.

Prince John lands in Ireland, and disoblige the natives.

A. C. 1184. stand the shock of heavy-armed troops, understood nothing of horse service, and dreaded the arrows, which wounded their naked bodies at a distance. But, by this time, they had profited by their experience; they had procured some defensive armour and long spears, and cautiously avoiding a pitched battle, formed ambushes in woods and morasses, from whence they sallied out upon detached parties, encumbered by that very equipage which rendered them so formidable in the open plain. The first adventurers were hardy Welshmen, bred up in woods, bogs, and mountains, and inured to danger and fatigue; but as these were slighted by the young prince, all the military expeditions were undertaken by the Normans, who though addicted to luxury and averse to labour, were instigated to action by avarice, and in a little time greatly diminished by those slight skirmishes, in which the enemy always obtained the advantage. Prince John was void of experience, reflection, and oeconomy; he squandered away the money intended for the subsistence of the soldiers; saw their number greatly reduced; and the enemy, emboldened by success, hampered his troops in such a manner, that they found great difficulty in procuring forage and provision. The king, being informed of these circumstances, recalled John and his youthful counsellors, and left the management of affairs to John de Courcy, who, keeping his troops in continual action, attacked the enemy in all quarters, and scouring the countries of Corke, Limerick, and Connaught, in a little time compelled them to be quiet.

Hoveden.
Bened. Ab.

The patriarch of Jerusalem arrives in England, and offers the crown to Henry.

Immediately before John set out on his Irish expedition, Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the great master of the Knights-hospitallers, arrived in England, with letters from pope Lucius, soliciting Henry to go in person to the relief of the Holy

Holy Land, which was almost intirely reduced by Saladine. Baldwin IV. who sat upon the throne of Jerusalem, was disabled from acting by an inveterate leprosy; his son was a minor, and a competition between Guy de Lusignan, and Raimund, count of Tripoli, for the management of affairs, had well nigh excited a civil war among the christians. Nothing could prevent the impending ruin of the kingdom of Jerusalem, but the arrival of some powerful European prince; and in this emergency, Baldwin turned his eyes upon Henry, to whom he was nearly related. He had begun a progress to the North, when the ambassadors arrived; but no sooner heard of their landing, than he returned to Reading, where he gave them audience, receiving from the patriarch the keys of the holy sepulchre, and the royal banner of Jerusalem, which he re-delivered to Heraclius, to be kept until he should have consulted the prelates and nobility of his kingdom. He accordingly convoked a great council at Clerkenwell, in which the king of Scotland and his barons assisted, and submitted the patriarch's proposal to their consideration: when, after having duly deliberated on the subject, they were unanimous in their opinion, that the king, in accepting the crown of Jerusalem, and engaging in an expedition to Palestine, would hazard the safety of his own kingdom. The ambassadors thus disappointed of the father, desired that he would at least send one of his sons to their relief; and John, throwing himself at the king's feet, earnestly begged he might be employed in that service. But Henry's affection for his children withheld his consent; and indeed he had already projected that prince's armament for the conquest of Ireland. He therefore offered a large sum of money for present succour to the christian crusades, but deferred taking any other resolution, with regard to that affair,

until

Hoveden.
Bened. Ab.

A. C. 1185. until he should have consulted with the king of France; for which purpose, Henry set out with the patriarch for Normandy; and the two kings conferring upon the subject at Vaudreuil, agreed to send large supplies of men and money, but neither would go in person.

Queen Eleanor set at liberty.

It would have been a very rash undertaking in Henry, and altogether inconsistent with his usual prudence, to embark personally in such an expedition, while his family was divided by dissensions, which, in his absence, would have made his dominions scenes of blood and desolation. Richard had, in the beginning of the year, left England and returned to Guienne, where, forgetting the oath he had lately taken, he fortified his castles and invaded his brother's territories of Bretagne; so that Henry was now obliged to levy an army to reduce him to obedience: though, in order to prevent the effusion of blood, he had recourse to an expedient which answered his expectation. We have already observed, that queen Eleanor had been set at liberty; and the king kept a court at Windsor, for her and her daughter the dutchess of Saxony. She was now brought over into Normandy, and Richard ordered to surrender the whole county of Guienne as her inheritance, otherwise he should be compelled to do her justice by force of arms. The prince, though rough, violent, and headstrong, loved his mother with the most warm affection; and the subjects of Guienne, respecting her as the heiress of their ancient princes, he ceded the whole country, with all the fortresses, to her officers; and, submitting to his father, took up his residence at the English court, where he conducted himself with such seeming duty and moderation, that Henry resolved to trust him again with the management of that province. Raimund count of Thoulouse had imprisoned several merchants of Guienne, and

Richard surrenders Guienne.

Richard

Richard was sent to take satisfaction for the injury : he forthwith raised an army, and wasted the territories of the count, who, in vain solicited the king of France for assistance. Philip's hands were tied up by a treaty, which he had lately concluded with the king of England. The annuity of his sister Margaret was confirmed, together with the contract of marriage between Richard and Adalais; and Philip renounced all claim to Gisors and its dependencies.

Hoved.
Benedict.

Henry, having thus secured the peace of his foreign dominions, returned to England, where, in a council held at Oxford, he proposed to William king of Scotland, that, as he could not marry Maud daughter of the Saxon, on account of consanguinity, he would espouse Ermengarde, granddaughter of Roscelin, viscount of Beaumont le Roger, and Constance, the natural daughter of Henry I. king of England. The proposal was embraced by William, who, while ambassadors were sent for the lady, returned to his own country, in order to reduce Roland, the son of Uchtred, who, at the death of his uncle Gilbert, had seized the succession of Galloway, to the prejudice of Gilbert's son Duncan, who resided at the English court as an hostage, under the protection of king Henry. This monarch no sooner received intimation of his having usurped his cousin's dominions, and slaughtered all the barons who presumed to oppose his invasion, than he advanced at the head of a numerous army to Carlisle, where he was visited by Roland in person, who submitted and swore fealty, on condition of being allowed to possess his paternal estate, and promised to stand to the award of the king's court, with regard to his claim to the dominions of Gilbert. The Scottish king, and his brother David, with the principal nobility of that kingdom, obliged themselves by oath to make war on Roland,

should

William
king of
Scotland
marries Er-
mengarde,
descended
from a na-
tural daugh-
ter of Henry
I.

A. C. 1186. should he renounce the fealty he had sworn; and the bishop of Glasgow engaged to subject him to the sentence of excommunication. William's marriage was afterwards solemnized at Wodestoke; upon which occasion, Henry gave a rent of an hundred marks, with forty knights fees, as a portion to Ermengarde, and, at the same time, delivered up the castle of Edinburgh, which he had hitherto kept in his own hands since the treaty of York.

Ch. Mailr.

Death of
prince
Geoffry.

Before the celebration of this marriage, the king of England was deprived of his son Geoffry; a prince of equal pride, dissimulation, and perfidy, who had been deeply engaged in all the unnatural schemes of rebellion which had broke out in the course of his father's reign. He had lately demanded the county of Anjou, and met with a denial, because Richard would not consent to the alienation of that province. Exasperated at the refusal, he retired to the court of France, and agreed to hold Brittany in vassalage of Philip, and shake off all subjection to his father, provided the French monarch would assist him with an army to invade Normandy. But the execution of his perfidious design was anticipated by death: he was unhorsed in a tournament, and bruised in such a manner that he fell ill of a fever, and died in a few days, very little regretted by his father's good subjects, among whom he was generally distinguished by the appellation of "the child of perdition," on account of his undutiful disposition. He left a daughter, named Eleanor, the wardship of whom was immediately claimed by Philip, as lord paramount of Brittany, who was incensed at this juncture against Henry, in consequence of a fray that happened between Henry de Veir, governor of Gisors, and Ralph de Vaus, a French knight, who lost his life in the encounter. The French king therefore threatened

Duet. Coll.
Mat. Paris.

threatened to invade the province, in case his demand should be rejected; and the English king sent ambassadors to terminate the affair in an amicable manner: so that both parties agreed to a truce, which was afterwards prolonged. At the same time a disturbance was raised in Brittany, by Guiomar de Leon and his brother; but the dutchess Constance being delivered of a posthumous son, who was called Arthur, the Bretons were so pleased with this event, that the rebellion immediately subsided.

A. C. 1136.

A conference being opened at Gué St. Remi, between the kings of France and England, in which cardinal Octavian and Hugh Nonant, the pope's legates, acted as mediators for the establishment of a solid peace, Philip's demands were so unreasonable, that the negotiation broke off, and both princes prepared for hostilities. Henry levying a numerous army, divided it into four bodies, commanded by the princes Richard and John, the earl of Albemarle, and his natural son Geoffry; and these divisions were detached to defend the different quarters of his dominions. The French king had recourse to the arts of perfidy, and tampered with Urse de Fretteval and the count de Nevers, who revolted openly, after this last, who was under particular obligations to Henry, had surrendered Yffodun to Philip. Thus encouraged, that monarch invaded Berry, and laid siege to Chateauroux, and the princes Richard and John marched immediately to the relief of the place. The two armies were in

Rupture with the king of France.

A. C. 1178;

Chr. Gerv;

N^o. 15.

P

Imme-

A. C. 1187.
Philip de-
bauches
Richard
from his
allegiance.

Immediately after this agreement, Richard accompanied the king of France to Paris, where he was careffed in fuch an extraordinary manner, and fuch an intimacy enfued between him and Philip, that Henry took the alarm, and fufpected fomething was hatching to his prejudice. In thefe fentiments, he fent feveral fucceffive meffengers to recall Richard, whom he promifed to gratify with every thing he could demand in reafon ; but, inftead of complying with the king's request, he went and feized his treasure at Chinon, and thence repairing to Guienne, fortified his caftles, and fet his father at defiance, unlefs he would forthwith confent to his coronation. Henry had fuffered too much by the experiment of that fort, which he tried in favour of his eldeft fon, to repeat it in behalf of the proud imperious Richard, who feemed fo ftrongly connected with his inveterate foe : he therefore rejected the propofal, and made fuch remonftrances to his fon upon the evil confequences of his attachment to Philip, and his own undutiful behaviour, that he feemed fenfible of his errors, fubmitted and did homage to his father, and promifed upon oath that he would never deviate from his allegiance ; yet, in a very little time after this reconciliation, he received the crofs from the archbifhop of Tours without the king's confent or knowledge.

Duet. Col.

A. C. 1188.
The kings
of France
and England
take the
crofs.

Henry paffed the Christmas at Caen, and had already proceeded as far as Barfleur in his way to England, when he was given to underftand, that the king of France threatened to lay wafte his dominions with fire and fword, if he would not immediately reftore Gifors, or complete the marriage of Richard with Adelaïs. In confequence of this information, he propofed another conference, which was held as ufual between Gifors and Trie, under a vaft elm that fhaded feveral acres of ground. At this interview between the two kings, attended by

A. C. 1188.

Richard, the prelates and nobility of both nations, the archbishop of Tyre pronounced such a melancholy account of Saladine's success in the Holy Land, and the miseries of the christians in that country, that the whole audience was affected with the relation; and the two kings, laying aside their animosity, agreed to convert their whole attention to the relief of those adventurers. They received the cross from the hands of the archbishop, resolving to go thither in person; and their example was followed by Philip count of Flanders, and a great number of the prelates and nobility then present. A plenary indulgence was published in the pope's name, for all that would make a fair confession of their sins, and engage in the crusade. The different nations assumed crosses of different colour: rules were established for preventing riot, luxury, and disorder; the two monarchs resolved to levy great armies for the occasion; and, in order to defray the expence of the expedition, imposed a tax of a tenth upon all rents and chattles belonging to the clergy as well as the laity, an imposition known by the name of the Saladine Tythe, which Henry gave immediate orders for levying throughout his dominions on the continent.

Moved.

With a view to raise the same tax in England, and make the necessary preparations for his crusade, he took shipping at Dieppe; and landing at Winchelsea, summoned a general council at Geddington, where it was resolved to levy a tenth of all rents and moveables belonging to Jews as well as Christians; though every person, whether ecclesiastic or laic, that engaged in the crusade, was exempted from the tax, and even permitted to mortgage his estate. Hugh bishop of Durham, and some other noblemen, were sent to desire William king of Scotland would subject his kingdom to the same imposition, and he seemed very well

Tax called
Saladine's
Tythe.

A. C. 1188. inclined to the expedient; but his prelates, earls, barons, and free tenants, being convened to deliberate on the subject, absolutely refused to saddle themselves and their country with such an incumbrance, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of their king, and the persuasions of the English ambassadors.

Philip invades Berry.

While Henry was thus employed in taking measures for the relief of Palestine, his good brother Philip king of France, who had sworn to suspend all hostilities with the king of England, and to protect his territories until the crusade should be finished, disregarding this solemn obligation, began to tamper with the barons of Berry, a good number of whom he debauched from their allegiance: Richard, who seems to have acted in concert with him, pretended to quarrel with the count de Thoulouse, and made an incursion into his country, in order to afford a pretence to Philip, who, being solicited to assist the count, invaded Berry, and was received without opposition into the most important towns and fortresses of that dutchy. He made himself master of the greatest part of Auvergne in the same manner; and then, entering Touraine, extended his conquests with surprising rapidity. Henry, alarmed at this breach of stipulations, sent Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops of Lincoln and Chester, as ambassadors to the court of France, to complain of those hostilities, and demand restitution of the places he had taken.

Duet. Col.

Fruitless conferences.

Philip added insult to injustice, and refused an audience to those prelates; so that Henry was obliged to arm in his own defence. Having assembled a strong body of English, reinforced with several thousands of Welsh infantry, he transported them without delay into Normandy, where they were joined by the troops of that dutchy: but, before

before he would commence hostilities, he dispatched the archbishop of Rouen to Paris, with another demand of restitution, or, in case of a refusal, to renounce all fealty to Philip, in Henry's name, and to declare that the king of England would for the future look upon him as his mortal enemy. To this message Philip answered, that he was determined to prosecute the war, until he should have reduced Berry and the Vexin Normand; and Henry, seeing no prospect of a peace, began his march towards the French territories. Having burned S. Clair sur Epte and some other towns, he advanced to Mante, where he understood the French army was encamped; but, Philip avoiding a battle, he marched to Ivry, from whence he sent out detachments to ravage the French frontiers; and Danville, with Dreux and several other places, were reduced to ashes. The French king, finding himself unable to cope with such an adversary, was fain to sue for peace, and offered of his own accord to restore all the places he had taken in Berry. A conference was immediately opened, and continued three days, during which Philip, in all probability, took umbrage at the nature of the debates; for the negociation did not succeed; and the king of France wreaked his resentment on the spreading elm, which, being within his territories, he ordered to be cut down, because Henry delighted in sitting under its shade. The counts of Flanders and Blois, with several noblemen of France, disgusted at the pride, obstinacy, and unreasonable demands of Philip, laid down their arms, declaring they would never use them against Christians, until they should have returned from Jerusalem; and the French monarch, thus weakened, desired another conference, in order to make a parade of his pacific disposition. This too proved ineffectual, from his insolent demand of

A. C. 1188.

A. C. 1188. the castle of Pacey, as a security for Henry's performing the other articles to which they agreed; a proposal which very ill became a prince who had so often broke the faith of treaties; whereas the king of England had always performed his contracts with the utmost punctuality.

Dueto.
Hoveden.

Richard is
excommunicated by
the pope's
legate.

Though the conference did not produce an immediate accommodation, the parties still negotiated by deputies, with such a prospect of success, that Henry sent back his Welsh troops, and disbanded the mercenaries; and another interview was appointed at Bon-Moulins, for putting the finishing stroke to the treaty. At this meeting Henry proposed, that instead of protracting a troublesome dispute, they should restore what had been seized on both sides since they took the cross, and conclude at once a solid and equitable peace. This proposition was warmly opposed by Richard, who refused to part with his conquests; and Philip, though he offered to give up the places he had taken, insisted upon his sister's being immediately married to Richard; and required that all the subjects of England, Normandy, and Henry's other dominions, should take the oath of allegiance to that young prince. The king of England replied, that the marriage should be immediately consummated, provided Philip would cede Bourges, and perform all the articles of the contract; but the other demand he absolutely rejected, as an insult upon his authority. Richard, hearing this refusal, was transported with fury and indignation; and throwing himself at Philip's feet, did instant homage for Normandy, and all the other provinces holding of France, of which he now received the investiture. While Henry sat motionless and confounded at this extraordinary scene, Philip and his new vassal retired, to the amazement of the spectators, who plainly perceived, that this was a preconcerted

preconcerted scheme between the French king and Richard. A. C. 1188.

His father soon recollected himself from his confusion; and, in order to prevent the designs of his enemies, marched immediately into Guienne, after having dispatched his chancellor Geoffry to secure the castles of Anjou against the attempts of the confederates. Cardinal Albano, sent by pope Clement III. as his legate, to consolidate a peace between the two crowns, excommunicated Richard, as the chief obstacle to the treaty: and this prelate dying, the pope, uneasy at the delay of the expedition to Palestine, invested the cardinal of Anagni with the legatine power, as well as with instructions to effect a reconciliation between the two monarchs. This new prelate arriving in France, prevailed upon both parties to refer their disputes to the arbitration of him and the archbishops of Rheims, Bourges, Rouen, and Canterbury; and this last was, in the mean time, sent to reclaim Richard with gentle remonstrances. But all his endeavours proved ineffectual: he had been infected with jealousies by his patron of France, and believed, or pretended to believe, his father designed to disinherit him in favour of his younger brother. Possessed of this idle conceit, which had no foundation, and confident of his own merit, he rejected all overtures towards a reconciliation, and employed all his interest in raising up enemies against his father. He debauched from their allegiance many noblemen of Normandy, Anjou, and Guienne, who took this opportunity of worshipping the rising sun. The turbulent barons of Brittany, who had been concerned in every rebellion against Henry, now declared for Richard, who derived great advantage from a dangerous distemper that seized the king, already broken with infirmities and vexation. A great number of ba-

He raises a rebellion against his father.

A. C. 1183.

Bened. Alb.
Chr. Gev.
Gu. Neub.
Mac. Paris.He draws
his sword
upon the
pope's le-
gate.

rons, who had hitherto observed an exact neutrality, understanding that Henry's life was in imminent danger, made haste to ingratiate themselves with the heir, whose party became more and more formidable by a daily accession of partisans, and a well concerted plan of operation, projected and supported by the king of France.

At the expiration of the truce which had been agreed upon in the beginning of the last conference, this conspiracy manifested itself in action, and Richard made some incursions into his father's territories; but these were interrupted by a renewal of the truce, at the instance of the mediators; and Henry derived great hopes of a lasting peace, from the abilities and good-will of the legate. By his interposition another conference was held at La Ferté Bernard, where Philip not only repeated his former demands, but added another condition; namely, that prince John should accompany his brother to the Holy Land, an expedition from which the father was excused on account of his age and infirmities. His pretence for making this proposal was, that John might not take the advantage of Richard's absence to mount the throne at his father's decease: but Philip's real motive for making this unreasonable demand, seems to have been a desire of obstructing the peace, and widening the breach between Henry and his heir, whose jealousy was confirmed by his father's rejecting the proposition. The king of England observed, that Richard had taken the cross without his knowledge; and that if his son had been guilty of an indiscreet action, it was no reason that he should commit a greater, in exposing his dominions to the ambition of a foreign invader, in case he himself should die during the absence of both his children. The legate, who could not help assenting to the justice of his plea, exerted all his eloquence to-
wards

wards a pacification : but finding the French king inflexible, he threatened to lay an interdict upon his dominions. Philip heard him with silent scorn; but the furious Richard unsheathing his sword, would have sacrificed the cardinal on the spot, had not the other members of the assembly interposed, and prevented him from executing his frantic purpose. Henry, dubious of the event of this conference, had sent Ralph de Glanville to England, to fetch over all his knights in whose loyalty he could confide amidst the defection of his Norman subjects, who dropped away daily at the prospect of his distress : but his enemies did not allow him time to avail himself of this reinforcement.

Immediately after the conference, Philip and Richard retired to Nogent de Rotrou, where their army was cantoned. There assembling their troops, they advanced with great expedition, and reduced La Ferté Bernard, Monfort, Malestabe, Beaumont, and Balon. Then taking the route to Tours, wheeled about unexpectedly, and marched directly to Mans, where Henry was quartered with seven hundred knights, and a small body of forces. Their sudden appearance threw his followers into such confusion, that Stephen de Tours, seneschal of Anjou, setting the suburbs on fire, the flames were allowed to spread over the walls, and occasion a conflagration in the city. Geoffry de Bruilon endeavouring to stop the progress of the enemy by breaking down a stone bridge over the Sarte, was attacked, wounded, and taken prisoner; and his men flying in disorder, were pursued by the French to the city, which they entered along with them pell-mell. Henry, seeing it impracticable to rectify the disorder occasioned by the fire and the enemy, retired with his troops towards Frenelles, leaving thirty knights and twice that number of soldiers in the tower of Le Mans, which,

King Henry
is almost
surprised at
Le Mans.

A. C. 1188. which, after having been battered three days, was obliged to surrender. The king dispatched William Fitz-Ralf, seneschal of Normandy, with William Mandeville earl of Essex, and Aumale, to defend that province; and ordered his chancellor Geoffry to march with the bulk of his army to Alençon, while he himself repaired with a small train to Angers, and was in a little time joined by a reinforcement of knights at Savigny. Philip and Richard mean while met with no opposition. A number of towns and castles submitted at the first summons; till at length, fording the river Loire, they invested the city of Tours, which they took by escalade, while the inhabitants locked themselves up in their houses, not dreaming of resistance.

A treaty
concluded at
Azay.

A. C. 1189. Conferences had still been carried on at Azay by the legate, prelates, and nobility of both kingdoms; and the count of Flanders, with the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims, arrived at Tours with the articles of peace, which had been settled. These being qualified by Philip, were by the same ambassadors carried to Saumur for the approbation of Henry, who was in no condition to refuse any terms which his adversary might have thought proper to propose. He saw his forces diminish daily by desertion, his cities and fortresses given up to the enemy; he suspected treachery on all sides, and, as he knew not whom to trust, agreed to ratify the articles. These obliged him to renew his homage to Philip, which he had renounced in the beginning of the war; and to deliver Adalais into the hands of five persons nominated by Richard, who should espouse that princess after his return from Palestine. He agreed that all his vassals should take the oath of fealty to Richard before his departure, and to pay twenty thousand marks of silver to the king of France

France for defraying the expence of fortifying Chateauroux. Philip, on the other hand, engaged to reftore all that he had taken in Berry ; but he was permitted to retain the cities of Le Mans and Tours, with the caftles of Trone and Chateau de Loir, until all the articles ſhould be fulfilled.

This treaty was firft concluded at Azay, and in a few days after the agreement ſigned in another conference at the ſame place, from whence the king, in a very ill ſtate of health, was removed to Chinon. He had been long infirm, and was now ſeized with a fever, which was ſuppoſed to be the immediate effect of vexation. He had formerly ſeen his children rebel ; but now he ſaw his ſon his conqueror : he ſaw himſelf bereft at once of his power, his authority, and faculties ; reduced to the condition of a fugitive, and almoſt of a ſuppliant in his old age, by the ingratitude of his own iſſue ; and to complete his chagrin, prince John, upon whoſe fidelity and affection he had reposed himſelf with full confidence, deſerted him in his retreat from Le Mans, and joined his adverſaries. This was the ſevereſt ſtroke he had hitherto felt, and doubtleſs co-operated with his diſtemper, of which he died at Chinon two days after the ratification of the treaty. His corſe was conveyed by his natural ſon Geoffry to the nunnery of Fontevrault ; and next day, while it lay in the abbey-church, Richard chancing to enter, was ſtruck with horror at the ſight. This indeed was augmented by an accident, which the ſuperſtition of the times interpreted into a præternatural portent. At his approach the blood guſhed out at the mouth and noſtrils of the corſe, to the terror and amazement of all the ſpectators ; and Richard's own ſavage heart was moved at this phænomenon. He aſſiſted at the funeral rites with great decorum, and

A. C. 1189.

Ben. Abbas.
Duet. Coll.
G. Brito.
Philipiade.
G. Neubrig.Death of
Henry II.
king of
England.

A. C. 1189. and marks of real contrition ; and after the obsequies, Geoffry delivered up the great seal, which had been carefully deposited under the seals of all the barons who were present at his father's decease.

Chron. Ger.
Bened. Ab.
Cambrenf.

His charac-
ter.

Thus died Henry, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign ; in the course of which he had, on sundry occasions, displayed all the abilities of a politician, all the sagacity of a legislator, and all the magnanimity of a hero. He lived revered above all the princes of his time ; and his death was deeply lamented by his subjects, whose happiness seems to have been the chief aim of all his endeavours. He not only enacted wholesome laws, but saw them executed with great punctuality. He was generous even to admiration, with regard to those who committed offences against his own person, but he never forgave the injuries that were offered to his people ; for atrocious crimes were punished severely, without respect of persons. He was of the middle stature, and the most exact proportion ; his countenance was round, fair and ruddy ; his blue eyes were mild and engaging, except in a transport of passion, when they sparkled like lightening, to the terror of the beholders. He was broad chested, strong, muscular, and inclined to be corpulent, though he prevented the bad effects of this disposition, by hard exercise and continual fatigue ; he was temperate in his meals, even to a degree of abstinence, and seldom or never sat down, except at supper ; he was eloquent, agreeable, and facetious ; remarkably courteous and polite ; compassionate to all in distress ; so charitable, that he constantly allotted one tenth of his household provisions to the poor ; and in a time of dearth which prevailed in Anjou and Le Maine, he maintained ten thousand

and indigent persons, from the beginning of spring till the end of autumn. His talents naturally good, he had cultivated with great assiduity, and delighted in the conversation of learned men, to whom he was a generous benefactor. His memory was so surprisingly tenacious, that he never forgot a face nor a circumstance that was worth remembering. Though superior to all his cotemporaries in strength, riches, true courage, and military skill, he never engaged in war without reluctance; and was so averse to bloodshed, that he expressed uncommon grief at the loss of every private soldier. Yet was he not exempted from human frailties: his passions, naturally violent, often hurried him into excess; he was prone to anger, transported with the lust of power, and in particular accused of incontinence, not only in the affair of Rosamond, whom he is said to have concealed in a labyrinth at Woodstock from the jealous inquiry of his wife, but also in a supposed commerce with the French princess Adalais, who was bred in England as the future wife of his son Richard. This infamous breach of honour and hospitality, if he was actually guilty, is the foulest stain upon his character, though the fact is doubtful, and we hope the charge untrue. He was educated with high notions of the kingly prerogative, which he maintained with amazing fortitude against all the artillery of Rome, and all the machinations of treason; for the cause of royalty happened to be connected with the independency of the English church, for which he manifested the most inviolable attachment: yet his exertion of the prerogative never interfered with the liberties of his people, which he entrenched with many excellent laws and regulations, that rendered their burthens easy and their properties secure. In a word, he was the king, the
priest,

A. C. 1189. priest, the father of his country, and one of the most powerful and illustrious monarchs that ever flourished on the English throne*.

* By his queen Eleanor he had five sons and three daughters; namely, William, who died in his infancy; Henry, whose history we have recorded; Richard, who succeeded to his father's throne; Geoffry, who died at Paris, as we have mentioned above; and John, surnamed Sans Terre, who ascended the throne after Richard's death: Maud, married to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria; Eleanor, wife of Alphonso VIII. king of Castile; Joane, matched with William II. king of Sicily,

and, after his death, married to Raimund VI. count of Thoulouse. Henry had likewise by the fair Rosamond, William Longue Espée, created earl of Salisbury; and Geoffry, bishop elect of Lincoln, and afterwards chancellor. There was also one Morgan, a Welshman, provost of Beverley, who pretended to be his natural son, by the lady of a knight named Ralf Bloet; but this pretence seems to have been founded on nothing but the man's own vanity and madness.

Anglia Sacra.

RICHARD



Proud Sculp.

RICHARD I.

R I C H A R D I.

Surnamed Cœur de Lion.

RICHARD succeeded without opposition to his father's throne, and began his reign with such an act of tyranny and oppression, as must have afforded a very uncomfortable omen to his subjects. His father's obsequies were scarce performed, when he ordered Stephen de Tours, the late king's feneschal, to be arrested and loaded with shackles, until he had delivered up, not only the treasure committed to his charge, but also his own fortune, amounting to five and forty thousand Angevin livres: then he caused him to be divorced from his wife, because she was a gentlewoman, and he of ignoble descent; and declared he would, by his own authority, annul all such unequal marriages. This man, however, whom he knew to be a faithful servant of his father, he would not dismiss from his employment; for he continued still to manage the revenue of Anjou; and indeed it must be owned for the credit of Richard's good sense, that he retained in his service all the loyal adherents of the late king; and discarded those who had deserted their master, even in his own favour. These, whether ecclesiastic or laymen, he expelled from his court, and ever after despised as perfidious traitors; and when some barons, who had served him in his last revolt, demanded restitution of their lands and castles, which they had forfeited in former rebellions, he ordered them to be restored according to his promise, but he ejected them the very next day, observing, that those who deserted their legal sovereign should always be rewarded in this manner.

A. C. 1139.
Richard,
Cœur de
Lion,
ascends the
throne.

Brompton.
Bened. Ab.

The

A. C. 1189.
Richard is
absolved,
invested, and
bestows fa-
vours upon
divers no-
blemen.

The affairs of Guienne and Anjou being settled according to his pleasure, he repaired to Normandy, and was, by the archbishops of Canterbury and Rouen, absolved at Seez of the crime he had committed in taking up arms against his father, after having engaged in the crusade. After his absolution he was invested with the ducal sword and banner, and received the homage of all the nobility in the province; upon which occasion he displayed his generosity in divers acts of favour. He bestowed his niece Maud upon Geoffry, son of Rotrou count de Perche: he gave the daughter of Richard Strongbow in marriage to his favourite William Marechal; and to Gilbert, the son of Roger Fitz-Rainfray, Eloisa, daughter and heiress of William de Lancaster, baron of Kendal. He confirmed his brother John in possession of the four thousand marks a year in England, and the county of Mortaign in Normandy, which had been settled upon him by his father, besides the honour of Gloucester, by virtue of his marriage with the late earl's daughter; and gave the royal assent to the election of his natural brother Geoffry to the see of York, though he afterwards seized his castles in Normandy, which he obliged him to redeem with a considerable sum of money. In a few days after his inauguration, he had an interview, between Chaumont and Trie, with the king of France, who restored the places he had taken in the late war, and waved his demand of Gisors, on Richard's promising to add four thousand marks to the twenty thousand, which the late king had agreed to pay for the expences of the war.

His inter-
view with
Philip of
France.

Ducto. Col.
Matth. Par.
Bened. Abb.

He is
crowned at
Westmin-
ster.

Having regulated his foreign affairs, he resolved to visit his British dominions, which, since his father's death, had been governed by his mother Eleanor, whom he had impowered to publish an act of grace, in favour of all prisoners and transgressors,

gressors,

gressors, except such as had turned evidence against their accomplices, which informers had no benefit of this indulgence. Robert, earl of Leicester, now retrieved his castles, which Henry had kept as security for his good behaviour; and other forfeited barons were indulged with the like restitution. The appenage of prince John was considerably increased by grants of lands and castles; and by marrying the heiress of the late earl of Gloucester, though within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, he became master of a very considerable part of the realm. All the freemen throughout the kingdom had, by order of the queen-mother, taken the oath of fealty to Richard before his arrival, and now the same was taken by the prelates and nobility at his coronation, which was solemnized in the abbey of Westminster, Ralph de Ducto, dean of St. Paul's, officiating in the room of the bishop of London, because the see happened to be then vacant.

Richard had issued a proclamation forbidding all Jews to enter the church, during the coronation service, or intrude into the palace while he should be at dinner. Notwithstanding this prohibition, which seems to have been intended merely for the prevention of a crowd, a few wealthy Hebrews, instigated by curiosity, endeavoured to pass unobserved in the multitude; but were detected, and roughly repelled. This violence produced a fray, in which several Jews were trodden under foot and slain, as that people were extremely odious at this juncture, when the superstition of the Christians was inflamed by the preaching of monks in favour of the crusade. The populace of London, hearing the king had ordered the Jews to be exterminated, immediately took to arms, and besieged the merchants of that nation in their houses, after having murdered all the Israelites that fell in their

The Jews
are massacred at
London,
Lyme,
Stamford,
and York,

A. C. 1189. way. The king was no sooner apprised of this tumult than he sent Ralph de Glanville, the chief justiciary, and other noblemen, into the city, to quell the disturbance, and prevent further mischief; but all their endeavours proved ineffectual; and they were obliged to fly for the safety of their own lives. The rabble finding it impracticable to force the strong houses to which the Jews had retired, set them on fire; so that a conflagration began at different corners of the city; and the mob taking advantage of the confusion and terror which they produced, plundered Jews and Christians without distinction. The former perished either by the flames or the fury of an enraged populace; a great number of citizens were burned out of their habitations, and utterly ruined; and the disturbance continued till morning, when the rabble dispersed. Richard ordered the ringleaders of this outrageous tumult to be apprehended, and tried by the laws of the land: and they being convicted and executed, he published a proclamation, prohibiting such tumults for the future, and taking the Jews under his royal protection. Notwithstanding this precaution, the Jews were afterwards massacred at Lyme, Stamford, and York, though avarice seems to have been more concerned than religious zeal, in those instances of barbarity; for many gentlemen of the province were concerned in the carnage of York, who, having been indebted to the Jews, no sooner made an end of butchering that unhappy people, to the number of five hundred, than they repaired to the cathedral, where their bonds were deposited, compelled the officer to deliver these obligations, and burned them in the church with great solemnity. The king, incensed at this insult upon his authority, which also affected his revenue, inasmuch as he was heir to the personal estates of usurers, ordered the bishop of Ely, at that time

G. Neubrig.
Bened. Ab.
Mat. Par.

justiciary of the realm, to make severe examples of the guilty: but, before he arrived in Yorkshire, the principal offenders had fled into Scotland; and the citizens of York imputing what had happened to the fury of the ungovernable multitude, the prelate contented himself with depriving the high sheriff and the governor of their offices, and levying fines upon the wealthiest of the inhabitants.

Richard, in the first assembly of his prelates and nobility convened after his coronation, at the abbey of Pupewell, in Northamptonshire, filled up the vacant sees of London, Winchester, Sarum, and Ely; and deliberated upon measures for enabling him to equip a powerful armament against the infidels, who had over-run the Holy Land. Geoffry Riddel, late bishop of Ely, dying intestate, the king had seized his effects to a considerable value: he found in his father's treasury at Winchester, gold and silver, jewels, and rich utensils, to the amount of nine hundred thousand pounds: but even this vast sum was insufficient for the purposes of his expedition. He sold the earldom of Northumberland to Hugh, bishop of Durham, for his natural life, and the honour of Sudberg to him and his successors in that see, for ever. He set up to sale the offices of high-sheriffs, keepers of forests, and many other lucrative posts and dignities. He received considerable sums from the barons of Bedfordshire, and the knights of Surry, for disforesting parts of their country, which he had converted into forest-ground. Liberties, charters, castles, and manors of the crown, were given away to the highest bidders; and when some of his friends demonstrated to him the bad effects of such alienation, he told them he would sell the city of London, if he could find a purchaser. Ralph de Glanville, finding him deaf to all honest advice, and squandering away the crown demesnes in such a profuse,

Gul. Neub;

Richard's
expedients
to raise
money for
the Crusade.

A. C. 1189. unthrifty, and pernicious manner, resigned his place of justiciary, and engaged in the crusade; and his post was filled by Hugh, bishop of Durham, and William de Mandeville, earl of Essex and Arundel, the former of these giving a thousand marks for this employment. Besides these expedients for raising money, Richard obtained a bull from pope Clement, empowering him to excuse from the crusade all those whom he should judge necessary to be left at home for the defence of the kingdom; and a great number of people who had taken the cross in the first transport of enthusiasm, were now glad to embrace this indulgence. By these means the king raised a greater sum of money than any one of his predecessors had been known to possess. The Welch, upon the death of the late king, had, under Rhes ap Griffith, and his son, reduced several castles, and ravaged the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen; but this prince afterwards obtained a safe-conduct from John, and came to make his submission in the king's court at Oxford; Richard, however, refused to see him, and he returned to his own country meditating revenge. To anticipate his attempt, John was directed to march into Wales with a body of forces; and a scutage was levied throughout the kingdom, to defray the expence of this expedition.

Powel's
Hist. of
Wales.

Ambassadors
from
France.

While Richard was employed in making preparations for carrying his grand design into execution, Rotrou count of Perche, and other ambassadors, came over to notify the resolution of the French king and his barons, who had sworn in a general council held at Paris, to meet by the close of Easter at the general rendezvous near Vezelay; to which place Richard and his people were summoned, that the two kings might set out together for the crusade. The king immediately convoked a general assembly at London, where the earl of Essex swore,

swore, in his name, that he would repair to the place of rendezvous, and meet Philip at the time appointed. A dispute arising at this period, between Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Christ-church, about a college of secular canons founded at Hakington, the monks complained to the pope, that this new foundation was intended to deprive them of the right of electing the archbishop of Canterbury, and throw that power into the hands of the suffragans. Clement espousing their cause, sent a legate to determine the controversy; but the king, unwilling to see such an instance of papal authority exerted in his dominions, prevailed upon the complainants to refer the dispute to his own decision. He forthwith repaired to Canterbury, with a vast number of his prelates and nobility, and decreed that the new foundation should be demolished: then the cardinal Anagni, legate from the pope, who had been detained a whole fortnight at Dover, by the king's express order, was invited to Canterbury, and honourably received, though Richard would not allow him to exercise his legatine authority, except in removing the interdict which Baldwin had laid upon the lands of prince John, when he married the heiress of Gloucester.

During Richard's stay at Canterbury, he was visited by William, king of Scotland, who, taking advantage of his impatience to proceed on this expedition to the Holy Land, and his eager desire of amassing money for that purpose, presented him with ten thousand marks sterling, in consideration of his surrendering the castles of Berwick and Roxburg, renouncing the superiority of the kingdom of Scotland, delivering up the instrument containing the submission of him and all his barons, and receiving William's homage for the northern counties, as it had been formerly paid by his predecessors.

A. C. 1189.

Disputes between the monks of Christ-church and Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. Hoveden.

Richard, for a sum of money, renounces his superiority over the kingdom of Scotland.

A. C. 1189.
Bened. Abb.
Appoints
guardians to
govern Eng-
land in his
absence.

deceffors. His next care was to provide for the adminiftration of the realm in his abfence: and in this provision he acted from the dictates of his own caprice, againft the advice of the nobility, and the fense of the whole nation. The guardianship of the kingdom he conferred on William Longchamp, bifhop of Ely, a Frenchman of low original, without influence or authority; and with him joined the bifhop of Durham, as jufticiary in the northern counties. To the former, he committed the cuftody of the Tower of London; to the latter the caftle and foreft of Windfor; and Hugh Bardolph, William Marefchal, Geoffry Fitzpiers, and William Briwere, were appointed their affiftants and counfellors in the exercife of government.

Repairs
into Nor-
mandy.

Thefe precautions being taken, Richard, accompanied by the legate, fet fail from Dover, and landed the fame day at Gravelines, where he was met by the count of Flanders, who attended him into Normandy. There he practifed a low artifice which difgraced his character, though it answered his purpofe of extorting money from his fubjects. He pretended to have loft the great feal, that he might have a pretence for iffuing a proclamation, that no credit fhould be given to any deed, grant, or inftrument, until it fhould receive the fancection of the new feal, which he ordered to be made for that purpofe: at the fame time he ordered all perfons poffeffed of fuch grants to bring them in, that they might be fealed anew, and levied large fines for this indulgence. To crown his avarice, he directed the bifhop of Ely, vefted with the legatine power, as well as the royal authority, in England, Wales, and Ireland, to oblige every abbey and crown manor to furnifh one palfrey and fump-ter horfe, and every city in the kingdom to find double the number, for the purpofes of the expedition,

Bened. Abb.
Mat. Paris.

dition. The queen of France dying in the interim, the rendezvous was deferred till Midsummer; but in order to adjust matters in such a manner as would prevent all disputes, the two kings agreed to a conference at Gué S. Remi, where they, and their prelates and nobility, mutually swore to maintain peace, and defend each others territories; and in case either of the princes should die on the expedition, it was determined, that the survivor should succeed to the command of his troops and money, for the advantage of the service. After this interview, Richard sent for his mother Eleanor from England, together with Adelais, the sister of Philip, his own brother John, the two archbishops, and all the other prelates, before whom he exacted an oath of John, and Geoffry archbishop of York, importing, that they should not set foot in England for three years, before the expiration of which he proposed to return from Palestine: but at the request of his mother he released them both from this obligation. His large fleet assembled from different ports of the kingdom, being well manned, victualled, and supplied with stores for the expedition, he, by the advice of his prelates and nobility, enacted a body of regulations for the maintenance of peace, order, and discipline on board, appointing five justiciaries to see them punctually executed, and issued orders for its sailing to Marseilles, where he proposed to embark his army.

A. C. 1189.

Has an interview with the king of France.

When the time appointed for the rendezvous approached, he received the scrip and staff from the archbishop of Tours, and marched to Vezelay, where he was joined by the king of France. From thence they took the route to Lyons at the head of one hundred thousand men; but finding it extremely inconvenient for such a vast body to march together, the two kings parted at this city, Philip proceeding to Genoa, and Richard turning off to-

Hoveden. Ben. Abb. Richard arrives at Messina.

A. C. 1189. wards Marfeilles, where he found a great number of pilgrims, who, having spent all their substance in waiting for a passage, made him a tender of their service, and were retained. Having waited a whole week for the arrival of his fleet, he hired three large vessels and twenty gallies, for his household, with which he embarked for Sicily, and putting in at Salerno, remained in that place, until he was informed that his fleet had arrived in the harbour of Messina. Thither he immediately followed it, and, finding the king of France lodged in the town, took up his quarters in the suburbs. As he proposed to pass the winter in this island, he seized two strong castles situated on the Fare, one of which he assigned for the accommodation of his sister, widow of the late king of Sicily, and the other he converted into a magazine.

Is insulted
by the
Messinese,
and takes
their city by
assault.

The citizens of Messina alarmed at these proceedings, which seemed to denote a design of conquering the island, took occasion to quarrel with the English, who happened to be within the city, expelled them with great insolence, shut their gates, manned their walls, and set Richard at defiance. Next day the king of France, accompanied by his own prelates and nobility and those of the island, repaired to his quarters, in order to compromise the quarrel: but, in the midst of their deliberations, the Messenians made a sallie, and after having killed a good number of men and horses, attacked the quarters of Hugh le Brun with great impetuosity. Richard, enraged at this insult, took to his arms immediately, and charging the citizens, not only repulsed them to the gates, but assaulted the city itself with such fury, that notwithstanding the resistance of the inhabitants, reinforced by the French troops quartered within the walls, the place was taken by assault, and the standard of England displayed upon the ramparts. The king of France, who

who had entered the city immediately before the attack, exerted all his vigour in the defence of the place, and shot three English soldiers with a cross-bow from the walls; so that Richard had great cause to complain of his behaviour; nevertheless, his conduct on this occasion was remarkably moderate: far from molesting the French quarters, he quitted the city, and encamped within a fortification which he erected in the suburbs. This condescension, however, could not appease the resentment of Philip, who regarded the assault as an insult offered to his dignity; and from this period conceived an implacable rancour against the king of England. This grudge however he thought proper to conceal for the present, and agreed with Richard in making ordinances to be observed by both armies, for the prevention of gaming, clipping money, and dearth of provisions: as also for the choice of wholesome victuals, the regulations of markets, and the reduction of immoderate profit on merchandize. Richard, in order to render providence propitious to the undertaking, granted a charter in behalf of his English subjects who should suffer by shipwreck, giving up in their favour the right which the crown had to the goods saved in such disasters: at the same time he put himself in a course of penance for his sins, and indulged the clergy of his Norman dominions with another charter, exempting them wholly from secular tribunals.

The Messinese had smarted severely in their quarrel with the king of England, who had permitted the soldiers to plunder the city; and their king Tancred found himself extremely incommoded by the dispute, in consequence of which an hundred thousand slaves had escaped to the mountains, from whence they made incursions, and ravaged the whole country. The Sicilian prelates had laboured to effect an accommodation, and the king, in effect an usurper, whose crown was disputed by Henry VI.

Mat. Paris.
Duet. Coll.

Richard
concludes a
treaty with
Tancred,
king of
Sicily.

A. C. 1190.

emperor of Germany, in right of his wife Constance, unwilling to incur the resentment of such a powerful prince as Richard, made uncommon advances towards a treaty of peace. This was at length concluded, on condition that Tancred should pay to Richard twenty thousand ounces of gold, in lieu of legacies bequeathed to Henry of England, by the late king William II. who had married his daughter; that he should bestow one of his daughters in marriage on young Arthur duke of Brittany, whom Richard had declared his successor, in case he himself should die without issue; and that twenty thousand ounces of gold should be forthwith deposited as her fortune, to be restored, provided the marriage should not take effect. As for the inhabitants of Messina, Richard ordered the plunder to be restored; but knowing them to be a faithless mongrel race, descended from Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, he ordered them to pull down their gates, and deliver hostages for their peaceable behaviour. Then he built a strong castle upon the top of an high mountain that overlooked the city, distinguishing it by the appellation of Mate-Griffon, or Griffon-Slayer, alluding to the name of Griffons, bestowed as a term of reproach upon the inhabitants of Messina. Here while he entertained Hugh duke of Burgundy, and a great number of French noblemen, on Christmas-day, he and his guests were obliged to rise from table and quell a tumult, arising from a quarrel between some English and Pisan sailors; but which was renewed next day, upon a Pisan's murdering an Englishman at church. Both sides fought with equal fury, and many lives were lost, before the kings of France and England could advance with their forces, and put an end to the battle.

Duet. Coll.

E. S. Abb.

In a few days after this disturbance, a trifling incident served to denote the impetuosity of Richard's disposition. Having rode out to take the air,

air, accompanied by several French and English knights, of which number was William de Barre, famous for his courage and dexterity; the king, who had formerly taken this cavalier in a skirmish near Mante, perceiving a man leading an ass laden with canes, distributed these among the company, and they began to tilt at one another in the Moorish manner. In the course of this pastime, William happened to tear the king's coat; and Richard, incensed at the presumption of a man who had formerly broke his parole with him in Normandy, ran at him with great fury; but, instead of dismounting William, his own saddle gave way, and he came to the ground: a circumstance which piqued the king's pride to such a degree, that he ordered De Barre to be gone, and never appear again in his presence. At the intercession, however, of the prelates and nobility, he was permitted to prosecute the voyage to the Holy Land, where he signalized his valour in such a manner as effectually retrieved the favour of Richard.

Mean while the French king disguised his animosity so well, that the other never suspected his sentiments, but treated him as a particular friend and generous ally. He presented Philip with divers English ships, and half the money he had received from Tancred; and distributed his treasure among the French knights with such profusion, that he is said to have given away, in one month, more than any of his predecessors had bestowed in a whole year. At length he visited the Sicilian king at Catania, who received him with particular marks of honour and respect, and was so pleased with his open, frank demeanour, that he made him acquainted with Philip's malevolence. This plainly appeared in a letter from the king of France to Tancred, assuring him, that Richard intended to deprive him of his crown, and proposing that the Sicilian should fall upon him suddenly with his forces, in which case he would

A. C. 1190.

Richard's
adventure
with Wil-
liam de
Barre.

Vinefauf.

Perfidy of
the French
king.

A. C. 1190. would second his attempt. The English monarch was confounded at this instance of perfidy; the truth of which he had no reason to doubt when he saw Philip's signet, and Tancred offered to prove that he received it from the duke of Burgundy. He carefully preserved this evidence; and having been splendidly entertained by the Sicilian monarch, to whom he presented the famous sword of Arthur, celebrated under the name of Caliburne, he returned to Messina, with a hearty contempt of his French ally. Philip could not help perceiving a total alteration in his behaviour, and sent the count of Flanders to expostulate with him on the subject, when Richard delivered the letter into his hands, desiring he would present it to the king of France, who at sight of it exhibited signs of extreme confusion; though he soon recollected himself, and pretended it was a stratagem, contrived by Richard, to avoid his marriage with Adalais, which he now insisted upon with affected warmth.

Ben. Abb.
Vinesauf.

A. C. 1191.
A new convention between Philip and Richard.

Richard had never been affianced to this princess, and never expressed the least inclination for the match, except when his intention was to distress his father: for his heart had been captivated by the beauty of Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre; and he had already employed his mother Eleanor to make a journey into Guienne, and negotiate a marriage between him and that amiable princess. The proposal was immediately embraced, and the contract being ratified, the queen-mother and her future daughter-in-law travelled over land to Naples, having been joined on the road by the count of Flanders: they were thence conveyed to Brindisi, because Messina, being already crowded, could not contain them with their numerous retinue. Philip was perfectly well acquainted with all these transactions, and threatened loudly to renounce all friendship with the king of England; but the dispute was compromised in another

A. C. 1191.

another treaty, by which Richard was released from all pretended engagements to Adelais, who afterwards married William II. count of Ponthieu, who was the principal hostage given by Philip for his performance of articles. The French king ceded Gisors, Nauffe, Neufchatel de S. Denys, and the Vexin Normand, to Richard, and the heirs male of his body : in default of which they should revert to Philip; and in case of his death, without issue male, be re-united with the domain of Normandy. They agreed that Richard's eldest son, if heaven should bless him with male offspring, should hold the Norman dominions of Philip in capite; that the English king should pay ten thousand marks of silver, at four different payments; and cede the fiefs Yffadun and Graffay, with all that was claimed in Auvergne by the king of France, who, on his side, should yield to Richard Cahors and Quercy, except the two royal abbies of Figeac and Souillac.

Rymer.

Richard makes a conquest of Cyprus, and marries Berengaria.

The treaty being signed and ratified, the king of France took his departure from Messina for the Holy Land; and Richard gave him a short convoy with his gallies: then tacking about to Reggio, took on board his mother and Berengaria, with whom he returned that same evening to the place from whence he had set sail. Eleanor, in a few days, embarked on her return for England; and the princess of Navarre remained with Richard's sister Jane, dowager of Sicily, until he could assemble a sufficient number of vessels for the transportation of his cavalry. These being procured, and every other necessary prepared, he demolished the fort of Mate-Griffon, and sailed from Messina with above two hundred ships and gallies. In two days, the fleet was dispersed in a storm, and the king obliged to put into the isle of Crete, from whence he steered to Rhodes; while two of his large ships were stranded on the coast of Cyprus, and

A. C. 1191. and Roger, his vice-chancellor, drowned, with several knights and their attendants. Those who reached the shore were immediately seized, stripped, and imprisoned by Isaac, styling himself emperor of Cyprus, who would not suffer a third vessel, having on board the queen of Sicily and Berengaria, to enter the harbour of Limesol. Richard, being informed of their distress, advanced to their relief with his galleys, and found them lying at anchor on the open shore, exposed to all the extremity of the weather. Incensed at the barbarity of this insolent tyrant, he sent a message to demand his pilgrims, with all their effects which had been seized; and, receiving an arrogant answer, immediately landed his men. Isaac did not decline an engagement, in which he was defeated; the town soon capitulated, and the fleet was brought into the harbour. The Cypriots reassembled another body of forces, and, giving battle the next day to Richard, were routed again with great slaughter. This overthrow determined the fate of the island. All the castles and towns admitted the conqueror; and Isaac himself submitted at discretion. The conquest of Cyprus being so easily achieved, the king espoused Berengaria, who was crowned the same day at Limesol, by John bishop of Evreux, assisted by the archbishops of Apamea and Auch, and the bishop of Bayonne. After this ceremony, Richard received the homage of the nobility, and confirmed the laws, customs, and privileges of the Cypriots, who having been oppressed by Isaac, hailed the king of England as their deliverer. Nor was their gratitude confined to empty professions: they presented him with a moiety of their effects; and engaged to send a supply of provisions to the Christians, at the siege of Acon, in which they were at that time employed.

Vinesauf.
Benedict.
Hoveden.

Having regulated the affairs of Cyprus, and bestowed the government of the island upon Richard
de

de Camville and Robert de Turnham, the king set sail for Acon, whither he had already dispatched the two queens and Isaac's only daughter, with the best part of his fleet and forces. In his passage he encountered a prodigious large vessel, equipped by Saladine at Barut, containing fifteen hundred of his choice troops, commanded by seven admirals, and loaden with provision and warlike stores for the garrison of Acon. This huge unweildy ship he attacked and destroyed, and arrived before the place, to the inexpressible joy of the Christian army, and the terror and dismay of the besieged, which increased, even to despair, when they understood the loss of the vessel, in which all their hopes were centered. The siege, which had hitherto languished, was now carried on with surprising vigour. Richard's courage, liberality, and magnificence, not only engaged the hearts of the soldiery, but totally eclipsed the king of France, who became envious of his glory, and jealous of his greatness. Though Richard had shared with him the booty and prisoners taken in the carrack, according to a convention made in Sicily, by which they agreed to divide the spoils of the infidels, Philip was not contented, but laid claim to one half of Cyprus, and the riches there acquired. To this demand Richard replied, that though their agreement related to Palestine only, he would divide his conquest with Philip, provided that prince would act in the same manner towards him, with regard to the dominions and effects of the count of Flanders, and the castellan of St. Omers, lately deceased, whose effects he had seized for his own advantage. This answer effectually silenced the French king, who dropped his pretensions; and they renewed their agreement about the acquisitions that should be made in the Holy Land, appointing the Knights-Templars and Hospitallers as umpires of the partition. By this time the besieged were reduced to

A. C. 1191.

His arrival at Acon, which is taken by the Christians.

Gul. Neub.

A. C. 1191. extremity; and Saladine, finding it impracticable to raise the siege, allowed them to surrender upon the best terms they could procure. The capitulation they obtained did not even secure their lives; for they obliged themselves to remain in custody, until their heads should be redeemed with two hundred thousand Byzantines; and, in a failure of this ransom, within a certain time, they were to be at the mercy of the conquerors.

Hoveden.

The king of France returns to his own dominions.

The city being surrendered, and Philip having taken possession of his share, according to the determination of the arbitrators, he desired Richard would consent to his return, as the air of Asia did not agree with his constitution, and he should certainly die, unless restored to his own country. Under this pretext, he harboured the design of making himself master of Flanders, and perhaps of invading Normandy. All the princes of the army exclaimed against his deserting them before the crusade should be finished; but he persisted in his resolution, and renewed his demand upon Cyprus, which he thought Richard would buy off with his consent to Philip's retreat. Accordingly he became so importunate on both subjects, that the king of England granted his request, upon his taking a public oath on the evangelists, that he would abstain from all hostilities against the territories of Richard, and even protect them against all invaders, to the utmost of his power. Having thus quieted the apprehensions of his rival, who accommodated him with two of his best galleys, he set sail from Acon, leaving his troops under the command of the duke of Burgundy; and, in his passage through Italy, complained to pope Celestine III. that he could not act in concert with Richard, whose insolence was altogether intolerable: he therefore desired his holiness would absolve him of his original vow, which he had not performed, as well as of the oath he had sworn to the king of England, that he might re-

venge

venge himself upon that haughty prince. The pope gratified him in the first part of his demand, but forbade him to invade the territories of Richard, on pain of excommunication; a prohibition which he had already resolved to disregard.

After Philip's departure, the whole charge of the war devolved upon Richard, who found himself in a very perplexed situation, occasioned by the contest between Guy de Luzignan and Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, about the crown of Jerusalem. An accommodation had been effected by the interposition of the other princes, and it was agreed, that Guy should possess the kingdom for life: that the succession should fall to Conrade and his heirs; and that in the mean time they should equally share the revenues. Notwithstanding this pacification, Conrade still maintained a correspondence with Saladine, and avoided a junction with the king of England, who having repaired the fortifications of Acon, began his march for Joppa, along the sea-coast, for the convenience of being supplied with provisions by the shipping. Saladine hovered with his army upon the mountains, ready to attack him with the first favourable opportunity, and at length gave battle to the Christians, as they passed a river in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea. Here he was routed with the slaughter of forty thousand men, chiefly by the valour and conduct of Richard; and he forthwith ordered Cæsarea, Joppa, and Ascalon, to be demolished. The king of England, however, repaired the fortifications of the two first of these towns, and re-peopled them with part of the inhabitants of Acon. Then he advanced towards Jerusalem, and defeated Saladine again, in the plains of Rama; when he might have made himself master of the city, had not he been diverted from his purpose by the Templars, who, being in the French interest, persuaded him

A. C. 1191.

Hoveden.

Richard obtains two victories over Saladine.

A. C. 1191.
Bened. Abb.
Neubrig.

The maladminis-
tration, infolence,
and rapaciousness of Wil-
liam bishop
of Ely,
chancellor
and guardian
of
England.

to neglect the opportunity, and march towards Aſcalon, which he fortified at his own expence.

While Richard thus gathered laurels in Palestine, his kingdom of England groaned under the oppressive administration of William bishop of Ely, whom he had left guardian of the realm. Instead of co-operating with the bishop of Durham as his colleague, he had arrested the person of that prelate, who was obliged to purchase his release by delivering into his hands the castles of Windsor, Newcastle upon Tyne, the manor of Sadberg, with the county of Northumberland; and giving his own son and Gilbert de la Ley, as hostages for his quiet submission. Hugh complained of this treatment in letters to the king, who received them at Marseilles, and sent orders to William to restore the places he had wrested from the bishop; but he refused to comply with these instructions, on pretence of knowing the king's mind better than it could be explained in writing; and he demeaned himself in all respects with the most intolerable pride and arrogance. He exposed every thing to sale with the most shameful venality: he deprived both clergy and laity of their churches, lands, and possessions, with which he enriched his own relations and dependants: he exhausted the king's revenue, by making purchases for himself; insomuch that he bought every estate that was to be sold: the vacant churches and abbeys he either kept for his own use, or bestowed on his own creatures, among whom likewise he distributed castles and posts, which he extorted from others by dint of menaces and persecution. In his visitation of the religious houses, he travelled with a party of fifteen hundred horse, and such a retinue of knights, clergy, servants, minstrels, dogs, and horses, that the convent in which he lodged could scarcely, in three years, recover the damage sustained in one night's entertainment.

tainment. The nobility truckled to him with the most abject complaisance, expressing the utmost ambition to marry his nieces and relations, though, like himself, sprang from the dregs of the people; and even prince John was treated by him with such indignity, that he appealed to his brother for redress. In a word, the civil and legatine powers vested in his person, had elevated him to such a degree of pride, insolence, and indiscretion, that he acted as if he had thought himself not only a real king, but even a despotic emperor.

Mat. Paris:
Gul. Neub.

Richard, though informed of these particulars from different correspondents, while he resided at Messina, was so bigotted to his own choice, that he would not depose this haughty viceroy; but dispatched Walter archbishop of Rouen, and William Marechal earl of Strigul, with positive orders to the chancellor, implying that nothing should be done in the administration without their advice, and that of the counsellors whom he had appointed before his departure: but, when they arrived, they durst not deliver their credentials; so that William proceeded in his usual career. Among other acts of arbitrary power, he divested Gerard de Camville of the sheriffdom of Lincolnshire, and commanded him to surrender the castle of which he was hereditary castellan. When he refused to comply with this order, the chancellor began his march with a body of troops to reduce it by force; but, before he could achieve the enterprize, he received a message from prince John, threatening to visit him at the head of an army, if he would not instantly desist from his undertaking; and this was followed by another piece of intelligence, which effectually damped his courage. He received information of the pope's death, in consequence of which his legatine power vanished, so that he found himself deprived of the best half of his authority;

The bishop
of Ely, in-
vests the
castle of
Lincoln,

A. C. 1191. and, perceiving that the noblemen in his army were well affected towards prince John, he the more willingly lent an ear to proposals of accommodation. This was accordingly effected, on condition that William should retain the castles and the administration, but in case the king should die without issue, they were to be delivered to John as the successor; and this article was ratified by the oaths of all the prelates and nobility.

Bened. Ab.
Compromises his dispute with prince John.

G. Neubr'g.
Bened. Ab.

His cruelty, insolence, and ingratitude, to Geoffry archbishop of York.

The cruel and arbitrary disposition of this upstart, appeared in nothing more flagrant than in his behaviour towards the king's natural brother Geoffry, in whose service he had lived, and to whom he was bound by an oath of homage and fealty. That prelate had appointed him his official in the archdeaconry of Rouen, even contrary to the inclination of the late king, who always regarded Longchamp as a perfidious miscreant. Geoffry had been for some time elect of York; but Baldwin of Canterbury claiming the prerogative of consecrating the archbishops of that see, and the other refusing to give up its independency, the suffragans were forbid to perform the ceremonies of consecration, and the temporalities were sequestered in the hands of the chancellor. When queen Eleanor parted with her son Richard in Sicily, the king desired her to solicit pope Celestine for the confirmation of Geoffry's election; and that pontiff had ordered the archbishop of Tours to perform the office of his consecration, immediately after which he received the pall with a bull of privilege, exempting the see of York from the jurisdiction of all legates, except those who should be sent occasionally into England a latere. Thus confirmed, Geoffry proceeded for Witsand, in order to embark for England; but when he reached the castle of Guisnes, he understood that the countess of Flanders had, at the desire of Longchamp, given orders to prevent

vent

vent his passage. As this restriction did not extend to his retinue, they were sent over in a Bologne ship; and he himself going on board of a small English vessel, landed at Dover, where he was immediately taken into custody by the chancellor's directions. He made shift, however, to escape from the party by which he had been arrested, and took refuge in the church of St. Martin, a privileged place belonging to the monks of Canterbury. Here he was invested by a body of Brabantins, who at length dragged him in his pontificals from the altar, and imprisoned him in the castle, after they had plundered his baggage and sent his horses to the chancellor.

The whole nation exclaimed against this unprovoked violence, offered to the person of an archbishop who was universally beloved. The bishop of Lincoln excommunicated all concerned in the outrage; a sentence which was afterwards confirmed by the rest of the prelates at Reading, where prince John, commonly stiled count of Mortaign, summoned a general assembly. He had likewise espoused the cause of Geoffry; and the bishops of London, Coventry, and Norwich, threatened the land with an interdict, in case of his being detained in prison: so that Longchamp thought proper to set him at liberty, and he repaired with the other prelates to Reading. Here Walter, archbishop of Rouen, read the king's letters, appointing him to superintend the election for filling up the see of Canterbury, and with his colleagues to assist William in the administration. As the chancellor had prevented the vacancy from being filled, he refused to admit him and his colleagues into his councils, in diametrical opposition to the king's pleasure; oppressed the people, and, in particular, treated the archbishop of York with such indignity; he proposed that Longchamp should be deposed from the

He is divested of his employments, and obliged to quit the kingdom in disgrace.

A. C. 1191. government, according to the tenour of the king's letters, which he produced; and William, then residing at Windsor, was summoned to meet them the next day at Lodbridge, between that place and Reading. William promised to meet them at the appointed rendezvous, and had actually proceeded two or three miles with an armed force, when his heart failing him, he took the road to London, and shut himself up in the Tower, the fortifications of which he himself had repaired: but being invested by the nobility and citizens before he could supply the place with a sufficient store of provisions, he endeavoured to engage prince John in his interest by dint of magnificent promises. That expedient miscarrying, he was forced to submit to the judgment of the prelates and nobility, who, after a full hearing, deprived him of his posts and castles, except those of Dover, Cambridge, and Hereford, which he possessed before the king's departure; and the places of chancellor and justiciary were supplied by the archbishop of Rouen, a prelate of uncommon abilities and untainted integrity. William, unwilling to part with the castles which he had usurped, retired to Dover, from whence he endeavoured to make his escape beyond sea, in woman's apparel; but, being detected by the populace, to whom he had rendered himself extremely odious, they treated him with great indignity, and, at last, confined him to a dark cellar. The archbishop of Rouen pitying his condition, sent an order to release him, with a licence to leave the kingdom; in consequence of which he crossed over to Normandy, where he was received as an excommunicated person, all divine service ceasing wheresoever he resided.

G. Neub.
Du. t. Coll.

He no sooner arrived on the continent, than he solicited pope Celestine to renew his legation, and complained in letters to his holiness and the king, that

that he had been deprived of the administration by the faction of John count de Mortagin, who had a design upon the kingdom. The pope, believing his remonstrances, appointed him legate of England, and ordered the bishops of the realm to excommunicate the count, and all that were concerned in the privation of Longchamp. Of these William sent over a list to Hugh bishop of Lincoln, together with the pope's mandates; which, however, no prelate would execute. On the contrary, the justiciaries seized all the rents of the see of Ely, in the king's name, as some sort of satisfaction for two years royal revenue which he had embezzled. Mean while he found means to purchase John's favours, and resolved to repair to England with his legatine dignity. He accordingly took shipping and landed at Dover, from whence he sent messengers to the queen-mother to notify his legation and arrival. A council was immediately assembled, and John discovered his partiality in such a manner as scandalized Eleanor, who reprimanded him publicly for his attachment to such a villain. It was judged proper, however, to take off the edge of this attachment with a subsidy of two thousand marks from the exchequer; then the prince viewed the matter in a different light; and it was unanimously decreed that an appeal should be made to the pope against the legation of Longchamp, who was ordered to quit the kingdom immediately as a disturber of the public peace. William, being informed of this determination, laid his own diocese under interdict, and returned in great confusion into Normandy, where he exerted all his endeavours with the court of Rome and the king of France to the prejudice of England.

Philip the French king, immediately after his return from Palestine, proposed a conference with William Fitzralph, seneschal of Normandy, and

A. C. 1191
He returns to England with a new legatine power; but is fain to retreat again.

Ben. Ab.
Angl. Sacq.
Hoveden.

John's intrigues with Philip, king of France.

A. C. 1107.

the prelates and nobility of that dukedom; a conference was accordingly held in the usual place, where he demanded his sister Adelais, with the castle of Gisors, and the counties of Eu and Aumale, which he pretended were ceded to him by the treaty of Messina. The Normans replied, that they had no orders on that subject, and therefore could not comply with his demand: he threatened to do himself justice by force of arms; and they made preparations for a vigorous defence. Baffled in this project, he tampered with John count de Morraign, whom he invited to a conference, offering to bestow upon him his sister Adelais in marriage, and to put him in possession of all Richard's dominions on the continent immediately after the solemnization of the nuptials. John was ripe for any design against Richard, who had declared Arthur his successor, not only in his treaty with Tancred, but in letters to Longchamp, who entered into a negotiation with William king of Scotland, in order to secure this succession. That prelate now changed his party, and employed all his address to corroborate the proposals of Philip, which John embraced without hesitation, and was on the point of crossing the sea in compliance with Philip's invitation; when his departure was prevented by the remonstrances of the queen-mother, together with the menaces of the justiciaries, who threatened to seize all his lands and castles should he presume to leave the kingdom. At the same time, all the prelates and nobility were summoned to London, where they renewed their oath of fealty to Richard; a circumstance that greatly damped the hopes which John had conceived. The French king, disappointed in this quarter, formed the design of invading Normandy; but his nobility would not join him in such an expedition, contrary to the oath they had taken. The pope had sent Octavian, bishop

of Ostia and Jordan, abbot of Fossa Nova, as his legates to compromise the difference between the archbishop of Rouen and William Longchamp; but the seneschal of Normandy would not allow them to enter the dutchy, which, during the pilgrimage of the king, was exempted from all legatine jurisdiction. Though Octavian, at the desire of Philip, excommunicated this officer and all his abettors, and laid the dominions under an interdict, Jordano refused to join in these censures, and for that reason was expelled from the territories of France; but his conduct was approved by the pope, who repealed the sentences, and refused to take any step to the prejudice of a prince who was so laudably employed at a distance from his own dominions, in fighting the battles of the Lord.

A. C. 1191.

A. C. 1102.
Eened. Abb.The affairs
of Palestine.

The factions of Guy de Luzignan and Conrade divided the Christians in such a manner, that no effectual service could be performed against the Saracens; and there was no other prospect of union, than that of Conrade's elevation to the throne of Jerusalem; but, as Guy could not be expected to resign his kingdom without an equivalent, Richard generously presented him with the crown of Cyprus, which was enjoyed by him and his descendants. This expedient removed all obstacles to an accommodation; and Conrade being perfectly well satisfied with his fortune, resolved to join the crusards without further delay, when he was stabbed in the streets of Tyre by two assassins, who for this purpose had insinuated themselves into his service. They were subjects of a petty Saracen prince, whose territories lay in the mountains of Phœnicia, and who was known by the name of the old Man of the Mountain. He was an artful prince, who knew very well how to turn the superstition of Mahomet to his own advantage. As he could not defend himself from the encroachments of his powerful neigh-

A. C. 1192. neighbours, by open force, he contrived an effectual method to revenge the injuries he should sustain. He maintained a band of enthusiasts, who implicitly obeyed his orders, though hedged with the most imminent danger, in full persuasion, that should they die in the execution, paradise would be their recompence. These he dispatched occasionally to murder those princes who had done him wrong: and they pursued their aim with incredible fortitude and perseverance; so that all the potentates of that part of Asia were afraid of giving umbrage to the lord of the mountain. One of his subjects being driven by stormy weather into the harbour of Tyre, was plundered and slain by order of Conrade. The Sheic, or old man, demanded satisfaction, and the blame was laid upon Reginald, lord of Sidon. This charge was examined, and found false by the Sheic, who sent another messenger for redress to Conrade, who not only refused to do justice, but was, with great difficulty, restrained from putting the messenger to death. In revenge for this outrage, the assassins were dispatched with instructions to murder the offender, and executed their orders with great deliberation. Being apprehended, they avowed the command of their lord, who afterwards sent a letter or manifesto to the European princes, explaining and justifying his conduct, and clearing Richard from the imputation of being concerned in this murder, which had been fixed upon his character by his enemies. Conrade was succeeded in the throne by Henry, count of Champagne, who married his widow, and marched to the assistance of Richard, who had just reduced the strong fortrefs of Darum, in the plains of Palestine. Thus reinforced, he began his march to Jerusalem, which he resolved to besiege; but, when they approached the city, the siege was judged impracticable, from the difficulty of

Conrade,
king of
Jerusalem,
assassinated.

Vineauf.
Neubrig.
Rymer's
Fœdera.

of receiving supplies of provision; and the duke of Burgundy retreated with the French troops to Tyre, from whence he proposed to embark for Europe. The English troops being diminished by continual fatigues and repeated engagements, all hope of making new conquests vanished; and Richard having received divers letters from the regency, soliciting his immediate return to prevent the disorders that threatened his kingdom, he resolved to take his leave of Palestine, in which he had enacted miracles of valour, to the terror and admiration of the infidels. Saladine still commanded a vast army among the mountains, ready to fall upon the maritime towns as soon as the king of England should quit the country; and accordingly Richard, on his arrival at Acon, understood that the town of Joppa was taken, and the castle reduced to extremity. He no sooner received this intelligence, than he ordered his forces to march thither by land, while he himself with a handful of troops was transported by sea, and compelled the Saracens to raise the siege, by the terror of his name, and a series of the most daring exploits, in which he exposed his person to the utmost danger. As he could not, however, remain in Palestine, with any regard to his own interest, or, indeed, with any prospect of accomplishing the great aim of the expedition, he agreed upon a truce for three years with Saladine, on condition that Ascalon should be demolished; that the Christians should fortify Joppa, and inhabit all the places on the sea-coast, while the Saracens should remain in possession of the hilly country.

These stipulations being ratified, and the affairs of Palestine settled in the best manner the circumstance of the times would permit, Richard returned to Acon, where he embarked for Europe. Not caring to pass through France, or the territories of Tholouse, he directed his course to Ragusa, from whence

A. C. 1192.

Victories of Richard, who concludes a truce with Saladine.

Duet. Coll.

He returns to Europe, and is imprisoned by Leopold, duke of Austria.

A. C. 1192. from whence he determined to travel incognito thro' Germany; but he was discovered in a village near Vienna, by Leopold duke of Austria, who, glad of this opportunity to revenge an affront which he had sustained from Richard at Acon, ordered him to be arrested and loaded with shackles, to the disgrace of honour and humanity. His avarice was, in all probability, as much concerned as his revenge in this ungenerous insult; for he expected a share of the ransom, and even stipulated for the sum of fifty thousand marks, when he delivered him to the emperor Henry VI. who received the prize in a transport of joy, though the two nations were at peace with one another, and he could not find the slightest pretence for detaining a prince whose person ought to have been held sacred, considering the service he had done to the christian cause in Palestine. Henry looked upon Richard with an evil eye, since his treaty and alliance with Tancred king of Sicily, to whose dominions the emperor laid claim, in right of his wife Constance; and here his revenge coincided with his interest; for he had already grasped an immense ransom in idea: and with regard to the injustice and disgrace, the practice of the times kept him in countenance.

G. Neub.
Duetto Col.

Prince John
engages in a
treaty with
the French
king against
his own
brother.

Philip of France being informed of Richard's captivity, renewed all his offers to John, count of Mortaigne; and sent ambassadors to Canute V. king of Denmark, to demand his sister Ingeburga in marriage, desiring no other portion with that princess, than an assignment of Canute's claim to England, and the assistance of an armament in his endeavours to conquer that kingdom. The proposal was accepted, and the lady married at Amiens to Philip, who repudiated her the very next day, and a formal divorce was afterwards obtained on pretence of consanguinity between this princess and Philip's former queen. This affront, in all probability,

bility, detached the Danes from the interest of the French king, who derived no assistance from that quarter; though prince John embarked in his measures without hesitation, and crossed the sea in order to confer more intimately with his ally. The seneschal and barons of the dutchy, having no suspicion of his designs, invited him to a conference at Anjou, to consult about his brother's ransom, and the defence of the dominions threatened by the French monarch; but he gave them to understand, that he would not concur in any measures against Philip, unless they would swear fealty to him as their sovereign; and this proposal they absolutely rejected. He forthwith engaged in a treaty with the king of France, who agreed to give him his sister Adalais in marriage, with the county of Artois, which had lately devolved to France at the death of the count of Flanders; and John, in return, ceded to him all Normandy north of the Seine, except Rouen and several other places, and did homage for all his brother's foreign dominions. This contract being ratified, he left his ally to invade Normandy while he returned to England, where he hoped to raise a strong faction in his favour.

A. C. 1193.

P. Daniel.
Rymer.
Hoveden.

Philip in-
vades Nor-
mandy.

Philip having found his nobility so averse to this expedition, when it was last proposed, had recourse to a low artifice, by which he persuaded them to assist him in the execution of his scheme. He affected to be afraid of his person, raised a company of life-guards armed with brazen maces, and would not allow any stranger to appear in his presence; having excited the wonder and curiosity of his subjects by this strange alteration in his demeanour, he called an assembly of his peers at Paris, and expressed his apprehension of being assassinated by the emissaries of Richard, who he affirmed was the projector of Conrade's death; and, not contented with that

A. C. 1193. that murder, had hired assassins in the east to dispatch him in the midst of his court at Paris: The wiser part of the assembly doubted the truth of the imputation, and advised that no hostilities should be committed against the dominions of the king of England, until that prince should return, as he still wore the badge of the crusade; and an invasion of his territories in his absence would not only scandalize all christian powers, but also subject the invaders to the pope's censure. This opinion was over-ruled by the majority of the council; and Philip entered Normandy at the head of a numerous army. As he and John carried on an intelligence with some barons of the country, he made himself master of Gisors and several strong places, without opposition; the governors not only betrayed their trust, but joined the enemy, who reduced the counties of Eu and Aumale by treachery, and advancing to Rouen, summoned the inhabitants to surrender on pain of being put to the sword. The citizens, encouraged by the presence of Robert earl of Leicester, just returned from Palestine, where he had signalized his valour in a very extraordinary manner, despised the threats of Philip, and obliged him to raise the siege, after he had been repulsed by various assaults. He had met with indifferent success in a negotiation with the emperor, whom he offered to bribe with a large sum of money, if he would deliver his vassal Richard into his hands; but this scandalous contract was opposed by the princes of the empire. The pope threatened to excommunicate Philip, and lay his kingdom under an interdict, if he would not immediately withdraw his troops from Normandy; and John had not succeeded according to his expectation in England. These concurring reasons induced the French king to hearken to the proposals for a truce, which he granted, on condition
that

that he should receive twenty thousand marks at different payments, to commence after Richard's release; and, in the mean time, be put in possession of certain castles by way of security.

A. C. 1195.

Rymer.
Hoveden.

John had carried over to England a great number of foreigners, and expected a further reinforcement of French and Flemings: at his landing he seized the castles of Windsor and Wallingford; and, pretending his brother was dead, required Walter archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciaries, to take the oath of allegiance, and proceed to his coronation. The regency giving no credit to his assertion, he solicited the nobility for their assistance, fortified his castles, and ravaged the demesnes of his brother. The justiciaries hearing his auxiliaries were ready to embark at Witsand, ordered bodies of troops to march down to the sea-side, and secured the ports in such a manner, that the mercenaries durst not venture to attempt a descent. They raised another army, with which they besieged and took Windsor. A third body was assembled in the North by Geoffry archbishop of York; the castle of Tikehill was invested by Hugh bishop of Durham; and John, finding himself unable to cope with the power and authority of the regents, was fain to purchase a truce by giving up the castles of Pec and Wallingford. During this cessation John withdrew into France, and Hubert Walter bishop of Salisbury arriving in England, with letters of recommendation from the king, was, by the unanimous suffrages of the bishops and monks, elected archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate was left guardian of the kingdom in the absence of the archbishop of Rouen, who accompanied the queen-mother to Germany in order to pay the king's ransom.

John raises
an insurrection
in Eng-
land.

Chr. Gerv.

Richard had been cruelly treated at his detention by a brutal prince devoid of honour and hu-

Tax and
contribution
for the ran-
som of Ri-
chard;

A. C. 1193. manity, and by him delivered into the hands of the emperor, who was a very proper patron to countenance such barbarity and baseness. As the captive prince did not know to what extremities he might be reduced, and what condescensions he might be obliged to make, he wrote to the archbishop of Rouen, to obey no orders that should come from him, if they seemed contrary to his honour and the good of the nation. At last, by the mediation of the princes of the empire, his ransom was fixed in the diet of Worms, at one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver; and it was determined that he should be set at liberty, on paying two-thirds of that sum, and giving hostages for the remainder. Hubert, lately established in the see of Canterbury, had attended the king in Palestine, and hearing of his disaster, visited him in his captivity; by this prelate he sent a commission to raise money for his ransom, and find hostages for the security of the last payment. Every military tenant was, by the feudal law, and the nature of his tenure, obliged to give aid for the ransom of his lord from captivity. This foccage was accordingly raised in England, together with a talliage or hydage upon cities, boroughs, and manors, belonging to the crown, or in the king's hands, by escheat. These taxes were assessed by the itinerant justices; but, besides these, great sums were raised from the voluntary contributions of the people zealous for their king's release. The parochial clergy granted one tenth of their tythes; the bishops, abbots, and nobility, freely parted with a fourth of their income; the Cestertians gave up all their revenue of wool for one year; the parishes melted down their sacred chalices; and the cathedrals and monasteries sold their plate and treasures, to the amount of thirty thousand marks, on a promise of being reimbursed after the king's return. The

The king of France was very much mortified when he heard of the agreement touching the ransom of Richard; and tampered with the emperor to renounce the treaty. He proposed an interview at Vaucoleurs, where he offered to marry the daughter of Henry his uncle, the count Palatine, and to gratify him with a sum equal to the ransom, if he would find some pretext for detaining Richard even but another year. Henry was very well inclined to this expedient, which, though perfidious to the last degree, flattered his avarice, to which he sacrificed every other consideration: but he was afraid of incurring the resentment of the princes by whom Richard was beloved, and continued fluctuating between different motives equally fordid, until the day fixed for the deliverance of Richard. This was performed with great ceremony at Mentz, in presence of the German nobility; and the archbishop of Rouen, with the other hostages, were produced when the king was set at liberty. Richard, however, had no sooner taken the road to Cologn and Antwerp, than the emperor, who could not bear the prospect of losing the prize which Philip offered for his further detention, resolved to take him again into custody, and sent immediate orders for stopping him at the port of Swyne, where he intended to embark for England. Richard, apprized of the negotiation between Philip and Henry, had sent for Ships from England, which he found waiting for him at the mouth of the Scheld; but the wind proving contrary, he would, in all probability, have been taken, had not a friend at the emperor's court sent him advice of his danger. He, upon this notice, went hastily on board, and put to sea immediately; and a favourable gale springing up, he arrived in safety at Sandwich. The emperor, chagrined at his disappointment, exhausted his resentment upon the hostages, who

A. C. 1193.
Who is set
at liberty,
and returns
to England.

A. C. 1194.

A. C. 1194. were confined and treated with uncommon rigour; and the king of France was so enraged at Richard's escape, that he broke the truce, and even in the middle of winter fell upon Normandy, where he reduced Evreux and several castles of that neighbourhood.

Duet. Coll.
G. Neubrig.
Hoveden.

Reduces the
castle of his
brother
John.

Richard was received by the Londoners with great rejoicings, and such ostentation of wealth, as amazed the German noblemen who accompanied him to England so much, that one of the number said he would have paid much dearer for his ransom had the emperor known the affluence of his subjects. John, immediately before his brother's arrival, had sent over from Normandy his chaplain Adam de S. Edmund, with orders to his adherents to fortify his castles, and attack the enemy. This ambassador was so vain of his commission, that he talked openly of the intimate correspondence between his master and the king of France; so that, being apprehended, his papers discovered all the designs of prince John and his confederates. A council being immediately assembled, orders were given by the justiciaries to besiege his castles, disseize him of all his possessions; and the bishops excommunicated him and all his adherents. His fortresses being scattered over all parts of the kingdom, the noblemen, and even the bishops, levied forces in their different districts to besiege these haunts of rebellion. Marlborough, Lancaster, and St. Michael's mount, were soon reduced; but Nottingham and Tikehill held out till the arrival of the king, who approved of the steps which had been taken, and, after having reposed himself three days at London, appeared in person before them, and both castles surrendered at discretion.

Hoveden.

Richard is
crowned at
Winchester.

Immediately after the reduction of these forts, Richard convoked a general council at Nottingham, where he desired judgment against John count of

Mortaign

Mortaign and Hugh Novant bishop of Coventry, one of his abettors. The first forfeited all his possessions, and a process was instituted against the other, both as bishop and high-sheriff of the county. In this council a tax, called Hidage, was laid upon every ploughland throughout England; and a day fixed for the second coronation of the king at Winchester. This was performed on pretence of wiping out the stain of captivity; but the real design was to furnish a handle for new-modelling the kingdom, resuming the grants, and annulling the sales which had been made before the king's departure. He alledged that the purchasers had already profit enough by their bargains, which were detrimental to the crown; and that subjects ought never to make an advantage of their king's necessities. No body chose to dispute the justice of this resumption. Hugh bishop of Durham resigned the earldom of Northumberland; Godfrey bishop of Winton gave up the sheriffalty of Hampshire, the castle of Winchester, and the manors he had purchased before the expedition to Jerusalem; and all the other grantees and purchasers followed their example. William king of Scotland chose this unseasonable juncture to solicit a grant of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, on pretence that these counties had been enjoyed by his ancestors; and his petition being refused, he offered fifteen hundred marks for the county of Northumberland alone. The king would have embraced the proposal, with a reservation of the castles; but William would not receive it on these terms, and went away dissatisfied, though not before he had obtained a charter entitling him to a certain sum to defray his expences in coming to attend the great council of the kingdom.

A. C. 1194.

Hoveden, 7
Duet. Col.

G. Neutrig;

A. C. 1194.
Repairs to
Normandy.

Is reconciled
to his bro-
ther John.

Richard having received considerable sums from York and other cities, by way of free gift and congratulation on his return, and persuaded the Cester-tians to part with another shearing, resolved to visit his foreign dominions, and oppose the progress of the French king, who had invaded his territories in concert with prince John and his rebellious subjects. He accordingly embarked at Portsmouth with a strong body of forces in a fleet of one hundred ships, and landing at Barfleur, proceeded to his palace of Bures, near Bayeux. Next morning his brother John appeared in his presence, and throwing himself at his feet, implored his majesty's pardon, which was granted at the intercession of the queen-mother; though no part of his estate was restored till the succeeding year, when he obtained the restitution of the counties of Mortaign and Gloucester, with the honour of Eye, and an annuity of eight thousand livres, in lieu of his other possessions. The king having appointed the rendezvous of his troops at L'Aigle, went thither and advanced immediately to the relief of Ver-neuil, which was besieged by Philip, to whom he resolved to give battle. But that prince declined an engagement, and retired in the night with precipitation. The breaches were immediately repaired: he directed his march to Montmirail, which the Angevins had already taken and demolished: from thence he repaired to Tours, where he received a free gift of two thousand marks from the citizens; and, marching forward to Loches, took the place by assault. The king of France proposed a conference, and the place was fixed; but, while the English commissioners waited for the French deputies, Philip took the castle of Fontaines near Rouen, and in his retreat surprised the earl of Leicester in the neighbourhood of Gournay: he afterwards burned the town of Evreux, and then

then made a motion to Fretteval. In this place Richard resolved to attack him, and advanced as far as Vendome; but, the French king not daring to stand the shock, retired in great confusion; so that he was overtaken and routed with great slaughter by Richard, and narrowly escaped with his life. All his baggage and treasure, his seal and portable chapel were taken, with the contracts signed by the rebellious barons who had obliged themselves to stand by Philip and John against their own sovereign.

A. C. 1194.
Routs the
French near
Fretteval.

Duet. Col.
Hoveden.

Immediately after this victory, the king marched with incredible expedition into Guienne, against the count of Engoulesme and Geoffry de Rancon lord of Pons, who had raised an insurrection in favour of Philip. In sixteen days he reduced all their towns and castles, and the number of his prisoners amounted to three hundred knights, and forty thousand soldiers: so that the revolted were obliged to submit; and Philip sued for a truce of three years; but as Richard would not agree to such a long cessation, it was concluded for a shorter term, to be in force from the latter end of July to the feast of All-saints in the following year. The king of England employed this interval in regulating his revenue, which, he had reason to believe, was mismanaged and embezzled in his absence. The itinerant justices were directed to make a minute scrutiny into the demesnes of the crown, the lands of wards, escheats, and forfeitures, as also into the wealth of the Jews, who were obliged, on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment, to deliver true inventories of their estates; and all their pawns, bonds, and securities were lodged in a public office, in order to prevent their frauds and exorbitant usury. The same scrutiny was carried on in his foreign dominions. The officers of his revenue in Anjou and Maine were severely fined

Richard sets
on foot an
enquiry into
the misman-
agement of
his revenue.

G. Newbig.

A. C. 1194: for their mismanagement and corruption. William bishop of Ely was deprived of his office of chancellor, and a new great-seal being made, all charters were renewed, and the fees produced a considerable sum of money. Though the pope had lent a deaf ear to the remonstrances which were made by the prelates and nobility against the legatine power of Longchamp; his holiness no sooner understood that he was in disgrace with the king, than he superseded his commission, and created Hubert archbishop of Canterbury his legate over all the realm, notwithstanding the exemption which the late pope had granted to the church of York.

Permits the
exercise of
tournaments,

Death of
Leopold
duke of
Austria.

Richard, on the very day of his deliverance at Mentz, had dispatched Salt de Bruel with letters to Henry king of Jerusalem, importing, that he would certainly return to the Holy-Land before the expiration of the truce with Saladine; and as the war was chiefly carried on in that country with cavalry, he indulged his subjects with the practice of tournaments, which had been for some time forbidden in England; because he foresaw that this exercise would qualify them for the service of the campaign. These diversions had been prohibited in England and some other countries, on account of the mischiefs which they had produced; for, exclusive of accidents, which often befel the combatants, individuals, who entertained private animosity against each other, took this opportunity of deciding the contention, and fought to extremity, because no punishment was adjudged against him who slew his antagonist in the tournament; for the law supposed that such death was the effect of accident. It was in an exercise of this kind that Leopold duke of Austria sustained a fall, in which his foot was crushed to pieces, a gangrene ensued, and he suffered amputation without success. Despairing of recovery, he desired he might be

be absolved of the sentence of excommunication which the pope had fulminated against him, for his cruelty and injustice to the king of England. Before he could obtain this favour, he was obliged to release Richard of all conventions made during his captivity; he ordered the money which he had received for his ransom, to be restored, and the English hostages to be set at liberty. His successor was very unwilling to execute these bequests, and allowed his father's corpse to lie a whole week unburied, before he would release the hostages: but the clergy refusing to perform the funeral rites until these articles should be fulfilled, he dismissed them at last, and made them a tender of four thousand marks to be restored to Richard; but they refused to charge themselves with such a considerable sum of money, on account of the length and dangers of the journey; the king however was discharged from paying the remainder of his ransom, amounting to twenty thousand marks.

A. C. 1194.

Chr. Gerv.
Brompton.
Rymer.
A. C. 1195.

During Richard's captivity, the emperor had offered to him the kingdom of Provence, and the countries about the Rhone, which had formerly been imperial fiefs, provided he would take the trouble to conquer them from France. Since that period, Henry had marched into Italy, and conquered Apuglia, Calabria, and Sicily, of which he was crowned king, in right of his wife Constance. Upon his return from this fortunate expedition, he formed a plan for re-uniting to his sway all the kingdoms and provinces which formerly held of the western empire; and considering Richard as a necessary ally towards the execution of this project, he sent an embassy with the present of a golden crown to that prince, and the proposal of an offensive and defensive league against Philip, who had provoked the king of England by divers infractions of the truce, and even hired fifteen

Richard is amused by Philip, and ravages his territories in revenge.

A. C. 1195. Saracens to take away his life. Richard had found very little benefit from the pensions he had paid to some German princes for their assistance against France, and was dubious of Henry's sincerity: but that he might not, on bare suspicion, avoid an advantageous alliance, he sent the bishop of Ely to sound his real sentiments, and adjust the particulars of the treaty. Philip discovering these transactions, endeavoured to intercept the bishop in his passage; but failing in the attempt, he declared that this correspondence was a breach of the truce, which he therefore renounced; and made several incursions in Normandy, where he demolished divers castles, of which he had made himself master by treachery in the beginning of the war. Vaudreuil was on the point of undergoing the same fate, when Richard advanced with an army; and Philip, afraid of contending with him in the field, had recourse as usual to a mean stratagem: he amused the king of England with a conference, while his engineers were privately employed in undermining the fortifications, which tumbled down all at once with a hideous crash. Richard, hearing the noise, was transported with indignation; he started up with fury in his aspect, and putting himself at the head of his troops, attacked the French so suddenly, that they had scarcely time to retreat beyond the Seine. Philip was almost drowned in passing a bridge which broke down with the weight of him and his attendants; and the king of England advancing into France, laid waste the country with fire and sword.

Howden,
Neuburg.

Peace con-
cluded be-
tween
France and
England.

His progress was a little interrupted by the arrival of ambassadors from the king of Castile, who having been routed, and afterwards besieged in Toledo by a vast army of Moors, solicited the assistance of the christian powers. Another negotiation was begun between France and England,

and

and the plan of a treaty digested; but as Richard did not know the emperor's real sentiments, he postponed the conclusion of the peace, and, in the mean time, delivered up the princess Adelais, who was immediately married to the count of Ponthieu. The two kings agreed to a conference in the neighbourhood of Verneuil; but Philip, instead of repairing to the place appointed, sent the archbishop of Rheims to amuse Richard, while the French troops took this opportunity of his being at a distance, to ravage part of Normandy, and burn the town of Dieppe, with all the ships in the harbour. The war was instantly renewed. Richard's Brabantins took the count of Auvergne, and surpris'd Yffodun. Philip marched thither to besiege the place; the king of England advanced to relieve it; and terms of accommodation were again propos'd. By this time the bishop of Ely had returned from the court of the emperor, whom he found wavering and irresolute, though he exhorted Richard to continue the war, and offer'd to remit seventeen thousand marks of the ransom that still remained unpaid. The king of England chose to pay the money, rather than act as the instrument of such a fickle uncertain ally. Though he had by a sudden march hemmed in Philip so as that he could not retreat without imminent danger, he listened to the proposals of that monarch, with whom he held a conference between Yffodun and Charost: there the articles of peace were adjust'd, and the treaty afterwards ratified at Louviers in a numerous assembly, compos'd of the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms. In consequence of this convention, the king of France retained Gisors, the Vexin Normand, with several other places; and restor'd to Richard the counties of Aumale and Eu, with some castles which had been wrested from him during his captivity. The limits of
France

A. C. 1195. France and Normandy were marked by a line drawn from the Eure to the Seine. The king of England relinquished his claim to Auvergne; the prisoners on both sides were released; and a penalty of fifteen thousand marks awarded against that prince who should first infringe the articles of the treaty.

Rymer;
Hoveden.
Gul. Neub.

The arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
exercises his
legatine
power in the
diocesis of
York.

During these transactions, the abbot of Caen had found means to persuade the king, that great part of the revenue was embezzled by the officers of the crown: and that it might, by good oeconomy, be doubled without grievance to the subject. He was accordingly sent over to England with a commission, empowering him to inspect the accounts of all concerned in the revenue; and orders were issued, for all sheriffs and officers to come at an appointed time with their accounts to London: but he died before the day, to the unspeakable satisfaction of those collectors; nor was his death much lamented by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, who upon the abbot's arrival, had desired to resign his post, on account of his age and infirmities: and, at the death of that prelate, offered to retain his office of guardian of the realm. In order to efface the impressions which the abbot's suggestions had made upon Richard, he gave that prince to understand, that he had, in the two last years, remitted to him eleven hundred thousand marks out of England; and the king, struck with the greatness of the sum, was glad to leave the patrimony of the crown to the management of such a good oeconomist. Hubert indeed filled all his posts with dignity and prudence; though he took advantage of Geoffry's absence to exercise his legatine power in the province of York, which was now deprived of its exemption by pope Celestine, who was incensed at Geoffry for the little regard he expressed for the see of Rome. That prelate discountenanced all appeals to his holiness, slighted the papal decrees, and

and adhered to the old laws and customs of the realm. He had imprisoned and deprived several ecclesiastics, who made appeals, and obtained the pope's decrees in their favour. A dispute subsisting between him and his chapter, about the right of electing a dean, he had been summoned to appear at Rome, and answer some articles exhibited against him; and, neglecting this citation, was in disgrace: so that Hubert could not have found a more favourable juncture to exercise his legatine power over Geoffry's province.

A. C. 1195.

Hoveden.

A. C. 1196.

Account of
William
Longbeard,

Howsoever the archbishop of Canterbury might have usurped in this particular, he certainly exerted himself with great diligence and justice in the administration of the government. He totally suppressed the dangerous gangs of robbers, who sheltered themselves in the large forests that overspread the kingdom, and infested the whole country; but he found greater difficulties in quelling the tumults that arose between the rich and poor citizens of London. The populace was headed by a chief, called William Longbeard, who had been bred to the law; but being an idle profligate vagabond, he renounced his profession, accused his elder brother of treason, because he refused to supply his extravagance; and having wriggled himself into the magistracy of London, affected to espouse the cause of the poor with uncommon zeal and seeming enthusiasm. He stiled himself their saviour; and even went over to Normandy, where he represented to the king, that the poorer sort of citizens were oppressed by an unequal assessment of the taxes, and obtained a mitigation. By these means he acquired a dangerous degree of popularity, and excited frequent tumults against the wealthy Londoners, who were besieged in their houses, and even assaulted in churches. A proclamation was issued out against these disturbances; but, by this time,

A. C. 1196. time, above fifty thousand people had engaged in an association to defend and obey William, who murdered his fellow-citizens without remorse; and provided a great quantity of iron tools to force open the doors of their warehouses. Hubert, afraid of employing the civil power at once against such a powerful conspiracy, convened a common-hall, and in a speech to the citizens, after having complained of the disorders daily committed within their precincts, and represented the dangerous consequences of such licence and irregularity, persuaded them to give hostages, as a proof of their peaceable intention, which would convince the king of the falshood and malice of the reports he had heard to their prejudice. He no sooner gained this point, than he summoned William to appear before the council, and answer to an accusation exhibited against him for murder and sedition; but he came with such a formidable train, that the trial was postponed. Hubert afterwards sent two citizens, with a guard, to apprehend this desperado, who slew one of them, and fought his way with an halbert to the church of St. Mary le Bow, attended by his concubine, and some of his accomplices, who had, by this time, murdered the other citizen. There he was supplied with arms and provisions, and expected to be joined by the populace; but these were intimidated on account of the hostages they had given, as well as by a numerous body of well armed forces, by which the church was immediately invested. William still refusing to submit to a legal trial, Hubert ordered the soldiers to force the body of the church; so that he and his men were obliged to retire into the steeple, from whence he was driven by a smoke of wet straw kindled for the purpose. He was then taken, tried, convicted, and, being drawn at a horse's tail through the streets of London, was hung in chains, with nine
of

of his accomplices. The lower class of people revered him as a martyr, and began to believe reports of his having wrought miracles. The gibbet was stolen, as rivalling the cross in sanctity. The turf on which it stood was carried away, and kept as a preservative from sickness and misfortune; and infinite crowds of people resorted to the place, either from curiosity or devotion. In a word, this ruffian was in a fair way of being deemed as great a saint as Becket, when the archbishop set a guard upon the spot to keep off the multitude; and practised some wholesome severities, which put an end to this senseless superstition.

Neubrig;
Mat. Paris;
Chr. Gerv.

Hubert having quieted these disturbances, held a conference at York with William king of Scotland, in order to settle a marriage-contract which had been proposed between that king's eldest daughter Margaret, and Otho, younger son of Henry the Lion, whom, in consequence of this match, William intended to declare his successor. Earl Patric and the Scottish nobility opposed this settlement, and declared for the succession of Edward earl of Huntingdon; alledging, that the crown of Scotland never descended to a daughter, when the king had a brother alive. William however was resolved upon the match, and now stipulated with the archbishop, that Otho should immediately receive with his daughter the province of Lothian, and be put in possession of the counties of Northumberland and Carlisle by the king of England. But this treaty was broke off by the pregnancy of William's queen, who brought forth a son to inherit his dominions; and Richard, in order to console Otho for his disappointment, bestowed upon him the county of Poitiers, by way of acknowledgment of the services he had done him during his captivity. About this period the archbishop marched against Rees, prince of South Wales, who had

Hubert
marches
into Wales.

Hoveden.

A.C. 1196. burned Caermarthen, reduced several castles; and defeated Roger Mortimer and Hugh de Say, in a pitched battle. Hubert took the field in person at the head of a great army; but the Welch prince would not hazard a battle, so that he could do nothing effectual, but besieged the castle of Gwenwynwyn, which at last surrendered upon an honourable capitulation; though Hubert no sooner retired, than the Welch retook it on the same terms. Rees dying in the course of the succeeding year, a quarrel arose among his sons about the succession, and involved the whole country in the miseries of a civil war, till Hubert finding an opportunity to seize Griffith the eldest, effected an accommodation to the satisfaction of all parties.

Gerv. Col.

Philip of France renews hostilities in Normandy.

Mean while Brittany became a scene of confusion. Constance had, after the death of Geoffry, married Ralph Blundeville earl of Chester, who had under the late king administered the affairs of that dutchy. He lived at variance with the princefs; and his government was so odious to the Bretons, that they drove him out of the country, and he had retired to his estate in Normandy. The king, desirous of effecting a reconciliation between him and Constance, sent for this princefs, who was surpris'd on the road by her husband, and confin'd in his castle of S. James de Bevron. Richard claimed the guardianship of her son Arthur, now in the ninth year of his age; and certainly had the best title to that office, both as his uncle, and duke of Normandy, of which the dutchy of Brittany was a fief. But Constance, desirous of reserving to herself the charge of his education, recommended him to the protection of some lords who were in the French interest, who convey'd the young prince to S. Paul de Leon, in the Lower Brittany, and sollicit'd Philip's assistance. Against those noblemen Richard detach'd Marcaddeç with his Brabantins,

tins, and Stephen de Turnham, at the head of a body of forces raised in Poitou, Anjou, and Le-maine, who were worsted in a battle fought near Carhaes, in the diocese of Cornouaille. Philip took this opportunity of Richard's being unfurnished of troops, to renew hostilities; and as the abbots of St. Denis, Marmoutier, and Cluny, with the prior of La Charité, had been his sureties for observing the peace, he was no sooner guilty of this infraction, than Richard seized the lands belonging to those convents in England, until they should pay the penalty of fifteen thousand marks which they had forfeited. The French king invading Normandy at this juncture, met with very little opposition, and took Aumale, with several other places, while Richard was obliged to act on the defensive, at the head of a small body, till towards the latter end of the campaign, when his affairs assumed a more favourable aspect. The Bretons were fain to submit and give hostages for their fidelity: Constance being enlarged, was entrusted with the guardianship of her son, after she had sworn to do nothing without the advice of the king of England; and the long quarrel between Richard and Raimund count of Tholouse, was now happily terminated by his marriage with Jane queen dowager of Sicily.

A. G. 1196.

Hoveden

Rob. de Monte,

The peace of Guienne being thus secured, the king resolved to strengthen the frontiers of Normandy, and gave orders for erecting a fortress at Andely, through which the French had always found an easy entrance in their incursions. The ground belonged to the see of Rouen, and Richard offered to make reasonable satisfaction to the archbishop; but that prelate, inflexibly devoted to the rights of the church, even when they clashed with the public good, rejected the equivalent, appealed to the pope, and laid all Normandy under an interdict,

A. C. 1197. dict. Richard sent agents to Rome to justify his conduct; and the cause being heard, his holiness decreed that Andely should be conveyed to the king for lands of an equal value. In conformity with this decision, he granted to the see of Rouen, three towns and other possessions, to the amount of five hundred livres a year more than the revenue of Andely, the fortifications of which were completed; and this, together with the famous Chateau Gaillard erected at the same time, served on that side as the bulwark of Normandy. As a dreadful dearth, and its attendant pestilence, prevailed over all the western parts of Europe, it was impracticable to bring great armies into the field; consequently the war was maintained in slight incursions. Richard making an irruption into Picardy, took the town of St. Valery on the Somme, destroyed the castle, seized all the ships in the harbour, and among these, finding five English corn vessels, caused the masters to be hanged as traitors, for supplying the enemy with provision. The castle of Melly in Beauvoisis, was invested by John count of Mortaign, and Marcaddee, general of the Brabantins; and being taken, was demolished. Peter de Dreux bishop of Beauvais, and first cousin to the French king, advancing with a body of troops to its relief, fell into an ambush, was routed and taken prisoner. Richard ordered this insolent prelate to be closely confined at Rouen, and even fettered him as a mark of disgrace: and two of his clergy petitioning that he might be used with less severity, the king told them, that he treated the bishop in this manner, by way of retaliation for the repeated injuries he had done him in the East, and during his captivity; observing that, in consequence of Peter's admonitions to the emperor, he himself had been loaded with as many chains as an horse could carry. The bishop solicited the pope to intercede with

The bishop of Beauvais taken prisoner; and put in chains by Richard.

with Richard in his behalf; but that pontiff declined the office, because he had been taken in arms like a soldier; and the king refused to release him until he should pay ten thousand marks for his ransom.

As Philip had taken all occasions to retrench the privileges and crush the exorbitant power of the nobility, a spirit of discontent had diffused itself through some of the first families in France, and Richard did not fail to take the advantage of this dissatisfaction. Among these malcontents, the most powerful was Baldwin count of Flanders and Hainault, a third part of whose territories had been seized by Philip, at the death of his predecessor. With him the king of England engaged in an offensive and defensive league against France, that should subsist for ever, and be obligatory on their descendants. Richard immediately supplied the count with a sum of money, that enabled him to raise a strong body of forces, with which he reduced a number of fortresses, and at last invested Arras. Philip advancing to the relief of the place, the count raised the siege, and retired before him, until the French king had penetrated a great way into the country, when he found that Baldwin had very artfully sent detachments to break down the bridges, open the sluices, and take possession of the passes in his rear; so that he could neither be supplied with provision, nor retreat without the most imminent danger. In this emergency he proposed terms of accommodation to the count, reminding him of his duty as a vassal of France, recapitulated the loyalty and services of his ancestors, and promised to restore all he had taken from Flanders, if he would renounce his alliance with the king of England, the inveterate enemy of the French monarchy. Baldwin, thus cajoled, allowed him to retreat unmolested; but, being afraid of breaking with Richard,

A. C. 1197.

Hoveden,
G. Neub,A truce for
one year
concluded
between
France and
England.

A. C. 1197. to whom he had given hostages for the performance of articles, he acted the part of mediator, and persuaded the king of England to agree to a conference, at a place between Gaillon and Andely, where, though the two monarchs, mutually exasperated against each other, would not consent to a perfect reconciliation, the prelates and nobility, who bore the burthen of the war, interposed their authority so effectually, that a truce for one year was concluded, and the prisoners on both sides were released, for a reasonable ransom.

Chr. Gerv.

Geoffry Fitz-piers created chief justiciary of England.

By this time Richard perceived how little he could depend upon the count of Flanders; and his conduct, on this occasion, was not so much influenced by Baldwin's persuasions, as by the remonstrances of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had sent for to the continent, to consult about the affairs of England. At that prelate's return, he issued a proclamation, fixing the standard of the currency; and appointing one set of weights and measures to be used all over the kingdom, under severe penalties; at the same time, certain regulations were made for the prevention of frauds in the woollen manufacture. Then he made a progress to the marches of Wales, changing the governors of the frontier castles; thence repairing to Coventry, he turned the secular canons out of the priory, and restored the monks, who had been expelled by Hugh Nonant bishop of that diocese. While he thus exercised legatine power, pope Celestine died, and his successor Innocent III. would never renew his commission. This pontiff was prejudiced against the archbishop, by the insinuations of the monks of Christ-church, who suspecting Hubert of a design against them similar to that of his predecessor Baldwin, represented him as an enemy to the papal authority. Innocent, alarmed at their suggestions, ordered them to demolish a chapel

chapel he had finished at Lambeth, and resign the post of chief justiciary, which by the canons was incompatible with the ecclesiastical character. In this office he was succeeded by Geoffry Fitz-piers, who had been justice of the king's court, and inherited the barony of William de Mandeville, late earl of Essex. Under this new justiciary's administration, the assize of the forest was published, re-establishing the severe penalties of the game-laws enacted by Henry son of the Conqueror; and a grievous talliage was exacted from the subject, at the rate of five shillings for every hide or hundred acres of land in the kingdom. This was the severest tax which had been imposed since the reign of William the Conqueror; and falling upon the foccage tenants and farmers, produced great clamour and distress. The clergy were likewise subjected to this imposition; they at first refused to submit to the authority of the general council, but being deprived of the protection of the king's court, and disabled from recovering debts and forfeitures, they at length consented to pay their proportion of the talliage. After this unpopular transaction Geoffry marched into South Wales, to raise the siege of Castle-Payen, in Radnorshire, in which William de Braouse was invested by Gwenwynwyn, lord of Powis, whose kinsman Vaughan had been treacherously put to death by William's contrivance. Gwenwynwyn rejecting all overtures of peace, the justiciary set at liberty his professed enemy Griffith ap Rees, who raising his vassals and joining the English, a battle ensued, in which Gwenwynwyn was routed, above three thousand of his followers were slain, a great number of his men taken prisoners, and Geoffry returned in triumph to the capital.

A. C. 1197.

Hoveden:

A heavy tax laid upon the people.

Gwenwynwyn a Welsh prince routed.

Otho elected emperor of Germany.

Mean while Henry VI. emperor of Germany dying, Richard was summoned to the diet at Cologne,

A. C. 1197. longe, as king of Provence, or a prince holding of the empire, to assist at the election of a successor to the imperial throne. He did not chuse to go thither in person, but sent ambassadors to employ their best endeavours in behalf of his nephew Otho, who was afterwards crowned at Aix la Chapelle; though his election was many years contested by Philip of Suabia, brother to the late emperor. The cause of this competitor was espoused by the French king, who engaged in a league with him against Otho, Richard the archbishop of Cologne, and the count of Flanders; while these, on the other hand, together with the duke of Louvain, the counts of Braine, Boulogne, Guisnes, Perche, Blois, and Tholouse, entered into a confederacy against France, and mutually promised upon oath to reject all terms of peace, except with the common consent of the association.

Hoveden.

Richard routes Philip of France first at Vernon, and afterwards at Courcelle.

The truce with Philip was no sooner expired, than Baldwin count of Flanders invaded Artois, and took St. Omer, while the French king ravaged the frontiers of Normandy, and ordered all his prisoners to be deprived of their eye-sight; a barbarous practice, which provoked Richard to a retaliation. The two kings had now taken the field, inspired with personal animosity against each other, and at length they met between Gamages and Vernon. They engaged immediately with great fury on both sides; but victory soon declared for Richard, who routed his adversary, and pursued him to the very gates of Vernon, from whence he retired to Mante, in order to recruit his forces. The victor improved his advantage by the reduction of several castles, and at length took Courcelles by assault: but the French king being ignorant of this event, and having by this time reassembled a numerous army, resolved to attempt the relief of that important fortress. For this purpose he began

gan his march from Mante, with four hundred knights, a thousand esquires on horseback, and a large body of militia; but when he had advanced to the neighbourhood of Courcelles, he was attacked by Richard; and being again defeated, fled in great disorder to Gisors. In crossing the river Epte, the bridge being overloaded by the number of fugitives that crowded after him, broke down, and a great number of people, including twenty knights, perished by its fall; the king himself narrowly escaping with his life. This accident cutting off the retreat of the French forces, they were almost all killed or taken; and among the prisoners were Matthew de Montmorency, Alan de Bouffy, and Fulk de Gilerval, whom Richard unhorsed and took by his own personal prowess.

Brompton.

In consequence of this victory, Marcadée, with his Brabantins, made an incursion into Picardy, as far as Abbeville, where he found an immense booty, and took a number of merchants, who paid large sums for their ransom. Richard erected the fortress of Boutavant in an island of the Seine, and Philip raising a new army, burned the town of Evreux, and seven villages in the neighbourhood. Tired, however, of an unsuccessful war, he made overtures of peace, and offered very advantageous terms to Richard, who could expect no advantage from hostilities; he solicited the pope's interposition towards an accommodation between him and the king of England; and Innocent knowing the Christians of the Holy Land could not be effectually relieved, while the war between the two crowns continued, readily complied with his request, and sent Peter cardinal of Capua as his legate to mediate a reconciliation. Though Richard loudly complained that the pope had refused to excommunicate the king of France for having seized his territories, while he was engaged in the crusade, he

A truce concluded for five years between Philip and Richard.

A. C. 1197. was pleased with an opportunity to oblige that pontiff, whom he wanted to engage in the interest of his nephew Otho, and consented to the legate's proposal of an interview with Philip. They met between Vernon and Andely, Richard appearing in a boat, and the French king sitting on horseback on the bank of the river. Here they agreed to accept the mediation of the pope, and fixed the time and place for another conference in presence of the cardinal, prelates, and nobility, of both nations. At this second meeting they concluded a truce for five years, and the troops on both sides were dismissed. Marcadée, in marching with his Brabantins to his quarters, was attacked by four French noblemen at the head of a strong body of forces, and several of his people were slain. Richard, confiding in the truce, had repaired to Guienne, and Philip taking the advantage of his absence, erected a fortress between Gaillon and Boutavant, and ordered an adjoining forest to be cut down, though it belonged to the king of England. Richard was not a prince to put up with these indignities: he returned forthwith to Normandy; and sent his chancellor Eustace bishop of Ely to demand satisfaction, and declare that he would hold the truce as dissolved, unless Philip would order the new castle to be immediately demolished. The French king disavowed the injury done to the Brabantins, and promised to dismantle the fortress; but Richard insisted upon a final discussion of all disputes. Several conferences were held, and at last both parties signified their approbation of a plan of pacification, proposing that the king of England should give his niece Blanche of Castile in marriage to Philip's eldest son Lewis, together with Gisors and twenty thousand marks of silver; that all the other places taken from Richard should be restored; that, as an indemnification

Education for Gisors, Philip should convey to the king of England the right of nomination to the archbishopric of Tours; and that the king of France should promise upon oath to assist Otho with all his power against his competitor Philip of Suabia; an article which he had no intention to observe. Upon this occasion the French king, with a view to sow the seeds of discord in the royal family of England, gave Richard to understand, that his brother John had courted his protection in private, and devoted himself entirely to the service of France: in order to confirm the truth of this allegation, he produced a letter in John's own hand-writing, which in all probability he had received in the course of their former correspondence. Richard, giving way to the first transport of his passion, ordered his brother's lands to be sequestered without examining into the truth of the accusation; and John being informed of the charge, sent two knights to the court of France to defend his innocence, either in court or combat. Philip declined the challenge, and Richard being convinced of John's innocence, re-admitted him farther into his favour than he had ever advanced before; because he had hitherto doubted his fidelity, and even signified that doubt when he pardoned him at the desire of his mother.

In the course of this year, Richard was involved in a petty quarrel that cost him his life. Aymar, viscount of Limoges, refusing to deliver a treasure, found by a peasant in digging a field, upon its being claimed by the king of England as lord paramount, he assembled a body of troops and invested the castle of Chalus, where he understood this curious treasure was lodged. On the fourth day of the siege, as he rode about the place with Marcadée, to observe where the assault might be

A. C. 1199.
Mat. Paris.
Hoveden.
Knyghton.

Richard
king of Eng-
land is
wounded by
an arrow,
and dies.

A. C. 1199. given with the fairest prospect of success, he was shot in the shoulder with an arrow from a cross-bow; and the unskilful surgeon endeavouring to disengage it from the flesh, mangled the part in such a manner, that a gangrene ensued. When he found his end approaching, he made a will, in which he bequeathed the kingdom of England, with all his other dominions, and three-fourths of his treasure, to his brother John; the other fourth of his treasure he distributed among his servants and the poor; and his jewels he left to his nephew Otho king of Germany. After he had despaired of his recovery, he was visited by the archbishop of Rouen, who assuming the privilege of a ghostly director, exhorted him to put away his three daughters, namely, pride, covetousness, and luxury. Richard replied, with great good humour, that he bequeathed his pride to the Knights Templars; his covetousness to the Cisterrians; and his luxury to the Prelates. The castle of Chalus being taken, he ordered Bertram de Gourdon, who had shot the arrow, to be brought into his presence, and asked, what injury he had done him, that he should take away his life? The other answered, with great deliberation, that he had, with his own hand, slain his father and two brothers; and that he should suffer cheerfully all the torments which could be inflicted, since he had been the instrument of Providence that delivered the world of such a tyrant, who had filled it with blood and carnage. Richard, struck with this answer, ordered the soldier to be presented with one hundred shillings and set at liberty; but Marcaddee, like a true ruffian, commanded him to be dead alive for having done his duty. The king having settled the concerns of his soul, and given directions about his funeral, expired on the sixth day of
 April,

Hoveden.
 Brompton.

April, in the forty-second year of his age, and the tenth of his reign, leaving only one natural son, called Philip, to whom he had given the castle and honour of Cognac in Guienne; and this son revenged his father's death by slaying the viscount of Limoges. Richard's brain and bowels were, in consequence of his own desire, interred in the abbey of St. Sauveur de Charroux, in Poitou; his heart, which appeared of a surprising magnitude, was deposited in a silver shrine in the cathedral of Rouen; and his body was buried near his father in the church of Fontevault.

Hoveden,

This renowned prince was tall, strong, straight, and well-proportioned. His arms were remarkably long, his eyes blue and full of vivacity. His hair was of a yellowish colour, his countenance fair and comely, and his air majestic. He was endowed with a good natural understanding; his penetration was uncommon; he possessed a fund of manly eloquence; his conversation was spirited; and he was admired for his talent at repartee. As for his courage and ability in war, both Europe and Asia resound with his praise. The Saracens filled their children with the terror of his name; and Saladin, who was an accomplished prince, admired his valour to such a degree of enthusiasm, that immediately after Richard had defeated him on the plains of Joppa, he sent him a couple of fine Arabian horses in token of his esteem; a polite compliment which Richard returned with magnificent presents. These are the shining parts of his character, which, however, cannot dazzle the judicious observer so much, but that he may perceive a number of blemishes, which no historian has been able to efface from the memory of this celebrated monarch. His ingratitude and want of filial affection are unpardonable. He was proud, haughty,

Richard's
character.

A. C. 1199. haughty, ambitious, choleric, cruel, vindictive, and debauched. Nothing could equal his rapaciousness but his profusion; and indeed the one was the effect of the other; he was a tyrant to his wife, as well as to his people, who groaned under his taxations to such a degree, that even the glory of his victories did not exempt him from their execrations: in a word, he has been aptly compared to a lion, a species of animals which he resembled, not only in his courage, but likewise in his ferocity.

JOHN,



JOHN.

JOHN, furnamed LACK-LAND.

THE will that Richard made in favour of John to the prejudice of the heir of blood, and so contradictory to his declaration and treaty of Messina, was, in all probability, a sacrifice to the sollicitation of his mother Eleanor, who could not bear the thoughts of seeing her influence eclipsed by Constance of Brittany, which would have been the case had Arthur succeeded to his uncle : she had already made her own stipulations with John ; and her affections declared for her own son, who had been bred under her eye, rather than in favour of a stranger with whose person she was hardly acquainted. Arthur was but just turned of twelve at his uncle's decease. He lived under the tuition of his mother Constance, who being weak, passionate, and indiscreet, had found it impracticable to form any party in his behalf. Her conduct was so imprudent, that she forfeited the esteem of all those who might have befriended her family. She was suspected of an amorous intercourse with John ; and her husband Ralph, earl of Chester, having obtained a divorce on that account, she married Guy, a younger brother of the viscount de Thouars. Hereditary right had been often set aside in England both under the Saxon and Norman government ; therefore the people could not be greatly shocked at the exclusion of young Arthur, a foreigner, whom they had never seen, in favour of prince John, who had been educated among them, and who had already secured the greatest men of the kingdom in his interest.

A. C. 1199.
Richard is
succeeded on
the throne
by John,
furnamed
Sans-terre,
or Lackland.

Leland,
Hoveden.

Though nobody would espouse the cause of Arthur in England, he was not so little regarded in all

Philip's in-
vades Nor-
mandy.

A. C. 1199.

all the other dominions that belonged to Richard. Thomas de Furnes delivered to him the town and castle of Angers: all the prelates and nobility of Anjou, Touraine and Maine, acknowledged Arthur as their liege lord, and, by an act of their assembly, established him in possession of the government. Constance thought proper to put him under the protection of Philip king of France, who garrisoned all his towns and castles, sent the young prince to be educated with his son Lewis at Paris, and, without any regard to the truce, invaded Normandy, which he wasted with fire and sword. Mean while John, upon his brother's decease, repaired to Chinon, where the treasure was deposited, and this was immediately delivered by the governor, Robert de Turnham, together with all the fortresses in his custody. This important step being taken, he dispatched Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and William Mareschal to England, to concert measures for securing his succession in that kingdom, with Geoffry Fitzpiers the chief justiciary, and the other noblemen whose interest he had bespoken, while he himself staid in Normandy to manage the affairs of his foreign dominions. The town of Le Mans having recognized the title of Arthur, John advanced with his forces against that city, which, together with the castle, he reduced, and razed the walls in terrorem; thus impolitically dismantling the best frontier town in his dominions. After this exploit, he returned to Rouen, where he was invested with the sword and ducal coronet of Normandy, by the archbishop of that capital, who administered to him the oath usually taken on such occasions.

Met. Paris,
Privet.

The noble-
men of Eng-
land retire
to their
castles.

While John was thus employed on the continent, his two deputies, with Geoffry Fitzpiers, exerted themselves for his interest in England, where they exacted the oath of fealty in his behalf from all citizens,

tizens, burghers, corporations, and military tenants of the crown: but, at the same time, the prelates and noblemen retired to their castles, which they fortified and supplied, as if they had resolved to maintain their own independency, or at least, disown the authority of John Lackland count of Mortaign. Whether they had already formed the design of ascertaining their liberty against the encroachment of the crown's prerogative, or dreaded the resentment and vindictive disposition of John, whose treasonable practices they had formerly opposed: certain it is they kept aloof from the justiciary and his confederates; and, had Arthur been in the kingdom, would, in all probability, have supported his title. Hubert and his colleagues perceiving the necessity of removing their doubts and scruples, summoned them to an assembly at Northampton, where they assured them of John's favour and protection, and expatiated so eloquently upon his generosity and munificence, which were proved by the grants of manors, wardships, and beneficial offices, that they were all won over to his interest, and took the oath of fealty on certain conditions which they stipulated for their own security. At the same time they prevailed with David earl of Huntingdon, to go and pacify his brother William king of Scotland, whose envoys they had stopped in their way to John with a demand of Cumberland and Northumberland. They assured him that, although they could not allow his deputies to pass, before he had taken the oath of fealty to the new king, they would use all their interest for his satisfaction, if he would wait till John's arrival, without raising any disturbances in the mean time.

Trivet,

He had no opportunity of exercising his patience on that subject: for John, understanding that the way was paved for his peaceable accession to the throne, embarked immediately for England with a

John arrives
in England.

A. C. 1199. strong body of forces, that he might be prepared for all events ; and landing at Shoreham, proceeded directly to London. Next day he was crowned at Westminster by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in a full assembly of the prelates, earls, and barons, and took the accustomed oath to maintain the peace of the church and the people ; to restrain rapine and other iniquities, and to be governed by equity and mercy in all his decisions. After the ceremony of his coronation, he conferred the post of chancellor on archbishop Hubert ; William Mareschal and Geoffry Fitzpiers were invested with the sword, as earls of Pembroke and Essex : in a few days, William de Ferrers was created earl of Derby ; Roger de Lacy received the castle and honour of Pontefract ; and other barons were favoured with distinctions of honour and advantage. The envoys of William king of Scotland were amused with general promises of doing justice to their master, whom he invited to his court ; and, in hope of an interview with that prince, he repaired to Nottingham. From thence he sent the bishop of Durham to Berwick with his compliments of invitation to William, who, instead of accompanying the prelate to the place of John's residence, gave him to understand, that he expected a compliance with his demand in forty days ; otherwise he would do himself justice. In consequence of this declaration the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, with all the castles, were committed to the charge of William d'Estouteville, a great baron of the North, supposed very capable of defending them from invasion.

Hoveden.
Returns to
Normandy.

This precaution being taken for the maintenance of the public peace, John returned to Normandy, and assembled an army at Rouen, to defend his dominions against the attempts of Philip, who proposed a truce, and both parties agreed to hold

a con-

a conference during this interval, for the determination of all their differences. In the mean time Baldwin, count of Flanders, repaired to Rouen, where he renewed the alliance he had made with Richard, and did homage for the continuance of his pension. He was followed by the other French allies whom the late king had engaged in his interest, to the number of fifteen counts or noblemen, who now visited king John, and their subsidies being paid, swore they would never hearken to an accommodation without his consent; while he, on the other hand, promised upon oath, that he would never conclude a treaty with France in which they should not be included. At the same time he received letters from Otho, desiring he would not make a precipitate peace with Philip, as his affairs began to take a more favourable turn, and he should in a little time be able to assist him with the whole force of the empire. Queen Eleanor, after Richard's death, had done homage to the king of France at Tours for the dutchy of Guienne, of which she then took possession by a previous agreement with her surviving son; but John had never performed the duty of a vassal for Normandy, nor hinted the least intention of acknowledging the superiority of the French king; an omission which Philip resented so highly, that when the two kings met near Gaillon at the conference, he did not behave to the king of England with his usual politeness, and he was moreover very unreasonable in his demands; for he insisted upon John's ceding all the Vexin Normand to himself, and all Guienne, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, to prince Arthur; conditions which were rejected with disdain. Had John possessed his brother's talents for war, he could not have found a more favourable juncture for distressing Philip, who was at this time greatly perplexed in consequence of a quarrel with pope Innocent.

A. C. 1199.

Renews the alliance with Baldwin, count of Flanders.

R. de Monte.
Rigord. de
Philip. Gest.

A. C. 1199. nocent. The French king had, in a skirmish near Lens, taken Philip count of Namur, and Peter de Corbeil bishop elect of Cambrai. This last having been preceptor to Innocent, that pontiff solicited his release, which, however, the king of France refused, on pretence that the pope had not interposed in behalf of the bishop of Beauvais, who still remained a prisoner in Normandy. The pope's legate laid France and that dutchy under an interdict until both prelates should be set at liberty; and when they were exchanged for one another, this sentence was removed. But Philip ran the risk of another sentence of this kind, and even of excommunication, in consequence of his divorce from the Danish princess, and his subsequent marriage with Mary, daughter of Berthold duke of Meranie, which were both declared null, though Mary had born a daughter, and was now pregnant with a son, whom the father afterwards legitimated. Innocent ordered him to put away this princess, and take back Ingelburga, on pain of being excommunicated and seeing his kingdom laid under an interdict; and this last sentence was actually pronounced by a council assembled at Vienne in Dauphine. Philip was extremely chagrined at this censure; and those who obeyed it, whether ecclesiastics or laity, were treated with great severity: but, in spite of all his endeavours, it had such an effect upon his subjects, and he was so apprehensive of an excommunication, that he submitted to the pope's order, renounced his latter marriage, and took Ingelburga again to wife, in a public council held at Nesle by two cardinals delegated for determining this affair.

Rigord.

The conference between the kings of France and England having proved ineffectual, Philip invaded Normandy, reduced Conches, and then marching into Le Maine, dismantled Ballon, one of the strongest fortresses of that country. William de
Roches,

Roches, hereditary seneschal of the dutchy, and general of Arthur's forces, complained of this demolition as an injury to the young prince, and was answered in a haughty manner by Philip, who advanced immediately to the siege of Lavardin. The seneschal, apprehensive of this fort's being treated in the same manner, and plainly perceiving that the French king acted only for his own interest, resolved to effect an accommodation between Arthur and his uncle, to whom he made very acceptable overtures. John immediately marched to the relief of Lavardin with such an army, that Philip thought proper to raise the siege and retire with precipitation. William had found means to conduct Arthur privately from Paris to Le Mans, which he now delivered up to the king of England; and John, having this capital, together with his nephew and Constance, in his power, sent for Aimery, viscount of Thouars, whom he compelled to give up Chinon, of which he was governor, and resign the post of seneschal of Anjou. Such infractions of the treaty just concluded, could not fail to alarm Constance, who, receiving private intimation that John intended to seize the person of Arthur, retired in the night to Angers with that young prince, the viscount de Thouars, and a great number of adherents.

A. C. 1199.

John
marches to
the relief of
Lavardin; in
favour of
his nephew
Arthur.

Mean while Peter of Capua, the pope's legate, prevailed upon the kings of France and England to conclude a truce, in hope of adjusting the articles of a treaty before it should expire. During this cessation, Philip detached Baldwin, count of Flanders, from the interest of John; and the French nobility who were pensioners to the English monarch, despairing of success, made their submission to Philip. This defection, added to the dread of Arthur and the advice of Eleanor, disposed

Hoveden,

A treaty of
peace con-
cluded be-
tween the
kings of
England
and France.

A. C. 1199. the king of England to a pacification; and Philip, under the terror of the interdict, was in all respects as peaceably inclined. With these favourable dispositions, they met between Gaillon and Andely, where the conferences were opened, and they soon agreed to a peace on the following conditions: That Evreux should be ceded to France, and the boundaries be fixed between that city and Neubourg: that the fortifications of Portes and Landes should be demolished; so that there should be no castles left between Andely and Gamaches: that John should bestow his niece Blanche, daughter of Alfonso king of Castile, in marriage upon Lewis prince of France, together with Yssoudun, Grassay, Chateauroux; all the fiefs he claimed in Berry, to be put into his hands immediately and enjoyed during life, whether the marriage should or should not be consummated: but, failing issue by Blanche, they should revert to John or his heirs at the death of Lewis; that if John should die without children, the fiefs of Hugh de Gournay, the counts of Aumale and Perche, should devolve to Lewis; the king of England should hold of the crown of France all the dominions on the continent possessed by his predecessors, except the Vexin Normand and the above-mentioned alienations; that he should pay to Philip, the sum of twenty thousand marks for his relief, and the fiefs of Brittany; that Arthur should do homage for this duchy to John; and that the king of England should grant no aid or assistance in money or troops, to his nephew Otho, without the consent of Philip. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Engoulesme, with the viscount of Limoges, were included in this treaty, which was guaranteed by the nobility of France, England, and Normandy, who swore to take arms against the violator of these articles.

In consequence of this treaty, by which John reaped no advantage, but Philip's promise of abandoning the interest of Arthur, Eleanor, in spite of the infirmities of old age, and the severity of the winter season, set out for Castile, and conducting Blanche as far as Fontevrault, committed her to the care of Elias, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who attended her to Rouen; and, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, she was married to Lewis at Portmort near Andely, in the Norman territories, because the interdict still continued in France. The ceremony being performed, the young princess was conveyed to Paris for her education: John swore fealty to Philip, as lord paramount of Normandy, and he himself received the homage of Arthur, for the dutchy of Bretagne.

A. C. 1200.
Arthur does homage to John for Brittany.

In the interval between the agreement and ratification of the treaty, John had come over to England, where, by his own authority, he laid a tax of three shillings a hyde for raising the money he had promised to pay to Philip; and, after having taken this arbitrary measure, he returned to Normandy, from whence, after the establishment of the peace, he marched into Guienne, where he received the homage of Aimery de Thouars, whom Eleanor had gained over to his interest; and the oath of fealty from the counts of Tholouse, Engoulesme, La Marche, Limoges, and all the barons of the country. But his right to this dutchy was contested by Otho, who had claimed Guienne and the earldom of York, by virtue of a grant from the late king; and being provoked at the peace with France, sent his brother Henry, duke of Saxony, to take possession of those fiefs, and demand the legacy bequeathed to him by Richard. John rejected both his demands, and pleaded conscience in defence of injustice, by saying that he had re-

Trivet:

Otho sends his brother to demand the jewels of the late king.

Rymers:

A. C. 1200. stricted himself by oath from assisting Otho, either with money, jewels, lands, or men; a subterfuge, in all probability, suggested by Philip, whom he now consulted on all occasions.

John mar-
ries Isabella,
daughter to
the count of
Engou-
lesme.

Not but that he sometimes acted from the sudden impulse of his own unruly passions, which, at this period, hurried him into an act of injustice and indiscretion, that was attended with very troublesome consequences. Isabel, daughter of Aymar Taillefer, count of Engoulesme, was affianced to Hugh le Brun, count of La Marche; and John, chancing to see the young lady in this expedition, was so captivated with her beauty, that he demanded her in marriage of her father, who yielding his consent to such an advantageous match, renounced his treaty with the count of La Marche, from whose custody he conveyed his daughter to Engoulesme. John had been long tired of his own wife, and resolved to procure a divorce from her, on account of her barrenness; in pursuance of this resolution, he had sent the bishop of Lisieux, and three English noblemen, as ambassadors, to demand the daughter of the king of Portugal in marriage: but now, without paying the least regard to his honour or his interest, he obtained the sentence of divorce from the archbishop of Bourdeaux, assisted by the bishops of Poitiers and Saintes, and was, by the first of these prelates, married to Isabel of Engoulesme. This precipitate marriage incensed the king of Portugal to such a degree, that the safety of the ambassadors was endangered: the pope took umbrage at a match founded upon a divorce which he had not been solicited to confirm; and the count of La Marche, being robbed of a princess who had captivated his affection, was so enraged at the injury and disappointment, that he devoted his whole attention to

7 . . . revenge,

revenge, and had frequent opportunities of annoying John in the sequel.

A. C. 1200-

Hoveden.

Tax and contribution for a new crusade.

The king of England, in his return from this expedition, visited Angers, where he exacted one hundred and fifty hostages from the citizens; and then repaired to England with his fair bride, who was crowned at Westminster by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, who had lately held a synod in that place, contrary to the orders of the justiciary, and enacted several canons for the reformation of abuses, which had crept into the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. Each of those new regulations concluded with a salvo of the honour and privileges of the church of Rome; a form that Hubert seems to have adopted to ingratiate himself with pope Innocent, who was a pontiff of great resolution and abilities, calculated for extending the papal authority. After having kindled the enthusiasm of the people by the sermons of his emissaries, he, on pretence of relieving the Christians of the Holy Land, laid a tax of the fortieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues in Italy, Sclavonia, Germany, France, and the British isles, for the maintenance of a new crusade to be undertaken against the Saracens; and sent Philip, a Roman notary, to collect this imposition in England. While the pope thus exercised his power over the clergy, he did not fail to exhort the laity to make a voluntary contribution for the same laudable purpose. The king of France raised the same proportion in his territories; and John not only granted the fortieth part of his revenue for one year, but also authorized the same collection from all the barons, military tenants, and freeholders, throughout the kingdom.

Baron. At Hoveden.

Immediately after the new queen's coronation, John, who was extremely desirous of accommodating

A. C. 1200.

William
king of
Scotland
does ho-
mage to
John at
Lincoln.

matters with William king of Scotland, that, instead of a dangerous enemy, he might become a useful ally, sent a splendid deputation of noblemen, to invite that prince to his court at Lincoln, where he proposed to receive his homage. The Scot obeyed the summons; and arriving with Roland, lord of Galloway, did homage to John in public upon Brehill, swearing on the cross of archbishop Hubert, that he would be his liegeman, and bear faith to him, of life, limb, and terrene honour, against all men, saving the rights of his own crown. This ceremony of submission was, in all probability, performed for the counties of Lothian and Galloway, which had formerly belonged to the Cumbrian kingdom, as William, at this time, possessed no fiefs in England; for his claim to the northern counties was not yet admitted, but the examination of that affair postponed to another opportunity; so that the Scottish king retired, not a little dissatisfied, to his own dominions. John had the less to apprehend from his resentment, as a reconciliation was now effected between him and his natural brother Geoffry, whom he had disseized of his temporalities, on a supposition that he carried on a correspondence with William, to the prejudice of his government. Having made a progress thro' the northern counties, he kept his Christmas with great festivity at Guilford, and repaired at Easter to Canterbury, where, in imitation of the ancient kings, he and his queen were crowned at that festival in the cathedral by Hubert, assisted by the bishops of Dublin, London, Rochester, Ely, and Norwich.

Chr. Heni-
ers.
Hoveden.
Rad. Nigr.
Trivet.

John sum-
mons the
barons to
attend him
into Nor-
mandy, and
they refuse
to obey his
orders.

While John thus revelled in feasting, and the delights of his new marriage, the bad effects of that alliance began to appear in Guienne, where a commotion was raised by the count of La Marche, and his brother Ralph de Yffoudun, possessed of
the

the county of Eu in Normandy. John, apprised of these disturbances, dispatched orders to Guerin de Glapion, seneschal of Normandy, to ravage Ralph's possessions, and besiege the castle of Dreincourt, which was accordingly invested; but the siege was raised by the king of France, who marched with an army to its relief. The king of England, alarmed at the interposition of Philip, summoned the earls and barons of England to meet him at Portsmouth, well provided with arms and horses, to serve him on the continent: but the nobility, sick of those expeditions, in which neither the honour nor interest of their country was concerned, and understanding moreover that the present disturbance was the effect of John's tyranny and oppression, they assembled at Leicester, in order to deliberate upon the king's command; and considering the present service as a grievance and invasion of their privileges, unanimously agreed to refuse attending him, unless he would restore their antient rights. Nevertheless, as they had projected no plan of conduct, and chose no chief to command and direct their confederacy, this resolution produced very little effect. John, being informed of their purpose, ordered them to deliver up their fortresses. William de Albiny, the first nobleman to whom he intimated this demand, compounded for his castle of Belvoir, by giving up his son as an hostage; and the rest were excused from this expedition upon paying a certain scutage for every knight's fee, and promising to keep the peace of the kingdom. The earl of Pembroke and the constable of Chester were sent over to the continent in the mean time, with two hundred men at arms, to repress the revolters: Hubert de Burgh, the king's chamberlain, was left to guard the marches of Wales with a body of knights; and the king and

A. C. 1201.
Hoved.
Rymer.

John oppresses the
barons of
Guienne.

queen embarking at Portsmouth, arrived in safety at Normandy, after a very difficult passage.

The first step he took upon his landing, was to appoint a conference with Philip near Andely, where that monarch entered into a friendly expostulation with him, upon the grievances of the barons in Guienne, who had been oppressed by John's officers; and some of them, having lost their castles and applied in vain for redress, appealed to Philip as lord paramount of their fiefs, and received his protection. His remonstrance seemed to make an impression upon John, who promised to do them justice; and he accompanied Philip to Paris, where he was magnificently entertained: from thence he repaired to Chinon, where he was visited by the queen dowager Berengaria, to whom he assigned, in lieu of dower, the city of Bayeux, two castles in Anjou, and an annuity of a thousand marks. He was now at the head of a sufficient force to suppress the insurrection in Guienne, and appease the troubles of that country; but, instead of going thither, he returned to Normandy, and left Robert de Turnham to reduce the revolters. As he discovered no inclination to satisfy the barons, they again complained to the king of France, who reminded him of his promise, and insisted upon doing justice to his vassals, otherwise he should be obliged to espouse their quarrel in a more effectual manner. John renewed his promises; but, instead of indulging the barons with a fair hearing, he sent among them a number of profligate miscreants, noted for strength and agility, who professed themselves his champions, and offered to decide the dispute by duel, according to the practice of the times. The count of La Marche and his brother rejected the challenge, because those champions were not their peers, and appealed from such determination once more to Philip, who sent
a very

a very severe reproof, mixed with menaces, to the king of England, reproaching him with perfidy and injustice. John protested, that he would immediately hold a court of barons at Angers, for the redress of the injured; and that, if they would come to London, they should be provided with letters of safe-conduct: nevertheless, he still found new pretences to evade his promise.

Arthur, upon the death of his mother Constance, which happened in the course of this year at Nantes, had repaired from Paris to Rennes, in order to take possession of Brittany, and receive the homage of the nobility. He likewise supported the complaints of the barons of Guienne, and demanded justice of Philip, with regard to his own pretensions touching that fief, as well as Normandy and Anjou. The king of France, incensed at the little regard which had been paid to his remonstrances, actually prepared to support the complainants with force of arms; and John, alarmed at his design, not only repeated his assurances of immediate redress, but agreed to surrender the castles of Tillyeres and Boutavant, as pledges of his sincerity. When Philip appeared before these fortresses, the governors ordered the gates to be shut against him, declaring they had not received any orders to give them up; and the French king, exasperated at such a series of collusion, resolved to commence hostilities without delay. John begged a conference in the isle of Goulet near Andely, where the French king insisting upon his ceding the provinces holding of France to prince Arthur, or finding security that he would stand to the award of the French court, to which he had been already called, John, whose pride was equal to his indolence, rejected the proposal, and the conference breaking up, summoned Arthur to come and do homage for Brittany.

G. Brito.
Hoveden.

A. C. 1202.
A fruitless
conference
in the isle of
Goulet be-
tween Phi-
lip and
John.

Paris.
Rymer.

The

A. C. 1202.

Arthur is taken prisoner by John's forces; and cruelly murdered in the castle of Rouen.

The king of France immediately invested Tilières and Boutavant, which he reduced, with divers other castles, and then sat down before Gournay, situated on the river Epte, and counted one of the strongest places on the frontiers of Normandy. Philip, having little hope of reducing it in the usual way of carrying on approaches, contrived an expedient which succeeded to his wish. He broke down the banks of a large pool in the higher ground, and the water rushed down upon the castle with such impetuosity, that the garrison and inhabitants were fain to save their lives by a precipitate flight; so that when the torrent subsided, Philip took possession of the town, where he knighted Arthur, now in the sixteenth year of his age, conferred upon him the investiture of Brittany, Guienne, and Anjou, and gave him his daughter Mary, yet an infant, in marriage. The young prince, ambitious of approving himself worthy of these marks of distinction, was furnished with a sum of money and two hundred knights, to attack Guienne; and hearing, as he passed thro' Poitou, that queen Eleanor was in the castle of Mireleau, he marched thither and took it by assault, his grandmother retiring into a tower, from whence she found means to make John acquainted with her distress. Roused from his sloth at this intelligence, he flew to her relief at the head of his Brabantins, and surrounded Arthur's small body, before they had the least intimation of his approach: they had been reinforced by a small party of Poitevin barons; and too confident of their own bravery, resolved to engage the Brabantins in the open plain. For this purpose they came forth, and attacked John's forces with the utmost intrepidity; but after a very obstinate and bloody action, they were obliged to yield to the numbers of the enemy, who not only repulsed them to the castle,

castle, but entered with the fugitives; and there the battle was renewed with great fury, till at length prince Arthur was totally defeated and taken prisoner, with Hugh count of La Marche, Geoffry de Lusignan, Andrew de Chavigny, the viscount de Chautillerault, Savary de Maubon, several other barons, and above two hundred knights. Philip, informed of this disaster, abandoned the siege of Arques, and marched directly to the Loire, in order to support the weakened party of Arthur; there having reduced the city of Tours, he set the houses on fire, levelled the walls, and dismantled the castle, while John, contenting himself with his victory, returned to Rouen, and relapsed into his former indolence, which, that he might be able to indulge, he, in a little time, executed a scheme of barbarity, which no person endued with humanity can hear related without horror. Instead of improving his victory in the field by activity and address, he set at liberty the count of La Marche, and Geoffry de Lusignan, the two persons from whose activity and resentment he had every thing to fear, even though they delivered their castles into his hands; the rest of his prisoners he sent to England, where they were close confined in different castles, and many of the bravest among them famished to death: as for Arthur, he was conveyed to the castle of Falaise, where John is said to have visited him in person, and endeavoured to detach him from the king of France; instead of gaining his point, he was treated by the young prince with ineffable disdain, upbraided as a tyrant and usurper, and menaced with the vengeance of Philip and his allies. This behaviour could not be well brooked by a prince of John's disposition; and, in all probability, extinguished any sentiments of respect which he might have entertained for the person of Arthur. He was importuned by the king
of

A. C. 1202.

Ann. Mar-
ga.
Mat. Paris.
Rob. de
Monte.

A. C. 1202. of France and the nobles of Brittany, to release this prisoner: he dreaded his talents, his title, and his revenge; and thus actuated, resolved to deprive him of his life. He is said to have sent an order for putting out the eyes of this unhappy prince, and rendering him incapable of propagation; but Hubert de Burgh, constable of the castle, instead of obeying such a cruel command, gave out that he was dead, and the bells tolled for his supposed death all over Normandy. The Bretons, taking for granted that he was murdered, vowed revenge and eternal enmity against John; and such a clamour was raised through all his dominions on the continent, that Hubert, in order to prevent mischief, discovered that he was alive. A prince endowed with common policy would have learned from this specimen of the people's sentiments, how dangerous it would be to make any attempt upon the life of Arthur; but John, instead of being cautioned by this experiment, ordered him to be removed from Falaise to the castle of Rouen, where he was inhumanly put to death; though the circumstances of this cruel tragedy are not certainly known. John is said to have pressed William de Bray to assassinate the young prince; and that officer answering, he was a gentleman and not an executioner, he tampered with others, who rejected the office in the same manner, and at last resolved to sacrifice the victim with his own hands. He accordingly went in the night by water, to the tower of Rouen, ordered Arthur to be brought into the boat, thrust his sword several times through his body, which was sunk, with an heavy stone, in the river; from which it was afterwards dragged ashore in the net of a fisherman, and interred in the priory of Notre Dame du Pré, without the knowledge of the tyrant. Be this as it may, the youth all at once disappeared; and his uncle industriously circulated a report of his having

Rad. Niger.

A. C. 1203.

Ann. Mar-
ga.
Gul. Brito.

having perished in the river, in attempting to make his escape. All the world believed that the young prince was murdered by his contrivance; and what seemed to justify that supposition, was its being committed two or three days after the death of his mother Eleanor, during whose life he durst not have executed such a barbarous design; besides, he, at this period, made an hasty voyage to England, and was crowned at Canterbury, as if, conscious of the murder, he thought that ceremony would consecrate him anew, and purify him from the guilt. On this occasion, he carried along with him Arthur's sister Eleanor, now heiress of Brittany, therefore surnamed La Brette, who inheriting her brother's title to the crown, was now become the object of John's jealousy, and close confined her at Bristol, under the guard of four knights, that she might have no opportunity of engaging in a clandestine marriage.

Dugdale.

The perpetration of this horrid murder, not only rendered the tyrant detestable in the eyes of all mankind, but was the immediate cause of Brittany's being for ever dismembered from the English crown. John, in consequence of his nephew's death, demanded the administration of that duchy, as guardian of Eleanor, who was then in his power: but the states of the province received his proposal with horror; and, far from complying with his demand, they appointed Guy de Thouars, the last husband of Constance, the chief of their council of government, and guardian to his infant daughter Alice, whom they proposed to acknowledge as their dutchess, provided her elder sister Eleanor could not be delivered from captivity. They strongly solicited the release of this princess; and finding their remonstrances disregarded, in an assembly at Vannes, drew up articles of impeachment against John, whom they accused of murder and parricide, lodging

The Bretons revolt, and impeach John of murder in the court of the peers of France.

A. C. 1203. ing their accusation in the court of peers of France, and deputing the bishop of Rennes, and Richard de Marechal, to carry on the process. John was accordingly summoned to vindicate himself from the charge; and failing to appear, condemned by the unanimous sentence of the peers, couched in these terms: “Whereas John, duke of Normandy, for-
 “getting his oath to king Philip his lord, has
 “murdered his elder brother’s son, an homager of
 “the crown of France, and the king’s kinsman,
 “and perpetrated the crime within the signiory of
 “France; he is found guilty of felony and treason,
 “and adjudged to forfeit all the territories which he
 “holds by homage.”

D’Hoz. Hist.
de Bretagne.

Philip con-
quers great
part of Brit-
tany and
Poitou.

Philip was extremely incensed against the author of such a cruel tragedy, which he determined in earnest to revenge. He assembled a body of troops, and marching towards Anjou, almost all the barons of that province and Poitou, revolting from John, put themselves under his protection: the tyrant had already been abandoned by several noblemen of approved fidelity, who would no longer serve such an infamous master. Juhael de Mayene, a powerful lord in Bretagne, left him immediately after the murder, and joined his countrymen in the prosecution; and William de Roches, senechal of Maine and Anjou, deserted him on the same occasion, and took Angers by surprize: in a word, the defection became general, and John, giving way once more to his brutal disposition, ordered all their hostages to be put to death, in the fury of revenge. Philip having, with the assistance of the Bretons and Poitevins, reduced a number of fortresses beyond the Loire, and on the borders of Normandy, dismissed his forces; and John seized this opportunity to invest Alençon, which the count had put into the hands of the French king. When he had made some progress in the siege, Philip understanding there was a vast concourse of knights at a tourna-

Trivet.

ment in the neighbourhood of Moret, went thither, and persuaded them to march to the relief of Alençon. They were glad of such an opportunity to signalize their courage, and advanced with such expedition, that John raised the siege, and retired with great precipitation, leaving his machines, tents, and baggage to the enemy. A. C. 1203.

The victor then turned his arms against Normandy, in which he took several fortresses, and was admitted into others; and about the middle of August, he undertook the siege of Chateau-Gaillard, on the banks of the Seine, built by Richard, and supposed impregnable. John, though at the head of an army equal in number to the French, was afraid of hazarding a battle, partly from cowardice, the consequence of his guilt, and partly from a suspicion of his soldiers. He had solicited the pope's mediation, and his holiness sent two abbots to negotiate a peace. These deputies, by virtue of the papal authority and injunctions, commanded both princes to assemble their prelates and nobility, in order to adjust the articles of a pacification, and to repair the churches and monasteries which had been demolished in the course of the war between the two kingdoms. Philip dispatched some of his prelates to Rome, where they represented John in such colours, that Innocent was prevailed upon to suspend his interposition in the quarrel; and the king of England having nothing farther to expect from his holiness, resolved at length to make an effort to throw supplies into the castle of Gaillard. For this purpose he detached the earl of Pembroke, with a strong body of horse and foot, to attack and amuse the besiegers, while a fleet of seventy flat-bottomed vessels, loaded with provision and ammunition, and manned with three thousand Flemings, was rowed up the river, to destroy a bridge of boats formed by the French, John makes a fruitless attempt to relieve Chateau-Gaillard.
and

A. C. 1293. and succour the besieged. The scheme was well laid; but, this armament moving slowly against wind and tide, the earl of Pembroke arrived at the scene of action long before it reached the bridge; and attacking the enemy's camp in the night, filled it with disorder and consternation. His Brabantins, however, were more intent upon plunder than desirous of improving the advantage they had gained, and the French perceiving them dispersed and busy in pillaging the camp, rallied and charged them with such vigour, that they were immediately routed, and fled, in great confusion. The fleet did not appear till day-light, when the whole force of the French, being united against its efforts, the commander found it impracticable, either to demolish the bridge, or throw supplies into the place, and was obliged to fall down the river with all possible expedition.

Gul. Brito.

He abandons Normandy.

This was the last attempt that John made for the defence of his foreign dominions: while Philip blocked up the castle of Gaillard, took Andely, and even reduced Radepont, an important place in the neighbourhood of Rouen, the king of England indulged himself in riot and sloth, saying, when reminded of Philip's progress, "Let him proceed; I shall recover more in one day than he can conquer in a whole twelvemonth." Such was his indolence and seeming tranquility, in this alarming situation, that people could not help believing he was bewitched: and the English nobility at his court, foreseeing nothing but disgrace and danger, as the result of this infatuated behaviour, desired leave to visit England, from whence they promised in a little time to return. He would not, however, put them to that unnecessary trouble; for, after having dismantled several strong towns, so as to lay the country open to the incursions of the enemy, he ordered four ships to be privately prepared for his passage, and quit-

quitting Normandy, set sail for England. Philip did not fail to improve this opportunity; he now extended his conquests without opposition; for the Normans considered John's departure as a renunciation of the dutchy to the lord paramount: besides, they were incensed at his leaving the command to Arches Martin, and Lupecaire, two of his Brabantin chiefs, under whom the Norman nobility disdained to serve upon any principle. Though all the Vexin frontier, and a great number of places were reduced by the French king, Chateau-Gailard still held out, through the courage and conduct of Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, who commanded the garrison. At length Philip, with incredible labour, filled up a hollow way between this castle and an opposite rock, so that he could bring his machines to act against the walls; and, at the same time, he employed a great number of miners to sap the foundation. These endeavours succeeded, the fort was taken after a siege of six months, and the governor made prisoner, with the remains of his garrison, by this time reduced below two hundred fighting men. Philip treated him

A. C. 1203.
Mat. Paris.
An. Waver.

A. C. 1204.

The French king having reduced this important fortress, resolved to besiege Falaise, the bulwark of Lower Normandy; but, before he had begun to open his batteries, Lupecaire the governor surrendered the town and castle, and, with his Brabantins, entered into the service of France. All the other places in that part of the country submitted without opposition; while Guy de Thouars, with a numerous army of Bretons, invaded Normandy on the other side, reduced castles, and committed

Normandy
re-united to
the crown
of France.

A. C. 1204. terrible ravages. John, though he had not spirit enough to oppose the French king in his conquests, was so nettled at this incursion, that he equipped an armament of English, who made a descent upon Brittany, in Guy's absence, took several towns, pillaged the country, and, at the approach of Thouars, with a reinforcement of French troops, re-embarked at Cancale with a considerable booty.

Rad. Niger. The whole dutchy of Normandy was now subdued, except Vernueil, Arques, and Rouen, which engaged in a league for their mutual defence. Rouen, the capital, was the first of the three which Philip invested; it was a strong populous city, and extremely averse to the French government. When the king of France appeared with his army, the populace massacred some of his subjects who happened to be in the place; when they were summoned to surrender, they declared they would defend themselves to the last extremity, and immediately sent deputies to England to solicit assistance. John had, by an embassy to the court of France, sued for peace, which Philip would not grant on any other condition, than that of his giving Eleanor in marriage to his younger son, together with all the dominions that he held of the crown of France. Such terms the king of England would not embrace: the negotiation proved fruitless, and he resigned all thoughts of defending Normandy; so that he desired the deputies of Rouen to surrender on the best terms they could obtain. Notwithstanding this permission, the inhabitants still continued to act bravely in their own defence, until the Barbican, a fort that covered the bridge, being taken, they agreed with Philip to deliver up the city, if peace should not be made before the end of the month. As this was not the case, they and the other two associated cities took the benefit of the capitulation; and Normandy was re-united to the king-

kingdom of France, after a separation of two hundred and ninety-two years. Philip likewise completed the conquest of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, except the castle of Chinon, which was gallantly defended by Hubert de Burgh, till the ensuing summer, when he was taken in the place, after having been dangerously wounded.

A. C. 1204.
Rig. Cart.
dePhil, Aug.

Mean while, John seemed utterly insensible of the damage and disgrace which he incurred by the rapid progress of the French king. He gave himself up to the enjoyment of his young wife; and seemed to renounce all active measures, except those of confiscating the English estates of the Norman barons, who had submitted to the king of France. He likewise consoled himself with the gratification of his personal animosity towards John de Courcy, the conqueror and lord of Ulster, who had refused to do him homage, and openly accused him of murder and usurpation. Walter de Lacy and his brother Hugh were directed to seize the person of this nobleman; and as they were unable to reduce him by open force, they had recourse to stratagem. Walter invited him to a conference, and fell suddenly upon him with a body of troops prepared for the purpose; so that after the greatest part of his retinue was slain, he took shelter in Hugh's castle, into which he was decoyed by the most warm professions of friendship. Here, however, Hugh detained him, until John's followers ravaged the lands of the Lacys in such a manner, that they were obliged to set him at liberty. After his release, he defeated them in a pitched battle; but they resolved to effect by treachery what they could not obtain by valour. They corrupted the integrity of his people, who seized him on Good Friday, while he was employed at his devotion in church; and being delivered to Hugh, he was brought over to England, and committed close

John de
Courcy is
betrayed
and com-
mitted pri-
soner to the
Tower.

A. C. 1204.
Hoveden.
Annals of
Ireland.

John's pre-
vented by
the nobility
from leav-
ing the
kingdom.

Mat. Paris.
A. C. 1205.

prisoner to the Tower : while Lacy obtained a grant of the earldom of Ulster.

King John affected to complain loudly of the noblemen who had left him at Rouen, as if their retreat had occasioned the loss of Normandy ; and, on this pretence, extorted from them a seventh part of their moveables : he likewise contrived means for laying imposts upon the convents and parish churches ; and assembled a great council at Oxford, in order to deliberate upon measures for retrieving his dominions on the continent. To defray the expence of this expedition, a scutage was charged upon the nobles and military tenants ; nor were the prelates and clergy exempted from this burthen. But these aids were employed in supplying his own extravagance. During these transactions, Robert de Turnham, and Savary de Mauleon, struggled manfully in Poitou, against the other barons supported by Philip, until Poitiers was reduced, Robert taken prisoner, the castle of Loches obliged to surrender, and the whole province in the most imminent danger of being totally subdued. In this extremity, the few barons that still adhered to his interest in that county, solicited immediate succour ; and John equipped a powerful armament, with a view to cross the sea in person. He had already repaired to Portsmouth in order to embark, when the archbishop of Canterbury represented the indelicacy of trusting his person among the fickle Poitevins ; and of leaving his kingdom defenceless, at a juncture when a descent was threatened by the duke of Louvaine and the count of Boulogne, supported by the king of France. He lent a deaf ear to their remonstrances, and they entreated him on their knees to relinquish, or at least postpone the expedition : but finding him still inflexible, they changed their strain, and plainly threatened to detain him by force, rather than the country should be

be

be exposed to ruin by his departure. This menace had an instantaneous effect: he forthwith promised to be ruled by their advice; which was to send his brother William Longuepée, earl of Salisbury, with a strong body of forces, to the assistance of the Poitevins. He accordingly dismissed great part of his troops and vessels; and repaired to Winchester: but repenting of the step he had taken, he returned to Portsmouth, and immediately embarked. However, his disposition being more fickle than the weather, he landed near Wareham in Dorsetshire; and of this attempt made a handle to squeeze large sums of money from his subjects, who had refused to follow him to the continent, in order to recover his dominions.

Rad. Niger,
M. Paris.

A. C. 1206.

Guy de Thouars governor of Brittany, growing jealous of the power of Philip, who not only conquered the adjoining provinces, but also formed a strong party among the Bretons, began to wish that John was re-established in the dominions he had lost, so as to form a ballance against the exorbitant power of the French monarch, and confirm Guy's own authority in Bretagne, which was at this time very precarious. He had conferred on this subject with his brother Aimery viscount of Thouars, whom Philip had created seneschal of the province; and he assenting to Guy's proposal, they formed a small association of barons, who entertained the same sentiments, and invited John to come over and take possession. A treaty was immediately concluded, and John embarking with a great army at Portsmouth, landed at Rochelle, where he was joined by the two brothers and their forces. But, instead of reducing Brittany to his obedience, he marched directly towards Montauban in Quercy, belonging to his brother-in-law the count of Thoulouse, who had sided with Philip, and, investing the place, took it by assault: on

He lands
with an
army at
Rochelle,
and takes
Montauban.

A. C. 1206. which occasion the English are said to have behaved with incredible valour; and this was amply rewarded by an immense booty, and a vast number of prisoners of the first quality.³

M. Paris.

Purposes a conference with Philip, and gives him the slip.

Philip had, upon receiving intimation of John's treaty with Guy de Thouars, invaded Brittany, taken Nantes, and compelled the governor of the province to submit: but immediately after his return from this expedition, being informed of John's arrival at Rochelle, he directed his march into Poitou, when, hearing the English army was employed in the siege of Montauban, he fortified Mirebeau, Loudun, and some other places, and then retreated towards Paris. After the reduction of Montauban, John advanced to Angers, which he took and reduced to ashes, after having ravaged all the adjoining country: then he undertook the siege of Nantes; but abandoned the enterprize, and penetrated into Thouars, in order to protect Aimery from Philip's resentment. While he lay encamped on this territory, the French king advanced to give him battle; but John, instead of hazarding an engagement, sent deputies with proposals of peace; both princes agreed to a conference, and in the mean time John retreated with his army to Rochelle, where he embarked for England. Notwithstanding this affront offered to Philip, the pope, whose mediation John had solicited, employed an abbot so effectually, that the French monarch agreed to a truce for two years, in hope of being able to adjust the articles of a treaty, during that cessation of hostilities.

G. Brito. Hist. de Bret. Rob. de Monte. Rymer.

The pope mediates at other truce.

But John, instead of improving this interval, either in negotiation, or preparing for a vigorous war, relapsed into his former idleness, and seemed wholly to forget that he was at variance with any of his neighbours. Nevertheless, when the truce expired, the English troops surpris'd the strong castle

castle of Guerplic, conveniently situated on the coast of North Bretagne, for protecting troops in landing or embarking: but this place was soon retaken by Juhael de Mayenne, seneschal of Brittany, and the count of St. Pol, who had marched with a reinforcement of French troops to the assistance of the Bretons. Mean while Philip, with another army, entered Poitou, where he reduced several towns and castles; and Henry Clement his marshal, in a rencounter with John's party, took Hugh de Thouars, Henry de Luzignan, and several other Poitevin barons in the English interest. This would have proved an irreparable blow, had not pope Innocent again interposed his good offices for another truce, which was accordingly concluded. The pope, notwithstanding his quarrel with John, was very desirous of effecting a durable peace between the two crowns, that the French might not be diverted from the prosecution of a war which he had kindled against the Albigenes in Languedoc, and sanctified with the name of a crusade.

A. C. 1206.

Whatever inconvenience attended a war on the continent, it was so far agreeable to John, as it afforded pretences to raise heavy exactions from his subjects, with which he gratified his own avarice and extravagance. At his return from Poitou, he assembled a general council, in which the prelates and nobility granted him a subsidy, amounting to a thirteenth of all rents and moveables throughout the nation; and this was levied from the tenants of the clergy, as well as from the laity. Geoffry archbishop of York, instead of submitting to this imposition, not only refused to pay his proportion, but also excommunicated all persons who should collect such a grievous tax upon the possessions of the clergy in his province, and all invaders of ecclesiastical effects; and then withdrew from the kingdom.

A. C. 1207.

Geoffry archbishop of York refuses to pay the talliage, and leaves the kingdom.

A. C. 1207. Notwithstanding this censure and pretext, the talliage was actually levied, and Geoffry's moveables confiscated for his presumptuous behaviour; but the metropolitans remonstrated so warmly against this expedient of raising money, as an intolerable grievance unknown in former ages, that John was prevailed upon to remit the whole exaction.

Mat. Paris.

Disputes
about the
election of
an archbi-
shop of
Canterbury.

John's character was so irregular and unsettled, that his conduct could not be consistent or uniform. He was by turns frightened into compliance, and provoked into the most obstinate opposition. This period gave birth to his quarrel with the pope, which involved himself and the nation in such calamities. Hubert archbishop of Canterbury dying at his palace, the younger monks of Christ-church, assembling that very night, chose Reginald, their sub-prior, for his successor, sung *Te Deum*, and placed him upon the archiepiscopal throne. This new elect set out before morning, with some of the monks for Rome, where he hoped to be confirmed; and all concerned in the clandestine election took an oath of secrecy, on which their success was supposed to depend. Reginald, without regarding this obligation, no sooner arrived on the continent than giving way to the dictates of vanity, he promulgated his elevation, as well as the intent of his journey; and, when he arrived at Rome, Innocent refused to confirm him, until he should be better informed of the affair. Mean while he sent a bull to the suffragans of Canterbury, desiring they would not create a dispute on this subject with the convent of Christ-church; and when they insisted upon their right of electing the archbishop, he heard the cause before his own tribunal, and declared the right of election vested in the convent alone. Mean while the monks concerned in Reginald's election, were incensed at his folly, in divulging the secret; and, as the whole order had not been convened for the ceremony,

ceremony, they now united in setting him aside, and applying to the king for leave to proceed to another election. John granted their request without subjecting them to any restriction; but gave them to understand in private, that he should be extremely pleased if their choice should fall upon John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, who was accordingly elected in all the forms, approved by his majesty, and put in possession of the temporalities of the archbishop. Twelve of the monks were deputed to Rome for his confirmation, which, however, the suffragans opposed, because he had been elevated without their concurrence. Innocent, whose aim was to subject the church of England to the papal authority, that he might govern and tax it without controul, took this opportunity of annulling both elections, and of preferring a prelate, whom he knew devoted to his design.

This pontiff had already, on pretence of relieving the Christians in the Holy-Land, laid a tax upon the English church, which being levied without murmurs, he was encouraged to exert the same power for his own private advantage. With this view he had, during the vacancy of the metropolitan see, sent John Ferentino as his legate into England; and a national synod was called at St. Alban's, though a royal mandate put a stop to their proceedings: but while John was abroad in Guienne, the legate convoked another at Reading, where he laid an imposition on the clergy, amounting to a considerable sum, with which he made his retreat before the king's return. This was such an agreeable sample of what might be drawn from England, that Innocent resolved to fill the vacant archbishopric with one of his own creatures, who would support his authority. He therefore recommended to the deputies of the convent, Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal of English descent, though bred in

Stephen Langton is irregularly elected to that dignity by the pope's direction.

A. C. 1207.

in Paris; and when the monks observed that their commission did not extend to an election, which indeed they durst not undertake without the king's consent, and exprefs powers from their convent; the pope over-ruled all their objections, and commanded them to chuse Langton, on pain of excommunication. Thus threatened, eleven of the number complied; and Stephen was consecrated by Innocent at Viterbo.

The kingdom of England is laid under an interdict.

The ceremony being performed, the pope wrote a courtly letter of recommendation in his favour to the king, whom he presented with a few baubles to avert his indignation: at the same time, the monks of Christ-church were enjoined upon their obedience to receive Langton as their archbishop; and other letters were written to the chief nobility, solliciting their good offices with the king, in behalf of that prelate. All these precautions were insufficient to appease the wrath of John, who forthwith sent a body of troops to expel the monks of Canterbury, and hang them, should they refuse to quit the kingdom immediately. They were obliged to embark for Flanders without delay; their effects were seized, their tenants ejected, and their place supplied with some monks belonging to the abbey of St. Augustin. In answer to the pope's letter, John gave him to understand, that he was determined to maintain the honour of his crown, and support the election of the bishop of Norwich; and that if his holiness should thwart him in this particular, he would suffer no appeals in ecclesiastical disputes to be carried before any foreign court of judicature. Innocent, far from being intimidated by these menaces, sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to exhort the king in his name to receive archbishop Langton, and recal the monks of Christ-church; and, in case of his refusal, to lay the kingdom under an interdict.

interdict. John was terrified by the declaration of these prelates, and offered to obey the pope's order, with a salvo of his rights, dignity, and prerogative: but Innocent would hear of no salvo, or other terms, than his delivery of the regalia with his own hand to archbishop Langton, and his making immediate and full restitution to the convent. The king rejected his proposal; and the three prelates having laid the kingdom under an interdict, retired to the continent, whither they were followed by the bishops of Bath and Hereford. A stop was immediately put to divine service, and the administration of all the sacraments but baptism: church-doors were shut, and the dead buried in ditches and high-ways, without the usual rites or any funeral solemnity. Notwithstanding this interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine service publicly: the censure was slighted by the bishops of Winchester and Norwich: some of the parochial clergy still officiated, and several learned divines preached against the injustice of the pope's proceedings.

Ann. Wav.
Mat. Paris.
Ann. Eccl.
Wighorn.

John was equally enraged and terrified at the prospect of being excommunicated by name, and seeing his subjects absolved of their allegiance. He ordered all the prelates, clergy, and their abettors, who observed the interdict, to leave the kingdom, and seized their lands and revenues; though this order was soon revoked. He sent armed troops to all the nobility, whom he suspected of disaffection, to demand their children or relations, as hostages for their fidelity; and they generally complied with his demand: but when those officers repaired to the habitation of William de Brause, lord of Brecknockshire, on the same errand, his wife resolutely told them, she would never trust her children in the hands of a man who had so basely murdered his own nephew and rightful sovereign. John was so provoked

A. C. 1208.
John takes
hostages
from his
nobility;
and makes
peace with
the king of
Scotland.

A. C. 1208. provoked at this stinging reproach, that he sent another body of forces to seize the person of William, who fled into Ireland with his wife and family. The king, in pursuance of his scheme for preventing an insurrection in England, in case the pope should put his threats in execution, resolved to compromise all disputes with William king of Scotland, that the rebels might find no assistance in that kingdom. The Scots being in possession of Berwick, which was the key or pass to England, had some time ago committed depredations in Northumberland; and the English, in order to prevent these inroads, had, at divers times, attempted to erect a fortress on their own side of the river, at Tweedmouth; but the work was twice interrupted by the Scots, who surprised the guards, and demolished the fortification. William not only countenanced these outrages, but afforded shelter in his dominions to the malcontents of England. John therefore made some overtures of accommodation, and these being rejected, marched at the head of a great army to do himself justice by force of arms; the Scot posted himself at Roxburgh to cover his dominions from insult: but neither side being much inclined to a battle, they renewed the negotiation, and a peace was concluded, on condition that the unfinished castle of Tweedmouth should be demolished; that John's sons, Henry and Richard, should espouse Margaret and Isabel, the daughters of William, who were immediately delivered to the king of England, to be educated at his court, together with fifteen thousand marks by way of portion; and that the fealty and homage due to the English monarch, for the lands which the Scottish king possessed in England, should, for the future, be paid by the prince of Scotland. In consequence of this agreement, William made a formal resignation of those lands to John, who bestowed the investiture of them upon young Alexander;

ander; and that prince did him homage at Alnewick. The king of England, at this period, exacted the same oath and submission from all his vassals and freeholders, above the age of twelve years; so that even the Welsh were assembled for this purpose, and swore fealty at Wodestock.

Fordun.
Rymer.

John seemed to think this new submission of his subjects entitled him to a despotic power in his government: for he deprived his nobles of their favourite diversions, by issuing a severe prohibition against hunting, hawking, and fowling: ordered all the mounds of his forests to be levelled, and the ditches to be filled up, that his deer might have free liberty to range about, and eat up the corn and fruits of the husbandman; and a woman being killed by accident at Oxford, he granted a warrant to arrest, and imprisoned three innocent clergymen, who were afterwards hanged without any form of trial: an act of oppression, in consequence of which three thousand students immediately quitted Oxford; so that the place was almost totally abandoned. Such outrageous acts of tyranny would have been highly impolitic at any time; but they seemed to be the effect of absolute frenzy at this juncture, when the sentence of excommunication hung over his head, and his people were on the brink of being absolved from their allegiance. He had sent the abbot of Beaulieu, a convent of Cistercians, which he had lately founded in Hampshire, as his ambassador to Rome, to avert the pope's indignation, and accommodate all differences with the Roman see; and Innocent had given instructions to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to settle the terms of pacification. These prelates came over to England by virtue of a safe-conduct, and John appointed some bishops and noblemen to treat with them at Canterbury. The articles were soon adjusted and signed by the deputies on both sides: but

He is ex-
communicated.

John

A. C. 1209.

John objecting to that which obliged him to restore all that had been taken from ecclesiastics, the three prelates refused to admit of any alteration, and retired to the continent. The king endeavoured to negotiate a more favourable treaty with Langton himself, who, arriving at Dover, was met by Geoffry Pitz-piers and other noblemen, with proposals from John, which he absolutely rejected, and left the kingdom immediately. He was afterwards invited to return, with promise of full satisfaction: but he refused the invitation; and the three bishops, delegated by the pope for this purpose, denounced the sentence of excommunication against the person of John king of England. It was published in France; but though several English bishops and abbots were enjoined to promulgate the censure in all conventual churches throughout the kingdom, no prelate or clergyman would venture to obey the order. Geoffry archdeacon of Norwich, and one of the barons of the exchequer, observing to his colleagues, that it was unsafe for beneficed persons to continue in the service of an excommunicated prince, retired from the bench; but John being informed of his declaration, ordered him to be apprehended, imprisoned, and loaded with a leaden cope, the intolerable weight of which is said to have put an end to his life. Hugh archdeacon of Wells being preferred to the see of Lincoln, and having obtained leave to go abroad, and receive consecration from the archbishop of Rouen, went directly to the abbey of Pontigny, where he was consecrated by Stephen Langton, to whom he made profession of canonical obedience. John immediately seized his revenue, and gave his post of chancellor to Walter de Grey; and, as the censure was not yet published, proceeded with the utmost severity against all those who paid the least regard either to that or the interdiction. The nobility seemed to have approved of his

measures ; for a fuller assembly was never known than that which attended his court when he passed the Christmas-holidays at Windsor.

It was on this occasion that he exacted vast sums, on pretence of making an attempt to recover Normandy ; and of settling the affairs of Ireland, which were now in great confusion. How willing soever the laity might have been to grant subsidies, the clergy were certainly fleeced by dint of violence and extortion : without imposing a regular tax, he exacted money, by way of composition, from monasteries, canons, templars, and hospitallers ; and the Jews were oppressed with great cruelty. By means of these extraordinary aids, he raised a great army, with which he embarked at Wales for Ireland, and landed safely at Dublin, where he received the homage of above twenty Irish lords, who went thither to meet and offer him their voluntary allegiance : but as Cathol king of Connaught refused to submit, he marched against that prince, and reduced his whole country. In order to civilize the people, he established the laws of England throughout the nation, and appointed proper judges to see them put in execution. John Grey bishop of Norwich was created justiciary, and ordered the money to be new coined of the same value with that of England, for the convenience of carrying on a traffic between the kingdoms. These measures being taken, John advanced against Lacy earl of Ulster, and his brother Walter, who had protected William de Braouse when he fled into Ireland ; their castles were reduced, and themselves compelled to quit the kingdom ; William escaped into France, and died at Paris ; but his wife and eldest son were seized in Galloway by Duncan de Carrick ; and that nobleman delivered them to John, who committed them to close prison, where they are said to have died of famine.

A. C. 1209.
Chr. Mailr.
Ann. Wav.
Mat. Paris.

He embarks
for Ireland,

Rymer,
Ann. Marg.
Ch. Dunt.

A. C. 1210,

John

A. C. 1210.

He fleeces
the clergy;
and humbles
Llewellyn
prince of
North
Wales.

John having regulated the affairs of Ireland, returned to England, and convoking an assembly of all the abbots and chiefs of religious orders through the kingdom, extorted from them above an hundred thousand pounds sterling. The Cistercians pleading their privilege, and refusing to pay their proportion, he fleeced to such a degree, that almost all their houses were reduced to beggary, except the convent of Beaulieu in Hampshire, which he himself had founded, as an act of penance for the murder of Arthur, and that of Margam in Glamorgan-shire, where he had been sumptuously entertained in his way to Ireland, and at his return: these were exempted from the impositions; but all the other Cistercians were not only impoverished, but debarred all correspondence with their order abroad. Indeed an embargo was laid upon the shipping in all the ports of England, to prevent an intercourse of persons between this kingdom and the continent, without an immediate licence: and a proclamation was published, requiring all English bishops and ecclesiastics, residing in foreign parts, to return at a certain time, otherwise their benefices would be seized for the king's use; the prohibition was likewise renewed, against all exercise of the papal authority in England, on pain of corporal punishment. Not contented with setting the pope at defiance, and the contributions he had already received, he laid another talliage on the clergy, to defray the expence of an expedition against the Welsh, who had made some incursions over the English borders. He accordingly assembled a numerous army at Owestre, and advancing along the sea-coast as far as Conway, burned Bangor, and committed such ravages in the country, that Llewellyn prince of North-Wales, who had retired with his people, cattle, and effects, into the mountains of Snowdon in Caernarvonshire, seeing his country desolate,

sent his wife Jane, the king's own natural daughter, to sue for peace, which was granted, on condition of his paying twenty thousand head of cattle, forty horses, delivering hostages, and doing homage; so that John returned in triumph to Whitchurch; and levied a scutage upon all knights who had not attended him in the expedition.

A. C. 1211.

Mat. Paris.
Powel's :
History of
Wales.

The pope, at his request, had sent Pandulf, a Roman subdeacon; and Durand, a knight templar, into England, to accommodate all differences between the regal and pontifical powers; and John now assembled a general council of his lay nobility at Northampton, to treat with these deputies: but, as he still refused to make full restitution to the clergy, they returned to France, after having published his excommunication. Nevertheless, he did not despair of being reconciled to the pope upon easier terms, and ordered some of his chaplains to accompany the nuncios to Rome, with powers and instructions for effecting a solid peace. Mean while, in a conference at Durham, he renewed the alliance with William king of Scotland, whose son Alexander, now fourteen years of age, attended him to London, where the king knighted him at Clerkenwell; and, at the same time, received the homage of Alan lord of Galloway, for a large tract of country, given to that nobleman in the north of Ireland.

Deputies
from the
pope arrive
in England.

A. C. 1212.

Fordun.

The pope, incensed at John's rejecting the proposals of peace, which had been offered by his nuncios, and paying very little regard to the promises he made by the mouths of his deputies, issued a bull, absolving all his subjects from the oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him on pain of excommunication: at the same time he wrote letters to the king of France, and other princes on the continent, to fall upon his territories, and distress him as an enemy to the church. Among

The pope
absolves his
subjects
from their
allegiance.

A. C. 1212. others, he exhorted Llewellyn prince of North Wales, to invade England; absolved him from the homage he had lately taken, and released his country from the interdict which it had hitherto undergone in common with this kingdom. The Welsh prince, who could not brook the loss of Flintshire and Denbighshire, which he had ceded at the last peace, was glad of this opportunity to oblige himself and his holiness; and engaging in an association with the other princes and barons, fell upon the English marches with great fury, taking castles, massacring garrisons, burning towns, and ravaging the country, from which he carried off an immense booty.

Ann. Wav.
Mat. Paris.

John is terrified by advices of a design formed against his life.

John being informed of these hostilities, marched into Wales, and Llewellyn retired at his approach. Having demolished a castle or two that were not worth keeping, he returned to Nottingham, where, receiving a more circumstantial detail of the barbarities committed by the Welsh prince, he ordered all the hostages, consisting of the principal Welsh nobility, to be put to death, to the number of thirty. His revenge being still unsatisfied with this cruel sacrifice, he resolved to exterminate the whole race of the ancient Britons, and had actually concerted measures for the expedition, when the king of Scotland gave him notice of a dangerous conspiracy formed against his life; and he received an intimation of the same nature from his natural daughter, who had married Llewellyn. Alarmed at this intelligence, he shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham, and, for a whole fortnight, suffered none to approach his person; but his fears subsiding, he resumed his enterprize, and advanced as far as Chester, where he received other letters of intimation, importing that, if he should proceed farther, he would be certainly assassinated by his own nobles, or betrayed

A. C. 1212.

trayed to the enemy : here too he first understood, that his vassals and subjects were absolved from their allegiance ; and these concurring tidings terrified him to such a degree, that he dismissed his forces and returned to London.

Ann. Marg.

His nobility form an association against him.

He had no reason to expect extraordinary proofs of attachment from his nobility, who generally despised his character, and abhorred his administration. He had debauched their wives and daughters, impoverished them by taxes, seized their estates, and insulted their persons : he had even ventured to make a general inquisition into the demesnes of the crown, as possessed by his predecessors : an odious measure at all times ; but extremely alarming in the reign of such a tyrant as John, who they knew would seize the least flaw or defect in their titles, as a pretence for depriving them of their fortunes ; so that he was at once the object of their terror and contempt. Wanting nothing but an opportunity to shake off his yoke, they were rejoiced at the censures passed against him by the pope, who they imagined would pursue his blow, and send an army to their relief, in imitation of the crusade which he had raised against the Albigenses. Had Simon de Montfort completed the reduction of this people, in all probability the pope would have sent that renowned general, with his victorious forces, into England ; but, as the war in Languedoc was still unfinished, the English nobility, impatient of delay, entered into an association against John ; and, by an authentic deed, signed and sealed by every individual of the confederacy, invited Philip king of France to come over, and receive the crown of England, which they would assist him in wresting from the usurper.

Mat. Paris.

He fortifies himself with foreign alliances.

John being apprized of this conspiracy, without knowing the particular persons concerned in it, exacted hostages from all the nobility he suspected ;

and by means of these, made himself master of their castles. Stephen Ridel, late keeper of the great seal, was banished, and Geoffry de Norwich, one of John's own chaplains, confined to close prison, where he died; Robert Fitzwalter, whose daughter the king is said to have poisoned, because she would not submit to his embraces, fled into France; and Eustace de Vesci, his accomplice in the plot, retired into Scotland. John seized their lands, and sent their knights, as well as those belonging to the exiled prelates, to assist his friends in Poitou; and from those who chose to stay at home, he extorted a composition: he demolished Robert's castles, and destroyed his woods in Essex; and became so timorous, that he never stirred abroad without a body-guard of foreign bowmen, hired for the defence of his person. Influenced by this apprehension, he endeavoured to conciliate the affection of his people by some popular regulations. He made a severe enquiry into the conduct of high-sheriffs, who had embezzled great part of the public revenue. Some were imprisoned, some were fined, and others fled, to avoid prosecution: he set on foot an examination into the behaviour of the foresters, who had committed flagrant acts of oppression: the fines they had imposed were remitted; and they promised, upon oath, to exact no more than what was usually paid in the reign of Henry II: a tax laid upon the sea-ports, which had produced great clamour, was withdrawn; and the king, affecting compassion and humanity, received the petitions of the widows and the poor, and promised graciously to redress all their grievances.

With a view to decoy the pope into a pacification, he sent other agents to Rome, to solicit an accommodation on the terms which the nuncios proposed; and, with respect to the article of restitution, produced acquittances from all the abbots, convents,

convents, and secular clergy, which they had given upon compulsion. To anticipate the bad effects of another miscarriage in this negotiation, he resolved to fortify himself with foreign alliances; he engaged his nephew Otho the emperor in his interest by large subsidies, in consideration of which that prince promised to assist him with all his power. He retained in his service, by considerable pensions, Renaud de Dammartin count of Boulogne and Mortaign; Theobald count of Bar, with his son Henry William count of Holland; Henry duke of Saxony; the duke of Limburgh; Ferrand count of Flanders, son of Sancho king of Portugal; and Henry duke of Louvaign: these princes entered into a league with John, who gratified them with considerable annuities and grants of lands in England; for which they did him homage, and undertook to furnish him with a certain number of forces.

A. C. 1213.
Ch. J. Petr.
Rymer.
Trivet.

While John thus extended his alliances, and shielded himself against the machinations of his enemies, cardinal Langton, with the exiled bishops of London and Ely, repaired to Rome, and earnestly intreated the pope to proceed to the deposition of John, whom they represented as a monster and tyrant, the object of universal hate and abhorrence. Innocent, in compliance with their request, assembled a council of cardinals and prelates, in which he solemnly deposed John, and declared the throne of England vacant: then he wrote to Philip king of France, enjoining him to execute the sentence, and unite England to his dominions for ever. He at the same time published a crusade against the deposed monarch all over Europe, exhorting the nobility, knights, and all men whatsoever, to take up arms against that persecutor of the church, and enlist under the banners of Philip, bestowing upon them the same indulgences that were granted

The pope pronounces a sentence of deposition against him.

A. C. 1213.

to those who engaged against the infidels in the Holy-Land: and, lastly, he appointed Pandulf, his legate a latere, to see the sentence put in execution. Not but that he supplied him at the same time with instructions and powers to make peace with John upon certain conditions, which if he should delay accepting, till a certain day fixed for his final resolve, the legate was ordered to return immediately. Langton and his two suffragans having obtained their desire in the sentence of deposition, returned to France, in order to instigate Philip to execute the pope's mandate; and they found that monarch as forward and sanguine as they could have wished. He had already formed the design of conquering England, and proposed the enterprize in a general council of the prelates and nobility at Soissons, where he found them very well disposed to embark in the undertaking. He had effected a match between his cousin Peter de Dreux and Alice heiress of Brittany, by which alliance the whole naval force of that province was at his disposal; he employed a whole year in building ships, and equipping a sufficient armament for an expedition of such importance. Eustace, a pirate who had been in the service of John, deserted to Philip with five stout vessels; he laid an embargo on all ships that were in the ports of France; he assembled a fleet of seventeen hundred sail at Boulogne, and fixed the rendezvous of his army at Rouen, where all his barons and vassals were ordered to meet on the twenty-first day of April, on pain of being deemed traitors, and forfeiting their estates.

Mat. Paris.
Rigord.

John makes
great prepara-
tions to
oppose the
invasion of
Philip.

Mean while the king of England wreaked his revenge on Langton and the bishop of London, by cutting down the woods belonging to the see of Canterbury, and demolishing the castle of Stordford; and having thus exhausted the first transports
of

of his choler, began to prepare for opposing the invasion. He ordered all the ships of burthen in England to be brought by their respective masters to Portsmouth, ready manned, armed, and victualled, there to enter into his pay and service, on the twenty-fourth day of March. He appointed Dover, Feversham, and Ipswich, as places of rendezvous, to which he summoned all his earls, barons, knights, esquires, and vassals, with horse and armour, before the twenty-first day of April, on pain of being branded for cowards, and degraded. Such numbers assembled on this occasion, that by far the greatest part was sent home as unnecessary, though these were mostly of the common people. The bishop of Norwich arrived from his government, with five hundred knights, and the same number of light cavalry; and the whole force, assembled on Barham-Down near Canterbury, amounted to sixty thousand men, well armed and appointed; yet, powerful as this body was, he placed his chief confidence in the fleet he had provided, which was superior in strength and number to that of the enemy.

During this pause of expectation, two knights-templars arrived with a message to the king from Pandulf, assuring his majesty of his hearty desire to employ his good offices in his behalf, and proposing a conference to settle the terms of his reconciliation with the church. John immediately embraced the proposal, and met the legate at Dover, where in a conference Pandulf expatiated upon the prodigious armament of Philip, the influence of the exiled prelates and nobility, who would accompany that monarch in his expedition, and the dissatisfaction of the English, who had invited him to engage in such an undertaking. John, conscious of his own guilt and unpopular character, was frightened at the picture he drew: he forthwith

John submits to the pope's proposals of peace.

A. C. 1213. suspected every nobleman in his court and army; and his apprehensions were augmented, by an idle prophecy of a hermit called Peter of Pontefract, who pretended to foretel that John would be deposed before the end of the year; a prediction which, whether it was the effect of knavery or superstition, made a very deep impresson on the minds of the people, and operated strongly to the prejudice of the king's affairs. In a word, John was so terrified by these concurring considerations, that he agreed to the legate's proposals of peace; and swore to the observance of them, in presence of the count of Boulogne, the earls of Salisbury, Warenne, and Ferrers, who likewise promised, upon oath, to concur in the execution of the articles, to the following effect: King John shall admit into his favour archbishop Langton, and be reconciled to the exiled prelates, who shall resume their functions, and exercise their authority without interruption; Robert Fitzwalter, Eustace de Vescei, and all others both of the clergy and laity, concerned in the association, shall be pardoned, and restored to their honours and estates; full restitution shall be made of all liberty and property which hath been taken away in the course of this dispute; eight thousand pounds shall be immediately remitted in part of restitution to the exiled prelates, for the payment of their debts and the expence of their return; and their agents shall be put into immediate possession of their effects and temporalities; John shall release all homage exacted from their vassals since the interdict; reverse all sentences pronounced against clergymen or laymen on account of this dispute; and oblige himself to refrain from issuing writs of outlawry against churchmen for the future; all disputes about damages shall be determined by the legate, or be referred to the pope's decision.

Though this reconciliation with the pope removed all ecclesiastical censures from the king and kingdom, and freed John from all the odium and danger which attended the resentment of the clergy, it could not prevent the invasion of Philip, nor appease the discontents of the nobility, who had engaged to assist that monarch in his endeavours to ascend the English throne. These alarming circumstances still remained; and it required a very extraordinary expedient to prevent the mischief that might ensue. No scheme occurred so feasible as that of putting his kingdom under the protection of the Roman see, by which it would be screened from all the attempts of christian invaders; at least it would translate the odium from John to his enemies; and perhaps the artillery of the church might become as terrible to the monarch of France, as it had been to the king of England. John, finding himself reduced to the alternative of reigning as a vassal to the pope, or of being deposed altogether, and treated as a murderer, usurper, and tyrant, had no room for hesitation. He resolved to do homage to Innocent; and the ceremony was performed in the house of the Templars at Dover. He resigned his crown to the pope's legate, and received it again as a present from the see of Rome, to which he swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an acknowledgment of the pope's superiority, and in lieu of service an annual tribute of seven hundred marks for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland: but, even in this act of submission, he reserved to himself and his heirs the power of administering justice, and all his rights and regalities. This shameful ceremony was performed on ascension-day, in the midst of a great concourse of people, who beheld it with shame and indignation. John, in doing homage to the pope, presented a

A. C. 1213.
John resigns his crown to the pope, and consents to hold it as a vassal to the Roman see.

Mat. Paris.
Cart. 15.
Joh.
Act. Pauc.

sum

A. C. 1213. sum of money to his representative, which the proud legate trampled under his feet as a mark of the king's dependence. Every spectator glowed with resentment; and the archbishop of Dublin exclaimed aloud against such intolerable insolence. Pandulf, not satisfied with this mortifying act of superiority, kept the crown and scepter five whole days, and then restored them as the special favour of the holy see. John was despised before this extraordinary resignation; but now he was looked upon as a contemptible wretch, unworthy to sit upon the throne: while he himself seemed altogether insensible of his disgrace; nor did his pride and cruelty abate in consequence of this humiliation: he seemed to triumph in his having preserved his crown in spite of the prediction of the hermit, who had been imprisoned with a view to punish him, in case he should be found to have deceived the people with a false prophecy; and now, though it was plainly verified, he ordered him to be hanged as an impostor.

The English navy destroys the French fleet at Damme in Flanders.

Pandulf having obtained this resignation, which was confirmed by the oaths of twelve principal barons, and three prelates, together with a charter exempting clergymen from outlawry, and the sum of eight thousand pounds for the exiled bishops; he retired to the continent without removing the interdiction, or absolving John of his excommunication. Philip, who had undertaken this expedition at the instances of the pope, and expended an immense sum in the naval armament he had prepared for the conquest of England, was extremely chagrined when the legate informed him of the transaction between him and John at Dover, and cautioned him against invading the patrimony of St. Peter. He knew the consequence of an interdiction, and sentence of excommunication. This very resignation was a recent example of the papal autho-

authority ; but, at the same time, he was sensible of having a great advantage over John, in the affection and esteem of his subjects ; and resolved to prosecute the war in spite of the pope and all his censures. He would not however make a descent upon England, until he should reduce Ferrand, count of Flanders, John's ally, who might invade his dominions in his absence ; and therefore he began his march along the coast from Calais, while his fleet supplied him with provisions as he advanced. Having reduced Cassel, Ypres, and some other places, he undertook the siege of Bruges, and his navy lay at anchor at Damme, about two leagues from the place. Ferrand, in this emergency, solicited succours from England ; and John sent immediately to his relief, a fleet of five hundred large ships, well provided, besides eight hundred smaller vessels, with seven hundred knights, and a great body of forces, under the command of W. Longue-Epée, earl of Salisbury, and Renaud, count of Boulogne. When they approached the French fleet at Damme, it appeared so numerous, that they were startled, and began to think it would be impracticable to attack it with any probability of success ; but, receiving intelligence, that almost all the French forces were on shore, employed in the siege of Ghent, which Philip had undertaken after the reduction of Bruges, they attacked the shipping with great fury, took above three hundred vessels laden with provision, arms, and ammunition ; burned an hundred that ran a-shore, while the rest, being farther out at sea, saved themselves by flight. The English, flushed with this success, landed in order to reduce Damme, and destroy the vessels that were in the harbour ; but they met with such a warm reception from a body of French forces, which Philip had detached to the place at their first appearance on the coast, that they

A. C. 1213⁷ they were obliged to re-imbark with precipitation, and considerable loss. This advantage was too trivial to console the French king for the damage he had sustained. His design upon England was absolutely defeated: he ordered his remaining ships, that were in the harbour of Damme, to be unloaded and set on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the English: he exacted hostages from Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges, for the payment of the ransom to which they agreed, and marched back to his own dominions. Ferrand, who had retired to Holland, immediately returned with a body of forces, and recovered all the places which had been taken; a task facilitated by the assistance of the English, and the favour of the inhabitants.

Rymer.
M. Paris.
Rigord.
Chr. Dunst.
G. Brito.

John is absolved of the sentence of excommunication.

Philip's expedition to England being defeated for one year, John dismissed the troops he had assembled for the protection of the coast; and projected, in his turn, an invasion of France on the side of Flanders by Ferrand, reinforced with part of the English troops already in that country; and the emperor Otho promised to furnish a considerable army for that purpose; while John himself proposed to land in Poitou, and attack France on that quarter. With this view he summoned his barons, knights, and vassals, to meet him at Portsmouth; but they refused to fight under his banners, until he should be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. He, therefore, wrote to Langton and the exiled bishops, to come over with all expedition; sent an honourable convoy to conduct them into the kingdom, together with letters from four and twenty noblemen, who promised to protect them from all damage or insult. Thus solicited, assured, and attended, they landed at Dover; and, repairing to Winchester, were in their way to the cathedral, met by the king, who accompanied them to the chapter-house of the convent

vent, where the archbishop obliged the king to renew his oath of fealty to pope Innocent; to swear he would love, defend, and maintain church and clergy, against all their adversaries; that he would revive the laws of king Edward; and make full restitution before Easter to all concerned in the interdict, on pain of relapsing into the sentence of excommunication. This oath being taken, John was led to the church-door, where he was publicly absolved; and next day he issued out precepts, ordering four responsible men, with the reeve, to come from every town of his demesnes, to St. Alban's, on the fourth day of August, to give an account of all the damages which the exiled bishops had sustained.

Rot. Claus.
15 Joh.

The barons
refuse to fol-
low him in
his expedi-
tion to Gui-
enne.

John submitted to every thing that Langton was pleased to propose; and having smarted so severely by his quarrels with the clergy, resolved for the future to avoid intermeddling in their affairs. Whenever a see became vacant, he granted the Congé d'Elire to fill it up, and left the election entirely to the chapters and convents, without presuming to recommend any particular person. Perhaps this tameness encouraged the insolence of Langton, who, though he had never received the least provocation from John, seems to have come over with a view, not only to augment the papal authority, but also to embroil the nation, and distress the king's affairs. He possessed all the pride, arrogance, and turbulent disposition, of Becket whose example he affected to imitate; he grasped at the disposal of all ecclesiastical dignities, and wanted to act as sovereign, even in civil affairs. The ceremony of John's absolution being performed, and every other necessary step taken for the satisfaction of the clergy, that prince returned to Portsmouth in order to prosecute his expedition; but his vassals having already attended the greatest part of the forty days they were obliged to serve, gave him to understand, that their money was almost exhausted, and they

could

A. C. 1213. could not proceed without a supply from his exchequer. This proposal he rejected; and, on the supposition that they would follow him of their own accord, embarked with his own household, and set sail for the island of Jersey. He had appointed Geoffry Fitzpiers, and Peter bishop of Winchester, regents of the realm in his absence, and enjoined them to consult the archbishop of Canterbury in all affairs of consequence. These justiciaries summoned a council at St. Alban's, where the king's peace was proclaimed, reviving the laws of Henry I. abrogating those that were oppressive, abolishing alechots, or drinking booths, kept by foresters to extort money, on pretence of informing against the people for transgressions; and forbidding, on severe penalties, all sheriffs, foresters, and other officers of the crown, to extort money, on any pretence whatsoever.

Langton threatens him with a new sentence.

Immediately after this council, John returned from Jersey transported with indignation against the barons, who had refused to serve in the expedition; and as these were generally from the North, he forthwith assembled an army to chastise them for their disobedience. With this view he had advanced as far as Northampton, where he was overtaken by Langton, who forbade him to proceed, observing, that he could not make war without the consent of his clergy, unless he had a mind to infringe the oath he had taken at his absolution. John replied, that this was a secular affair, in which the clergy had no concern; and next day continued his march to Nottingham; but thither he was pursued by the archbishop, who threatened to excommunicate him and all his followers, unless they would immediately desist from this enterprize; and John was fain to comply. He dismissed his troops, and summoned the barons to answer in his court, which was held at Wallingford; and there he was reconciled to them through the mediation of cardinal

nal Nicholas, bishop of Fracate, who had just arrived in England, as the pope's legate a latere, to adjust the estimate of the damages sustained by the clergy.

This prelate was sent over, at John's request, by the bishop of Norwich, whom he had sent ambassador to Otho, and directed to proceed from the imperial court to Rome, with complaints against Langton, who had entered into a conspiracy with the nobility against the king. At a synod of his prelates and clergy convened in St. Paul's, on pretence of examining the losses of the exiled bishops, Langton had conferred privately with a number of barons, and formed an association against John, from whom they intended to extort concessions, in the name of their ancient liberties, according to the charter granted by Henry I. at his coronation. John had received some intimation of this conspiracy, which was confirmed by the oaths of all parties concerned, who swore to assert those liberties with their lives and fortunes, while the archbishop promised to assist them with all his ecclesiastical power and influence: this was the cause of the king's march, and this was the spring that actuated Langton in his efforts to frustrate the expedition. The pope, whose interest it was to maintain this weak prince upon the throne, espoused his cause with great sincerity; ordered his legate Nicholas to destroy the letters and bulls against John, which had been trusted to the charge of Langton, and wrote to the king, assuring him of his favour and protection, provided he would avoid all disputes with the bishops and clergy: at the same time he sent letters to the king of Scotland and the nobility, conjuring them to preserve their allegiance to John, as a prince under the immediate protection of the holy see; and the legate was directed to annul all conspiracies and associations formed on account of the interdict.

A. C. 1213.
Cler. Dunst.
Ann. Wav.

A conspiracy formed against John by the barons of the North under the direction of Langton.

Rymes's
Fœdera.
Mat. Paris.

Nicho-

6. G. 7213.
 8. G. 7214.
 6. G. 7215.
 to settle the
 restitution
 in favour of
 the exiled
 bishops.

Nicholas, immediately after his arrival, received the king's homage in the church of St. Paul, together with the first year's tribute of a thousand marks according to a new instrument of John's resignation and fealty, sealed with a golden bull. The prelates and nobility were assembled, as well for this ceremony as with a view to fix the estimate of the damages, which was attended with some difficulty from the contradictory accounts that were produced by the king's officers, and the commissioners of the exiled prelates. John offered to pay, in the mean time, an hundred thousand marks, and give security for what further sum should be found due, after a candid inquisition. But this proposal was rejected by the bishops, who wanted to protract the affair, until the king should be tired into a compliance with all their demands. Accordingly it was canvassed in three successive councils, till at length in an assembly at Reading, the bishops accepted fifteen thousand marks in part of their demands, until the whole dispute could be determined; and the legate made a progress through the kingdom, visiting the monasteries, and filling up the vacancies according to the direction of his holiness.

A. C. 1214.
 Chr. Dunst.
 Mat. Paris.

John's expedition into
 Poitou.

While the legate was employed in this visitation, John, being pressed by his foreign allies to fulfil his engagements, resolved to prosecute his expedition to Poitou, according to the promise he had made to Raymond count of Thoulouse, and Guy count of Auvergne. Raymond, together with the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, had visited him in the winter to receive their pensions, and concert the operations of the ensuing campaign. The emperor Otho had promised to join the count of Flanders, in order to invade France from that quarter, and John resolved to send thither the earl of Salisbury with a body of forces: while he himself should

should carry the war into Poitou, in conjunction with his friends of that province. Having therefore made the necessary preparations, and left Peter bishop of Winchester, as justiciary of the realm, which was likewise put under the legate's protection, he set sail from Portsmouth in the beginning of February, and about the middle of the month landed at Rochelle. He was joined by Savary Mauleon when he entered Poitou, where he took divers castles, and reduced several powerful barons, among whom was Geoffry de Luzignan, who did homage to John at Parthenay, together with Hugh count de la Marche, and his brother the count D'Eu, in consequence of a treaty by which John promised to restore the lands in England, formerly belonging to this last nobleman, and to bestow his daughter Jane in marriage upon Hugh's eldest son, with a rental of two thousand pounds sterling.

Rymer.

John flies before Lewis prince of France.

Poitou being thus secured in the interest of John, he marched into Anjou, where he reduced Beaufort with some other inconsiderable places; leaving directions for fortifying Angers, he advanced to besiege the fortrefs of La Roche in Maine, from whence he detached parties to ravage the Pais Nantois, and in a skirmish took Robert, eldest son of the count de Dreux, and fourteen French noblemen. In order to stop the progress of his conquests, and relieve the fortrefs which he had invested, Lewis prince of France, and the mareschal Henry Clement, took the field with a body of horse and foot; and though John was greatly superior to them in number, he no sooner heard of their approach, than he raised the siege, and retired with such precipitation, that he left his tents, baggage, and military engines, to the enemy, lost a good number of men in crossing the river Loire, and marched eighteen leagues in one day without halting. Thus did John lose by his cowardice all the

Rizord. G. Brito.

A. C. 1214. footing he had gained in Anjou; while his allies in Flanders sustained a total defeat from Philip, at Bovines: where the emperor Otho, being vanquished in a pitched battle, narrowly escaped captivity; and the counts of Flanders, Holland, and Boulogne, with the earl of Salisbury, were taken prisoners. This victory, obtained over an army of one hundred and forty thousand men, effectually prevented a revolt, which had been concerted by some of the French nobility with the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Normandy. They now despaired of success; and Philip, marching immediately into Poitou, received at Loudun the submission of the viscount de Thouars, to whom he was reconciled by the mediation of Peter de Dreux, duke of Brittany. John, seeing all his schemes baffled, and terrified at Philip's progress, solicited the good offices of Robert de Curson, an Englishman, who resided at the court of France as the pope's legate, assuring him that he intended to undertake an expedition for the relief of the christians in the Holy Land. Robert employed his interest and remonstrances so effectually, that the French king agreed to a truce for five years, during which every thing should remain on each side in its present situation; and, Robert de Dreux being exchanged for the earl of Salisbury, John returned to England, after a very inglorious campaign.

Rymer.
Rigord.

Dispute between the pope and Langton favourable to John.

During his absence, a dispute had arisen between the legate Nicholas and the archbishop of Canterbury, from which he reaped some advantage. Langton taking umbrage at the other's filling up all the ecclesiastical vacancies without his concurrence, assembled his suffragans at Dunstable, and with their consent inhibited Nicholas from supplying the vacancies within the province of Canterbury, appealing to the pope from any step he should

should take contrary to this exhibition. The legate paying no regard to this declaration, continued to fill up the vacant benefices; and, in the mean time, dispatched Pandulf to oppose the appeal at the court of Rome. Innocent was already prepossessed against Langton and his suffragans, who, he understood, made a practice of embezzling the greatest part of the Peter-pence collected within their respective dioceses; he had even directed Nicholas to call them to account for this alienation, and compel them to refund, by dint of ecclesiastical censures, if they should be found necessary; and now Pandulf giving a favourable account of John's conduct; and a disadvantageous idea of Langton's turbulence and pride, the pope believed every suggestion to their prejudice. Indeed he was influenced by more substantial proofs than bare assertion. He saw the golden bull of resignation and homage; touched the first annual payment, and was assured that Nicholas freely exercised his legatine powers without any interruption from the crown. He therefore lent a deaf ear to all the representations of the archbishop's brother, Simon Langton, and the other agents sent to justify the appeal; and favoured John with a grant, exempting his person from excommunication, and his royal chapel from an interdict, without a special mandate from his holiness; so that he could no longer be distressed by the censures of the metropolitan. At the same time, he directed Nicholas to deliver the nation from the interdict, upon John's giving security for paying twelve thousand pounds a year to Langton and the other bishops who had been exiled, until the whole should amount to forty thousand marks, at which he rated their damages. The legate, in consequence of this order, convoked a council at St. Paul's, and John finding sureties for what remained unpaid, the in-

Mat. Paris.
Rymer.

A. C. 1214. terdict, which had continued six years, was removed, to the unspeakable joy of the nation in general; though this decision was by no means satisfactory to the bishops, who had formerly rejected a larger sum by way of compensation.

Mat. Paris.
Chr. Dunst.

The barons
demand the
confirmation
of the
liberties.

This dispute was no sooner terminated, than the nation was involved in other troubles of far greater consequence. The barons of Langton's conspiracy assembled, on pretence of devotion, at St. Edmundsbury, where they bound themselves by oath at the great altar, to demand of the king the confirmation of their liberties contained in the charter of Henry I. and the laws to which it referred; and to compel him to do them justice by force of arms, should he refuse to comply with their request. Pursuant to this obligation, they repaired in the beginning of January to London, in a military garb and equipage, and presented their demand to the king, observing, that he had promised to grant it when he was absolved at Winchester. Far from complying with their request,

A. C. 1215.

the king repented their presumption, and insisted upon their promising, under their hands and seals, that they never would demand or extort such liberties, either from him or his successors: but finding that all the noblemen about his person, except two or three, refused to obey this order, as an unprecedented act of power; and that the other barons were not only inflexible, but already prepared to support their petition with force of arms, he began to be apprehensive of his person, and, in order to gain time, desired he might defer his answer upon such an important affair till the latter end of Easter, when they should have satisfaction. The reigns of weak princes have always been favourable to the natural rights of mankind. Liberty has often sprung from despotism and usurpation. A king conscious of his own weak title to the throne,

Mat. Paris.

is glad to compound with his subjects. A tyrant drives them to despair, in consequence of which they sometimes recover their freedom. The Saxon barons enjoyed original privileges from a fair compact between the people and the king, on whom they conferred the sovereign authority. The Normans had no title to the benefit of those laws, which were infringed by the very nature of their tenure; for they possessed their lands by the ejection of the rightful proprietors; but Henry I. reconciled them to his usurpation by granting this charter, which he never intended to observe. The same bait had been offered to them by Stephen for the same reason; and though he had likewise neglected the performance of his promise, they looked upon these grants and promises as legal rights to be asserted with the first convenient opportunity. They could never have found a more favourable conjuncture, than the reign of a weak, capricious prince, like John, universally hated and despised by his subjects.

He was very sensible of the dangerous predicament in which he stood, and began to take precautions against the impending mischief. He exacted a new oath of allegiance from all persons throughout England: he courted the favour of the clergy by granting a charter, establishing the right of free elections in all churches, monasteries, cathedrals, and conventual societies; assumed the cross that he might enjoy the benefit and privilege annexed to those who dedicated themselves to the service of God against the infidels; and sent William Mauclere to Rome, to complain of the conspiracy, and crave the pope's particular protection. The barons, at the same time, dispatched Eustace de Vesey, and other agents, to justify their conduct, and solicit the mediation of his holiness, towards the recovery of their undoubted rights and

Both sides
appeal to
the pope.

A. C. 1215.

privileges; they assured the pope, that not only the northern barons, who first avowed the demand, were concerned in the confederacy, but it was the general cause of the whole nation; and in order to engage him in their behalf, they exaggerated their own merit in supporting the liberty of the church, while the kingdom laboured under the interdict. Innocent, who considered John as his own pupil, whom he could at all times govern, wrote letters to the prelates and barons of England, reproaching Langton and the bishops for favouring these dissensions, and commanding them to promote peace between the parties: he exhorted the barons to sue the king in humble manner, in which case he would interpose his good offices in favour of all their just petitions; but in the mean time he annulled their association, and forbade them to engage in any such confederacy for the future.

Rymer.
Mat. Paris.

The barons
take the
field, and
make them-
selves ma-
sters of
London.

Neither bishops nor barons paid the least regard to the pope's remonstrance, or to John's privilege of pilgrimage. They reviled him as a scandalous vassal of the pope, to whom he had given up the independency of the kingdom. They employed all their arts and emissaries to kindle a spirit of revolt in the nation; and as every baron saw his own advantage connected with the success of their scheme, there was hardly a nobleman of any consequence in the kingdom, who did not either personally engage in the design, or at least wish well to the undertaking. The confederates appointed their rendezvous in Easter-week at Stamford, where they assembled to a prodigious number of horse and foot; and marched to Brackley, about five leagues distant from Oxford, where John at that time resided. Hearing of their approach, he sent the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Pembroke, and others of his council, to know the particulars of their demands, and they delivered a schedule, containing

containing their ancient rights and privileges, extracted from Henry's charter, and the laws of Edward the confessor. These were deemed so exorbitant by John, that he expressed his wonder they had not asked the kingdom and all; and flatly refused to comply with their desire. Then they chose Robert Fitzwalter for their general, dignifying him with the title of marshal, or constable, of the army of God and holy church; and advanced to Northampton, the castle of which they could not take for want of military engines. Thence they moved to Bedford castle, into which they were admitted by William Beauchamp; and there they received advices from London, importing, that if they could come directly to that capital, they might reduce it without opposition. In pursuance of this intelligence they made another motion to Ware, and marching all night, arrived at London early on Sunday morning. Finding the gates open, they entered by Aldgate, and, being joined by their friends, took possession of the city, while great part of the inhabitants was employed at their devotions. Their guards and stations being properly disposed, and all suspicious persons secured, they wrote circular letters to all the nobility and gentlemen, who had not yet declared in their favour; inviting them to espouse their cause, and fight for their liberties; and threatening, in case of refusal, to destroy their castles and estates; an alternative which had such an effect upon those to whom it was proposed, that the majority of them repaired forthwith to London to engage in the association.

Rymer.
Mat. Paris.

When they rejected John's offers to abolish any evil customs which might have been introduced in his reign, or in that of his brother Richard, and to redress their grievances by the advice of his council, he appealed to Langton and his suffragans,

The barons
obtain the
Magna
Charta, and
the Charta
de Foresta.

A. C. 1215.

gans, desiring them to fulminate the thunder of the church upon those who had taken arms against a prince engaged in the crusade, whose person and dominions were accounted sacred. Pandulf thought his request was reasonable: but the archbishop declared, he would not pass any censure upon the barons, while John expressed a suspicion of the fidelity of his own subjects, in sending for a body of mercenary auxiliaries from the continent; though if he would dismiss those foreigners, he would not only excommunicate his enemies, but even join him personally in opposing them. Langton himself was at the head of the confederacy, and made this proposal on purpose to deprive John of all foreign assistance. The scheme succeeded. The king disbanded a great body of Germans and Flemings, whom he had retained in his service: but still the archbishop refused to excommunicate the revolting barons. Finding himself thus outwitted and betrayed, and the defection almost universal, he thought it was better to reign as a limited prince, than sacrifice his crown, and perhaps his life, to the prerogative. He offered to refer the dispute to four noblemen chosen from each party, under the arbitration of the pope; and this proposal being rejected, he submitted at discretion, promising to grant their demands, and desiring they would meet his commissioners to conclude the treaty on Runnamede, between Staines and Windsor. There the barons appeared with a vast number of knights and warriors, on the fifteenth day of June; and commissioners on both sides being appointed, the conferences began: but as the king's agents were generally in the interest of the barons, no debates ensued; and, in a few days, by the mediation of Langton, they adjusted the articles of the two famous charters, called Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta, which are the foundation of the English

lish liberty and constitution; or rather the confirmation and augmentation of those rights and privileges, which the prelates and barons had enjoyed under the Saxon monarchs *.

The great charter confirmed that which was lately granted to the clergy, touching the freedom of elections; allowed persons to leave the kingdom without a special licence, except in time of war; ordained that no clergyman should be amerced in proportion to his ecclesiastical benefice, but only according to his lay tenement; secured to the lay nobility the custody of vacant abbies and convents, which were under their patronage; fixed the reliefs for earldoms, baronies, and knights fees, which before were arbitrary; decreed that barons should recover the lands of their vassals forfeited for felony, after they should have been a year and a day in possession of the crown; that they should enjoy the wardships of their military tenants, who held other lands of the crown by a different tenure; that a person knighted by the king, though a minor, should enjoy the privileges of a full-grown man, provided he was a ward of the crown; but such knighthood conferred upon the ward of a baron, should not deprive that baron of the benefit of his wardship; that widows should not be forced to marry against their inclinations, or pay any fine for their dowers; that the wardships of minors should not be sold; that the guardians should not take unreasonable profits from the lands of his ward, or commit waste, but keep the houses in good repair, leave the farms well stocked, and give away the ward in marriage without disparagement;

The principal articles of those famous institutions.

* These were, a right to dispose of their personal estates, and of their daughters, sisters, and nieces, in marriage, without paying a fine for a licence; the liberty of widows to marry; exemption of the ploughs on their demesnes from talliage; reduction of reliefs to a reasonable sum; vesting the custody of minors in their nearest relations; and quitting claim to the profits of the vacancy of churches.

Mat. Paris.

that

A. C. 1215. that no scutage or aid should be levied in the kingdom, without the consent of the common-council of the realm, except in case of ransoming the king's person, knighting his eldest son, and marrying his eldest daughter; that no freeman should be taken, imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, liberties, or free customs, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by legal process; that sheriffs should not hold county-courts above once a month; and that they, as well as castellans, coroners, and king's bailiffs, should be restrained from holding pleas of the crown: that the sheriffs having the management of the crown revenue within their several districts, should not raise the farms of counties, hundreds, and tythings according to their pleasure, except in the king's demesne manors; that the people should not be maliciously prosecuted and put to canonical purgations without legal proof, in regard to carriages, purveyance of victuals, and other services; that amerciaments should be proportioned to the offence and circumstances of the offender, so as not to affect his landed estate, or disable him from following his vocation, but be rated by a verdict of twelve creditable men in the neighbourhood. The Charta de Foresta was intended to prevent the extortion of foresters; to allow freeholders to improve their lands and woods within the limits of the forest; to disforest all lands taken in since the coronation of Henry I. except the crown demesnes; to regulate the forest courts; to exempt those that lived without the forests from the trouble of attending those courts, except when summoned for some transgression; to annul all outlawries for such transgressions; and to convert the penalty for killing venison, from a capital punishment to a fine, or in case of insolvency to a year's imprisonment.

Mat. Paris.

The

The barons knowing the proud, imperious, vindictive, and inconstant disposition of John, who would certainly have renounced these articles of compulsion with the first opportunity, if not further restricted to his good behaviour, insisted upon his consent to their chusing five and twenty of their number, to see the charters duly observed. Provided that any article of the charters should be infringed by him or his justiciary, four of those conservators were empowered to demand reparation within forty days; and should this be neglected, to inform the rest, who, with the community of the nation, might seize his castles, lands, and possessions, until satisfaction should be obtained, saving the persons of himself, his wife, and children. All persons might swear to assist them in these compulsory proceedings, and obey the orders of the five and twenty, or the majority of these conservators. John himself issued writs, obliging all his sheriffs, officers, and others, to assist them on such occasions, on pain of seeing their estates seized, and all their chattels sold within a fortnight after refusal, for the benefit of the christians in Palestine. It was agreed, that twelve knights should be chosen in every shire at the next court, to enquire into evil customs and corrupt practices of sheriffs, foresters, and other officers, that they might be abolished according to the intent of the charters, to the observance of which, in all particulars, John and the barons bound themselves by oath. As a further security, the governors of the castles of Northampton, Kenilworth, Nottingham, and Scarborough, were ordered to take an oath of obedience to the conservators; and it was determined that the barons should keep possession of London, and the custody of the Tower be lodged in the hands of archbishop Langton, till the fifteenth day of August, within which time, the king engaged that

A. C. 1215. all things should be restored to the barons, according to the orders of the five and twenty; in which case they reverted to his majesty.

Stat. 17. Joh.
Cla. 17. Joh.
Rymer.

A general
amnesty.

These articles being established, a number of the nobility applied to John for the restitution of lands, and the government of castles which belonged to them by hereditary right; and he appointed an inquisition to examine their pretensions; but, in the mean time, he gave up the castle of Rochester to archbishop Langton, as a government which of old belonged to the see of Canterbury. Orders were now issued for the observance of the peace, and the charters over all England: John remitted all crimes and transgressions committed from the foregoing Easter to the conclusion of the treaty; and the barons renewed their homage, which they had publicly renounced at the beginning of their revolt. Nevertheless, they would not comply with his desire, of having a certificate of this homage under their hands and seals; and he was not a little alarmed at their refusal. They returned to London, after having gained this great point, where having taken all imaginable precautions for securing the liberties thus obtained, they gave a loose to joy, and appointed a solemn tournament at Stamford; tho' the scene of this diversion was afterwards shifted to Hounslow-heath, by the advice of Robert Fitzwalter, who suspected a plot for delivering London to John, while they should be holding their tournament at Stamford.

The pope
annuls the
two char-
ters, and ab-
solves John
of his oath.

The more caution they had used to hamper that prince, he grew the more impatient under his restrictions, and burned with desire to shake off the disgraceful fetters with which he had been shackled. His favourites, being mostly foreigners, concurred in exasperating his resentment, by exaggerating the insolence of the barons and the dishonour of his submission: his heart rankled with revenge, which his hand

hand durst not execute; he revolved a thousand schemes for disengaging himself from the net in which he was entangled; and as no feasible expedient occurred, he felt all the bitterness of disappointed hate; he became contemptible in his own eyes; grew solitary, silent, and reserved; and was overwhelmed with the most melancholy chagrin: this was encreased by the outrageous behaviour of some barons and other turbulent people, who, disliking the treaty, endeavoured to reinvolve the kingdom in confusion. They plundered the countries through which they passed; maltreated the sheriffs and other officers employed to collect the revenue; burned the king's houses, demolished his park walls, cut down his woods, and seemed intent upon provoking him to a renewal of hostilities. These violences, which were chiefly committed in the North, alarmed the bishops to such a degree, that they proposed a meeting with the king at Oxford, in order to take effectual measures for the preservation of the peace. There the barons appeared with a vast train of followers; but John sent deputies to complain of the injuries he had received, and excuse his not coming in person to an assembly, in which he did not think his life would be secure. They afterwards met at Staines, where his commissioners protested, in his name, against the infractions of the treaty, and conjured the bishops to publish the sentence of excommunication against all who disturbed the peace of the king and kingdom; which sentence John had obtained of the pope, to whom he had appealed in private immediately after the confirmation of the charters. He had sent copies of them to his holiness, representing them as violent usurpations upon the right of the pope, as lord paramount of the kingdom; and begged he might be absolved from his oath, so as to seize the first opportunity of freeing himself

A. C. 1215. self from such a disagreeable and shameful restraint. His remonstrance had the desired effect upon Innocent. That pontiff received these tidings with equal surprize and indignation; he inveighed against the presumption of the barons, who dared to extort such charters from a vassal of the Roman see, and take arms against their own sovereign, even while he was intitled to a particular veneration as the soldier of Christ. He swore that their insolence should not pass unpunished: he annulled the two charters, released the king from his oath, wrote letters to the barons, commanding them to recede from the privileges they had extorted; and his orders being neglected, fulminated a sentence of excommunication against them, and directed cardinal Langton to publish the bull. This publication was what the king's agents now demanded: but Langton pretending the pope had been misinformed, refused to obey the mandate, until he should have informed his holiness of the whole transaction. Upon his refusal, Pandulf and the bishop of Rochester, the pope's commissaries, published the bull, and suspended the archbishop, according to the orders they had received. This censure was very little regarded, because it was couched in general terms, without including any particular person by name. The barons began to prepare for war, providing arms and ammunition, repairing their fortresses, and raising soldiers in the different counties; and Langton delivering the castle of Rochester to William d'Albiny, set out for Rome, to justify his conduct to Innocent.

Act. Pub.

The pope confirms the suspension of archbishop Langton.

Mean while John, after having exercised his patience and invention for some time, contrived a scheme, by which he hoped to recover his independency. He sent some of his confidants to France, Germany, and the Low-Countries, to enlist volunteers in his service, on the contingency of conquering

quering the barons, and dividing their possessions: nay, he even empowered his emissaries to make authentic grants of the English estates to those adventurers beforehand, in imitation of William the Conqueror; and, in the mean time, for the sake of privacy, he retired to the Isle of Wight, to wait for the effect of these measures. There he resided three months, during which he conversed with none but fishermen and sailors, among whom, however, he acquired great popularity; while his subjects could not divine the mystery of his retirement, but ridiculed his conduct with sarcastic raillery.

As for archbishop Langton, he arrived at Rome, where, instead of vindicating his character to the pope's satisfaction, he was convicted of holding intelligence with the rebellious barons: his suspension was confirmed; his brother Simon's election to the see of York was vacated; and Innocent charged the deputies of the chapter to elect Walter de Grey bishop of Worcester, who received the pall upon giving security for the payment of ten thousand pounds sterling. The suspension of the archbishop was published in the abbey of St. Alban's, and thence notified to all the cathedrals and churches in England: another bull of excommunication was issued against the chiefs of the revolters by name, and all their lands, together with the city of London, were laid under an interdict.

During these transactions, the envoys of John met with incredible success, in engaging adventurers on the continent. Hugh de Boves is said to have enlisted forty thousand men, with whom he embarked at Calais; but, being overtaken by a storm, the whole fleet was destroyed, and every individual perished. Notwithstanding this disaster, John assembled such an army of Germans, Brabantins, and Flemings, at Dover, that he found himself in a condition to take the field against the barons.

A. C. 1215.

M. Paris.

Ch. Maille.

John is reinforced by an army of foreign mercenaries.

A. C. 1215. barons. With those auxiliaries he invested the castle of Rochester, which Robert Fitzwalter attempted ineffectually to relieve; the bridges were broken down, and all the ports occupied in such a manner by the enemy, that he was obliged to return to London. William d'Albney the governor made an obstinate defence for two months, during which, provisions failing, the garrison ate all the horses in the castle; till at length, even this resource was exhausted, and the defences being ruined by the military engines of the besiegers, he surrendered at discretion. John was so incensed at the loss he had sustained before the place, that he would have put all the garrison to death without exception, had not he been diverted from this barbarous purpose by Savary de Mauleon, who represented that the barons would undoubtedly make a retaliation, so that a barbarous practice would be introduced to the disgrace of humanity, and the prejudice of his majesty's affairs. Thus advised, he sent William d'Albney, and the other prisoners of quality, to different castles, and ordered all the common soldiers, except the cross-bow men, to be hanged in terrorem.

Knyghton.

John commits horrible ravages in the North.

Rymer.

This was a terrible blow to the confederacy; and the pope's second bull of excommunication arriving at the same time, struck such a damp upon the party, that it was deserted by some of its most considerable supports, and in particular by Gilbert Fitz-Rainfroy, and the constable of Chester, who returned to the king's service. John, after the reduction of Rochester, found his affairs in such a flourishing condition, that he formed two strong armies, with one of which he marched to the Northward, leaving the other under the command of the earl of Salisbury and Falcaus de Breant, who reduced the castles of Bedford, Hunslope, and Tunbridge, and having supplied those of
Wind-

Windfor, Berkhamstede, and Hertford, with strong garrisons, to hamper the Londoners, marched into Essex, where they reduced the castles and plundered the lands belonging to the revolted barons. John proceeded in the same manner in his march, till he arrived at Nottingham, from whence he summoned the strong castle of Belvoir to surrender, threatening, in case of a refusal, to put the owner William d'Albiny to death; and the governor delivered it up without capitulation. The foreign mercenaries committed horrible cruelties in their march, and ravaged the country in a dreadful manner. These outrages provoked and exasperated the nobility of Yorkshire, who leaving their estates at the mercy of those bloodhounds, retired to Scotland, where they did homage and swore fealty, in the chapter-house of Melross, to Alexander king of that country. That prince, though no more than eighteen years of age, had already made an irruption into England, and received the oath from the malcontent barons of Northumberland. John pursued them in their retreat, and, as if he had been marching in the territories of some barbarous despotic enemy, laid waste the whole country as he advanced. The castles of the fugitives were secured by garrisons; the seats, farms, villages, and towns, were pillaged and utterly destroyed; the noblemen of Northumberland followed those of Yorkshire into Scotland; the towns of Milford, Morpeth, Alnwick, and Werk, were reduced to ashes; and Roxburg, Berwick, Haddington, and Dunbar, underwent the same fate, by the express direction and example of John himself, who, with his own hand, set fire to every house in which he had lodged during this inglorious expedition. Having thus desolated a vast tract of country, and reduced all the castles belonging to the northern barons, except one in Yorkshire belonging to Robert de Ros, he committed the government of the whole country,

Ch. Mailr.
M. Paris.

A. C. 1215. between the Teefe and the Tweed, to Hugh de Ba-liol and Philip de Hulcote, with a good body of forces to over-awe the malcontents, and marched in person to the borders of Wales, where he reduced a good number of castles, some of which he demolished, and others he secured with strong garrisons.

The barons invite Lewis, son of Philip king of France, to come and mount the throne of England.

The barons were now reduced to a deplorable situation. Instead of recovering their privileges, they saw their estates ravaged, and parcelled out among foreigners, and the king triumphing in the vengeance he had taken. In this emergency, they were in their turn inspired with the fury of revenge, and took a desperate resolution, which had well nigh been productive of their own slavery and their country's ruin. They sent deputies to Philip, king of France, with an offer of the crown to his son Lewis, provided he would come over and assist them with a force sufficient to dethrone the tyrant by whom they were oppressed. This was a very agreeable invitation to the French king, who waited only for an opportunity to resume the design of annexing England to his dominions; he therefore embraced the proposal of the barons, of whom, however, he demanded five and twenty hostages for the performance of their promise; and these being sent over, he began to prepare in earnest for the expedition. John, at his return from the North, hovered about London, as if he meant to besiege that city, so that the barons demanded an immediate reinforcement. Philip sent over a detachment of seven thousand men, commanded by the castellans of St. Omer, Arras, and Giles de Melun, who arrived safely at London, after having destroyed a fleet of pyrates that blocked up the river. Then John, despairing of success in his attempt upon the capital, marched into Kent, with a view to engage the Cinque-ports in his interest, and oppose the landing of Lewis, for whose descent great preparations were making in the ports of France.

Metzrai.

The

The pope, being informed of Philip's intention, dispatched one Gualo as his legate to the French court, with a mandate, forbidding the French king or his son to invade England, which was part of the patrimony of St. Peter. But this prohibition had no effect upon the French monarch, who proceeded with the equipment of his armament, which being completed, his son Lewis embarked the troops, and setting sail with a fleet of seven hundred vessels, landed without opposition at Sandwich; John retreating from Dover to Winchester, after having left a strong garrison in the castle, under the command of Hubert de Burgh, a brave and trusty adherent. In this retreat, he met the pope's legate just arrived from France, who excommunicated Lewis by name, together with all his followers and abettors: and this censure was extended to the clergy of London, and particularly to Simon Langton, who had encouraged them to perform divine service in their churches, notwithstanding an excommunication and interdict issued against the city by the pope, and published by the abbot of Abingdon. Lewis had endeavoured to pacify the legate, and avert those censures by trumping up a lame title to the throne, in right of his wife Blanche of Castile, who was grand-daughter to Henry II. supported by the consent and invitation of the people, groaning under the tyranny of an usurper, and convicted of homicide: but Gualo paying no regard to these representations, he resolved to set the pope at defiance, and marched immediately against the castle of Rochester, which he soon reduced.

A. C. 1215.
The pope excommunicates Lewis and the barons, and lays London under an interdict.

An. Waver,

Thence he advanced to London, where the barons and burghers did him homage, and took the oath of fealty, after he had sworn to leave every person in possession of his inheritance, and re-establish the privileges of the nation. Though he was

The barons do homage and swear fealty to Lewis at London.

A. C. 1215.

Trivet.
Rymer.

never crowned king of England, he exercised the sovereign authority, under the title of Domini Regis Franciæ Primogenitus, granting charters for lands and honours, and created Simon Langton his high chancellor. This prince saw the number of his partisans daily increase, while those of John diminished in the same proportion; for all the Flemings and vassals of the crown of France, in the king's pay, abandoned his service, rather than fight against the son and heir of their natural sovereign; so that John was disabled from keeping the field, and having garrisoned his castles, retired towards Bristol and Gloucester. Lewis did not fail to take the advantage of his weakness; he detached William Fitzpiers, Robert Fitzwalter, and William de Huntingfield into Essex and Suffolk, great part of which they subdued, while he himself reduced all the castles of Suffex, and then marched to Winchester, where he received the homage of Hugh de Neville, who delivered up the castle of Marlborough. All the country submitted to him as far as Corfe castle in Dorsetshire; and he bestowed the earldoms of Wilts and Suffex upon the count de Nevers, who oppressed the people in such a manner, that they imprecated curses upon him and his master, whose interest he never failed to betray when it came in competition with his avarice; for, when he had reduced the castle of Windsor to extremity, he suffered himself to be bribed by the governor and raised the siege.

Chr. Dunsf.

Lewis receives homage of Alexander king of Scotland.

Lewis met with no resistance but from William de Collingham, who, with a body of archers, retired to the woods and fastnesses, from whence he sallied upon the French, whom he defeated in different encounters; nor could all the power of Lewis subdue this bold adventurer. John's affairs seeming desperate, he was deserted by the earls of Warenne, Salisbury, Arundel, Albemarle, and Oxford; and

Lewis,

Lewis, elevated by his prosperity, convoked a general council at London, to exact the oath of allegiance from all the prelates and nobility of England. Among others, Alexander king of Scotland, was summoned to this assembly; and according to the order he received, raised a strong body of forces, with which he reduced the city of Carlisle; from thence he marched to London, and did homage to Lewis, after that prince and the English barons had sworn that they would not make peace without his concurrence.

A. C. 1215.

Mat. Paris.

About this period, however, John's affairs began to put on a more favourable aspect. The northern barons in besieging Barnard castle, had the misfortune to lose Eustace de Vesci, who was the soul of their confederacy; and though William Mareschal the younger had prevailed upon the city of Worcester to declare for Lewis, it was afterwards recovered to John by that nobleman's own father the earl of Pembroke, who, in conjunction with the earl of Chester, and Fulk de Breant, retrieved also and fortified the isle of Ely. The Cinque-ports, having equipped a fleet for the king's service, intercepted a great reinforcement destined for the French prince, and cut off the communication with London by sea, while Hubert de Burgh, governor of Dover castle, made continual excursions, and ravaged the lands of the barons. Lewis, after the reduction of Winchester, invested this fortress, which was so gallantly defended by the vigilant castellan, that he made very little progress in the siege; he was repulsed in several attacks with great slaughter, and so continually harassed by the sallies of the besieged, that he swore, in a transport of rage, he would not quit the place until he should have taken the castle, and seen the garrison hanged.

Activity and success of John's adherents.

Mat. Paris.

A a 3

While

A. C. 1215.

The barons
are displeas-
ed with the
conduct of
Lewis.

While he spent his time in this fruitless enter-
prize, and another army commanded by the barons
was employed in reducing the country of the East-
Angles, John carried on the war in the marches
of South Wales, against Reginald de Braoufe and
Llewellyn, who had declared for his enemies. Hav-
ing taken their castles, and assembled an army in
the West, upon whose fidelity he could depend, he
marched into Norfolk, ravaged the lands belong-
ing to his adversaries, and compelled Gilbert de
Gand, whom Lewis had created earl of that county,
to raise the siege of Lincoln. By this time, Lewis
had lost the affection of the principal noblemen who
had hitherto supported his cause: he not only ex-
cluded them from his councils, but bestowed all
his favours upon foreigners, and these treated the
English with the most supercilious contempt. This
partiality and insolence was so much resented by
the barons, that they began to repent of having
invited a foreign prince into the kingdom. He
was deserted by the earl of Salisbury, William
Mareschal, Walter Beauchamp, and several other
noblemen; and their defection alarmed him with
suspicions concerning the fidelity of those that re-
mained. Thus actuated by jealousy and resent-
ment, he is said to have formed a plan of vengeance,
which was discovered to them by the viscount de
Melun, one of his chief confidants. That noble-
man, despairing of his recovery from a very dan-
gerous distemper, by which he was seized at Lon-
don, expressed a desire of seeing some of the ba-
rons that were left in the capital, and told them,
that he could not die in peace until he should dis-
charge his conscience, by discovering an affair in
which they were deeply interested: then he gave
them to understand, that Lewis had resolved to
punish all the English barons, who had fought in
his cause, as traitors to their natural prince, on
whose

whose fidelity he could have no dependence. The barons, startled at this information, which seemed to tally with their own remarks, communicated the dying words of this Frenchman to their friends and confederates, that they might be upon their guard, and take the first convenient opportunity to detach themselves from such a perfidious and ungrateful chief; they began to think seriously of reconciling themselves to their own sovereign, and upwards of forty had already given John assurances of returning to their obedience, when death prevented him from reaping the fruits of their good intention.

That unfortunate monarch, after having ravaged the lands of the revolted barons in Norfolk, retired to Lynne, which was the rendezvous of all his forces; and, assembling a numerous army, resolved to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom, and hazard a decisive battle, hoping to be joined in his march by those who were discontented with Lewis. Thus determined, he departed from Lynne, which, for its fidelity, he had distinguished with many marks of his favour: his route lying over the washes between Lincolnshire and Norfolk, which are overflowed at high water, he judged his time so imprudently, that the tide rushed in upon him, and he lost the greatest part of his forces, together with all his treasure, baggage, and regalia. He himself hardly escaped with life, and arrived at the abbey of Swinestead, where he was so deeply affected with his irreparable loss, that his grief produced a violent fever. Next day, being unable to ride on horseback, he was carried in a litter to the castle of Seaford, and from thence removed to Newark, where, after having made his will, he died on the nineteenth day of October, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His bowels were buried in the abbey of

John loses all his baggage and treasure in the washes of Lincolnshire, and dies at Newark.

A. C. 1215. Croxton, and his body in the cathedral of Worcester, between the graves of St. Oswald and St. Wulfstan.

Rad. Niger.
Brady.
Trivet.
His character.

John was in his person taller than the middle size, of a good shape, and agreeable countenance. With respect to his disposition, it is strongly delineated in the transactions of his reign. If his understanding was contemptible, his heart was the object of detestation: we find him slothful, shallow, proud, imperious, sudden, rash, cruel, vindictive, perfidious, cowardly, libidinous, and inconstant: abject in adversity, and overbearing in success; contemned and hated by his subjects, over whom he tyrannized to the utmost of his power; abhorred by the clergy, whom he oppressed with exactions; and despised by all the neighbouring princes of Europe. Tho' he might have passed through life, without incurring such a load of odium and contempt, had not his reign been perplexed by the turbulence of his barons, the rapaciousness of the pope, and the ambition of such a monarch as Philip Augustus, his character could never have afforded one quality that would have exempted him from the disgust and scorn of his people. Nevertheless it must be owned, that his reign is not altogether barren of laudable transactions. He regulated the form of the civil government in the city of London, and several other places in the kingdom: he was the first who coined sterling money, introduced the laws of England into Ireland, and granted to the Cinque-ports those privileges of which they are still possessed*.

* John was first married to Isabel, daughter of William, earl of Gloucester, by whom he had no issue. By the second of the same name, he had two sons; namely, Henry, who succeeded him; Richard, earl of Cornwall; and three daughters; Jane married to Alexander king of Scotland;

Eleanor, wife of William Marshal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and afterwards married to Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester; and Isabel, matched with Frederic II. emperor of Germany. His natural children were Richard, by a daughter of the earl of Warrenne; Geoffry Fitzroy, who

who died in Poitou; John, prebendary of Shirburn; Henry, lord of the manor of Waltham; Osbert Giffard; Oliver de Durdent, by Avise Tracy; Joane, by Agatha, daughter of Robert earl of Ferrers, married to Llewellyn prince of North Wales; Reginald, Swynulf, and Eudo.

Carte.

The most remarkable events that happened during this reign, were the reduction of Constantinople by the French and Venetians; and the cru-

sade against the Albigen'es, which gave birth to the inquisition.

With respect to the story of John's having offered to hold his kingdom of the Miramemolin of Morocco, and turn Mussulman, it is generally believed to be a legend invented by the monks to blacken his character, as there is so little probability in the imputation; and it is mentioned by no author but Matthew Paris, who takes all occasions to revile him with the most rancorous virulence.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

B O O K T H I R D.

From the death of king JOHN to the death of
EDWARD III.

H E N R Y III.

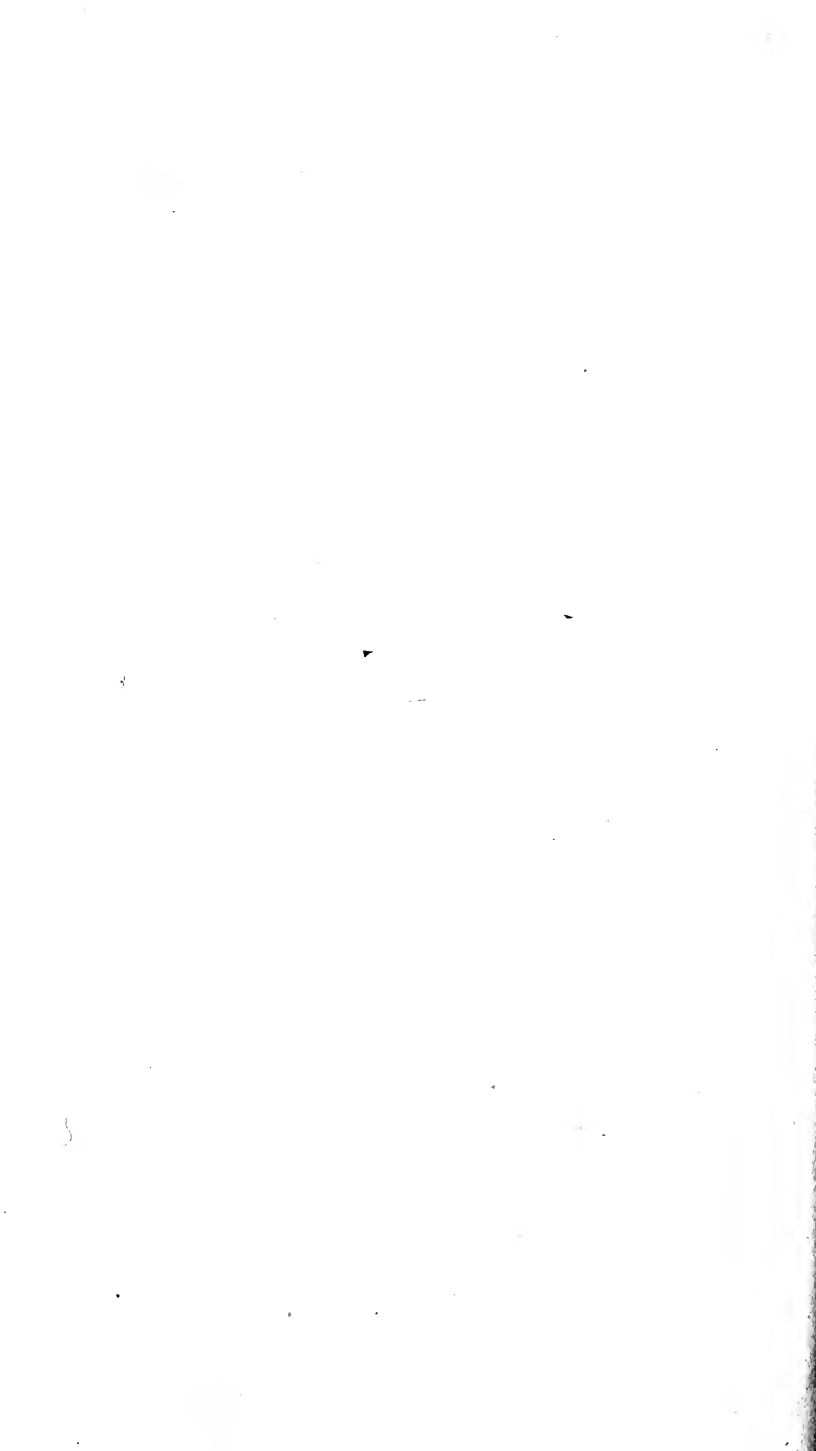
Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

A. C. 1215.
John is suc-
ceeded by
his son
Henry, who
is crowned
at Glou-
cester.

JOH N had bequeathed the crown to his eldest son Henry; but that prince being only ten years of age, the kingdom was left without a ruler, in a state of anarchy and distraction; and the royal family had very little to hope from the very small number of noblemen who adhered to the late king, and a mercenary army of foreigners, in whose fidelity John himself had never fully confided. The nation was averse to the memory of that unhappy prince; the barons were still under those arms which they had assumed for his destruction; and the greatest part of the kingdom had sub-



HENRY III.



mitted, and taken the oath of allegiance to Lewis of France. It was well for the English that this impolitic prince made such an unpopular use of his prosperity. Had he behaved with a shew of impartiality and moderation, the country would, in all probability, have been enslaved; but he had already forfeited the esteem of the people, by his haughty deportment, contempt of their persons and manners, and unjust partiality to his own countrymen, at whose insolence and extortion he connived. The commonalty inveighed in public against the insolence of those strangers; and the mutual confidence which at first subsisted between Lewis and the nobility, was now quite destroyed. The majority of the barons had resolved to renounce the French interest, even before the king's decease; and that event deprived them of all cause of opposition. As soon as that prince expired, the earl of Pembroke, who was well acquainted with the sentiments of both parties, summoned the barons to Gloucester; and those that adhered to John being assembled, he presented young Henry, saying, "Behold your king." He observed, that whatever cause the late king might have given for opposition to his will, the innocent son ought not to be charged with the faults of his father; that it would be unjust to wrest the crown from a family which had possessed it so long, in order to bestow it upon a thankless foreigner, who would not fail to enslave the kingdom; and that nothing would secure them against this impending slavery, but an unreserved union among themselves, under a prince possessed of an hereditary title. With regard to the invitation Lewis had received, he alledged that prince had used it to such bad purposes by his arbitrary manner of proceeding, that he ought to forfeit all the benefit of their first agreement; and be desired to quit the kingdom which he seemed so ill qualified

A. C. 1215. fied to govern. This remonstrance was so well received by the assembly, that they unanimously exclaimed; "Let Henry be king, let Henry be king." In consequence of this declaration, he was crowned in the cathedral on the Eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, in presence of the pope's legate; and as the crown had been left in the washes, they used a simple fillet of gold for the ceremony, which was performed by the bishops of Bath and Winchester; because Langton was still at Rome, soliciting the removal of his suspension. The young king took the customary oath at his coronation, and the legate insisted upon his doing homage to the holy see; a demand which the few nobles there assembled did not think proper to refuse: then the barons swore fealty to his majesty; and his person was committed to the charge of the earl of Pembroke, who acted as regent of the kingdom.

A. C. 1216. This office could not have been conferred upon a nobleman of greater honour and capacity. He had preserved his attachment to John, with the most inviolable fidelity, even in the midst of all his misfortunes. He was perfectly well acquainted with the cause of the late troubles, as well as with the interests and intrigues of those by whom they had been excited. He knew how ill affected the barons were to the prince whom they had invited to the kingdom; was privy to the secret negotiation between the late king and the forty barons, who had promised to renounce the party of Lewis; and he did not doubt but that the confederacy would dissolve, as soon as they should think themselves secure from the penalties of rebellion. In this hope he, by circular letters, notified young Henry's coronation to all the barons and communities of the kingdom; and promised a general amnesty to all those who should return to their obedience. This assurance, and the known probity of the regent, made

Mareschal,
earl of Pem-
broke, is
appointed
regent.

made strong impressions upon many barons of the association: and this was reinforced by the sentence of excommunication against Lewis, which the legate repeated every Sunday, and in which they themselves were included; for however they might have set those censures of excommunication at defiance, when their passions were inflamed with the first glowings of hope and resentment, and their opposition was encouraged by the vigorous union and spirited measures of a strong confederacy, these impulses and concurring motives were now considerably weakened, and the tender consciences of some among them began to feel the pangs of remorse and the horrors of ecclesiastical censure.

Lewis had long ago lost the affection of the barons, and now he became the object of their contempt. He had frequently attempted to corrupt the integrity of Hubert de Burgh, governor of Dover castle, but still found his honour and courage equally invincible. He was employed in the siege of this fortress at the death of John, which he thought would produce a change in Hubert's conduct: he summoned him once more to surrender, and represented, in a parley, that as he was now disengaged from the oath of allegiance he had taken, he ought to make no scruple in acknowledging a prince whom his countrymen had received as their sovereign, and who would take pleasure in giving him particular marks of his favour. The honest governor answered, that the late king had left a son and successor, whom it was his duty to obey; that he would serve the young prince to the last drop of his blood; and, with regard to the promises of Lewis, he said the esteem of a magnanimous prince could never be purchased by such infamous treachery. Lewis, finding him incorruptible, changed his battery, and threatened to take away the life of his brother,

who

The courage
and invincible
fidelity
of Hubert
de Burgh.

A. C. 1216.

Mat. Paris.

who was in his power. Hubert preferred his duty to his brother, and continued impregnable; so that the besieger was obliged to abandon his enterprize. He repaired to London, extremely chagrined at his miscarriage; and having taken measures for securing his interest in that capital, marched against the castle of Hertford, which surrendered after a faint resistance. The custody of this fortress belonged by hereditary right to Robert Fitzwalter, who demanded it accordingly; and not only suffered a repulse, but had the mortification to see the government conferred on a Frenchman, and the castle garrisoned with foreigners. This insulting act of injustice produced a great clamour among the English: they were stripped of their inheritances by aliens, and even reviled as traitors, who could not be entrusted with any place of importance: they now believed in good earnest the truth of what the count de Melun had discovered on his death-bed, and looked upon themselves as victims devoted to destruction. Thus a general discontent prevailed among the English, who resolved to make him feel the effects of their resentment; mean while he proceeded in his conquests, and about the end of the year returned to London.

Lewis begins
to lose
ground.

The regent on his side neglected nothing which could contribute towards the maintenance of his pupil's pretensions. He notified his coronation to the pope, and solicited the protection of his holiness in favour of the young prince, surrounded by foreign and domestic enemies; and Innocent, who was never wanting to his own interest, exerted himself for the preservation of England, as the patrimony of St. Peter. He sent new powers to the legate to aggravate the excommunication of Lewis and his adherents; and that prince, being made acquainted with the mandate, protested solemnly against every step which should be taken to
his

his prejudice. In the mean time he appointed a day for receiving anew the homage of the English barons : but, notwithstanding this precaution, the legate assembled a synod at Bristol, where he repeated the sentence of excommunication against Lewis ; and several barons made this censure a pretext for refusing the homage that was required. Lewis was now glad to accept the proposal of a short truce, during which he held a general assembly at Oxford. The regent convoked another at Cambridge, and demanded a prolongation of the truce which the prince of France at first refused, till hearing the pope intended to excommunicate him in full consistory, he consented to a further suspension of hostilities, that he might make a short tour to Paris, and consult the king his father. The earl of Pembroke did not fail to seize this opportunity of strengthening his army with new levies, and making proselytes to the king's interest. Among others gained over on this occasion, was his own son William Mareschal, who had been a zealous partisan of the barons ; and the Cinqueports not only declared for Henry, but equipped a fleet, with which they attacked Lewis in his return, and destroyed some of his vessels ; an insult which provoked him to such a degree, that when he landed at Sandwich he reduced the town to ashes.

At the expiration of the truce, the regent sent the earl of Chester to besiege Montforrel, in the county of Leicester, defended by a French garrison ; and Lewis detached the count de Perche, at the head of twenty thousand men, to give him battle. The earl of Chester, being greatly inferior in point of number, abandoned the enterprize, and retired at his approach ; and the French general advancing to Lincoln, invested the castle, which was held for the king, though the town declared for the barons. The regent resolved to succour this

A. C. 1216.
Act. Pub.

The earl of Pembroke defeats the count de Perche and the barons at Lincoln.

A. C. 1217. this important place, though at the expence of an engagement; he assembled his forces with equal diligence and secrecy, and had marched as far as Newark, within twelve miles of Lincoln, before the count de Perche had the least intimation of his approach. That general immediately held a council of war, in which some of the most experienced officers advised him to quit the town, and give the earl of Pembroke battle in the open plain, where he could draw up his cavalry, which otherwise would be uselefs; but the majority were of opinion, that having reduced the castle to extremity, they ought not to give up that advantage, but continue the siege and remain in the town, which was in no danger of being forced by the regent. In consequence of this determination, they fortified the walls so as to render the place defensible; and the regent, approaching without opposition, threw into the castle, by a postern, a choice body of troops, commanded by Fulk de Breant, who, according to the instructions he had received, made a furious sally upon the besiegers, while the earl of Pembroke assaulted one of the city gates. This double attack soon produced confusion among the French forces, which were hampered for want of room, and saw themselves charged on all sides with the most enthusiastic fury. The count de Perche having made surprizing efforts to rally his troops, and sustain the impetuosity of the English, saw himself at last entirely defeated; and disdaining to survive the disgrace, rushed upon the swords of the enemy. The earls of Winchester and Hereford, Gilbert de Ghent, and Robert Fitz-walter, with four hundred knights and a great number of esquires and common soldiers, were taken prisoners; but no quarter was given to the French, who were all cut in pieces. The town, which from the beginning of the troubles had espoused the cause of
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the barons, was abandoned to pillage, and the soldiers gained inestimable booty; so that they distinguished the pillage by the appellation of Lincoln fair. As for all the priests and persons belonging to the church that were found in the place, they were treated as excommunicated wretches, by the express desire of the legate, who had confessed and given absolution to all the chiefs of the king's party, with full assurance of paradise to every man who should fall in battle against the enemies of the church; so that even the common soldiers fought with surprising alacrity and resolution.

Lewis had recommenced the siege of Dover, in which he was employed when he received the unwelcome tidings of this disaster: he forthwith abandoned his enterprize and returned to London, in order to take some immediate measures for repairing the damage he had sustained. He dispatched letters to his father, soliciting a speedy reinforcement, without which he said he should not be able to re-establish his affairs. Philip, loth to embroil himself further with the pope, affected to disclaim his proceedings; and declared in public, that Lewis must extricate himself as well as he could from the difficulties in which he was involved; but, at the same time, he enabled Blanche, his daughter-in-law, to equip an armament in her own name for the relief of her husband; and a strong body of forces embarked at Calais for England. The commanders of the fleet fitted out by the Cinque-Ports in the king's service being informed of these preparations, waited for the French transports in the channel, and attacking them in the passage, took or sunk the greatest part of the armament. This misfortune was the more sensibly felt by Lewis, as the English army approached London, in which he immediately found himself blocked up by the regent, without any hope of

A. C. 1217.

Mat. Paris,
Trivet.Lewis is
blocked up
in London,
and seeks for
peace.

A. C. 1217.

relief: the people now expressed their discontent without reserve; the chief barons of his alliance were taken prisoners at Lincoln; the rest had either abandoned his party or were suspected of disaffection; the pope's thunder began to sound terrible in his ears; his enemies were masters of the sea; and he himself was besieged in a foreign country, cut off from all sources of succour and supply. In this forlorn situation, he demanded an honourable peace of the regent, which should comprehend his allies, by whom he had been invited to England; otherwise he would listen to no terms of accommodation. The earl of Pembroke granted his request without hesitation, being equally unwilling to incur the resentment of Philip, who would have doubtless exerted the whole power of France to save his son from destruction, and to drive the barons to despair, by which the nation might be involved in new troubles. Conferences were immediately begun; and in a little time a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that all the adherents of Lewis should be re-established in the rights and possessions they enjoyed before the troubles; that the antient privileges of the city of London should be preserved; that all the prisoners taken since the arrival of Lewis should be released, and commissaries appointed to regulate the terms on which the rest should be ransomed or exchanged; that all the English, without distinction, who had revolted against John, should take the oath of allegiance to Henry; that the hostages delivered to Lewis for the ransom of prisoners, should be set at liberty, upon payment of the money; that all the places, towns, and castles, occupied by Lewis in England, should be surrendered to king Henry; that the king of Scotland might be comprehended in this treaty, on restoring all that he had seized during the war; and that the same restitution should

should be made to him by the English monarch; that the prince of Wales should enjoy the benefit of the same stipulation; that Lewis should relinquish all the isles which were occupied in his name; and renounce the homage which had been payed to him by the subjects of England. Besides these public articles, Lewis promised to employ all his influence with his father, that the foreign dominions belonging to the royal family might be restored; and that, in case he should not succeed in his remonstrances on this subject, he would make the restitution at his own accession to the throne of France.

A. C. 1217.

Act. Pub.
Mezerai.
Mat. Paris.

The treaty being signed, ratified, and confirmed by the pope's legate, Lewis received absolution, and set sail for France, after having borrowed five thousand marks of the city of London for the payment of his debts; and he was no sooner embarked than Henry made his public entrance into London, where he was received with great pomp and universal satisfaction. Then he swore to maintain the nation in all its privileges; and in this voluntary oath the barons obtained more solid advantages than ever they could have expected from the victories of a foreign prince, by which in all appearance they would have effectually been enslaved. Of all the adherents of Lewis, the clergy were the only persons who suffered by this pacification. Nothing had been stipulated in their favour, except a restitution of the lay-fees which they possessed; so that they were left exposed to all the terrors of ecclesiastical censure. The pope had been very much mortified to find his sentences despised by the laity; but he was implacably incensed against the churchmen who had rebelled against his authority. The legate therefore, being now at liberty to act against those rebellious ecclesiastics, set on foot a severe inquiry all over the kingdom,

Lewis leaves
the king-
dom.The pope
persecutes
the clergy
who adhered
to the
barons.

A. C. 1217.

by which he learned the names of those who had disobeyed the interdict; and they being convicted of this unpardonable crime against the majesty of the pope, were suspended, deprived, or obliged to atone their guilt with great sums of money. The king of Scotland, who had been excommunicated for doing homage to Lewis, claimed the benefit of the treaty; and repairing to Northampton, received absolution of the legate, after having sworn fealty to king Henry for the fiefs he possessed in England.

The earl of Pembroke orders the two charters to be observed.

It was not without great difficulty that the regent executed the treaty which had been made with Lewis. The barons who had served the late king could not, without reluctance, part with the lands of the revolters, which had been granted to them by John as a recompence for their attachment; and the clergy complained loudly of having been abandoned to the persecutions of the Roman see. Nevertheless, the earl of Pembroke, seeing no other possibility of restoring the peace of the kingdom, than that of punctually executing the articles of convention, insisted upon the immediate restitution of the alienated lands, and even compelled Robert Gawgy by force of arms to restore the castle of Nottingham to the bishop of Lincoln its former owner. The rest submitted without compulsion; and as for the clergy, he could not intermeddle in their affairs, without embroiling himself with the pope, whose protection was very necessary to the interests of Henry. Far from opposing the holy father's measures, he, at the desire of the legate, published a proclamation, enjoining all excommunicated ecclesiastics who had not received absolution to quit the kingdom, on pain of imprisonment; so that they were obliged to compound with the legate for the removal of his censures.

Ed. Brady.

All the troubles of the nation being now happily appeased, the regent sent orders to all the magistrates of the kingdom, to execute the two charters of king John, and punish all those who should refuse to conform to the articles contained in those constitutions. The earl of Pembroke acted, in all respects, like a great and good man, warmly attached to the interest of his country: in order to spare the subjects the expence of men and money, for the reduction of Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had acted as an auxiliary of the barons, he proposed honourable terms of accommodation, which were embraced by that prince, who was afterwards absolved by the legate, through the earl's intercession. This was the last exertion of legatine power by Gualo, who was recalled by Honorius, the successor of pope Innocent; and Pandulf was appointed legate in his room. A. C. 1217.

In a little time after Gualo's departure, the nation sustained an irreparable loss, by the death of the regent, whose valour, integrity, and prudence, had preserved it from slavery: he was succeeded by William de Roches, bishop of Winchester; and Hubert de Burgh, the defender of Dover, was created chief justiciary of England. As the king's coronation at Winchester had been performed in a defective and informal manner, it was thought proper to repeat the ceremony, in which cardinal Langton officiated, that prelate having, by this time, been freed from the suspension, in consequence of which he had quitted the kingdom. Immediately after the coronation, Henry, with his new regent, made a progress through the different counties of the kingdom, in order to enquire into the management of the servants belonging to the crown, and remove such governors as were thought averse to the present administration. None of these made any opposition to the king's will, except The death of the earl of Pembroke.

A. C. 1220.

A. C. 1221.
Mat. Paris.
Tyrrel.

William de
Albemarle
refuses to
deliver up
the castle of
Rocking-
ham.

William de Albemarle, castellan of Rockingham, who had erected himself into a sovereign, and affected to despise the orders of the government. He at first refused to resign his employment, and put himself in a posture of defence; but finding that all his neighbours offered their service to assist the king in delivering them from his tyranny, his courage failed him, and he surrendered upon capitulation. After this expedition, the king returned to London, where with his own hand he laid the first stone of the new abbey church of Westminster, which remains to this day. In the course of this year, the pope canonized Hugh bishop of Lincoln, who died in the beginning of John's reign, and was said to have performed miracles; and Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, inspired with the most profound veneration for his predecessor Thomas Becket, whose genius was congenial with his own, ordered the body of that apostle to be removed from the stone-coffin and vault, in which it was first interred, to a rich shrine of gold, beset with precious stones. This ceremony was performed in presence of the king, and Pandulf the pope's legate, with almost all the prelates and nobility of England, surrounded by an incredible multitude of people, a great number of whom arrived from France, and other foreign countries, on purpose to see this solemnity.

Mat. Paris.

The king's
sister Jeane
is married
to Alexan-
der king of
Scotland.

Mean while William de Albemarle, thinking himself injured in the affair of Rockingham, instead of obeying the king's order, when summoned to a general council at Westminster assembled on national affairs, raised a body of troops, with which he surpris'd the castle of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire. Leaving a strong garrison in the place, he returned to his own habitation at Biham, which he fortified against all opposition, obliging the merchants and travellers that passed through the neighbourhood,

bourhood, to pay for his passports, on pain of being plundered by his detachments. The great council, informed of these violent and illegal proceedings, summoned him to appear and justify his conduct; and he refusing to obey, assembled an army to besiege the castle, resolving to punish him with all the severity of the law. William, understanding that the troops were in march against him, retired to the northern parts of the kingdom, leaving the command of Biham to a governor, who did not surrender until he was reduced to the utmost extremity: he himself afterwards found means to make his peace with the regent, who at the intercession of the archbishop of York, forgave his revolt, in consideration of his services to the late king. This disturbancē being quelled, the king marched against Llewellyn prince of Wales, who had invested the castle of Buelt, belonging to Reginald de Braouse; but he relinquished his enterprize, and retired at the approach of Henry, who pursued him to Montgomery, where a castle was built to prevent future incursions. It was after his return from this expedition, that the king's sister Joane, who had been betrothed to the son of earl Marche, was removed from the custody of that nobleman, and married at York to Alexander king of Scotland. That prince's sister, about the same time, espoused Hubert de Burgh, justiciary of England; a match by which he incurred the envy and jealousy of some noblemen, who took all opportunities to disturb him in the execution of his office. Among these were William earl of Salisbury, and Rainulf earl of Chester, who being suspected of a design to excite new troubles, the archbishop of Canterbury assembled a council at London, where he effected a reconciliation between the earls and the justiciary; and, with the consent of

A. C. 1221.

Chr. Mailr.

A. C. 1221.

his suffragans, threatened to excommunicate all those who should interrupt the peace of the kingdom.

A remarkable riot at Westminster.

The tranquillity of the nation was not yet so firmly established, but that some turbulent individuals took all occasions to excite civil broils and commotions; nor was the party of Lewis as yet quite extinguished in the realm, as appeared about this period in a riot at Westminster. The citizens of London having obtained the prize in a wrestling-match, appointed by the steward belonging to the abbot of Westminster, this man repined at the glory which had been won from his tenants, and resolved to revenge the disgrace. With this view, he proposed a second contention, and a ram as the prize of the victors. The Londoners flocked in great numbers to this diversion, and were suddenly attacked by the steward, and a band of armed rustics, whom he had assembled for the purpose. The citizens, being repulsed with great indignity, and a good number of them wounded in the fray, resolved to take immediate vengeance upon the perfidious steward, and took to their arms in a very tumultuous manner: Serle the mayor endeavoured to quell the commotion, and advised them to complain to the abbot, from whom they would receive proper satisfaction; but this expedient was opposed by Constantine Fitz-Arnulf, a rich, turbulent, and popular citizen, who had distinguished himself as a partisan of Lewis and the barons. As he loved to fish in troubled waters, was ambitious of commanding the multitude; and believed that this disturbance might produce something that would revive the civil dissensions of the nation, he harrangued the rioters, and having inflamed their passions, proposed that they should march against the abbot and his steward, and raze their houses to
the

the ground. The scheme being applauded, he put himself at their head, and proceeded towards Westminster, exclaiming *Mon joye St. Denis!* which was the war-word of the French; and having demolished several houses belonging to the abbey, returned to the city in triumph. Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, being informed of this outrage, aggravated by the traitorous expressions of Constantine and the populace, repaired directly to the Tower with a body of troops, and summoned the citizens to appear and answer for those riotous proceedings: Constantine going thither with great confidence, boldly justified what he had done; declared he would repeat the same conduct on the like occasion; and pleaded the indemnity which had been stipulated for the partisans of Lewis, by the treaty of pacification. Hubert gave him to understand, that nothing was stipulated in favour of those who should commit acts of sedition; and that he, with his two chief accomplices, should be hanged next morning. This sentence was accordingly executed, notwithstanding his offer to redeem his life with fifteen thousand marks of silver; and many citizens, concerned in the tumult, were punished with the amputation of their hands and feet: nay, the king further expressed his resentment against the city, by turning the magistrates out of their offices, and appointing others by his sole authority.

This exercise of severity raised an universal clamour among the people; especially as it was practised in direct opposition to the charters which had been so lately confirmed; for the punishments were inflicted by the arbitrary sentence of Hubert, without any previous trial or legal conviction. Lewis affected to complain of it as an infringement of the peace; insomuch that, when he ascended the throne of France, he made this transaction a pre-

tence

A. C. 1221.

A. C. 1222.

Mat. Paris.
Rog. Win.
ex Tyrrel.

A. C. 1222. tence for refusing to restore Normandy and the other foreign dominions to Henry, according to his promise. So absolute was the royal power, at this period, that the king exacted hostages for the peaceable behaviour of the citizens; and thirty of the principal inhabitants being nominated for this purpose, the corporation obliged themselves, by an authentic deed, to deliver them up whenever they should be demanded. This exertion of despotic power, however, gave such umbrage to the nation in general, that, in a subsequent assembly held at Oxford, the members insisted upon the king's executing the charters, to the observance of which he had solemnly sworn. The court had, since the death of William earl of Pembroke, adopted new maxims; and when this address was presented to the king, William Bruvere, one of his courtiers, said it was unreasonable to demand the performance of charters which had been extorted by force. The archbishop of Canterbury, startled at this rash declaration, replied, that if he really loved the king, whose interests he pretended so warmly to espouse, he would not seek to reinvolve the kingdom in fresh troubles; and Henry himself, being then in the sixteenth year of his age, seconded Langton, and assured the deputies of his firm intention to observe the charters with the utmost punctuality. He accordingly issued orders all over the kingdom, for the exact execution of all the articles; and the assembly was so well pleased with his behaviour on this occasion, that they indulged him with a very considerable subsidy, that he might be enabled to relieve the christians in the Holy-Land.

Mat. Paris.

A. C. 1223.

Philip Augustus king of France dying during these transactions, Henry's council sent over ambassadors to congratulate Lewis on his accession to the throne, and remind him of his promise touch-

ing Normandy, and the other dominions of which John had been deprived by his father; but he gave them to understand, that he looked upon himself as acquitted of that obligation, by Henry's having first infringed the articles of the treaty, in exacting exorbitant ransom from the prisoners, neglecting to re-establish the antient laws, according to the convention, and in putting Constantine to death, for his attachment to the French interest. In this manner did the arbitrary disposition of the justiciary injure his master abroad, as well as at home, where he assumed a prerogative, to which none of his predecessors in that employment had ever aspired: nor was he contented with the great share of power and authority which he engrossed. as being still obliged to receive orders from the bishop of Winchester, who had been declared regent of the kingdom, during the minority of Henry. Hubert, in order to abridge the term of this prelate's office, obtained a bull from the pope, declaring the king of age, authorising him to take the reins of government into his own hands, and enjoining all those who filled offices to resign them to their sovereign, that he might dispose of them as he should think proper. This mandate the barons absolutely refused to obey, because it was directly contrary to the laws of the kingdom, which limited the king's minority to the age of one and twenty.

Hubert, thus disappointed, contrived another stratagem, which succeeded according to his expectation; he persuaded the king to demand of him the fortresses which were in his custody, and he actually surrendered the tower of London and Dover-castle, the two most important places of the realm: a good number of the barons followed his example, and found themselves outwitted by the craft of the justiciary, to whom his governments were restored, as soon as the king was in possession of their castles.

Such

A. C. 1223.
Lewis king
of France
renounces
one part of
his engage-
ments to the
English
king, who
is declared
of age by the
pope.

Hubert ren-
ders himself
odious to the
nobility.

A. C. 1223: Such a mean collusion not only provoked them against Henry, but also impressed them with an unfavourable opinion of his morals. They considered his favourite as the author of this unworthy contrivance: those who enjoyed offices at court, unable to bear the insolence of the justiciary, resigned their places, and retired to their respective homes, resolving to embrace the first opportunity of expressing their resentment in a more effectual manner. Such barons as had not fallen into the snare, Hubert endeavoured to intimidate, by threatening them with the sentence of excommunication; and some of them were thus terrified into compliance; but others despised these menaces, and resolved to maintain their rights and property, against all the efforts of the king and his minister. The principal malcontents were the earls of Chester and Albemarle, Fulk de Breant, and Robert de Vipont; these, with some other barons, held a council at Leicester, in order to concert measures for their mutual defence, and refused to appear at a general assembly convened at Northampton, where the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans fulminated a sentence of excommunication against all disturbers of the public peace; and threatened them, in particular, with that sentence from the pope, unless they would immediately resign the castles belonging to the crown, which were in their custody. The censures of the church were so formidable, that, rather than incur them, these noblemen submitted, and gave up the fortresses, though they did not lay aside their enmity to the justiciary, nor the desire of humbling his pride and arrogance.

Fulk de Breant revolts; and his castle of Bedford is demolished.

Lewis was well informed of these intestine commotions, which seemed to be the prelude of a new rebellion, that might turn out to his advantage: mean while, instead of fulfilling the articles of the peace,

peace, which he had sworn to observe, he confiscated all the lands belonging to English noblemen in his dominions, and marched into Saintonge, where he made himself master of divers places: then he invested Rochelle, which was immediately surrendered by Savary Mauleon, who embraced the interest of France, out of resentment to the English government, which, when he demanded a supply in money, sent him a chest full of old iron. This unprovoked invasion, which Lewis cloaked with the frivolous pretence of Henry's having omitted to appear at his consecration, plainly demonstrated the necessity of sending an army abroad; and a general assembly was convoked at Northampton, to consider upon ways and means to equip an armament equal to an enterprize of such importance. Their deliberations were interrupted by the excesses of Fulk de Breant, who, in imitation of William de Albemarle, had erected himself into a palatine, and levied contributions upon the open country, in the neighbourhood of his castle at Bedford. Complaints had been made of his tyranny; and three judges being sent down to Dunstaple, to take cognizance of his conduct, amerced him in one hundred pounds sterling, in lieu of damages to the people whom he had oppressed. Incensed at this determination, he detached his brother William with a body of troops to apprehend the judges, two of whom escaped; but the third, whose name was Henry de Baybrook, being taken, was conveyed to Bedford, and treated with the utmost indignity. The assembly at Northampton, being informed of this violence, unanimously resolved to make an example of this perturbator of the public peace, and suspended all other deliberations, until he should be punished for his audacious behaviour. Forces were levied for that purpose, and Fulk was summoned to surrender the castle; but, instead of obeying the order

A. C. 1224.

P. Æmil.

A. C. 1224. order he retired into Wales, in hope being joined by other malcontents, who had promised to support him in his revolt, and left the castle to the charge of his brother, who, after a desperate resistance, was obliged to surrender at discretion. Notwithstanding the intercession of his friends, who solicited the king in his behalf with unwearied importunity, he was hanged, with four and twenty knights who were found in the place, and the castle itself levelled with the ground. Fulk, seeing himself disappointed of the succours he expected to receive, had recourse to the king's clemency, through the intercession of the bishop of Coventry: and Henry, in consideration of the services he performed to his father, granted him his life; but he was committed to the custody of the bishop of London, till the year following, when by an act of the general council, his estate was confiscated, and himself banished the realm.

Mat. Paris.

A. C. 1225.
Richard earl
of Cornwall
is sent with
an army into
Guienne.

They had granted a small subsidy for this expedition; but, as a great sum was necessary for the support of the war against France, another general council was convoked at Westminster, where Hubert de Burgh having expatiated upon the damage sustained by the king and several noblemen in their possessions on the continent, and the necessity of retrieving these losses by force of arms, demanded a fifteenth of all moveables belonging to ecclesiastics as well as laymen. The assembly promised to grant this subsidy, provided the king would order the charters of John to be more punctually observed; and he forthwith appointed commissaries to visit the different counties, and see the articles duly executed: a concession which operated so favourably on the minds of the people, that the tax was paid with great cheerfulness; and the bishops excommunicated all those who should commit any frauds

frauds in the collection. The Cistercians added to their proportion a free gift of two thousand marks; and the Jews presented the king with five thousand for his favour and protection. Thus supplied, the king levied an army, and equipped a fleet for an expedition into Guienne, under the command of his brother Richard, whom he had knighted and created earl of Cornwall. That young prince, accompanied by the earl of Salisbury and Philip d'Albiny, set sail from England with a fleet of three hundred ships; and landing at Bourdeaux, was joined by a great number of adventurers whom he took into his service. Thus reinforced, he marched into Guienne, where he reduced several places, and, at last, invested the castle of La Reole, which being strongly fortified, held out until the count de la Marche, general of the French army, advanced to its relief. Richard being too weak to hazard a battle, abandoned the siege, and retreated to the other side of the river Dourdogne; and while he remained on the continent, he attempted nothing further of any importance.

A. C. 1225.
Ann. Wav.
Act. Pub.

Rigord.

During these transactions in Guienne, Otho arrived as the pope's legate; and an assembly being convoked at his desire, while the king lay dangerously ill at Marlborough, he made a very extraordinary proposal, in the name of his holiness. He began his harrangue, by observing that the holy see had long lain under the reproach of selling her favours for money; and that it was the duty of all good christians to remove the cause of that imputation, which was no other than the extreme indigence of the Roman church. He therefore proposed, that in order to relieve the pressing necessities of the holy see, and enable it to distribute its indulgences with generosity and moderation, two prebends in every cathedral, and as many cells in every convent of England, should be granted to

Extravagant
demand of
the pope.

the

A. C. 1225. the pope, by an authentic deed, confirmed by an act of the general assembly. This demand was so unconscionable, that the council, far from complying with it, would not even deign to answer the legate, until he complained of being treated with disrespect; then they told him, that the absence of the king and some principal members, would not permit them to deliberate upon a proposal of that nature.

A. C. 1226. Otho, with a perseverance which was truly pontifical, desired them to continue the session, until his majesty and the absent members should arrive; but they paid no regard to his intreaties, and broke up without even conferring on the subject: so that he found himself obliged to exert his patience till another opportunity. During this interval, he made a progress into the North, where, under pretence of the right of procurations *, he fleeced and harrassed the churches in such a manner, that the clergy complained of him to the pope, who recalled him immediately, rather than run the risque of exasperating the English at such a conjuncture. At the same time, he directed the archbishop of Canterbury to procure another convocation of the assembly, and demand a positive answer to the proposition made by the legate. His mandate was obeyed by Langton; and the king, with the advice of his prelates, declared to his holiness, that, as the affair concerned all Christendom as well as England, he would conform to the resolutions of his neighbour potentates. Mean while, Henry continued his preparations against France, until he was obliged to interrupt them on account of the crusade against the Albigenes, which Lewis undertook to command in person, while the pope expressly forbade all christian princes

Mat. Paris.

* This was a right which legates had to free entertainment, while they visited churches and monasteries;

which entertainment they now commuted for money.

to invade his dominions, to the prejudice of this expedition. Henry, by the advice of his council, resolved therefore to postpone all hostilities until the return of the French king, who was, by this time, employed in the siege of Avignon; after the reduction of which he died, not without suspicion of being poisoned by the count de Champagne, who loved his queen to distraction. Lewis IX. succeeded his father, under the tuition of Blanche de Castile, who, though a foreigner, had interest enough to be declared regent of the kingdom.

A. C. 1226.

In the mean time, Henry of England having been declared of age, before the time fixed by the laws of the realm, he began his reign with a sample of government which impressed the people with a very unfavourable opinion of his character. As he could not demand money from the assembly, after the large subsidies he had so lately received, he resolved to revive an expedient which had been practised by his uncle Richard, after his return from Palestine. This was an order commanding all persons who enjoyed charters to pay a certain tax for their being renewed and confirmed; a grievance of which the monasteries, and the nation in general, loudly complained: not that the king was so much blamed for this extortion, as the justiciary, who had gained an absolute ascendancy over him, and attracted the odium of the people, which was not diminished by the death of the earl of Salisbury, natural son of Henry II. This nobleman had performed many services of the utmost importance to the late king, and was considered as a rival in power, or rather as a popular check upon the behaviour of Hubert, who invited him to an entertainment in his house, immediately after which he was seized with a languishing distemper that conveyed him to his grave; so that the people suspected he had not met with fair play from his

Disagreeable character of Henry.

A. C. 1227.

A. C. 1227. entertainer. As Henry advanced in years he discovered extreme avarice, inconstancy, caprice, weakness of judgment and irresolution, mingled with the principles of tyranny and oppression; which afforded a very disagreeable prospect to his subjects. Such a prince never governs in his own person: as he has neither maxims, knowledge, nor resolution, by which he can manage the helm of administration, he necessarily becomes a prey to some insinuating ambitious individual, who rules him and the realm as favourite and prime minister. Henry was a slave of this sort to Hubert de Burgh, who being impatient of any controul or partition of influence, prevailed upon the king to dismiss the bishop of Winchester from his councils; and that prelate was ordered to return to his diocese. After his departure, the justiciary persuaded Henry to render himself independent of those restrictions that hampered him in his administration, and reign with absolute authority. He found the king very well disposed to follow his advice; the effects of which were soon felt by the people of England. He exacted five thousand marks from the city of London, on pretence of that community's having lent the like sum to Lewis when he departed from the kingdom. Northampton was compelled to pay twelve hundred pounds sterling, on some other frivolous pretext; and large sums of money were squeezed from the monasteries, notwithstanding their appeals to his holiness: but what entirely alienated the affections of the people, was the unexpected revocation of the two charters which he had so solemnly sworn to observe; and which he now renounced, alledging that he could not be legally bound by any transaction of his minority. As for Hubert, he seemed to laugh at the murmurs of the people; and was in the course of this year invested with the earl-

Brady.
Tyrrel.
Mat. Paris.

earldom of Kent, as a recompence for having freed A. C. 1227.
his master from such uneasy fetters.

This conduct of the king and his minister produced an universal spirit of dissatisfaction among the barons; and prince Richard, lately arrived from Guienne, took the advantage of this alienation to insult his brother, in consequence of a quarrel about a German whose name was Walleran, on whom king John had bestowed some lands in Cornwall. When Richard received the investiture of this county, he summoned Walleran to produce his title; and in the mean time seized his estate. The German, instead of shewing his charter, complained to the king, in his brother's absence; and an order was issued for putting him in possession of his lands. The vassals and agents of the earl eluded the execution of this order till the return of Richard, who assured the king that he had no intention to injure Walleran; and that he would refer the dispute to the judgment of his peers. Henry, incensed at this declaration, which he construed into an appeal from his determination, chid him severely for his presumption, and commanded him to restore the lands or quit the kingdom immediately. Richard replied that he would neither do the one nor the other, without the decision of his peers; and immediately retired to his own house. The justiciary advised the king to arrest him without delay; but, while he wavered in his resolution, the earl set out for Marlborough, where he communicated the transaction to William Mareschal earl of Pembroke, who approved of his behaviour, and undertook to form an association for humbling the pride of the justiciary. With this view they visited the earl of Chester, and some other noblemen, who embraced their plan without hesitation, and appointed a rendezvous at Stamford, where they were met by the earls of

Richard earl of Cornwall heads a confederacy of barons against the king.

A. C. 1227. Gloucester, Warenne, Hereford, Ferrars, and Warwick, with a great number of gentlemen, attended by a vast number of armed vassals. There they published a manifesto, containing their grievances; and demanded the confirmation of the charters, together with the dismissal of Hubert from the king's councils. The justiciary foreseeing the dangerous consequences that might ensue from this insurrection, advised the king to convöke a general assembly at Northampton, with promise to redress the grievances of the nation; and in the mean time to detach prince Richard from the confederacy, by ceding in his favour some claims to the effects of his mother, and adding to his appointments the lands which the count de Boulogne had possessed in England. These seasonable concessions operated so effectually upon the mind of the earl, that he renounced his engagements with the nobility, who, finding themselves thus bereft of their leader, laid aside their design, and submitted to the king, on his promise to govern according to the laws of the realm.

A. C. 1228.

Henry is invited to make a descent in France, by the Normans, Poitevins, and Gascons.

About this period Gregory IX. succeeded to the papacy, at the death of Honorius III. who was survived but a few months by Stephen Langton archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate's eyes were no sooner closed than the monks of St. Augustin, in order to preserve their privilege, elected one of their brothers, called Walter de Hemisham, without even demanding the king's permission. Henry therefore refused to confirm his election, on pretence of his father's having been hanged for felony; and the suffragans of Canterbury, who likewise pretended to the right of election, found a pretext for refusing to own this new archbishop, who it seems had debauched a nun, by whom he had several children. Agents were sent with appeals to Rome; but the pope declined deciding the dispute, until he should

should be better informed of the particulars; and in the mean time the see remained vacant. His holiness at that time could not attend to such petty contests, so much was he engrossed by his quarrel with Frederic II. emperor of Germany, whom he now excommunicated for having deferred his voyage to the Holy-Land, according to the oath he had taken. This sentence excited such commotions in Germany and Italy, that Frederic was obliged to perform his vow. France was at the same time embroiled by the regency of Blanche; and had Henry been an enterprising prince, he might have taken the advantage of this conjuncture, to retrieve his paternal possessions on the continent. The Normans, who had engaged in the interest of the French barons, against the regency, assured the king of England, that if he would cross the seas, they would receive him with open arms. The Poitevins pressed him to take possession of their country; in which case they would assist him in expelling the French garrisons; and the Gascons deputed the archbishop of Bourdeaux to invite him to come and recover the inheritance of Guienne. Such pressing invitations one would imagine should have been very acceptable to any prince of common courage and discretion; especially to one who had no domestic troubles to fear: for Henry had just concluded a peace with Llewellyn, a prince of Wales, who had made some incursions upon the English borders. Nevertheless, he declined their proposals, declaring that he would chuse a more proper opportunity; whereas, such another could not be expected during the whole course of his reign; and he afterwards rashly undertook the expedition, without the least probability of success.

Mean while, the pope still delayed giving judgment in the dispute concerning the archbishopric of Canterbury, until the king's envoys made an offer

Rymer.
Mat. Paris.

The pope
levies the
tenth of all
moveables
in England
and Ireland.

A. C. 1228.

to the pope of the tenth of all moveables in England and Ireland. This proposition threw a new light upon the contest, and his holiness immediately annulled the election of the monks; but at the same time he arrogated to himself the power of filling up the vacancy, appointing by his own authority Richard le Gant chancellor of the church of Lincoln, to the archiepiscopal dignity; and this prelate was recognized by the king and the suffragans, who on this occasion betrayed the rights of the Anglican church. In a little time after this transaction, the pope sent over one of his chaplains to collect the promised tythe, in order to support a war against the emperor; and he presented the pontiff's letter to the great council of the kingdom, desiring that this aid might be levied without delay. All the members were astonished at the proposal, and turned their eyes upon the king, expecting that he would disclaim the conduct of his envoys, who had made such an extravagant promise: but they soon perceived by his silence, that the offer had been made by his direction; and in the first transports of their indignation, resolved that their vassals should not be exposed to any such exaction. Nevertheless, as a mark of their respect to his holiness, they agreed to grant him a donation, without proceeding to an inquiry into the effects of individuals. They were, however, diverted from executing this resolution, by the behaviour of Stephen Seagrave, one of the richest and most popular members of the assembly, who voluntarily submitted to the tax; and a great number was influenced by his example, till at last the whole council, including ecclesiastics as well as laymen, acquiesced in the demand, rather than incur the wrath of the king, and the censures of Gregory. This point being settled, the nuncio produced a commission, investing him with full power to levy the tax upon all moveables whatsoever,

A. C. 1229.

soever. He forthwith proceeded to the execution of his orders, and exacted the tythe with such rigour, that the people were obliged to pay ready money for the fruits of the earth even while growing: the prelates and abbots were compelled to advance the tax for their inferior clergy; and, as they could not conveniently raise the sums demanded, they were supplied by Italian usurers, whom the nuncio had brought along with him for this purpose. The earl of Chester, however, insisted upon his prerogative of palatine, and would not suffer the nuncio, or any of his agents, to set foot within his territories. The king and the pope seemed to have had a fellow-feeling in this collection; and in all probability shared the money that was levied, according to a previous resolution to fleece the people in concert; for they afterwards supported each other reciprocally, in all their mutual schemes of extortion.

A. C. 1228.

Chr. Dunst.
Mat. Paris.

Before the people had time to breathe, after this grievous burden, they were again oppressed with subsidies, to enable the king to equip an armament against France, now that he had no longer an opportunity to prosecute the war with advantage. He summoned all the nobility and gentlemen of England to attend him at Portsmouth, immediately after Michaelmas, where they assembled to a vast multitude, from all parts of the kingdom, besides a great number of volunteers from Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. But all the success that might have been expected from such an army was prevented by the neglect of the justiciary, who had not provided a sufficient number of vessels for its transportation. Henry is said to have been so much incensed at this omission, that he drew his sword, in order to sacrifice Hubert with his own hand, and was hardly withheld by the noblemen who interposed. This is a circumstance very incompatible with the

A. C. 1229.

The king
resolves to
invade
France.

A. C. 1229. disposition of the king, who stood in awe of the justiciary, and could scarce have been provoked to such an effort of resolution. The enterprize seems to have been postponed for want of money to pay such a multitude of soldiers, and in consequence of what was suggested by the count of Brittany, who had by this time arrived at Portsmouth, in order to conduct the expedition; and dissuaded the king from hazarding a voyage in the winter season. The troops were accordingly dismissed; and the count having obtained a grant of the honour of Richmond, with a supply of five thousand marks in ready money, returned to his own country, where he published a manifesto representing his grievances, and renouncing his allegiance to the king of France.

A. C. 1230.

His infolence, cowardice, and impolitic conduct in Brittany.

The expedition being thus postponed, Henry made a progress to the North, and passed the Christmas holidays at York, where he was visited by Alexander king of Scotland. Then he convoked an assembly, and obtained a considerable scutage for defraying the expence of another armament. The rendezvous of his army was appointed at Reading, for the beginning of April; from thence he marched to Portsmouth, and embarking about the latter end of the same month, arrived at St. Malo. There he was received by the count, who surrendered several strong places into his hands; and a great number of the nobility did homage to him as their sovereign. The king of France had already taken Angers, in the neighbourhood of which his army was posted to observe the motions of the English, and oppose their irruption into Poitou; but seeing Henry did not move from Nantes, he advanced towards Amiens on the Loire, which he invested and took, together with several places in the neighbourhood of Henry's quarters, without meeting with the least

least interruption from that prince, who spent his time in feasting and riot, as if he had crossed the sea to take his diversion. Notwithstanding the prudent administration of the queen-regent of France, the discontented noblemen, in hope of being sustained by Henry, took this opportunity of their own king's absence to excite fresh commotions, which obliged Lewis to quit Anjou, that he might reduce those malcontents; and this was a favourable juncture for Henry to recover the dominions which his father had lost. The king of France had withdrawn his forces, and the Normans earnestly solicited the king of England to take possession of their country; but, instead of marching into Normandy, he entered Poitou, where he made himself master of Mirebeau; then repaired to Guienne, to receive the homage of the Gascon barons; and lastly returned to Brittany, where he relapsed into his former indolence, as if he had restricted himself by oath from interrupting Lewis in the pacification of his realms. His conduct was so amazingly impolitic and absurd on this occasion, that his ministers were suspected of carrying on an intelligence with the enemy; and Lewis effected an accommodation with the confederated barons, who saw they had nothing to expect from the assistance of England. By this time Henry was heartily tired of the war, and his forces daily diminishing from intemperance, he agreed to leave four hundred knights, and a body of horse, to assist the count of Brittany, while he should maintain the war with France; and to remit six thousand marks for his service, as soon as he should arrive in England. His resolution to quit Brittany was hastened by the motions of the French king and the regent, who having appeased the intestine troubles of France, marched back to oppose the English; and Henry, at their approach, embarked suddenly

A. C. 1230.

suddenly for England. Yet the earls of Chester, Albemarle, and Pembroke, who were left behind with the troops above-mentioned, exerted themselves with great activity and resolution after the king's departure. They made an incursion into Anjou, where they took and demolished several castles, and afterwards ravaged the frontiers of Normandy.

Rymer.
Mat. Paris.
Dachery's
Spicil.

He quarrels
with the
archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

A. C. 1231

During Henry's absence, Ireland had been involved in troubles. The king of Connaught knowing the best of the English troops were withdrawn from that kingdom, to serve in the expedition against Brittany, resolved to take the advantage of their absence; and assembling a vast number of vassals, invaded the lands of the British proprietors, which he wasted with fire and sword, until he was encountered by Geoffry de Marisco justiciary of Ireland, who took him prisoner after having routed his army with great slaughter. This event in some measure consoled the nation for the miscarriage of Henry's foreign expedition, which he had so disgracefully mismanaged; and yet he used it as a pretext for raising further subsidies. He had exhausted his finances abroad in such an extravagant manner, that he was a meer beggar at his return; and what the great council would have refused to his demand at another time, they now granted to his indigence. There was nothing affable or engaging in the character of Henry; so that he never could attach a nobleman to his interest by the ties of affection: but, as he seized all opportunities of exerting the odious prerogatives of his royalty, Richard archbishop of Canterbury having complained to him of the behaviour of Hubert de Burgh, who had seized the castle of Tunbridge, though it was a fief of the archbishopric, he replied, that the young earl of Gloucester being a ward of the crown, he had a right to dis-
pose

pose of the castle during his minority; and that Richard was presumptuous in pretending to dispute that privilege. The archbishop, incensed at this reproachful refusal, excommunicated without distinction all those who detained the effects of the church, and set out immediately for Rome to claim the protection of his holiness.

Chr. Dunst.

Henry's imperious disposition was about this time manifested in another difference with one of the first noblemen of his kingdom. The earl of Pembroke dying in Brittany, was succeeded by his brother Richard, who had accompanied him in the late expedition, and distinguished himself on divers occasions by his gallantry and conduct. Notwithstanding his undoubted right and services, the king seized the estate as soon as he received the news of the brother's death; and the truce being afterwards concluded with France, Richard returned to England, and demanded the succession. Henry at first pretended, that the late earl's widow was pregnant; but that allegation being disproved, he charged Richard with having carried on a treasonable correspondence with the enemy; and ordered him to quit the kingdom in fifteen days. Such an arbitrary and unjust sentence must have incensed any English nobleman; but it was particularly provoking to the son of that earl of Pembroke who had placed the crown on his head, and supported him against all the efforts of his enemies. Richard obeyed the order literally, in quitting the kingdom; but he retired into Ireland, where he took possession of the lands belonging to his family; and assembling a body of troops, ravaged the crown demesnes; and thus made himself amends for the damage he had sustained. This was the most effectual way of dealing with a prince of Henry's character. Alarmed at Richard's progress, he recalled him from exile, restored his estate,

His arbitrary behaviour to Richard earl of Pembroke.

A. C. 1231.

A. C. 1231.
Mat. Paris.
Brady.

Henry's ma-
trimonial
schemes.

estate, and invested him with the office of earl
mareschal, which his brother had enjoyed.

Henry was timorous, rash, and irresolute, in every part of his conduct. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, having renewed his incursions, the king allowed him to ravage the borders with impunity; and, after he had returned with his plunder, marched against him at the head of a numerous army: but he no sooner met with difficulties and opposition, than his ardour cooled, and he returned without having reduced the enemy, or done any thing worthy of notice. The same inconstancy and irresolution appeared in the different schemes of matrimony which he projected. He was now in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and had proposed marriage to several princesses: he had engaged himself by oath to Yolante, daughter of the count of Brittany; he had demanded the daughter of the duke of Austria; he had expressed a desire of uniting himself closely with the empire, by means of a match with the princess of Bohemia; and now he resolved to espouse the second daughter of William late king of Scotland. All these alliances miscarried through Henry's own levity, except the last, which was prevented by the remonstrances of the nobility, who represented the disgrace that would attend his marriage with the younger sister of his justiciary's wife. He in the sequel proposed marriage to the daughter of the count de Ponthieu: the contract was settled, and the ambassadors on their way to Rome for the pope's dispensation, when he suddenly changed his mind, and sent messengers to overtake them with orders to return.

Act. Pub.

Edmund
elected arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

Richard archbishop of Canterbury, who had repaired to Rome with complaints against Henry and his justiciary concerning the castle of Tunbridge, did not meet with the success he expected:
Henry

Henry had sent over an agent to justify his conduct; and the pope, whose interest it was to oblige this weak prince, issued a bull, forbidding the prelates of England to excommunicate the king's ministers and officers, for maintaining the rights of the crown to castles and other possessions. Richard dying on his return, the monks of Canterbury proceeded immediately to a new election, and chose Ralf de Neville, bishop of Chichester and chancellor of the kingdom, to fill the vacant see; a choice so agreeable to the king, that he forthwith approved of the election, and put him in possession of the temporalities; yet he could not obtain the confirmation of the pope, to whom Simon Langton represented him as a prelate devoted to the prerogatives of the crown, in opposition to the authority of the Roman church. His election was therefore set aside; and the monks were ordered to choose another, who being as disagreeable to his holiness as Ralf, they pitched upon a third, who was likewise rejected; and at last elected Edmund, treasurer of the church of Salisbury, who was chosen by the pope's own recommendation.

A. C. 1231ⁿ

Mat. Paris.

The court of Rome had by this time used its influence in such an unpopular manner, that a general clamour arose all over England, against the practice of bestowing benefices upon Italian priests, and inhibiting English bishops, and laypatrons to present natives, until those foreigners should be preferred. This was considered as a national insult and grievance, and a number of associations were formed for delivering the kingdom from such shameful oppression. Circular letters were sent to bishops and chapters, warning them against favouring such encroachments, on pain of having their houses burned, and their farms destroyed. Cincio, a Roman prebendary of St. Paul's, was apprehended, in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's,

Conspiracy against the Italian clergy settled in England.

A. C. 1231. ban's, by a number of men in vizards, who confined him for five weeks, and obliged him to pay a considerable ransom for his liberty: the barns of the Italian clergy were broke open, and their corn either given to the poor, or sold in public; and when the civil magistrate interposed, counterfeit warrants were produced by the rioters, who generally appeared to the number of fourscore, on all such occasions. In this manner they proceeded for some time without opposition, and the foreign ecclesiastics took refuge in convents for the security of their persons. The pope being informed of this violence, wrote a letter to the king, insisting upon his punishing the delinquents with the utmost rigour; otherwise he would excommunicate his person, and lay his dominions under an interdict. Henry, startled at these menaces, appointed inquiries in different parts of the kingdom where those disorders had prevailed; and it soon appeared that they had been countenanced by every rank and degree of people in the kingdom. Bishops, abbots, knights, sheriffs, and esquires, were found to have been concerned as accessories or abettors; and the justiciary himself was suspected of having connived at the pillage, and screened the rioters from prosecution. At last, Robert de Twange, a gallant young knight, who, under the name of W. Wither, had headed them in their excursions, appeared in the king's presence, and owned himself the ringleader in all these expeditions against the Romans, who, he said, had endeavoured to deprive him of the only patronage he enjoyed. Henry was pleased with his appearance and frank confession; and as the bishop of London and another prelate had excommunicated all concerned in those riots, he sent him to Rome, with letters recommending him to the pope's indulgence.

Though

Though this young adventurer fully cleared Hubert of all suspicion, his professed enemy Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, insinuated to the pope, that the justiciary was actually concerned in the outrages committed against the Italian clergy; and by these insinuations added the influence of his holiness to the confederacy which was already formed at court to the prejudice of Hubert. This nobleman had, by his pride and arbitrary disposition, not only disgusted almost all the peers of the realm, but also become disagreeable to the king, whose fickleness disposed him to novelty and alteration in ministers as well as measures. The justiciary's enemies no sooner found Henry's ears open to their representations, than they assiduously calumniated the conduct and character of the minister; they prevailed upon the king to recal the bishop of Winchester to court; and that prelate captivated the heart and admiration of this weak prince by sumptuous entertainments and magnificent presents. As he gained ground in his majesty's favour, he filled the court with his relations and adherents; and now that he was established in his good graces, resolved to employ all his address in augmenting his aversion to the justiciary. The prince of Wales having made some incursions into the English territories with impunity, the bishop, who had signalized his courage and military capacity in the Holy-Land, expostulated with the king upon the disgrace of sitting tamely and seeing his dominions ravaged by a handful of naked savages. When Henry gave him to understand that his finances were scarce sufficient to defray the expences of his household, much less to maintain a war against his neighbours, Peter loudly inveighed against the conduct of the prime minister; affirming that his revenues were mismanaged and embezzled; that the wardships of the crown were bestowed

A. C. 1232.
The disgrace
and downfall
of Hubert de
Burgh, earl
of Kent.

A. C. 1232. bestowed upon individuals, without producing any advantage to the exchequer; that the income of vacant benefices was intercepted, as well as that of lands reverting to the crown by death or confiscation; and that, by the help of honest officers and proper œconomy, he might, like his predecessors, keep his coffers always full, and his sway independent of the general assembly. This was a doctrine that founded very agreeably in the ears of Henry, who was equally indigent, rapacious, and averse to national councils: he forthwith ordered all his sheriffs and officers of the revenue to produce their accounts. Some of them being detected in frauds, were deprived of their offices, and imprisoned. Ralf Brito, treasurer of the chamber, was fined in a thousand pounds, and his post bestowed upon Peter de Riveaux, nephew to the bishop of Winchester. These were previous steps which that prelate took to pave the way for the execution of his grand project. Having thus removed the dependents of Hubert, whose credit daily diminished, he at length prevailed upon the king to divest that minister of his office of justiciary, and confer it upon Stephen de Seagrave, the bishop's creature and chief favourite, although Hubert had enjoyed it by a patent for life. Not contented with this triumph over his rival, he persuaded Henry to call him to account for the sums of money which had passed through his hands during his administration; and Hubert endeavoured to avoid this inquiry, by producing a patent of king John, containing an ample discharge for all the money he had received in the course of his faithful services to his sovereign. The bishop of Winchester, who was present, told him that such an acquittance could have no effect upon his administration since the accession of his present majesty: and added, that this was not the only crime laid to his charge;

for he was accused of divers crimes and misdemeanours; and in particular of having given the king pernicious counsel, to the unspeakable prejudice of his affairs. Hubert perceiving that this prelate was bent upon his ruin, and that the king's heart was altogether alienated, desired that he might be indulged with time to prepare for his defence; and this demand the bishop could not refuse, without running the risk of disobliging the barons, by excluding Hubert from a privilege he enjoyed in common with all the noblemen of the kingdom. The earl of Kent having intimation that Peter was determined upon bringing him to an ignominious death, and finding it very difficult to unravel a number of perplexed accounts, retired to the priory of Merton, in Surrey, where he took sanctuary; and the king, whose resentment against him was now as rancorous as his former confidence had been unbounded and implicit, ordered the mayor of London to bring him from his retreat, either dead or alive. This order being received in the evening, Roger Duke the mayor assembled the populace with an alarm ball; and having signified the king's command, directed them to provide arms, so as to march in the morning to execute the king's order. Nothing could be more agreeable than such an office to the vulgar, who hated Hubert ever since the execution of their favourite leader Constantine; and they dispersed with joy to make preparations for the enterprize. Mean while several citizens of distinguished note and discretion, dreading the consequences of such a tumultuary meeting, repaired to the bishop of Winchester in Southwark, and even waked him from his sleep, to represent the danger that might ensue to the church of Merton and the city itself, from the licentiousness of such a disorderly multitude. The prelate, instead of acting up to the duty of

A. C. 1232.

his function, by interposing his influence with the king, to procure a revocation of the order, told them, that whatever might be the consequence, they ought to obey his majesty's command. Thus encouraged, the populace, to the amount of twenty thousand armed men, marched out in the morning, with colours flying, towards the church of Merton, where Hubert sat on his knees before the altar, expecting his death with fortitude and resignation. What the bishop of Winchester ought to have procured without being solicited, was obtained by the remonstrances of the earl of Chester, who, though a professed enemy of Hubert, represented to the king, that such tumultuary proceedings might produce a very dangerous sedition, and furnish the world with a handle to reproach him with ingratitude to a nobleman whose whole life had been dedicated, in a remarkable manner, to the service of himself and his family. Henry, conscious of the truth and honesty of this observation, and perhaps moved with the magnanimity of the earl, who could so nobly sacrifice his resentment to justice, and the interest of his country, sent a counter-order to the mayor of London; and this, by the diligence of the bishop of Chichester, was dispatched in time enough to prevent mischief; so that the multitude returned to London extremely chagrined at their disappointment. The archbishop of Dublin and the bishop of Chichester were the only persons of note who adhered to the earl of Kent in his adversity; and they seconded the remonstrances of the earl of Chester with such success, that they obtained letters patent from the king, granting Hubert time to prepare for his trial before his peers. Trusting to the protection of this indulgence, he set out for St. Edmundsbury on a visit to his wife; and the king, being informed that he intended to escape, sent a detachment

ment of three hundred men to apprehend and bring him back prisoner to the Tower. Godfrey de Craucombe, who commanded this party, found him in the chapel of Brentwood, with a cross in one hand, and the sacrament in the other: but, notwithstanding the sanctity of his situation, he was dragged out by violence, and, his feet being chained under a horse's belly, conveyed to prison like a common felon. Such indignities offered to a nobleman who had signalized his courage and fidelity above all his cotemporaries, and sat so long at the helm of government, affected the very populace assembled on the occasion; even a blacksmith, whom Craucombe desired to fasten the fetters, refused the employment with disdain, and made an affecting speech on the occasion. Next morning Roger bishop of London went to court to complain of this breach of the church's privileges, and threatened all concerned in the outrage with excommunication, unless Hubert should be immediately released. The king accordingly ordered him to be carried back to the chapel; but, at the same time, the sheriffs of Hertford and Essex were directed to raise the posse, and surround the place in such a manner, as that he should neither escape nor receive sustenance; nay, such was the virulence of Henry's hatred, that he forebade all his courtiers to intercede in his behalf; and the alternative he offered to Hubert was perpetual exile, perpetual imprisonment, or the confession of his treason. The earl, conscious of his own merit and innocence, refused to buy his life on such scandalous conditions; and, after having remained a whole month in the chapel half famished, he surrendered himself to the sheriff, who reconveyed him to the Tower in shackles. The king being informed that he had deposited a considerable treasure in the hands of the Templars; demanded it

A. C. 1232. of the master, who refused to deliver it without Hubert's order, which was immediately granted. Though this treasure furnished his enemies with a new pretence for expatiating upon his fraud and extortion, it appeased the indignation of Henry, who now affected to remember his great services; and when he was urged to proceed against the earl with the utmost severity, declared that he would never consent to the death of a nobleman to whom he and his father had owed such important obligations. He now listened to terms of composition; and Hubert, after having conveyed to Henry all his personal estate, and the lands he held of the crown, was allowed to enjoy the rest of his fortunes: in the mean time, the earls of Cornwall, Warrenne, Pembroke, and Lincoln, became sureties for his good behaviour; but he was ordered to remain in the castle of the Devizes, under the custody of four Templars, until he should either be in a condition to assume the habit of that order, by the death of his wife, or acquitted by the unanimous consent of the nobility.

Ann. Cas-
trens.
Ch. Dunst.
Mat. Paris.
Lel. Coll.

A. C. 1133.
The bishop
of Winches-
ter's arbitra-
ry conduct.

The bishop of Winchester, instead of taking warning from the disgrace of Hubert de Burgh, seemed to think his own power established, by that event, beyond any possibility of being shaken, and erected an absolute authority upon the ruins of that minister. He persuaded the king, that very few of his nobility were well affected to his government; and that he should never render himself independent, while they possessed the great offices of the kingdom: he therefore advised him to undermine their power gradually, by depriving them of their lucrative posts and governments, which he might bestow upon foreigners, who would always be devoted to his pleasure. Henry, who hated the barons, relished this advice; and, in a little time, above two thousand knights arrived in England
from

from Gascony and Poitiers, the native country of the bishop, and his nephew Peter de Rivaux, who had invited them to share the spoils of the nation. These were provided with advantageous employments, taken from the English barons: they were even intrusted with the wardship of minors, by which they procured advantageous matches, to the prejudice of the natives. These proceedings could not fail to produce clamours and discontent, among the nobility. Richard, earl of Pembroke, was the first who ventured to complain openly of this impolitic attachment to strangers. He told the king, that this partiality to foreigners alienated the affections of his people, and produced such discontent as would be attended with dangerous consequences; and frankly assured his majesty, that should he continue to lavish his favours upon strangers, in preference of his English subjects, the barons would be obliged to concert measures for delivering the kingdom from such rapacious interlopers. The bishop, who was present at this expostulation, immediately replied, that his insolence deserved chastisement, for pretending to deprive his sovereign of the liberty to employ those whom he judged most proper for his service; and that if the foreigners already in the kingdom were not sufficient to reduce his rebellious subjects, a greater number should be brought over for that purpose. Such an arrogant declaration could not but be extremely shocking to the noblemen of England: they forthwith retired from court, and began to form associations for their mutual defence; while the bishop seemed to despise their resentment, confiding in his Poitevins, who now flocked over in great numbers. The earls and barons being summoned to an assembly or parliament at Oxford, to be held at Midsummer, they refused to expose themselves to the insults and treachery of perfidious foreigners. They

A. C. 1253.
He brings swarms of foreigners into England. The barons are incensed against the king and this minister.

A. C. 1233. received a second and third citation, with promise that their grievances should be redressed; but, understanding that fresh swarms of aliens arrived every day with military accoutrements, they, instead of appearing personally, sent a deputation to the king, desiring he would remove Peter, bishop of Winchester, and his Poitevins from his councils and kingdom; otherwise they should be obliged to expel him from the throne, and find out some more worthy prince to sway the scepter of England.

They are
proscribed
as traitors.

Henry himself was terrified at this message; but the bishop soon dispelled his apprehensions, by exaggerating his own military capacity, and the valour of his Poitevins, with whom he undertook to subdue those insolent traitors, who treated their prince with such indignity. It was resolved, that they should immediately feel the weight of his resentment and arbitrary power. Gilbert Basset being dispossessed of a manor, and applying to Henry for justice, was insulted with the appellation of traitor, and ordered to quit the court on pain of being hanged; his brother-in-law Richard Siward was imprisoned, on pretence of having married without the king's licence; and all the suspected noblemen were commanded to give hostages for their peaceable behaviour. The earl Marechal receiving intimation from his sister, the countess of Cornwall, of a design against his life, retired to Wales; but the other confederates appeared in parliament, properly armed for their own security. No resolution was taken in this assembly, on account of the earl's absence; but, in a little time after it broke up, Winchester and Seagrave persuaded the king to summon all who owed him military services, to meet him in arms at Gloucester, on the fourteenth day of August. The earl of Pembroke and the confederates refusing to obey this citation, Henry ordered them to be proscribed as traitors; their towns were burnt,
ed,

ed, their castles besieged, their lands ravaged, and their estates given to the Poitevin subsidiaries. Perhaps the bishop of Winchester would not have proceeded to such extremities had not he gained over to his interest the earls of Cornwall, Chester, and Lincoln, by means of a thousand marks artfully distributed: at the same time Baldwin, count de Guines, landed at Dover with a strong body of Flemings, who joined the king at Gloucester. By this time earl Marechal, finding himself abandoned by three such powerful confederates, engaged in a league offensive and defensive with Llewellyn, and the Welsh noblemen who had been for some time on very precarious terms with England: and Henry, reinforced by his foreigners, advanced to Hereford, in order to besiege one of the earl's castles. The garrison defended it so courageously, that the besiegers began to be in want of provisions, before they had made any progress in the enterprize. The king saw no prospect of taking the place by force of arms; and, as it would be disgraceful to raise the siege, some prelates were sent to treat with the earl Marechal, who agreed to surrender the castle, on a solemn promise that it should be restored in a fortnight, and every grievance redressed at the meeting of the parliament, which was convoked for the beginning of October. Winchester and Seagrave swore to the performance of these articles; but, notwithstanding their oath, the castle was not restored, until it was besieged, and retaken by the owner.

Mat. Paris.
Brady.

The king
marches a-
gainst the
earl mar-
chal

The parliament assembled at Westminster, besought the king to be reconciled to his barons, and complained of his proscribing English noblemen as traitors, without trial or conviction. The bishop of Winchester not only pretended to justify the king's conduct, but was so imprudent as to affirm, that the English noblemen were not intitled to the

A. C. 1233. privileges enjoyed by the peers of France. He had scarce pronounced this hardy asseveration, when all the bishops rose up, and threatened him with the sentence of excommunication. He told them he was not subject to their jurisdiction, as having been consecrated by the pope, to whom he appealed from any step they might take to his prejudice; yet, though they did not censure him by name, they excommunicated all those who alienated the king's affection from his subjects: and, when Henry pressed them to fulminate the same sentence against the earl Mareschal, who had retaken his castle, they refused to comply with his request, observing that it would be highly unjust to censure a man for recovering his own property. The king therefore finding himself under the necessity of attacking him in the field, ordered all his troops to rendezvous at Gloucester, immediately after All-Saints; and from thence began his march into Wales; but the earl having taken the precaution to drive away the cattle, his army was, in a little time so destitute of forage and provisions, that he was obliged to change his route and enter Monmouthshire, to prepare magazines for the subsistence of his forces. The earl, understanding that the king, and his principal officers were quartered at the castle of Grosmont, while the army lay encamped without the walls, attacked them in the night, routed them at the first onset, and took about six hundred horses, with all the king's baggage; so that he was fain to return to Gloucester. Then Pembroke undertook the siege of Monmouth, which was defended by Baldwin de Guisnes, a Flemish officer of great reputation, who laid an ambush for the earl, and actually took him prisoner, while he rode round observing the place with a few attendants: but, luckily for the earl, Baldwin was mortally wounded with an arrow, as he conducted his prisoner to the castle. His troops
halting

halting in consequence of this accident, Pembroke's forces came up, and not only delivered their general, but either slew or took the whole party, which had sallied from the castle. A. C. 1233'

During these transactions, Hubert de Burgh, who still continued a prisoner in the castle of the Devizes, received an intimation, that the bishop of Winchester was determined to take away his life; and that he might execute this resolution with the greater facility, was soliciting the king for the government of the castle. Alarmed at this intelligence, he communicated the nature of his dangerous situation to some of the guards who attended him; and they, commiserating the fate of this gallant man, connived at his escape. Of this, however, the governor was no sooner informed, than he detached a party in pursuit of the fugitive, whom they found at the foot of the altar in a country church, and carried back to the castle, after having buffeted and insulted him with the utmost indignity. The bishop of Salisbury, being informed of this violation, demanded him of the governor; and, upon his refusal to surrender the prisoner, excommunicated the whole garrison. His complaints to the king were seconded by the bishop of London, who represented this affront offered to the church, as a matter of such consequence to Henry, that he ordered Hubert to be reconveyed to the place from whence he had been taken, which was, at the same time, surrounded by the sheriff and his posse comitatus: so that the prisoner would have reaped no benefit from his removal, had not he been rescued by Richard Siward, and some armed friends, with whom he retired to Wales, and joined the earl of Pembroke. Hubert de Burgh escapes from the Devizes.

This nobleman made great progress after the king's retreat. He defeated a body of troops commanded by John of Monmouth, ravaged the lands A. C. 1234.

Chr. Dunst.
The earl of Pembroke is betrayed and murdered in Ireland.

be-

A. C. 1234. belonging to the king's counsellors, in the frontiers of Wales, and reduced the town of Shrewsbury to ashes; while Henry, instead of opposing his career, retired to Winchester, leaving the counties, on the Severne side, to his mercy. He was advised by the bishop to make an accommodation with the earl; but this advice he rejected, at the instigation of Winchester, unless that nobleman would throw himself at his feet, and own himself a traitor. Indeed this prelate had a resource, of which those counsellors were ignorant; he wrote letters, in the king's name, to Maurice Fitzgerald, justiciary of Ireland, Walter and Hugh de Lacy, Richard de Burgh, Geoffry de Mareis, and others, giving them to understand that Richard earl Marshal had been deprived, in the king's court, of all his honours and estate; and desiring that they would ravage his lands in Ireland, so as to provoke him to go thither: in which case, if they would take him dead or alive, all his Irish fortune should be divided among them. Before they would engage in this undertaking, they demanded a patent to confirm the partition; and this being sealed and sent over, they began to waste the lands belonging to Richard. He no sooner heard of this unprovoked injury, than he crossed the sea with fifteen attendants, and, at his landing, was received by Geoffry de Mareis, one of his own vassals, with all the exterior marks of fidelity and attachment. This traitor engaged to raise troops for his service, against those who had invaded his estate, and inveigled him into a parley with his colleagues; on which occasion, being deserted by all his followers, he received a mortal stab in the back with a poignard, of which he died in a few weeks, to the universal regret of all honest men, who revered him as a nobleman of great valour, capacity, and virtue.

Mat. Paris.
Brady.

While

While the bishop of Winchester and his adherents employed their influence to such infamous purposes, the prelates, in order to avert the mischievous consequences that must have attended the male-practices of this wicked ministry resolved to exert themselves in behalf of their country. In a parliament at Westminster, Henry taxed several bishops, and Alexander of Litchfield in particular, with being engaged, in concert with the earl Marechal, and the rebellious barons. The bishop, in order to demonstrate the falsity of the charge, rose up, and, in a solemn manner, excommunicated all those who were concerned in such treasonable practices, as well as the calumniators of the bishops. Edmund, elect of Canterbury, not satisfied with that censure, repaired with his suffragans to court, and explained to Henry the ruinous measures to which he had been instigated by his ministers: he accused Peter bishop of Winchester, as the author of those pernicious counsels which had diffused a spirit of discontent through the whole nation; he represented the danger of entrusting mercenary foreigners with the custody of his own sister as well as Eleanor of Brittany, together with his treasury and the chief fortresses of the kingdom; and finally insisted upon his removing those evil counsellors, on pain of being excommunicated, with all his adherents. The king, startled at this remonstrance, desired time to deliberate, and his eyes seemed to be opened all at once, to the danger that threatened him from his misconduct and partiality: nevertheless, he formed no resolution during this session of parliament. Before the next meeting Edmund was consecrated; so that he renewed his address with greater authority, and the king granted him all the satisfaction he could desire; the bishop of Winchester was sent to his diocese; Peter de Rivaux was dismissed from his post of high-treasurer, and ordered to give up

A. C. 1234.
The bishop
of Win-
chester and
his adhe-
rents are
disgraced.

A. C. 1234. his accounts, together with the castles in his custody; Seagrave was divested of his post of justiciary; the foreigners were obliged to quit the country, and the English prelates and noblemen readmitted into the privy-council.

The confederated barons are reconciled to the king.

Measures immediately took a new turn; three bishops were sent as ambassadors, to conclude a peace with Llewellyn and the earl Marechal; and the king himself set out for Gloucester, that he might be at hand to forward the negotiation. In his way to that city, he was informed of Pembroke's death, and could not help shedding tears, when he understood how that worthy nobleman had been betrayed. Llewellyn consented to the proposals of peace, on condition that the barons of his alliance should be pardoned and restored; and they repaired to court, where they met with a favourable reception from his majesty, who, among the rest, distinguished Hubert de Burgh with particular marks of tenderness and favour. The outlawries against that nobleman and the other confederates, were, by proclamation, declared null and void: he recovered his honours, and his former favour with the king; Basset and Siward were created privy-counsellors; Gilbert, brother to the earl of Pembroke, received the investiture of the English and Irish estates; and Henry, having first knighted him, delivered into his hands the marshal's staff, at a parliament held in Worcester. It was at this assembly that Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, produced copies of the letters and forgeries which had been contrived, written, and sealed, for the destruction of the earl of Pembroke; and the whole audience was filled with horror and indignation, when they heard them recited. The perfidious authors were summoned to appear in court at Midsummer, and answer to this and other charges of mal-administration: but, instead of obeying the citation, Winchester and Rivaux took fanc-

sanctuary in the cathedral of Winton; Seagrave retired to the church of St. Mary Newark in Leicester; and Passellewe, one of their accomplices, concealed himself in a cellar in London. Edmund, being averse to all violent measures, persuaded the king to grant them a safe-conduct; in consequence of which they came forth from the places of their retreat, and were brought before the king for their examination. Peter de Rivaux appeared in the habit of a clergyman, under which a coat of mail and a stiletto were concealed; he fell upon his knees and sued for mercy, and desired time to regulate his accompts of wardships, escheats, and other branches of the crown revenue. His request was granted, though his lay possessions were sequestered, and his person was delivered to the archbishop, who sent him to the cathedral of Winchester. Seagrave, besides the other articles of his charge, was accused by Henry, of having advised him to put Hubert de Burgh to death, and banish the nobility. He and Passellewe, treasurer of the exchequer, endeavoured to palliate their offences, by alledging they only conformed to the direction of their superiors, to whom they were subservient. They were fined a thousand marks each; and Seagrave was obliged to restore several manors which had been alienated from the crown in his favour. As for the ringleader of this foreign ministry, Peter bishop of Winchester, he sheltered himself under his character, and was sent abroad in order to renew the truce with France; but, the pope, being at war with the citizens of Rome, summoned him into Italy, where he hoped to avail himself of Peter's military talents.

Clauſ. 18.
Henry III.
Rymer.

While the king of England was thus employed in regulating his domestic affairs, the truce with France expired; and, as the overtures made for a renewal of the suspension did not succeed, Lewis

The count
of Brittany
does homage
to Lewis
king of
France.

A. C. 1235. invaded the count of Brittany, who earnestly solicited succours from England: but Henry, far from supporting this ally with that vigour which sound policy required, sent over sixty knights and two thousand infantry; such an inconsiderable reinforcement, that the count, finding himself unable to cope with his adversary, sued for a truce of three months, which, however, he could not obtain, but upon condition of submitting at discretion, provided he should not be assisted from England within the time prescribed. During this interval, he exerted all his industry and eloquence, to engage Henry in an expedition for his relief; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he did homage to Lewis for his dominions, having first solemnly renounced his allegiance to Henry, who confiscated his English estate. Though the king neglected his affairs upon the continent, his council were employed in making wholesome regulations at home: the fortresses of the kingdom were put into the hands of English noblemen, well affected to their country; the boundaries between the civil and ecclesiastical policy of the kingdom were ascertained by certain restrictions, that prevented a mutual incroachment; and proclamations were issued, to enforce a due observance of the two charters of liberties. Henry, by advice of his council, granted to the parochial clergy the tythes of hay and mills, in all demesnes of the crown throughout England; he paid the tribute regularly to the pope; and, by the mediation of his holiness, another truce for five years was concluded with France, after Hugh count of La Marche had been gratified by Henry with a pension of eight hundred livres, in lieu of the isle of Oleron, to which he had laid claim. It was also by the negotiation of pope Gregory, that the king of England acquired a powerful ally in the person of the emperor Frederic II.

Mat. Paris.
Rymer.

Henry's
sister Isabel
married to
the emperor
of Germany,
Frederic II.

who

who demanded Henry's sister Isabel in marriage. The proposal was embraced; the articles of the contract immediately settled; the nobility granted a scutage, by which thirty thousand marks were levied as her fortune; she was sent with a numerous retinue into Germany, and there received with the utmost magnificence; and the nuptials were celebrated at Worms with incredible pomp, in presence of four kings, eleven dukes, thirty marquises and earls, besides a vast number of prelates and gentlemen.

A. C. 1225.

Mat. Paris.

Henry having thus disposed of his sister, began to think in good earnest upon a match for himself. We have already taken notice of four different negotiations on this subject, which miscarried through his own levity; but, now having arrived at the years of discretion, and perceiving the expediency of settling the succession, in order to preserve the peace of the kingdom, he resolved to marry Eleanor, the second daughter of Raymund Berenger, count of Provence, who had already disposed of his eldest daughter to the king of France. The prelates and nobility approving of this alliance, Henry sent ambassadors with formal proposals, which were very acceptable to the father. The young lady was conducted by the ambassadors into England, where she arrived in the beginning of the year; the marriage was celebrated at Canterbury on the fourteenth day of January, and on the Sunday following she was crowned at Westminster.

Henry
epouses
Eleanor
second
daughter of
the count of
Provence.

A. C. 1225.

Rymer.

In the assembly, convoked for this coronation, several regulations were made, and, among the rest, the famous statute of Merton, relating to the dowers and wills of widows, the improvement of waste, the exemption of heirs from usury, during their minority, for debts contracted by their fathers, the limitation of writs, and other articles calculated for the ease and security of the people.

Statute of
Merton
enacted.

Upon

A. C. 1236. Upon this occasion too, the bishops proposed to establish a constitution of the canon law, by which all children born before the marriage of their parents should be deemed legitimate by that subsequent union: but, as such an alteration would affect the succession of titles and estates, and introduce confusion into families, the lay nobility declared they would never alter the laws of England. The same fortitude and resolution they manifested in persuading the king to refuse the request of the emperor, who sent an embassy to desire that Richard earl of Cornwall might be sent over to the imperial court, where he should be supplied with troops to attack France, already embroiled by the king of Navarre, and recover the territories that were wrested from his father. The nobility interposed with great warmth, and even protested against exposing the presumptive heir of the crown to the dangers of war in a foreign country; and the emperor's proposal was accordingly rejected.

The barons present a remonstrance against the counsels of foreigners.

The weakness of Henry soon reappeared, notwithstanding all the pains which the new ministry took to regulate his conduct. William de Savorie, bishop elect of Valence, and uncle to queen Eleanor, whom he had conducted into England, insinuated himself so artfully into the king's confidence and affection, that he resigned himself intirely to the guidance of this foreigner, and managed the helm of government by his sole direction. The English were always impatient of foreign counsels; and as the nation still smarted from the pernicious measures of Winchester and his Poitevins, the nobility resolved to crush this new influence before it should increase so as to affect the welfare of the nation. When the next parliament was convened at London, this was the first object of their consideration; and they presented a remonstrance to the king, who was so terrified at the address that he retired to the
Tower,

Tower, where he proposed to finish the business of the session; but the members refusing to assemble in a place commanded by the very strangers against whom their address was levelled, he returned to his palace; and affairs were carried on in the usual channel. Notwithstanding the truce with Wales, mutual incursions had been made; and Llewellyn seemed inclinable to an open rupture with England. Alexander king of Scotland chose this conjuncture to send an embassy to Henry with a demand of the three northern counties, agreeable to a convention made with his father, and a declaration of war in case of a refusal. The council, finding both parts of the alternative disagreeable, amused him with a promise of examining his pretensions; and a conference was afterwards opened on this subject at York, where, by the mediation of Otho, the pope's legate, a final peace was concluded; and Alexander renounced his claim, in consideration of two hundred pounds a year, payable by the northern counties, for which he swore fealty and did homage to the king of England: and as for Llewellyn, who was by this time old, infirm, and paralytic, he agreed to a truce, which ended in a pacification.

Tyrrel.
Rymer.

The foreigners who had insinuated themselves into the king's favour, perceiving how odious they were to the English nobility, and the nation in general resolved to strengthen their party against the storm that was brewing. They prevailed upon Henry to dismiss Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, the lord steward, and other officers, from the household and council, and to demand the seals from the bishop of Chichester, who had behaved as chancellor with remarkable integrity; but this prelate refused to resign his office, except by order of the council from which he had received his authority. Rivaux, Seagrave, and Passelewe, were recalled to court, where

Henry attempts a resumption of lands granted by the crown before his marriage.

A. C. 1236. they were reconciled to Henry, and recovered their influence. The measures for which they had been disgraced were now revived; the castle of Gloucester and Eleanor of Brittany were recommitted to their charge; in a word, they engrossed all the benefactions which Henry had in his power to bestow. One would be apt to think those insolent strangers had been hired by some rival prince to bring Henry's character into contempt and detestation with his own subjects. They exhorted him to revoke all the alienations of the crown-demesnes and grants made to the nobility before his marriage; they engaged the pope in this project. That pontiff published a bull, representing those grants as injurious to the honour of the crown, detrimental to his right of sovereignty, absolving Henry from the oath by which they had been confirmed, and directing an immediate resumption. This mandate was signified to the parliament assembled at Winchester; but the members rejected the proposal with disdain, observing that a compliance with the bull would be an acknowledgment of subjection to the Roman see, of which they considered the kingdom intirely independent.

The parliament grants Henry a subsidy on promise of reformation.

A. C. 1237.

Henry's ministers, finding the representatives of the nation thus determined, thought proper to drop the scheme, and concert other measures for raising money to gratify their own avarice. As they could contrive no other resource, another parliament was convoked at Westminster, where the king giving them to understand that his finances were quite exhausted, by the expences attending his own marriage and the queen's coronation, desired they would grant him a subsidy for the necessary purposes of his government. To this proposal they answered, that the aids which they had so often granted, were never employed for the glory or advantage of the nation: that on the contrary he had suffered the extent

tent of his dominions to be curtailed by his enemies, and squandered away the sums of money, which ought to have been employed for the defence of his territories, among worthless foreigners who supplanted his subjects in his favour, and assisted him in oppressing the people. Henry faithfully promised to be ruled for the future by the counsels of his natural subjects; and that if they would now indulge him with the thirtieth part of their moveables, he would never ask another supply that they should see any reason to refuse. In order to facilitate their compliance, he disavowed the pope's bull touching the resumption of grants; declared he would inviolably observe the liberties of the Magna Charta; and ordered a sentence of excommunication to be pronounced against all persons (himself not excluded) who should presume to violate that sacred constitution*. The parliament, mollified by these assurances and the admission of some English noblemen into the council, complied with his demand so far as to grant an aid of one thirtieth upon all moveables, except money, plate, horses, arms, utensils of husbandry, and the chattels belonging to prebends and parish churches; but this tax was deposited in certain abbeys, churches, and castles, as

* The constituent members of that parliament were the prelates, the magistrates, or great barons, summoned by special writs, and the ordinary barons or nobles, summoned in general by the sheriff's proclamation: these last comprehended all the gentry that held by military tenure, whether knights or esquires; and accordingly, Matthew Paris says there was at this parliament an infinite multitude: so that they did not choose representatives, but every individual appeared or might have appeared in his own person, as a member of par-

liament. The boroughs and commons had as yet no representatives, as appears from the writs issued out for levying this subsidy; in one of which it is expressly said, that the prelates, earls, and barons, assembled on the eve of St. Hilary, had granted the king a thirtieth of all their moveables; and the other declares that the prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders, had granted a thirtieth for themselves and their villanes; i. e. their copyholders and tenants. Carte, tom. ii. page 60.

A. C. 1237. a fund sacred to the necessities of the government, and levied on express condition that the king should no longer hearken to the suggestions of foreigners, who had oppressed and impoverished the nation, but be governed for the future by the advice of his own natural-born subjects.

Chr. Dunst.
M. Paris.

Otho arrives
as pope's le-
gate.

The foreign
ministry
prevails.

In spite of these precautions, Henry lavished away the money upon his foreign favourites and his wife's relations. Though he had solemnly engaged to follow the advice of English counsellors, he was still directed in all his measures by W. de Valence, on whom he conferred the honour of Richmond, which had formerly been granted to his own brother the earl of Cornwall. The avarice and ambition of this favourite grasped at every post of honour and advantage, and gave such umbrage to the English nobility, that a civil commotion would probably have ensued, had not he thought proper to withdraw on pretence of visiting his own country, where however, he stayed no longer than he heard the resentment of the English barons had subsided: then he returned to the kingdom, where he renewed his arbitrary practices. Nevertheless, he was not so free of apprehension, but that he prevailed upon Henry to desire the pope would send over a legate, whose authority co-operating with the power of the crown, might overawe the malcontents and ensure the obedience of the common people. Otho was invested with this character, and his commission extended into Scotland; and, tho' his arrival produced an universal clamour, he conducted himself with such prudence and moderation as acquired the esteem and veneration of the public. Alexander king of Scotland forbade him to cross the borders; and indeed he felt no inclination to visit that country, after he had been made acquainted with the ferocity of the natives. He summoned

moned a council at St. Paul's in London, where A. C. 1237. several canons were enacted, touching the discipline of the church; forbidding the practice of farming churches and ecclesiastical dignities, non-residence, and the marriage of the clergy, but he did not exert any unpopular acts of authority; and employed his good offices in effecting a reconciliation between the bishop of Winchester and Hubert earl of Kent, who had long been at variance. Yet the presence of this legate animated Henry to proceed in bestowing all his favours and confidence on a foreign ministry, and to disregard the remonstrance of the English nobility, among whom his own brother Richard endeavoured without effect to persuade him to a change of measures.

Though he rejected this advice, his favourites found it necessary to gain over some leaders of the opposition, and to engage in their interest John earl of Lincoln high-constable of England, and Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, youngest son of the famous general who commanded the crusade against the Albigenes. He inherited the honour of Hinckley, the stewardship of England, and the county of Leicester, by the resignation of his brother Amaury, in right of his mother, who was daughter and coheirefs of Robert Fitz-arnel earl of Leicester. This young nobleman had ingratiated himself with Henry to such a degree, that his ambition surmounted all bounds; and thinking himself too great for a subject, he aspired to the dignity of sovereign. With this view he had payed his addresses successively to the heiresses of Boulogne and Flanders; but miscarrying in both negotiations, he turned his eyes upon Eleanor, the second sister of Henry and widow of William de Mareschal earl of Pembroke. Though she had, at the decease of A. C. 1238. that nobleman, made a vow of perpetual chastity,

Simon
Montfort
marries the
king's sister.

A. C. 1238.

and taken the ring without the veil from Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, the foreign ministers resolving to attach Simon to their interest at any rate, persuaded the king to consent to the marriage; and he actually gave her away with his own hand, in the private chapel of his palace, where the ceremony was performed by one of his chaplains. The king was severely rebuked for this clandestine match, by the archbishop; and the barons of the opposition were so much incensed at the defection of Montfort and the earl of Lincoln, who was likewise bribed by a marriage between his daughter and Richard de Clare, that they began to concert measures for doing themselves justice. The earls of Cornwall and Mareschal, with almost all the nobility of England, engaged in a confederacy against the foreign ministry and the two deserters of their country's cause; and the nation in general favoured their undertaking. They assembled in arms at Southwark; and being joined by the citizens of London, loudly demanded that Lincoln and Montfort, together with the foreign ministers, should be dismissed from the council-board. Henry, terrified at these proceedings, had recourse to the good offices of the legate, who by the promise of large grants appeased the resentment of Richard earl of Cornwall; and a truce was concluded till the first Monday of Lent, when all grievances were to be redressed at a general council in London. There the barons appeared at the time appointed: but by this time the earl of Cornwall being bought off, the grievances were but half redressed; and the dispute was compromised by Otho's mediation. The two earls were dismissed from the council; and Simon afraid that his marriage would be dissolved, by the representations of Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, went privately to Rome, where by dint of money he obtained the pope's confirmation.

Then

The barons
take to their
arms.

Then he returned in triumph to England, where he was received with extraordinary marks of favour and affection by Henry, who solemnly invested him with the earldom of Leicester. A. C. 1238.

The pope's legate, after the accommodation which he effected between the king and the barons, set out on a visitation towards the North; and taking Oxford in his way, was sumptuously entertained by the university in the abbey of Osney. After dinner, the scholars coming to pay their respects to his reverence, were refused admittance by his Italian porter, and insulted in such a manner that they endeavoured to force their entrance. The legate's servants ran to sustain the porter, and an obstinate fray ensued. A poor Irish scholar begging at the kitchen grate, was miserably scalded by the steward, who was the legate's own brother; and a Welshman seeing this outrage, was so incensed that he shot him dead with an arrow. The legate, terrified at this disturbance, fled to the church, from whence he escaped to Abingdon, where the king resided, and complained loudly of the unworthy treatment he had received. Henry forthwith sent the earl of Warrene with a party of soldiers to apprehend the rioters; and thirty being taken were committed prisoners to the castle of Wallingford. Otho, not yet satisfied, laid the university under an interdict, and excommunicated all those who had been concerned in the riot; but at the intercession of the bishops those censures were removed, and the scholars attoned for their presumption, by walking barefoot in procession from St. Paul's to the legate's lodgings.

The legate's life endangered by a riot at Oxford.

In the course of this year Peter de Roches bishop of Winchester dying, Henry recommended William de Valence as his successor; but the monks excepted to him as a foreigner odious to the English; and a man who, from his want of learning,

William de Valence elected bishop of Winchester.

A. C. 1238.

passionate temper, and scandalous morals, was altogether unfit for such a sacred function. Yet, in order to manifest their inclination to act agreeably to the king's desire, they pitched upon William de Ralegh, and Ralph de Neville bishop of Chichester, prelates of unblemished characters, and supposed acceptable to his majesty. Henry was so incensed at their presuming to dispute his recommendation, that he turned Ralegh out of his seat in council, deprived Neville of the seals, prevailed upon the pope to annul both elections, and appoint a new prior to the convent, who at last procured a majority in favour of William de Valence. This martial prelate had gone abroad with Henry de Turbeville, to make a campaign in the emperor's army; but at present commanded the forces of his holiness, and had already been chosen bishop of Liege; but he did not long enjoy these promotions, for he died the next year at Viterbo, very little regretted in England, which had severely suffered by his turbulent and haughty disposition.

Mat. Paris.
Brady.
Tyrrel.

An attempt
upon the
king's life
at Wode-
stocke.

Henry payed so little regard to the representations of his people, that his administration was detested and his person despised; and some individuals, whose affairs were rendered desperate by his tyranny and oppression, concluded that the death of such a worthless prince would be looked upon as a blessing to the kingdom. On this supposition they concerted a plan for depriving him of life, and chose for their instrument one Ribald, a person of family and learning. This man went to Wodestock, while Henry resided at that place, and affecting the behaviour of a lunatic, desired the king to resign the crown which he had usurped from him to whom it of right belonged. When the officers in waiting would have forced him out of the presence, and punished him for his insolence, Henry forbade them to use any violence to the poor wretch, who seemed
to

to have lost his senses; and this compassion furnished him with the opportunity of gliding unseen into the king's bedchamber, where he lay concealed with a design to murder his majesty. Luckily for Henry, he that night chanced to sleep with the queen; and the assassin, disappointed of his prey, ran about the apartments with a long knife in his hand, roaring aloud in a transport of frenzy. The guards being alarmed at his outcries, took him into custody, where he confessed he was instigated to assassinate the king by William de Mareis; and that several persons were embarked in the same conspiracy. He was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and the sentence was executed accordingly, though very little regard seems to have been paid to his information; for none of the accomplices that he named were apprehended, and no steps taken to discover the particulars of their combination.

M. Westm.

Such omission might indeed have been the effect of Henry's own caprice, which often prompted him to actions equally malicious and absurd. This very period produced several instances of this nature, which serve to characterise the genius of this frivolous monarch. As he had no fixed principles of action, he sometimes heaped favours upon those whom he had lately disgraced, and frequently insulted others immediately after he had loaded them with careffes. We have already observed, that on the death of Richard earl of Pembroke, he had bestowed the investiture of earl marshal on that nobleman's brother Gilbert, whose attachment and fidelity justified this indulgence. One day however, when he repaired to court, according to custom, he was denied admittance, and even repulsed with indignity. Not a little surpris'd at this reception, he complained of the affront to the king, by the interposition of a friend: to whom Henry observed, that

Instances of
Henry's ca-
price.

A. C. 1238. that the earl's brother had been a traitor, and even persisted in his treason to his last moment; for which reason he blamed himself for having bestowed the office of great marshal upon Gilbert; but as he had given, so he would take away: a declaration which was no sooner communicated to the earl, than he retired to the North, in order to shelter himself from the designs of his enemies, who, he supposed, had prepossessed the king with notions to his prejudice. A few days after he had bestowed the earldom of Leicester upon Simon Montfort, he reviled him in the most abusive terms, branding him publicly as a traitor and excommunicated wretch, who had debauched his wife before marriage, and afterwards procured, by bribes, the pope's confirmation. This insult, offered in presence of the countess, who was his own sister, alarmed her and her husband to such a degree that they immediately retired, and taking shipping in the Thames, were conveyed to the continent, where they remained until Henry's unaccountable anger was appeased. Nor did Hubert de Burgh escape another prosecution, from the king's levity or malevolence; though that nobleman, far from having given any cause of offence since his reconciliation, had almost solely adhered to Henry in the last defection of the barons. A new process was instituted against him for the crimes of which he had been formerly accused; and, in a solemn hearing before his peers, he manifested his innocence by the most incontestable evidence; nevertheless, he thought proper to sacrifice four of his best castles to the rancour of the king, who, thus pacified, dropped the prosecution. Henry had almost embroiled himself with the pope, by sending Ralph de Tuberville with a small reinforcement to the emperor, who was then at war with that pontiff; and now, from a similar caprice of disposition, understanding that Frederic was solemnly ex-

communicated by the pope, he, with uncommon eagerness, ordered the sentence to be published in all the churches throughout the kingdom, though Frederic was his own brother-in-law, and that alliance would have been a sufficient excuse for declining this publication; at least he might have postponed it so as to have expressed some reluctance in complying with Gregory's mandate. Such inconsistency in his conduct was sometimes the effect of his own whimsical gusts of passion; though frequently suggested by the individuals of a motley ministry, among whom he was continually agitated from error to indiscretion. These unjust and frantic proceedings had well nigh kindled another flame of civil disturbance, when the indignation of the people was luckily suspended by the birth of his son and heir, who was baptized by the legate, and named Edward, after the confessor, whom Henry chose as his titular saint, and held in the highest veneration.

A. C. 1239.

Birth of
Henry's
eldest son.Mat. Paris.
Rot. Parl.
1 E.
M. Westm.
Brady.

By this time Otho had entirely altered his original conduct, and oppressed the churches and clergy with such insatiable avarice, that the bishops complained to the pope of his exactions; and that pontiff had twice sent letters of revocation to the cardinal, which were as often set aside, at the desire of the king, who considered him as the chief support of his administration. At length the prelates, harrassed and exhausted by the continual extortions of that legate, assembled in order to concert measures for redressing this grievance; and they had scarce begun to deliberate, when Otho entering the convocation, demanded a new subsidy to relieve the pressing necessities of the holy see. The bishops were so much irritated by this new proposition, that they told him they were resolved to suffer his tyranny no longer, and broke up instantly, without giving him time to reply: thus repulsed, he

Otho's avarice and extortion.

had

A. C. 1239. had recourse to the convents and religious houses, which were obliged to furnish what the bishops had refused. After having fleeced the kingdom of large sums, he resolved to follow the same practice in Scotland; and, notwithstanding the caution he had received against entering that country, he directed his course northwards, accompanied by some English noblemen, who still respected his character. When he arrived at the border, he found Alexander waiting, not with a design to conduct him to his court, but resolved to prevent his proceeding farther. Otho, enraged at this opposition, threatened him with the censure of the church; and the Scot set him and his censures at defiance: so that an open rupture must have ensued, had not the English noblemen interposed their good offices, and prevailed upon Alexander to permit the legate to enter his dominions for that time only: yet this favour they could not obtain, until Otho agreed to acknowledge, under his hand and seal, that he considered it as a compliment to his own person, and that it should not be drawn into a precedent. The difference being thus compromised, he accompanied the king to Edinburgh, and found means to extort some contributions from the Scottish clergy, in spite of all the precautions that could be taken to prevent this exercise of his legatine authority.

The king and the pope co-operate in fleecing the laity and the clergy.

While the pope's representations squeezed money from the ecclesiastics of England, the laity were plundered by the king's exactions. The pope, and his vassal Henry, seemed to vie with each other in pillaging the people; and nothing could have induced the English to suffer such oppression under a king of Henry's contemptible character, but the dread of papal resentment, and the remembrance of those miseries in which civil war had so lately involved the kingdom. The bishops held
another

another convocation at London, where they presented a remonstrance to the king, complaining that he converted the vacant bishoprics to his own use, and retarded the elections by raising unjust obstacles, until his own choice was approved by the chapters; nay, they even proceeded so far as to excommunicate those who gave him this pernicious counsel: but he placed such confidence in the protection of the pope, that very little regard was paid to their representatives: he was even so base and degenerate as to glory in his dependence on the Roman see; and when the emperor sent an embassy to expostulate with him about his having published the sentence of excommunication, he replied that he was vassal to the pope, whose injunctions he durst not disobey. Mean while the legate, on his return from Scotland, renewed his arbitrary exactions, levying considerable sums from churches and monasteries, under the title of Procurations; and at length published a mandate, importing, that he had a power not only to absolve from their vow such as had taken the cross intending to visit the Holy-Land, but also of compelling them to redeem themselves with money, on pain of excommunication. These extortions were countenanced and seconded by the pope's own immediate directions. He granted to the abbot and monks of Clugny a tenth of the profits arising from all benefices in England, for the term of three years. But even Henry was ashamed of this imposition, and forbade the agents to collect it, on pain of incurring severe penalties. His holiness, far from being repulsed by this prohibition, attempted to raise a fifth of all ecclesiastical revenues, as an aid against the emperor, and accordingly exacted it from the Roman clergy settled in England, who durst not refuse it to a power on which they altogether depended: it was afterwards proposed

A. C. 1240. to the prelates in a council at Reading, and granted by the advice and example of Edmund archbishop of Canterbury. But immediately after this transaction, Gregory bargained with the people of Rome for their assistance against the emperor, on condition of his providing their children and relations with English benefices; and he sent orders to Edmund, and the bishops of London and Sarum, to reserve for the Roman clergy three hundred of the first livings that should fall vacant in England, on pain of being suspended from the power of collating. Edmund was extremely chagrined at this flagrant instance of insolent imposition, of which he bitterly complained to Henry, from whom receiving no redress, he grew weary of his life, retired to Burgundy, where he died, and was buried in the abbey of Pontigny.

Ann. Wav.
Clauf. 24.
H. III.

Fraudulent
scheme of
his holiness
to raise con-
tributions.

Gregory not yet satisfied, contrived another method for spunging the English clergy, which was no other than a fraudulent imposture. He employed Peters Rubens to collect money from one monastery to another, pretending that certain bishops and abbots, of whom he produced a forged list, had already contributed a part, and others were drawn in by their example. He said the collection was intended for a particular purpose, which would be divulged in six months; and in the mean time he obliged the contributors to swear secrecy, until the scheme was fully executed. The abbots were no sooner apprized of the deceit, than they complained to Henry, from whom they received no sort of satisfaction but that of seeing the prelates burdened with the like imposition. These the legate convened in two successive synods without being able to carry his point, until he tampered with them singly, and by cajoling caresses secured a majority in favour of the proposition; then he convoked a synod at London, where he again pro-
posed

posed the contribution, which being warmly recommended by the king, met with the approbation of the whole assembly, and was levied all over England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, notwithstanding the truce concluded between the pope and the emperor. Such a contribution was likewise raised in France; but Lewis being informed of the suspension of hostilities, and the negotiation for peace, would not allow it to be exported from his kingdom, lest such a supply should render the pope more inflexible and extravagant in his demands. Otho being recalled to assist at the conferences, departed from England about Christmas, and is said to have carried off more money than was left in the kingdom; though neither that nor the French collection redounded to the advantage of his holiness; for the two legates were intercepted at sea by the Pisans, who acting as allies of the emperor, seized the treasure and imprisoned the cardinals.

A. C. 1240.

Angl. Sacr.

Papal exactions did not cease at Otho's departure. He left an industrious successor in the person of Peter de Rubens, who not only gleaned the remains of the contribution, which had not yet been levied, but endeavoured to obtain the gift of two prebends and corrodies from the cathedrals and convents, which the pope had formerly solicited without success. He made his first attack upon the abbey of Peterborough, the example of which, he supposed, the rest of the churches would follow. He tried to flatter and intimidate the monks alternately, into compliance; but they evaded his request, on pretence of the absence of their abbot Walter de S. Edmund, who had been summoned to the Roman council: and this prelate was no sooner informed of the legate's design, than he represented to Henry the mischievous consequences of such a concession, in the strongest colours; so that the

king,

Peter de
Rubiens
withdraws
privately
from Eng-
land.

A. C. 1240.

king, as patron, strictly inhibited the convent from complying with the proposal. Though the pope's agents were baffled in this attempt, they succeeded in levying a twentieth on the clergy of Ireland, which amounted to a considerable sum. With this, and what they collected in England before Henry put a stop to the contribution, they crossed the sea with great secrecy and dispatch, in apprehension of the money's being detained, if the pope should die before their departure; for they were informed of his being dangerously ill; and although they had quitted the kingdom before the news of his death reached England, they were taken on the road to Rome by the emperor, who stripped them of their whole acquisition.

A. C. 1241.

Boniface the queen's uncle promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

About this period Peter de Savoy, one of the queen's uncles, arriving in England, was received with great honour by Henry, who solemnly knighted him in the abbey church of Westminster, and made for his entertainment a match at tournament, to be held at Northampton. As Henry's affections were always biased to foreigners, he on this occasion espoused their party with uncommon warmth; and that they might win the honours of the day, persuaded a number of his nobility to espouse their cause against Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, who engaged to enter the lists against Peter de Savoy. This ridiculous partiality incensed the English to such a degree as had almost produced a civil war; and both sides were actually drawn up in order of battle, when Henry, convinced of his indiscretion, sent a positive order to forbid the tournament. He could not, however, prevent another which was afterwards held at Ware near Hertford, where Gilbert earl Mareschal lost his life by an unruly horse, Robert de Say was slain, and a good number of people dangerously wounded. Henry exhibited convincing proofs of his affection

to his queen's uncles, by granting the honour of Richmond to Peter, together with the custody of the lands belonging to John earl of Warenne in Suffex and Surrey; and he raised his brother Boniface to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Edmund had before his death excommunicated the monks of Christ-church, who thwarted him in the choice of a prior; and they had applied to the pope for absolution from this sentence, before they would proceed to a new election. Gregory had impowered the archdeacon of St. Alban's, and the prior of Dunstable, to take off the censure; but Simon de Langton, archdeacon of Canterbury, appealing against that commission as surreptitiously obtained, the monks solicited Henry for his protection; in consideration of which they promised to elect Boniface. The king embraced the proposal, and used such arguments with Langton as induced him to withdraw his appeal; so that Boniface was chosen without opposition, though he could not be immediately confirmed, on account of the vacancy in the papal chair.

The king found another subject of triumph in the death of Eleanor of Brittany, the hereditary heiress of the English crown, who had passed her days in continual confinement, and now died a virgin in the castle of Bristol. The apprehension of her title had been a continual thorn in the sides of king John and his son Henry, who on her account distrusted the English, and had, in the course of the preceding year, obliged all persons in England, above the age of twelve years, to take an eventual oath of allegiance in favour of his infant son Edward, whom he seemed to love with the warmer affection on account of his being named after the Confessor. In veneration to the memory

Chr. Dunst.
Death of
Eleanor of
Brittany.

Mat. Paris'

A. C. 1241.

vals with the utmost solemnity ; and caused a golden shrine of exquisite workmanship to be made for his relics. The king's extravagance and want of œconomy were such as kept him always indigent and rapacious ; and the chief business of his life was to contrive and execute schemes for squeezing money from his people. One talliage succeeded another so fast, that the subjects had no respite ; and the Jews were fleeced without mercy, to gratify the insatiable avarice of his foreign favourites. These were continually employed in finding plausible pretexts for raising money, and their invention generally succeeded.

Henry's suc-
cess in
Wales.

Llewellyn prince of Wales, dying in a very advanced age, left his principality to his son David, who had made some petty incursions into the English territories, and seemed averse to an accommodation with Henry. He had an illegitimate brother elder than himself, named Griffin, who was extremely popular among the Welsh ; and therefore the object of his jealousy and hatred. He had claimed part of his father's inheritance, to which he was intitled by the law of the country ; but David, instead of complying with his demand, committed him to close prison. His wife had recourse to Henry, whose assistance she solicited, with promise of paying to him a certain yearly sum out of her husband's estate. The king, allured by this bait, interposed his good offices with David ; but these proving ineffectual, he assembled an army, with which he entered Wales about Midsummer, when the marshes were dry and accessible ; and in a few weeks compelled him not only to release his brother, but also to submit to such terms of peace as he thought proper to impose. At the same time, dreading some commotion from the popularity of Griffin, should he allow him to enjoy his liberty, he committed him close prisoner to the Tower of London,

London, where he continued above two years; till A. C. 1241, at length attempting to make his escape, the rope gave way, where falling down headlong, he dashed his brains out on the ground, and immediately expired. Thus Henry's protection was converted into oppression by the artifice of David, who gratified him with greater advantages than he had stipulated with the unfortunate Griffin.

While he prospered in this manner among the mountains of Wales, his brother Richard acquired great reputation for his courage, conduct, and liberality, in Palestine, where he fortified Afcalon, recovered Jerusalem, and made an advantageous truce for ten years with the Saracens. After these transactions, he set out on his return to England, and in the way tarried two months at the imperial court with his sister the empress, who died in child-bed immediately after his departure. He had scarce arrived in his own country, when he was sollicitated by the Poitevins to undertake an expedition into Poitou, and assert his right to that province. He undertakes an expedition into Poitou. Before his pilgrimage to the Holy-Land, he had been solemnly invested with the county so called; tho' France possessed a good part of it by the conquests of Philip Augustus; and the province being thus divided between the two crowns, Lewis thought he had as good a right to bestow the investiture upon his brother Alphonso. Henry resolved to revenge this insult, and engaged in the quarrel with the more eagerness, as it affected the interest of his mother, who had by this time espoused the count de la Marche, her former lover. As her husband's territories were in that part of Poitou which was possessed by France, he had done homage for them to Lewis: but when Alphonso received the investiture, her pride would not suffer the count to kneel before the French king's brother. Thus animated, he refused to take the usual oath; and that he

A. C. 1241. might be prepared against the resentment of Lewis, demanded the assistance of the English monarch. He represented to Henry the facility with which the French might be expelled from Poitou, and assured him that the province itself would supply a sufficient number of men for that purpose, provided Henry would defray the expence of their subsistence. The king flattered with this hope, convoked a parliament, and demanded a subsidy proportioned to the importance of the expedition.

A. C. 1242. But, instead of complying with his request, they reproached him with the dissipation of his revenue, and with the illegal impositions he had so often laid upon the people; they loudly complained of his breach of promise with regard to the charters of liberties, which he had so often sworn to maintain; and observing that the truce with France was not yet expired, plainly told him he had nothing further to expect from their compliance. Nevertheless, he practised the method of cajoling the members in private, which had already succeeded on two or three different occasions; and prevailed upon a good number of individuals to contribute their interest towards the gratification of his desire. By these means a majority was secured; and they granted him a thirtieth of all moveables for the service of this undertaking. But this fund being insufficient, he levied a talliage on the cities, burroughs, and crown-demesnes in Ireland; and demanded an aid from the clergy of that kingdom. Thus supplied with money, he summoned all his military tenants to meet him with horses and arms at Winchester, on the twenty-seventh day of April; and in the mean time agreed to a match between his daughter Margaret and Alexander, son to the king of Scotland, who, in consequence of this contract, undertook to preserve the peace in the northern parts of England. William archbishop of York,

Mat. Paris.
Brady.
Carte.

York, was appointed guardian of the realm; a council assigned to assist him in the administration; and Henry setting sail from Portsmouth with his queen, his brother Richard, seven earls, three hundred knights, and thirty hogheads of silver, landed at Royane, a port of Saintonge, at the mouth of the river Gironde.

Ann. Wav.

To oppose this formidable armament, the French king had fitted out a fleet of eighty galleys, at Rochelle; and assembled an army of four thousand knights, and five times that number of gentlemen and bowmen, besides a vast number of infantry. With these he invaded Poitou, where he reduced several places belonging to the count de la Marche; and at length invested Fontenay, which after an obstinate defence was obliged to surrender at discretion. He was employed in the siege, when Henry landing at Royane, sent ambassadors to demand satisfaction for attacking the count de la Marche, whom he represented as the ally of England. Lewis replied that he was willing to renew the truce with the English king, upon reasonable terms; but that Henry had no business to interpose between him and his rebellious subjects. This sensible answer being construed into a refusal, was followed by a formal declaration of war; and Henry advanced to Pons, where he was joined by the nobles of Gascony, though he was very much disappointed in the number of those auxiliaries. Then he marched to Saintes, where he remained about a fortnight in hope of further reinforcements; and afterwards made a motion to Toney on the Charente, with a view to interrupt the progress of Lewis, who had by this time taken almost all the castles belonging to the count de la Marche. Here Henry engaged in a treaty with Geoffrey de Rancon, lord of Taillebourg, in the neighbourhood of which he took post, and had it in his power to secure the

Henry is
worsted by
Lewis king
of France.

A. C. 1242.

town and castle, and break down the bridge, so as to prevent the French king from passing the river. But the count de la Marche, and Renaud de Pons, by whose direction he acted, dissuaded him from taking these precautions, which could not fail to disoblige Geoffrey, on whose honour they told him he might depend with the most perfect reliance: he therefore retired to Saintes; but hearing of the French king's approach, advanced again to Taillebourg, which he found already occupied by Lewis, who was likewise joined by Geoffrey. As the English army was greatly inferior in number to that of the French king, Henry retreated with precipitation to Saintes; and Lewis passing the river, attacked his rear with such fury and expedition, that, after an obstinate engagement, the English gave way, having sustained a considerable loss. They were pursued to the neighbourhood of Saintes, where the count de la Marche making a sally to cover their retreat, the earls of Cornwall, Norfolk, Sarum, and Leicester, rallied their forces, and another battle ensued, which was fought on both sides with equal bravery and success. But Henry's army being greatly diminished, he quitted Saintes immediately, and made an hasty march to Pons, where leaving a good garrison, he proceeded to Barbesceux, a place of greater safety:

Mat. Paris.
Brady.

Concludes a
truce with
that mo-
narch,

The count de la Marche was confounded and dismayed at the extraordinary success of Lewis. He plainly perceived how little he could trust to the protection of the English king; and therefore resolved to take other measures for his own safety. He sent his eldest son to sue for some tolerable conditions of peace; and he met with such a favourable reception from Lewis, that he himself, and his family, repaired to the French camp, and surrendered themselves at discretion. The French king generously pardoned the count, of whom he exacted

exacted nothing but three of his castles, which he kept as pledges of his promised fidelity. In all probability he would have pursued his success against the king of England, had not the plague broke out in his army, and himself been attacked by a languishing disorder that obliged him to desist. Perhaps these reasons were reinforced by some scruples of conscience he had expressed touching the oath which his father took to restore the dominions on the continent, that formerly belonged to the kings of England: be that as it will, he consented to a truce for five years, after having completed the conquest of Poitou.

Rymer.

Henry had by this time seen himself forsaken, and indeed betrayed, by almost all the Poitevins, on whose assistance and adherence he depended.

Returns to London.

He was in great danger of being besieged in Blaye, but now he was safe in Bourdeaux, where he spent the winter among the Gascoigne nobility in feasting and riot, which, with the largesses he made to those Gascons, soon exhausted his finances; so that he was obliged to write for a supply to the archbishop of York, who received orders at the same time to confiscate the estates of some noblemen who had returned to England without his permission. The regent complied with his instructions so far as they regarded a remittance of money, which was immediately dispatched; but he would not obey the other part of his orders, for fear of exciting a disturbance in the kingdom. By that time the money arrived at Bourdeaux, it was all anticipated; and Henry directed the archbishop to demand a year's wool of the Cistercians, which they absolutely refused to grant; and the regent unwilling to use compulsion, obtained a considerable subsidy from the parliament, in order to disengage the king entirely from the debts he had contracted. This was likewise misapplied, and the

A. C. 1243.

A. C. 1243. archbishop pressed to use other expedients. He then attempted to borrow money in the king's name from wealthy individuals; but this odious practice produced such discontent and clamour, that he gave the king to understand all resources were stopped, and that there was an absolute necessity for his immediate return. Henry, reduced to these circumstances, resolved in good earnest to quit Bourdeaux, and ordered all the noblemen in England to assemble at Portsmouth for his reception. Then he ratified the shameful truce with France, by which he bound himself to pay five thousand pounds a year to Lewis; and, at his arrival in England, gave directions for a magnificent entry into London, as if he had returned from conquest.

His brother Richard married to his queen's younger sister.

Before he embarked in this expedition, he had projected a match between his brother Richard and Sanchia third daughter of the count de Provence; and though this alliance was generally disliked by the English, who foresaw it would strengthen the interest of the Provençals in England, where it was already too powerful, the contract was adjusted; and the young lady arriving under the auspices of her mother, the nuptials were pompously solemnized at Westminster. The earldom of Cornwall, with the honours of Eye and Wallingford, were confirmed to Richard, with a grant of five hundred pounds yearly to him and his heirs by this marriage: and after the rejoicings on this occasion, the old countess returned to her own country with four thousand marks, which she borrowed of the king for the use of her husband.

A. C. 1244.

Henry oppresses the Jews.

Henry was now more necessitous than ever: he was immersed in debt, and so low in credit that he found it impracticable to borrow money for his most necessary occasions. Reduced to this contemptible situation, he issued writs directing his sheriffs

sheriffs to enquire into misdemeanours and trespasses against the law, by widows and others who had married without a licence, and encroachments upon royal forests; and considerable sums were raised from the fines produced by this enquiry. In order to chastise the Cistercians and Premonstrants, who had refused him one year's wool, he forbade the exportation of that commodity; and this prohibition continued in force till they thought proper to comply with his demand. He extorted the substance of the Jews with such severity, that one Aaron of York was compelled to pay four marks of gold, and as many thousands of silver. As a great many of the Norman noblemen enjoyed estates in England, he, in imitation of the French king, gave them to understand that they must either become entirely French or English, and confiscated the estates of those who preserved their allegiance to France.

A. C. 1244.

Mat. Paris.

Yet all these expedients proved insufficient to relieve his wants, or supply his extravagance; and he resolved once more to solicit a supply from parliament, which, though always averse to him in the beginning of every session, he generally found means to convert to his purpose by promises of reformation. At present he was furnished with a pretence by the king of Navarre, who had invaded Gascony, and some incursions of the Welsh. The barons being assembled at Westminster, he himself made the motion for a subsidy, which was heard with manifest signs of discontent. The prelates and the laity retiring separately, resolved that no grant should be made without their common consent; and that a committee of twelve persons should be chosen to consider of proper measures to prevent all encroachments on the two charters. They complained that writs had been issued out of chancery to the prejudice of their liberties; desired that

Bold demands of the barons in parliament.

A. C. 1244. that they might have the nomination of the chancellor and justiciary; proposed that four noblemen of the king's council should be appointed conservators of the liberty of the kingdom, with power to inspect the treasury, and the application of the public money; to summon a parliament as often as necessity should require; and arbitrate in all differences between the king and his subjects. They demanded that all writs contrary to the custom of the realm should be revoked; that censures should be published against all that opposed these regulations; that the chancellor and justiciary, chosen by consent of parliament, should always be two of the four conservators; that in case the king should deprive the chancellor of the seals, all writs signed by his successor should be null; that besides the chancellor and justiciary, the parliament should nominate two judges in the common pleas, two barons in the exchequer, and a justice of the Jews; and that all suspected persons should be removed from about the king's person. Henry was extremely alarmed at the nature of these demands, which did not at all suit with his high notions of the prerogative. He was incensed at the presumption of his vassals; but such was his character and situation, that he durst not avow his resentment. He therefore evaded their proposals with general promises of amendment, which he had no intention to perform; and after having tampered in vain with the members, thought proper to prorogue the parliament.

Rapaciousness of Martin the pope's nuncio.

During this session, one Martin was sent over, as nuncio from pope Innocent, the successor of Gregory, to procure an aid of ten thousand marks from the clergy, to maintain the war against the emperor, who at the same time dispatched ambassadors to England, to justify his own conduct, and remonstrate against the demand of Innocent. The nation

nation was so harassed by those harpies, that they were glad of any pretence for denying his request; and this they were furnished with by the king, who forbade the prelates to lay imposts on the fees, which they held of the crown, to the detriment of his service. Martin, though baffled in this attempt, did not fail to exercise his legatine authority with equal tyranny and success; he exacted the arrears of a tenth of ecclesiastical benefices granted for the relief of the Holy-Land, as well as of the contributions for the support of the late pope Gregory; he laid grievous impositions on the prelates and religious houses; seized all the vacant benefices for the use of Innocent's chaplains and relations; and behaved with such despotism of ecclesiastical insolence and tyranny, that the English began to harbour the thoughts of freeing themselves entirely from the papal yoke. Such a clamour was raised that Henry ordered this nuncio to depart the kingdom.

Chr. Dunst.

Notwithstanding the indigence of the king, he about this period engaged in a quarrel with Alexander king of Scotland, who, after the death of Isabel, had married the daughter of Enguerrand de Coucy; a match that gave great umbrage to the king of England, who was ever after suspicious of Alexander's designs. This prince, having erected a castle in Liddisdale, on the borders of the two kingdoms, Henry looked upon this step as an insult; and he forthwith gave orders for assembling an army and equipping a fleet to invade Scotland by sea and land. All the military tenants of the crown were summoned to meet in arms at Newcastle upon Tyne; and the king, putting himself at their head, marched directly against Alexander. When he had advanced as far as Pentland he found the Scottish army in order of battle; and as the forces on both sides were nearly equal

Expedition
against Alex-
ander king
of Scotland.

A. C. 1244. equal in number, a bloody action must have ensued, had not the earl of Cornwall, the archbishop of York, and several other prelates and noblemen, interposed their good offices, and effected an accommodation; by which the former peace was confirmed, together with the contract of marriage between Alexander's son and Henry's daughter.

Rymer,
David
prince of
Wales puts
himself un-
der the pro-
tection of
the pope.

The king
marches in-
to his coun-
try.

This treaty being ratified, the nobility advised the king to make use of his army for the reduction of David prince of Wales, who, since the death of his brother Griffin, had renewed hostilities, and done considerable damage on the frontiers of England; but Henry, instead of following this salutary counsel, dismissed all his troops but three hundred horse, which he detached to the Welsh border, under the command of Herbert Fitz-Matthews. This officer was immediately routed by David, who had the preceding day defeated a body of troops commanded by the earl of Hereford and Ralph de Mortimer. The prince of Wales never doubted that Henry would employ all his forces against him; and on that supposition had solicited the protection of the pope, offering to become vassal of the Roman see, and pay to his holiness the tribute of five thousand marks, which had been imposed upon him by the king of England. Though this proposal was extremely agreeable to Innocent, he refused to give a determinate answer, until he should have enquired into the merits of the cause; and in particular examined whether or not the last treaty between Henry and David was the effect of compulsion, as the prince of Wales had alledged. For this purpose, he sent a commission to two Welsh abbots to set on foot an enquiry touching this pretended constraint; and in case it should appear that David acted upon compulsion, they were vested with power to absolve him of his oath, and annul the treaty. The

two ecclesiastics, elated with this delegation of papal authority, summoned the king of England to appear before them, as if he had been a simple villager, subject to their jurisdiction; an example of insolence at which Henry and his subjects were equally incensed. And now he heartily repented of having disbanded his army. Mean while he ordered another to be levied, so as to be in a condition to act in the spring; and summoned David, with all the nobility of North and South Wales, to appear in the king's court at Westminster, on the first Thursday of Lent, there to do homage, and answer for their depredations. David, alarmed at the spirit of Henry and his council, who began to prepare for this invasion with uncommon vigour, and even sent for a body of troops from Ireland, endeavoured to amuse the king with a negotiation, which produced no effect. A great council was assembled at Whitsuntide, in which it was resolved that his majesty should command the army in person. The military tenants of the crown were summoned to appear at a certain rendezvous; and about the middle of August he began his march for North Wales, through which he penetrated without opposition to the river Conway, where he built the strong castle of Garinac, to overawe the Welsh, and intercept their parties that should attempt to make incursions into the English territory. This fort effectually answered all the purposes for which it was intended, and hampered the enemy so much, that they could draw no supplies from Cheshire, while the troops from Ireland wasted the isle of Anglesey; and proclamation was made in all the marches, that no provision or merchandize should be carried into Wales under severe penalties; so that those ancient Britons were cooped up in the mountainous counties of Caernarvon and Merioneth; and reduced to a starving condition.

Rymer,

Thus

A. C. 1245. Thus they continued till the death of prince David, which happened in the beginning of the next year; and as he left no issue the principality ought to have devolved to his nephew Roger de Mortimer; but the Welsh would not submit to the government of an Englishman, against whom they set up Llewellyn and David Goch, the two sons of Griffin. These shared the dominions of the late prince, and sued for peace to Henry, who granted their request on condition that they and their heirs for ever should hold of the crown of England, and furnish it with a thousand foot and four and twenty horse well armed and appointed, to serve in Wales and the Marches, when required, and five hundred men when their service should be wanted in any other place.

Rymer.

Martin, the pope's legate, obliged to quit the kingdom.

The Welsh expedition being happily terminated, the nobility of England conferred together upon the tyranny of Rome, which was become altogether insupportable in the exactions of the nuncio Martin. They were mortified to see all the wealth of the nation exported to gratify the pope's avarice and ambition; and perceiving how the clergy suffered themselves to be mollified by the artifice and eloquence of the legates, resolved to exert themselves in putting a stop to such scandalous imposition. Without waiting for the protection of the king, upon which they could so little depend, they, of their own authority, ordered the governors of ports to apprehend all those who should bring bulls and mandates into the kingdom; and this order was so well obeyed, that in a very little time a courier was arrested in his way to the nuncio, loaded with these commissions, empowering him to levy money on divers pretences. The nuncio loudly complained of this violence and insult to the king, who ordered the papers to be restored; but the nobility made strong remonstrances on the subject; and,

and, in order to convince him of the prejudice done to his own subjects by favouring the papal innovations, presented him with a schedule of the benefices enjoyed in England by Italian ecclesiastics; which exceeded the ordinary revenues of the crown. Henry was surprised at this information; but as he would not, of his own authority, venture to reform the abuse, for fear of incurring the pope's resentment, he permitted the noblemen to send ambassadors in the name of the whole nation to the council at Lyon, with letters containing those grievances, and demanding immediate redress. Mean while, as they knew how dexterously the court of Rome invented delays and subtrefuges, they determined to do themselves justice; and assembling on pretence of a tournament, sent a knight in their name to the nuncio, with a peremptory order to quit the kingdom without delay. Martin asked by whose authority he brought such an insolent message; and he replied by the authority of the whole nation, giving him to understand, that if in three days he should still be found in England, he must expect to be hewn in pieces. The nuncio forthwith carried his complaints to the king; but finding Henry unable to protect him against his enemies, demanded a passport and departed immediately, to the inexpressible satisfaction of the people. The pope was so incensed at this affront that he could not help exclaiming, "I see plainly I must make peace with the emperor, in order to humble those petty princes; for the great dragon being once appeased, we shall find no difficulty in crushing those smaller serpents."

Mean while the English ambassadors, namely Lawrence de St. Martin, agent for the king, Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk, W. de Canteloup, Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, Philip Bassët, John Fitz-Geoffry, and William de Poweric, an ecclesiastic, Ambassador sent from England to the council of Lyons. deputed

A. C. 1245. deputed by the nobility, arrived at Lyon, and presented their letter to the council, in which the pope himself presided. The contents, which were publicly read, confounded his holiness to such a degree that he did not answer one word: and one of the ambassadors, after having waited some time for his reply, began to explain more at large the grievances of the English nation. He complained of the tribute which John had engaged to pay to the pope, as an imposition which that prince had no right to lay upon his people; and maintained that neither he nor any king of England could render his kingdom tributary without the consent of his barons; and therefore his submission to the see of Rome was null and void. He bitterly inveighed against the clause * Non Obstante inserted by the pope in all his bulls, which entirely destroyed the rights of patronage and all the privileges of the Anglican church; and lastly, he expatiated upon the extortion of nuncios and legates, and in general on all the species of papal tyranny which had lately been exercised over the English nation. All the answer they received to the remonstrance was the pope's general promise to take their complaints into consideration; and finding his aim was to amuse them with evasive excuses, they protested against the tribute, and returned to their own country. Immediately after their departure, Innocent, in order to fascinate the eyes of the council, upon which the complaints of the English had made some impression, declared that he would immediately reform those abuses; and published two bulls in favour of the English nation: the first permitted patrons to enjoy the right of presentation; and the other implied that

* For example, when the pope disposed of a benefice, he inserted in his bull, 'Notwithstanding the right of patronage or other contrary privileges;' a clause which effectually destroyed the rights of patronage vested in bishops, abbots, convents, and laypatrons of benefices.

when an Italian incumbent should die, his benefice might be granted to a native. But with respect to the tribute, far from relinquishing that claim, he wrote menacing letters to the English prelates, expressly enjoining them to confirm and subscribe the charter by which John acknowledged himself as a vassal and tributary to the holy see. Howsoever the bishops were shocked at this demand, they were intimidated into compliance by the threats of ecclesiastical censure; though Henry himself was on this occasion incensed at the pope's insolence, and swore that though the bishops warped he would himself maintain the liberties of the kingdom, and desist from paying such a scandalous tribute.

A. C. 1245'

Chr. Dunst.
Rain. Cont.
Baron.Pope Inno-
cent redou-
bles his
extortion.

Innocent, being exasperated at the remonstrance of the English ambassadors, and the refractory behaviour of Henry, endeavoured to persuade the king of France, during an interview at Cluny, to expel that prince from his dominions, or at least reduce him to an absolute submission to the papal authority. But Lewis excused himself from engaging in such an undertaking, contrary to the terms of his truce with England, his affinity with Henry, and the dictates of common justice. He, in his turn, pressed the pope to a reconciliation with the emperor; which that pontiff declined, and afterwards hired ruffians to assassinate Frederic, after having endeavoured to dethrone him, by raising up a competitor in the person of Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, and raised contributions to maintain his titles as if it had been a war of religion. The English were, by this time, extremely irritated against the pope, who seemed to despise their resentment, and proceeded in his exactions with redoubled vigour. He demanded of the English prelates, a number of knights to serve in the army of the church a whole year at their own expence; and, by his sole authority, granted the profits of all va-

A. C. 1246;

A. C. 1246. cant benefices within the province of Canterbury, for one year to archbishop Boniface. He levied the six thousand marks assessed on the prelates by his nuncio ; the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues, according to a decree of the council at Lyons ; one third of the income of all benefices, exceeding the yearly rent of one hundred marks, and a moiety of the prebends and livings of non-resident canons and clergymen ; exactions which, according to computation, amounted to eighty thousand marks, a sum thought equivalent to the whole specie of the kingdom, and this to be exported for three years successively.

Carte.

The pope bribes the king's brother Richard to support his exactions.

A parliament meeting in Mid-lent at London, these grievances were taken into consideration ; and, as they would not yet lay aside all respect for the pope, they resolved to renew their complaints at the court of Rome, to which three letters of expostulation were immediately sent by the king, the prelates, and the barons ; and these were committed to the charge of William de Powick, and Henry de la Mare, who had instruction to second them with personal remonstrances. Mean while, Innocent seemed to be transported with the desire of driving the English to despair. He claimed the personal estates of ecclesiastics who died intestate, all goods fraudulently acquired, provided the right owner did not appear, all effects amassed by usury, and all legacies granted for restitution and pious uses. He appointed the Dominicans his commissioners for levying these exactions, which the king himself had not power to prevent. He had ventured to prohibit the levy of the six thousand marks, and the payment of any talliage or contribution to the pope, till the return of the agents : but notwithstanding this order, it was collected by several bishops, whom the pope had charged to excommunicate all recusants. At length the deputies returned ; and, in
a par-

a parliament held at Winchester, made such a report of their embassy, as plainly proved how little they were to expect from negotiation. Innocent had treated their envoys with contempt; and, instead of redressing their grievances, declared that he would proceed to the same censures with the king of England, which he had inflicted upon the emperor. The assembly, fired with indignation at these menaces, persuaded the king to renew the prohibition under the most severe penalties; and this exasperated the pope, in his turn, to such a degree, that he forthwith dispatched an order to W. de Canteloup, bishop of Worcester, to take measures for the payment of the contribution-money to his nuncio at the New temple, before a certain day, on pain of suspension and excommunication. Henry at first appeared resolute to maintain the liberties of the nation; but his courage was not proof against the menaces of this prelate and other bishops, who threatened the kingdom with an interdict; while his own brother Richard espoused, in a very insolent and indecent manner, the interest of his holiness, who had secured his assistance, by a grant of the money arising from the commutation of vows made to engage in the crusade. These considerations were powerful enough to have staggered the resolution of a more courageous prince than Henry, who was therefore obliged to submit; and the people were delivered over as a prey to the insolence and rapine of a Roman pontiff. In vain did the abbots and clergy complain of these extortions, to the next parliament. There was not sufficient vigour left among the barons, to withstand the faction of the pope, and the interest of Richard, who acted as his abettor; and all they could do in their own behalf, was to dispatch new agents with a second remonstrance to Innocent, declaring it impossible for the kingdom to subsist under such ex-

A. C. 1247.

Mat. Paris.

The pope triumphs over the king and clergy.

orbitant burthens; and this declaration was as much disregarded as the former.

Not but that Innocent relaxed in some trifles, with a shew of moderation, which was, in all probability, owing to the unfavourable posture of his affairs. The landgrave of Thuringia, in support of whose pretensions he had expended above fifty thousand pounds, was routed in a pitched battle, the loss of which he did not long survive. But this triumph of Frederic seemed to increase the rancour of his holiness, who now resolved to set up another competitor against him, in the person of William count of Holland. In order to defray the expence of this new project, he sent four legates into different countries to raise contributions; and dispatched two franciscan friars into England, where they did not pretend to use compulsion, but obtained a licence from the king to beg as mendicants, for the pope's occasions. They had no sooner gained this point, than they assumed powers of a very different nature; and sent circular letters to bishops, abbots, and monasteries, demanding exorbitant sums; which, however, the prelates refused to pay, without the approbation of parliament. The pope, incensed at their refusal, sent over one of his chaplains, called Marino, to enforce the demand by dint of legatine authority, from which the bishops appealed both to the pope and parliament; but, meeting with redress from neither, they and the monasteries were fain to compound for a large sum of money. The forbearance of the English, under such grievous oppression appears amazing to those who do not consider the superstition of the times, and the miseries of a civil war, which were still fresh in the remembrance of the nation. Henry was a prince of such contemptible talents, that the subjects would run no risque in his behalf, from any personal attachment

to him or his family; and it was equally disagreeable to them whether they should be fleeced by Innocent or Henry. A. C. 1248.

This impolitic monarch still continued to exhibit marks of his odious partiality to foreigners. Peter de Savoye, earl of Richmond, arriving from Provence, with some maidens of that country, whom he brought over to be matched among the English nobility, two of them were immediately disposed in marriage to the king's wards, Edmund de Lacy earl of Lincoln, and Richard de Burgh; and Peter himself was gratified with a grant of all the honour of Aquila in Suffex. Henry's three uterine brothers, called Guy de Lusignan, William and Aymer de Valence, arrived about the same time with their sister Alice, to profit by the king's bounty. The first received a considerable sum of money, with which he returned to his own country, William was knighted, and indulged with a grant of the honour of Hertford; Aymer being in orders, was provided with several wealthy benefices, and afterwards elected bishop of Winchester; and Alice was married to the young earl of Warenne. These strangers were followed by Beatrix, countess of Provence, now a widow, and her brother Thomas, late count of Flanders, and were received with open arms by Henry, though he himself was unable to defray the ordinary expence of his household. For want of ready money, he was fain to plunder foreign merchants, as well as his own subjects, of such necessaries and provisions as he wanted; and his brother Richard took the advantage of his distress. The coin had been diminished one third in its value, by the villany of Jews and Flemings, who traded in England for wool; and as this evil required an immediate remedy, people were forbidden to take damaged money, and ordered to bring it to the king's mint, where it should be changed. Richard

The profusion and indigence of Henry.

Tyrrel.

A. C. 1248. knowing the profits of recoinage were very considerable, took this opportunity of demanding the payment of a sum which he had lent to the king upon usury, and importuned him so much, that in order to quiet his clamour, Henry bestowed upon him a grant for seven years, of the farm of the mint for a third part of the profits.

Henry quarrels with his parliament; and extorts money from the city of London,

These largesses and alienations reduced him to such indigence, that he was obliged to have recourse again to his parliament, which had met in February at Westminster: but, when he demanded a supply, they reproached him with his profusion to foreigners and want of œconomy, and absolutely refused to relieve his necessities. They complained of his retaining vacant benefices in his own hands, discouraging commerce by clogging it with heavy duties, and conferring the first posts of the kingdom upon persons void of talents and integrity. They therefore insisted upon the same demands which they had made in a former session, touching the nomination of a chancellor and justiciaries; and the king, perceiving from their complexion that they were not in a complying humour, prorogued them immediately, that he might prepare himself for their next assault. During this interval, instead of taking popular measures to appease the resentment of the barons, he seemed to attach himself more strongly than ever to his foreign favourites, and doubtless by their advice, attempted to intimidate the parliament at their next meeting. He inveighed against them for endeavouring to impose laws upon him, which they themselves would never endure: he observed that every master of a private family chose his own confidants and counsellors, and retained or dismissed his domestics at his own pleasure; whereas he, though a king, was treated like a slave by his own subjects: but, far from changing his officers according to their capricious humour,

humour, he was determined to be master in his own kingdom, and to teach them it was their province to obey. Then he promised, in general terms, to redress the grievances of the nation; and concluded with demanding an immediate subsidy, that might enable him, at the expiration of the truce, to recover the dominions on the continent which his ancestors possessed. The barons, piqued at this stately declaration, replied in the same strain, that, seeing he was not disposed to reform his conduct, they should not be so indiscreet as to impoverish themselves, to feed the avarice of foreigners, under the notion of imaginary conquests. From this answer Henry, despairing of obtaining succour from this quarter, dissolved them immediately, lest they should proceed to more disagreeable resolutions; and his coffers being quite exhausted, was fain to sell his plate and jewels, which immediately found purchasers among the citizens of London: a circumstance that mortified him extremely, as they had so often pleaded poverty whenever he demanded a supply. He resolved to manifest his resentment, by establishing a new fair at Westminster, during which he prohibited all trade in London; and instead of regarding the representations of the merchants on this subject, he passed the Christmas holidays in their city, that he might have an opportunity to exact an exorbitant new-year's gift, which nevertheless did not excuse them from further imposition; for he extorted another present of two thousand pounds sterling. These small sums being

Brady.

altogether insufficient to relieve his necessities, he endeavoured to borrow money from individuals; and notwithstanding the most abject importunities, met with very little success. Indeed the pretence he used for borrowing, was such as justified the repulses he sustained: for, in the writs for this loan, he declared a resolution to attack the territories

A. C. 1249

ories of France, which were at that time under the pope's immediate protection, as Lewis had been for some time engaged in the crusade, which proved a very unfortunate expedition. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the foldan of Egypt, and his country exhausted of men and money. W. Longue-espée, earl of Salisbury, and two hundred English knights, had embarked in this enterprize; and the earl was slain in the battle fought at Damietta, after having signalized his courage in several engagements. Those crusades were productive of infinite mischiefs to Christendom, though they filled the coffers of the pope, whose emissaries levied immense sums, enflaming weak people by their sermons into fits of enthusiasm, during which they crossed themselves and took the vow; and from this they were afterwards glad to purchase absolution.

Henry takes
the cross.

A. C. 1250.

The fashion of taking the cross was so prevalent at this juncture, that Henry himself, in the midst of all his necessities, professed himself a soldier of Christ: though, in all probability, this step was the effect of some other motive more cogent than his religion. Perhaps he saw no other prospect of paying his debts, which were by this time become very burthenfome and disgraceful, than that of obtaining a subsidy on pretence of equipping an armament for Palestine: or else he was desirous of putting himself under the pope's protection, which he thought would screen him from the designs that might be hatched to his prejudice. He seemed to suspect something of this kind, from the ambition of his brother Richard, who had made a mysterious journey to Rome, accompanied by the earl of Gloucester, and several noblemen and prelates. He had been caressed by the pope at Lyons, who admitted him to several private conferences, the subject of which afforded great speculation; and, as he had
always

always been the chief of the malcontents, Henry might very naturally suspect him of some design to his prejudice. When Henry took the cross, his example was followed by five hundred knights, some of whom had sold their estates to defray the expence of their voyage; and they expressed the utmost impatience to set out upon the expedition: but as the king was not yet in a condition to perform his vow, he forbid them to cross the sea, until he himself should depart; and this prohibition was, at his desire, confirmed by the pope. At the same time, his holiness indulged him with the grant of a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in England and Ireland for three years, to be levied and deposited until the king should set out upon his voyage. Henry endeavoured to save money, by retrenching the expences of his household: he set on foot an inquisition into trespasses, appointed commissioners to examine into escheats and alienations of the crown demesnes, with a view to raise sums by fines and resumptiions; and laid a talliage upon the Jews, who never failed to suffer for the king's distress. Henry de Bathe, one of the judges, was amerced in a considerable sum, on pretence of his having allowed a criminal to escape; Philip Lovel was severely fined on an accusation of bribery by the Jews, from whom he had collected the talliage; a company of Italian merchants called Causini, were prosecuted for usury, and obliged to compound for money; and every scheme that could be contrived for this purpose was put in execution. Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester had made considerable progress in Guienne, and now returning to solicit a supply of money for prosecuting his success, received part of those exactions, with which he went back and raised a body of Brabantins and cross-bow men, who contributed to the reduction of the malcontent barons in that province.

Mat. Paris.
A. C. 1251.

Alexander

A. C. 1251.
Henry's in-
terview with
Alexander
king of
Scotland.

Alexander king of Scotland dying, was succeeded by his son of the same name, who, though still a boy, began to secure some places on the border of England, and seemed to threaten an invasion. Henry forthwith assembled a numerous army, and began his march towards the North to oppose the progress of the Scottish king; but, before he proceeded to hostilities, John Mansel was sent before to treat of an accommodation. This was easily effected by means of the match between Margaret daughter of Henry, and young Alexander, who repaired to York on a visit to the English monarch, by whom he was knighted; and the marriage-ceremony was performed with great solemnity, in presence of Henry and the queen-mother of Scotland, attended by the chief nobility of both kingdoms. Alexander, on this occasion, did homage to his father-in-law for Lothian, but absolutely refused to acknowledge the dependence of his whole kingdom, until he should have deliberated with his parliament upon an affair of such consequence; and Henry admitted the excuse. The nuptials being solemnized with great magnificence, Alexander received a bond for five thousand marks as the portion of his wife, with whom he returned to his own country, whither she was attended by Maud de Canteloupe, and some discreet ladies appointed to superintend her education.

A. C. 1252.
Expedients
to raise
money.

Having thus provided for the tranquillity of England, he converted his whole attention to the voyage he had undertaken, and fixed the time of his departure at Midsummer. In the beginning of the year he assembled all the prelates in London, and produced the pope's bull, commanding them to pay the tenth of their revenues; but they absolutely refused to comply with the imposition, or even compound the matter in any shape, alledging they could take no steps in the affair, without the

con-

concurrency of the two archbishops, who were absent. Innocent, in order to prevent delays, was no sooner informed of their contumacy, than he accommodated Henry with fresh bulls, granting him a twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues, a tenth of all the lands belonging to prelates, the crusade commutation money, and that which the pope claimed as arising from stolen goods, usury, and legacies for charitable uses; at the same time, he took the king and his dominions under his immediate protection. Over and above these resources, Henry laid a tallage on all his demesnes, as well as upon those that had been alienated from the crown; nor were the late conquests in Wales exempted from this imposition.

After a sufficient fund had been thus provided, the king's departure was delayed by the disturbances of Gascony. Deputies arrived from that province, with complaints against the earl of Leicester, by whom the natives were oppressed; and Simon himself came over to justify his conduct. Not contented with denying the imputations cast upon his government, he, with great heat and indecency, upbraided the king for listening to such frivolous complaints against a man who had served him so faithfully, and even expended his whole fortune in an employment, by which other governors had been enriched. Henry assured him, that he did not believe the accusations; and that, in order to manifest his innocence, he would send commissaries into Guienne, to examine into the conduct of the inhabitants; in the mean time, as a convincing proof of his confidence and regard, he supplied him with a sum of money, and desired he would hold himself in readiness to return and reassume his administration. The Gascons being informed of the king's intention, deputed the archbishop of Bourdeaux to repeat their complaints, and renew their petition for another

Henry is
insulted by
the earl of
Leicester.

A. C. 1252. another governor; and during this prelate's residence at London, the commissioners returned from Gascony, where they had examined the dispute between the earl and the people. Their report was favourable to Leicester: but as the archbishop assured the king, that if he should return, there would be a total revolt in the province, Henry, rather than run the risque of such a rebellion, resolved to sacrifice Leicester to their resentment; and ordered the articles of his impeachment to be carried before his peers, that he might be tried by the laws of the kingdom. The earl, knowing the king's caprice and inconstancy, had, by this time, engaged prince Richard, with the earl of Gloucester, and several powerful noblemen in his interest; thus supported he appeared in court, and vindicated himself in such a manner as seemed satisfactory to his judges, who were indeed resolved to acquit him, whatsoever should happen. The archbishop of Bourdeaux was brow-beaten, and so confounded by the partiality of the bench, that he could hardly proceed with his evidence: Henry himself was irritated to such a degree by the insolence of Leicester, that, in the transport of his passion, he could not help venting some injurious expressions, which provoked Montfort to accuse him of ingratitude, and demand, in the most arrogant manner, the recompence he had so often promised, in consideration of his manifold services. The king answered, in a rage of indignation, that he did not think himself obliged to perform his promise to a traitor: and this word was no sooner pronounced, than the other told him he lied; that he believed he never went to confession, or, if he did, it was not attended with repentance. "I never repented any thing so much
" (said the king) as my having lavished so many
" favours upon a man like you, so destitute of
" gratitude and decorum." So saying, he intended

to arrest the earl upon the spot; but perceiving a number of the barons ready to protect him, his indignation gave way to his fear, and he was fain to smother his resentment: he even listened to proposals of accommodation made by the nobility, and was outwardly reconciled to Leicester, though the insolence of that nobleman had made such an impression upon his mind, that he could never afterwards behold him without horror.

Chr. Dunst.
Rymer.
Mat. Paris.

Notwithstanding this resentment, he sent him back to Gascony, partly because he durst not venture to appoint another governor, and partly from his apprehension of the earl's intrigues and ambition, which he could not prosecute at such a distance from the kingdom; but, in order to indulge the Gascons with the prospect of being one day relieved from his tyranny, he, by an authentic deed, conveyed that province and the isle of Oleron to his eldest son Edward, reserving to himself the sovereignty for life; and such of the natives as were in England did homage to the young prince. Mean while Leicester repaired to his government, glowing with resentment against the Gascons, and at his arrival set the whole province in a flame. He renewed the hostilities which the truce had interrupted, and attacked the nobility with implacable fury and revenge: but his passion hurried him into such indiscretion and misconduct, that he at length found himself besieged in Montauban, and was obliged to purchase a capitulation by setting all his prisoners at liberty. Chagrined at this disgrace, he resigned his government and retired into France, though not before he had delivered three of the strongest castles to the revolters, and involved the province in civil war, confusion, and anarchy. Alphonso X. king of Castile, taking the advantage of these disturbances, trumped up a claim to some part of it, founded upon a grant
of

Henry pre-
pares for an
expedition
into Gui-
enne.

A. C. 1252. of Henry II. and Eleanor of Guienne, to Alphonso VIII. who married their daughter. He found means to engage several noblemen in support of this pretension; and the whole province renounced its allegiance to Henry, except the city of Bourdeaux, and the adjoining territory, which was in the utmost danger of being lost for want of proper assistance from England. The pope excommunicated Gaston de Bearne, and all the adherents of Alphonso; and Henry resolved to go thither in person. With this view, he issued writs for a general muster of those who were obliged to have arms, that they might be in a condition to keep watch and ward in all the towns and cities, and maintain the peace of the nation in his absence; then he prepared a fund for defraying the expence of the expedition, by raising an aid upon his own demesnes, and summoning all who possessed fifteen pounds a year by military tenure to come and receive knighthood. He raised money by dispensing with the execution of some ordinances made against the Jews; and, as he had a right to demand a scutage of all his military tenants for the knighting of his eldest son, he assembled a parliament at Westminster, in hope that the barons would settle it at a higher rate than he would chuse to assess by his own authority.

Solemn confirmation of the two charters.

Upon this occasion he explained the situation of Gascony, and the necessity of taking vigorous measures for the recovery of that province. After long debates the laity agreed to the scutage, and the prelates consented to the imposition, according to the pope's bull, which they had formerly rejected. But they complained of the king's having over-ruled the elections of bishops and abbots, contrary to the first article of the Magna Charta; and insisted upon satisfaction for these grievances. The king had expected the demand, and prepared his

his answer accordingly. He owned that, upon some occasions, he had extended the royal prerogative too far; but that he had laid down a firm resolution to reform his conduct, and would take care to observe the charters with the utmost punctuality. In pursuance of this declaration, he, of his own accord, convened all the lords spiritual and temporal in Westminster-Hall, where every individual appeared with a lighted taper in his hand, while the king himself stood with his hand upon his heart, in token of his sincerity. Then the archbishop of Canterbury pronounced aloud a most dreadful anathema against all those who should directly or indirectly oppose the execution of the two charters, or violate, diminish, or change in any shape, the laws and constitutions of the kingdom. This execration being denounced, the two charters were read with an audible voice, and confirmed by his majesty; and each nobleman dashing his taper on the ground, wished all those who infringed the charters, might so burn and smoke in hell-fire.

Mat. Paris.
Brady.

How sincere soever Henry might have been during this ceremony, certain it is, the parliament was no sooner dismissed, than he endeavoured to free himself from those fetters to which he had so solemnly subjected himself. He was naturally inconstant, and not at all subject to scruples of conscience; and his favourites continually prompted him to renounce those restrictions that disgraced his sovereign dignity. Perceiving him uneasy at the consideration of his oath, they advised him to communicate his anxiety to the pope, who, for a pecuniary consideration, would disengage him from that maze in which he was entangled; and this pernicious counsel, so contrary to the dictates of honour and religion, had too much influence over his future conduct. Mean while, he summoned his

Henry com-
promises his
difference
with the
city of
London.

A. C. 1253. his military tenants to meet him at Portsmouth on the twenty-second day of June, and laid an embargo on the shipping for their transportation to the continent: but, that he might leave no ill blood in the kingdom, he thought proper to reconcile himself to the citizens of London, whom he had provoked by the most arbitrary acts of oppression. The fair he had instituted at Westminster, was considered as such a grievance by the Londoners, that divers tumults ensued, and the populace had more than once insulted the king's servants. Provoked at these outrages, he had seized their charters, and appointed a guardian to rule over the city; so that being thus enslaved, they could not be friends to his administration: but he now made an atonement for these injuries, by restoring their charter, and augmenting their privileges with some particular exemptions, which effectually dispelled their animosity, and removed all symptoms of discontent.

Ret. Parl.
34.
Hen. III. ex
Carte.

Henry em-
barks at
Portsmouth
on an expe-
dition into
Guienne.

This salutary measure being taken, he appointed the queen guardian of the realm, to be ruled by the direction of his brother Richard, in whose custody he left the great seal; and embarking at Portsmouth on the sixth day of August, arrived about the middle of the month at Bourdeaux, which he found very much hampered by the garrisons of Fronzac, Benanges, and La Reole. These had been given up treacherously to the Gascon revolvers by Simon de Montfort; but they were soon reduced by the English forces, who drove the rebels out of the province, and compelled their chief, Gaston de Bearn, to take refuge with the king of Castile, to whom he did homage. As this monarch threatened a new invasion of Gascony, Henry wrote to the queen and prince Richard for an immediate reinforcement; on which a parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster, where the lay-

A. C. 1254.

nobility entered into a resolution to meet in the beginning of May at London, and proceed directly to Portsmouth, where they would take shipping for Gascony, provided the king of Castile should invade that province. The prelates of Canterbury, Winchester, London, and Worcester, engaged to serve in person, and the other bishops promised considerable supplies of money. The military tenants of the crown in Ireland were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to embark at Waterford immediately after Easter; and an aid was demanded from the prelates and barons of that kingdom, assembled for the purpose at Dublin. In England the same measures were pursued: all who held twenty pounds a year in capite of the king, or of minors in his wardship, were ordered to appear at Portsmouth on the day of rendezvous; and writs were issued to the sheriffs, commanding them to return two legal and discreet knights, to represent each county before the king's council at Westminster, to consult about levying such aids as they should be willing to grant for the service of the king on such an emergency. This subsidy, however, was not granted, as the king's affairs took a more favourable turn in Gascony.

Rymer.
Clauf. 38.
Hen. III.

Henry, whose genius was not at all calculated for war, proposed terms of accommodation to the king of Castile, and even to engage in a league with him, cemented by a marriage between Alphonso's half sister Eleanor and prince Edward, on whom he now bestowed a grant of Ireland, with the earldom of Chester, the town and castle of Bristol, and all his dominions on the continent, whether usurped by foreign power or in actual possession of the crown of England. This treaty was negotiated by Peter bishop of Hereford and John Mansel provost of Beverley, who set out with the character of ambassadors for the court of Cas-

Marriage
between
prince Ed-
ward and
Eleanor,
sister to Al-
phonso king
of Castile.

A. C. 1254. tile, where they met with such a favourable reception, that in the beginning of April the marriage-contract was settled, together with the articles of a treaty offensive and defensive, importing that Alphonso should give up all claim to Gascony; that Henry should assist him in his war against the king of Navarre, bestow his daughter on Alphonso's brother, and use his influence with the pope to commute his vow to serve in Palestine, for an expedition against the infidels of Africa; that Gaston de Bearne, and the other lords who adhered to the king of Castile, should be restored to the possession of their estates; and that prince Edward should be brought to Bourdeaux immediately, and proceed to Burgos; so that he might be knighted by his Castilian majesty, and married to his sister within five weeks after Michaelmas. In consequence of this treaty young Edward, being now in the sixteenth year of his age, went over with his mother and sister Beatrice to Bourdeaux, where he ratified the articles relating to his alliance, then proceeded to the court of Castile, where he was received with great honours, and universally admired. Here he remained for some time after the solemnization of his nuptials, and returned to Bourdeaux before his father quitted that city. Henry, unwilling to run the risque of a long passage by sea, resolved to travel by land to Calais; and taking Paris in his way, was sumptuously entertained by Lewis, just then returned from Palestine. From that capital he continued his route to the sea-side, and arrived at Dover about the latter end of December. He made a magnificent entry into London, the citizens of which presented him with one hundred pounds, and a massy piece of plate of curious workmanship. But he did not seem satisfied with this offering; for in a few days he fined them in a considerable sum, for the escape of

of a priest accused of murder, whom the bishop had committed prisoner to Newgate. A. C. 1254.

During this expedition to Guienne, Henry had contracted a heavy load of debt, not only by the expence of his son's marriage, but also by an inconsiderate contract with pope Innocent, who, not contented with persecuting the emperor Frederic to his dying day, was resolved to effect the ruin of his whole family. He had carried on a war against Frederic's two sons Conrad and Henry, and sent his nuncio Albert into England, with an offer of the crown of Sicily to Richard earl of Cornwall, who declined the proposal of engaging in an expensive war against his own nephew. Henry was not so scrupulous; for the same scheme being offered to his consideration in favour of his second son Edmund, he submitted to all the conditions imposed by his holiness; engaged himself and his realm for unlimited sums, supplied him with all the money in his own exchequer, as well as with what he could extort from the Jews, who were miserably oppressed; together with the sums he could borrow from his brother Richard and the Italian merchants at exorbitant interest. By this time indeed his enterprize assumed a more honourable aspect; for his nephew Henry had been assassinated at Melphi by the direction of his own brother Conrad, who was in his turn poisoned by his bastard brother Mainfroy. This illegitimate son of Frederic ascended the throne of Sicily. What was before the effect of revenge in pope Innocent, now adopted the colour of justice: he assembled an army to dethrone the usurper; but his troops were routed, and himself in danger of being besieged in Rome by the conqueror. It was on the back of this disaster that he repeated his instances to Henry, who racked his own credit to the utmost stretch, with a view to retrieve the affairs of his

The pope offers the crown of Sicily to Edmund, second son of king Henry.

A. C. 1254. holiness, and enable him to conquer Sicily for his son Edmund.

Pope Alexander grants Edmund the investiture of that dignity.

A. C. 1255.

Brady.

In the midst of these transactions Innocent died, and was succeeded in the papacy by Alexander IV. who adopted the projects of his predecessor, maintained the war in Apuglia, and gratified Edmund with the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, performed with the ring by the bishop of Bologna, sent over to England for that purpose. He was likewise impowered to absolve Henry of his vow for the Palestine expedition, provided he would make another for transporting an army into Apuglia: and he accordingly swore by his tutelar saint Edward that he would go thither in person. While the bishop was on the road, Alexander's forces were utterly defeated at Nocera by Mainfroy, who by this victory made himself master of Apuglia, and was crowned king of the two Sicilies at Palermo. Though the bishop was well informed of this unlucky revolution in the affairs of Alexander, he mentioned not a word of the defeat to Henry, who ordered the ceremony of the investiture to be performed with great magnificence, and vainly expected to extract considerable subsidies from his people for the support of this new dignity. In this hope he convoked a parliament, of which he demanded a supply of money with as much confidence as if he had engaged in some important scheme for the advantage of the nation. The barons, though very little interested in the affairs of Sicily, promised to grant a subsidy, on condition that the two charters should be punctually observed, and the lord high treasurer and justiciary appointed by parliament, independent of the king's authority. Henry, averse to these proposals, prorogued the parliament, and repaired to Scotland to manage the interest of his daughter, who complained of the regency of that kingdom, involved

in

in the troubles that commonly attended a king's minority. A. C. 1255.

Having quelled the disturbances of Scotland, he returned to his own dominions, where his presence was necessary to adjust the particulars of his Sicilian project; and now he found it absolutely impossible to pay the sums which had been borrowed by the late pope in his name, for the reduction of that kingdom. He could not even hush the clamours of his creditors; and though Alexander was not ignorant of his distress, he practised every method he could invent to drain more money from this exhausted kingdom. He sent over a nuncio called Rustan, with bulls for raising contributions on the clergy. The first which this legate produced, impowered him to levy the tythes in England, Ireland, and even in Scotland, for the use of the pope and king Henry. He afterwards published a second bull, proposing to commute the vow of a pilgrimage to Palestine, for another to serve against Mainfroy as an enemy of the christian name; and a crusade was preached up for this purpose, with promise of a general indulgence to all those who should assist the holy see in deposing that excommunicated usurper. The shameful avarice and exactness of pope Alexander.

The parliament being reassembled, Henry renewed his demand of a subsidy with the more confidence, as he had omitted to summon those barons who appeared the most refractory in the last session. But he found this assembly staunch to the same sentiments; and they even turned his own artifice against himself, by affirming they could not comply with his demand, in the absence of those who, having a right to sit in parliament, were not summoned to attend. Thus disappointed, he dismissed the assembly, and converted his attention to other expedients. He in vain attempted to borrow sums from his brother Richard, who was incensed at his

A. C. 1235. engaging in such an enterprize without his concurrence or advice ; and this resource failing, he was obliged to depend upon the exactions of the pope, authorized by bulls which no person of candour or sensibility can read without indignation. This rapacious pontiff, not only oppressed England with the most shameful impositions, but even burthened Scotland and Norway with contributions to maintain his own private interest. To this he sacrificed the christians in Palestine, by converting the sums and soldiers destined for their relief to the conquest of Sicily, to which he could have no just pretension : practices so little suitable to the character of a patriarch, that they even disgrace humanity.

The pope's fraudulent scheme to extort money from the clergy of England.

Henry himself was made a dupe to the avarice and villainy of Alexander ; for the immense sums levied on pretence of raising Edmund to the throne of Sicily, were chiefly appropriated to the pope's own private occasions, while Mainfroy enjoyed his crown without molestation. The debt contracted in the name of Henry for the atchievement of this enterprize, amounted, according to Alexander's account, to one hundred thirty-five thousand five hundred and forty marks of silver, exclusive of interest ; and as he knew the king's revenues were hardly sufficient for the expence of his household, he contrived a notable scheme of fraud and oppression, to discharge this incumbrance. A great number of obligatory bills were expedited, owning the receipt of particular sums of money from certain merchants of Sienna and Florence ; and these he proposed that the English clergy should subscribe, for sums proportioned to the benefices of each individual. When Rustan assembled the prelates on this occasion, and signified the demand of his holiness, the bishop of London declared that he would rather lose his head than submit to such tyranny. He was seconded by the bishop of Worcester ;

Cester; and the whole assembly made answer, that the clergy of England would not be enslaved by the pope. The nuncio complained of this refusal to Henry, who told the bishop of London he would make him feel the effects of his indignation. The prelate, far from being dismayed, replied, that he knew the king and the pope were his superiors; but that, should they deprive him of his mitre, he would supply its place with a helmet. The nuncio, not yet repulsed, had recourse to private negotiation. He, with the assistance of the bishop of Hereford, who had engaged in the project from the beginning, cajoled some prelates with promises, and intimidated others with threats of prosecutions and excommunication, till at length he had prepared them for implicit obedience. Then he convoked another assembly; but the archbishop of Canterbury being abroad, and the see of York vacant, the prelates made use of these pretences for postponing the determination of this affair, and Rustan could not deny their request, though he insulted in the most virulent terms two ecclesiastics who ventured to explain their sentiments on the injustice of such a demand. The delay produced nothing favourable to the clergy. The term of respite which they obtained was no sooner expired than they were again assembled at London, and the nuncio renewed his demand. Leonard, agent for the clergy, replied that their poverty would not permit them to comply with the pope's mandate, which besides was highly unreasonable and unjust. Rustan alledged that all the churches belonged to his holiness, who might therefore dispose of them according to his pleasure. Leonard denied this position, observing that although the churches acknowledged the pope as their superior and protector, they never owned him as their proprietor; nor had he a better right to the effects

A. C. 1255. of the clergy than the king had to the estates of his people. The nuncio, enraged at this answer, which he could not refute, demanded aloud that every individual should speak for himself; so as that the sentiments of each might be known to his holiness. His intention was to terrify the assembly; but this behaviour produced a contrary effect: the prelates, incensed at his arrogance, declared unanimously that they neither could nor would submit to such an unjust exaction; and that they would suffer death rather than alter their resolution. Rustan, conscious of his own indiscretion, changed his battery, and endeavoured to appease their resentment with softer expressions. He said he would return to Rome, and endeavour to mitigate the demand of his holiness; and the dean of St. Paul's was deputed by the clergy to explain the motives of their refusal. Alexander pretended that the sums had been really borrowed for the service of the king and the church of England; and proposed another expedient, from which he would not recede. He insisted upon their paying the bills according to his first calculation, but agreed that the sums should be deducted from the tythes which might be granted to his majesty in the sequel; and to this determination the clergy of England were obliged to submit. This difference was no sooner compromised, than the nuncio demanded one year's wool from the Cistercians for the pope's occasions; and they answered, that they could not comply with the demand until it should be considered in a general chapter of the order. Rustan, exasperated at this evasion, swore that since he could not persuade them in a body, he would be revenged on each in particular; and began to prosecute the individuals for pretended faults, which he obliged them to atone by the payment of considerable sums. But they complained of this tyranny to the

pope,

pope, with whom they had such influence that he ordered the nuncio to desist from his prosecutions.

During these disputes between the pope and the clergy, the king exerted all his influence in solliciting the barons to grant the subsidy he had demanded for elevating prince Edmund to the Sicilian throne. The archbishop of Messina was sent with letters from the pope to the nobility, exhorting them in the most earnest manner to comply with the request of their sovereign. But the eagerness of his holiness defeated the purpose which it was intended to serve; for the barons perceived that the subsidy would pass through the hands of Alexander, whose integrity they had so much reason to doubt; and they were extremely unwilling to send forces into Italy, where they would be exposed to inevitable ruin. They, therefore, refused to comply with the king's demand, alledging that the enterprize was dangerous, and the kingdom impoverished; that they should run the risque of an invasion by unfurnishing the kingdom of its troops; that the scheme was projected without the consent of parliament; and that the gift of the kingdom of Sicily was clogged with such restrictions by the pope, as rendered it altogether precarious, and unworthy of the expence with which it was attended. Thus repulsed by the parliament, he renewed his attack upon the clergy; and, with the pope's assistance, extorted from them a continuation of the tythes which were granted at first for the term of three years only. He likewise proceeded with his exactions from the Londoners, and other cities of the kingdom; and even extended his acts of oppression to the Welsh, whom he considered as his own subjects, and fleeced accordingly. At length their patience being exhausted with their substance, they had recourse to their arms, and indemnified themselves by carrying off a great booty from

A. C. 1256.
Mat. Paris.
Act. Pub.

The barons
refuse to
grant Henry
a supply for
the Sicilian
expedition.

A. C. 1256. from the territories of England; while the indigence of Henry obliged him to sit still, and behold his dominions thus ravaged with impunity. Mean while the pope, whose avarice was insatiable, continually importuned this weak prince for fresh supplies of money, and even threatened to revoke his gift of Sicily, unless Henry would immediately perform his promise of sending English forces into Italy. The king represented his utter inability to defray the expence of such an expedition; but accommodated him with five thousand marks, and commanded prince Edward his successor, to ratify the Sicilian convention: at the same time he complained of the inflexibility of his barons, who had absolutely refused to support him in the prosecution of his design.

The intolerable rapaciousness of pope Alexander.

Alexander concluding from this information that his influence in England drew near a period, resolved to improve the present opportunity to the utmost of his power; and with this view sent John de Die as his nuncio, with a fresh cargo of bulls for raising money to pay the king's pretended debts to his holiness. By the first, he ordered the bishops to pay the tythes granted to the king without the deduction which had been stipulated: a second granted to the king all the revenues of vacant bishoprics, on pretence of helping to defray his voyage to the Holy Land, though he himself had already agreed to a commutation of this engagement. A third indulged him with all the revenues of such ecclesiastics as did not reside in their benefices: by a fourth he was intitled to the tythes of all ecclesiastical revenues according to their just valuation, whereas they were hitherto rated according to ancient taxation: a fifth impowered Rustan to adjudge in the king's favour the immoveables of all ecclesiastics who should die intestate: a sixth directed the nuncio to lay a tax upon all the clergy of the king.

kingdom, for the assistance of their sovereign, notwithstanding any privileges or exemptions granted by his predecessors, or any opposition that should be made to his authority: in a seventh he excommunicated all the prelates who should not pay their proportion within the term prescribed; and several other mandates concurred in prosecution of the same purpose of raising money to satisfy the pretended creditors of Sienna and Florence; though the whole treasure was absorbed in the bottomless gulph of the pope's own avarice.

A. C. 1256.

Mat. Paris.
Act. Pub.

England seemed devoted to beggary and distress, by a concurrence of unfavourable events, which gratified the king's vanity and attachment to foreign connexions. William count of Holland, and king of the Romans, being slain in Friesland, the princes of the empire were divided in their choice of a successor to that dignity: the majority voted in favour of Richard earl of Cornwall; and the rest elected Alphonso king of Castile. The election of Richard was very disagreeable to the king of France, situated between the two powers of England and Germany, which might unite against him, in order to recover the dominions which had formerly belonged to their ancestors. In this apprehension he fortified his frontiers, and endeavoured to intercept the earl of Gloucester and John Mansel, whom Richard had sent to Germany to make their observations on the country and state of the princes, before he would venture himself among them; for, though he had bribed a majority, the other electors were very clamorous; the bishop of Triers declared for Alphonso, and even promised great sums to those that would espouse the cause of that monarch. Richard having received a favourable account from his agents, resolved to go thither in person; and knowing the venal disposition of the Germans, he laid in such a store of money as

Richard earl
of Cornwall
elected king
of the Ro-
mans.

A. C. 1257.

A. C. 1257. no sovereign prince in Europe could have raised on the like occasion. This he collected not only from his vast estate, but also from his farm of the mint, and from the Jews, for whom he procured an exemption from talliage for the space of five years. Thus furnished, he embarked at Yarmouth, with the bishops of Cologne, Liege, and Utrecht, Florence count of Holland, and several German noblemen, who had come to England, in order to accompany him in his voyage; and he was attended by a good number of the English nobility. After having reposed himself two days at Dort, he proceeded to Aix la Chapelle, where he was crowned king of the Romans by Conrad, archbishop of Cologne, as the elector of Mentz, whose right it was to perform this ceremony, at that time lay under the sentence of excommunication. The coronation and knighthood of his eldest son Henry were solemnized with such magnificence as could not but be agreeable to the mercenary Germans, who nevertheless insisted upon his sending home all the English noblemen, though they had intended to stay a whole year abroad; and having in less than twelve months drained Richard of the vast sums he had brought along with him, treated him afterwards with indifference and contempt.

Mat. Paris.
Rymer.

Henry's expedition against Llewellyn, prince of North Wales.

He is said to have spent in this expedition seven hundred thousand pounds sterling; an incredible sum, which, added to the repeated exactions of the pope, almost deprived the kingdom entirely of its currency, and contributed, with a scanty harvest, to produce a calamitous dearth, which was severely felt by the common people. Notwithstanding this national disaster, Henry, still infatuated by the Sicilian project, importuned the clergy for a new subsidy, assuring them the former was not sufficient to pay the debts he had contracted; and, in order to soften the hearts of the prelates, brought his son

son Edmund into the assembly, in a Sicilian habit, vainly imagining they would be, like himself, charmed with the appearance. This, however, would have produced nothing but contempt among them, had not the nuncio interposed his menaces, by dint of which he extorted a donation of forty thousand pounds. Mean while the slight incursions of the Welsh increased to a regular war, maintained against the English by prince Llewellyn. Geoffrey de Langley, governor of the country between Cheshire and the river of Conway, which had been ceded to Henry at the last pacification, attempted to introduce the English laws, and courts of judicature, among the inhabitants of that district. The Welsh, who are extremely bigotted to their own customs, took the alarm; and, as the peace had been already violated on both sides by mutual depredations, Llewellyn assembled a strong body of horse and foot, with which he obtained several advantages over the wardens of the English marches; he over ran that part of Wales which was under the protection of Henry; and at length invested the castle of Gannock, which was built for the defence of that territory. The king had hitherto winked at his progress, which indeed he could not conveniently stop; but, now alarmed by the prospect of losing the only conquest he had ever made, he summoned his barons, and military attendants of the North, to meet him at Chester, and appointed a rendezvous at Bristol for the western counties, resolving to divide the forces of the enemy, by attacking them at once in different quarters: at the same time, he ordered a body of troops from Ireland to land upon the isle of Anglesey, which supplied the Welsh with the best part of their provisions. These precautions being taken, he entered North Wales with his army, and advancing to Gannock,

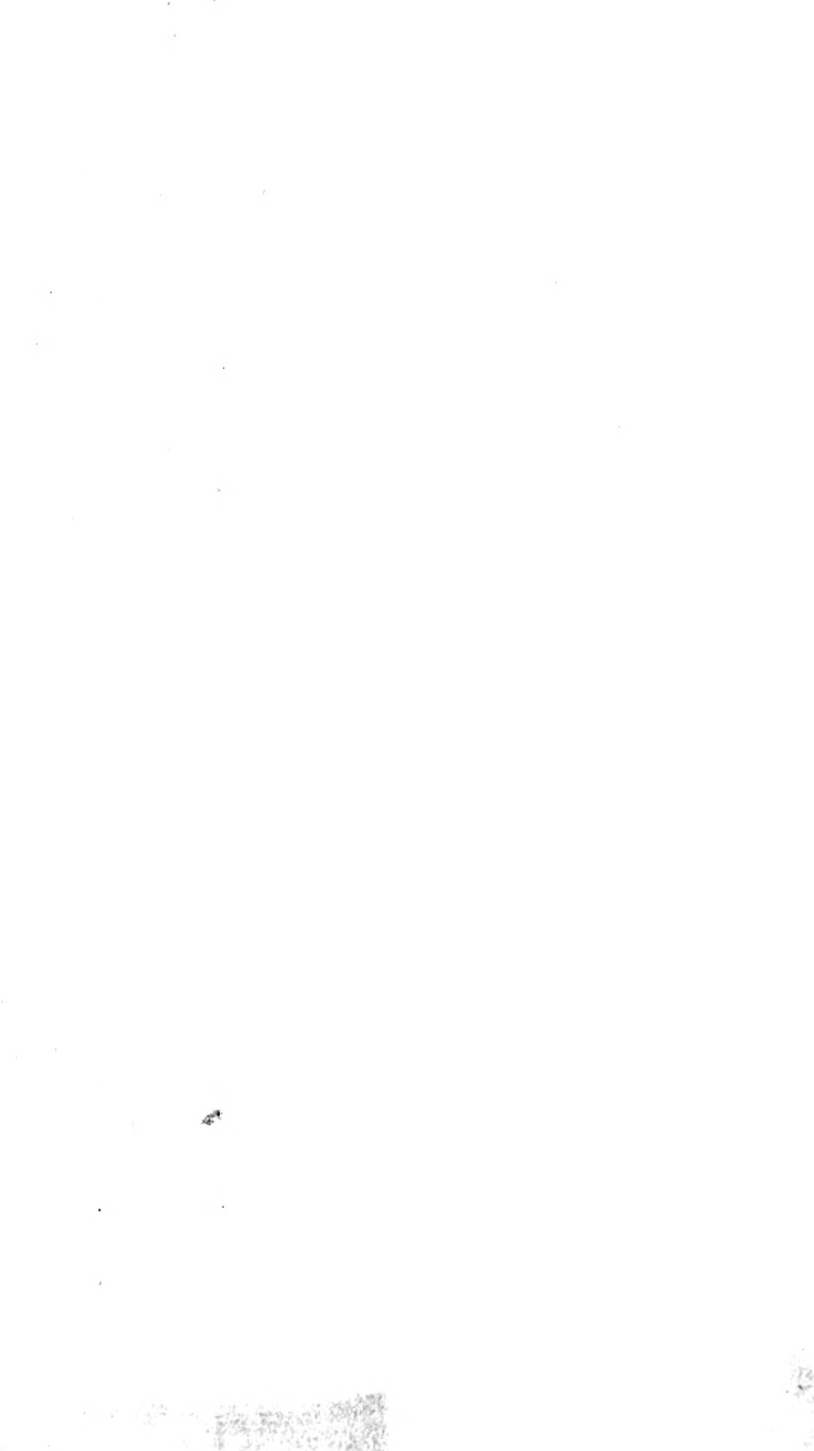
A. C. 1257. nock, remained inactive till Michaelmas, in expectation of the Irish forces, which never arrived; while the western division, ordered to make a diversion in South Wales, delayed executing their orders, pretending they could not act in the absence of their general, Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, who was suspected of holding a correspondence with Llewellyn: so that Henry was obliged to return, after a very inglorious campaign, for the expence of which he had levied a considerable scutage*.

Chr. Dunst.
Mat. Paris.
Rymer.

* At this period Henry ordered a gold coin to be struck, of the weight of two sterlings, or silver pennies; but this, which was the first gold coined by any king of England, giving umbrage to the citizens of London, who petitioned against it, probably on account of some deficiency in the weight,

Henry published a proclamation to cry it down, desiring all those who had taken it in payment to bring it to his exchange, where they received the current value, deducting one haltpenny for coinage. Carte ex lib. de Leg. Antiq.

End of the SECOND VOLUME.



Cleaned & Oiled



